STALIN'S GRANDCHILDREN

By KLAUS MEHNERT

Since the publication of our article "Shoulder Straps—And Then?" (February 1944), which dealt with the course Bolshevism has taken during the last few years, much has happened that allows the "—And Then?" to be seen in a clearer light. In the following, we have singled out one problem—that of the younger Soviet generation—to use it for the analysis of some of the psychological consequences of the war in the USSR.

The author has studied the problems of Soviet youth for fifteen years and written a book and numerous articles about it. As a foreign correspondent he spent several months in the years between 1929 and 1936 in student dormitories and youth camps in the Soviet Union, and he was acquainted with many young Russians. Since leaving the USSR he has kept up with developments among Soviet youth by following its literature, as it is represented by books, newspapers such as the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" and "Pionerskaya Pravda," and magazines such as "Smena," "Vejatsya," and "Ogonyok."

It often happens in political life that reality changes more rapidly than our ideas about it. The world as a whole still has ideas of Soviet youth which held good for the thirties. Our essay is an attempt to bring these ideas up-to-date.

At the outbreak of war in 1941 there lived in the Soviet Union, within the borders of 1939, some 100,000,000 people who were born after the Revolution of 1917. The age structure of Soviet youth was at that time:

Up to the age of 9 years 46 millions
From 10 to 14 years 17 millions
From 15 to 18 years 16 millions
From 19 to 25 years 22 millions

Never before in the history of Russia and hardly ever in the history of any other state has youth played so important a part as it does today in the Soviet Union. The war has terribly decimated the ranks of the middle generation, the men from 25 to 45; and the older generation has very little to say. Now and again press and radio mention letters written by an elderly father to his son serving in the Red Army, or letters he had received from his son. But otherwise hardly anything is ever heard about the old people in the country. And this is only natural. In the first place, comparatively few old people have survived the strenuous events since 1914; and secondly, the two main tasks set by the war—to fight and to produce—must be carried out chiefly by the younger generation.

When speaking of the working youth of the Soviet Union, there are two points to be borne in mind.

(1) The proportion of youth in the population and its share in the state's total production is greater than in any other state. The shortage in manpower, which has become particularly acute since the start of the almost continuous offensives in the summer of 1943 with their huge casualties, has led to the mobilization of millions of children for economic life. In his book One World, Wendell Willkie describes his visit to the USSR in the autumn of 1942, long before the complete mobilization of manpower which has taken place since. Yet even then Willkie saw children of ten working 66 hours a week in the airplane factory over which he was shown. After finding no men of military age, except the director, in the kolkhoz (collectivized village) he visited, Willkie remarked: "The wives and children of the soldiers feed the country."
YOUTH MEANS GIRLS

(2) Soviet working youth consists mainly of girls. This is especially true in the field of agriculture. According to Soviet statistics, 81 per cent of all tractor drivers, for example, are women (Bolshevik, No. 5, 1944, p. 34). The majority of them belong to the younger generation.

A letter addressed to Stalin by the kolkhoz women of a single province (Tambov) and reprinted in the Izvestiya (17.6.43) contains the following passage:

You, Comrade Stalin, know that many kolkhoz chairmen have gone to the front. Without hesitation, their posts were taken over by us women. In our province women have filled the following posts:

111 village soviet chairmen
408 kolkhoz chairmen
3,058 heads of tractor brigades
2,867 heads of cattle farms
17,275 group leaders
3,932 members of kolkhoz committees
1,110 chairmen of examination committees
3,233 stable hands...

and more than 50,000 other leading or special positions in the kolkhozes of our province.

Not only in agriculture but in all other spheres of economic life has the proportion of women risen in an unparalleled manner. In the field of transport, for instance, it is 90 per cent, and even in the oil industry with its great demands on physical exertion it is 50 per cent (Mainichi from Moscow, 10.3.44). To appreciate the significance of this, one must remember that the Russian woman has always been known for her capacity for hard work.

To give an approximate idea of the present age distribution among the two sexes in the younger generation behind the front we present the following figures which we have worked out on the basis of all material and factors (mobilization, evacuation to Germany, death, capture, etc.) known to us, but with no guarantee for accuracy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 to 14</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 to 25</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most other countries the family and the school are the main pillars of education. Not so in the Soviet Union. During the first eighteen years of its rule, Bolshevism systematically weakened family influence and regarded schools and youth organizations as the true props of education. This led to such catastrophic consequences that the Soviets attempted to consolidate the family again during the thirties and to place it as a third, equal factor beside the other two. But this period lasted only six years. The family has fallen back into a state of disintegration for reasons which are to be found above all in the effects of the war, and the forming of the younger generation is once again almost completely in the hands of schools and youth organizations.

An examination of these two institutions is particularly topical since both of them underwent a series of important changes during the last few months, in the course of which a number of previously hidden facts have come to light.

FOUR SCHOOL REFORMS

In the winter of 1943/44, Soviet schools entered upon a new phase. The most important measures by which this phase is to be distinguished from the previous one are: (1) a new system of school marks, (2) the end of coeducation, (3) new rules for pupils, and (4) new rules affecting the visiting of cinemas and theaters by school-children.

At first sight these changes do not look especially interesting. But in the Soviet Union things rarely seem interesting at first sight. In contrast to the USA, for example, where national problems are discussed in public, that which is problematical in the USSR is only revealed to the observer upon closer study. For officially there are no problems in the state of the Bolsheviks. Officially, everything is wonderful and runs smoothly. In the first few years after the Revolution, some problems were still acknowledged. Now, however, that the Bolsheviks have triumphed completely and have done away with the old classes—by "liquidating" the bourgeoisie and "dekulakizing" the farmers—there is, according to Marxist ideas, no longer ground for problems of any kind. If we are to believe Soviet accounts, the Soviet state, Soviet economy, Soviet education—indeed, the entire life of the Soviet Union runs like a perfectly constructed machine. It is true that when a machine is not lubricated properly it does not run so well. But that does not imply a problem. The machine itself and its construction remain perfect. All that is needed is to add some lubricating oil, and the machine runs as smoothly as ever. In
EXAMINATIONS DISCOVERED

This is not the first time in the field of education that the Soviets have proclaimed the return to a prerevolutionary measure as an important innovation and reform. To give an example: after the victory of Bolshevism in Russia, the system of examinations formerly customary in Russia's education was abolished. For fifteen years there were no examinations of any kind in the Soviet Union. The soul of the child, so it was said, was not to be harmed by so reactionary an institution. The system favored was that of "Progressive Education," imported from America, which left the child to its own devices as much as possible and which trusted in the child's innate good qualities.

Suddenly, on August 25, 1932, a decree of the Central Committee of the Party stipulated that, starting with 1933, examinations were to be introduced in Soviet schools. It was admitted that, lacking the stimulus of examinations, the standard of schoolwork had deteriorated deplorably. The Soviet press enthusiastically lauded this reform and called examinations "a tool for training the architects of Socialism."

In the autumn of 1933, when visiting some schools in Moscow, I asked the children how they felt about the introduction of examinations. They told me that the examinations were a wonderful innovation. Although they were not exactly a pleasure, they said, their introduction had immediately led to better achievements on the part of the pupils. They were oblivious of the fact that the system was nothing but the revival of an institution that had existed previously in Tsarist Russia and that was customary throughout the rest of the world.

Here we find an essential difference between the reintroduction of examinations in 1933 and that of the five-point system in 1943. In 1933 the Soviets had dug up a measure the absence of which had admittedly had a disastrous effect on the level of scholastic achievements, as the hopes placed in the innate qualities of the child had not been fulfilled. In 1943, however, a "reform" was carried out which was of a purely formal nature and did not affect conditions as such.

There is yet another difference. When examinations were reintroduced in the
schools, it was claimed that examinations in the Soviet state would differ fundamentally from those in the Tsarist Empire. It turned out later that, actually, there was no essential difference between the Soviet examinations and those of the old days. But the pretence was maintained that they were an innovation. In 1944, however, the introduction of the five-point system is commended—as we have seen from the quotation of Radio Irkutsk—as an institution that proved its worth in Tsarist times.

THE END OF COEDUCATION

On the path of retrogressive "reforms" the abolishment of coeducation in Soviet schools is a particularly interesting step. When, after the Revolution, coeducation replaced the old system with its strict segregation of the sexes, it was celebrated as a great victory over the reactionary spirit of Tsarism and as a symbol of the equality of all human beings. The Soviets stated that they wanted to eradicate the differences not only between the classes but also between the sexes. And while women took their place beside men as workers in all walks of life, boys and girls were accorded equal treatment in the schools and youth organizations.

Now a complete about-face has been executed. The end of coeducation "is an important stage in the development of the Soviet school," declared the conference of directors of Moscow girls' schools (Komsomolskaya Pravda, 4.3.44). And at the Fifth Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, G. V. Perov, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, stated (Pravda, 5.3.44):

The introduction of classes separated according to the sexes makes it possible to carry out education according to the physical attributes of the sexes and to secure the absolutely necessary discipline of the students. In the boys' schools it has facilitated the carrying out of military training.

NEW RULES OF BEHAVIOR

The next two reforms deal with the behavior of youth in and out of school. The "Twenty New Rules" of which, in his speech mentioned above, G. V. Perov declared that they had to be carried out "unconditionally as an obligatory demand of the state," call for regular attendance at school; punctual homework; proper conduct at school, at home, in public; and particularly for respect toward the teacher. In his comment on this last point, A. Mostovoi, director of the 330th school for boys in Moscow, writes:

What the rules require is a reverent (pochitielnuy) behavior toward the teacher—not just a courteous or correct one, but precisely a reverent behavior, an absolute submission to the orders of the teacher (Izvestiya, 5.4.44).

This is strange language in a country that has long prided itself on having freed the younger generation from the tyranny of adults.

Another reform is contained in the new decree of the People's Commissariat for Education on movie and theater attendance:

Pupils under the age of sixteen are forbidden to visit movies on week days without permission of the head of the school. School directors are enjoined to permit pupils to visit movies and theaters only after school hours and in organized groups accompanied by adults, teachers, or youth leaders. Before granting permission, they must consider the scholastic achievements and conduct of each pupil, his preoccupation with school and homework, as well as the suitability of the film for the demands of education (Tass).

This measure, too, sounds surprising in a country that used to glory in the freedom of its education and, incidentally, will not be easy to enforce, as can be seen from the following report from the city of Kirov appearing in the Komsomolskaya Pravda, the central organ of the Communist Youth Organization, on February 27, 1944, i.e., weeks after the promulgation of the decree:

Class was over. Swinging their satchels, the pupils of the Eighth Middle School ran out on to the road. Some went home, others stood around undecidedly: where should they spend the rest of the day?

"Let's go to the movies! There is a good picture on today," Yura Berzin and Volodya Shalayev suggested.

Now the children are at the Progress Theater. Quite a few schoolchildren have arrived there already. Yura Okhapkin, a pupil of the fifth
class, has not been to school for five days, but he never misses a film.

The children loiter about on the sidewalks, outside the cinema, in the lobby, in front of the box office. Some are hawking cigarettes, others offer their services for buying tickets, others again just do mischief.

One little fellow, who can hardly reach up to the cashier's window, holds up a three-ruble note: "Auntie, a ticket."

The kind Auntie cashier takes the money without hesitation. Another Auntie—the ticket collector—obligingly lets the schoolchildren pass into the audience.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

If we look at the four reforms, we find that they all deal in one way or another with the problem of behavior and discipline both in school and out. The necessity for passing these decrees indicates that something is not as it should be with the youth of the USSR. This is confirmed by countless statements made in press and radio and of which we quote two examples.

(1) One of the best-known Soviet educationalists, A. Protopopova, published an article on January 16, 1944, entitled "Obedience" (Povinovlenie) in the Koms. Pravda, in which she urgently demands "a bolder and more widespread application of punishment," explaining:

Exemption from punishment demoralizes the pupil's will, it corrupts him, frees him of the inalterable necessity of concentrating upon the tasks he has been set. Punishment promotes obedience.

A pupil has not done his task once, twice, three times. What is one to do with him when talking to him, admonitions, explanations, do not help? Punish him, by all means. A pupil has broken the rules of conduct. What is one to do, when remarks and explanations do not help? Punish him, by all means. Perhaps, even punish him the first time.

Comrade Protopopova advises the employment of "the rich arsenal of punishments", available in Soviet education and answers her own questions: "Why has the question of punishment become so urgent? Why is there so much talk about punishment?" with the words: "The truth is that, according to our practical experience in school, punishments often have but little effect."

She then goes on to describe how the customary school punishments do not exert the desired effect upon the modern young people in the Soviet Union because they no longer take them seriously. She suggests the following remedy:

Everywhere an interest should be taken in the marks given for a pupil's behavior, and these marks

Mother: "How naughty you are! I shall ask the school to keep an eye on your manners."

Teacher: "How naughty you are! I shall call the attention of your parents to your manners."

(Crocodile, No. 11/12, 1943)

should be reacted to accordingly: at home, upon admission to university, when being engaged for work, and upon entering one or the other organization.

In other words, Comrade Protopopova has no other remedy to suggest than to threaten the younger generation that its marks of conduct in school will accompany it throughout life as an ineradicable stamp. And this in a political system which during the initial period of its existence absolutely rejected the employment of punishment in school as an infringement upon the soul of the child.

MAJOR BORZENKO IS SURPRISED

(2) In the Koms. Pravda of March 2, 1944, Major Borzenko relates his experience upon visiting the Boys' School No. 425 in the Stalin district of Moscow:

I entered the Ninth Class. I entered it with all my decorations and medals. But many of the pupils did not rise although politeness and discipline should have demanded it. I asked the pupils what they intended to become after the war, and I discovered that only the sons of officers intended entering the war academy. A giant of a boy, who had grown a mustache, told me with his hands in his pockets and in a tone which brooked no contradiction: "The war will soon be ended and hence it is useless to deal with questions of the war." Some of the other pupils agreed with this opinion.

This scene did not take place somewhere in America where soldiers are of not much account except in war time, but in the Soviet Union, where the Red Army has for twenty-five years been surrounded by a nimbus of propaganda. Nor did it take place in some forgotten corner of the USSR but in its capital and, what is more, in the Stalin model district. And finally it did not happen to just any old soldier but to a celebrated officer who bears the highest title of honor, "Hero of the Soviet Union,"
and has also made a name for himself as an author.

KOMSOMOL

The Komsomol (the word is composed of the first syllables of the Russian words for Communist Youth Association) is the largest youth organization in the world. Its membership is composed of young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. Closely connected with the Komsomol is the Pioneer Organization, whose members are between the ages of ten and fifteen. The following approximate membership figures indicate the growth of the Komsomol:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>235,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>11,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The significance of the Komsomol is to be found in the facts that first, its members are the future members of the Communist Party, and secondly, that it represents the sole legal political organization of a youth which is at present at the peak of its importance. Since the number of adolescent workers in the towns and in the country is much larger than that of adult workers, the Komsomol has gained very much in weight in comparison to the Party. N. N. Romanov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, recently declared that the Komsomol must "safeguard the fulfillment of state tasks, especially in those places where there are no organizations of the Party" (Koms. Pravda, 12.4.44.). And N. M. Kalinin, who holds more or less the position of President of the Soviet Union, said:

In the villages there is at present no greater organization than the Komsomol. The members of the Komsomol are no longer the merry fellows who used to march through the villages playing the harmonica—they bear a great responsibility and must look after the life of the villages during the war (Koms. Pravda, 12.12.43).

In view of the extraordinary role played by youth in production and war, statements such as these are no more than justified. But what does it look like inside the Komsomol?

RAPID TURNOVER

Few figures have been published on the membership standing of the Komsomol during the last three years. It seems that at the outbreak of war its membership amounted to 11 millions. Of these, several millions have been eliminated from the active work of the organization through death, capture, or serious wounds. They were replaced by more than five million new members (Koms. Pravda, 12.3.44). If we assume that the losses and the new gains in members have more or less balanced each other, about half the membership of the Komsomol would consist today of young people who have joined it since 1941. Especially in the smallest units of the Komsomol—the cells in the villages and individual factories—as well as in the next highest organs, the rayon (i.e., county) organs, one third of the work of the organization had to be placed in the hands of youngsters who joined the Komsomol since the outbreak of war (Koms. Pravda, 12.4.44). Many of these proved themselves incapable and had to be replaced. In 1943, for example, in the Province of Novosibirsk 1,500 secretaries of local organizations, i.e., about half of all existing ones, and forty-three of the fifty-two secretaries of the provincial headquarters of the Komsomol, were changed (Koms. Pravda, 4.3.44).

In former times it was only tested Komsomol members of long standing who were allowed to rise to the position of a rayon secretary. Nowadays, however, the Komsomol cannot wait. Seminaries for rayon-committee secretaries have therefore been established. The Koms. Pravda writes about these secretaries (26.1.44):

They have only recently joined the leadership of the organization. Almost half of all the secretaries were elected in 1943, some of them even as recently as two to three months ago. They possess neither experience nor the necessary knowledge.

For the current work of the Komsomol and for the daily contact with the millions of its members the local secretaries are, of course, far more important than the central organ in Moscow. The war has given rise to countless new problems which in most cases must be solved locally as they cannot wait for a decision from the provincial capital, much less from Moscow. The Koms. Pravda of April 12, 1944, stated quite clearly that the success of the Komsomol's work is in the last analysis determined by the work of the local organization of the Komsomol. All this amounts to youth itself having to solve the problems of youth.

"GLOOMY OLD MEN"

During my first few visits to the Soviet Union I was surprised to see how trusting
the young people were, how ready to accept anything they were told. They felt everything they possessed in the way of schools, vacation homes, and future prospects to be a gift of the Revolution. The young men and girls who streamed into the Komsomol, mostly from the industrial suburbs and villages, looked full of confidence upon the leaders of the Party and the Komsomol, who had brought all this about. Many had contributed, in one way or another, to the victory of Bolshevism, had made sacrifices for it.

Meanwhile, the aspect has changed: to the present younger Soviet generation, the Revolution and the Civil War are no longer part of their personal experiences but subjects for history lessons. This generation has not fought for Bolshevism. It no longer feels the old confidence in the hitherto dominating type of Komsomol functionary. Millions of members of the Komsomol have gone through years of education in schools and, one-sided as this education was, it could not but develop the brains of these young people. Adolescents who have absorbed a middle-school or even a university education no longer look upon the leaders of the Party and the Komsomol with the same naive respect as their elder brothers did who were not yet able to read and write. The war has shifted countless semieducated youngsters from schoolrooms into the process of production and has raised in their minds many new questions which would never have troubled them had they continued on their normal course. By learning to think, the younger generation has also acquired a certain measure of skepticism, and it is inclined to look critically upon the ordinary type of Komsomol leader, some of whom are intellectually far inferior to these young people.

An open letter written by Yelena Vartanova, the Secretary of the Roštinksk Komsomol District Committee in Moscow, reads (Koms. Pravda, 20.2.44):

Nowadays, when the younger generation starts upon its independent path of life at an early age, the task of education must be more sharply defined. . . . In the factory, there are a lot of young men and girls with a middle-school education. They may perhaps have little experience of life and ideological firmness, but in any case they are people with a certain amount of education and culture.

This new youth places higher demands upon its leaders: they must correspond at least outwardly to its new spiritual and mental level. For that reason Vartanova turns against an anonymous Komsomol secretary employed at a factory in her district:

He has stopped being a youth leader. . . . He has somehow become gloomy. He is not a Komsomol functionary but an old man!

Although this secretary is a good Bolshevik and conscientiously sees to it that his group of workers punctually fulfills the production quota allotted to it, "it is not enough simply to set a good example in work to lead the younger generation" (Koms. Pravda, 7.3.44).

The time has passed when the Party possessed such an aura of authority that each of its functionaries could lay claim to the respect of the younger generation simply by the fact that he was wearing the Party or Komsomol badge.

The anonymous Komsomol leader in Yelena Vartanova’s letter was in her opinion dismissed with justification because “he has not kept up with life, and he obstructs the Komsomol organization in its creative and full-blooded life.” She has purposely not given the real name of the secretary, as her intention is not a personal accusation but one of a general character.

So Komsomol leaders who have helped Bolshevism to gain its victory are now being accused of “obstructing the Komsomol organization in its creative and full-blooded life.” They are regarded as “gloomy old men,” indeed, almost as reactionaries, whose authority rests upon their former great services, services which are for the present youth of the Soviet Union very much a thing of the past.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE

In “Shoulder Straps—And Then?” we pointed to this possibility of a conflict between the older and the younger generation in the USSR. The symptoms indicating this have meanwhile grown in number. Among them is one document in particular to which we shall turn immediately. In order to appreciate its significance one must bear in mind that until recently the Komsomol played an important political role and that, corresponding to the increase in the weight of youth in the war-time Soviet Union, the weight of the Komsomol has increased tremendously during the last few years. It was only six months ago that Kalinin said: “The Komsomol is the most vital part of the people and bears the entire
responsibility of production" (Koms. Pravda, 12.12.43). Should the Party suddenly attempt to deprive the Komsomol of some of its influence, this would be an indication of its distrust toward the Komsomol. This attempt is now in full progress.

At the beginning of April 1944, the twelfth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Komsomol took place. It declared the most important result of its meeting to have been its decree "Concerning Measures toward the Improvement of the Work of the Komsomol in the Schools." This decree (the full wording was published in the Koms. Pravda, 9.4.44) sets the Komsomol one central task for the future, namely, "to support the organs of education, the school directors, and teachers in instructing and educating the children." The decree defines the future position of the Komsomol as follows:

The plenary meeting deems it necessary to resolve:

(a) that teachers, regardless of the fact whether they belong to the Komsomol or not, be present at all student-Komsomol meetings and be allowed to participate in their work;

(b) that in examining a student's application for membership in the Komsomol, the teachers' opinion of him be taken into consideration;

(c) that the school director have the right to suspend a mistaken resolution of the school-Komsomol organization.

The further improvement of the scholastic achievements of students depends largely on an improvement in discipline and the introduction of the strictest possible order in the school. The decisive role in this belongs to the teacher. Only a lack of comprehension for this fact can explain that some Komsomol organizations have permitted criticism of teachers in their meetings.

The Komsomol organization at the school and the student members of the Komsomol are prohibited from interfering with the work of the teachers and from criticizing the latter at the Komsomol meetings, student meetings or in wall notices.

In his long speech at the plenary meeting, N. A. Mikhailov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, declared emphatically:

What secrets could the Komsomol organization have for the teacher who, as a rule, knows the strong and weak side of every student far better and possesses a much greater knowledge of all questions of education? (Koms. Pravda, 11.4.44).

In other words, the Komsomol is to become not much more than an assistant taskmaster and whip to aid the teacher—a steep decline from its former powerful position when, on an equal footing with the teachers, it shared in the development of the younger generation. The very formulations of the decree are a blow to the Komsomol's prestige and would have been impossible a few years ago. Realizing that this must cause a good deal of apprehension and discontent among the Komsomol's most active members, Mikhailov implored them to understand "that the increase of the teacher's authority and the improvement of order in the schools is a dire necessity and absolutely unavoidable," and he requested all Komsomol members "to reach literally every student and to explain the meaning of the reforms to the young people."

This then is what happened: on the one hand, the war has tremendously increased the role of the Komsomol; on the other, the Komsomol is showing so many signs of unruliness and lack of discipline that the Party is getting seriously alarmed and has begun to take countermeasures. It is shifting responsibility onto the teachers, who are government employees and hence more to be relied on in fulfilling orders.

To round off the picture we must add that the Pioneer Organization is also not working as it should. In the same speech, Mikhailov makes the strange confession that it is not equal to its tasks "of instilling the children with devoted loyalty for their country and for the Bolshevik Party." So we learn from one of the secretaries of the Komsomol's Central Committee that devotion and loyalty to country and party do not by any means come naturally to Soviet youth, that the instilling of the children with them is a task, a task, moreover, to which the Party's own youth organization is not equal.

**THE CROCODILE SPEAKS UP**

Up to now we have been looking at the situation in school and Komsomol. We shall now see that in youth's attitude toward work, too, everything is not as it should be. While the Soviet press is telling the world every day that the younger generation has so great a love for Stalin as well as for its Soviet country that it has been seized by an unparalleled enthusiasm for work, the same press contains daily proof of the contrary. Sometimes these proofs are even in rhyme as, for instance, a poem published in the magazine Crocodile (No. 41, 1943), in which a young female office employee speaks to a male visitor to her office:
Please do not ask me anything about my job! Do you believe I like to stick around here? I simply had to get established somewhere, dear, to get the rations for my daily grub.

A friend of Sophia's found this place for me. How dull it is!—but I am still alive, you see.

And then, you know, the chances which we stood Of being mobilized for chopping wood!
What do I do? The dragging hours endure:
About me not a single pleasant face;
I sigh and yawn, and sit here at my place, And grunt into the phone, you may be sure. Who knocks?—A visitor?
The devil take him; just firmly close the door. Sure, he can wait. Oh please don't go so soon; Sit down, and entertain me until noon. Now what? The telephone! Oh, let it buzz!
On Wednesday evening all our crowd has planned To meet at the Markovin's, and I understand Lyovushka's keen on having you join us.
You rascal you, you haven't said a word.
Is my dress nice? Do I look well in blue?
Well, have I changed?
No? Truly, am I still the same?
Who's knocking now?
Tovarisch, stop this noise, oh do!
Just shut the door, and leave us here in peace!!!
Thus goes each day: the people, phones, abuse. . .
But tell me something humorous—some news—
And, darling, sympathize with me a little, please!

For the magazine to publish such a poem there must be more than one girl of this type in the country. For the same reason the case of Nadya Sonina of Omsk who, although a member of the Komsomol, deserted from her work, led to so lengthy a discussion (Koms. Pravda, 3.2.44).

ARMY OF AGITATORS

Press and radio are filled with the measures by which the Soviet state is attempting to get the young people back in line. For carrying out these measures, the state makes use chiefly of the army of Komsomol functionaries—of which there are 300,000 alone in the rayon organizations of the country (Koms. Pravda 12.4.44)—and of large numbers of agitators (in the USSR the word "agitator" is their official denomination).

The agitator—he is the one at whom we must continue to direct our attention, if we seriously wish to improve the political work among the masses (Koms. Pravda, 13.4.44).

The Party itself always stresses the indispensable ability of agitators for the carrying out of economic tasks. In their work, the agitators should exploit "the entire arsenal of Bolshevist agitation, lectures, discussions, books, magazines, newspapers, wall newspapers, placards, posters, hit tunes, folk songs, fairy tales" (Pravda, 26.3.44). As an illustration of what happens when there are no agitators, we quote the following example.

Forty Komsomol agitators were ordered to proceed to one lumber camp in the province of Arkhangelsk. But for various reasons only five of them showed up after a long delay. "And what was the result?" exclaims the Koms. Pravda (9.2.44), "two thirds of the woodcutters and drivers did not fill their quotas."

The trouble is that today agitation no longer helps much. All the catchwords and slogans have worn off and have lost their effectiveness. Even the campaign to rouse feelings of revenge against the Germans which we discussed in "The Science of Hatred" (January 1943), has apparently not borne the desired fruit and is becoming more difficult with the diminishing extent of German-occupied Soviet territory. At present the Party has placed more hopes in mass competitions among the workers:

Above all it is essential that all male and female workers, engineers, technicians, and employees participate in the competitions. . . The factory committees must see to it that there is not a single male or female worker at the factories who has not undertaken concrete obligations toward increasing production, toward fulfilling and exceeding the tasks set the factory (V. V. Kuznetsov, President of the Central Council of Trade Unions; Trud, 14.3.44).

Hence the so-called norms of work, which used to play so great a part in the past, are in reality no longer valid. Every day the largest possible amount of work is to be squeezed out of every worker. The forced mass competitions—which take place in public so that the production of each individual can always be checked—is at the same time to provide the Party with the possibility of keeping an eye on the young people in the factory just as the "Twenty Rules" are expected to enable it to supervise the schoolchildren twenty-four hours a day. In his book One World, Wendell Willkie, who professes to be a great admirer of the USSR, writes after his visit to that
country that the Soviet methods of exploiting and paying laborers would please the most antisocial-minded American capitalists.

AND THE REASONS?

Our examination of Soviet youth today has brought to light so many problems that we are justified in inquiring as to their cause. How can we explain that, twenty-seven years after the victory of the Soviet system, Soviet youth is passing through a crisis of this kind? In every state, the younger generation presents certain problems, especially in war time. Hence we shall not deal with the morals of Soviet youth, the question of conjugal faithfulness on the part of soldiers' wives, for example, which has appeared in the Soviet press, or that of the increasing number of food thefts. These are war phenomena. But the problems of Soviet youth which we mentioned before differ in principle from those of other countries. In the USA, for instance, the problem of juvenile delinquency has become quite acute, as is shown in our article "America Speaks." But in the USA this is a scarcely surprising consequence of the influence of "Progressive Education," which permits the younger generation to grow up almost without restrictions. Moreover, America has very little of a tradition of discipline. The word "discipline" itself has for most Americans a disagreeable sound.

In the Soviet Union, however, the period of liberal education only lasted from 1918 to 1933. Since then it has been replaced by a system which puts great emphasis on discipline and takes youth firmly in hand. When staying in Soviet youth organizations or camps during the early thirties, I was always surprised—especially in comparison to the far more self-willed German youth—to see how easy it was to harmonize a group of young Russians and to make them obey and behave in an orderly manner. Furthermore, no state has emphasized more loudly than the Bolshevik state that it was identical with the youth of its country.

To explain the refractory spirit of Soviet youth it is not enough to say: the fathers and elder brothers of Soviet youth are at the front or have fallen, and their mothers and older sisters are working in factories. Doubtless this is the case. Families have been rent apart in a manner probably unparalleled in history. In its urge to squeeze the last drop out of its decreasing reserves of manpower, the state cannot pay any regard to family life. Thus, for instance, growing numbers of women laborers in industry and agriculture are induced—"to avoid unnecessary traveling back and forth," as Radio Irkutsk put it—to sleep at their places of work, so that even in the evenings and at night the children are not under the supervision of their mothers.

This war-time disruption of family life; the consequences of the evacuation of millions of people; the mobilization of numerous teachers; the destruction of many school buildings by the war or their employment for other purposes—all these reasons for the growing lack of discipline must not be overlooked. Yet it would appear to us that Soviet youth, by reason of its character and its previous education with the emphasis on discipline and collective life, should have been able to overcome this danger. Hence we believe that the cause for this increasing refractoriness must have deeper roots.

THE MEANING OF THE WAR

We must ask our readers to bear in mind the fact that this article deals with the psychology of human beings. This is why the reasons for the crisis in Soviet youth cannot be given in hard figures but only through the patient observation and analysis of psychological factors.

During the first period of their rule the Bolsheviks tried to enforce all the principles of their doctrine. True to their avowed materialism, economic production was put above everything else. Private life was renounced and replaced by a collective one. Private emotions, such as individual love or romanticism, were accused of hindering the growth of collective production and collective conscience. The family was to be replaced by the "commune"—I myself visited such communes and published the diary of one of them.

But gradually it was found that the people were not yet sufficiently "mature" for all these Bolshevik ideals and, being the realist he is, Stalin made a large number of concessions. The family was reintroduced, the communes were abolished, books and plays once again dealt with private emotions, Shakespeare was put on the stage, pretty dresses for women were encouraged, romance was no longer ridiculed. The people took to all this like fish to water. They knew, of course, that Stalin had never denounced the original Bolshevik aims as being wrong and
that he considered these changes only as temporary concessions to the deplorable immaturity of the people, a detour to an unchanged goal. But they did not mind particularly, they were grateful for what they had and enjoyed it while they could. They did not bother their heads about doctrines.

Then came the war.

When you are lying at the front and waiting tensely every minute for what is going to happen, one possibility being that of your imminent death, then your re-think and re-feel many things which perhaps never occupied your mind in the years of peace; you re-think these things not only in your head but in your whole self, your heart, your soul... You think about the meaning of Russia, love, loyalty, happiness. And everything appears different to you from the way it did before, even two years ago.

This is how a speaker at an important meeting of the official Writers' Association in Moscow explained the emotions of the soldiers at the front to his listeners (Novy Mir, 1943, No. 4).

By facing millions of young Russian soldiers every day with the question of life or death, the war has forced them to get down to the essential issues of human existence. Much sooner and far more clearly than if there had been no war, these young Russians have begun to sense the discrepancy between the true values of life and Bolshevism. Even far behind the front, where the war has not been experienced in the form of actual fighting, it has inflicted countless shocks of the severest kind which have deeply stirred up the life and the conscience of the people.

At first the psychological consequences of war were less noticeable at the front. Here war fed the war. The individual was ruled by iron discipline. He was only part of his company, his division; and his days were filled with his life-and-death struggle. He had no chance to give expression to whatever problems may have beset him. Behind the front, however, it is different. For the young people at home, the war does not mean stricter ties as it does for the soldiers at the front but, on the contrary, greater independence by reducing the effective influence of family and school and by giving millions of young people—as a result of their inclusion in the process of production—their own income and a correspondingly greater self-confidence. Hence it is on the home front that we have found the greatest evidence of the existing crisis.

EXPLORING YOUTH

The Party is fully aware of the fact that the problems of the country's younger generation cannot be solved by the measures enumerated so far. It has noticed with alarm how, under the influence of developments since the outbreak of the war, youth has lost its bearings and become restless. With its vast experience in mass psychology the Party realizes that the growing lack of discipline is, in the last analysis, an expression of youth's unfulfilled desires and obscure emotions, which are foreign to the reality of the Bolshevik state and do not find expression within the structure of Bolshevism. Fearing that these desires and emotions may crystallize in a manner dangerous to Bolshevism, the Party is endeavoring to give them definite directions of its own choosing.

The Soviet press provides many proofs that the psychology and emotional life of Stalin's grandchildren has, of late, undergone such changes that the Party leaders are at a loss to comprehend it. The Party is constantly urging its own and the Komsomol's functionaries to study anew the sentiments and ideas of the younger generation. It has lauded the custom of the "Komsomol Fridays" and similar arrangements by which the "Committee Members of the Komsomol Organizers of the factories can study youth, its troubles, requirements, and endeavors more deeply" (Pravda, 10. 12.43). "We must endeavor to know what is going on in the schools and in the hearts of the students, and we must occupy ourselves with them more frequently," said Mikhailov at the last plenary meeting of the Komsomol (Koms. Pravda, 11.4.44); and on another occasion it was reported:

When a conference was held at a Moscow factory on the subject of books dealing with the problems of love, faithfulness, and friendship, it was discussed for many days after in the factory and at the homes of the workers. In this way the Komsomol leaders found out a lot more about the needs and interests of youth (Koms. Pravda, 19.2.44).
The very fact that the Bolsheviks find it so urgently necessary to study the mental-ity of their grandchildren seems to us to be of paramount importance. It clearly re-veals that the generations have grown apart and do not think the same thoughts.

At the factories and in the kolkozes all over the Soviet Union, youth has found new interests and ideas which are so foreign to the Party and Komsomol that they must first be studied. These studies sometimes lead to surprising results. On April 22, 1944, for instance, Radio Moscow saw itself induced to appeal for a fight against superstition, against "magicians and wizards," and this in a country which has raised its youth for a quarter of a century in strict materialism.

SHALLOW ROOTS

One of the underlying causes of the intrinsic instability of Soviet youth is a peculiarity to be found only in the case of this youth.

The Soviet state is very young. Not only in the sense that it was born from a revolution that occurred less than twenty-seven years ago, but also because this rev-olution consciously broke with the past, in contrast to the National-Socialist revolution, which consciously took up the threads of German history. In 1941, Soviet society was like a large tree with very shallow roots. The first months of the war showed convincingly that with these shallow roots the tree might not withstand the raging storm. Hence the Bolsheviks have, during the last three years, been making frantic efforts to drive the roots more deeply into the soil of Russia. Realizing that Bolshevik slogans and quotations from Marx and Lenin were not enough to fire an army to fight unto death, the Party threw them overboard and appealed to the force of patriotism innate in every man. There can, however, be no patriotism without reverence for one's country's past and its symbols.

Let us return once more to the revival of the five-point system of school marks, which seemed so incomprehensible at first sight. We saw that the best the Soviets could say about this system was that it had proved its merit for many decades in Tsarist times. In recalling such other symbols as shoulder straps, regimental flags, Ivan the Terrible, etc., which the Bolsheviks first detested and abolished and then suddenly restored to honor—dealt with in detail in our article "Shoulder Straps—And Then!"—we realize that the new marking system is part of the general appeal to the past and the pride in Russian history.

Not until later times will it be possible to tell how much of the Red Army's performance has actually been due to Stalin's revival of historical symbols. We expect that history will attribute a very large part of the Soviet fighting spirit to the inherent instinct for defense to be found in every living creature and particularly in a young nation like Russia which has such good health that it has even survived a quarter of a century of Bolshevism. Certainly, the appeal to his-tory must not be underestimated as a stu-mulus for fighting; but one can hardly assume that it has become a decisive source of strength within so short a time. One must bear in mind that the turn toward history in the Soviet system of education did not commence until June 1935, on the basis of a decree of the Central Committee of the Party of May 16, 1934. It was some time before it could take effect. To begin with, teachers had to be trained to give lessons in history, for the teachers themselves had grown up without any knowledge of history. Consequently, the teaching of history did not begin to play an important role until just before the outbreak of war.

YOUTH WITHOUT HISTORY

During the thirties, I read a Soviet novel, Our Youth, written by Kin, at that time still quite a young author (he was born in 1903). Its hero is a young Komsomol member by the name of Besais. I copied out the author's description of the hero, as it could have been applied to many of the young Soviet Russians I knew at that time:

The world was a simple matter for Besais. He believed that the world revolution would come anyhow the day after tomorrow, if not tomorrow. He did not worry; he knew no problems and kept no diary. And when he was told in the club that the merchant Smirnov had been shot the night before, he simply said: "Well, what of it? That's quite right," for he knew no other use for mer­chants. He took everything that happened around him for granted. He was neither surprised nor shocked by bread queues, typhus, and night-patrols in the streets. All that was as much a matter of course as day and night. For him the period before the Revolution was a legend like the Old Testament, and Nicholas II was as much to him as King Nebuchadnezzar—so many curious things had happened in this world! All that did not concern him. The only things that still clung to his memory out of the past were the policeman who used to stand opposite the bank, and the letter Yat, abolished after the Revolution, that
had bothered him in the village school in those
days. He renounced God, the kind, bearded God,
with whom he had spent the first fourteen years
of his life, easily and without any shattering of
soul. There was nothing special in that. We
simply decided that there was no God. "He is
not there," he said, in the way one speaks of
someone who has left the room: He experienced
terrible things, and yet he was only a boy. Cos­
macks came in the night; by dawn they had killed
three hundred people. Helping to put them in
their coffins was, at first disagreeable to Besais,
but he got used to it. "That's nothing special," he
said to himself. The Reds killed the Whites
and the Whites the Reds; it was all very simple.
Governments came and went, nailed decrees and
proclamations on the fences, gave the streets new
names, erected triumphal arches. Life was naked,
laid bare to the last root, and seemed extraordinar­
ily plain and simple. Only the most indispensable
and fundamental words remained. Once Besais
got hold of Dostoyevsky's Crime and Punishment:
when he had finished the book he was very as­
tonished. "Hello," he said, "what a lot of talk
about an old woman!"

HECUBA AND SOVIET YOUTH

To a certain extent, every younger gen­
eration starts from the beginning again.
But never has the negation of the past and
the desire to make a new start been as
radical as in the case of the Bolshevists.
Besais had at least had fourteen years with
God, but when Soviet youth went to war
in 1941 it had only spent a fraction of this
time with Russia's history. How can one
expect the appeal to the heroes of this
history to make any deep impression on the
young Russians?

The great names of Russian history may
have an effect upon the small remainder of
people in the Soviet Union who belonged to
the upper classes in the days before the
Revolution and who grew up in close touch
with the Russian past, just as they have
not failed during the last two years to have
a certain effect upon the Russian intel­
ligentia living abroad and on the young
Russian emigrants who have been educated
in the spirit of Russian history. But it is
not for the benefit of people like these that
the Soviet Union is reviving Russia’s past.

When the German leaders appeal to the
boys and girls of Germany with names
like Arminius or Barbarossa and other
heroes of German history, this appeal is
effective because the National-Socialists have
always proclaimed themselves their heirs
and because German youth has always
grown up with reverence for their names
and the ideals they represent, has learned
poems and read books about them. But
when young Soviet citizens are suddenly
encouraged to commit heroic deeds by dec­
orations named after the Tsarist admirals
Ushakov (d.1817) and Nakhimov (d.1855),
whose very names not one in a thousand
young Russians had ever heard until two
years ago, we must ask with Hamlet:

What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba,
That he should weep for her?

And how can we possibly expect the
hundreds of thousands of soldiers of Tartar,
Usbek, Turkman and other non-Russian
stock to become inflamed with the desire to
fight for Bolshevism by an appeal to the
memory of those Russian figures of the past
who conquered their forbears?

Indeed, the Soviet leaders' endeavors to
win over Soviet youth by the revival of
symbols liquidated by the Bolshevists years
before this youth was born can only be
explained by perplexity, dearth of ideas,
and the desperate hope that these symbols
might help to satisfy the yearning in the
hearts of youth.

HIDDEN WORLD

The Soviet tree is further weakened by
the fact that its roots, in addition to being
shallow, all grow in one direction only—
along the official lines of the Party. Until
recently, the Bolshevists not only refuted
history before 1917: they also acknowledged
later developments in the rest of the world
only in so far as they agreed with the Bol­
shevist conception. The power of the Bol­
shevists rested upon the fact that no ideas
contradictory to Bolshevism were allowed to
arise among the people, especially among the
younger generation. They sought to achieve
this by ruthlessly eliminating any ideas that
did not fit into the official lines as well as
the propagators of such ideas; also by con­
demning the inhabitants of their realm to a
constant primitive struggle for existence and
by suppressing all such interests lying beyond
the sphere of the Party as family, church,
and private property. The struggle for a
bare existence does away with most prob­
lems. The harder it is, the worse off people
are, the more similar do they become to
each other and the deeper do their dreams
retreat into the innermost recesses of their
souls. And those of the dreams and dream­
ers that still rose to the surface were prompt­
ly liquidated.

No ideas from abroad which might en­
danger the Soviet system were admitted into
the country. The number of foreigners
entering the Soviet Union was tiny, and the
possibility of their coming into contact with the common people was very limited. Just as tiny was the number of Russians allowed to travel abroad. To be given a komandirovka to a foreign country was a distinction, but a dangerous distinction. Afterwards such persons were treated with suspicion. This was the experience, for example, of two leading dramatists, Kirshon (born in 1902) and Afionogenov (born in 1904). In the early thirties and as a reward for their successful literary activity, they were given permission to spend some time in European countries. I met them in Berlin and saw them quite often. It was interesting to observe the impression made by Europe upon these young authors who had grown up entirely under the heavy pressure of Bolshevism. In his play *Bread*, Kirshon reproduced this impression. There is a scene in which two young Communists meet, one of whom, called Rayevsky—who has been decorated with the "Order of the Red Flag" for his deeds during the Civil War—has just returned from abroad. Let us quote a few lines:

Rayevsky: I'm exasperated by our stupid, arrogant attitude toward everything we don't know.

Mikhailov: You must be neurasthenic!

Rayevsky: I wish you were the first to say that. Abroad there's enough that one can learn. I'd like to kill all the fatheads who could see and hear nothing in Europe beyond the foxtrot.

Mikhailov: Were you in Germany?

Rayevsky: In Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden. The country is working like a glistening machine. When your aeroplane leaves Königsberg, Germany lies before you like the open works of a clock. The voice of the engines is never silent; the earth trembles with the roar of dozens of underground lines. That's worth experiencing, isn't it?

Olga: Is it light in the towns at night?

Rayevsky: In some Berlin streets you can't read because of the brilliance of the electric lamps. There are buildings flooded with light from top to bottom. Above one of the houses in the Friedrichstrasse a wineglass suddenly gleams, a bottle flares up, and champagne sparkles against the dark sky.

Kirshon and Afionogenov were not to enjoy their fame for long. Some time after their return they were ignominiously expelled from the Soviet Writers' Association and liquidated—whether only in an ideological sense or in a physical sense too, we do not know. At any rate, we have never read another printed line by them again.

THE BROKEN FORM

In this manner, youth had been forced by every possible means into the form decreed by the Party. There was no possibility of having a life outside of this form. This was recently formulated as follows in the euphemistic language of Soviet propaganda by K. Trenev in an article "Lenin and the Younger Generation" published in the Moscow press and reprinted in the Shanghai *Novaya Zvezda* on January 25, 1944:

The fortunate conditions of Soviet life have freed our youth from the morbid contradiction of idea and reality. The most ardent and most rosy dreams of young people can be fulfilled in the Soviet Union where youth is the master of its own destiny.

Again and again youth was told that the Soviet Union was all that youth could desire and that there was no such thing as a problem. But this so-called unity of idea and reality which was apparently brought about by the coercion of the younger generation, this outwardly apparently quite unproblematical existence, was exposed by the war. The demands placed upon the entire personality by war are tremendous. Especially at the front, where every soldier is faced daily with the most profound of all problems, the mystery of death, man grows conscious of his intrinsic value, which does not depend on the "process of production" and similar Marxist constructions. The stupefying effect of the Bolshevist formulas vanishes, and the Soviet citizen experiences the liberation from the chains of a Weltanschauung built up entirely on the material side of life. Paradoxical as it may sound, in the face of death Soviet youth is awakening to life.

The unnatural values for the appreciation of which Bolshevism has been trying to train them for so many years are disappearing entirely from their horizon. They make no sense in the face of death and are being replaced—at least for the time being—by values which have nothing whatever to do with Bolshevism. This is revealed by a glance at the most recent Soviet poetry.

By poetry we naturally do not mean the so to speak official poetry written by orders from above, a good example of which is the new Soviet anthem. What we mean is true lyrical poetry, which expresses the innermost feelings of the writer. In this poetry there is no mention of Suvorov and Dmitry Donskoi, of shoulder straps and patriarchs, of Five Year Plans, kolhozes, or Soviets. The poems move around the eternal centers of all lyrical poetry—love, nature, friendship, beauty.
The most popular poem in Russia today is entitled “Wait for Me” and was written by Konstantin Simonov. It consists of the simple, moving words a soldier says to the woman he loves. They end:

How I have survived will know
Only I and you,
Just because you waited as
No one else could do.

Simonov, one of the leading among young Soviet authors, has written many other poems of a predominantly personal and nonpolitical character. We quote excerpts from some of his best-known recent verses:

And I desire that every day,
That every hour, and every fight,
You’d follow like a shadow; nay,
That you would share with me my bread,
And share my suffering, to tears;
That you be blinded when I go blind,
And cold when I am to cold resigned;
That yours would also be my fears
And yours the wrath that clouds my head;
That all the words your lips design
Would be just fled from mine.

Because of sorrow on my part
That I may not again embrace you:
While parted, I shall not disgrace you
With any weakness of my heart.
Not warmed by any chance caress,
No farewell spoken before death,
I shall forever feel the trace
Of your dear lips, in perfect faith.

But at the moment when the last grenade
Already has been thrust into your hand,
And in a flash, a mental picture must be made
Of everything we left behind our present stand:
You will not then recall the country, vast,
About which you have learned and where you traveled,
You rather will recall your native land
As in your childhood you beheld it first:
The plouf of ground on which three birches tarry,
A distant road beyond the little wood,
The river with the creaking ferry,
The sandy strand topped by an ivy hood;
That is where fortune gave us birth,
Where until death, for all our lives, we found
That little bit of ground
That holds for us the signs of all the earth.

(Translated by Era Krammaleff)

“OUR RECORD”

A young Soviet writer who is often quoted and held up as an ideal representative of Soviet literature is Vassily Grossman. In the winter of 1942-43 Grossman was in Stalingrad and wrote a number of sketches there which were later published in a book entitled Stalingrad. The sketch “The Stalingrad Army” is dated January 1, 1943, and was thus written at the highest pitch of the battle. In it Grossman describes the following scene.

He was sitting with a detachment of Red Army men in a Stalingrad cellar. It was evening. Above, a heavy bombardment was going on. He writes:

The Red soldiers wound up the gramophone.

“Which one are you putting on?” one of them asked. Immediately several other voices answered:

“Put on our record, you know the one we mean.”

Then a curious thing happened. While the soldier was looking for the record, I was thinking: how nice it would be to hear my beloved Irish Table Song in this ruined, black cellar. And suddenly a solemn melancholy voice was actually singing the song:

“The storm is raging outside. . . .”

It was obvious that the Red soldiers liked the song very much. They were all sitting in silence. Ten times they repeated the same part:

“Milady death, we beseech you to wait at the door . . . .”

These words, this simple and inspired music by Beethoven, sounded indescribably powerful here. This was probably one of my deepest impressions of the whole war. In war, man experiences many great, joyful, bitter feelings. He experiences hatred and longing, pain and fear, love, compassion, revenge. But rarely are men visited in war by melancholy. In these words, in this music by a sorrowful heart, in this gently mocking request: “Milady death, we beseech you to wait at the door . . . .” there was an indescribable poignancy, a wonderful melancholy.

And here, as never before, I rejoiced at the great force of true art, at the fact that soldiers who have spent three months facing death in this destroyed, disfigured building that had not been surrendered to the Fascists, listened as solemnly to this Beethoven song as if it were divine service.

Is it not interesting that the Red soldiers in the Stalingrad cellar spoke of a record of a Beethoven song, which has nothing whatever in common with Bolshevism and Soviet reality, as “our record” and that a Bolshevist author regards the listening to this music as “one of the deepest impressions of the whole war”? Apparently Grossman never even realized that at bottom he is spreading anti-Bolshevist propaganda here. Like so many of his colleagues he; who thinks of himself as a good Communist, cannot but turn to non-Bolshevist realms when describing the reactions of modern Soviet youth. But the following case shows that the Party was quick to realize the dangers inherent in such a trend and alert enough to take countermeasures.

DUSYA WINS

Among the three or four leading writers of children’s books in the Soviet Union is Leo Kassil, whose works have enjoyed great popularity among Russian children for many
years. Last year he brought out a collection of war stories entitled *There Are Such People*, in which he describes various types of men he found at the front. The hero of the second of these stories is Semyon, the member of a submarine crew, whose phenomenal sense of hearing, besides being of inestimable value to his submarine, is an object of pride for the whole fleet. During an enemy operation, Semyon's eardrum is damaged by the explosion of a depth charge, and he is deaf when he arrives at the hospital. To him the loss of his hearing is as painful as the loss of a hand to a virtuoso. At the hospital he is visited by Dusya, a waitress in the canteen, whom he has loved for some time without ever having discovered any sign of love on her part. As she knows that he cannot hear her, she confesses to someone else who happens to be present that she returns Semyon's love. This confession penetrates Semyon's deafness, and the sudden joy gives him back his hearing. Happy ending.

We are not interested here in whether this is possible or not from a medical point of view. What does interest us, however, is that Kassil, in giving his hero back his hearing, motivates this with a purely personal, intimate experience. That which overcomes Semyon's deafness and makes him once again a valuable crew member of a submarine is neither the thought of Stalin, nor veneration for the late Admiral Ushakov, nor faith in the Five Year Plan, nor a picture of Karl Marx—it is a loving word from Dusya, the canteen waitress.

Kassil's collection contains other stories, too, in which the significance of personal emotions is described. In the life of the officer Batygin, for instance, a letter he receives from his wife after a long interval plays a decisive role, changing his entire life.

The most interesting fact about Kassil's book is that the Soviet leaders have taken it as an opportunity to make a sharp attack on the whole trend it represents. In the issue No. 11/12 of the well-known literary magazine *Oktyabr*, which went to press on March 1, 1944, there is a scathing attack by M. Helfand on Kassil and his book (pp.165-171). Since *Oktyabr* is one of the leading literary magazines in the USSR and expresses far more than the private opinions of Comrade Helfand, this attack is tantamount to a command to Soviet writers telling them how they are not to write. That Kassil should have dared so strongly to emphasize personal emotions in the life of the soldier, that he should have endowed spiritual experiences so far removed from Bolshevist reality with so decisive a power, is regarded as an unforgivable sin on Kassil's part, and a stream of abuse is directed against him.

Kassil is by no means the only one who is attacked in this way. Another influential literary magazine, *Novy Mir*, accuses Boris Pasternak of similar crimes, a man whose works were hitherto considered almost classics of modern Soviet poetry. In its issue No. 7-8, 1943, the magazine severely censures his recent verses for the over-emphasis they put on the purely personal angle as the decisive factor for the behavior of the Russian soldier at the front.

**PULLING IN THE REINS**

During the last few months there were many other indications that the Bolsheviks are afraid of having, out of consideration for the war effort, gone too far in loosening the iron grip in which youth was hitherto held by them. In his speech which we quoted above, N. N. Romanov, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, had to admit that even those of the Komsomol officials who have been in leading positions for a number of years "lack the necessary political training." Hence Bolshevism has suddenly been thrust into the foreground again. At a Komsomol meeting in Moscow the reproach of "poor ideological education" was raised against the Komsomol of the Moscow State University and other colleges and the demand made: "The thorough study of Marxist-Leninist theories by all students must be enforced." (Koms. Pravda, 14.3.44). For "Marxism-Leninism is the science of sciences" (Koms. Pravda, 29.3.44).

Immediately after the meeting, the Komsomol organizations in town and country set about the practical application of the resolutions made at the meeting. A flood of lectures and discussions was poured forth in the Komsomol. Since Moscow's example is followed by the rest of the country, it is interesting to study the themes proposed for discussion in the Komsomol meetings in that city:

- Soviet pedagogy as the science of Communist education for the rising generation;
- Marx and Engels on the education of the all-round man;
- Lenin and Stalin on the education of Soviet youth;
The difficulties they are experiencing with their own younger generation must necessarily affect the Bolshevists' attitude toward the further course of the war. Although Soviet youth has not yet found a form in which to express its new spirit in a politically effective manner and in which it might threaten the hegemony of the Party, the potential energy of this youth is serious enough for the Party to view the consequences of the Army's return after the close of hostilities with apprehension. Demobilization is a serious problem for any country, and the Bolshevists have often enough proclaimed that the return of the Army from the front during the Great War speeded up the internal collapse of the state.

The pendulum of public opinion is always inclined to swing from one extreme to the other. While the world did not have a very high opinion of Soviet youth up to the outbreak of the German-Soviet war and saw weaknesses everywhere, it has now completely reversed its opinion, at least in the Allied and neutral countries. The fact that the Soviet Union did not collapse in the first year of war and has had a comeback in the second and third has induced most people no longer to see any weaknesses whatever in the Soviet system and its youth. One view is as unjustified as the other.

We do not deny that the façade of the Soviet state appears impressive, with the Red Army back on the Pruth and with Stalin's dark figure seemingly overshadowing even those of Churchill and Roosevelt in the council of the Allies. Many readers will be surprised to find in this article evidence of various cracks behind this façade, and we might add that we, too, were surprised by the number and size of the cracks which emerged in the course of our analysis. But it is the task of the student of world affairs to take no façade for granted.

We have spoken mainly of Soviet youth at home. The men at the front are always more silent. But there are enough indications that the attitude of the young people at home and at the front is not too different and that both are experiencing a crisis. We do not say that this crisis will destroy the Soviet structure. We do not know. Nor can we predict whether Soviet youth will continue on the path outlined in this article or veer back into the fold of
Bolshevism. But we do say that there is a crisis, more serious now that the Red armies are on the Dnestr than when they were still on the Volga. And it would be strange if there were none. Great wars always give birth to new ideas and new conditions, and the Soviet state is in the midst of the greatest war in history. A crisis could only have been avoided if youth and state, grandfathers and grandchildren, had been essentially identical. But this, as we have seen, is not the case. It is true that the grandchildren have, so far, not been allowed to express those of their ideas which could not be harmonized with the dogmas of Bolshevism. Moreover, their thoughts are probably still so overshadowed by these dogmas that they do not yet know where the new trends are leading them. But even the Soviet press with all its supervision and censorship cannot hide the fact that the younger Soviet generation is in a state of fermentation. So, after all, the Soviet state is not a perfect machine that only needs to be lubricated now and again, but a machine whose problematical nature the young Soviet people are beginning vaguely to perceive.

Soviet youth has not simply suddenly become unruly in the same sense as the youth of every country is, to a certain extent, unruly. Soviet youth has become unruly because it looks at the Soviet reality surrounding it with other eyes than three years ago, and because it is governed by emotions and ideas, yearnings and forebodings, which have no intrinsic relationship to Bolshevism and its state.

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CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU

The Finishing Touches Before the Election
HOW GOOD IS GOLD?

By A. A. MAGNUS

Gold, the value of which used everywhere to be taken for granted, has not been excluded from the colossal process of revaluation of all values taking place in the world at the present time. We have asked Dr. Magnus, whom our readers know as the author of several penetrating articles on economy, to analyze the problem of gold in the past and the present. In undertaking to write about so complex a subject as the gold standard within the limitations of a magazine article, the author is bound to take too much for granted for some readers and too little for others. In order not to make his article too involved, Dr. Magnus has used the quantitative equation of money in its simplest form and has avoided a detailed discussion of discount and interest policy.—K.M.

GLITTERING gold! Human beings have always been attracted, gladdened, but also led astray by this glitter. The curse of gold in the saga of the Nibelungs is sufficient proof that, even in prehistoric times, man was already aware of the conflict between the beauty and the evil of gold. As good as gold! Here gold is set up as a standard, perfect and impervious to outward change. Gold as an ornament and gold as a hoard: these are the two uses to which mankind first put this metal. As time went on, it revealed other qualities. Without inordinate expense, it could be obtained in uniform purity; nevertheless, it was and has always remained comparatively rare. Gold is easy to transport, easy to hide, and is not essential to the maintenance of life. This last quality recommended its use for a purpose which cattle, shells, or slaves had hitherto served: for use as money.

Not until modern times has there been an appreciable use of gold in medicine and industry. In the first decade after the Great War, twenty to thirty per cent of the world’s gold production was used for arts and crafts, industry, and medicine.

In studying the problem of gold, we must always bear in mind that gold is nothing but a commodity, just like silver or salt, which can be put to various uses. Silver used formerly to be a treasure; today any moderately well-off man in a silver-producing country can afford to have plates made of silver. Should the use of gold decline in the world, and should the processes of obtaining gold continue to become cheaper, as they have during the last few decades, the price of gold may be reduced to such an extent that gold plates will no longer be the privilege of kings. At any rate, dental repairs would become a lot cheaper.

GOLD MONEY

In order to be able to exchange the fruits of his labor for other objects, man created money. Money is a means of transporting work as well as the realization of demand. It is just as much a means of transport as railways, ships, telegraph, and telephone. Like all means of transport, money is dependent on certain technical prerequisites in order for it to function properly. And its functions are: a medium of exchange and a standard of value.

Man began by using objects taken from among his own requirements. Thus he used cattle, salt, or shells as a medium of exchange, as money. A commodity did not become money as the result of an official stipulation but simply as the result of custom. The more mankind began to specialize in different types of work, and the more the various occupations began to differ from each other, the more problematical did a means of exchange become that was limited to definite use. How can an artisan, who owns no land and has no pasture rights, accept cattle in exchange for his products! Hence some medium of exchange had to be found whose use and storage were not dependent upon occupational conditions. Metals inevitably recommended themselves for this purpose among all the races. The possibility of immediate utilization thus receded before the intrinsic value of the metal.
Before this could happen, however, it was essential that there be a system of weights. With their sexagesimal system of weights the ancient Babylonians were probably the first widely to employ precious metals as money. But the possibilities of ascertaining the purity of the metals were still very limited. Neither the Babylonians nor the Egyptians nor the Chinese thought of fixing the degree of purity of a piece of metal by stamping it. The first ones to progress beyond the mere determination of weight were the Lydians in Asia Minor, who in the seventh century B.C. minted coins.

CONFUSION OF COINS

The time it took from the first gold coin to the creation of the first gold-standard currency was no less than 2,500 years! The English gold currency was established in 1816. We can only touch upon the painful process which mankind has passed through in the twenty-five centuries up to the creation of this monetary system. A close study of it shows one that monetary systems are just as imperfect and subject to change as all other human institutions.

What, then, were the worst pangs in this 2,500-year-long road to the gold standard? While formerly commodities whose value could not be sharply defined served as means of payment, mankind now possessed pieces of metal which could be minted according to requirement as units of a certain size and which were interchangeable. But who had the right to mint? Was it not possible for one to be cheated since, in spite of the minting, one could not tell whether the money had full value or not? When cattle was used as a means of exchange, everyone could judge the value for himself, although this value could always only be estimated roughly; now only the dealers in gold and silver could really assess the value. In order to circumvent the dangers threatening here, the state authorities granted minting monopolies to trustworthy persons or to persons whom they believed to be trustworthy. Since the borders of the various domains were in part ill-defined, and many towns possessed state authority and their own minting right, many kinds of newly minted monetary units came into being which circulated simultaneously.

Even in Lydia there were from the very beginning two kinds of gold coins based on different weight systems. In addition to this, gold competed with silver and copper as minting metal. Furthermore, there was the subdivision of the basic units. After all, it was one of the advantages of metal that it could be divided according to requirements, while a slave or an ox being used as a monetary unit could not very well be split up. This confusion of the many different kinds of coins was a calamity which lasted for thousands of years. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, for instance, there were six hundred mints in Germany alone. The situation in Italy was similar, while France and England managed to centralize their minting systems earlier, thanks to their earlier political centralization.

It was inevitable that a state whose powers were on the increase should seek for a uniform monetary system in the interests of its people. There were two points to which particular attention had to be paid: the relationship between intrinsic value and monetary unit, and the relationship among the various minting metals.

In economic life there is a sort of law of inertia. People become accustomed to a certain relationship between intrinsic value and monetary units, say, for instance, between the gold content and the term "ducat." When this relationship has remained stable for a number of years, they believe in a natural relationship between material and unit and are slow to notice any decrease in the gold content of the ducat. Sometimes they will continue to give the same quantity of goods for the ducat for a long time, and the further they are from the big towns the longer they will go on doing this. This phenomenon can be exploited for good as well as for evil. In 394 B.C., Solon reduced the gold content of the Athenian coins by a quarter in order to relieve the general indebtedness from which the economic life of Athens threatened to suffocate. But there have also been kings who shunned the effort of working out a proper state budget and who balanced the resultant deficits by coin deterioration. Coin deteriorations have occurred throughout the 2,500 years up to the establishment of the gold standard. They represent the devaluations of their times.

Coin deterioration was often unavoidable because there was not enough metal in the country to mint the required quantity of coins of full value. On the other hand there have also been cases where the quantity of circulating money rose considerably, either as the result of collected war indem-
nities or as a result of discoveries of large metal deposits within the domain of the currency. If in such cases the quantity of goods produced in the country did not rise in the same proportion—and before the development of modern industry this was possible only to a very limited extent—there were more monetary units to every commodity unit, i.e., prices rose. In modern terms, this meant inflation with all its unpleasant consequences. Thus we see that even in the times of metal money there were cases of a foolish creditor nation causing an unbalancing of the gold and silver stocks, thereby violating the laws enabling money to function as a means of transportation—usually in the end to its own harm. This error is cited as one of the causes of the downfall of the Spanish world empire.

A HEADACHE FOR THE STATE

To cover the demand for means of payment, the state had, until the creation of serviceable money, to let gold and silver circulate simultaneously. This resulted in the problem of maintaining a comparatively stable relationship between the value of gold and silver. If the face value and metal value of a coin are to be identical and the relationship in the value of two metals changes, the face values of the coins would really have to be changed accordingly. This, however, would contradict the law of inertia in economics, which calls for the utmost stability of prices, i.e., the retention of the old relationship between the quantity of goods and the quantity of money.

What was to be done? At one time, more silver was found, so that gold became comparatively more rare and thus more expensive and everyone demanded payment in gold coins; at another time, it was the other way round. In the early history of Europe, the relationship of the value of a kilogram of gold to the value of a kilogram of silver fluctuated between 1:9 and 1:13. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, a lot of gold was withdrawn from circulation for purposes of hoarding, and the relationship shifted to as much as 1:18. During the Middle Ages the old relationship gradually returned, with the fluctuations becoming less, lying between 1:10 and 1:12. After 1500 A.D. the discoveries of silver increased at a greater rate than those of gold. Fluctuations grew bigger. But until 1870 never more than 16 kilograms of silver were given for one kilogram of gold. Not until then did the increasing devaluation of silver start which continued without any noticeable relapse until 1933, by which time the relationship between gold and silver had become 1:76. This crash caused the American silver-mine owners and workers to induce Roosevelt to support and fix the price of silver. It is an interesting fact that the country which pretends to be fighting for free economics disregarded the "natural" price and fixed the purchasing price for silver in the USA at such a level that the relationship between gold and silver became 1:27. As a result of this astonishing price, the silver of China and India flowed into the United States, so that 800 million people saw themselves deprived of their accustomed medium of exchange.

We must return to the eighteenth century once more to obtain a clear idea of the gold-silver problem. Gold is too rare a metal for it to be able to cover the entire demands of a country for means of payment. Hence silver must also be used. There are two systems for regulating the relationship of gold to silver: double currency and parallel currency. In the case of a double currency, the state fixes a firm relationship between gold and silver. This system usually founders in practice on the fact that the relationship in the market value of gold and silver is constantly fluctuating and does not agree with the fixed relationship.

England made many vain attempts with the double currency through the centuries. In 1663 it was decided to switch to another system, that of parallel currency. The various gold coins formed one system, and the various silver coins a second, independent system. Their relationship was determined daily according to the relationship of the market value of gold and silver. The constant complicated calculations proved so excessively inconvenient that in 1718 the country returned to the double currency. As it was found impossible to give the silver a proper value, the government was forced in 1774 to limit the legal paying power of silver coins. From then on, it was not necessary to accept more than £25 sterling in silver. This dealt a blow to the legal double currency in England from which it was never to recover. The second blow came in 1790, when the market price of silver fell considerably. As a result, the government prohibited the minting of silver for private account, and with this rescinding of the free minting right for silver the gold standard was practically created.
Thereafter the English mint minted only gold coins for private account, namely, 77s/10d from every ounce of standard gold (11/12 fine). Anyone who brought gold was given coins at this rate less a small minting charge, and anyone who brought gold coins worth 77s/10d received one ounce of standard gold. Silver money was minted only by the state and had a lower silver content than its face value represented. It became money like paper money, which owes its value to the power of the state.

15 YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL GOLD STANDARD

So far we have spoken chiefly of gold money in its function as a standard of value and of the uncertain state of affairs arising from the competition of silver. Now we shall turn more to gold's function as a medium of exchange. Whether these two functions can really be separated will be dealt with later.

With the spreading industrial development it became doubtful whether bills of exchange would suffice as the sole additional means of payment beside metal coins. After France's unsuccessful experiments with paper money in 1720 and 1790, Prussia and England were more successful during the Napoleonic Wars. As a result, the use of bank notes increased rapidly throughout the nineteenth century. Then cheques were introduced. Bills of exchange are covered by goods, and cheques by credits. The bank note represents a mixture of goods and credit coverage. While up to now any increase in trade had required a corresponding increase of precious metals, a period of saving precious metals by means of cheques and bank notes now began. Formerly the existing reserves of gold and silver had represented a relatively inelastic quantity as opposed to the quantity of goods offered in trade. If the quantity of precious metal increased more rapidly than the quantity of goods, there were more pieces of gold and silver for each unit of goods, and prices rose. If the quantity of precious metals did not follow the increase in the quantity of goods, prices fell. By means of paper money, a certain elasticity between the two quantities could be achieved. However, it is always difficult to determine the size of the entire quantity of money as well as the size of the total quantity of goods, so that the actions of the note-issuing banks, which were entrusted with paper, gold, and silver, remained comparatively mechanical. They are mirrored in the regulations concerning metal coverage.

The more silver became devaluated, the more the English example of gold currency was followed in other countries. The difficulties which had arisen throughout the history of Europe from the fluctuations of gold and silver gradually passed into oblivion. There was a general feeling of relief, and people forgot that there might also be a hitch in the gold-standard system.

The advantages of a uniform monetary standard, especially for trade and accounting, which could be observed in the case of England led the newly united German Empire to follow her example in 1871, all the more so as the French war indemnity, which had to be paid in gold, formed a solid basis for the introduction of a gold standard. The Scandinavian countries and Holland, which were closely linked to Germany by their trade and their geographical position, followed suit in a few years, although the relationship between gold and silver did not yet directly force them to this step. In their case, the increase in railway communications and thus of foreign trade may have been the principal motive. The fact that Central Europe now required less silver for currency purposes was bound to have an unfavorable effect on the market price of silver. The Latin Currency Union (France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland) introduced the gold standard in 1878, when silver declined further in value. Japan went over to the gold standard in 1897, when China had to pay her 360 million yen in war indemnities in gold for the war of 1895/98. The silver-producing states in the USA fought desperately against the introduction of the gold standard, but in 1900 they were defeated by foreign-trade interests.

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Relationship of Gold to Silver</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1816/20</td>
<td>1:15.51</td>
<td>England (1816)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870/75</td>
<td>1:15.97</td>
<td>German Empire (1871), Holland and Scandinavia (1873)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876/80</td>
<td>1:17.81</td>
<td>Latin Currency Union (1878)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896/1900</td>
<td>1:33.48</td>
<td>Japan (1897), United States (1900)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With the introduction of the gold standard in the United States began the legendary fifteen years of the widespread gold standard—i.e., the adopting of the English currency system and the acceptance of British financial world domination—which were to end so abruptly in the Great War. After the Great War, the re-establishment of the international gold standard was struggled for as if it were a matter of returning to a cultural heritage proved throughout the centuries. Moreover, these attempts were made to revive a system the conditions for which had been changed fundamentally and in which such vast, densely populated countries as China and India had not participated—quite aside from the fact that now there were two centers of world finance, London and New York.

**DEFECTS OF THE GOLD STANDARD**

If one bears in mind that the gold standard was first introduced by the largest gold-producing country, England, and was skillfully propagated by her for a hundred years; if one remembers that the next great gold-standard country was Germany, who wanted to invest her gold war indemnity in a profitable way; and if one finally sees that Japan was in a similar position—one is tempted to doubt whether it was really only the practicality of the system itself which led to its introduction.

But let us assume that this was really the case. The special advantages of the gold standard are said to be that it makes possible a uniform system of world prices, that it is automatic and unpolitical, and that it guarantees a comparatively uniform distribution of the gold reserves of the world. In any case, the gold standard had the one advantage that in it the price of gold was a simple, uniform yardstick by which to measure all other prices. If, for instance, in Sweden the prices of commodities rose in comparison to the price of gold, this meant that her export prices rose and the quantity of goods she exported sank. The consequence of this was a passive trade balance and the export of gold to cover the deficit. This in turn meant that the gold coverage for the note issue of the Swedish State Bank sank, a coverage which, as in every gold-standard country, is fixed at a certain ratio in order to maintain the people's confidence in the paper money. In order to attract gold, the Swedish central bank had now to raise its rate of discount above that prevailing in neighboring countries, which meant simultaneously that the cost of domestic credits went up. Here we have the contact point between the international commodity gold and the domestic price level. The increase in the cost of domestic credits leads to a reduction in the circulation of bank notes and thus to an increase of the gold coverage of the notes, but at the same time to a downward pressure on the domestic price level. With the decrease of prices, exports rise, more gold is brought into the country, and the discount rate can be reduced. With the increase of gold, credits can be increased again, and the general price level rises again slowly, until exports decline and with them the import of gold.

The outcome of the system is a linking up of the domestic with the foreign price level. This produces an increased foreign trade, but at the same time a sensitivity on the part of every domestic economic process toward any perceptible change of price in the world. As a result of this linked-up price level, the production of wheat, for example, may become unprofitable in Sweden without any change having occurred in that country. It is sufficient that wheat production in Canada should become so cheap that Canadian wheat plus shipping costs can be offered cheaper in Sweden than Swedish wheat. In other words, through the import of Canadian wheat, the Swedish trade balance becomes passive, and the pressure on prices occurs which we explained above. If the Swedish farmers would now reduce their standard of living, they could rid themselves of the Canadian competition. This example is enough to indicate some of the principal political problems. Hence it is doubtful whether the gold standard was really so unpolitical as it has always been claimed to be.

At any rate, the gold-standard system was by no means as automatic as it was generally described. The management of the central bank was free to decide what it would regard as adequate gold coverage; for as a rule the note-issuing banks had far more gold than was needed for the minimum coverage stipulated by law, so that the management was not dependent on this minimum coverage in its action. Consequently, the gold-standard currency was a far more "manipulated" currency than would have been admitted at the time. Naturally, political considerations were liable to have a strong influence on these decisions,
whether they concerned the discount policy or an open-market policy.

A further restriction on the automatic working of the gold standard resulted from the fact that, in times of economic difficulty, those countries which exported capital could limit these exports or those countries importing capital could make efforts to increase their foreign loans. Both these steps are, of course, of a highly political nature. Moreover, the possibilities of a loan policy show that the distribution of gold need not be uniform at all. Indeed, it was fairly uniform during the century before the Great War for the sole reason that England used her active balance of payments, not to hoard gold, but to extend long-term foreign loans. The United States felt herself free of any such obligation and thus made the gold-standard system unfeasible.

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THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOLD STANDARD

We have seen that, for thousands of years, gold was only one among several metal means of exchange, and that it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that it rose to a position of sole dominance. By now the comparative rarity of gold and silver had become so unequal that it was no longer possible to base any relationship on the natural scarcity of the two metals. The production of gold had increased to such an extent that gold alone became sufficient, all the more so since paper means of payment were simultaneously widely resorted to. Here the gold standard began to be undermined, even before the Great War, in so far as actual payments in gold were gradually found to be inconvenient and expensive, and it became common practice to form large gold reserves in the vaults of the note-issuing banks and to hold gold demand notes on foreign countries.

However, the gold standard did not receive its first serious blow until the Great War, when the obligation to redeem bank notes against gold was rescinded in all European countries. Napoleon had financed all his wars with metal money, and a hundred years later the governments believed that such huge quantities of gold would be needed for imports that the domestic gold circulation would have to be suspended. In actual fact, however, the rescinding of the gold-coverage stipulations was needed to free the hands of the governments to print money for the increasing domestic requirements for means of payment. Although the import requirements of many belligerent countries were considerable, to everyone's astonishment the international value of gold sank. In other words, the demand for many goods whose production declined as a result of the war rose to such an extent that the buyers were willing to pay more gold for a commodity unit than before the war.

This distortion of commodity prices continued during the first few years after the war and provided a disappointment to those countries which had acquired large quantities of gold as suppliers during the war. Not until the first hunger for goods had been satisfied after the war did commodity prices decline, which meant a rise in the value of gold. By now, however, this value of gold was really too high again for the re-establishment of the gold standard, which was now being attempted as if it were a symbol of true peace—actually with far too much emotion, a curious phenomenon in connection with so prosaic a thing as money.

Wide circles believed that the best guarantee for the economic prosperity of a country was for it to participate in world trade in the same sense as before the war. To this end, no other means could be thought of than that the country should have a gold-standard currency. Since many of the countries concerned did not have sufficient gold to let it circulate as currency within their borders, they had to be satisfied with a gold-reserve currency. In this form of gold currency, the central bank issues irredeemable notes for circulation while maintaining a gold reserve which guarantees a certain relationship between one gram of gold and the monetary unit. The only gold movements that take place are those between banks for international clearing purposes.

This gold-standard system worked under the assumption that, among all commodities, the value of gold had the greatest inertia and thus was best suited for the payment of long-term obligations. But what was forgotten was that the gold distribution in the world had meanwhile changed. The United States and France had collected such vast gold treasures that a domestic currency measure which might be quite reasonable within the country could have far-reaching effects on the rest of the world, effects which could not be countered as had been possible in times when all countries had large gold stocks at their disposal for counteroperations.
The new gold parities were fixed at very high levels, so that, with declining commodity prices, a credit could turn into a dangerous burden. Moreover, as the result of the war, there was a large quantity of short-term credits throughout the world, which could quickly be called up from one country to another. In this unstable situation the collapse of a stock boom in New York in 1929 produced unexpected consequences. It led to a collapse of the raw-material markets. This beginning of what has been called the world economic crisis meant that for one commodity unit, for which hitherto one gold unit had to be paid, now only half a gold unit had to be paid. Or, vice versa, for one gold unit, for which one had hitherto given one commodity unit, one had now to give two commodity units. With this the former inertia in the relationship between commodities and gold, i.e., in the last analysis the foundation of the gold standard, had collapsed.

This crash of commodity prices, or this increase in the value of gold, meant that all debts suddenly represented double the commodity value. All wages, all taxes, suddenly had double the commodity value. In the long run, no economic system can stand such a strain. It became apparent that one country after another had to change its former ratio of gold unit to monetary unit. The value of the gold unit was reduced, either in a firm relationship or a fluctuating one to the price of gold. The following list of devaluation shows the landslide the consequences of which the currency experts of the whole world have tried to overcome for ten years, up to the outbreak of the present war.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Jan. 1932</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr.</td>
<td>Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 May</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Dec.</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Apr. 1933</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 June</td>
<td>Estonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 1934</td>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Mar. 1935</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Sept. 1936</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A vast literature has been published on this currency crash, which inflicted losses upon the world that can be compared only to those brought by the Great War. In connection with our theme, we must first remind our readers of that phenomenon which is known as "gold shortage." As the result of the excessive price level, it became impossible to mine gold in quantities corresponding to the increase in the world’s production of commodities. The following table shows the world's production of gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gold Production (in 1,000 kg.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901/05</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906/10</td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911/15</td>
<td>702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916/20</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921/25</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926/30</td>
<td>611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>640</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>680</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>740</td>
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Since about 1924 the gold standard had been reintroduced for the various currencies. The world production of commodities had increased rapidly as a result of this stabilization, but there was no question of a corresponding increase in the production of gold: it remained more or less steady at around 600,000 kilograms a year. However, the simple catchword "gold shortage" is not enough to characterize the situation before the world economic crisis. The responsibility for this disaster was rather to be found to a large extent in the impossible construction of reparations and inter-Allied debts. It stripped first Germany and then gradually the rest of the world of its gold reserves. The result was a grotesque inequality in the supply of gold, which was veiled by the short-term lending of gold to the states without gold. The United States believed it to be possible to maintain an active trade balance and simultaneously to collect debts. Since the USA would accept no goods, these debts could only be paid in
gold, and the production of gold was expensive. Finally, gold became so scarce that it rose rapidly in value, i.e., commodity prices crashed. The various currencies lost their balance, and in the end the debt payments to the USA had to be stopped entirely.

The American gold "experts" now attempted to make it possible for the debtors to pay by reducing the gold value of the dollar. Roosevelt and his advisers were proud when they increased the value of the troy ounce of fine gold from $20.67 to $35.00 in 1933. The US dollar, which formerly contained 0.048 ounces of gold, now contained only 0.029 ounces, i.e., it had only 60 per cent of its former gold or commodity value. Like old Solon of Athens, Roosevelt made the dollar lighter in order to lighten the burden of debts. According to his own statement, Roosevelt hoped by this means if possible to arrive at a less fluctuating purchasing power of the dollar. He said that he wanted to find that kind of a dollar which even a generation later would have the same purchasing power and debt-payment power as the dollar of the immediate future. This desire for stabilization is contradicted by the power given to him at the same time by Congress if necessary to increase the gold-purchasing price by as much as another 20 per cent. In these circumstances, one could no longer speak of gold as an ultimate standard of value.

As a result of the general crash in commodity prices, those things had also become cheaper which were needed for the production of gold. Table III shows that, consequent to this, gold production was doubled from 1929 to 1939. In observing this huge increase of gold production as a result of the world commodity-price crash, one is tempted to believe in the old self-curing powers advanced by orthodox liberalism. This belief would be made even more piquant by the consideration that one of the most enthusiastic gold-producing countries is Communist Russia. But we must not let ourselves be led astray. In the last analysis, gold is not mined because some people or other working at the production of gold have the feeling that this gives them a chance to work; no, it is mined solely because there is someone who is willing to buy the gold.

However irrational Roosevelt's buying-up of the world's gold harvest may seem, we must face the fantastic fact that the "champion of liberalism" is practically working toward a world monopoly of gold. But why? What will happen to the value of gold one day when a government of the USA asks: "What are we to do with all these vaults filled with gold?" What will happen to the value of gold when the USA stops her gold purchases one day? Technically speaking, this is quite feasible, for the monetary system of the USA is sufficiently advanced for her to be able to secure a stable enough trend of prices by keeping a tight rein on bank-note circulation. Thus, if Roosevelt decided to stop the gold purchases, a serious crash in the price of gold and a corresponding upward rush of commodity prices would be unavoidable.

The fact that some of the devaluing countries went off the gold standard because of a lack of gold reserves, and the others in spite of more than sufficient gold reserves, proves that the gold reserve no longer has any natural connection with the value of the currency. Gold has become a commodity which has been given an artificially fixed price, as happened to silver not long before. Roosevelt's cautious words mentioned above also go to show clearly that gold is now only one of several world commodities which have lost their price inertia and which are to be brought back to a steady price trend by artificial means.

The crux of the problem is to be found in the question: why have so many world commodities—gold, silver, cotton, coffee, wheat, rubber, tea, sugar—lost this inertia? Why must they all be supported nationally or internationally? One is obliged to reply: scientific and technical developments are offering increasing possibilities of production unrelated to labor or consumption, so that the famous free play of forces is leading to chaos. It is only large-scale planning which can protect mankind from the consequences of this trend. Gold is no longer the means of safeguarding a steady trend in the level of prices. The question of price has become a task of national economic policy, and the relationship of the price levels among the independent economic Grossraums will be an open problem of economic policy. It is better for the nations that the illusion should disappear that there might be a mechanical solution here, as had been believed in the case of gold mechanism in complete disregard of the problem of loans. The adjustment of trade between the various Grossraums will always remain
HOW GOOD IS GOLD?

GOLD AS A STANDARD

In the years from 600 B.C. to 1914, gold simultaneously fulfilled the functions of a medium of exchange and a standard of value. Before that, it had been a commodity like any other, which could be given in payment. After the Great War, gold became a standard of value again, but only to a limited degree a means of payment. For the inhabitants within a country, the possession of gold as a means of payment was prohibited or impossible, and gold remained a means of payment only in international trade. This limited form of a gold-reserve currency was a failure. It turned out that the concentration of gold in the vaults of the central note-issuing banks facilitated a sudden change in the value of gold. Indeed, the consideration of maintaining a gold reserve was an obstacle to a steady trend in the value of gold. When a state maintains the value of its currency solely by keeping a tight rein on the means of payment, thus safeguarding a steady trend in the purchasing power of the currency, its subjects are better protected than if they have to participate in the anxieties of the state over maintaining a gold reserve.

In his famous work on money, Helfferich describes the development of money as follows. At first, certain commodities fulfilled an extra monetary function (cattle, salt, etc.). Then came the metals, whose value rested at first entirely and later partially on the fact that the coins could also be melted down and sold as a commodity. Then came paper money, which is valueless as a commodity and which embodies a purely monetary function. At first its value was founded on the fact that it could be exchanged for gold; today its value is founded solely on the knowledge and sense of responsibility of the country’s ministers of finance.

For its proper working, the gold standard required not only an equal ratio of increase in gold production and world commodity production; it required an economic balance as a whole. In other words, it did not create this balance. The problematical nature of the gold standard became quite clear when a gold-standard country like France could do nothing whatever with her reparations in gold. Even within the camp of the gold-standard champions it has been admitted that it was the policy of reparations—carried out against all better knowledge—and the treatment of inter-Allied debts which finally brought about the collapse of all attempts to reintroduce the gold standard and led to the world economic crisis.

A medium of exchange such as gold cannot function if its distribution is entirely unequal. If cattle was a medium of exchange in primitive times, and if a village lost all its cattle through a disease, it could not make any payments at all to a neighboring village. Cattle money became meaningless in the trade between these two villages. The USA seems to have made up her mind to destroy the meaning of gold in the trade between herself and most other countries in the world. We simply cannot imagine what the USA intends to do with her present possession of eighty per cent of the monetary gold of the world and her vast lend-lease claims on the chief gold-producing countries, the British Empire and the Soviet Union. Gold will become meaningless and valueless. Even the plans of Morgenthau and Keynes cannot cover up this fact, for they only seek to balance the distribution of gold by means of credits, a method which has already failed in the case of the Dawes and Young Plans.

Shortly before the outbreak of the present war, the general attitude really seemed clearer. At that time, no possibility was envisaged of linking the various currencies to gold any longer, as the ruthlessness and incalculableness of Roosevelt’s gold policy was regarded an insurmountable obstacle. The countries without gold had learned from Germany’s example how to get along without gold, all the more so as they were aided by the general trend of history which is toward an increasing strengthening of governmental power and toward paper money. Moreover, modern mass production has made possible such a rapid increase in the quantity of goods that the quantity of means of payment based on gold cannot follow quickly enough. The fundamental condition for a stable value of money is a balance between the quantity of money and the quantity of goods, and such a balance can no longer be warranted by gold. The function of gold as a standard of value has become a thing of the past.
WHAT TO DO WITH GOLD?

So we must conclude by asking what functions there remain for gold. Gold will remain a stabilizing metal for currencies in primitive countries with weak governments. In addition to this, it may serve in more highly developed states with properly manipulated paper currencies as a means for balancing foreign-trade deficits if these cannot be balanced by credits because of lacking confidence. The fixing of the value of gold will, however, be an increasingly difficult economic question, indeed, a question of power. Thus we believe in a strong decline in the use of gold, and it is hardly a coincidence that not only Japan but also the Anglo-American countries have curtailed their gold production since 1942. At present the reason given for the closure of gold mines is that the workers are needed for war-important jobs. But even after the war the gold mines will not be reopened, for, in view of the limited uses, the existing gold stocks are already far too high. Consequently, the price of gold must be supported artificially, like that of diamonds, cultured pearls, coffee, and rubber. If eighty per cent of the world's gold stocks remain in the hands of the USA, the price of gold will be so much subject to political whim that no other state can afford to place its economy in dependence of so insecure a standard. Indeed, no one will even risk hoarding gold in large quantities. Thus the price level of the one quarter of the world's annual gold production which serves industrial and artistic purposes rests on a very unstable basis.

From a technical point of view, gold has retained its glitter and its constancy, and it has not yet been possible to produce it synthetically. But economically it has lost its former comparative independence of state and society, and with that half of its former basis of value.

What is a Jeep?

In recent months, "jeeps," a type of small cross-country automobile, have been mentioned as being much in use in the US Army. The other day we were asked what this word meant. All we could think of was two exclamations we had often heard in America: "Jumping Jeepers!" and "Jeepers Creepers!". But then we had no proper idea of what these exclamations meant. We imagined vaguely that a jeep must be some sort of a bug or little animal, perhaps to be found in the West. So we began to look up dictionaries. But without success. Not even in Mencken's *The American Language* was there the slightest hint. Then we applied to one of our friends, an authority in the field of American slang. "Why," he said, "that's quite simple: Jeep is Popeye's dog—you know, the one that always rescued Sweetpea."

But finally, after much guessing and many questions, we ran across an old American magazine which contained the history of this vehicle. According to it, the small car was given all kinds of fancy names when it first appeared: "iron pony," "blitz buggy," "leaping Lena," etc. But none of these names caught on. The US Army authorities, meanwhile, prosaically dubbed the vehicles "General Purpose Cars" or "G.P. Cars." "G.P.'s" soon turned into "Jeeps," and that is the name that has stuck.

Fourth Term

Pennsylvania's Senator Joseph F. Guffey said:
"There is no American tradition which says that a good President cannot serve four terms in the White House."
Said a political wag: "There's a law against bigamy but none against trigamy."
LIFE’S MANPOWER SHORTAGE

To judge from many issues of *Time* and *Life* of 1942 and 1943, the USA’s chief worry during that period was the shortage of manpower. We quote extensively from *Life’s* version of this problem. The charts on the following page which go with it, also appeared in *Life*.

In these charts, for peacetime 1940, wartime 1942 and total wartime 1943, the men and women in the armed forces and war industry are grouped together in black bands. The dark-gray bands represent the total non-productive population. Below the big charts the component units of each of these groups are analyzed in statistical breakdown.

In 1940 only 2,100,000 men and women, a thin black line in the chart, were producing and bearing arms. In the chart for 1943, the line has grown to a heavy black column. The job of winning the war will, by January 1944, engage directly the full-time energies of about 30,000,000 men and women.

That U.S. manpower is not infinite is the first lesson to be learned in the current crisis. It is the same lesson taught again and again by the succession of crises, in machine tools, light metals, ships and steel. Just as the nation has discovered in the case of of these inanimate materials, there is no true shortage manpower. There is simply not enough to expend in wasteful service to the U.S. peacetime myth of a continental infinity of resources. The nation has learned to schedule the flow of its inanimate resources. It must next tackle the job of allocating manpower, its most precious resource, to the armed forces, to war production, and to the minimum of services necessary to maintain the civilian economy.

As the chart for 1940 demonstrates, the most impressive fact about the world’s most productive people in their last year of peace is that only 47,300,000 of them were engaged in production. This was little more than a third of the 131,689,273 U.S. population in that year. Even this third is padded with baseball players, chorus girls, musicians, undertakers and several million others who perform the countless, essentially nonproductive services of modern society. Included in light-gray areas on the 1940 chart are 4,400,000 unemployed who were looking for work; several million men and 18- and 19-year-old boys, who were not looking for work; and many more millions—children, able-bodied women, the over-aged and disabled—

who were not expected to work. Clearly, in peacetime, the nation did not have to worry about manpower.

The ultimate solution of the manpower crisis is women. The black and dark-gray bands on the graph for 1943 add up to a total working force of 63,300,000 men and women—about 40% increase in our productive population over 1940. With 9,000,000 in the armed forces, there remains a pool of 34,000,000 able-bodied men, not nearly enough to staff the Government, to operate war and civilian industries and work the farms.

These 1943 quotas will have to be filled by women. By the beginning of 1944 nearly half the workers in civilian industry and nearly a third in war industry will be women. The 34,000,000 men workers, augmented only by the 1,200,000 boys who reach 18 every year, must also double as the armed forces’ reserve, to meet upward revisions in strength and to replace casualties. These men in turn will be replaced by women. Because not all the women listed in the graph as “free for work” are actually capable of working, women in industry must eventually include many of the 10,700,000 mothers who have children under 10. The places of mothers shifted into industry will have to be taken by 3,000,000 youngsters assigned to part-time work.

The capabilities of the U.S. people are certainly a match for this long-range problem. The squeeze in manpower, however, is now. Competition within and between industries, among industries, draft boards and recruiting officers has finally scraped bottom. Millions of women must be hired for war and civilian industries from the reserves of women who have never worked before. From civilian industry, leaving a skeleton staff of 10,000,000 men, must be taken the last 5,000,000 of the nation’s available skilled workers.

To allocate their skills and to bring totally unskilled women into industry, the U.S. must finally set up a national system of control.

TIME’S VERSION

One month later *Time*, in reviewing a new book, *Is There Enough Manpower?* by economist Harold W. Metz, wrote:

When Metz is through the reader knows that a nation riding along on a 42-hour work week, but talking about raising a 12,000,000 men army, and Lend-Leasing the world, is kidding itself. Metz asks: What is the optimum quantity of war materials which we can in fact produce to support our huge armed forces?
The present manpower force of the U.S., counting those in the services, is roughly 58 million. By 1943 it might be pushed to 62 million, and by 1944 to 65 million, through a huge recruiting of youth, a heavy drawing on women, and the problematical importation of 250,000 workers from Mexico. At the same time, a high increase in hours worked will be needed if we are serious about the manpower shortage. The present average work week of 42 hours will have to be advanced to at least 48 hours and actual work schedules to over 50 hours to allow for absenteeism.

By these steps gross national production may be pushed to $155 billion in 1944. If at the same time output of civilian goods is mightily slashed, and the Government economizes on its non-military expenditures (such as big Government payrolls), actual military expenditures may rise to a colossal $84 billion in 1944.

Is this output sufficient to supply an armed force of nine and a half million in 1943, let alone twelve million in 1944? Mr. Metz states that for lack of military data on the equipment needed per man these questions can get no categoric answer. But the Metz implication is that while an ultimate output of $84 billion might be enough for an armed force of only nine and a half million, it almost certainly would not be enough for twelve million if the U.S. also wants to go on lend-Leasing to her Allies.

Summing up, Mr. Metz concludes that if the U.S. is to raise only a force of nine and a half million men it must at once make "a number of significant decisions." These are: 1) to increase the working force and the average work week from 42 hours to at least 48 hours; 2) drastically reduce the civilian output of goods back to real depression levels of $60 billion; 3) greatly increase the shipbuilding program. But how, asks Mr. Metz, can these decisions be made? "They cannot be made singly by the Army, the Navy, the Maritime Commission, nor the Manpower Board. They can be made only by the President.

Since these articles and charts appeared in the two American magazines, the strength of the US armed forces has gone up to a total of 11.2 million men—7.7 million for the army and 3.5 million for the navy. To what extent this growth of the US armed forces has affected the labor market can be gauged from the fact that in 1939 the US Army consisted of only 174,000 men. To keep up the present standard, which the American authorities consider sufficient, close to 100,000 men still have to be called up every month. According to a recent issue of the New York weekly, The American, more than one million American soldiers had to be released from military service for reasons of health since Pearl Harbor, and the present rate of monthly releases for the same reasons and not counting the war casualties is about 70,000 men. In this connection Time contributes an interesting item:

Psychoneurosis is the 1943 name for World War I's shell shock. But it goes much further. Psychoneurotics who have never heard a shot fired in anger are now being discharged from the Army at the rate of 1,000 a week.

Meanwhile, the size of the Army has almost doubled, and if the figure of psychoneurosis cases has done the same it would mean about 100,000 psychoneurotics a year.

**DRAFTED TEACHERS**

Both magazines give many indications of the serious consequences which the mobilizing of manpower for the war effort has had on the various branches of life in America. This, for example, is what Time has to say on the resulting lack of teachers:

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**THE XXth CENTURY**

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This chart, taken from Life, explains the manpower shortage in the USA. Gray bands: people employed in civilian production; shaded bands: people not included in the process of production; black bands: people employed in the war effort. The large fields at the right represent the total situation in 1943.
Many U.S. educators last week foresaw an "educational collapse" because of a shortage of teachers. Teachers not only leave school to go to war (some 39,000 have been drafted). They also leave for better paid wartime or other private jobs (since Pearl Harbor some 37,000 have done so).

In Illinois 1,000 rural schools have closed. In Minnesota some towns lost all their teachers, then their replacements too.

Said Executive Secretary Willard Earl Givens of the National Educational Association:

"Of our 884,000 public-school teachers, principals and supervisors, 40% are paid less than $1,200 annually. Nearly 8% are paid less than $600 for the present school year. Living costs have advanced over 20%, teachers' salaries less than 7%. As salaries rise in industry and private employment, teacher shortages appear in the best-paying city systems, are intensified in rural areas. Unless a way is found to relieve the financial difficulties of teachers, our schools will suffer and millions of our children will be handicapped for life. If our schools are to carry effectively the increased wartime burdens, they must have federal financial help."

Lack of manpower forces one enterprise to steal workers from another. Time described the case of a scrap business enterprise in Newark which sent a foreman to Georgia to lure laborers to his employer's firm, although there were only a few farm laborers left in Georgia, most of them having gone into more profitable jobs. As to the foreman's proceedings in Georgia, Time writes:

While the farms could not even pay $2 or $3 a day, the foreman offered $30 to $40 a week and hinted about girls around Newark whose boy friends had gone into the army.

ALARM CLOCKS AND NEUROTICS

Americans are fond of statistics, but while these may give a correct picture of quantities they do not show up quality. The quality of the 1.3 million workers employed in America's war production in 1940 was naturally far higher than that of the 19.5 million workers inducted into work since then—many of them ex-unemployed, inexperienced youngsters, and women. Labor discipline has declined. According to Time "a survey in the plane factories of the U.S. West Coast showed that absenteeism of workers in January 1943 was 6.2% as compared with a peak-time norm of 2.5%".

Absenteeism is the term used in America for the habit of many workers of not coming to work when they do not feel like it; it does not include sickness. The plane factories of the West Coast, representing one of the key war industries, should have a relatively high standard among their workers as compared with other branches of the industry. In mass production particularly, the unexpected absence of 6.2 per cent of the workers is bound to lead to disturbances in production. The number of workers who come too late for work is also large. Time writes:

"Slugabed war workers have had an excuse, such as it was: in all the U.S. there was scarcely an alarm clock to be had at any price. (WPB closed the industry last July 1 to save metal.) Now it was WPB's turn to be alarmed. War production might suffer.

Last week WPB clockmakers agreed on a victory-model alarm clock, sparing of noise. Some 1,700,000 will be produced (1940's output: 11,500,000).

FUN HELPS

Naturally, the joke manufacturers have got hold of this problem. In a Manhattan night club a blind man appeared on the stage and asked a doctor whether there was any chance of a deferment. Answered the doctor: "Not unless your seeing-eye dog goes lame."

To bring large numbers of women into industrial and other work in America, pretty uniforms play an important role. Who would not like to look like the gyroscope factory girl shown in Life and reproduced in our last issue (p.401)? The American Women's Voluntary Services also try to win members by publishing pictures of girls in this organization's smart uniforms and captions as for example:

Betty says formation marching is fun, makes for quicker going through crowds.

Of course, the male workers, too, must have their fun. Life published an illustrated article "Showmanship Keeps the Workers Happy." There is one picture which shows a large crowd dancing. The caption reads:

Dances for Douglas [Aircraft Factory] workers are held during lunch with music by Douglas Welfare Band.

In another picture, models show new fashions to a crowd of Lockheed Aircraft Factory workers during their lunch hour, while North American Aircraft amuses its workers with free boxing matches and visits from movie stars.

By these means the workers are meant to forget the terrible price which is being paid for the mass induction of unskilled workers into the mushrooming factories. We have not seen any recent figures. However, even
in the first year at war the losses were huge. In *Time* we found:

11,600 workers killed or injured in accidents—
every day in the U.S.A., 25,500 dead and 2,000,000 others injured in the first six months of 1942.

In April 1944 the OWI (Office of War Information, the headquarters of American propaganda) announced that 190,000 work-
ers in American armament industries had lost their lives through accidents since Pearl Harbor.

To fill the manpower shortage, in addition to the full-time workers, part-time volunteer workers are mobilized. Under the effective slogan “Week end with pay,” people are asked to do war work during their week ends, to get paid for it and to have their fun in addition.

Here’s week-end work that will help win the war. Business and professional men, clerks, college students, farmers, all able-bodied men... you are urgently needed to work on SP (Southern Pacific Railway) tracks in this vicinity ... Help win the war, get healthy outdoor exercise and be paid for it. When interviewed, the week-end workers were very cheerful.

*Here’s week-end work that will help win the war. Business and professional men, clerks, college students, farmers, all able-bodied men... you are urgently needed to work on SP (Southern Pacific Railway) tracks in this vicinity ... Help win the war, get healthy outdoor exercise and be paid for it. When interviewed, the week-end workers were very cheerful.*

**SAID STOREKEEPER FLOYD BAGLEY: “IT’S GOOD EXERCISE.”** Accountant Gover Lowe: “I’ve got a boy in England and another up north ... This gives me a chance to do something.” Verne Hickey, Chamber of Commerce president: “Mercy a matter of changing a golf stick for a shovel ... Didn’t even have to change my stance much.”

That the induction of people not used to industrial work into industry may also lead to all kinds of neuroses can be seen from the following quotation:

**BLOOD AND VALVES**

Visitors at Manhattan’s Pearl Galleries last week walked into two small rooms full of blood. Blood trickled over bare bosoms and in a pattern of veins up and down the stomach of a lady, whose only leg was a gigantic sausage that tapered off into a yawning volcano. Blood also oozed from the terrifying eye of an outside male head. Blood was conspicuous in nearly all Painter Frederick Haucke’s 20 nightmarish oils.

When war came, Haucke thought he ought to take some part in it. So he got a job with Bethlehem Shipbuilding’s Staten Island Yard, now works ten hours a night repairing valves on torpedo-gashed ships. Valves stimulate Haucke so much that he paints whenever he is not working, sometimes sleeps only two hours a night.

**GIANT BUREAUCRACY**

The shortage of manpower and the search for remedies has made the Americans more conscious than they had been before of the tremendous rise of bureaucracy, which is unprecedented in America and, except for the USSR, even in the world. This is what *Time* says:

**LOOK WHO’S HOARDING!**

The number of men now serving in the armed forces is about 25% more than in World War I. The number employed in war industry is about 10% greater. But the U.S. now has 2,571,500 men and women on the Federal Government payroll (up 280% from World War I) and 3,017,632 work-
ing for State and local governments (up 100% from World War I). Total bureaucracy: 5,589,132.

To Oklahoma’s able young Congressman Almer Stillwell Mike Monroney, who dug up these statistics, their relation to the manpower shortage is obvious. Said he: “Each branch and bureau is reaching and building up its own overhead and staff without any measure of essentiality ... To a large extent, the Government is creating its own manpower problem.”

That this increase in the number of officials does not necessarily mean an increase in their efficiency but instead leads to endless conflicts among the “Czars” and miles of red tape, is constantly emphasized in the magazine.

Over Washington, gloomy under late winter skies, spread the deeper, greyer, more paralyzing gloom made by men. Grumpily, unhappily, but perforce, men faced the fact that the administra-
tion’s war agencies are still full of sand and emery dust, their borrowed time is fast running out, ahead lies another screaming crisis when all the wheels will grind to a stop and only a major repair job can get them started again.

*Czars* were now a dime a dozen: the U.S. had Economic Czar James F. Byrnes, Production Czar Donald Nelson, Manpower Czar Paul McNutt, Food Czar Claude Wickard, Rubber Czar William Jeffers. But they were more like Grand Dukes than Czars: under their high-sounding titles, divided authority and lack of direction left them still mired in invisible red tape.

Rubber Czar Jeffers, trying to do his job, had got all fouled up with the Army and Navy. Eco-
omic Czar Byrnes had stepped in to cut away the tangle—but no one was sure last week who would enforce the compromise he had laid down. Manpower Czar McNutt began stretching his muscles with a new war-or-fight order—and Congress promptly raised a howl. Czar Wickard was apparently frozen with fright at the horrible food prospects ahead.

After last summer’s wasting days of turmoil, Franklin Roosevelt had stepped in with some spectacular reorganizations—appointment of Byrnes and Jeffers, of McNutt and Wickard, a shake-up of WPB. Now, even inside the Administration, observers agreed that this, too, had been a stop-
gap. The sound effects had been terrific, the visual impression of Olympian lightnings spectacu-
lar—but nothing had really been changed. The era of good cheer had run its course; some nasty trouble brewed. The only consolation for plain citizens was that, despite the procrastination and the palace revolutions, the Army somehow grew and the munitions somehow got made. The U.S. was strong enough to survive even another vast, “absolutely final” reorganization.
THE ROOSEVELT GANG

One very often comes across accounts of personal feuds which hampered the work of the nation.

Two top-flight U.S. businessmen last week clashed head on in Washington in a struggle for power that is less indicative of their ambitions than it is of one bitter truth: the Government's top industrial command is still disorganized.

One protagonist in Washington's latest fracas is tough, shrewd Ferdinand Eberstadt, artillery captain in World War I, outstanding independent investment banker of the '30s, and currently charged with WPB's vital materials division. The other is Charles E. Wilson, whom Donald Nelson brought to Washington to take charge of WPB's production division.

In any U.S. business enterprise, materials control and production should be Siamese twins. Not so in Washington. Week ago Donald Nelson touched off the row when he turned over to Wilson (on Wilson's threat of resignation) certain all-important "industry divisions" which Ferd Eberstadt has labored long and hard to build up.

The men with whom President Roosevelt has surrounded himself receive much publicity in American magazines. This is not surprising since they wield extraordinary powers. Life published a picture gallery of what it called "Roosevelt's Party" (in distinction to the Democratic and Republican Parties). This gallery includes a remarkable number of Jews. Their long roll call is headed by the financial dictator of America, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. In describing Morgenthau's career, Time declares that he got his job as Secretary of the Treasury "by an accident of geography." His "gentleman's farm" being only twenty-five miles from Roosevelt's, the two men became friends. Time continues:

When he took the office [of Secretary of the Treasury] in 1934, one of his sisters wrote to her sons: "I can't understand why the President appointed your Uncle Henry. . . . He knows that Henry knows nothing about finance."

At the Treasury, Morgenthau got off to a bad start: he ordered guards to shine their shoes and stand at attention to "show respect for official superiors," clamped a strict censorship on Treasury underlings, relations with the press. His relations with Treasury higher-ups have been equally unfortunate: there are enough former Under Secretaries of the Treasury to start a lodge.

Other leading Jewish members of Roosevelt's Party in this picture gallery are:

Isador Lubin, economic adviser to the President and Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

Samuel Rosenman, Roosevelt's personal lawyer for many years. He organized the original Roosevelt "Brain Trust" in 1932, edited the Roosevelt State Papers, and now works on Roosevelt's speeches and advises the President on matters of personnel in the Government.

Mordecai Joseph Ezekiel, economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Robert Roy Nathan, Chairman of the Planning Committee of WPB.

Solomon Bloom, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. "He gets his orders from the White House and does exactly what Roosevelt wants." (Life)

A. J. Sabath, Chairman of the Rules Committee.

RED TAPE AND CORRUPTION

Another result of the mushrooming bureaucracy is the stifling amount of red tape which it brings forth. Consider for example that the grocers of America must handle about 14 billion rationing-book points a month. Time tells what strange blossoms bureaucracy has brought forth:

RED TAPE OF THE WEEK

To conserve horseshoes WPB brightly suggested that "... horse owners save shoes by removing the shoes immediately after a period of road work or other work where shoes are necessary." Cracked Virginia Representative John W. Flannagan: "We must have zipper horseshoes now."

Bureaucratization also leads to a good deal of confusion:

Henry Paynter, onetime Hearst man, working away at his new OWI job, was amazed when a stranger walked into his office, introduced himself as head of the United Nations news bureau. "That is interesting," said Paynter. "So am I!"

Where there is confusion there is also fertile soil for corruption. Time mentions the following scandal:

One of the sorriest stories yet told about the U.S. Government's muddled attempts to provide cheap housing for war workers turned up last week. It concerned a 700-unit Winfield Park (N.J.) development built to house Kearny shipyard workers. Started in June 1941, the project will cost nearly $4,500,000 v. initial estimates of $3,290,000, is now only half rented because cellars flooded, roofs caved in, floors buckled, kitchen and plumbing equipment failed to turn up, doors "not operating" need refitting, porches sagged, and—in some cases—furnaces were so installed that heating pipes blocked basement entrances.

How deep bureaucracy and regimentation had entered into the life of private business too was stated by J. E. Otis Jr., President of Indiana's Dodge Manufacturing Corporation:
In the last analysis we have but one customer—Uncle Sam. Not only is he our only customer, but through OPA he fixes the prices at which we shall sell; he determines through WPH what materials we shall have and to what customers we shall deliver and when. He controls the wages and salaries we shall pay...sets standards of quality for our products; he tells how we shall keep our books and what records he requires us to maintain. Finally he takes in taxes about three-quarters of any profit and reserves the right through renegotiation to take away whatever additional amount he sees fit.

**PITFALLS OF PATRIOTISM**

The upheaval which war has brought to America cannot but affect the morals of the nation. Having grown up with the doctrine of the "abundant life," Americans are not used to making sacrifices. Most of them possess a powerful egoism, as described by *Time*:

"Shoe rationing started the rumor that clothes rationing was coming. Fed on fear and selfishness, the rumor grew fast and fat. By this week it had snowballed into a buying wave that no denial from Washington could stop; department-store sales averaged up to 100% above this time last year; soft-goods counters were stripped bare; women went hangnail over anything wearable at any price, of any style."

One Cleveland shopper ordered 75 pairs of stockings. Another got four coats, sizes 10, 12, 14, 16 for her growing daughter. A Los Angeles matron bought 16 dresses, four suits, three coats. One hefty customer grabbed a size-12 dress off a rack, told the salesgirl: "Yes, I'm too big for it, but I can always find someone to buy it from me if I can't have it altered."

A New York greybeard ordered the whole stock of suits a Fifth Avenue firm had in his size. Another man tried to buy all the size-32 shorts in a store. A girl bought 27 pairs of white cotton gloves.

Store executives faced the flood with bitterness. Said one: "The American public has not yet decided to do without things during the war." Said another: "Patriotism! Sense! Everywhere it's me—me I'll take care of."

One of the inevitable results of such an attitude is a flourishing black market. News agencies have already informed us about the racketers of the "meat leggers."

Here is an account of their doings in *Time*:

Harried Washington officials last week guessed that up to 20% of all livestock slaughtered is going to black marketers; in New York City alone illegal meat sales total about $2,500,000 weekly.

Cleveland Press Reporter Clayton Fitchey scouted the countryside, came back with grisly pictures of carcasses in rat-ridden, blood-stained slaughter barns, a shocking story of racketeers who had already sidetracked 40% of the city's meat supply.

Much of the problem is in the meat industry itself—it is one of the biggest and most complex in the U.S. Sugar is effectively controlled through 17 refineries; gasoline is carefully checked through 500 refineries. But meat grows on millions of U.S. farms and ranches, is slaughtered in tens of thousands of big and little abattoirs, is sold in 223,000 butcher shops.

But plenty of the blame rests squarely on U.S. meat buyers. With more free cash than ever before and a shortage-sharpened yen for meat, U.S. citizens pay without complaint far over ceiling prices.

**CRIME AND YOUTH**

The morale of the country is, of course, affected not only by black-market manipulations but also by temptations of other kinds. Wine consumption jumped from 66 million gallons in 1937 to 111 million gallons in 1942 and continued to rise in 1943. The morals of the younger generation seem particularly to be affected. They grew up in an atmosphere of very little restraint, for it was considered old-fashioned and wrong for parents or schools to interfere with the "free development" of the child. Now one is forced to realize the drawbacks of such methods of education. One of America's outstanding educators, Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, wrote:

"A chief reason why there is in the U.S. the present widespread...outbreak of crime and disorder on the part of American youth is that the fundamental place of discipline in education seems to have been quite forgotten...The rabbit is at liberty to run about the garden where his life is passed, and feed upon such plants, weeds and flowers as may attract him...To call any such process education is in the highest degree absurd."

What is meant by the frequently mentioned "juvenile delinquency" is illustrated by the following three quotations:

(1) Suddenly, the country is aware of what war is doing to its children. The newspaper-reading public has been assailed by lurid accounts of murders, muggings, rapes and robberies committed by adolescent boys, of little girls leaving home to play harlot. It has been blessed by figures—15% here, 35% there—which add up to an estimated increase of 20% in juvenile delinquency since the start of 1942. The increase is greatest in the 10-13 age-group and it is not due to petty sins like stealing fruits or breaking windows.

Though the basic reasons for delinquency (broken homes, extreme poverty, incompetent or depraved parents) still exist, war is directly responsible for the boom in badness. When fathers go to war and mothers go to work, children seek companionship and amusement in pool rooms, poorly policed pocos, street rackets, and crime-free saloons. War's sanction of violence and hatred makes children feel that it's smart to be immoral.

We have the biggest "crime load" of any civilized nation. The bulk of the offenses that roll up the
nations crime toll are the crimes against property—burglary, robbery, larceny and auto theft. These are pre-eminently “youth crimes.” The number of these offenses committed by youth is all out of proportion to its share in the population.

Youth from 16 to 21 supplies 40% of the nations burglars, 28% of its robbers, 22% of its larcenists, and 50% of the auto thieves.

The annual cost of crime and its control is usually estimated at about $15,000,000,000 a year.

(2) To put down this latest outbreak of juvenile delinquency, New York’s Police Commissioner Lewis L. Valentine added 1,000 policemen to the forces already patrolling the infected areas, hoping to clean up the epidemic.

(3) From around the U.S. came overwhelming evidence that the Khaki-mad “victory girl” was a worse menace than the prostitute.

Lieut. Commander Michael Wishengrad, the Navy’s New York venereal-disease control officer, said that nonprofessional pickups between 15 and 19 accounted for three out of four infections. Eighteen hundred random cases reported to Washington indicated at least 64% of infections come from “amateurs.”

Lieut. Commander Clarence J. Buckley, Wishengrad’s Philadelphia counterpart, put the figure higher: “These kids outnumber the streetwalkers four to one.”

Though Mexican workers now occupied San Antonio’s famed “speckton cribs,” the rate of delinquency among young girls had increased 350% in two years. One of every four girl “car hops” at the city’s drive-ins was found to be venereally infected. Said a social worker among the professional prostitutes: “The girls are sore as all getout. They say the young chippies who work for a beer and sandwich are cramming their style.”

Wrote a correspondent from Norfolk: “Whereas, before Pearl Harbor, the majority of Norfolk’s prostitutes were professionals, today probably 85% to 90% are amateurs. Many are young girls lured to Norfolk by the promise of big-paying jobs. Hundreds of these girls arrive each week. They hang around bus terminals while phoning for a room somewhere. . . . Farm girls and clerks from small towns find it easy to have all the men they want . . . many do not charge for their services.”

WAR ROMANCE CLINIC

Some of the remedies employed against these outbursts of juvenile crime are typically American:

So the Herald-American’s “War Romance Clinic” was born. Editor Malloy launched it amid typical Heart ballyhoo; the wife of Chicago’s Major Edward Kelly was persuaded to say for publication, “What a boon it will be . . .” Herald-American delivery trucks had their sides plastered with promotion ads that screamed, “Soldier, You’re Breaking My Heart!”

Sample case histories from the column “I am 19 . . . I foolishly trusted a man whom I met at a picnic. We talked of marriage. Later I found he was married . . . I no longer care for him. But what am I to do about our child?”

Added to that problem I have met a sailor from Boston who has fallen in love with me . . . Shall I have this baby and say nothing to the sailor? He does not know.”

Answer: “Have your baby . . . Do not mention your condition to the sailor.”

“My husband was classified in 1-A and, of course, was called . . . All our friends are married . . . and kept asking this one man to be my escort (at parties) . . . I did not mind his company . . . Now I yearn for it . . . I am beside myself . . . We are both in love. What am I to do?”

Answer: “Tell him . . . if he is half the man your husband is he will not tempt you further.”

“My daughter is in a pitiable condition. She is not yet 18 and about to give birth to an illegitimate child. The father is a married man who is in the service. He took my daughter to a tavern and gave her the first drink she ever had . . .”

Answer: “You can take action against this innkeeper.”

A month and a half old, the “Clinic” is thriving, evidence that intimate goo about other people’s troubles is a salable product in war as in peace.

SOBER CRITICISM

There are, of course, people who realize that this is the wrong way of treating a nation’s morale in war time, and that it would be far better to make the people face hard facts. One of them is M. J. Maas, Congressman from Minnesota:

After he returned in October from four months service in the Pacific as a colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve, Mel Maas had taken his observations on the Navy’s “bungling” to Admiral King and Secretary Knox. Then he had gone to see President Roosevelt. He did not seem to get anywhere. Last week, in a radio speech that Navy officials tried to persuade him not to make, he told his story to the people.

It was not a pretty story. “The public has been misled all along on the status of our military and naval operations in the Pacific,” said Melvin Joseph Maas. “Unjustified optimistic releases created the impression that all was proceeding well in our war with Japan . . . . Defeats and disasters have been . . . announced as successes and victories for our forces.”

Why Deception? The oft-stated reason for military secrecy is to withhold information that might benefit the enemy. Mel Maas thought he knew another reason, and it was the blackest charge in his book: “Possibly the motive for this policy of mishandling war facts is to keep from stirring up the people and Congress, in the fear that the people, through Congress, might force some reforms on the executive bureaus.” In effect, Congressman Maas charged the military leaders with concealing the facts to cover their mistakes and the mistakes of their subordinates.

How this is done, according to Congressman Maas:

“When our losses are admitted, it is long after they occur, and, whether by design or mere repeated coincidence, such losses are almost always made public coincident with the announcement of
some current success, or at least optimistic prediction from Washington, thus softening the blow."

A similar idea was expressed by the writer of a letter to Time:

It is true that the American people are acting like a bunch of spoiled kids, but that is the way we are being treated. We are pampered patriots. We are getting a few drops of castor oil in a cup full of political honey.

It will take a crack on the chin to make us stand up and fight. Don't let us bask in the sunshine of victory, nibbling on chocolate-covered communiques of military achievement, while our sons and brothers and husbands are wallowing in the mud and blood of war throughout the world.

THE PRINTED WORD

But quite apart from the influence on the war morale of the people which the secretive handling of war news might have, secrecy in the handling of news and the American desire for thrill and sensations do not go well together. This was proved in the case of the Casablanca Conference. The newspapers were not allowed to report on the meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill until it was over. Yet, owing to the hints of many newspapers, everybody in America knew that something extraordinary was underway even though they did not know exactly what it was. As a result, people expected much more than what actually took place and in the end were disappointed.

The amount of tension and disappointment in those days is well described in the following passage:

In Pittsburgh a housewife turned on her radio, heard Commentator H. V. Kaltenborn orating about "unconditional surrender." Waiting to hear no more, she raced to a telephone, called her husband, a shop foreman in a Pittsburgh mill. To him she breathlessly imparted the glorious news that the war had ended. Result: the foreman told his men, they celebrated while furnaces began to cool.

Having been kept waiting longer than the public, many editors had anticipated news of decisions as well as of a meeting. Hoping for a mountain, they felt they had been given only a mouse. Editorialized the Baltimore Sun: "Disappointment rather than enthusiasm was the chief emotion."

Said Commentator-Author William L. Shirer: "The unprecedented build-up... was a psychological mistake."

In spite of the fact that the Americans are working more today than they have been for a long time, the circulation of detective, adventure, romance, and movie magazines has increased by almost five millions.

The American Government has gone into the magazine business itself by publishing, since January 1943, through the OWI, a magazine Victory, which Time calls "a frankly propagandistic picture magazine." About this new magazine Time says:

Though U.S. citizens own it and are paying for it, they will never see it according to OWI; Victory is to be distributed overseas only.

Information about the U.S. has been extremely scarce in the Eastern Hemisphere. Newsstands in such cities as Ankara have been stacked with Axis publications. Europe has been flooded with the Nazi propaganda publication Signal.

To counter this Axis advantage, OWI first tried distributing legitimate U.S. magazines overseas. This is still being done in a small way, but OWI was not satisfied because: 1) most U.S. magazines are printed only in English, would be ineffective in places like Turkey; 2) plain-spoken U.S. magazines, in OWI's opinion, are not always fit for readers in Allied and neutral nations because they do not always follow the U.S. propaganda line exactly.

Current plans: 225,000 copies in English, 50,000 in Afrikaans, 75,000 French, 75,000 Portuguese, 40,000 Spanish, 75,000 Arabic; total 540,000. Victory will sell for the foreign equivalent of 25 cents, will be doled out free to people the U.S. wants to impress.

To make Victory look more like a privately owned magazine, OWI decided that it ought to print advertising to take away the Government taint.

All advertising must have Government approval (i.e., must be censored); only institutional advertising will be accepted.

THE STAGE

Believing that America, in spite of many adverse elements, may one day produce her own forms of culture out of the many strange ingredients of which she consists, it was with particular interest that we turned to the manifestations of American cultural life in war time. We found them most disappointing. It does not look as if the rest of the world were missing anything of great intellectual or cultural value as a result of America's relative isolation during the years of war.

The first thing that strikes one is that most leaders in the cultural field were in a great hurry to jump onto the "War and Patriotism" bandwagon. But this is done more easily in advertising than in art. In an ad you just add a wisecrack like "Buy War Bonds or Bye bye Democracy" and the trick is done. It still remains an ad. In art, if you add a few patriotic slogans, it still may do the trick, but will it still be art?
The first great "smash hit" among the war plays was Maxwell Anderson's *The Eve of St. Mark* which was played two months in 46 separate theaters all over the United States. *Life* calls it "this war's first serious play showing American soldiers in action" and describes it thus:

Dealing simply and sincerely with the problem of a youth who goes to war and is forced to make the decision between living and dying, it is a good play to show on Main Street. Taking his title from Keats' poem, *The Eve of St. Mark*, Anderson uses the legend that ghosts of persons slated to die appear on that night. Quizz West, a young farm boy drafted from a closely knit family and a sweetheart, finds himself on a much-bombed island in the Philippines on the eve of St. Mark. In a stirring dream sequence he pleads first with his mother and then with his girl to send him whether he should fight or retreat. Spiced with the crisp soldier dialog of Anderson's *What Price Glory?* this play has more mood than plot, is warmer in emotion, embraces the home front as well as the foxholes.

*Time* adds:

"*The Eve of St. Mark* is the first successful U.S. war play. Its artistic qualities are debatable, but it is vivid theater, beautifully staged, and the story it tells, unvarnished in its simplicity, is unbeatable in its appeal."

Which is one way of saying that this play is better as propaganda than as art. Now, if this is the case with a play which belongs to the group of outstanding serious productions, what are we to expect from the other types of American plays? Very many of them seem to be sexy burlesque with occasional waving of U.S. flags. There is the Broadway hit *Strip for Action*. In it one of the girls, when undressing in a strip-tease act, turns to the soldiers present and says:

"You are fighting to save American womanhood, aren't you? Alright, have a look at what you are defending."

The leading dramatic couple on the American stage, Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt, followed this trend by producing a comedy *The Pirate* of which *Life* writes:

*The Pirate* is a larkish blend of musical comedy, poetical farce and circus, obviously designed to cheer a wartime public. Considering its full bag of tricks *The Pirate* is a brilliant carnival, the luxurious sceneries and costumes are as dazzling as a jungle full of parrots.

**THE SCREEN**

About the same thing may be said of the movies. They have not changed much either except that, according to the two American magazines, they have declined in quality. Instead of "spine-chilling super-thrillers" they are now called "red, white, and blue action hits." The gangster in the popular underworld movies has been replaced by the fifth columnist. One of the most successful in this category, to judge from *Life*, was the film *Saboteur*. The scoundrel when pursued by Uncle Sam's arm of the law flees to the top of the Statue of Liberty—what profound symbolism!—and falls from there to his death.

To the following three film reviews of *Time* magazine there is nothing we could add:

1. **Lucky Jordan** deals with a question that seems to trouble some scenarists: where do U.S. gangsters fit into the war effort?

   The story concerns a racket king named Lucky Jordan whose somewhat disillusioned way of life is interrupted by the Army. Despite his lawyer's efforts to "put in a fix" on his draft board, Jordan is clapped into uniform. By the standard Hollywood formula this should make a new man of him, but Jordan is really tough; he haughtily defies sergeants and Army discipline, finally kidnaps a pretty canteen hostess and makes a getaway. Then he discovers that his double-crossing lieutenant, one Slip Moran, has usurped his racket throne and worked up a new dodge—stealing tank specifications to sell to Nazi spies.

   A hijacking chase follows to determine whether Moran or Jordan delivers the plans and collects the seventy-five grand. Somehow Jordan winds up employing his shotgun in the service of Uncle Sam.

   As a sociological treatise, **Lucky Jordan** shows that U.S. gangsters are infinitely nicer than Nazis because 1) they are Americans, 2) they do not like to "go around beating up old women."

2. **Hangmen Also Die** is another in a long line of inside-Occupied-Europe melodramas, tailored according to a pat Hollywood formula: murder, intrigue, brutal beatings, black villains, hair-raising escapes and love-under-difficulties. A venerable professor gives his life to thwart the dastardly inspector; the professor's pretty daughter gives her reputation—to throw the inspector off the scent, she lets herself be discovered in Dr. Svoboda's bedroom by her fiancé.

3. **They Got Me Covered.** The plot hangs on Hope's (the leading actor's) misadventures as a correspondent, beginning with his recall from Moscow because he was scooped on the Nazi invasion of Russia and going on to his efforts to out-smart an Axis spy ring in Washington. The devious chase leads him to boudoirs, Niagara Falls, a burlesque queen's bed, a beauty salon and finally to the spies' council of war in the salon showroom where Hope tries to conceal himself by posing as a clothes dummy on a bicycle.

Many other movies are just plain sexy, for example, *Du Barry Was A Lady* which, according to *Life*, won fame by a "rowdy bedroom scene." Large is the number of musical comedies. In 1943, according to *Time*, 39 per cent of all Hollywood pictures
in-production were musical comedies, i.e., twice as many as in the previous year. The magazine explains: "Obvious object: an anodyne for U.S. war pains." One of these comedies is a film to which Time has the following to say:

The Crystal Ball is an undressing contest between blonde seductive Virginia Field and redhead (for this film) Paulette Goddard. Miss Goddard does not take off quite as much as Miss Field but she does it twice as often and eventually wins the prize.

Another big success was The Constant Nymph, of which Life shows 15 photos—all close-up details of the various phases of the kiss which Charles Boyer, "Hollywood's first lover," gives his partner.

Incidentally more people than ever go to the movies:

The U.S. people are going to the movies more than they ever did before. Nationwide cinema attendance is up 25% from a year ago; in the major cities, 40%. Theater managers found audiences the rowdiest in their memory: they howled, hissed and booted at pictures, demanded Westerns, "carved their initials on chairs, sometimes even fired buckshot at the screen. War workers brought alarm clocks, set them to go off when they had to leave for work.

Of course, the Americans still have their old enthusiasm for the private lives of the stars, and it is to gratify this interest that Time publishes items such as this:

Cinematress Anne Shirley sued a Hollywood studio for $100,000 because the studio used a double's legs in one close-up and "said double's legs were of unflattering dimensions."

THE RADIO

Although we run the risk of boring our readers, we must say almost the same about the radio as we said about stage and screen. Or rather we will let Time say it. But it is this very repetition of the line of "War and Patriotism" being tagged on superficially to everything that proves that this is typical and not an exception.

Famous in American radio entertainment are the "soap operas," endless dramatized stories, sponsored mainly by the large soap manufacturers to advertise their products. They are usually on the air every day for 15 minutes, over a large number of stations. The influence which the war has had on the "soap operas" is described by Time:

Soap opera went to work for the Government this week, on a grandiose double-life basis worked out by OWI. The scheme: The two-dozen-odd washtub weepers will continue to do business at their same old spot, with the same old plots. In addition they will put on an entirely different show each day, using the same characters beloved of millions of housewives but involved in entirely different adventures. What these new Government-inspired adventures will be is up to OWI. But listeners who never get enough of CBC's Our Gal Sunday will be able to follow her breathless career as usual at 12.45 p.m.; earlier that day they may follow her in a story promoting OWI's "Message" on the United Nations. Big Sister will double in a different story about "Victory Homes," Young Dr. Malone in "Home Nursing," Portia Faces Life in "Salvage," Stella Dallas in "The Merchant Marine."

Time also tells us which were the most popular programs of 1943:

1) Fibber McGee & Molly
2) Jack Benny, the gauzy and comedian
3) Charlie McCarthy, the speaking doll
4) Bob Hope, the comedian
5) The Aldrich Family, one of the soap operas
6) Lux Soap Radio Theater
7) Maxwell House Coffee variety show
8) Bing Crosby, the crooner
9) Walter Winchell, the gossipist
10) Kate Smith, the singer

The Americans still have plenty of time for all kinds of nonsense:

NBC has a program "Truth or Consequences." People who participate must bear the consequences if they give the wrong answer. Mrs. Dennis J. Mullan was asked "How many Kings of England possessed the name Henry?" She guessed five and had to accept the consequences.

They were: to open the letters which the announcer asked his listeners to write, and count the pennies which he besought them to enclose. That would give Mrs. Mullan time to reflect upon British history, might give her enough pennies to buy war bonds for her son in the Marines. It would also give the sponsor an index to the pulling power of his show.

But no one, least of all Mrs. Mullan, who is a ruddy-faced, unassuming Staten Island housewife, had any idea that the request would bring a deluge of 210,000 letters, 316,000 pennies and assorted small change. Total income $2,150.

In last month's analysis of American wartime life we dealt with such topics as advertise-ments, patriotism, publicity, the attitude toward the war; in the present issue with manpower problems, work, politics, youth, and the arts. All in all, we have covered a wide section of everyday life and, as we said at the beginning of the article in our last month's issue, we arrive at the conclusion—in spite of certain differences to be found here and there—that basically nothing has changed in the USA.
A microfilm looks into the workshop of life.

THE GOD OF THE AMOEBAE

By HERMANN SCHÜLLER

NOT long ago an amazing film was shown to a small group of people. It is a microfilm produced by the late Hamburg scientist Dr. Arthur Arndt. Its stars are the *Dictyostelium mucoroides* and tens of thousands of little amoebae, and the story told by it is that of the sacrifice and death of these amoebae and the transformation of their bodies into something like a plant.

**ANIMAL OR PLANT?**

*Dictyostelium mucoroides* is the botanical name of a low organism related to the Myxomycetes or slime molds. In the system of animals and plants, this organism occupies a special position, for it is on the border line between animal and plant. It is often to be found on horse or other dung and decaying vegetable matter, and it can easily be cultured on an artificial medium. The true slime molds represent "primitive organisms" consisting of naked masses of protoplasm. In the form of a slimy mass, they often cover decaying matter on the forest floor. They are frequently of a brilliant red, yellow, or blue coloring. The largest of them reach a size of 30 centimeters in diameter and sometimes cause trouble in tanneries and gardens. The slime molds consist of two parts: a slimy mass of protoplasm termed the plasmodium, and the spore-containing structures (sporangia). At the reproductive stage, the sporangia grow out of the plasmodium. The spores are formed by part of the living substance of the plasmodium organizing itself into individual cells which surround themselves with a cellulose wall.

All this may seem very peculiar and interesting, but it is simple and quite ordinary in comparison to what happens when the *Dictyostelium mucoroides* is formed. For here what appears to be a miracle takes place, namely, that a large number of tiny animals, amoebae of a certain type and way of living, grow together into a new, uniform plant organism of an entirely different type. Many thousands of amoebae go to form this plant organism, whose origin is in no way apparent to the observer.

The film showing the transformation of life begins.

Enter first *Dictyostelium mucoroides*, the complete slime mold. From its sporangium, spores are just being discharged. They are placed on the nutrient medium, a surface covered with fodder bacteria. Upon touching the nutrient medium, the spores flow apart and distribute themselves equally over the entire surface. And now a strange thing happens: the many thousands of spores begin to swell up. They visibly change their shape. Their breadth increases in comparison to their length. A rhythmical movement becomes apparent in the bodies of the spores. Gradually the contents of the spores become lighter in color. At one of their poles, a narrow slit opens, and—this is a breathtaking sight—a tiny animal, an amoeba, quickly wriggles out of it.

**BIRTH AND DANCE OF THE AMOEBAE**

Amoebae are protozoans (unicellular animals) and among the simplest known forms of animal life. It is often said that they are nothing but "little balls of naked protoplasm." However, this is a rather superficial view, for actually the protoplasm body of which they consist already possesses a fine structure. We are able to study all the traits characteristic of a living creature in the amoebae. They have metabolism. They creep toward their food by extending and withdrawing portions of their body formed according to requirements. They propagate by division. The amoeba *Vampyrella sphaeroidea*, which lives on a certain type of alga, attacks the latter, dissolving its cellular wall at the point of contact, and sucks up the foreign protoplasm. It refuses any other food, even if it is placed in its way in an experiment: it is very particular in selecting its food. In certain circumstances these tiny animals produce surprising achievements which are even regarded as the expression of a certain "intelligence" by some scientists.
Well, to return to the amoebae born from our slime mold: immediately after their birth they begin, in their curious streaming movement, to crawl over the surface in search of food. Soon there are tens of thousands of amoebae. The plant casing from which they were born, the spore covering, remains in the form of two slightly gaping shells.

The birth and swarming of the amoebae lasts for many hours. Their sole longing is for food. Each tiny creature follows its own path, which is determined by the food particles it finds. It absorbs food, grows, divides, and propagates. It seems as if each tiny animal has its own free will. There is no force that rules them, no law or order that influences them. The whole surface is a chaotic crush of amoebae, a seemingly meaningless shuttling back and forth of completely egoistic animals.

THE MAGIC COMMAND

But suddenly a "transcendental" command rings out. A magic outside power interferes in the life of the little egoists. An organizing force seems to operate from somewhere. This happens at the instant in which the fodder bacteria are eaten up.

It looks as if the shadow of a wave were then running across the amoebae, like a sudden gust of wind blowing across a smooth sheet of water or a corn field. The first, hardly perceptible motion is soon followed by several more. If with the first wave it was still doubtful whence it came and, whither it was directed, the following, stronger waves reveal quite clearly that they issue forth from certain centers located approximately in the middle of the amoeba mass. From these invisible operational centers, wave upon wave runs in a rhythmical series across the amoebae in various directions. Sometimes they overlap. Stronger and stronger, more and more agitated grow these strange waves. And finally a rhythmical movement appears which seizes the entire mass of amoebae.

A force superior to the amoebae has interfered with their individual lives. The rhythm which has taken possession of the amoebae leads them to a definite order. The amoebae group themselves. Processions of amoebae are formed which move—guided as if by magic—toward the wave-emanating operational centers. There they accumulate, conglomerating in hemispheric mounds known as colliculi. These grow higher and higher, and at their highest points there then forms a shallow cavity, from which a dark, knob-like shape begins to rise. This knob develops into what is known as the conus, shaped like a sugar loaf. One clearly gains the impression that the amoebae streaming from all sides become merged in the growing colliculus. Their bodies melt into each other. Individual animals turn into the building material for a new living creature. Gradually the processions of amoebae ebb away. They become less dense and stop entirely. Meanwhile, in the heart of the conus, the petiolated generative body begins to form. And this represents the culmination and final meaning of the whole strange process.

ORGANIZATION—FROM THE INVISIBLE

All this happens according to plan, guided by an invisible center. Some of the scenes in the film reveal particularly clearly how the entire process is directed at a definite goal and how unforeseen difficulties in the birth process of the slime mold are easily overcome. One sees, for example, how at a certain point on the nutrient medium three or four different colliculi and coni are formed on a common amoeba basis. Later, at a certain stage of their development, they separate, moving off in directions which are often the opposite ones to those in which the amoebae are moving. While this is happening, more streams of amoebae come marching on to merge into the basis of the coni. Wave upon wave comes rolling on. But suddenly a very amazing thing happens. The last wave of the upper stream does not continue its march toward the basis of the upper conus but breaks, virtually explodes before our eyes. The amoebae scatter and turn in groups toward the two nearest coni. Moreover, they do not move toward the present bases but right away take the direction toward that point which the two coni will have reached at the same moment as the groups of amoebae.

Who or what directs the amoebae? What guides their course in such a way that they take a bearing toward a certain point and keep to that direction?

Tens of thousands of tiny animals unite, systematically and in spite of obstacles, in a new, well-constructed, ingeniously functioning organic whole. It would seem as if the amoebae had some sort of "knowledge" of each other, of their movements and their task. How are they able to
organize themselves for the purpose of the new structure, how are they able to adjust the size of their processions to the size of the colliculi and even from the very beginning build up the stalk of the generative body in a size corresponding to that of the final generative body?

The unbiased spectator is bound to gain the impression that, from a given moment onward, the events are directed from outside, or that a uniform will dominates the whole, that it is not a matter of individual processes at this or that point of the field of vision but a total process in which the individual events are co-ordinated. It is as if, invisible yet real, the organism being formed before our eyes already exists as an idea and systematically guides the development of the individual toward the whole. The meaning or the idea of that which is to be, brings about and guides that which is. This may seem strange—but in the final analysis this is true in the case of every creative formation of an organism.

**IS IT A MIRACLE?**

It is unquestionably the task of natural science to attempt to explain even the most miraculous phenomena of life on the basis of the known laws of nature. But by what known laws of physics or chemistry can we explain the almost incredibly systematic events unrolling before our eyes in the amoeba film, events which definitely do not function automatically or mechanically?

When Dr. Arndt, the man whose eyes were the first to see all this, was questioned as to the causes of the strange happenings, he shrugged his shoulders slightly and said: "The god of the amoebae." This is certainly a curious reply from a scientist to an entirely justified question. Did he speak of a god of the amoebae to explain a "miracle"? With his "god of the amoebae" Arndt made use of a poetic phrase to point to a fact which, though hard to grasp, is apparent in all organic formation, namely, that a whole which is to be created guides the elements from which it will be formed, to turn a chaos into a cosmos.

We can cause and observe such systematic formations of a whole in the most varied ways and even under the strangest experimental conditions.

If one cuts off one leg each from a hundred newts, the loss is regenerated in all the animals, and a new organ is formed in a systematic interplay of the cells guided by a center of reconstruction. The object of this process is the reconstruction of the whole animal. However, the natural "architect" of the newts can hardly have reckoned with such amputations. There are no mechanical causes for such measures which can be comprehended on the physical or chemical plane. For every time the regeneration takes place in a different way. It is creative, and it is guided solely by the "will" or "plan" to restore the whole of the animal. It is the whole which guides the incredibly complicated and mysterious interplay of regenerating forces and substances.

If a worm is cut up into many pieces, each of the pieces is regenerated into a complete animal. All the original pieces differ from each other in shape and size and are taken from different parts of the body. Each regeneration takes place in a different way. It is achieved by different methods. The meaning of the whole guides the process. The goal of the organic whole determines the methods.

**THE SOUL OF THE BEES**

The poet and natural scientist Goethe, through whose eyes we are again looking at life, knew about these architectural forces of life. He spoke of the "breathing of the spirit, which prescribes the direction for each part and which, by an inherent law, restricts or sanctions every digression." And he sensed this "breathing of the spirit" not only in the regeneration of cells to form an organism, not only in the creative formation of a new organism from seeds born and guided by the supra-individual whole of the hereditary stream, but also in the formation of supra-individual organisms which are manifested, for instance, by "insect states."

That which we call the "bee state" represents an entity of life, an organism of a superior order. The members of this entity form different "castes." Like an organ in a visible organism, each caste is entrusted with a definite function. The instinct of the individual insect is determined by a "we" instinct and is guided with magic power by the "spirit of the whole."

There are females of an asocial species of bee which live solitarily. A number of potentialities combined in these females are in the bee state divided among various groups of individual insects which, if they are left to their own resources, are unable
to maintain even themselves or their species. The whole of the bee state determines the specialized development of the variously shaped individual creatures which are endowed with different instincts and depend upon each other. In each individual there lives the whole, influencing the individual.

As in a living organism, so in the supra-individual organism of the bees, too, a systematic regeneration takes place to serve the whole. This is a very strange fact: when the queen dies, a substitute is immediately raised from among the worker bees. And a corresponding creative process takes place when bee states are formed artificially in which certain types of worker bees are lacking. The individual insects behave like cells, and the castes like organs in an organism of a superior order.

In a surprising, miraculous way, the spirit of the whole, or the "god of the bees," manifests itself: only those members of the insect community which have procreative powers are in charge of the future of the species and the heritage. They endow some of their descendants with characteristics which have only arisen in the course of the development of that particular community of bees and which neither they themselves nor their ancestors ever possessed. They pass on peculiarities and instincts of those castes which are themselves unable to procreate.

The amoebae are the lowest form of unicellular animals. The spirit of the whole is able to combine them in a uniform physical structure. In comparison to the amoebae, the bees are superior creatures with a complicated, multicellular organism. The spirit of the whole is able to unite them only in a supra-individual organism which is not physically connected. And between the amoebae and the bees there are many unicellular organisms which, in so-called cell colonies, form a superior organism composed of creatures that are actually still independent of each other.

In the sea, the corals form colonies branching out in all directions, organisms of a higher order. Within them each polyp leads its individual life; yet it carries on a constant exchange of fluid with all the other polyps. In the case of the jellyfish, too, there is a supra-individual community of life in which each individual creature is specialized like an organ in the service of the whole. Only after long, thorough studies did science discover that these organisms of a superior order consist in reality of numerous individual creatures.

In organic life, there are no limits set to the will toward the whole. In the film of the amoebae it becomes unmistakably apparent as it forms a unity step by step. We see a unity being created. Usually we realize it only afterwards, by analysis.

Perhaps the swarm of amoebae seems chaotic to us only because we regard it from the perspective of the individual amoeba and not from the point of view of the entity being created. The whole into which the amoebae merge does not result from the haphazard movements of the amoebae. On the contrary, the whole into which they merge is the cause of what happens. The future exerts a formative influence on the present. The film proves this. This may seem mysterious and utterly improbable, but there is no other explanation for the process shown in the film.

More than a hundred years ago, K. E. von Baer compared the course of development of individuals with a melody. In a melody the sounds do not follow each other haphazardly. Between the first and last sounds and among all the sounds there is a relationship of order. All the sounds harmonize in the melody. This is the goal. The sounds are the means. The melody is the whole, the sounds are the parts. The amoebae are like sounds, and the organism formed from them is like the melody played by life.

When life forms such entities, it makes no difference—as is proved by the film—whether the parts are from the first connected in a way recognizable to our senses, or whether they are united in the course of their development into an organism of a higher form by a law seizing them invisibly.

That is the way it is: those amoebae are like sounds which arrange themselves into a melody when the leitmotiv is struck by the "god of the amoebae."

Where science ends, music begins. Perhaps the students of life must be scientists and musicians, artists and philosophers in one to be able to sense the secrets of the changing and developing organism and to understand them with reverence.
ROADS AND RAILWAYS IN TURKEY

The entire development of Turkish communications is founded on strategic considerations. While in European countries the construction of railways and roads evolved almost organically from the existence of regions of economic importance and was only later included in the considerations of strategy, the modern Turkish railway system has been laid out almost exclusively with the defense of the country in mind.

The reasons for this are to be sought in the bitter experiences of the Turkish state during the Great War. At that time Turkey possessed practically only one great railway line, the Bagdad Railway. Contrary to the claims of Turkey's enemies, it had not been built as a strategic railway and was consequently able only in part to fulfill the requirements of the Army. By no means the least reason for the collapse of the Turkish front was the fact that the troops fighting in Mesopotamia and Palestine had no adequate system of roads and railways to back them up. The Bagdad Railway could only be used to a modest extent for the movement of troops and material, since one important section, namely where the railway penetrates the steep Taurus Mountains, was not yet completed. There was no railroad whatever leading to the ports of the Black Sea, as a result of which the Russian Black Sea Fleet kept on interfering with the indispensable coastal shipping.

Kemal Atatürk, the father of modern Turkey, was far too shrewd a military mind not to draw the necessary conclusions from these experiences. He built up a Turkish railway system along strategic lines, in spite of the great difficulties arising from the topography of the country, and when necessary he even disregarded economic interests. The entire peninsula of Asia Minor is walled in by mountain ranges rising steeply from the sea to considerable heights (up to 3,000 meters). They form a great obstacle to communications, an obstacle which is enhanced by the fact that very few rivers from the dry central part of the country have forced their way through these mountains to the sea. The country behind these coastal ranges is divided into several basins separated from each other by smaller ranges. Toward the east the mountains dominate the entire country. Here we find a high plateau, rising to an average height of from 800 to 1,700 meters and sprinkled with mountains. There are only three large rivers here: the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Aras.

This short description gives an idea of the difficulties facing the opening up of the country by communications. In spite of the fact that the nature of the country requires the building of countless tunnels, bridges, cuttings, etc., Turkey has worked tirelessly at the completion of her railway network. At present it totals some 7,000 kilometers, which is about three times the length of the network existing at the end of the Great War.

The new world war has raised new problems for Turkey in the sphere of communications, too. In order to make the country—cut off from overseas import as it is—as self-sufficient as possible, the Government is doing everything to mobilize the country's resources. Since 1940 Turkey has ceased to build railways of a purely strategic nature. Instead, work has commenced everywhere to link up productive regions with hitherto poor communications to the main railway lines.

First in rank is still the Bagdad Railway, which runs from opposite Istanbul via Eskişehir and Afyon Karahisar to Aleppo, continuing along the Turkish-Syrian border till it turns south into the valley of the Tigris. Among the branch lines of this railway we must mention those leading from Kütahya and Afyon Karahisar to the Mediterranean ports of Bandırma, Izmir (Smyrna), and Antalya, which open up western Turkey. Lately there has been talk about a new branch leading from Bosphörus to Brusa, the center of Turkey's textile industry. With the transfer of the capital to Ankara, another branch of the Bagdad Railway became the backbone of the central and eastern Turkish railway system. This line starts at Eskişehir and runs east as far as Ankara, where it turns south to meet the Bagdad Railway at Ulukışla. According to the
latest information, a second trunk line between Ankara and Istanbul is under construction, which will run via Bolu and be considerably shorter than the existing line via Eskisehir. While the Anatolian Express requires 16 hours over the present line, the new trunk line could be covered in about 9 hours.

The great East-West Line has, by virtue of its connection with the Caucasian railway system, become Turkey’s “oil line.” Moreover, being the only remaining railway link between Europe and East Asia via the USSR it is of particular importance at present. Its first section makes use of the Ankara line. In Boghazlayan it branches off and runs via Kaisarie, Sivas, and Erzerum to the border, where it links up with the railway to Leninakan and Tiflis/Baku. From Sivas, an important branch goes to Samsun on the Black Sea. A second Black Sea line branches off from the main line east of Ankara and runs north to Turkey’s largest coal district around Eregli with its port of Zonguldak.

From Chetinkaya (southeast of Sivas) a line runs in a southeasterly direction to Malatya, from where it forks. The southwestern section leads to Fevsi Pasha, where it reaches the main line of the Bagdad Railway again. The southeastern branch, built for the pacification of the unruly Kurds, goes to Diyarbekir. It is also of economic importance, as it runs through the largest copper-producing region of Turkey, that of Ergani. Meanwhile, this line has been continued from Diyarbekir to Bismil, and another section from Bismil to Mardin is now being planned, which would provide one more connection with the Bagdad Railway.

At present a lot of attention is being paid to the extension of the railway system to the east. The main purpose is to extend the existing lines to the Iranian border. In 1941 the survey work for a line from Mamuret-el-Aziz to Lake Van was carried out. Twelve months later, construction was completed as far as Palu, and work is now going on on the next section to Karpahur. Another eastern line is to be built from Bismil via Bitlis to Lake Van. A third line is to run from Bismil to Jezire on the Tigris.

The greatest Turkish project, however, is the construction of the “North Line,” which would open up large sectors of a part of the country that has hitherto been rather neglected from the point of view of communications. The North Line is to run from Erzerum via Amasya, Çorum, Çankiri, Bolu, and Duzje to Istanbul. With the exception of the last section between Bolu and Ada-Bazar, it would lead entirely through mountainous terrain, and its construction would be faced by many technical difficulties.

The road system, which was very poor in old Turkey, has grown into a dense network under Atatürk and later under İnönü. Today there are 43,000 kilometers of good motor roads compared to 18,000 in 1923.

—H. S., Ankara.
APPLIED ARTS IN GERMANY

In the article "Buildings of Tomorrow" (March 1944) we attempted to visualize the architectural face of Europe after this war. But the war, especially the air war, is destroying not only countless buildings but an even greater number of homes and their furnishings. After the war, millions of people will need new furniture, crockery, cutlery, lamps, and many other such articles. As in the case of architecture, it is impossible to predict in detail how all these things will look. But we may assume that artistic taste will, to some extent, continue where the war put a sudden end to production in the field of arts and crafts. The following article contains some thoughts on the characteristics of German applied arts in the years before the outbreak of the present war.

The material for this article was prepared by Elsabeth von Essen, who was for many years connected with a German firm of interior decorators in Shanghai.—K.M.

HISTORY teaches us that a people's forms of habitation are the truest mirror of its fundamental attitude toward culture. Man is cradled in his family and thus also in his own home. Here he experiences his most personal emotions and reactions. It is here that he obtains the strength for his struggle for existence and for the creative forces inherent in him. And the environment of home is one of the most formative influences on adolescent youth.

A GLANCE INTO THE PAST

The time of Frederick the Great was the period of late baroque and rococo, a courtly style under French influence, whose florid ornamentation is to us inseparable from the figures of that time. It was also during the eighteenth century that the porcelain factories of Meissen (near Dresden), Berlin, Nymphenburg, etc., were founded by art-loving kings and began to produce vases, bowls, and dinner sets of such outstanding, timeless beauty that some of the designs of those days are still being used unchanged in present-day manufacture.

During Goethe's lifetime, i.e., the turn of the nineteenth century, rococo was replaced by a more severe, classicistic style. But this style too—together with which English Chippendale also became popular—was still entirely under the influence of the first French Empire. After the wars of liberation, when the German people turned to simpler forms of life of their own, a sober, comfortable style of furniture was evolved, known in Germany as Biedermeier and still popular among some circles today.

After 1871, when the second German Reich was founded, the German nation experienced a period of sudden wealth, of pomp and luxury. Disproportionately large pieces of furniture, ornate cabinets and trinkets, filled every corner of the room. The walls were covered with dark, multicolored wallpaper, and heavy drapes kept out air and sunlight. Furniture and household articles of no style whatever and entirely devoid of taste, as well as stagey or sentimental pictures, were to be found among all classes of people.

In the period after the Great War, the pendulum swung to the other extreme. Utilitarianism combined with the glorification of the machine led to designs in chromium, glass, and steel which were stripped of all but bare essentials. A chair was reduced to a sitting machine, a lamp to a light provider, without any regard being paid to atmosphere and charm. The heavy drapes were removed from the windows, the dark wallpapers gave way to chilly, brightly painted walls. Air and sunlight came in and chased out the prewar fustiness; but they also chased out every shred of coziness.

As the German people gradually recovered from the shock provided by the war and its aftermath, they came to develop new tastes. After 1933, the political revival of the German nation gave back their good old repute to the words family and home, and the people became fully aware of the importance of an attractive atmosphere in the home as a background for family life. Interior decorators, artisans, and artists in every field of applied art set to work to answer the demand for a clear, simple, and
appropriate form for all articles of daily use. This trend, which also revived peasant art and endowed the craftsman with a new prestige, met with the wholehearted support of the Government. The German Labor Front, for example, created the board for "Beauty of Work," which is entrusted with the task of providing simple, dignified, and attractive surroundings in factory halls, workshops, canteens, and recreation centers. And the "State Board of Home Culture" opened its doors in various parts of Germany; it co-operates closely with master craftsmen, while one of its departments gives free advice to anyone on all questions of home furnishing.

RESPECT FOR THE MATERIAL

Regarding the furnishings and implements surrounding us in our daily life, we realize that there are two great formative forces in man which constantly attack and conquer the elemental world of raw materials.

The technical-scientific force is bent on subjecting the raw material to its purposes. The artistic force in man, however, seeks to find a form which satisfies our craving for beauty, it fills the material with a "soul" and lets the natural essence of the material express itself in the forms shaped by the human intellect. Without the creative act of finding an inspired form the raw material remains nothing but a lump of clay, a block of iron, a board of wood, a hank of wool, a piece, a sector, an element of nature, but it is not art.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of applied arts in Germany in the years immediately preceding the war was a new attitude toward the material used in the making of furniture, utensils, and ornaments. The entire emphasis of arts and crafts has been shifted to the beginning, to the original material. The finished product is no longer regarded as an object detached from its origin: in it one should be able to see the entire process through which it passed on its way from the natural material. The finished piece of work is a part of nature shaped by human hands, a bridge to the elemental world of creation. In handling a shallow silver bowl, does one not sense the smooth coolness of the metal mined from the bowels of the earth? And when looking at a wooden bowl, a robust oaken cupboard, or a light birchwood table, there opens up before us a long perspective leading back to the point when this piece of shaped wood still grew as a tree in the forest. In the grain, in the annual rings, in the knots, in the entire consistency of the raw material wood, and in the warmth radiating from it, the life, the "temperament," of the natural tree continues to vibrate; nature stretches out its arms right into the homes of our cities.

The modern German wants to be surrounded by the organic world of raw materials formed into shapes through which nature may radiate its force into his daily life. It is in this sense that the new German attitude toward the home must be understood, an attitude which, in the last analysis, is the expression of a new conception of human life.

Above all this new feeling demands simplicity: restraint in the number of objects as well as simplicity in the shape of the individual object. This phenomenon is to be found also in the field of music, where young German composers are no longer interested in the iridescence of ingenious harmonies but rather in the clear, simple polyphony and more pronounced rhythms of old music. It is an indication of the truly youthful spirit of modern Germany that in the sphere of the home as well as that of music the desire was for an entirely new beginning. Since the applied arts of the last sixty years or so had disrupted the threads with the mysterious, living world of raw materials, and had detached themselves from this mother soil of all genuine forms, Germany's young artistic crafts were seeking to regain this life of the raw materials and to express it in their designs.

In good pottery ware, for instance, one should be able to sense the molded clay which, hardened in fire, has been covered by a glaze flowing thickly like lava. The forms are free of ornament: the entire effect of good pottery vases, bowls, and jugs is achieved by the living, tense outlines of their shapes and by the delicate sheen of their glaze. The famous porcelain factories mentioned above as well as others, among which Fürstenberg and Rosenthal are well known, turned these new ideals into life by producing for everyday use in German homes sets of china containing all these elements, sets which were available even to people with modest incomes. What has been said of pottery holds good for glass also which, in spite of all the possibilities contained in it, achieves its main effect as
Glass bowls in designs that should stand the test of time. They were modeled by the State College for Glass Industry in Zwiesel, Bavaria, the only one of its kind in the world; it is directed by Bruno Mander, who has said about his aims: "I attach special importance to clear shapes not influenced by fashions." The delicately etched lines emphasize the fragility of the material of these examples.

Copper bowl for bread. The beautiful shape and smooth surface, bare of any ornamentation, seems to bring to life the metal in all its purity. It was designed by the Municipal Studios of Halle, located in the Giebichenstein Castle.
Furniture
Past and Present

Fifteen years ago, furniture designing had arrived at this extreme of cold utility. Although the chairs may have felt more comfortable than they look, it would seem hard for a normal human being to relax mentally in a room of this kind. It must be noted, however, that all three photos on this page were taken at exhibitions, so that the rooms lack the atmosphere of being lived in.

An example of simplicity combined with beauty and comfort: breakfast nook for a master cartwright in Hessa. The chairs are of natural-colored pine wood with rush-bottomed seats. The crockery set as well as the curtains are decorated with regional designs.

Dining room set in an upper middle class home design by Hermann Gretsi. Natural-colored pine wood with fine varnish. Although this is not a classic set, there is nothing ornate about it. Its main characteristic being quiet restrained.
Sideboard of stained beech wood. For decoration, it relies on the natural grain of the wood and on simple iron fittings in peasant style. It was designed by the architect Back of the School for Applied Arts in Stuttgart.

Earthenware vase of glazed white clay. Bare of ornament, its beauty is in the perfect harmony of its outline. It is the work of Paul Drescher, who made a name for himself in the early twenties with plates and bowls showing painted figures under an alkaline glazing. Later he went over to plain, unadorned pottery ware.

Articles of Daily Use

Modern coffee set, in delicate pastel colors with white handles and covers, manufactured by the Fürstenberg Porcelain Factory.
Iron
And
Wood

Two examples of how modern German craftsmen use Nature's materials without violating the character of these materials. This wrought-iron garden door is a masterpiece produced by Julius Schramm (Berlin) in which the tamed power and resilience of the metal can be seen and felt even in the finest tendrils.

In the wooden bowls shown below, designed and carved by T. A. Windel (Dresden), the artist has "only" uncovered the wood's living pulsation and growth. By emphasizing and interrupting the grain he has brought a new rhythm into the whole work. While the slightly fluctuating, close, delicate grain of cypress wood corresponds to the form of a deeply hollowed bowl, the stronger marking of fir wood harmonizes well with the shallower bowl. The shape of the second vessel seems to move in circles around the concentric oval rhythm of the grain and thus come to life. Here we see how the simplest ornaments grow forth from the raw material itself.
a material and by means of its outlines. As a material: in the crystal-clear, flawless, heavy vitreous flux whose thick wall is properly revealed only by long, deep cuts; or in the fragile glass balls and hemispheres resembling soap bubbles and used for wine glasses or to hold single flower stalks. Between these two extremes, the material contains the possibility of many nuances of expression. But it is perhaps only through the treatment with cutting wheels, diamonds, and fine etching that the frozen soul of glass is fully revealed.

Less conspicuous but very interesting is the work of the handweaving crafts. Handweaving enterprises show the beauty of the natural wool in their finished products. Instead of dying their wool they use its natural shades in their designs; others even use unspun wool fleeces in their creations.

The uncompromisingly pure form in applied arts, with no ornamentation whatever, a form which has become known abroad as the "plain German form," is a necessary preliminary step which in itself may achieve perfection. But when an implement, a vessel, is decorated, this decoration must not be added from outside, must not be stuck on, so to speak. The ornament grows from within and, in its richness of movement, points out the living beauty of the material used. Indeed, the artistic task set the creative craftsman by modern Germany is to make the raw material speak.

This trend toward nature and simplicity was all the more to be welcomed since it corresponded with the economic situation in Germany. At first it was simply because there was little money for such things in Germany that German raw materials only could be employed, that great simplicity and economy were imperative. Now we know that this road has brought us to a new appreciation of art, has taught us a new attitude which we shall retain even after the external compulsion has been removed.

* * *

We have dealt mainly with the artistic crafts and with handmade articles, although we are aware of the fact that after this war most of the articles of daily use will have to be produced by machine. The demand for new furniture, crockery, carpets, curtains etc., will be so vast that only mass production will be able to fill it. But whether an article is produced in a single model by hand or in thousands of copies by machine: the principles applied to its style and design are the same. Artists, craftsmen, engineers, and industrial workers will collaborate toward the end that the new homes of Germany shall be places of comfort and beauty founded in the materials of nature brought to life in perfect forms.

THE SHOW GOES ON

By CARL GILBERT

When the article "History Reigned on Tokyo's Stage" appeared in our April issue, the nine leading theaters of Tokyo had just closed their doors as an emergency measure caused by the war. The following report from our Tokyo collaborator shows, however, that—in spite of some changes—Nippon's theatrical life continues to flourish vigorously.

FOR THE PEOPLE

By the end of March the new regulations governing theatrical performances were moderated, so that two of the nine large theaters in Tokyo are permitted to give performances again as from April 1. On March 27 the two leading theatrical concerns, Shochiku and Toho, issued a joint statement to the press declaring that their troupes would take turns in giving performances in those two theaters. Expressing their thanks to the authorities for permitting them to use the two theaters, they promised to break with their former customs, to reform the theatrical world, and to support the war effort to the best of their ability by means of their performances. Four of Tokyo's best-known theatrical troupes are giving performances again: the Kabuki troupe, Roppa Furukawa's comedy troupe, the Shinseishimpa troupe, and the Zenhinza troupe. In addition to the large theaters there are, of course, innumerable small and middle-sized theaters in Tokyo, which are all playing to packed houses.

No more extravagant performances mainly for the well-to-do are being given. The maximum admission fee including the 100-
The XXth CENTURY

per-cent Government tax has been fixed at 5 yen. Workers in armament factories receive a reduction of 30 per cent on the admission fees. The length of each performance has been limited to two and a half hours.

The authorities are encouraging famous troupes and actors or actresses to give special performances all over the country in convalescent homes for wounded soldiers, in armament factories and mining districts. Not long ago, the Kabuki stars Kikugoro and Ennosuke and their respective troupes made a tour through the Kyushu mining and armament centers and played with great success before the workers there. The Government bears part of the expenses for these performances for war workers.

Amateur dramatic performances under expert direction in the great mining and industrial centers as well as in rural centers are also actively encouraged by the Government. Very often an evening of entertainment in such a mining or industrial center is hooked up over the radio and broadcast to the entire nation. In addition to theatricals, there are concerts and storytelling.

THE REPERTOIRE

All this goes to show that the Government has realized the beneficial influence of good entertainment on the productive power of all classes of war workers. The guiding principle for performances is that they should provide the spectator with strength for his next day's work. There are roughly three classes of plays now being performed:

(1) Kabuki and other historical plays emphasizing Japanese national virtues, especially those of patriotism and of unswerving loyalty unto death, loyalty toward the feudal lord, toward parents, on the part of the mother toward her child, of the wife toward her husband, and of the friend toward his friend.

(2) Military plays, in particular about the heroes of the Greater East Asia War, their training, their fighting, and their supreme sacrifice for Tenno and country as an example for the nation to live up to.

(3) Problem plays assisting the National State Policies. These plays are of a diverse and manifold nature. At the present time, the greatest stress is being laid on stories dealing with the necessity of exerting every effort in the war production. A certain amount of plays to evoke hatred for the enemy are, of course, also being produced. Finally, a limited amount of plays dealing with the culture of other East Asiatic countries—some of them translations of plays from these countries—are being encouraged.

While modern military and problem films have predominated in the cinema world of late, the majority of the Tokyo theaters have been presenting one Kabuki or other historical play in addition to one modern military or problem play. The "classical" Kabuki troupe, which is distinguished from other popular Kabuki or historical-play troupes by the appellation Ohkabuki (Great Kabuki), has been presenting one historical tragedy and one dance pantomime.

One of the results of the reduction in price of admittance has been a simplification of stage decoration in order to reduce the cost of production and to keep the number of stage hands at a minimum. Revolving stages, traps, and similar stage effects requiring many stage hands are dispensed with. As for the stage decoration itself, the result of the lowering of admittance prices has been a movement away from the naturalistic Western style of decoration to the traditional symbolic Japanese style. To give a few examples: a house is indicated by the barest rudiments of a Japanese house, the open sliding doors showing as a background a large canvas boldly outlining a Japanese garden. A bamboo grove or pine forest is indicated simply by one or two groups of bamboo and at most two or three trees. The Japanese being past masters at this symbolization, this enforced trend has had a salutary effect on the artistic standard.

DEATH OF A PATRIOT

According to unanimous press reviews, the best play produced in April was given by the Great Kabuki troupe. It is Dai Nanko, in which the end of the great imperial loyalist Kusunoki Masashige after the battle of Minatogawa and the heroic bearing of his wife and his eldest son are shown. Kusunoki Masashige is revered by the entire nation as an emblem of loyalty and supreme sacrifice for the Emperor. He is deified under the name of "Dai Nanko," his principal shrine being at Minatogawa in Kobe. April 25 was the 650th anniversary of his birth, and impressive rites were held in Tokyo and Osaka.

The Tokyo Shimbun writes about the first act to the effect that Matsumoto Koshiro's performance in the part of Kusunoki Masa-
Ashikaga was so great as to be beyond all criticism, that one was spellbound by an almost religious awe. This first act of the play is, incidentally, the greatest. In order to save ten thousand soldiers of the loyalist army and enable them to get to Kyoto to defend the rightful Emperor, Kusunoki Masashige, with a small detachment of only seven hundred men, had held up the mighty army of the usurper Ashikaga Takauji. In the end, all the seven hundred except Kusunoki Masashige and twelve companions were killed in battle. These thirteen men felt that they could no longer hold up Ashikaga Takauji's tens of thousands of soldiers, and they retired to a small farmhouse. This is where the play begins. It shows the men, all of them wounded, deciding to kill themselves rather than surrender. Matsumoto Koshiro, who is over seventy years old, rose to the supreme heights of a tragedian at the moment when he declared, before killing himself, that he was determined to serve the Emperor in seven lives in undying faithfulness.

It is this spirit of Dai Nanko which lives on in the Nipponese soldier.

WORLD PRESS DIGEST

A large number of newspapers and periodicals from countries outside of Greater East Asia have during the last few months been placed at our disposal. Many of these publications contain interesting material which enables us to throw a glance into those parts of the world with which we have no contact as a result of the war. In the following pages we present condensations of some of these items as they appeared in the world's press during the last few months.—K.M.

EYE BANK
(From "Time")

Six blind people were waiting in a Manhattan hospital last week for second-hand eyes. Never since doctors discovered how to replace fogged corneas with clear ones from corpses have there been enough eye transplants to go round. Doctors estimate that the cornea operation could help 100,000 U.S. citizens to see, but it is a rare type of philanthropist who at his death gives his sound eyes for this purpose.

To remedy the local eye shortage, the two big hospitals which do a lot of New York City's eye work (Cornell Medical Center, Manhattan Eye and Ear Hospital) are starting an eye bank. It will be run on the same principle as a blood bank except that 1) any healthy human eye will do for transplanting—blood type does not matter; 2) doctors do not like to use grafts from eyes that have been kept more than 72 hours, so the bank's assets must be used more quickly than a blood bank's.

The plan is to get 100 or more metropolitan hospitals to contribute eyes from cadavers, always getting legal releases, even for willed eyes, as relatives often object to their removal. Each of the hospitals in succession will get a week's supply of eyes, will turn over any extra eyes to other hospitals that need them. A very few eyes will go a long way—one sound eye can provide grafts for as many as three blind eyes. Once the eye bank gets established, no blind person whose cornea can be repaired should have to wait very long to see.

SWITZERLAND'S OCEAN-GOING FLEET
(The joke about the Swiss navy is one of long standing. Since the early days of the war, however, Switzerland has had own her merchant marine, in spite of the fact that the country has no access to the sea. The following is a condensation of an article appearing in the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung." )

During the early part of 1939 the first suggestions were made to the Swiss Government to purchase some ocean freighters so that, in the case of war, products needed by Switzerland from overseas could be fetched by ships flying the Swiss flag. But after having made inquiries in London and Washington, the Swiss authorities arrived at the conclusion that a solution of this kind was impossible. The Government itself could not at that time consider starting a shipping enterprise of its own, as its organization was not elastic enough and did not possess the necessary experience. For the founding of a Swiss private shipping enterprise, conditions were also unfavorable at the beginning of 1939, as the shipping firms of all countries were working at a loss as a result of the depression that had been lasting for five years.

A practical solution was finally found in the charter of Greek ships of a total tonnage
of 115,000 tons, to which the belligerents of both sides promised to grant immunity. The contract for the Greek ships covered a period lasting up to three months after the conclusion of an armistice, with an option for another three months. This arrangement proved very satisfactory for Switzerland until Greece was drawn into the war in the autumn of 1940, a situation which led to new complications. It was only then that the drawing up of a Swiss maritime code and the introduction of the Swiss flag to the high seas became an urgent matter.

Today Switzerland owns ocean vessels of a total tonnage of 124,000 tons. In addition to the former Greek ships there is the Lugano (9,300 tons), belonging to the Swiss Shipping Co., Ltd., and sailing to African and American ports, and the Generosa (2,200 tons), on the Marseille-Lisbon run. Thanks to the immunity granted these ships by all belligerents, some 80 million francs have been saved so far in war-risk premiums.

The Swiss ships, which serve exclusively for Swiss purposes—except when serving the purposes of the International Red Cross, which has additional shipping space at its disposal—are respected by all parties. The sole mishap was the sinking of the Maloja (2,650 tons), which was hit by bombs near Genoa. Among the ports called at regularly by Swiss vessels are Marseille, Lisbon, Barcelona, Bilbao, Philadelphia, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Buenos Aires, Havana, Lourenço Marques, and several other Central American and African ports. The Greek ships have proved satisfactory and are carrying Swiss cargoes at less than the world-market rates. The Government has also been negotiating the charter of Spanish ships.

The Swiss Government has already made it quite clear that after the end of the war the Government will discontinue its own shipping and will offer those ships remaining in its hands to private enterprises at favorable prices.

THREE DAYS' LEAVE
By Gretta Palmer.

(Condensed from "Woman's Home Companion," one of the most widely read women's magazines in the USA)

Pregnancy is the main problem of health welfare within American industry. The 20 million women who are working in industry are nearly all of child-bearing age, and half of them are married. The consequence is a high percentage of absences from work, increased number of abortions, and a deteriorating influence on the general state of health.

One large enterprise, with factories in many parts of the country, has calculated that one seventh of all its married female employees are permanently absent because they have just had a child, or are expecting one, or because they are undergoing abortion. This particular concern does not object to pregnancy. There are, however, a number of factories which do discharge a woman as soon as it becomes evident that she is going to have a baby. They are afraid of getting into trouble, for if a woman, while working, should happen to fall victim to an accident followed by a miscarriage—how large is the indemnity she will be entitled to claim? In such factories, women are confronted with the tragic choice: child or work. They often conceal their condition and remain at work much too long; frequently they turn to the assistance of an abortionist.

A well-known American physician, Dr. Morris Fishbein, has estimated the increase of abortions during the war to be between 20 and 40 per cent. One quarter of all the pregnancies in one of the country's largest war industries is being artificially interfered with, according to reports submitted by this concern's medical supervisors. In many towns with war industry the common expression is "three days' leave" when speaking of an abortion.

"Quick, quick, Junior has got one."

(Collier's)

AMERICA TURNS TO RICE GROWING
(Condensed from a U.P. telegram from Washington)

The US Department of Agriculture has announced that the rice harvest of 1943 in the Western Hemisphere has reached the record amount of 200 million bushels. This is almost twice as much as the normal harvest fifteen years ago. The acreage devoted to rice has been considerably increased in all Western countries in which soil and climatic conditions permit the growing
of rice. This intensified rice cultivation is chiefly the result of the stoppage of rice imports originating from Burma, French Indo-China, and Thailand, which countries supplied 95 per cent of the rice demand in international trade before the war.

According to the figures of the US Department of Agriculture, some 55 per cent of the 1943 rice harvest of the Western Hemisphere was produced in South America, 37 per cent in North America, 4 per cent in Central America, and 4 per cent in the Caribbean area. The average rice harvest of the United States in the five-year period 1926-30 amounted to 42.5 million bushels; 1943 saw the record harvest of 70 million bushels.

Since the growing of rice has proved itself to be profitable in America, it is to be assumed that the considerably increased cultivation will be continued after the war. This production would, however, have a decisive influence on the international rice market of the future. Since rice was grown on a large scale only in the consumer countries themselves, the quantity appearing on the international market represented no more than a few per cent of the world's production. The additional offers from America would consequently cause a strong oversupply on a narrow international market which, moreover, appears somewhat threatened by the progressing change-over of rice consumers to the consumption of wheat.

SWEDEN IN CHARGE

(Condensed from a Stockholm report to the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung")

Sweden is second only to Switzerland in the number of requests she has accepted to protect the interests of belligerent states. She now represents twenty states in more than sixty countries. The latest requests in this respect were for Sweden to take charge of the interests of Argentina in Germany and Japan and of the interests of Greece in Germany, which were hitherto represented by Argentina. The Foreign Office in Sweden has organized a special "B Department" to handle this work. Although some 15,000 letters and telegrams arrived at or were sent out from the B Department and its card index contains the names of about 30,000 people, it has no more than eleven employees in Stockholm. Another 150 people or so are employed abroad. In nine capitals, in particular in Berlin, Rome, London, Washington, and Tokyo, a B Department has been attached to the Swedish legations, with a Swedish official heading the necessary Swedish or foreign office personnel; in other countries the work is taken care of by the regular diplomatic or consular personnel. Expenditure for other nations amounted to some 5 million kroner last year; relief payments are included in this figure. The expenses arising for the Swedish Government from this work are refunded by the various countries according to a fixed proportion.

The largest amount of work for Sweden is involved in protecting the interests of Germany, which she represents in four countries. The Netherlands probably occupy second place, as Sweden has taken charge of their interests in seven countries. The interests of Hungary are represented by Sweden in eight countries, as are those of the Soviet Union, whom Sweden also represents in Germany. Furthermore, Sweden represents Japan and Mexico in four countries each, Finland, Rumania, and Iran in three countries each, and Iceland, Slovakia, Belgium, and Argentina in two countries each. In several cases Sweden has undertaken to protect the interests of both sides as, for instance, those of the Soviet Union in Finland and those of Finland in the Soviet Union.

The B Department deserves special mention for its collaboration in the various exchange procedures for diplomats and other citizens of both camps, for which the two large Swedish liners Drottningholm and Gripsholm were made available.

A YELLOW BOOK

(From "Time")

Frenchmen in Algiers pressed another case: the need of their comrades inside France for arms. The resistance movement in the homeland, they claimed, should be recognized as the vanguard of Allied invasion. In the ranks of 40,000 shock troops actively harrying the Germans, there was not more than one weapon for every 20 men. "The underground movement," said one resistance delegate, "is dying from exhaustion."

The delegates in the Assembly knew that for some time no arms had been delivered to French patriots from England. They rejected the Allied explanation that bad weather had prevented deliveries by air, charged both the [Algiers] Committee and the Allies with disregarding the resistance movement's needs.
As head of the Committee, General Charles de Gaulle answered for its actions. "Some day," he said, "a Yellow Book—a sad book indeed—will be published about the talks that took place between our Committee and the Allied Governments. You will see then that we did all we could... We must recognize that [the Allies] have done much to help... If their help has not equaled the high level reached by the men in the resistance movement, I prefer not to talk about it."

"In this room I have hoarded a few things that we shan't be able to get anywhere soon."

(Saturday Evening Post)

**SPIES IN THE USSR**

(In Moscow the "Pravda" published a speech taking up one and a half of its pages and held by N. S. Khristchiov, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, in Kiev. The speech dealt with the troubles encountered by the Bolsheviks in the territories reoccupied by the Red Army last year; the following is a condensed excerpt.)

The Ukrainian-German nationalists served as guides for the German troops. We have in our hands numerous original documents which bear witness to the part played by the Ukrainian-German nationalists, to their loyal service to the Germans. When partisan detachments were formed on Ukrainian soil in the rear of the German Army, the Ukrainian-German nationalists decided upon a trick. They also pretended to be enemies of the Germans and formed armed nationalist bands. In reality, however, they did not once oppose the Germans but conducted warfare upon the Soviet partisans and the Red Army. In January 1944 representatives of Ukrainian nationalist organizations held negotiations with the German authorities, as the result of which they were supplied by the Germans with arms, ammunition, and food in return for the promise to conduct a desperate struggle against the Red Army and the Soviet partisans. The Presidency of the Supreme Council and the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic turn to the Ukrainian nationalists with an appeal promising to pardon the offenses of all those who renounce their ties with the Germans.

(The Soviet radio recently broadcast a statement by the public prosecutor's office in Moscow pointing to the infiltration of enemy agents and spies into the Soviet Union. The following is an excerpt.)

There are spies who have found their way into the Red Army, into armament plants, into important factories, where they copy documents and steal plans. Even the strongest army grows weak if it is not watchful. When the enemy retreats from territories formerly occupied by him, he leaves spies behind in the guise of partisans. These men have received special training in spy schools. They are disguised as soldiers, refugees, workers, party functionaries, and they possess all the necessary papers.

(This is followed by a number of examples of espionage activity, such as that of a spy who caused a woman in love with him to become the mistress of an armament worker and in this way obtained secret material.)

**THE END OF THE AMERICAN SILVER EXPERIMENT**

(Condensed from "Der Bund," Bern)

The mighty hoard of silver which has been assembled in the vaults of the US Treasury is now, according to a Washington report, to be placed entirely at the disposal of the armament industry. This means the end of the much-attacked monetary policy conducted by the US Government since 1934 under the pressure of the country's silver producers. The object of this policy was to create a metal coverage for the US dollar consisting of one quarter silver and three quarters gold. As a result, the Government made huge silver purchases at prices far above the level of the world-market price.

By a new law, the Green Bill, President Roosevelt has now been empowered by Congress to sell the "free" silver, which is not directly earmarked for the note coverage, to the war industry as well as to lend this industry the monetary silver reserves. The quantity of silver being put on the market
by this measure corresponds to the world production of about eight years. Half of it is free silver and half of it monetary silver serving as a cover for the silver certificates in the hands of the public.

To a certain extent the "splendid isolation" of the American silver reserves had already come to an end in 1942, when a law was passed permitting the Treasury to lend nonmonetary silver to industry on condition that it would not be used up but returned to the Government upon demand after the war. Since the end of 1942, free silver has been finding increasing uses in industry, for instance, in the form of electric wiring, especially in the new Government armament plants, to free copper for the manufacture of ammunition. According to the statement made by a representative of the Office for War Production before the Senate Finance and Currency Committee, 245 million ounces of the 1.29 billion ounces of free silver reserves of the Government were "loaned" to the Army Administration for military purposes and more than a billion ounces to industry, so that actually there are no more than 48 million ounces of free silver left.

In order to cover further war-essential requirements of silver, it became necessary for the monetary silver, too, to be loaned out by the Government under the same conditions as hitherto the free silver, so that in future the silver certificates will possess only a theoretical cover. Moreover, the free silver already placed on the market will no longer be recalled and may now be used up. Industrial experts have calculated that the entire amount will barely suffice to cover the requirements of one year.

In this way the Green Bill has solved the extremely complicated problem that had arisen from the hoarding of such vast silver reserves. Apparently American economic and Government circles do not reckon with a return to the silver policy of 1934. The general assumption is that the many new industrial uses found for silver are not a passing phenomenon of the war but will continue to play a role in future peace-time economics.

OUT OF THE ASHES
(Condensed from the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung")

After one of the heavy air raids on Leipzig, the subscribers to the magazine Atlantis were informed by the publishers that the November and December issues had been destroyed and that they were to be compensated by a double issue appearing in January. This double issue has appeared now; and when the reader opens it, he feels almost overwhelmed with gratefulness to the editor, who has opened his inexhaustible archives, chosen the best, compiled it with his usual care, and in this way turned a loss into a unique asset.

On about a hundred pages of photos and print we are introduced to "Places and Words of Worship." The field covered is a very wide one: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Chinese nature religions appear in illustrations and speak to us in documents.

BACTERIA UNDER THE WEATHER
(Condensed from a DNB scientific report)

Recent observations in Germany have shown that microorganisms and bacteria react to certain types of weather. Thus the luminescence of the microorganism Vibrio Dunbar increases when a high-pressure area is formed and decreases with the forming of a low-pressure area. The same is true of the power of reduction or speed of reproduction of Streptococcus lactis, the most important lactic-acid-forming bacillus, which decreases in a cyclonic atmosphere and increases with the development of a high-pressure area.

The conclusion drawn from these observations is that on the whole the speed and completeness of microbiological processes is to a certain extent related to weather conditions. During high-pressure periods the various manifestations of life of microorganisms are more intensive, and vice versa. However, it is less the constant weather than the changes of weather which are mirrored in biological life. Thus, just before the sky becomes more cloudy, bacteria swarm out very little or not at all; when the cloudiness decreases, their swarming activity intensifies again.

It may, perhaps, be of practical significance that the protective power of human saliva against bacteria increases in high-pressure weather and is reduced in a low-pressure period. However, the change in the saliva occurs somewhat later than the change in the activities of the microorganisms. As a result of this difference in time, it is possible that saliva which is still weak meets with highly virulent bacteria, or vice versa. In the first case the reproduction of disease germs in the human body would be favored, in the second it would be impeded. In view of the fact that the changes in the protective
power of the saliva occur in all human beings in the same way. The outbreak of an epidemic would be favored in the first case, while in the second case the dying away of an epidemic would be favored.

Food Will Win the War!

"Maybe, but how are you going to get the enemies to eat here?"

(\textit{Saturday Evening Post})

\textbf{WHITHER THOU GOEST...}

(As condensed from "\textit{Time}" by "\textit{Reader's Digest}" Overseas Edition)

There is a strange war being fought at present in the whole of the United States by a gigantic, unorganized army of women. The combatants are the wives, mothers, and fiancées of men called to the colors, and their only battle plan is to follow in the wake of the men they love.

The enemies of these women are communications, which are strained to breaking point; the high cost of living, which makes the meager family allowance barely sufficient for self-support; the serious shortage of accommodations; and inhuman rents—not to mention the increasing difficulties in getting in touch with the men. Disappointments caused by the men's unforeseen transfer by sudden military orders can confound all their plans, so carefully worked out for several months in advance, and make their long, costly, and tiresome journeys quite useless.

Relief organizations such as Traveler's Aid, Red Cross, and the Army and Navy's Social Bureaus are flooded with applications from stranded women who are overtaken by difficulties during their travels. In 1942, Traveler's Aid had to attend to 885,000 such cases. During the first six months of 1943 the figure had risen to 1½ million cases and is continuing to increase steadily.

Traveler's organizations are doing everything within their power to dissuade the women from undertaking journeys which are not absolutely unavoidable, but the soldier's wife interprets the idea of "absolutely unavoidable" in her own peculiar way.

And what can one say to such candid confessions as the following? It was made by a young girl from the Eastern States who had traveled 4,300 kilometers across the American continent to California: "I do not understand why I went. It was a horrid journey. But when I heard that Harry was in San Francisco I simply had to try to see him. He was at the Aleutians and I hadn't heard anything from him for more than two months."

A girl from Kansas went to Miami, Florida, to be married. She met her fiancé at the railroad station ready to leave in a troop train for "somewhere" with his unit. He barely had time to tell her to travel north some 2,700 kilometers to Newark, New Jersey, where he knew he was to change trains and continue his journey to some encampment around New York, he didn't know which. Alone, unhappy, and miserable, the girl dashed up to Newark. There she went to meet each arriving troop train and hung around at the station for two days searching among all who arrived. Finally she collapsed, and a welfare organization had to take care of her.

The soldier's wife, who is naturally never in a position to give an officially acceptable reason for her journey, stands always at the bottom of the list of persons permitted to board trains. In busses the military are given precedence over all others, and the soldier's wife must take her place at the end of the facilities granted civilians. In the busses which run to and from the naval base off Corpus Christi, Texas, all uniformed men are, however, permitted to take their wives with them, and women who often have errands there have evolved a special technique of providing themselves with male companions for the sole purpose of getting a lift.

Social welfare workers have had many an occasion to wonder at the astonishing ignorance of young brides who had lived a carefree, secure life in some small town. Many of them had to be taught such simple things as how to insert a coin into the slot of an automatic public telephone and how to dial the number.

A sailor's wife who moved into New York with her three children told the Traveler's Aid office that she hoped to be able to get a "nice four-roomed flat near Central Park"—where the most expensive apartment houses in New York are located—for something around 18 dollars a month!
When the exhausted soldier's wife finally arrives at the end of her journey, the real difficulties have only begun for her. In the first place, most of the hotels are overcrowded and, in places where the shortage of accommodation is at its worst, landlords have established a veritable blockade against families with small children. This disgraceful state of affairs evoked the following protest in the form of a newspaper ad:

A naval officer's wife, whose husband is serving his country in another hemisphere and who is the mother of THREE MONSTERS, viz., children, wishes to rent a house, flat, SHED, CAGE or anything at all which may serve as a shelter under present circumstances.

Other house-hunters try to appeal directly to the landlord's tender heart in this way:

I am only three weeks old. My daddy, who is a naval officer, wishes so much to live together with me and Mummy. We need a furnished flat. HELP ME! REPLY TO JUDY!

But once the soldier's wife has made up her mind to follow her husband, nothing short of his transfer to another hemisphere can stop her; and when large troop forces are shifted from one part of the United States to another, this army of women sets out in their wake.

ONLY 348 DAYS UNTIL . . .

(From "Time")

U.S. citizens were reminded for the umpteenth time of the incredible energy and resolution which set Eleanor Roosevelt apart from ordinary women: the First Lady reported in her column of Jan. 12 that she had been out the day before buying "some Christmas presents for the coming year."

PLANE WITHOUT PROPELLER

(Condensed from "Svenska Dagbladet")

The new propellerless, jet-propulsion airplane mentioned recently in press dispatches is, according to the latest information available, a pursuit plane constructed from drawings made by Colonel Frank Whittle, in his day a well-known British pursuit pilot. The reports spread about its speed vary between 800 and 1,000 kilometers per hour; but even the highest of these figures is not beyond the realm of probability.

One must differentiate between the rocket-propulsion plane and the jet-propulsion plane, although both are based on the same principle. A rocket plane carries both fuel and the oxygen required for its combustion (the fuel being either gunpowder or hydrogen plus oxygen, which latter two are mixed before combustion to produce oxyhydrogen gas), whereas the jet-propulsion plane, while carrying its fuel, takes the oxygen for combustion directly from the surrounding atmosphere. Hence a rocket airplane is not dependent on the quantity of oxygen contained in the atmosphere through which it flies; on the other hand, it must carry a fuel load some seventeen to eighteen times as large as the fuel load of a jet-propulsion plane. For this reason, airplanes constructed for rocket propulsion only are at present useless for all practical purposes. One can, however, easily visualize an ordinary propeller-driven plane being provided with a rocket apparatus to give it an extra acceleration for short periods of time. The Germans have for many years been using rocket equipments to aid heavily loaded planes at the take-off, and not long ago it was reported that German bombers are equipped with an extra rocket apparatus to enable them to increase their flying speed at critical moments, for instance, when it becomes necessary at all cost to evade defensive pursuit planes during a bombing raid.

But, to return to the jet-propulsion principle, it should be noted that it is by no means a technical novelty, although until very recently it had not yet been directly employed in practice.

The basic principle of jet propulsion is, in short, that air is taken in through the plane's nose or the forward edge of the wings. Passing by the starting engine, it is drawn into rotary compression chambers where it is highly compressed. When the air leaves the compressing chambers, fuel is injected into it, and this mixture is then forced into the combustion chamber. As a
result of the rapid rise in temperature caused by the combustion, the burning gas mixture expands tremendously and jets out of the discharge nozzle at the rear, thus creating a powerful thrust which drives the plane forward. The rotary air compressors are driven by the starting engine; when this is cut off they can be driven by a gas turbine which absorbs a small fraction of the gas pressure created in the combustion chamber.

The disadvantage of propeller planes lies in the fact that at high speeds the efficiency of propellers is reduced, so that the top speed of propeller-driven planes has been computed at 850 to 900 kilometers per hour. Jet propulsion, on the other hand, is less efficient at lower speeds, attaining its highest efficiency at velocities above 900 to 1,000 kilometers per hour. Hence jet propulsion is unsuited for the take-off, the propelling power of the jet at a few kilometers per hour being very low in proportion to the total weight of the propulsion equipment.

Several solutions have been thought of to remedy this drawback. Amongst other schemes, rocket equipments have been suggested as starting aids. Another solution, which seems to have found particular favor in the USA, is that shown in our illustration: a jet-propulsion plane equipped with an ordinary aircraft motor driving a propeller for starting which could later be cut off and replaced by jet propulsion at a higher altitude and higher speed.

The first jet-propelled airplane in the world actually to have made a flight was constructed by the Italian engineer S. Campini, who began with his experiments in 1932 and got his machine into the air by 1940. But his plane—the Caproni-Campini—did not come up to the expectations of its constructor. Campini calculated the maximum speed of his plane at over 700 kilometers per hour; but during the only serious test made with it on a long-distance flight, the Campini plane covered the 474 kilometers from Milan to Rome in 2 hours and 15 minutes, viz., at an average of 210 kilometers per hour. However, as the plane made a stop of unspecified length during this flight, its actual flying speed was higher, although hardly above 400 kilometers per hour.

Among other constructors of jet-propelled planes, the famous German Professor Junkers and his equally famous countryman Heinkel deserve mention. France was intensely interested in jet propulsion, and at the aeronautical exhibition in Paris in 1938 Leduc showed a model of a jet-propulsion plane which he claimed to have a power of 14,000 hp, a maximum speed of 1,000 kilometers per hour, a top ceiling of 30,000 meters, and a range of 4 hours flying time. The model he exhibited was a small plane with a wing spread of only 10 meters, i.e., about the same size as a modern pursuit plane. The well-known French firm of Breguet backed Leduc's projects, and the first French jet-propulsion plane was expected to take to the air in 1940. But then came the war and put a stop to this as to so many other French aviation schemes. The British aviation magazine *Flight* in its issue of September 1941 gave a diagrammed description of the jet-propulsion plane.

Since then, further experiments with jet-propulsion planes have been veiled in secrecy. But a few months ago it began to look as if this type of plane might after all see service in this war. Recent data on actual flying performances have, of course, not been made available.

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The Propellerless Caproni-Campini Plane

The air sucked in at the front and mixed with an explosive gas can be seen streaming out of the compressor with great force and being ignited. In the tail of the plane, which has been dismantled in this photograph, is the nozzle through which the gases expanding through the explosion escape, thus driving the plane forward.
THE WELL OF TRENČIN

By JOACHIM von SCHALSCHA-EHRENFELD

The following short story takes our readers to the Slovakia of the early fourteenth century when, under their wise King Matthias, the Slovaks reached the peak of their medieval history.

The same Carpathian Mountains which the Slovaks had then to defend against the Turks are now being fortified again, this time against the onslaught of the Red Army.—K.M.

WHEN Matthias Táčak—the legendary Kral Matthus Trenčianski of the Slovaks—had audaciously proclaimed himself King of Slovakia, the Turkish viceroy at Belgrade sent messengers to him to offer him an alliance. But the King did not wish to maintain his rule over a Christian country with the aid of the infidels and rejected the offer. In a rapid change of feeling the Turk decided to wage war on him, hoping quickly to conquer the young state, which was not yet properly organized and protected, indeed, not even recognized by its neighbors. In this way he intended to drive a deep wedge into the borderlands of the Christians between the sea and the great plains.

The King occupied the passes, sent out requests for aid to his neighbors, although without much hope, and kept his army in readiness, while small groups of his bold horsemen watched huge dust clouds rising over the plains of Hungary, dust clouds which indicated the approach of the hostile army.

The limestone rocks and needles on the ridges of the deep-green Carpathian Mountains glowed in the light of the sinking sun like countless pieces of rose-quartz, shining like distant lights into the foothills and the wide, silvery plain, while the shadows of the chasms drew sparse black contours in the smooth line of the summits. A troop of horsemen lay encamped between the last spurs of the mountain forest. Holding their horses by the reins, the men were staring out into the barren land where nothing seemed bold enough to stand up except the poles of a draw-well on the distant rim between heaven and earth. At their feet a cart track wound its way toward the forest land, and what were almost the last troops of the Turkish army were hurrying along it to catch up with the main body.

The horsemen were craning their necks and listening, half incredulously, to what the gipsy was saying who squatted beside their leader. “It is true, my lord,” he repeated, “you can hang me if I lie! In the sedan chair there, among the horsemen, is the young wife of the great Pasha of Belgrade. He has only this one wife, my lord, so help me God; he discharged all the women of his harem when Fatme came to him. She is beautiful, more beautiful even than the gipsy girls. She is not a Turk, she is from a distant tribe in the sand deserts. His warriors grumbled when he took her along on this campaign, but they hold their breath when they have seen the flower of the East; for the women of the desert do not wear the veil of the Turkish women!”

Ondrey, the leader, smiled at the swarthy man’s fervor. “Come and see me at Trenčín, Morre, there your news will be rewarded according to what it is worth. Now hold your tongue and leave.”

The horsemen mounted and moved cautiously through the trees toward the spot where the little troop surrounding the sedan would soon reach the forest. The leader counted his men and those of the opponent and calculated the distance to the next group of soldiers which could just be made out in the failing light. They stopped in the bushes close by the side of the road. “We’ll assemble again at the foot of the Snake Mountain. As soon as I have the woman in my saddle, scatter into the woods.”

Rapid hoof beats were approaching; the wild, flickering light of a few torches shone on the lacquered roof of the sedan, sparkled on the spears and armor of the bodyguards.
The scream of a falcon, and silently the Slovak horsemen broke cover, ran down the Turks and cut a path to the sedan chair. Three, four Turks rolled among the hoofs, the front horse of the sedan sank to its knees, dead. The torches went out, except for one, fizzling on the ground, but it did not become any darker. The red glow reflected from fifty blades, straight, heavy Christian swords and curved Turkish scimitars.

Ondrey cut down the leader of the Turks and tore the curtain from the sedan. The last torch flared up and, as if bewitched, he stared into the eyes of the woman. He slowly dropped his sword; he understood the enthusiasm of the gipsy, he understood the Pasha, he only could not understand why he did not fall off his horse to kiss the hands lifted avertingly against him. The light went out, and the clank and thud of the skirmish continued in the darkness. Now Ondrey threw his sword into the face of the nearest Turk, forced his horse close to the sedan, felt the warm, trembling body of the woman in his hands, a moment later against his breast, and tore away into the forest. His men held up the Turks for another instant or two; then they detached themselves and galloped off in all directions, just as Turkish reinforcements appeared from both sides. They found an empty, broken sedan chair, dead men, and groaning horses; they took up the pursuit of the Slovaks with torches and cries, but try riding at night through a forest you do not know!

The horse had carried the two along a steep slope, climbing through the cliffs and cautiously feeling its way along precipices. It had followed the tortuous trails made by wild animals, trotted across clearings and along narrow paths known only to huntsmen, stag, and bear. And now it was walking along a small road in a quiet valley, eager and alert. For the man in the saddle and the woman did not know where they were and paid no attention either to the path or to the silent mountains which bore the sky upon their shoulders.

In Fatme a world had collapsed; seas were raging where mountains had hitherto lain in stony tranquillity. At first, fear had seized her and alarm, for imprisonment was a hard fate, separated from the husband she loved; and she felt pain and anger at the rough hand that had torn her from the sedan as if she were a slave. But all that had faded before the radiant face of the man whose saddle she was sharing. Did he not like Ali, the hero, fall upon his guards, the best men of the army to whom the Pasha had entrusted his most precious possession? She had met viziers and pashas dressed in silk, gold, and pearls; this man wore a simple cuirass, yet he was a great person.

Not until the horse stood still did they become aware of their surroundings. The red glow shining through the trees was not the dawn: it was the torches of Turkish horsemen. Ondrey made the horse climb up the slope; they hid behind branches and watched the enemy pass by below. What clankèd down there was her freedom and his death. The slightest sound from her would have been enough. Apprehensively he covered her mouth with his hand. She freed herself vigorously, but she remained silent; he saw her enigmatic smile. The clapping of the hoofs, the light of the torches, disappeared in the forest.

Toward morning they were high up in the mountains. The woman in her silk robes shuddered in the dewy air and from the coldness of his iron. He wrapped his riding cloak around her. She loosened a necklace of green stones from her neck and wrapped it twice around his left wrist.
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The following night half a score of dishevelled horsemen stopped at the mountain castle of Treněín. While the bondmen disappeared into the stables and gate rooms, Ondrey led a slender cloaked figure to King Matthias, his uncle. The latter listened to Ondrey's report and silently regarded the woman, who timidly nestled up to the wolfskin covering the chair. Her eyes hung on Ondrey's mouth, and although she did not understand a word of his language, her heart throbbed when he told of the adventures of the night. "That is how I took her prisoner," Ondrey concluded. "Give me leave till tomorrow, and I shall take her to my castle above the Vladnitz valley." The King raised his hand: "In two hours you shall ride—not to the Vladnitz castle. Your booty is good, very good. Perhaps worth more than you know now and I—suspect. But she is not yours."

"Not mine?" Ondrey burst out, "I lifted her out of the sedan, I killed the leader—"

"Nothing is yours except the glory of the bold deed. Your booty belongs to your people, as do you and your life. You have something that may save all, and you want to keep it for yourself?" Ondrey lowered his eyes before the King's glance. He made a helpless movement and looked at Fatme, he kissed her hands once, twice, and turned back to the King: "Command me, I shall ride." Ondrey left the room, bowing to the King, bowing to Fatme as to a noble stranger.

She looked after him with surprise. The King took her hand and led her to his queen and her women, in whose special care he placed her. Then, for a long time, he walked up and down in his tower room, deep in thought. Below, Ondrey's horse thundered across the bridge. The King had the commander of the castle called: "Tomorrow toward noon a Turkish delegation will arrive, I know. You will receive them, politely but curtly. Fifty heavily armed men at the gate, twenty in the hall." The commander, to whom the King's knowledge seemed weird, left hastily; and the King remained alone with his thoughts and the restless crackling of the torch.

The Turks arrived, and after long negotiations a strange treaty was signed at Treněín, a treaty in which there was no mention of gold, territory, or military aid, but as a result of which a Turkish agha and ten horsemen were given quarters in the castle. With them came slaves, tools, and a master from Germany who knew the art of drilling wells. For the King, aware that gold and arms are transient and that treaties are made to be broken by the stronger, had devised a plan which left the precious pawn in his hand as long as possible. The Pasha was to have a well drilled in the castle on the mountain; up to its completion, however, Fatme was to remain under the care of the King. In this way the King and his country were safe from the Turks for many years, and later he would be strong enough to protect itself: for with the means available in those days it was regarded as almost impossible to carry out this project. Meanwhile he undertook to keep the woman in strict seclusion.

The paving of the inner court was torn up, earth began to pile up, and soon the picks were striking against the hard limestone. A windlass was erected over the shaft and a bucket made its first journey down on a clattering chain. Only at rare intervals was it pulled up filled with stones. The rock was hard, and the slaves took their time. The agha and the warriors guarding the slaves had their eyes more on the windows and gates, on everything happening in the court and on the stairs. The rock was hard and, when the slaves appeared on the surface in the evenings to be locked up in the Turks' house, their trip through the air had grown only a few chain links longer.

The King saw this with a smile; but he also saw how the fat agha, chatting sociably with everybody and finding out important little details about the castle and its life, showed an interest in many other things the King did not care for. And one evening, when the agha was trying to discover how many yards of rope were needed to get to the ground from the rear wall, a heavy hand fell on his shoulder. "Ah, oh, beautiful—just going for a walk," he stammered, taken by surprise. "The air of Treněín does not seem to agree with you, O Agha, your gait is unsteady and you are confusing forbidden walls and paths with your guards' room. You had better ask to be relieved before your illness grows worse and costs you your life."

The fat man disappeared a few days later, and when the new agha reported for duty the King looked into a noble face with burning eyes that matched the clothes of a subordinate officer as poorly as did his careful language. But courtesy forbade questions, and the King's suspicion
could find no fault with him except that he speeded up the work in a most unwelcome manner. The agha spoke with no one, drove off the gaping people with a gesture showing that he was accustomed to being obeyed, asked no questions, and did nothing he was not permitted to do. Yet there was something peculiar about this lean man with the slender hands and arrogant lips. Did not the Turks bow lower, did they not follow his orders more quickly than would have seemed necessary with a man of his rank? Did not a courier from the Pasha arrive every month with heavy bags filled with parchments, which the messenger spread before the agha in conversations lasting through the night, filling pages at his dictation with curly Arabic signs, to gallop off southward again at the following dawn?

Many riddles were spun around the Turk, and his predilection for the building of the well was not the least among them. It was not only that during the day he drove the slaves till they were frantic; even at night he sat on the rocks beside the shaft, looking across the top of the wall to the mountain ridges which stood like a frozen wave in the moonlight, and twanged a few cords on the three-stringed tanbur. And one night he sang a song in the language of the great desert which nobody in the castle understood beside him, except the woman, who leaned against the bars of her window with a fluttering heart.

"Beautiful is the flower of the Sirhan,
Like the gazelle
Fleeing gracefully before the rider
Like a palm swaying in the desert wind
Her curls swing across her breasts,
In which her heart beats:
O Lord of my tent,
O my husband!
Faithful is the dove of the Sirhan,
She knows her hero
Surrounded by a thousand enemies,
And she does not glance at the young man
Who radiantly gallops off
On his swift charger.
Her foot moves lightly
Over the green meadows in the valley
And yet it does not leave the path
Trodden by the hoofs of her camel
In the sand.
Beautiful is the flower of the Sirhan and faithful."

Ceaselessly the chisels picked away in the shaft, the chain screeched, the windlass turned under unwilling fists. No one stopped to watch any more when the slaves were raised from the shaft in the evening, standing with their feet in the bucket and clinging to the chain with their arms, when they stretched their backs and took deep gulps of the good, cool air. Many of them, however, came up as limp bundles, tied to the bucket, and were quietly carried away. For the air was bad down there, and the speed of the work made the heart race and throb in wild leaps. But for every one who perished, another man slid down the following daybreak.

Day after day the agha stood beside the windlass, counting with impatient patience the turns that were necessary to bring the bucket up. Always his greedy eyes saw only gray limestone coming up, without a trace of dampness in it. Hour after hour his eyes sought out the shadow at the barred window; then the creases around his mouth became deeper, the movement of his hands more hasty.

Fatme, too, was counting the buckets, and her heart swayed between desire and will, like the top of a fir tree in the mountain wind; for as different as the tree top and the root are the emotions of a woman and a man. Now she trembled with fear to hear the cries of joy of the slaves in the well, to see a dripping bucket hoisted by the chain; then she felt that she must leave, that she could no longer stand it at the castle; and yet it was bliss to her to look at the people in the courtyard who were so alike and so dissimilar to him whose horse had carried her one night. Then again she desired only to return to the white city across the two rivers or to the distant deserts, so that she might never see him again—and stood at the window, waiting for the hour when he should cross the courtyard. Her eyes shone, while her mouth whispered bitter words: "Beautiful is the dove of the Sirhan and faithful."
ONDREY rarely came to Trenčín, he avoided the place where he knew the woman he loved to be. Like a badly tamed hawk he sat in his little castle above the Vlarnitza valley, and only the adventure of a bear hunt could entice him from his tower. There was no lack of those in the Tatra Mountains, so that his step was as swift, his hand as sure as ever, when he crossed the court on this day.

He stopped beside the agha, rested his hand on a beam of the windlass, and measured the depth. A bracelet of green stones slipped out of his sleeve on to the back of his hand; he pushed it back and left. He did not notice the Turk beside him turn pale and clutch his dagger. The agha followed him with a look that made the blood freeze in the veins of the old supervisor. And the supervisor was, by Allah, accustomed to everything a long life during wild times had to offer.

* Ondrey, however, noticed nothing, rode off to the Vlarnitza castle, and did not return. No one, not his horsemen, not herdsmen nor charcoal burners, not the bears nor the stags, the eagles, the fir trees or the white waters of the Vlarnitza stream, which leaps down from the flower garden of the Kriňa slope, could tell where he had gone. The King had inquiries and searches made, and ordered his officers to keep a watch on the roads and borders; but too manifold in dress and origin were those who moved along the roads for the soldiers to be able positively to recognize one of them.

This occurred during the fifth year of the construction of the well. Nothing had changed: the screeching windlass still stood over the shaft, the agha still stood beside it with the same regularity with which the sun rises in the east. Only the row of silent mounds at the foot of the hill had become longer, very long, and the hair over the King's forehead had grown grayer. Heavily he felt the loss of his nephew, who was to have been the heir of all his work and hopes.

"For whom am I exerting myself?" Matthias thought, as he looked one autumn morning from his tower across the misty country. His right hand lay heavily on a pile of coarse papers: here the German towns of the Zips region promised men and arms, the prince of Transylvania sealed an alliance, gold was promised by the noble senate of San Marco if the war with Turkey should break out. He firmly grasped the crackling parchments: now the Turk could find water, if God so willed it.

Again the question arose: "For whom?" His eyes turned toward the town on the bank of the river; he did not love the townspeople, but he protected and looked after them, for they were needed for the country. The wooded mountains, from which the frugal castles of the nobility looked out, seemed to have moved closer in the silvery autumn mist, hemming in the plowed land; in the fields, peasants were moving about in their white clothes. Everywhere he could see the tiny white dots, carrying in the last of the harvest, crowding at the fringes of the forest, working at their huts and fences, and galloping around their herds. The answer to his question came from the country itself.

The noise of the windlass, which had become part of daily life, turned his thoughts in another direction. The clergy had been remonstrating, pleading, threatening, his father confessor kept on bringing up the matter. The bishop had demanded that he renounce the treaty; he was not concerned with political considerations, all he knew was that it was a sin to tolerate such cruel slavery under his very eyes. Matthias looked across his country again. If it is a sin, he thought, I am willing to take it upon myself for you. Those poor fellows must die so that you may live. And every day longer is a precious gift.

Later, when he walked across the court and, after having been greeted by the agha with a deep bow, looked into the shaft, it took his eyes some time before they could make out the figures at the bottom as they were revealed and hidden again by the swaying bucket coming up by the seemingly endless chain. Beside the well stood a slave who had arrived the day before with one of the many groups of replacements constantly being sent by the Pasha. Knives and red-hot irons had left little in his face that could still be recognized as human, and he had been brought here to die in the well. For in addition to physical tortures the men in Belgrade knew also how to apply well-considered mental tortures to punish each one according to his merit. When the King approached, the slave felt the point of a dagger between his shoulder blades and heard a voice whisper: "You will die at the first word or first step!" Obediently he looked to the ground, smiled painfully, and
thought: "Not with a single glance will I divert him from his path and endanger the treaty protecting our country." The slave did not lift his head until he heard the well-known step move away; he saw the King disappear into the door leading to the tower. Then he stepped into the bucket and grasped the chain with both hands.

Before he sank down into the gray shaft, the slave sent up one more glance. A woman in love cannot be deceived; her eyes widened in terror, and she opened her mouth to say something. But her lips closed again; the agha had seen it and smiled. Thenceforth the slaves remained in the well.

The work went on with noisy machines, cracking whips, racing picks. More often now the buckets came to the top, but more and more often, too, was their load carried down the mountain path, and those who met the bearers looked aside. More and more furious and shrill grew the rhythm of the work, which only stopped for a few hours at night, more terrible with every hour, until, in a dazzling noon hour, a confused clamon arose, a roar shook the foundations of the buildings, and people emerged hastily from rooms and courts, running toward the well. King Matthias looked down from the window in the tower just as the agha lifted a slopping bucket from the chain, raised it high up for everyone to see, and slowly poured out its contents: "God is great!"

The Pasha granted all the slaves their freedom, so the agha announced, and would fill their hands with gold. Never before had the buckets moved up and down so quickly, never before had there been such willing hands at the windlass as now, when Turks, slaves, and people from the castle, freed of a terrible weight, stood side by side, laughing, and tore at the wheels. One after another the men, dripping wet, were hoisted up from the shaft, the last but two, the last but one, now the last one hung suspended by the chain in the shaft.

Fatme had looked at each one, as through all the days and nights she had looked with a beating heart at each one who came to the top. When she realized that the mutilated one would be the last, she did not take her eyes off the agha; for she knew the people of her country and her time. The agha stood among the rejoicing crowd, closest to the rim of the shaft, and was holding one of the freed men by the shoulder. Now he waved at the last man hanging by the chain, leaned out too far over the side, swayed, and was pulled back just in time by many helpful hands. But a pile of broken rock lying beside the rim started to slip and fall, rumbling and crackling down the shaft.

Once more two men had to go down. After some hard work they brought up a few buckets of stone and a battered off with his horsemen into the sinking night.

A messenger at the gate of Trenčín: the Pasha asked for a safe-conduct for a hundred horsemen; he wished himself to take home the woman for whom his heart had been pining for so many years.

A few weeks later a colorful procession moved over the mountains. Cymbals and trumpets resounded, the crescents under the flowing horse tails rattled, the peasants timidly lined the way and stared at the gorgeous foreign horsemen from whom they were otherwise accustomed to hide in the forests and wilderness. The Pasha had sweets and silver coins tossed among the children in the villages.

When he rode into the courtyard of Trenčín with his guard of honor, King Matthias passed his hand across his eyes in surprise; but he did not have time to follow his thought to its end. The Pasha demanded first to see the well, which was the symbol of unutterable bitterness and a supreme will. He leaned over the side, dipped his finger into the bucket that was hoisted up, regarded the shaft, the walls, and the people with an all-embracing glance. Only at the one window, which was in no way distinguished from the others, did his eye remain fixed for a few seconds longer. King Matthias saw this. "You have risked much—and suffered much," he said. "It is God's will," replied the Turk.

In the great hall of the castle, through whose wide-arched windows the eyes could see far into the land, the woman was handed over to the Pasha before the assembled nobles of the country. He went forward a few steps to meet her, took her hand, and said a few words which the others did not understand; but they all saw how the reflection of his smile brightened up the stony face of the woman.

As a sign of hospitality the Pasha accepted a goblet of water and found words to express
the hope that he might live in undisturbed peace with the mighty king of these heroes; he regretted—a shade too verbose—the cruel fate that had robbed this king and his country of their heir.

The King lowered his head. Of course, this was exactly the scene he had imagined in that night during the Turkish war when Ondrey had brought the woman who now stood in all the ravishing beauty of the Orient beside the Pasha of Belgrade. But he whom he had at that time imagined at the right of his throne, he was missing today. With a sigh, he raised his head and looked down upon his country. Yet with the un-failing instinct of a great judge of human nature, his ear was listening for the imperceptible ring of insincerity in the voice of the Turk, whose proud, martial features seemed to be the truest mirror of his thoughts.

In the dusk of evening, when the sounds of the fiery Turkish music lost themselves behind the hills, King Matthias stood on the Tower of Trenčín. In the west the slender red crescent of the setting new moon hung suspended in the sky. He regarded it, deep in thought. He knew that the coming spring would bring war.

**BOOK REVIEW**

Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law, by Baron Nobushige Hozumi. (Tokyo, 1910, The Hokusaido Press, 205 pp., Yen 2.50.)

This work of Baron Hozumi, a lawyer of international fame at the beginning of this century, has been revised and republished by his son who, by means of this contribution to his own ancestor-worship, presents us with an interesting treatise on how much the cult—rather than the religion—of ancestor-worship has influenced public as well as private life in Japan. Whereas Confucianism was favorable to the growth of this custom, Buddhism—which is antagonistic to it—wisely adapted itself to the national practice, while the introduction of Western civilization had no influence on the beliefs of the people. The author arrives at the following conclusion:

“If mankind in their primitive stage had been entirely destitute of filial devotion or parental love, if their life had been the life of egotism and not of love and sympathy, the human race would have been extinct long ago, and this world would have become the world of wolves and tigers.”

It is a pity that many Christians see in ancestor-worship an infringement of the first Commandment instead of the fulfillment of the fifth Commandment to honor one’s parents; for, after all, the ancestral spirit is not regarded as having become a god but can well be compared to the Christian dogma of the immortal soul.

The unwritten law to keep special sacra, even in the poorest homes, where the deceased members of the family are re-member’ed daily and venerated on regular dates gives the mortal being a greater feeling of immortality than our Western style of only remembering the departed ones in our hearts. Are they not also worth a corner in our houses and a minute of our devotion on certain anniversaries, all the more so as very few can arrange a pilgrimage to the graves of their parents, much less remember the birth dates of their grandparents.

It is surprising that the centripetal force of ancestor-worship, which draws distant relatives together and binds them into a community, should so fully disregarded by all Western organizations, especially as it approaches so closely to the new German ideas of race and soil. Moreover, it would give the individual the consolation as well as an obligation in the realization that he is only a link in a long, long chain.

Such are the thoughts which arise in the mind of the reader of the book which, incidentally, was also cited by Professor Fujisawa during his lectures in Shanghai in 1913.—G. A. Voss.

**A Letter to the Editor**

Sir,

Nobody read with greater interest the article “The Russians in East Asia” which appeared in the May issue of “The XXth Century” than the members of the Russian community in Shanghai. It was felt, however, that the addition of several facts and names would round out and complete the picture which Colonel Nikolayev’s article gave.
In order to explain the existence of the great number of Russian emigrants in East Asia, we must remember that Russian pioneers from Eastern Siberia moving further and further to the east and skirting the northern border of the Chinese Empire through scarcely populated and little explored regions, had already reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the seventeenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century Russian influence spread to Manchuria. In 1896 an agreement was concluded between Russia and China, granting Russia the right to build and exploit the “Chinese Eastern Railway” and to have a Russian administration on a narrow strip of land along the railway line. The southern portion of these concessions, as well as the Russian influence in South Manchuria, were later lost as a result of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

In the meantime Northern Manchuria developed very quickly. An enormous territory, more than twice as large as Italy, was brought to life by the construction of the Railway and the resulting quick, peaceful colonization. The C.E.R. Company received the right to build factories, works, warehouses, mines, etc. and, with the assistance of the Imperial Government, lavishly spent money and labor for the cultural development of the Region. As a matter of fact, the whole life of the country was closely connected with the Railway. Before long the small Russian station Harbin, which was the administrative center of the railway, grew into a large Western town. The General Manager of the Railway possessed an outstanding influence on the life of the whole region, being a de facto governor of the whole territory.

During the first World War, Vladivostok served as the main link between Russia and America. The colossal tonnage of goods bought by Russia for her military requirements in America and Japan was directed via Vladivostok, Manchuria, Siberia to European Russia. At the moment of the Revolution of 1917, the Russian Far East was a very prosperous country situated in the deep rear of the theater of war.

It is a historical fact that, as a rule, revolutions occur in capitals, while the counter-revolutions come from the outskirts. The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks was followed by the period of civil war. National revolts broke out in all corners of Russia. In the Far East, General Horvath, General Manager of the C.E.R., with the huge material resources of Manchuria and the Maritime Province at his disposal, raised the standard of the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Manchuria being non-Russian territory, the headquarters of General Horvath were transferred to Vladivostok, where he established an independent National Government in 1918. During the further course of the civil war three separate fronts were established: in the South, North, and East of Russia. In the East the power was assumed by Admiral Kolchak, who proclaimed himself Provisional Supreme Ruler of all Russia and united under his leadership all the heads of the White movement for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. The name of Admiral Kolchak, a great Russian patriot, naval expert, and scientist, attracted Russian nationalists from all the corners of Russia. Siberia and the Far East became the rear of his armies. In 1920 disaster overtook the whole movement; Admiral Kolchak died a heroic death, and the remnants of his armies together with the civilians fleeing from the Bolshevik terror and the chaos of the civil war moved further and further to the east. The last act of the Russian tsar before he took place at the extreme outpost, Vladivostok, where the White troops, commanded for some time by General M. K. Dieterichs, held on until 1922. The day the Russian ships with the refugees left Vladivostok was the last day when the Russian national flag flew over Russian soil.

Among the waves of Russian refugees which Manchuria has absorbed it was possible to find the majority consisting of former inhabitants of the Russian Far East and Siberia and to a lesser degree of refugees from the Volga provinces.

Up to 1924 the Russian population of Manchuria lived under quite special conditions. As the Russian administration of the C.E.R. was left intact at first, the Russian population of Manchuria was independent of Soviet power and, at the same time, did not feel that they were living on foreign soil. These years were a period of great prosperity for Harbin and the whole territory of the C.E.R.

When General Horvath, having become an outstanding political figure, left the post of General Manager of the Railway, his place was taken by B. V. Ostromoff, a man of unusual energy and capabilities. The Russians in Manchuria owed a great deal to the work and initiative of this man and his assistants. The Railway was brought up to perfect condition. Harbin, which already had several splendid schools, could now boast of a new Polytechnical Institute at a Law College, Medical Faculty, etc. The whole territory under the Railway administration was covered with fine health resorts. The stage of the Harbin Railway Club Theater saw at that time first-class opera, drama, concerts and other artistic performances equal to the best of the European capitals. Harbin was then a great center of Russian culture, where life was going on at full speed.

This structure, fortunate for the Russian refugees but politically unsound, received its first blow when China recognized the Soviet Government in 1924 and the administration of the Railway was transferred to the Soviet representatives. The Russian population was given the alternative of registering with the Soviet consulates, of becoming naturalized Chinese subjects, or of formally legalizing their emigrant status. Russian influence in Manchuria was definitely lost by the sale on the part of the Soviet Government of the Russian share and rights in the C.E.R. in 1935. After the foundation of the Manchoukuo Empire, the Russian population was absorbed by it as a component part of the Manchu nation with the rights of a minority.

Sincerely yours,

Russian Emigrant
THE SECOND PHASE

By KLAUS MEHNERT

The fifth anniversary and the climax of the European war are approaching as we go to press. Europe is an inferno. Thousands of planes are laying waste her cities. Millions of men are locked in terrible battles. Comparing the present situation with that prevailing in Europe on the first, second, or third war anniversaries, and contrasting the destruction in human lives and material values then and now, one realizes how completely the character of the war has changed. The following essay is concerned with this change, its causes, meaning, and perspectives.

So far this war has passed through two phases. The first, lasting thirty-eight months up to the Allied landing in North Africa and the Red counteroffensive at Stalingrad, was one of colossal German superiority, as the campaigns in Poland, Norway, Western Europe, the Balkans, North Africa, and Eastern Europe have shown, when German forces reached Egypt and the Volga and when Allied tonnage was approaching its lowest point of about twelve million tons. During this entire phase, the loss in life and property on both sides was extremely small—small compared with the results achieved and also compared with the losses being suffered by the two camps at present. It was the phase of the German blitzes. Though the fighting never ceased completely, it was concentrated in a few short, highly successful campaigns.

Every war has its horrors, particularly for the defeated side. But if war must be, then the blitz war with small losses and great political results is preferable. This is true also for the defeated side. In a blitz campaign it loses the war, which is bad enough, but in a long-drawn-out war it suffers in addition irreplaceable losses in life and property. Historians, no matter of which nationality, will some day classify the German campaigns of the war's first phase as exemplary military achievements.

Germany's overwhelming advantage lay in her superiority in strategy, leadership, training, arms, economic mobilization, and national attitude toward the war. Apart from periods when objective circumstances—such as the cold during the first war winter in the USSR—deprived them of it, the German leaders constantly held the initiative in their hands. They used it wisely: after long periods of calm and determined preparation, they carried out brief, decisive thrusts. They never struck unless they were sure of the result and, from the military point of view, they suffered practically no failures. This was also admitted by their foes in every case except in that of the aerial campaign of 1940 against England which, the enemy claimed, had fallen short of expectations.

If the war in Europe had continued with the tempo of the first phase, it would have been over long ago. But for various reasons the first phase ended before the war did.

NEW FACTORS

Germany went to war with the USSR because she believed that she could no longer afford passively to watch the rise of the gigantic menace of two hundred million people harnessed to Bolshevism. Nobody had pointed out the danger of the Red flood for Europe more emphatically and more consistently than the leaders of National-Socialist Germany. Yet, to everybody's surprise, it was far greater than even they had depicted it.

We must bear in mind that, before 1942, the Soviet Union had been underrated throughout the world as a fighting power:

(1) Militarily: the number of her trained reserves, her available arms, her industrial
capacity to produce more, and her ability to conduct a modern war, were not properly evaluated; and the purge of the Red generals in 1937, as well as the poor showing of the Red Army in Finland in 1939, were overrated in their significance.

(2) Politically: the long series of purges from 1935 to 1938 was taken as an indication of internal weakness, while actually it was primarily an indication of Stalin's change-over to a new type of world-revolutionary strategy, a change-over with which many old Bolsheviks did not agree. Moreover, the whole world had always made a radical distinction between the Bolshevik leaders and the Russian people, a circumstance which led to the belief that the Russian people would turn against the Bolsheviks after the first powerful thrusts from outside.

(3) Psychologically: the Russians were assumed to be by nature incapable of sustained effort over a long period. After a first flare-up of energy had spent itself, they would, it was believed, relapse into apathy.

These opinions, held by the majority of people everywhere, were due to a faulty evaluation of the USSR as well as of the Russians. The first was chiefly the result of many people in every country continuing to see the Soviet state as it had been in the years of Revolution and Civil War and closing their eyes to the hundred million children born since then and permeated with Bolshevik ideas, to the thousands of industrial plants built, and to the stranglehold which the Bolsheviks had acquired over their people by a ghastly combination of terror and propaganda. The misunderstanding of the Russians, on the other hand, was largely due to the Russian literature of the nineteenth century. In this literature, the classical heroes are the "useless people," from Eugene Onegin to the owners of Chekhov's Cherry Orchard. Oblomov, who spends his life thinking out great schemes but never gets out of his dressing gown, became for many the amiable personification of Russia. They overlooked the fact that the Oblomovs represented only a tiny fraction of the people, of whom, as a whole, they knew very little. They forgot that the Russians had conquered two fifths of the Eurasian continent in barely five hundred years. Hence they never suspected that the Bolsheviks would succeed, by a shrewd falsification of history, in merging Russian patriotism with the drive toward a world revolution.

Thus the fight put up by the USSR was greater than anybody had expected. Utilizing the vastness of its area, its manpower, and its resources, the Red Army survived the heavy blows dealt it by the German Wehrmacht. This gave Roosevelt time, with the aid of his huge political machine and thousands of leftist and Jewish intellectuals who control the intellectual life of the country, to bring about a change in the formerly pacifist-isolationist attitude of the Americans toward foreign affairs and to put the entire nation on a war basis.

Germany's blitzkrieg strategy required for its success the unpreparedness of the enemy for this type of war. The longer the war lasted, the more her enemies were able to learn from it. This was the reason why it functioned so smoothly in 1939 and 1940, less well in 1941 and 1942 against the Soviets, who had had two years' time to adapt themselves, and why it did not work in 1943 and 1944, when the Allies were not only familiar with it but even began to employ it themselves, including total mobilization. In other words: in 1939 and 1940 the strategy of the second World War employed by Germany triumphed easily over the strategy of the first World War still employed by the Allies. By 1944 both sides were fully versed in modern warfare.

MATCHED POWER

If we add that by means of technical innovations the Allies were able, at least temporarily, to neutralize the German submarines, and finally that they were aided by two cases of treason—Darlan's and Badoglio's—we have mentioned all the principal reasons why the war's first phase came to an end. We see now why Germany, although having many more soldiers, tanks, planes, guns, and an even more determined population than in the days of the French campaign, no longer possesses her unchallenged superiority and why the war entered upon its second phase, that of matched power. By matched power we do not mean that both sides are evenly matched in every respect—the Allies have more men, arms, raw materials, the Germans a higher quality of soldiers and officers and a more favorable strategic position. We mean that both sides are matched from the point of view of their fighting strength as a whole, and that neither side has the overpowering superiority which Germany held during the first years. Just as it was characteristic of
THE SECOND PHASE

the first phase that on the forty-third day of the German Western campaign the whole of France had to conclude an armistice, it is characteristic of the phase of matched power that on the forty-third day of the invasion campaign the Allies have occupied less than one per cent of France, notwithstanding the fact that Germany is opposing them with only part of her armies, the majority of them being in Eastern Europe and Italy.

Once the war had entered its second phase, a totally new situation arose. The German High Command understood this. It changed its strategy radically. Following the rules of cool reasoning and paying no attention to questions of prestige, it went on the defensive and gradually withdrew its armies from the Nile and the Volga to Central Europe. But this geographical concentration of forces was not enough. The entire German war machine and economy, which had been geared perfectly to the requirements of the war’s first phase, had to be changed: the German Army, reared in the spirit of dashing offensive, had also to be trained for the harder task of large-scale withdrawals; new weapons had to be invented and mass-produced; the German nation, accustomed to headlines telling of captured cities and countries, had to adjust itself to the idea of a long war; and the occupied countries had to be mobilized to a far greater degree than before.

To the Anglo-Americans, who had always claimed that the Germans were only able to fight a war of the first-phase type, it came as a surprise when they saw how quickly and completely Germany adapted herself to the requirements of the second phase. Yet there is nothing surprising in this. Had the German nation been fighting in order to win a quick and easy victory, it might have been thrown off its balance by the realization that there was no longer any chance of this. But Germany is not just fighting for victory; she is fighting for a decision, the decision over her life and her future, the decision whether the Europe of tomorrow will be a Soviet state or an American colony—or a community of nations based on the spirit of neither Marx nor Morgan but on that of a European socialism. In comparison to this goal, the question of short war or long war, yes, even of the temporary loss of German territory, shrinks in significance, and once the Germans realized that the decision could not be brought about by the methods of the first phase they calmly went to work to accomplish it by the methods of the second phase. For this they needed time. And so, in this phase of matched power, we find a completely different attitude toward the time factor: now it was Germany who was stalling for time, while the Allies were in a hurry “to finish her off” before she was able to adjust herself to the new situation.

Germany was aided in gaining time by the Greater East Asia War, where two of her enemies are locked in a grim struggle with her ally Japan. After having met with disastrous defeats, these common foes of Germany and Japan were only able to wrest small parts of their former losses from the heroically fighting Nipponese armed forces at the cost of immense effort and heavy losses. The battles in the Pacific contributed appreciably toward delaying the full force of the Allied counteroffensive and enabling Germany to prepare for the next round.

THE CHANCES FOR SUPERIORITY

The great question is: how long is the phase of matched power to last? Will it be followed by a new phase of supreme superiority on one side? Let us consider the possibilities one by one.

We can take it for granted that both sides are doing their utmost to gain unchallenged superiority. What are the Allied chances of obtaining it? The Anglo-Americans have been preparing the invasion for years. They waited so long that they became the object of scorn and ridicule on the part of their Red allies. (One of the Soviet jokes told in England before the invasion had it that Churchill was roused from bed at three o’clock in the morning by an urgent telephone call. As he took up the receiver he heard Stalin’s familiar voice saying: “Hello, Winnie, I’m in Calais; you can come now, the danger is over.”) In the end, many people thought the Allies had built up such overwhelming forces during all this time that they would crush the German armies once the invasion had started. Indeed, we have every reason to assume that since June 6 the Allies have thrown everything they possess—not yet in quantity, but in quality—into the struggle. But the first month and a half of the invasion battle has produced nothing that promises to endow the Allies with the desired complete superiority over the Germans. It also seems unlikely that they still have something up their sleeve which would suddenly give them this superiority. Why should
they be wasting their strength in terrible battles of attrition if they have the power simply to overwhelm the Germans?

In following the battle in Normandy one can hardly escape the conclusion that the Allies greatly underestimated German strength. The German press has probably contributed to this with its realistic descriptions of Germany's situation. Some people might even think that the wicked Germans purposely exaggerated their difficulties in order to make the populations in the Allied camp relax their efforts, deceived by the prospect that "it is all over anyway."

The Germans are more likely than the Allies to have new weapons ready or in preparation which they have not yet thrown into the fray. They have a far better reason for holding them in reserve: to wait until sufficiently large Allied forces have landed to make their employment worth while. The way in which the German High Command postponed the use of the V-1 to just the right moment speaks for the coolness of its decisions. There have been hints from Berlin that the road from nothing to V-1 was far harder and longer than that from V-1 to V-2 and V-3.

THAT LAST OUNCE

But in an objective analysis such as this we must state that we cannot know for certain whether such new weapons would be able to end the phase of matched power and reinstall Germany in the unquestioned superiority of the first phase. Hence we must also consider the remaining possibility—namely, that the phase of matched power will continue. In this case, what would be the outlook for Europe, apart from the gradual pulverization of France, Italy, Eastern Europe by the war, apart from the mounting destruction of French, German, and English towns from the air?

If two men of equal strength fight in the ring, the referee awards the victory, after an agreed number of rounds, to the man who has won the most points. But if there is no agreed number of rounds and no referee to supervise the fight—and that is exactly the situation in Europe today—they will fight until one or the other is too exhausted to continue. If they are evenly matched, the chances are that by then the other will also be near collapse, and that it is just the winner's additional ounce of strength which carries him through beyond his adversary's fall. This extra ounce is a matter of spiritual rather than material strength. Who is more likely to have it?

The Red armies have stepped across their borders into foreign lands. There is dreadful misery at home. Will such ideas as "revenge," "world revolution," or "liberation of the Slavs," be able to give them that last ounce of strength? The Americans fighting on European soil are many thousands of miles from their homes. Even according to their own figures, their losses in the second World War have already surpassed those of the first. The question uppermost in their minds must be: Why do we have to fight and die here in Europe? The attitude toward the war as we found it expressed in recent American magazines and described in our June and July issues is not exactly the one to give that final determination to carry on to the end. Moreover, both the USSR and the USA are huge empires which would remain among the richest in the world even if their armies were not to return victorious.

The psychological situation of Germany is totally different. By their insistence on unconditional surrender and by the widely broadcast discussion of their postwar plans, her enemies have made it quite clear to every German what is in store for him if the Allies should ever be in a position to dictate peace. If a German soldier were to try to explain why he fights the way he does—to his last bullet even when his own position seems hopeless—he would probably give an answer similar to the one Time's correspondent John Scott recently received. Scott describes how at a Swedish airport he happened to meet a German who had just arrived by plane from Germany. Their conversation ended in this way:

"We must win," the German said suddenly in a low voice. He looked up at me and repeated: "We've got to win." He raised his voice and struck the table lightly with his hands to emphasize his words. "We must win!" The German's face had no animosity, but simply blind resolution.

And if one were to ask that German on what he bases his hopes that his country will win the great decision of this war, he would say, not in these words but to this effect: We will either win back our military superiority and fling the intruders out of Europe in such a way that they will never dare to come back, or, at the worst, we will make them pay such a terrible price for every square mile of European soil that they themselves will decide to get out while there are still some of them left.
BEFORE D-DAY

By KURT FISCHER

An account of the events leading up to D-Day—as the Allies named the starting date of the invasion—helps one to understand the nature and significance of the great battle now being fought in France.

"They are coming!"

From German observation posts along the Atlantic Wall these words flashed around the world. They terminated a phase of World War II which had lasted almost three years. They heralded another which both sides had reason to consider decisive for the final outcome of the gigantic struggle.

The start of the Eastern campaign on June 22, 1941, had relieved Britain of the immediate threat of a German invasion and had presented her with a new ally, stronger than any she had been able to count on previously during this war. The two mightiest continental powers at loggerheads, exhausting their strength while England looked on: this indeed seemed an ideal solution of her troubles, consistent with her time-honored policy of the balance of power. But the staggering defeats and losses suffered by the Soviets at the start of the war changed the outlook. By the end of September 1941, some British newspapers began to advocate British offensive action on the Continent. The cue was taken up by the Moscow paper Krasny Flot and, on October 12, by the British Communist Party. After that, the whole matter boiled down to the slogan of the "Second Front." No other issue has excited the minds in the Allied camp to a greater degree.

PROMISED FOR 1942 . . .

In his speech of November 6, 1941, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bolshevist Revolution, Stalin gave the nonexistence of a Second Front in Europe as one of the reasons for the retreat of the Red Army and asked for the opening of the Second Front "in the immediate future" (see our issue of November 1943, p. 297). In his address to the US Congress on December 26, 1941, Churchill answered by stressing the need for further Anglo-American preparations, pointing to the severity of the battle of the Atlantic, and promising a large-scale offensive by 1943.

Moscow did not take this lying down. In March 1942 two Soviet Ambassadors, Maisky in London and Litvinov in Washington, publicly attacked the Churchill thesis of a Second Front in 1943. Next Lord Beaverbrook, former British Minister of Production, demanded the establishment of the Second Front, only to be promptly disavowed by Major Clement Attlee, speaking on behalf of the Prime Minister. Then came the Molotov visit to London, Washington, and back to London during late May and early June 1942; and on June 12, 1942, the White House announced: "The two governments arrived at a full understanding with regard to the creation of a Second Front in Europe in 1942." Only when 1942 drew to a close without any invasion of Europe did Churchill admit that he had purposely lied. He explained on November 11, 1942, that he had felt justified in misleading his own side if the enemy might be deceived thereby.

The trouble was that the German High Command had not been deceived by the annoucement of June 12. On June 28 its new offensive started to sweep across the southern plains toward the Volga and the Caucasus. On July 22, it seems, Stalin sent an ultimatum to the Allies insisting upon the immediate opening of the Second Front. Maisky and Litvinov added their pleas. Churchill suddenly flew to Moscow and, while still abroad, ordered the Dieppe enterprise of August 19. Evidently Stalin had not minced his words. The concentration of British forces for the undertaking indicated that it was meant to be more than a mere gesture. Its complete failure, on the other hand, gave the Allies an argument for further delay.
The dispute went on, reaching a climax in Stalin’s letter of October 4 to an American press correspondent (see our issue of November 1942, p. 370), and his speech of November 6, 1942 (see our issue of November 1943, p. 300), in both of which he accused the Allies of not fulfilling their obligations. The Anglo-American landing in French North Africa on November 7, conceived by Roosevelt and Churchill as a compromise solution, at last put a temporary stop to discussions on the Second Front, the more so as three days later Roosevelt promised it for 1943.

... AND FOR 1943

Lord Beaverbrook’s demand in the House of Lords in February 1943 for a Second Front started a new avalanche of opinions, both in the Anglo-American camp and in Moscow, continuing throughout the year without letup. The British and American leaders were in no hurry to waste their manpower on a risky attack against Western Europe, and tried instead with promises and hints to keep the Red Army on the offensive. For this purpose the British Prime Minister was not above using little tricks, such as the prediction of “heavy fighting in the Mediterranean and elsewhere before the leaves of autumn fall,” in a speech made on June 30, 1943, just prior to the start of the great summer offensive of the Red Army. But Moscow showed little interest in poetry and never ceased to demand the opening of the Second Front. Only during the Teheran Conference (November 28 to December 1, 1943) was, according to the communiqué, a final accord apparently reached “as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from east, west and south.”

Yet this failed to alleviate the inherent mistrust between the two camps. Leading the chorus in Moscow was the outspoken periodical Voina i Rabochy Klass which, above all, debunked the idea that the air offensive against Germany was any substitute—in complete contradiction to the words of the Chief of the US Army Air Corps, Major General Henry Arnold: “The massed bombing attacks against Europe are not a preliminary to invasion, they are the invasion.” Nor did Moscow consider the landings in Sicily (July 10) and Italy (September 3) as a Second Front. Again vague hints were thrown out by Churchill to gain time, among them the one that well before the Ides of March (March 15) the world would witness the greatest military undertaking history had ever known.

However right the Soviets were in suspecting that their Allies were withholding the Second Front in order to give them and the Germans time to bleed each other white, they went too far in denying that the strategy of the Allies had contributed to the Red Army’s comeback. The mounting Allied air terror necessitated the organization of large defense forces all over Europe. The war in the Mediterranean was a latent threat to the Balkans and southern France and an acute menace to Italy. The Anglo-American “war of nerves” culminated in the treason of the House of Savoy. The growing invasion army on the British Isles was tying down German forces along a front reaching from Norway to the South of France. All of this was bound to tax the strength of Germany and contributed toward her decision to fight a defensive war for the time being.

1944 — THE YEAR

Yet it appears that the German High Command actually did not expect the invasion before 1944. Allied strategy since North Africa had always made sure of superiority in numbers and material before embarking upon operations against the Germans. War production in the USA had reached full capacity, and shipbuilding had to catch up with part of the losses sustained in the submarine war until the spring of 1943. Full-sized US armies had to be trained, flaws in armament to be adjusted.

There were, quite apart from Stalin’s urging, a number of reasons impelling the venture of an invasion not later than during 1944. The further west the Red armies moved, the stronger became the Kremlin’s influence in politics—with the European emigré governments and in territories occupied by the Anglo-Americans. The Soviet demands for “security” became insatiable, their territorial claims expanded. The progressive revelation of Stalin’s designs was undermining one after another of the sensible principles for which the Anglo-Americans professed to have entered the war. Their people at home were growing restless and dissatisfied. They wanted the war to come to an end. Their soldiers and civilians grew bewildered when asked what they were fighting for. In the USA the new presidential elections were approaching. By January 1944, for the first time in 13 years, the Democrats
had less than a numerical majority in the House of Representatives (217:218). Unless he could vindicate his policy through a military success, Roosevelt’s defeat at the polls was a distinct possibility.

Besides these political considerations, there were also military ones. The Italian capitulation which, if exploited with daring and speed, might have threatened the German position in southern and southeastern Europe, did not bring about a decision thanks to bold German countermeasures. In spite of the air war the morale of the German population was firm and the Reich’s war production continued. Work on the Atlantic Wall never ceased, and fortifications grew in strength and depth. Nowhere on their westward advance did the Soviets succeed in an operational break-through or the annihilation of large German groups, and the front line as it stood in spring 1944 was not only much shorter but also included the natural defense positions of the Carpathian Mountains and the Pripiets Marshes. Many divisions formerly employed as occupation troops in a partisan-infested territory several times the size of the Reich became available for other tasks. Total mobilization, ordered on January 28, 1943, was adding new formations to the German Army. Even considering the military consequences of the Badoglio surrender, the Allies had to count on the German forces available in the west becoming larger rather than smaller.

Both sides had been making the most elaborate preparations for the invasion battle as both fully appreciated its tremendous importance. The outcome of the battle between large forces on either side could be expected to have a far-reaching influence on the war as a whole. Hanson W. Baldwin, leading American military commentator, declared in an article appearing in Foreign Affairs: “The invasion of western Europe is the cornerstone of our whole strategy. If it fails, and this can be so, then we are done for.”

Allied Preparations...

The draft did not begin in the USA until October 16, 1940. From a nucleus of some 180,000 men in the regular Army before general conscription, with little or no combat experience except against some Central American republics, it was to grow to 7.7 million troops. 3.5 million men were required by the Navy.

The campaigns in French North Africa and in the Mediterranean were to give some American divisions the fighting experience essential for the more difficult invasion of western Europe. A test under conditions of actual combat was also necessary for the production of arms. These had to be tried out by US troops before their manufacture could run up to mass production, maximum figures of which were expected for the end of 1943.

The merchant tonnage in Allied service had dwindled at an alarming rate up to the spring of 1943. Only then did the losses through submarines begin to recede and to be overtaken by new construction. Apart from the huge tonnage of ordinary ships required for an invasion, the Allies developed special vessels for amphibian operations, of which, according to the words of James Forrestal (then Undersecretary of the Navy) in January 1944, a total of 65,000 landing vessels was needed. Among these American landing vessels we find the “Crocodile,” used for the transport of material, and the “Eureka” for that of men. Besides being able to carry 2,500 kilograms of material, the latter holds 25 men and attains a speed of 16 knots. Then there is the type of large landing barge which carries tanks and heavy arms and opens at the stern. The British have their “commando boats” for groups of 20 men, and the “D 14 landing craft” of heavier construction. For air transport, special giant glider planes were constructed in large numbers, among them the “Hamilcar” of British construction, which can carry a medium-sized tank or up to 120 men, and an “amphibian glider,” which can land 12 fully equipped men near the coast.

That the invasion forces would consist preponderantly of Americans was admitted by Churchill in a roundabout way when he declared that the initial attack would be carried in about equal strength by US and British troops, but that with a prolonged battle the number of the former would swell. Among the British formations there were 200,000 Canadian soldiers ready to take part in the invasion. The total number of troops at the disposal of the invasion command was not made known. At the beginning of the year the American military commentator Major George Elliot estimated that 80 divisions were necessary for European landing operations, and it may be assumed that at least that many if not far more were assembled in the British Isles for a start.
Large reserves were, however, available in the USA to be ferried across the Atlantic when required.

... AND PLANS

The plans for the invasion were drawn up prior to the Teheran and Cairo Conferences by US General Dwight Eisenhower and British Air Marshal Sir Arthur William Tedder who, at the end of December 1943, were appointed Supreme Commander and Deputy Supreme Commander of the invasion forces respectively. General Bernard Montgomery was to command the Allied ground forces in France, the combined air force being headed by Air Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory and the combined navies by Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay. The mixed composition of the invasion forces, although not as pronounced as in the Mediterranean, worried General Eisenhower. Explaining Napoleon’s victories by the fact that he was always facing a coalition, Eisenhower declared it his foremost task to weld the Allied General Staff into an organization which would exclude friction between the various Allied commands.

The Allied strategy as foreshadowed in utterances by leading military men did not spell audacity and surprise planning. The London Times reported on December 29, 1943, that caution was the first principle of Montgomery, and that no attack would be launched before violent bombings and artillery barrages had paved the way for the ground forces, and before supplies were assured. For the large-scale employment of the air force in battle and for transport purposes, some 500 airfields covering 250,000 acres were ready in England. This trust in the sheer weight of arms may explain Eisenhower’s and Montgomery’s belief that the war would be finished in 1944. Typical was the latter’s statement of February 3: “We can and we will finish the war this year. I never put an army into the battle until I am quite certain that it is going to be a good show.” This attitude also allowed the conclusion that the main battle for bridgeheads would be undertaken in areas close to Allied land bases whence an air umbrella of fighters and bombers could be sustained. Hence the Channel coast from Brittany to the Lowlands and the French Mediterranean coast—close to bases on Corsica—were particularly threatened.

GERMAN MEASURES

The German troops guarding Europe from the North Cape to the Pyrenees and thence along the French Mediterranean coast to the Italian border were put under the command of Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, with Colonel General von Falkenhorst heading the divisions stationed in Norway, while Field Marshals Rommel and Blaskowitz were attached to Rundstedt’s headquarters in France. Field Marshal Sperrie was made Commander in Chief of the Luftwaffe formations in the west. The right flank of the anti-invasion armies was to be held by the 20th Mountain Army on the Arctic Ocean under the late Colonel General Dietl, the southern Italian flank by Field Marshal Kesselring’s 10th Army, and the Balkan area by troops under the command of Field Marshal von Weichs.

The so-called Atlantic Wall, the fortifications all along the European coast line, is, of course, not a wall but a deeply echeloned system of defenses, essentially different from the Maginot Line and built with all the experiences of the last war years in mind. Ten million tons of reinforced concrete went into the building of thousands of fortifications along the French coast from the Channel to the Bay of Biscay alone. Large reserves of tanks and motorized divisions were kept in readiness, grouped in such a way as to permit their employment at any given place within a short time.

While in quantity the Germans could not expect to equal the Allies either in men or in material, their prowess was just as indisputable as their experience in modern warfare, and they knew that they had to fight for their very existence. Nothing was known about the distribution of the German forces. The Neue Zürcher Zeitung of March 5, 1944, reported the following Allied guess:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Divisions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Finland</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark and German Coast</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France and Lowlands</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkans</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Front</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this must be added replacements and reserve divisions as well as the Luftwaffe and antiaircraft formations within Reich territory.

ON THE EVE

During the months preceding June 6, there was an increasing number of indications for
Excitement in Britain and the US ran particularly high during the last weeks and days prior to June 6. Editorial offices everywhere were in a state of tension. In the first half of May, American press reports circulated in South America that the invasion had begun. At the end of the month, a Sussex village was in an uproar after the parish clergyman had posted an official notice to the same effect. On June 4, Associated Press was out to land a scoop by flashing the news of the start of the invasion from London at 4.39 p.m.; and a scoop it might well have been despite the "kill" order given out two minutes later, for it was probably genuine information. As was to become known later, bad weather had necessitated a last-minute postponement of the invasion operations by twenty-four hours. On that same Sunday hardly a soldier was to be seen on London's sidewalks, but columns of tanks, guns, and ambulances were rolling through the city.

New ordinances regarding ARP measures valid after June 5 appeared in all houses. By Sunday night British and American radio reporters had vanished from London, and on the following day neutral correspondents found virtually all important personages out of reach.

With the dawn of D-Day the guns took over where words had left off.
RULERS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The following analysis of the men who rule the British Empire uncovers the background and interrelationship of such exponents as the Chamberlains, Baldwin, Eden, and Churchill and provides valuable information on the manner in which British leadership is formed and maintained. The material for this article was taken from British sources and edited by K. H. Abshagen, a specialist on British affairs.—K.M.

On December 10, 1900, the Hon. Member for Carnarvon Borough, a young hot-blooded lawyer with a shock of black hair, rose to his feet in order to disclose to the House some facts which were to shake the British social structure to its foundations. This young M.P. from Wales, whose name was David Lloyd George, was at that time almost unknown in the political world. What he had to say was the following.

As far as he had been able to ascertain, the Right Hon. gentleman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, as well as the Hon. Member for East Worcestershire, his son Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, were shareholders in three companies which in the course of the Boer War had amassed huge profits from Government contracts for armaments by cutting out all other competitors. The first of these companies was known as Hoskins & Sons, Ltd. Lloyd George was in a position to inform the House that this firm, which handled Admiralty contracts exclusively, was owned almost entirely by the Chamberlain family. The second firm was the Birmingham Trust, in which the family of the Secretary of State for the Colonies had invested £67,000. The Birmingham Trust was a holding company incorporating two other armament factories, namely, Tubes Limited and Elliot's Metal Company. Tubes Ltd. was owned by Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, brother of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who held 74,800 shares in this concern. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, second son of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was the managing director of Elliot's Metal Company. These two armament factories had, as Lloyd George showed, made substantial profits in past years by very favorable contracts with the Admiralty. As far as Elliot's Metal Company was concerned, Lloyd George was able to point out that the Chamberlain family held shares to a total value of £121,000 in this company, which had received a large number of orders to equip the docks of Her Majesty's Navy.

Profitable Prison Camps

Excitement in the House rose to a high pitch after these disclosures, for Joseph Chamberlain and his whole family were in those days the central figures in Britain's political life. His biographer writes that the Secretary of State for the Colonies listened to this attack with a stoical mien. But Lloyd George was not to be disconcerted. He proceeded to speak of a third company in which the Chamberlain family was interested and which was receiving Government orders, curious orders, indeed, as it transpired later. He was referring to the Colombo Commercial Company, a speculative concern dealing in miscellaneous merchandise in Ceylon. In the Boer War, Lord Roberts had taken many thousands of prisoners in 1899 and 1900. They had at first been deported to St. Helena and subsequently to Ceylon on instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the most pressing problem being to accommodate these prisoners in Ceylon by building barracks for them. In August 1900, the Ceylon Observer stated that 18 iron barracks for soldiers and 30 for Boer prisoners had already been put up by the Colombo Commercial Company, and that more would follow.

It was an awkward fact, Lloyd George said in his speech, but a fact which could not be concealed, that the Chamberlain family were among the leading shareholders of this company. "I cannot conceive a more unfortunate investment at the present moment than an investment in making prisons for the Boers. . . ."

Lloyd George concluded by saying that the Chamberlain family was, moreover, interested to the extent of £250,000 in the
Kynoch Company Ltd. This company was what was popularly called a munitions factory; unfortunately it could not be denied that this munitions factory, which was largely controlled by the Chamberlain family, had made very substantial profits during the Boer War, chiefly because it was in the favorable position of being able to realize considerably higher prices for its products than those concerns unconnected with governmental circles.

A MOTION REJECTED

The main purpose of the sweeping attack on the Chamberlain family by Lloyd George was to persuade the House to accept a Bill prohibiting Cabinet Ministers from holding shares in companies which dealt in Government contracts. The motion was rejected by 269 to 127 votes.

In defending themselves against the well-substantiated accusations brought forward by Lloyd George, the two members of the Chamberlain family were only able to retaliate by weak and unconvincing statements. And yet an overwhelming majority in the House had immediately rallied round the cause of the Chamberlain family. The attack by the Welsh outsider, it was felt, had been directed against the whole caste, and had therefore to be countered by the democratic measure of a majority vote. No such direct attack has ever been made again in the House, not even by the Labor Party. Today, Lloyd George himself may look back upon this incident as one of his youthful escapades. But actually it was this debate in Parliament in 1900 which first exposed the roots of that system from which Britain's ruling classes derived their power and sustenance. Politically speaking, Britain is Parliament, and Parliament, in its turn, elects the Cabinet. But what is Parliament?

TORY DOMINION

Except for a short periods, the Conservatives have been in power in the House of Commons since the resignation of Lloyd George's War Cabinet. The accession to power of the Labor Party in 1924 and 1929 meant nothing but a brief interregnum. This was terminated by Ramsay MacDonald having fallen prey to the wiles of the ruling caste; for a few years he remained in Downing Street as a puppet of the National Coalition Government, whereas in reality the Conservatives governed the land and reoccupied their lucrative posts.

The second War Cabinet, formed in May 1915, had already included Conservatives as members of the Coalition Government. Except for the first MacDonald Cabinet (January to November 1924) and the second Labor Cabinet (July 1929 to August 1931) the Conservatives, led by Bonar Law, Stanley Baldwin, and finally Neville Chamberlain, have thus been in power without a break. In the present Parliament they hold 415 of some 600 seats. As the Opposition is in a hopeless minority, these 415 men and women are the virtual representatives of the British people. Who are they?

DIRECTORS IN PARLIAMENT

The answer to this question was given in a book by Simon Haxey entitled Tory M.P., which appeared in London in August 1939. Its author, or authors—for it is assumed in competent quarters that two well-known members of the House of Commons have hidden their identity behind the nom de plume of Simon Haxey—have based their analysis on carefully collected statistical material. No serious attempt has ever been made to dispute the accuracy of the facts contained in this book.

According to Haxey, 44 per cent of these 415 Conservative Members of Parliament—i.e., 181—are managing directors or directors of large British stock or trading companies. Together, these 181 members hold no less than 775 posts as managing directors or directors in 700 of the leading banks, industrial enterprises, shipping companies, and overseas trading concerns. In other words, the British Parliament, which is ruled by the Conservatives, proves, on closer examination, to be the representative not of the British nation but of the most powerful capitalist interests ever concentrated in one country—except Wall Street. If we include in our calculation all those Members of Parliament who are not directors themselves but whose brothers, sons, or sons-in-law occupy important business posts, we may well estimate that almost 80 per cent of all the Conservative Members of Parliament are directly or indirectly linked with Big Business. Political leadership and financial aristocracy are thus identical in Britain.

It must be noted that it was impossible to include cases in which M.P.'s are shareholders in "private companies," i.e. enterprises which are not registered as public companies, although in some cases they may enjoy an international reputation; in all
probability these cases amount to several hundreds.

Unfortunately, no statistics are available to assess the total capital of the companies whose managers and directors are at present Members of Parliament. Such a calculation exists, however, for the period from 1924 to 1929, when there was a large Conservative majority. During that time, 1,100 companies (including subsidiary companies) were represented in the House of Commons, the capital of 682 of which could be ascertained. It amounted to the colossal sum of £2,951,000,000. In considering these figures the fact must also be taken into account that the capital of the remaining 478 companies in which directorships were held by Members of the House could not be ascertained. Moreover, these figures do not include such companies in which M.P.'s have shareholdings but are not represented on the board of directors.

**MUNITIONS AND PREMIERS**

All the three Conservative Prime Ministers of postwar days, Bonar Law, Stanley Baldwin, and Neville Chamberlain, belonged to families intimately connected with the armament industry; in fact, all three of them, before they entered the political arena, been managing directors of great armament concerns; and even during their terms of office they had considerable parcels of shares in the same companies safely tucked away in their banks. After the failure of Lloyd George's attack in 1900, no objection could, of course, be raised on this score. All that is required of a British Cabinet Minister is that he resign from the post of managing director or from the board of directors of a company. Whether he continues to control these companies in his capacity as a shareholder is nobody's concern.

Up to the time of his appointment as a Parliamentary Undersecretary of State, Bonar Law—whose Cabinet succeeded the postwar Government of Lloyd George (1922/23)—owned the wholesale metal and arms business of William Jacob & Co. in Glasgow.

Stanley Baldwin was a big shareholder in the great steelworks known as Baldwin's Limited and resigned his directorship in that company when he became a Cabinet Minister. But during his term of office as Prime Minister he still held 194,526 one-pound ordinary shares and 37,591 one-pound preference shares in this armament concern. While he was Prime Minister, an exchange of shares took place which closely linked up Baldwin's Limited with the Vickers Armstrong concern, the leading armament factory in Great Britain. As Earl Baldwin and a Member of the House of Lords, he was again able to act as a director of his company. The net profit of Baldwin's Limited amounted in 1932 to £530,000, and it increased to £1,500,000 in 1938. In 1933 Baldwin, then Lord President of the Council, received a dividend of only 4 per cent, in 1934 he received 6 per cent, in 1935, when Prime Minister, he received 8 per cent and a bonus of 50 per cent, in 1936 and 1937 his dividends amounted to 10 per cent, and a corresponding bonus. Apparently the armament business, which came into full swing under the Baldwin Government, was quite lucrative.

Now let us turn to Neville Chamberlain. We have already made his acquaintance as a managing director of Elliot's Metal Company at the time when his father was Secretary of State for the Colonies and his half-brother Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Neville Chamberlain then became a managing director in the second largest British armament factory, the Birmingham Small Arms Company. He only resigned this post when he accepted state office. Up to his death in 1941 he was a large shareholder in the Birmingham Small Arms Company. In 1939, Chamberlain held 23,250 shares in Elliot's Metal Company. In the meantime, just as Baldwin's Limited had become closely affiliated with Vickers Armstrong, Elliot's Metal Company became associated with Imperial Chemical Industries, the enormous British chemical trust. Chamberlain had, evidently in exchange for Elliot shares, received 5,414 ordinary shares and 833 preference shares of this trust. In 1939, Neville Chamberlain's holdings of I.C.I. shares were estimated at 11,000. In the meantime, his son, Francis Chamberlain, had joined the Kynoch Works, also closely associated with the I.C.I., the same munitions factory which figured in 1900 in the Joseph Chamberlain scandal. So for some fifty years on end the Chamberlain family has held shares in the same armaments and munitions factories.

**CORRUPTION!**

On July 12, 1926, no less a person than Arthur Henderson, Foreign Minister of the two Labor Cabinets and later President of the Disarmament Conference, openly accused Neville Chamberlain, then Minister of Health,
of corruption. He declared that, after entering the Cabinet, Neville Chamberlain had not resigned his directorships in Hoskins & Sons and Elliot's Metal Company, although both firms were constantly receiving Government orders. As we have seen, these were the same two companies which, according to Lloyd George's statement in 1900, earned enormous profits for the Chamberlain family during the Boer War. Henderson expressed his indignation over the fact that, although during the eight months of the Labor Government in 1924 Hoskins & Sons had only received a single Government contract, they had been entrusted between January 1925 and January 1926 with seven large Government orders which had been arranged for this firm by colleagues of the Minister of Health. Between January 1925 and January 1926, fourteen large Government contracts had been awarded to Elliot's Metal Company.

In accordance with Parliamentary practice the motion of the Opposition for an inquiry was talked out and voted down. Neville Chamberlain's face was saved, and the way paved for him to become Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister.

ON THE BENCH—ON THE BOARD

Since the Victorian era—aside from the personal factor, this general fact is of particular importance—the small financial oligarchy on which the fate of Britain depends has never permitted a man to remain at the head of a Cabinet for any length of time if his past history showed him to have been skeptical about a fusion of business with politics. The only exception was Lloyd George during the Great War, who was allowed to stay because it was hoped that he would help to calm the masses which had to bear the burdens of the war. The rule, however, is that no Prime Minister, in fact no Cabinet Minister or Undersecretary of State, must regard it as unusual if politics and business are inextricably entangled.

A man who attains the position of a Cabinet Minister, after having been managing director of an armament concern, will see nothing strange in having other directors of leading companies surrounding him in the Cabinet and the House of Commons. A typical example of recent times is the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Anderson, who is regarded by many as the most likely successor to Winston Churchill as Prime Minister. When Sir John retired, a few years before the present war, from the job of Governor of Bengal and was elected into the House of Commons, he was at about the same time made a director of Vickers, I.C.I., and the Midland Bank.

Leading shareholders of Vickers Armstrong have included and still include a number of prominent political personalities, among them one of Anderson's predecessors as Home Secretary (from 1932 to 1935), the late Sir John Gilmour. Another member of this group is Harold P. Mitchell, also a Member of the House, and finally no less a person than Lord Hailsham, Secretary of State for War from 1931 to 1935, who has always been known as the bitterest of Germanophobes. It is noteworthy that Lord Hailsham did not part with his Vickers shares during the time when he was Minister of War. It was during his term of office that the Vickers dividend began to improve, and it was perhaps more than a mere coincidence that it was Lord Hailsham who wrecked the disarmament proposals made by Adolf Hitler.

No less than 51 Conservative Members of Parliament are directors of iron, coal, and steel concerns. 23 Members of Parliament are shareholders in the airplane industry, some of whom claim our interest in other respects as well. Chief of these is the Chairman of the Federation of British Industries, Sir Patrick Hannon, whose board of directors is composed almost exclusively of Conservative M.P.'s. Sir Patrick is now deputy chairman of the board of directors of the same Birmingham Small Arms Company of which Neville Chamberlain was formerly a managing director. Thus the Chairman of the Federation of British Industries and the former Prime Minister were colleagues in the private armaments industry.

EXCELLENT CONNECTIONS

Not that there is anything particularly novel about such connections. As early as 1919 another great armaments factory, Cammel Laird & Company, actually succeeded in having one of their directors elected as Financial Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions. This was the present Lord Rankcollour, raised to the peerage in 1932. His son, Captain Arthur Hope, now occupies the seat held by his father from 1908 to 1928. He is also Treasurer of the Royal Household, while his father has returned to
the board of directors of the armaments factory.

Cammel Laird & Co., who distributed a dividend of 10 per cent in 1938, have connections not only with the Ministry of Munitions but also with the Admiralty. For many years a close connection has also existed between this great armament factory and no less a person than the well-known Leopold S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Churchill Cabinet. Amery has held many ministerial posts: he was at one time Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, from 1922 to 1924 he was First Lord of the Admiralty, from 1924 to 1929 Secretary of State for the Colonies, as well as Dominions Secretary from 1925 onwards. In the long interval between 1929 and 1940 when he was out of office, he was director of Cammel Laird & Co. In addition to this, Amery was for many years President of a Trust Company which concerns itself with land speculation in Canada. He was a director of a company which owns property on the Gold Coast as well as of a mining company which holds a monopoly over an extensive district in Southwest Africa. He was also on the board of directors of three gold-mining companies operating in Australia. It is natural that a man of so many parts can also acquire the best-paid sinecures: he was, for instance, also a director of the Southern Railway Company, one of the largest industrial enterprises in England. If Leopold Amery should ever retire from the Cabinet, many of these lucrative posts will be waiting for him again; for although he had to resign his directorships for formal reasons as a Minister of the Crown, his close connections with his old concerns continue to exist.

It is difficult to ascertain where the armament interests of the Members of the House begin and where they end. Of the twenty-three M.P.’s who were listed in 1938 as shareholders of aircraft factories, we need only mention Edgar Granville, a director of Alvis Ltd., who manufacture engines for aircraft, and W. Craven Ellis, a director of Peters Ltd., who own the majority of the Westland Aircraft Works. All these M.P.’s naturally have the most varied subterranean channels of influence through which they can procure Government contracts for their companies. At the same time their line of policy is exactly defined for them. The average dividend of the British aircraft industry in the past few years was 30 per cent.

These relationships existing between the armament industry, Parliament, and the Conservative Cabinets, throw an interesting light on the personal background of the rearmament policy of recent years.

Among Cabinet Ministers with relations in high financial circles, Anthony Eden must not be forgotten. His name does not appear in the list of British directors. The Eden family itself, a titled family the eldest son of which is now the eighth baronet, does not belong to the financial aristocracy. But through his wife Beatrice, Anthony Eden is directly connected with a family of important financiers. His late father-in-law, Sir Gervase Beckett, was for many years a director of the Westminster Bank; and one of Sir Gervase’s brothers, Rupert Beckett, has been chairman of the board of directors of this powerful banking institution since 1931 and at the same time chairman of the board of directors of the Yorkshire Post, which is well known as Eden’s mouthpiece. Rupert Beckett is also a director of the London & North Eastern Railway Co. and of the Yorkshire Penny Bank. It can safely be assumed that Eden’s connections with the Beckett family have had a decisive influence on his career.

This gives us an idea of how closely politics and big business are entangled in Great Britain. Ministers of the Crown and Members of Parliament who meet today in the lobby or in the Chamber of the House of Commons will see each other again tomorrow at the board meeting of some armament company or other big industrial combine in their capacity as directors. The roles are changed but the actors are the same. Legislation concerning or apt to influence the profits of big business will be discussed and thrashed out in the board rooms of the big industrial and commercial enterprises long before the same people discuss and decide upon it in Parliament.

If we recall the figures originally mentioned of 181 members holding more than 755 directorships, it is now possible to calculate what this really means. The interests of the state, in fact, the policy of the whole British Empire, are subordinate to the private interests of a few hundred families whose members hold the key positions in British high finance, in addition to their political posts.
WEALTH IN POLITICS

Simon Haxey has calculated that the 33 M.P.'s who died between 1931 and 1938 left £7,100,000 between them, so that the average fortune of each of these men was £218,156. Of these 33 deceased M.P.'s:

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<th>Range</th>
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<td>£250</td>
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<td>£20,000 and £40,000</td>
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Thus 42 per cent of these members left fortunes of over £100,000. Nearly 90 per cent of those who have an income earn less than £250 a year.

The population of the British Empire is estimated roughly at 500 millions. About 60 millions of these live in the British Isles and in those of the Dominions where white men predominate; the remaining 440 are governed indirectly by the British Parliament, that is to say, by the Cabinet approved by it. Simon Haxey arrives at the ironical conclusion that the only way in which the British Colonial Empire—which has no political rights—is represented in Parliament is by those members who have interests in the exploitation companies in the Empire.

MAZE OF NAMES

It is exceedingly difficult for the average Englishman, and even more so for the foreign observer, to penetrate the secrets of the financial as well as the personal inter-relationship of the English ruling class, for the ruling class of England has developed a system of camouflage that necessitates special research if one wants to ascertain the identity of one and the same person throughout the duration of his political life.

For years, for instance, we have been reading of the exploits of the former Foreign Secretary and present British Ambassador to Washington, Lord Halifax. Even in England there are probably many people who are unaware of the fact that his same Viscount Halifax, under the name of Lord Irwin, was Viceroy of India from 1926 to 1931 and that, before his appointment to that position, he was a Conservative Member of Parliament under the name of Edward Wood. His son, Charles Wood, has meanwhile entered the Lower House under this family name; but doubtless he, too, will one day appear under another name together with a title bestowed upon him by the King.

Cases such as those of Churchill, Lloyd George, Baldwin, and Chamberlain, in which a change of name has not take place in the course of the political career, are the exception. This is explained by the fact that the majority of the political leaders of England are descendants of titled families, the practice being that, after the death of the bearer, the title is assumed by his eldest son. As a recent example we may cite the case of Sir Eric Drummond, for many years Secretary-General of the League of Nations and later British Ambassador in Rome who, at the age of 63, suddenly continued life as Lord Perth. Another case was that of William Ormsby-Gore (then Colonial Secretary), who after the death of his father in May 1938 succeeded to the title of Lord Harlech. This system applied, of course, also to Jews who found entrance into the British high aristocracy. Behind the name of Lord Swaythling, for instance, stands a descendant of the Jewish bankers, the Montagu, while the Jewish family of oil magnates that founded the Shell Company, the Salomons, now boasts the title of a Lord Bearsted in its first male line.

RELATIONS ON ALL SIDES

It is to be assumed that at least 150 members of the Lower House are directly or indirectly related to one another, connected by marriage or through a third person. In other countries, too, statesmen have relatives; but (except for stray individual cases) this has no influence upon the personal policy of the state. In England, however, the political outsider, who usually first made a name for himself by penetrating the sphere of high finance, does not become a fully recognized political figure until he or one of his brothers, sons, daughters, or sisters has succeeded in forming ties of kinship with the innermost core of the English upper class. Simon Haxey’s list shows that, among the present leading political personalities in Britain, the following are indirectly related to one another: Winston Churchill, the Marquess of Zetland (Amery’s predecessor as Secretary of State for India), Sir Samuel Hoare (holder of many ministerial posts and at present Ambassador to Spain), Oliver Stanley (a younger son of Lord Derby and a member of the Churchill Cabinet), Lord Halifax, Alfred Duff Cooper, Walter Elliott (who also...
held many important posts, including that of Minister of Agriculture and Chairman of the Board of Health, Lord Caldecote (better known by his former name Sir Thomas Inskip, who was Minister for Co-ordination of Defense in the Chamberlain Cabinet), the Earl of Winterton and, last not but least, Leopold Amery.

The connection between business and politics in English upper circles gains a new piquancy by this confusing picture of family ties. To fathom this system more closely it is only necessary to pick out a few of the most important families.

THE DERBYS

If, for instance, we take that of the Derbys, which may be looked upon as one of the richest families in England, we discover the following strange circumstances. The present Earl of Derby, the seventeenth bearer of this title, was, among other things, Member of the House of Commons from 1892 to 1906. After holding various minor posts in the Cabinet he became Secretary for War in 1916, British Ambassador to France from 1918 to 1920, and again Secretary for War from 1922 to 1924. He is considered one of the most influential persons in the kingdom and has devoted particular care to Anglo-French relations. We gain an idea of the wealth of his family when we learn that in 1924/25 the Earl sold his real estate in the towns of Bury, Radcliffe, Whitefield, Manchester, and Salford for approximately one million pounds sterling. Two years later he sold about 22,000 houses in Liverpool, Bootle, Kirkdale, and Walton for £1,750,000.

His eldest son, Lord Edward Stanley, who died in 1938 as Secretary for the Dominions, left an estate of 2.2 million pounds. Before his appointment to the Cabinet, Lord Stanley was a director of Barclay's Bank, one of the five leading English banks. His brother, Oliver Stanley, has been a member of the Cabinet for many years. Lord Derby's great-nephew by marriage is Charles Wood, the afore-mentioned son of Lord Halifax, while his son-in-law, Captain Malcolm Bullock, is also a Member of Parliament. Lord Derby's brother, Sir Arthur Stanley, was a Member of Parliament from 1898 to 1918. He is another of Britain's great financial magnates. Among other things, he is chairman of the board of directors of the Buenos Aires Pacific Railway Co., as well as one of the directors of the Westminster Bank—so that during the lifetime of the Dominions Secretary, Lord Edward Stanley, the Derby clan was represented in the governing board of two of the five great English banks. Finally, Arthur Stanley is also on the governing board of the great British Match Corporation.

The funds Lord Derby lays upon his racehorses are estimated at about £50,000 a year. This expensive hobby of his is shared by Lord Londonderry, the father-in-law of Lord Derby's son, Oliver Stanley. Lord Londonderry held high ministerial office for many years and was at one time the chairman of the Tory party organization. From 1935 to 1938 he acted as Leader of the House of Lords. One of his sons, Viscount Castlereagh, is a member of the House of Commons.

OLD AND NEW LORDS

Only 175 of the lords in the Upper House represent families that had a seat in that House before the beginning of the nineteenth century. The families of 276 lords moved into the Upper House in the nineteenth, those of 310 lords in the twentieth century. As a matter fact, the House of Lords is today nothing but a gathering of the richest bankers and industrialists provided by the King with titles, to whom are added those 175 families from the time before the industrial revolution in England; the majority of these latter have, however, long since gone into big business too.

In this manner the old English upper class has succeeded in interpreting any middle-class revolution, such as the various continental countries passed through during the nineteenth century. By raising such members of the middle class as were most outstanding in wealth—and therefore in power—to the peerage, revolutionary developments were nipped in the bud. The system was doubtless very clever and admirably suited to the British mentality. The result, however, is that the so-called aristocracy, as represented in the House of Lords today, differs very little from a meeting of a chamber of commerce.

In 1924 Ramsay MacDonald tried to introduce a few of his Labor friends into the Upper House, among them Philip Snowden and Sidney Webb, the well-known Socialist theorist. Philip Snowden became Viscount Snowden and Sidney Webb became Lord Passfield of Passfield. The bankers and big businessmen in the House of Lords accepted
this with a smile. Neither of the two representatives of Labor was able to play a part of any importance after being raised to the peerage. Lord Snell, who is also one of these "Labor Lords," occasionally makes an opposition speech. Thus parity is satisfied. But in reality the exclusive family clan rules.

THE AMERICAN VISCOUNT

Even more interesting is the well-known story of the Astor family, who own the Times. The founder of the family, Jacob Astor, was a peasant's son from the vicinity of Heidelberg who emigrated to America in the latter half of the nineteenth century and there acquired a huge fortune in the fur trade. His grandson, William Waldorf Astor, became American Ambassador to Rome; he then moved to England, where he became a British subject in 1899. When he died in 1919 he had already acquired the title of viscount, the huge fortune amassed by the American Astor family having smoothed the way. Of his two sons, Major G. G. Astor is now Member of Parliament for Dover. The other, as Viscount Astor, represents the interests of the family in the Upper House. As the first Viscount Astor left about 15 million pounds, it was not hard for his sons to play brilliant parts in England's upper circles.

Meanwhile, the Astor family holds the following seats in Parliament: Lord Astor is in the Upper House. Lady Astor, his wife, is a Conservative Member of the Lower House. W. W. Astor, their son, is also a Conservative Member of the House of Commons, while his uncle, whom we already mentioned, is Member for Dover. One of the daughters of Lord Astor married Lord Willoughby, a Member of the House of Commons, and one of the nieces of Lady Astor married Ronald Tree, M.P. In other words: the 15-million-pounds inheritance won the Astor clan one seat in the House of Lords and five in the House of Commons.

When the son of Viscount and Lady Astor was to enter the House of Commons, his mother, since 1919 Member for Plymouth, made the following election speech:

I hold particularly pronounced views on the education of young people destined for Parliament. Knowledge is an essential factor to a young man before he can accept a seat in Parliament. People have made the attempt to induce my son to become an M.P. at the age of 21. But I prevented that and sent him abroad. The result is that now you have a candidate well qualified and educated for his task. And what is more, he has his mother in Parliament to see to it that he conducts himself correctly. You have the opportunity of sending a young man to Parliament whose mother will be at his side to help and to guide him. No other electorate in England is able to do this.

THE OLD SCHOOL TIE

We might add a few words about the importance of certain schools and universities. As an example we may quote Stanley Baldwin who, when forming one of his numerous governments, declared:

When I was charged with the task, one of my first thoughts was that this must prove to be a Government worthy of the Harrow tradition.

The number of former pupils of Eton and Harrow among the Conservative Members of Parliament amounted to 37 per cent in 1905, 43 per cent in 1909, 31 per cent in 1928, and 30 per cent in 1938.

It now remains for us to cast one more glance at the House of Lords, the most essential things about which we have already mentioned. Simon Haxey figured out that of the 90 "new" peers who moved into the House of Lords or were raised into the upper nobility since 1931, 60 are chairmen or members of boards of directors. Together they hold 420 directorial seats. While the directors in the Lower House average 3 or 4 posts to one person, the new peers who are at the same time directors average 7 such posts.

The ownership of newspapers is one of the specialities of the Upper House. Almost all the chairmen of the board of directors of the great newspaper concerns (including the Labor Party's Daily Herald represented by Lord Southwood) are in the House of Lords.

* * *

The reverence for his ruling class which has been instilled into the Englishman for centuries is so deeply rooted in him that he has taken this ruling class for granted up to now. But with the present war approaching its decisive phase, a crisis in the unchallenged leadership of Britain's financial oligarchy is not unlikely.

One thing may be prophesied almost with certainty, namely that, whatever the outcome may be, it will strike at the very foundations of the privileged classes of England.
BOY OR GIRL?

By PROFESSOR DR. R. NEUMANN

What determines the sex of a child? Can parents influence the sex of their unborn children? Are more boys born in war time than girls? The author, Professor of Pathology at the University of Berlin and at present Director of the German Pathological Institute in Shanghai, gives some interesting answers to these and similar questions.

In silent hope and anxious expectation, father and mother look forward to the happy event; and often enough the parents wish that it was up to them to determine whether the child was to be a boy or a girl. Many a father would like it to be a son, who would one day inherit his business; many a mother, who already has four sons, would like a girl; and many a ruling house anxiously awaits the birth of a boy to carry on the male line of the family, so that the old name may not die out and the country be given a male ruler.

The determination of sex is subject exclusively to the laws of heredity. It can be ascribed to a lack of knowledge of even the simplest of these laws that the question “boy or girl?” is still treated as a problem. And all the curious opinions one hears: doesn’t the mother look and behave almost like a man? How can she have anything but boys? Or: doesn’t the father seem slightly effeminate with his soft movements and high voice? How can you be surprised if that family has only girls? Some say: strong woman and weak man—they will only have girls; weak woman and strong man—only boys. Others again: weak man and strong woman—only boys. And so on. When one studies and compares all these opinions, one arrives at only one conclusion: all types of parents can have either boy or girl!

In order to facilitate the comprehension of the relationship between the “boy-or-girl” problem and the laws of heredity, it is necessary first to relate a few basic facts about cells, secondly to regard these cells from the point of view of the two sexes, thirdly to explain certain laws affecting the birth of female and male creatures, and fourthly to let observations speak for themselves.

![Diagram of cell development](image)

One group of body cells produces cells which have the task of serving propagation. These are the germ cells; in the case of the woman they are the egg cells or ova (O) and in the case of the man the spermatozoa (S).

When a spermatozoon (S) meets with an ovum (O), the ovum is fertilized by the spermatozoon; through this union, ovum and spermatozoon form a single cell (OS). This cell is the starting point for the new creature—the child. Simultaneously, it
As we said before, the chromosomes contain all factors determining the appearance of the creature developing from the fertilized ovum. Its sex is also determined by certain factors. But these factors—male or female—are not contained as individual factors within one chromosome: there are certain reasons for this is that the chromosomes of the body cells appear in pairs; there are always two of each kind. In other words, the body cells of the roundworm have 2 pairs of chromosomes, those of the rabbit 11 pairs, those of the nightshade 72 pairs.

So the human body cells have 24 pairs of chromosomes, together 48 chromosomes. Moreover, the woman has exactly as many chromosomes in her body cells as the man. Consequently, the germ cells (ovum and spermatozoon) should also each have 48 chromosomes. If, however, an ovum of the woman, possessing 48 chromosomes, were fertilized by a spermatozoon of the man, which also contained 48 chromosomes, the fertilized cell which, as we have seen, forms the starting point of the new creature, would contain twice 48 or 96 chromosomes. But this is quite impossible, for in that case the number of chromosomes would be doubled with every generation, and we, the descendants of many generations, would possess an astronomical number of chromosomes!

Here nature has evolved a process which can be regarded as one of the most wonderful of all her devices: that group of body cells which turns into germ cells allows only 1 chromosome of each pair to enter each germ cell. Consequently, each germ cell contains only one half of all the chromosome pairs; if the body cells of an organism contain 8 chromosomes (4 pairs), each germ cell gets only 1 chromosome of each pair, or 4 chromosomes altogether (Fig. 2).

In the case of the human being, each body cell contains 48 chromosomes (24 pairs); so each ovum of the woman contains only 24 chromosomes, as does each spermatozoon of the man. When the ovum (O) with its 24 chromosomes is fertilized by a spermatozoon (S), which also contains only 24 chromosomes, the fertilized cell (OS) receives 24 pairs of chromosomes, or 48 chromosomes (Fig. 3). Hence all the other body cells of the new creature being formed also have 48 chromosomes each—exactly the same number as contained in each body cell of its parents.

II

As we said before, the chromosomes contain all factors determining the appearance of the creature developing from the fertilized ovum. Its sex is also determined by certain factors. But these factors—male or female—are not contained as individual factors within one chromosome: there are certain...
The law of averages, which we mentioned in connection with the distribution of the X and Y chromosomes among the spermatozoa of the man, applies also in the case of the fertilization of the germ cells. Which spermatozoon meets with which ovum is purely a matter of coincidence, and no human being can command one certain spermatozoon among the thousands of spermatozoa to pick out one certain ovum. It is this law of averages which determines the distribution of the sexes—whether boy or girl.

The "ordinary" chromosomes are identical in the case of the man and the woman, just as they are equal in number; hence we may disregard these "ordinary" chromosomes in our further study, since we are only interested in sex determination. So we shall say (Fig. 4): Every body cell of the woman contains two X chromosomes (XX), and every body cell of the man contains one X and one Y chromosome (XY). Every ovum (Oa and Ob) contains in any case one X chromosome; of the spermatozoa of the man one half (Sa) also contains one X chromosome, while the other half (Sb) contains one Y chromosome.

III

The law of averages, which we mentioned in connection with the distribution of the X and Y chromosomes among the spermatozoa of the man, applies also in the case of the fertilization of the germ cells. Which spermatozoon meets with which ovum is purely a matter of coincidence, and no human being can command one certain spermatozoon among the thousands of spermatozoa to pick out one certain ovum. It is this law of averages which determines the distribution of the sexes—whether boy or girl.

Fig. 3

Now comes the salient point: the sex chromosomes are, without exception, different in the case of the man and the woman. The woman has 2 sex chromosomes which are exactly alike in shape; she actually has a pair, in the true sense of the word. We shall call each of these two sex chromosomes "X." So the body cells of the woman contain 46 ordinary chromosomes and two X chromosomes; hence every germ cell of the woman contains 23 ordinary chromosomes and one X chromosome.

The man should also have one pair of sex chromosomes; indeed, he has. One of the sex chromosomes of the man is exactly like the X chromosome of the woman; it is also an X chromosome. The other, however, is stunted—we shall call it the Y chromosome. So the body cells of the man contain 46 ordinary chromosomes and one X chromosome as well as one Y chromosome; consequently, the germ cells of the man contain either 23 ordinary chromosomes and one X chromosome or 23 ordinary chromosomes and one Y chromosome. How many spermatozoa contain the X chromosome and how many the Y chromosome is entirely a matter of coincidence. Since there are only two possibilities of distribution, the proportion will, according to the law of averages, be 50:50; half the spermatozoa will contain one X each, and the other half one Y each.

Any ovum can unite with any spermatozoon: Oa may unite with Sa, but Oa may also unite with Sb; and Ob may unite with Sa as well as with Sb, just as chance wills it. If in the first fertilization Oa united with Sa, Oa may unite again with Sa the next time; even the third time, but here it already becomes improbable that the same union should take place three times in succession; and with 10 fertilizations it will become very improbable for Oa to unite
with Sa 10 times in succession. With 1,000 fertilizations we can say that it is impossible for the same union—Oa with Sa—to take place; among these 1,000 fertilizations we are bound to find unions also of Oa with Sb as well as of Ob with Sa and Ob with Sb. If we consider a sufficiently large number of fertilizations—let us say, 100,000—all possible combinations will appear in a definite proportion: in this case, Oa with Sa in 25 per cent of all cases, Oa with Sb also in 25 per cent. Ob with Sa also in 25 per cent, and finally Ob with Sb also in 25 per cent of all cases. The law of averages works out all the more certainly in its proportions (in this case 25%: 25%: 25%: 25%) the larger the number of fertilizations.

If, in the first fertilization, the ovum Oa unites with the spermatozoon Sa, the new creature will contain one X from Oa and one X from Sa, together two X; these two X inevitably make the child a female one. The ovum Oa might, however, just as easily unite with the spermatozoon Sb, which contains a Y; the new creature will then contain one X and one Y (XY); this XY inevitably makes the child a male one—without exception.

Whether the ovum Oa unites with the spermatozoon Sa or Sb, whether the ovum Ob unites with the spermatozoon Sa or Sb: this is entirely a matter of chance, subject to the law of averages—it is a lottery. In a small number of fertilizations it may happen that Oa and Sa, which both contain one X each, unite repeatedly; this would mean the birth of two, three, four, or even five girls, for they would all contain XX. Likewise it may happen that the ovum Ob containing one X unites several times in succession with the spermatozoon Sb containing one Y; the result would be three, four, five, or even six boys one after another. The chance of ten boys, however, being born one after another would be extraordinarily remote; and twenty boys in succession are as good as impossible. Even if we should consider not only the minimum of germ cells but more than two, perhaps four or eight, the proportion—provided there is a sufficient number of fertilizations—will always be 50:50.

Thus if a father complains that he has already had three girls and that the fourth child is another girl, there is only one piece of advice to be given him, the only possible one: See to it, my friend, that you have more children. We can guarantee that, among fifteen or twenty children presented to you by your wife, there will be a least one boy—if not more; indeed, it is quite possible that after the four girls you will have nothing but boys, so many that, after the eighth boy—I am sure—you will complain again: Nothing but boys!

IV

To check up whether the law of averages really works, and whether the proportion of 50:50 is correct in the case of animals and humans, we need only compare actual statistics. What are the facts?

In the case of animals there are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hogs</td>
<td>111.8</td>
<td>sows</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxen</td>
<td>107.3</td>
<td>cows</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male rats</td>
<td>105.0</td>
<td>female rats</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buck rabbits</td>
<td>104.6</td>
<td>doe rabbits</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So we find a slight male surplus here.

On the other hand there are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>To</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stallions</td>
<td>99.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rams</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocks</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we find a slight female surplus.

As regards humans we shall first consider the proportion of adult living men and women. There are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Men to Women</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>106.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>104.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>101.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>101.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other words, these countries have a female surplus. Applying these figures to an entire nation, we arrive in the case of Germany, whose population is about 80 millions, at a surplus of 1,875,390 women.

But the result looks different if, in addition to the adult living men and women, we include all boys, girls, babies, and infants in our calculations—including those that have died. Now we arrive for Germany at 100 females to every 105.2 males, a decided male surplus. Calculated on the basis of a nation of 80 millions, we would arrive at a male surplus of 2,027,290!

This male surplus becomes even more pronounced if we also include premature births and miscarriages. And these must by all means be included; for the human being begins to exist, not at birth, but at the moment when the ovum has been fertilized by a spermatozoon. Now we arrive at the following ratio: for every 100 females there are 160 males! For a nation of 80 millions this means that 18,461,540 more males are conceived than females. The male surplus is indeed considerable!
We can see our critics gloating. After all, facts are facts; and there seems to be a clear contradiction between these facts and our claims. But we fear that we must disappoint our critics.

The human germ cells containing an X are sensitive in the highest degree to influences of environment. Experiments have shown that, for instance, alcohol can cause damage to these germ cells; changes of diet, too, may easily affect these sensitive germ cells. Even the slightest change in the structure of the germ cell—it need not even have been damaged—has the effect that fertilization cannot take place. Consequently, the male germ cells containing a Y and thus of a male-determining nature must be more capable of fertilizing and hence be preponderant in number of fertilizations. In other words, one X and one Y are more likely to unite in fertilization than one X with another X; the result is more male creatures—a male surplus.

On the other hand, the Y chromosome, although—or perhaps because—it must be regarded as stunted, contains factors which in turn harm the developing creature. The effect of this damage is that the developing embryos die either already in the womb or during or shortly after birth. This explains the high mortality rate among unborn and newly born boys; it also accounts for the almost complete equalization in the ratio between adult men and adult women.

Furthermore, since the sum of the damaging factors in the Y chromosome is apparently stronger than the sum of the environmental influences damaging to the female germ cells, the equalization will not be a perfect one; more women will remain over than men, so that we find a slight female surplus. As soon, however, as the damaging factors affecting those germ cells containing an X grow in number—for instance, as a result of a marked change in diet, as is often the case in times of war—male births will predominate, and there will be a male surplus.

**Pitfalls of Love**

In Minneapolis, Dental Survey magazine reported that a Canadian soldier who fell ill was discovered to have swallowed his girl friend's false teeth.

**Unturned Stone**

In Texas' legislature a bill was introduced prohibiting the blind from driving automobiles.
NORMANDY,
LAND OF INVASIONS

By PAUL-FRANÇOIS CARCOPINO

People learn much of their geography from wars by following the course of the fighting. During the past weeks, all newspaper readers have learned a good deal about Normandy, about its beaches, towns, and rivers. They have also read of the wholesale destruction which the invasion has brought to Caen, Lisieux, Saint-Lô, Argentan, Falaise, Cherbourg, Vire, and many other Norman towns. But not many have seen with their own eyes the extraordinary wealth and beauty of Normandy's cultural treasures of yesterday, the pride of France and all Europe, or know that that region has been the scene of invasions for the last 2,000 years. Hence we have asked a French author to tell us about Normandy.—K.M.

It would seem as if certain places were predestined to be used as battlefields. The names of places in Normandy we read today in our newspapers are the same as those that our ancestors used to hear in the legendary songs through which the history of ancient times up to the Middle Ages has come down to us.

As far as we know, Titurius Sabinius, one of Caesar's lieutenants, won a battle against Viridovix in 56 B.C.—near the forest of Écouves according to legend; near Montebourg in the Valognes district according to some recent discoveries. At the time of the Roman invasion there were nine tribes living in what was then the province of Neustrie. The names of eight of these tribes are preserved in the names by which the inhabitants of some of these towns are known to this day as, for example, “Bajo-casses” (those of Bayeux) or “Lexoviens” (of Lisieux), or in the names of the towns themselves or the districts. The name of the ninth tribe, the “Unelles,” was changed into “Constantins” after the founding of Constantia (now Coutances) by Emperor Constantine, whence comes the name of Cotentin peninsula.

Old chroniclers, great lovers of the wonderful and prepared to believe everything, relate that the first inhabitants of that region were descendants of Gomer, the son of Japhet, who was the son of Noah. Hence one of the counties near Lisieux is named “Montgomery” and gave its name to the Montgomery family. To be a member of this family was more glorious than to be descended from Eneus, Venus’s son, like the Romans, or from Francus, Hector’s son, like the Franks.

THE FIRST SIEGE OF PARIS

Seven hundred boats, forty thousand men, occupying more than five miles of the Seine in front of Paris: a real invasion of northern France. Paris was not yet known as Paris; it was called Lutéce, situated on a small island on the river, but already a capital. This was in 885.

Since 800 the Northmen, or Normans, had been raiding the coasts of France and, by way of her rivers, France’s provinces from the Channel as far as the Pyrenees. In 845, Ragnar Lodbrog led his vikings to Paris with a hundred and twenty boats and took the town. In 885 the vikings, those Scandinavian men sailing from somewhere in the wild north seas, raided the country along the Seine and the Loire Rivers. As they were pagans they directed their attacks chiefly against churches, monasteries, abbeys, from which they knew they could obtain great loot. They were roving sailors and, as such, could not all remain inactive during that very siege of Paris which lasted for a whole year. They raided the surrounding regions, and Bayeux was taken.

BOUNDARIES, MAN- AND RIVER-MADE

After having been defeated at various places, the vikings turned back to their original starting point in France and began to settle in the Seine area. In 911 their chief was Rollo, also called Rolf the Walker, because he could not find a horse strong
of Monte Cassino and Monte Gargano, the latter being dedicated also to Saint Michael, as was the famous Norman monastery. Thus such Normans as, for instance, the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, a poor gentleman from Cotentin, went to Italy, fought against Greeks and Saracens, and obtained from Popes Leo IX and Nicholas II the province of Calabria and the island of Sicily, which latter they made into a kingdom in 1130.

About a hundred years after the agreement of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, the Duchy of Normandy was ruled by Robert the Devil, who had his headquarters at Falaise, the epitome of all that is romantic in old castles, a great gray pile of round tower and square keep. The story goes that, when he was a youth of eighteen, he espied a matter of interest through the castle window. Under the flowering trees was a public place where women gathered to wash their linen. One of these was a young girl of such beauty that the youth fell in love with her at first sight and sent for her to be brought to the castle. Arlette was her name. And she became the mother of a son, named William.

Even yesterday, the women of Falaise still washed their clothes in that same ancient brook and talked of Arlette and her phenomenal son, who became King William I of England and went down in history as William the Conqueror.

When William was seven years old, his father, Robert the Devil, went to the Holy Land and made over the Duchy of Normandy to his son. A certain night in the year 1039, young William was sleeping by the side of his steward Osbern, his tutor having been treacherously slain not long before. Suddenly William awoke. The curtain was moving, somebody was in the room. And Osbern was sleeping deeply. Should he wake him? Too late, a man leaped onto the bed.

"Help! Help!" It was Osbern shouting.

"Ah! Bastard! Die . . . ." came Mont Gommeri's answer.

Osbern was dead, and William suddenly realized how great his power might be that a Mont Gommeri, allied to the great Talvas of Bellême, should have tried to kill him.

A HUMAN DOCUMENT

The story of William's conquest of England is told by the famous Bayeux Tapestry, one of those relics of the past of
About a mile off the coast of Normandy rises the sugar loaf rock of Mont-Saint-Michel, where Benedictine monks founded a monastery 978 years ago. At high tide, water encircles the Mount, and before the causeway was built in 1879 travelers walked or rode on horseback across the wet sand. Girt by sea and ramparts, Mont-Saint-Michel has held out against many a siege. It was the only Norman stronghold that successfully resisted the invasion of Henry V of England in the fifteenth century.

NORMAN CASTLES AND CHURCHES

The Cathedral of Rouen, with its exquisite central spire and the two dissimilar towers of Saint-Romain and the Tower of Butter.

The Castle of Falaise, the birthplace of William the Conqueror. It was from one of these windows that Robert the Devil, his father, espied pretty Arlette, the tanner's daughter, who became the mother of the man who conquered England in 1066.
Short streets of timbered houses lead up to the Norman cathedral of Bayeux, whose northwest tower is shown here. The women moving sedately in their black dresses add to the impression of calm in this ancient little town.

The single hand of Rouen’s big clock has pointed the time since the days when men in arms tramped through the narrow streets. In the ancient Norman capital, Joan of Arc was burned at the stake.

TIMELESS NORMANDY

A typical bit of the coast of Normandy. Today, as likely as not, it is pitted with the craters made by bombs and shells and strewn with the litter of an invasion.
which everyone has heard. The fifty-eight scenes, two of which we have reproduced, were embroidered on linen by Mathilda, William's wife, and give a pictorial idea of the Norman conquest. Crude as it is in design, and partly defaced, it nevertheless re-creates a momentous event in the world's history. It starts with William assembling seven hundred boats at the mouth of the Dives and "an innumerable host of horsemen, slingers, archers, and foot soldiers." They were the biggest boats for their time, the largest being able to hold fifty knights fully equipped with all their horses and men.

The two sections from the Bayeux Tapestry reproduced in this article show scenes from the life of William the Conqueror. This one depicts the Battle of Hastings in 1066, in which William conquered England.

This tapestry, intended for the Bayeux Cathedral, lay up to the present war in a double-glass case in the old bishop's palace, used as the town library.

As a result of the Norman conquest, the English parliament used Norman French for more than four hundred years when requesting the king to approve or reject his laws. Although the old Norse tongue died out quickly in Normandy, we can still find tokens of its Scandinavian origin in such place names as: Caudebec (bee meaning rivulet); Harfleur and Barfleur (fleur meaning small river channel); Yvetot (lot meaning turf). Or in those names ending in: beuf (encampment); dal (valley); ham (little village, hamlet); gard (garden); hus (house); torp (village); brique (bridge); and diep (deep).

LIVING HISTORY

Bayeux was, until the present invasion, a quiet little town dozing around its cathedral, with short strolls leading to its straggling borders. The cathedral, one of the most beautiful in all France, represented a particu-

ularly complete example of Norman art. Built on the remains of a Roman basilica at the beginning of the twelfth century, the cathedral acquired a central tower in the flamboyant style in the fifteenth century, as well as two lateral towers of the type commonly found in all the silhouettes pointing to the sky from Cotentin to the district of Caux.

The surrounding countryside is very green and of the flat, rather monotonous character typical of the region of Caen. It is the least picturesque part of Normandy and goes down to a seashore without cliffs invariably consisting of sandy beaches bordered by sand dunes. Only the small town of Port-en-Bessin presents the picturesque sight of a fishing harbor of ancient times.

Caen (rhymes with dans), on the other hand, provides a note of contrast in its surroundings. Here William the Conqueror reigns supreme, not as a conqueror but as a man in private life. Through a maze of busy streets one may see among many beautiful buildings the great Norman Abbey of Saint Étienne, also called the "Abbaye-aux-Hommes." William, who had married his cousin Mathilda, hoped by this gift to the Church to be forgiven by the Pope for his marriage. At the same time, on the opposite side of the town, Queen Mathilda built La Trinité, also known as the "Abbaye-aux-Dames." Mathilda was buried here, and later on William was buried in the Abbey of Saint Étienne. Both are superb examples of the architecture which preceded the rise of early Gothic in the thirteenth century, inspired by the architectural form from northern Italy which, in Norman hands, became a distinctive living thing marked by great size, simplicity, massiveness, and love of geometrical ornaments. These and many other churches and buildings make Caen a Norman Athens and an unrivaled center for the study of Norman art.

Caen was greater than any town in England except London when King Edward III of England entered it on July 16, 1346.

"DISSIDENCE" ALREADY!

The English King had invaded Normandy. He landed at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue on the Cotentin peninsula, following the advice of a Norman "dissident," Geoffroy d'Harcourt, sire of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. Violent, ambitious, determined to be Duke of Normandy—not under the King of France but as a vassal of the King of England—Geoffroy
led the English army through his country, which was laid waste. The invaders landed at Valognes, in the heart of Cotentin. This ancient Gallo-Roman town of "Alaunia" was for a long time proud and pretentious; little by little it fell asleep, to become a quiet little place.

From there the English went to Carentan—Carentan, where Napoleon started to build a canal through the peninsula in order to avoid sailing around the capes of La Hogue and La Hague; Carentan, situated in such a flat landscape that the Douve, Seye, Merdet, Sèves, and Taute Rivers, which run through it, see the coming tide flowing back far inland when the floodgates remain open. The King of England was astonished at the wealth and size of the towns which, however, did not prevent him from setting fire to Valognes, Carentan, and Saint-Lô.

Up to the present, Caen enjoyed a brisk trade with Le Havre via the entrancing canal of Ouistreham. The harbor of Ouistreham was used by the English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when they shipped home the loot collected in successful raids on Caen.

FRANCE'S TWO PATRON SAINTS

But all Norman roads finally lead to Rouen, passing through Lisieux. In Lisieux a basilica was recently built to Saint Thérèse, the young nun canonized only twenty-eight years after her death, whom Pope Pius XII has just made the second patron saint of France.

Rouen, Gothic queen of France, is the ancient capital of the duchy. Here "each monument is a book, each stone a souvenir." Yet still more appealing than architecture or antiquities is the figure of Joan of Arc. For Rouen is her town, saturated with the glorious and tragic memories of the heroine. The spirit of Joan of Arc, who helped to liberate France from the English, still hovers over the market place where, condemned for "having fallen back into errors," she went to her fiery martyrdom. Today Rouen is in flames, flames added by the English to her pyre.

One of Rouen's landmarks is the tower of the big clock, whose single hand has, thanks to constant repair, pointed the time for more than four hundred years. The Cathedral of Notre Dame is a superb example of the evolution of Gothic architecture in all its plenitude, from the Romanesque up to the flamboyant. Of particular interest are the two dissimilar towers, that of Saint Romain, which soberly united the three architectural styles, and the Tower of Butter, so-called because the money for its construction was provided by people who wanted to eat butter during Lent. This latter is all that one could dream in carvings of lace-like delicacy covering a structure of strong lines. With the cathedral, the two churches of Saint Maclou and Saint Ouen completed a wonderful trinity of religious art.

FIGHTING THE ENGLISH

After the martyrdom of Joan of Arc, the French rose up against the English. Normandy was in full ferment, and the "Godons"—as the English were nicknamed by the French after the familiar English swear words "God damn!"—were hunted down everywhere.

A short truce, and in less than a year there were almost no more English in the country, while a general amnesty was granted to the Français reniés, who had served the English. This was bad news for the English, and a new army was sent to Normandy via Cherbourg. Cherbourg—which was to be fortified by Vauban in the seventeenth century and later chosen by Napoleon as a naval port for his main defense against England—was the last French town in English hands. From there they advanced again on Valognes and through the Cotentin peninsula along the Vire River to Bayeux. They stopped at Formigny and were defeated in April 1449 in the territory of Aignerville, where names such as Préaux-Anglais, Piéceaux-Anglais, and Tombeaux-Anglais recall their memory.

In 1528, Normandy found itself involved in the religious wars. Catholics with the help of King Philip II of Spain and Protestants with the support of Queen Elizabeth of England were fighting each other. Rouen was a Protestant town as were Bayeux, Coutances, Falaise, Vire, Carentan. Antoine de Bourbon, the father of the future King Henry IV, attacked Rouen, which was defended by the Count of Montgomery. The fall of the town gave all of Normandy to the Catholics, but not for long, for the fall of Caen soon after reversed the situation. History tells us that the Queen of England promised a lot of help to the Normans, but that the actual help given was very weak and, moreover, paid for dearly by the cession of the port of Le Havre.
After all this trouble there was a period of peace and order, which men from Normandy made use of to penetrate into the Saint Lawrence estuary in North America. Led by Cartier and Champlain, they built Quebec and Montreal, thus laying the foundation of Canada.

In 1759, Cherbourg was destroyed by the English. Caen escaped a similar fate thanks to a clever trick played on the English by a coastguard named Cabieiu: when they landed in the Orne estuary at night, they were surprised to hear a drum being beaten and orders being shouted by Cabieiu to an imaginary French army. So they quickly re-embarked to avoid pursuit.

GHOSTS OF THE PAST

The occupations of Normandy in 1815, 1870, and 1940 did not lead to anything like the destruction experienced in former days. But the reports about the present invasion speak of total destruction being wrought by the invasion of 1944. This leaves us little hope that even part of those inestimable treasures of French history and European art will be saved.

The present war has linked up all those names that stand out in Norman history. Normandy itself is once again being invaded; one of the commanding generals is named Montgomery. The towns of Bayeux, Caen, Carentan, Valognes, Cherbourg have been the scenes of bloody fighting and wholesale destruction; the invaders themselves, Americans, English, Canadians, include without doubt some descendants of those adventurous Norman emigrants; and the various European war theaters mentioned in the communiqués of this war were once the scenes of the exploits of those same Normans, from Russia to the Near East, from the North Sea and the Channel to Sicily and Italy.

THE NORMANDY OF YESTERDAY

In a landscape of green, the Normans of yesterday not only raised cattle and horses, made butter and cheese, known all over the world as Isigny butter, Camembert and Pont-l'Évêque cheese; they also had prosperous industries such as that of Rouen linen, Alençon lace, Cherbourg mirrors, and faïences of Rouen. Normandy is also the land of good food with such specialties as andouillettes (small sausages) from Vire and tripes à la mode de Caen, with which one must drink Normandy’s favorite beverage, apple cider.

This part of France, which nature seems to have showered with her gifts, also gave France writers like Malherbe, Corneille, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Barbyey d’Aurevilly, Guy de Maupassant, and Flaubert, musicians like Aubert, and Boëllieau. Who has not seen at least a reproduction of “The Angelus” by Millet or “Le Radeau de la Méduse” by Géricault, both sons of Normandy, as was Nicolas Poussin, the master of classical painting in France! Science, too, owes something to Normandy: Laplace and Le Verrier are well-known astronomers, and Fresnel brought about great progress in the field of optics.

In spite of these famous names in so many different spheres, the Norman remains a peasant well balanced in mind, thrifty without being a miser, a hard worker, and famous for his special way of answering questions: “P’t être ben qu’ouit! P’t être ben qu’non!” (“Maybe yes, maybe no!”). And when he leaves his country for a while, he always bears in mind the Norman song:

J’irai revoir ma Normandie,
C’est le pays qui m’a donné le jour.

Conscripts Born in 1926

In the spring of 1944 Germany called up her young men born in 1926. What does this mean in figures? According to official statistics, 632,370 boys were born in the old territory of the Reich in that year, i.e., excluding Austria, the Protectorate, etc. Some 10% of these boys died between the years 1926 and 1944, so that, by the spring of 1944, 531,190 young men born in 1926 were still alive. As the result of the careful medical and athletic supervision of German youth, the number of those unfit for military service is unusually low, namely, according to a Transocean report dated March 10, 1944, 1.5%. Hence the males born in 1926 now called up represent an increase of more than half a million young men—originating solely from the old territory of the Reich—for the German Army.
THE LEND-LEASE SYSTEM

One of the outstanding political issues between the first and second World Wars was represented by the ten billion dollars which the USA had loaned to her allies during the Great War. In the present war, America has loaned two and a half times that amount in goods and services to her allies; but the problems arising from the debts of the present war are likely to be far greater than two and a half times those of the first World War. America has learned from her experiences with the Great War debts and has evolved the ingenious and, for herself and her allies, extremely important Lend-Lease system. — K.M.

ONE summer day in 1940, an official of the Treasury in Washington was turning over the pages of a somewhat dusty tome, one of a series containing a complete chronological record of US laws. Under a date of the year 1892, he came upon one authorizing the Secretary of War to lend out Army property if this be in the public interest. From this find sprang an idea which eventually took shape in the "Lend-Lease Act."

At the press conference of December 16, 1940, almost immediately after his re-election for a third term, President Roosevelt broke the news of his scheme. On January 10, 1941, Bill No. 1776 was put before Congress. After passage in the House of Representatives—with a number of amendments—on a 260:165 vote, the Senate debated it at length, added some more amendments, and passed it 60:31. On March 11, 1941, the House of Representatives accepted the Act with the Senate’s modifications (317:71). Half an hour later, at 3.50 p.m., it was signed by the President and had become law.

Prime Minister Jan Smuts voiced what most Britons, many Americans felt, when he opined that, with the passage of the Bill, the United States had at last been brought into the war.

BACKGROUND OF THE ACT

In the middle thirties, the overwhelmingly isolationist USA had tried to fortify herself against involvement in foreign wars. To prevent the recurrence of a situation like that of 1917, the Johnson Act, passed by Congress on April 13, 1934, prohibited loans to defaulting governments; and the Neutrality Law, enacted in August 1935, imposed an arms embargo on shipments to nations pronounced belligerent by the President. A clause, added in 1936, forbade the granting of loans to belligerents. But from 1937 on, President Roosevelt gradually turned the trend of America’s foreign policy from isolation to intervention. It was in 1937 that he held his famous "quarantine" speech in Chicago. From then on a flood of invective against Germany, Japan, and Italy poured forth from Washington, while the war parties in London, Paris, and elsewhere were openly encouraged.

On May 1, 1937, an amendment of the Neutrality Law introduced the cash-and-carry clause for the sale of nonmilitary American goods to belligerents, a measure that favored the Western powers in view of their control of the Atlantic sea lanes. Then the lifting of the arms embargo against Britain and France on November 3, 1939, paved the way for a lucrative American war business. But the Allies still had to carry the material in their own bottoms and to pay cash: the Johnson Act was still in force, upon which the cash-and-carry clause of American neutrality legislation was founded. England and France, being among the defaulting nations, were still unable to get any credits from the United States.

America felt as yet quite certain of Germany’s defeat. In spite of her blitz victory against Poland, Germany was thought to be no match for France and England. How nonchalant the US leaders were may be gauged from the fact that up to May 1940 Britain received no more than 104 American planes, which she had ordered in 1938. Germany’s rapid Western campaign, however, shattered all American calculations. Britain was in immediate peril.

During the crisis brought about by the battle of France, and upon urgent appeals by Churchill, the President ordered a list of arms and munitions to be made which the
THE LEND-LEASE SYSTEM

US Army could spare. These comprised, among other material, 500,000 20-year-old rifles, 900 guns, 80,000 machine guns, 130 million cartridges, and one million artillery shells. To circumvent what was left of the neutrality legislation, the Administration sold this material to an American steel export company, which turned it over to Britain. Twenty-four ships carried the goods to England between June 23 and the end of July, as we are told in Lend and Lease—Road to Victory, a book Edward Stettinarius, former Lend-Lease Administrator, published in America in January 1944. French orders, valued at 600 million dollars, were transferred to British account without the French being asked. The deal which turned over 50 old American destroyers to Britain on September 2, 1940, was another measure to strengthen the British war party by holding out US aid; in exchange, however, the USA extracted a 99-year lease on British territories for a chain of bases running from Newfoundland via Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Trinidad, to British Guiana.

As the year 1940 drew to a close, it became apparent that England needed far more.

THE BILL

If England was to stay in the war, she had to obtain war materials without having to pay cash. By the end of 1940, Britain had spent 4.5 billion dollars on purchases from the USA, and another 1.5 billion dollars were earmarked for orders already placed, which left Britain with dollar holdings amounting to only half a billion. The Johnson Act did not permit the granting of credits, and an outright repeal of this law was unlikely to find favor with Congress in view of prevailing public opinion. To loan money to Britain and other belligerents was not a very attractive idea to the Americans, who had been repaid only about a quarter of the ten billion dollars loaned to their allies during the Great War. Some other scheme had to be found which would assure Britain of supplies of war materials, would further the aims of American imperialism, but would not arouse the suspicion of the American taxpayer who, after all, would have to foot the bill. The Lend-Lease Act was the ingenious answer.

This Act, some of the details of which are given in the Appendix to this issue, authorizes the President to turn over virtually any article to any country he chooses "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law," (meaning also the Johnson Act), on any terms and conditions he approves. The same applies to services rendered by the USA, and to defense information and plans. To cover expenses, the President is given appropriations from Congress which he may use at his discretion. Congress only reserved itself the right of holding the purse strings—appropriations being subject to Congressional approval—and of rescinding the Lend-Lease authority with simple majority. This did not mean much in view of the large majority which the President commanded in both Houses. Moreover, there is another loophole for the President in the form of funds appropriated for Army and Navy purposes, which he may also use for Lend-Lease.

FROM ENGLAND TO ICELAND

While the Lend-Lease scheme started with aid to Great Britain, it soon became world-wide by being applied also to Australia, New Zealand, India, the USSR, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia (until recently both to Mihailovich and Tito), Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Iceland, De Gaulle, Chungking, the Netherlands East Indies, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and San Salvador. An amendment to the effect that Lend-Lease deliveries be barred to those of the Allied nations not actually fighting in the war was rejected 254:14 by the House of Representatives early in June 1944.

Similar agreements were later also concluded between countries outside of the USA. There are the shipments of British aid to the USSR, Chungking, Turkey, etc., of various raw and manufactured materials by British Dominions—especially Canada—to England and allied countries, etc. Furthermore, "reverse Lend-Lease" supplies have been sent and services rendered to the USA by parts of the British Empire and other countries. These latter two groups, however, amount only to a fraction of US Lend-Lease aid.

The goods and services furnished under the Lend-Lease Act comprise a vast range of articles. Among the chief supplies are foodstuffs, ships, planes, tanks, guns, machine guns, hand arms and other weapons, ammunition, equipment of all sorts, clothing,
trucks and other vehicles, railway material, machinery, airplane engines, aircraft fuselages, medicaments, tools, oil, and raw materials such as copper, zinc, nickel, and aluminum. Services include the training of flying personnel; the docking of men-of-war and merchantmen; the employment of American technicians and workmen; and the construction of military, naval, and air bases, factories, warehouses, roads, docks, railway sidings.

The monthly figure of US Lend-Lease deliveries increased from about 25 or 30 million dollars immediately after the passage of the Bill to 643 million dollars during September 1942 and 915 million dollars during October 1942. Since the beginning of 1943, monthly expenditure has averaged one billion dollars and by the end of that year had reached an aggregate of 20 billions. By July 31, 1943, the proportion of the different groups in the total expenditure of US Lend-Lease aid were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military Items</th>
<th>50 per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Materials</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Products</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services Rendered</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this connection the costs of war material in the USA—as quoted by Life on March 24, 1941—are of interest:

- $1 — 16 cartridges
- $2 — 3 cotton shirts
- $3 — 1 bayonet
- $6 — 1 antitank shell
- $10 — 1 tent
- $11 — 1 shell for 75-mm. gun
- $15 — 1 25-lb. fragmentation bomb
- $27 — 1 .45 automatic pistol
- $50 — 1 Springfield rifle
- $80 — 1 Garand rifle
- $100 — 1 shell for 240-mm. howitzer
- $100 — 1 8-in. armor-piercing shell
- $450 — 1 Browning machine gun
- $500 — 1 motor trailer
- $1,000 — 1 reconnaissance car
- $1,300 — 1 searchlight with tower mount
- $5,000 — 1 tractor truck
- $10,000 — 1 primary trainer plane
- $20,000 — 1 light tank
- $70,000 — 1 pursuit plane

By the end of 1942, when US Lend-Lease aid amounted to about 8.5 billion dollars, the four leading beneficiaries were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brit. Territ.</th>
<th>USSR king</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(in millions of dollars)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Items</td>
<td>1,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Materials</td>
<td>916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Products</td>
<td>1,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services Rendered</td>
<td>780</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 3,961 2,393 1,532 156

The vicissitudes of war, with its shifting political and military outlook, are mirrored by Lend-Lease aid in two respects. (1) The ratio of aid going to various countries has been considerably modified during the past three years. (2) The terms of Lend-Lease agreements, especially in regard to payment, not only vary in the case of different beneficiaries but have also undergone changes in successive agreements with the same recipient. In both respects, Lend-Lease aid has been used as a political and economic weapon. This can be seen from the following facts.

DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, DIFFERENT TERMS

The case of Turkey, who found her Lend-Lease supplies suspended when she obdurately upheld her neutrality and refused to cede bases to the Allies, is significant. On the other hand, the importance attached to aid for the Soviets is reflected by the fact that, since the first Lend-Lease agreement with the USSR in October 1941, her share in these supplies grew from 6 per cent during the first year to 24 per cent during the second and 35 per cent during the third. In the Appendix the reader will find a Tass statement from Moscow of June 10, 1944, with details on shipments of war materials from the Anglo-Saxon powers to the USSR. Among many other items these include 12,256 planes, 10,056 tanks and armored cars, and 237,042 motor vehicles.

As regards the terms of repayment, the text of the Act itself is grandiosely vague, leaving it entirely to the President to obtain compensation on conditions considered satisfactory or advantageous to the interests of the USA, either in cash or in any other direct or indirect way he may think fit.

The three Lend-Lease agreements with the USSR show that Moscow enjoys special favors. The first agreement with the USSR provided for Lend-Lease credits free of interest, the repayment to begin five years after the end of the war and to be completed within a ten-year period. Soviet raw-material shipments will be accepted in part payment. The second agreement included a clause stipulating co-operation toward the establishment of “liberal economic conditions after the war.” A rider to the third Lend-Lease agreement, in which Britain and Canada participated with the USA, stated that the Soviets were to adjust their reverse Lend-Lease to the needs of their three partners as soon as possible. Thus
Moscow has not only been given increased aid; it has also been left free to determine when and how to effect repayment. So far, the USSR’s return aid has been limited to supplying and servicing American vessels in Soviet waters and, more recently, of US planes on Soviet territory. The American request for bases in the Soviet Far East has hitherto been declined by Stalin.

Lend-Lease agreements with other countries are less liberal. They may provide for repayment in cash as, for example, that concluded with the Netherlands East Indies prior to the Japanese occupation. Thanks to rubber, tin, and other exports, the N.E.I. enjoyed an active trade balance with the USA and therefore, according to Washington’s calculations, could well afford to pay hard dollars.

In Central and South America, concessions of military, naval, and air bases have usually been sought in connection with Lend-Lease assistance, together with the economic exploitation of the natural resources of the countries concerned. The example of Brazil may be cited as typical. Early in February 1942 it became known that the Brazilian Government had permitted Washington to convert the port of Natal into a naval base and occupy it with US forces. About four weeks later the signing of three agreements was announced, whereby credits were to be extended to Brazil under the Lend-Lease Act in order to enable her to increase her output of war materials, to develop rubber plantations in the basin of the Amazon, and to extend the country’s railroad system. Meanwhile, the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives proposed that steps be taken to make the lease of bases ceded against the 50 old destroyers a permanent one, in view of the fact that well over 130 million dollars of American money had been invested in these bases. Two months earlier the chairman of that committee, Congressman Vinson, declared before the House that, at a secret meeting of his committee, Colonel Frank Knox had stressed the necessity of pursuing the policy of acquiring bases to the limit when US claims come up for settlement. At about the same time the Wall Street Journal demanded payment of Lend-Lease deliveries by the cession of Pacific Islands irrespective of their present or former ownership, the same to apply to bases obtained from Britain on a 99-year lease. But it is not only of military bases that Americans are thinking when they consider the forms of repayment of British Lend-Lease debts.

The bases which the USA has constructed and manned throughout the British Empire and in territories formerly under exclusive British influence, as well as those occupied following upon common military operations, are increasing in number. The Stars and Stripes can be seen waving over the British Isles and parts of the European Continent, in North and West Africa, in the Near and Middle East, and in India, in British territory in the Americas and in the Pacific. Although there is not necessarily any immediate link between the occupation of such bases and the Anglo-American Lend-Lease agreements, these American outposts represent a natural security for the huge sums already piled up by Britain on the debit side of the Lend-Lease ledger. In April 1944 the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives proposed that steps be taken to make the lease of bases ceded against the 50 old destroyers a permanent one, in view of the fact that well over 130 million dollars of American money had been invested in these bases. Two months earlier the chairman of that committee, Congressman Vinson, declared before the House that, at a secret meeting of his committee, Colonel Frank Knox had stressed the necessity of pursuing the policy of acquiring bases to the limit when US claims come up for settlement. At about the same time the Wall Street Journal demanded payment of Lend-Lease deliveries by the cession of Pacific Islands irrespective of their present or former ownership, the same to apply to bases obtained from Britain on a 99-year lease. But it is not only of military bases that Americans are thinking when they consider the forms of repayment of British Lend-Lease debts.

The report of the Senate’s Truman Committee, published in November 1943, which deals with an investigation of US Lend-Lease deliveries, asked whether oil supplied to Britain by the USA on Lend-Lease account might not be paid for by British titles on foreign oil reserves or by the transfer of shares of British companies having a claim to such reserves. The Truman Committee also urged that possibilities of acquiring
British titles to nickel, copper, tin, and iron deposits in countries outside of the United Kingdom be explored. British monopolies have come in for strong American censure. The New York Telegram, to cite but one example, accused the British of delivering only so many diamonds to the US war industry as were immediately needed, thus scheming to prevent the accumulation of a surplus which might endanger the British monopoly.

**IMMEDIATE EFFECTS**

But the influence of the Lend-Lease system on the economic position of the USA and Great Britain respectively is not confined to the future: it is already perceptible in many fields. By the end of 1943, 2 billion dollars, or about 10 per cent of US Lend-Lease expenditure, had been repaid by reverse Lend-Lease, of which more than 1.5 billions were contributed by the United Kingdom, more than 360 millions by Australia, some 115 millions by British India, and almost 92 millions by New Zealand. In the case of England, the reverse Lend-Lease consisted mainly of services, such as maritime transportation, the use of airfields, hospitals, troop barracks, etc. Australia, India, and New Zealand have shipped large quantities of foodstuffs and other material on reverse Lend-Lease account.

To take Australia as an example: we find that, owing to Britain's inability to supply manufactured goods, US Lend-Lease supplies have made up for the deficiency, against which reverse Lend-Lease deliveries have progressively increased. At the end of June 1942 their value had amounted to 6.5 million pounds, but one year later they aggregated no less than 59 million pounds, another 13.2 million pounds being added during July/August 1943 alone. The trend in India and New Zealand is probably a similar one. Lend-Lease and reverse Lend-Lease do not only mean larger trade between the USA and parts of the British Empire: what is more important, they mean direct trade, while before the war the Empire's trade routes ran via London.

This is the Lend-Lease counterpart to the economic absorption which Canada has undergone at the hands of the USA without accepting any Lend-Lease. Both have resulted in undermining the Empire economic system established at Ottawa in 1932.

**US TRADE PLANS**

We have seen that Britain spent almost all her US dollar holdings during the first year and a half of the war in paying for American war materials. A major portion of these holdings consisted of British investments in the USA, which consequently passed into US ownership. While Lend-Lease was to help Britain over her shortage in means of payment, it was stipulated from the beginning that deliveries would be made on credit only in so far as Britain had no dollars or gold at her disposal for transfer. Such dollar amounts as accrue to her—for example, from money spent by American soldiers on British soil—must therefore be used for the payment of Lend-Lease supplies. This tends to curtail the possibilities of new British investments abroad.

The active balance of payments formerly derived from investments abroad is vital for England in order to equalize the passive balance of trade caused by her need for imported foodstuffs and raw material. The losses already sustained by Britain in the field of foreign investments—apart from those in the USA, especially in Japanese-occupied former British colonies in East Asia—have been aggravated by more recent modifications of Lend-Lease terms. An increasing number of commodities are being shipped across the Atlantic against cash payment only. Among them are such food items as sugar from the Caribbean Islands. Tobacco, which up to the end of 1942 was included in Lend-Lease accounts, must now be paid for in cash unless intended for the British armed forces. This imposes a further strain on British foreign investments.

In March 1944, Lee T. Crowley, US Economic Administrator, declared that the US Government is endeavoring to maintain and expand the position in foreign trade it has occupied in the course of the current war. In case of need the Administration would subsidize exports, which was interpreted in Britain as an indication that America is ready to subsidize exports to markets secured during the war at Britain's expense. The 10-billion-dollar trade agreement which President Roosevelt and Stalin concluded during the Teheran Conference provides for the supply of manufactured goods, machinery, and entire factories from America within a period of three years after the termination of the war, while in return the USA is to receive raw material supplies from the USSR. This agreement virtually excludes Britain from the Russian market.
Great Britain has lost a huge part of her merchant marine, the second pillar of her active balance of payments. Only a fraction of the losses has been replaced, as her yards are busy with repairs and with the construction of warships. To be sure, she has been obtaining ships from the USA on Lend-Lease account. But Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's closest collaborator, recently declared that the USA was prepared to let Britain hire but not buy ships. He added that the USA did not intend to relinquish her hold on the world markets after the war. This hold is secured to a large extent through the Lend-Lease system.

LEND-LEASE AND THE US CITIZEN

What does Lend-Lease mean for the American people? Among other things, more taxation. Lend-Lease expenditure will not be terminated with the expiry of the Act. The territorial pawns such as military, naval, and air bases which the USA is striving to retain as indemnity for Lend-Lease supplies will continue to cost vast amounts for the pay and supplying of the armed forces stationed there, as well as for the upkeep of installations. According to a recent statement by Secretary of the Army Stimson, the USA now possesses 925 naval and air bases outside US territory. This world-wide system of bases and interests acquired with the aid of the Lend-Lease system will also tend to involve the United States in any war, revolution, or other upheaval that may break out anywhere in the world. But, in addition to costing the Americans both money and lives, Lend-Lease is threatening their economic system. Lend-Lease means state-controlled exports, and reverse Lend-Lease state-controlled imports.

Since March 1942, Lend-Lease deliveries have exceeded all other US exports. In spring 1943 they amounted to no less than three quarters of the total exports. Actually the proportion was even larger, inasmuch as the statistics consulted do not include the large number of Lend-Lease airplanes and vessels leaving for their destination under their own power. In October 1941 the New York Times already complained of the disorganization of foreign trade by government control as the result of Lend-Lease. Even if government control should be removed after the war, as US Economic Administrator Crowley averred, the people would derive little advantage. Big business would probably swallow that trade, just as it grabbed the bulk of all war orders, thanks to its overwhelming influence in the Administration.

HOW ARE THE ALLIES TO PAY?

The present huge excess of American exports over imports brought about mainly through Lend-Lease raises another problem, namely, that of the method of transferring payments to America from abroad. Before the war, in addition to being a creditor nation, the United States enjoyed an active balance of foreign trade, thanks to high customs barriers which protected her domestic markets from foreign competition. This position was made manifest by the amassing of mountains of gold in the vaults at Fort Knox. The American demand for payment in cash or gold rather than in kind was one of the main obstacles to a flourishing world trade.

How the United States tackles this problem in the future remains to be seen. Harry Hopkins, speaking of reconstruction work throughout the world after the war and the tremendous demand for American goods, opined that the recipients would have to pay as much as they could manage in cash, while the rest would have to be paid for in installments with interest added. By this method, the economic situation that developed in the twenty years between the two world wars would be driven to grotesque extremes. Yet a large part of the American public seems to be in favor of this attitude; for two of the chief points of the Republican Party's platform for the coming presidential election specify protective duties and the rejection of reciprocal commercial treaties. But even if the USA should facilitate the importation of foreign goods in payment of American Lend-Lease supplies—as was, for example, recently advocated in a series of articles appearing in the trade magazine American Metal Market—it remains doubtful whether this would solve the problem. Apart from the huge Lend-Lease debt, there is also the increase in American investments abroad, now likely to exceed in extent British investments at their peak. Ways and means will have to be found for transferring the interest payable on these investments to the USA.

On the other hand, the ravages of war have affected most of America's debtors. This fact, and the necessity of reorganizing national economies from a state of total
mobilization to normal, is bound to restrict commerce more or less to a one-way traffic from America to the rest of the world for several years after the termination of the war. The control of merchant shipping aimed at by the USA would add to her active balance of payments. All in all, what will emerge will be a huge, growing indebtedness of a large part of the world to the United States.

Can this vast aggregate be squared up on a commercial basis within any reasonable period of time? Payments in cash or gold could cover only an insignificant fraction of this debt. As for the rest, the United States would have to be prepared to allow foreign imports to exceed her own exports by a very large margin. This is not likely to appeal to her, as it would entail serious domestic conflicts, especially with regard to the labor situation. If, however, a progressive rise in foreign obligations to the USA should be maintained, it would yield her no greater benefit. It would reduce the standard of living everywhere and ruin the markets which are supposed to absorb American goods. New loans, the pet panacea of American bankers, would shift the burden onto the American public, as there would be little chance of such loans ever being repaid.

In 1932, Roosevelt took over the reins of a country with a huge production badly distributed. When his attempt to tackle this situation directly with the New Deal failed signally, the President turned to the field of foreign affairs to find an outlet for the rising social and economic pressure in the USA. Lend-Lease was his first step toward active participation in World War II. Temporarily, Lend-Lease has done away with unemployment, and the war has for the time being overshadowed all domestic problems in America. But fundamentally nothing has been changed. We have seen that neither territorial gains nor the acquisition of economic advantages abroad will, once peace has returned, improve the lot of the vast majority of US citizens, indeed, that they will tend to render America’s domestic problems even more acute. At a huge cost in American lives and money, Lend-Lease and America’s war entry have postponed but by no means averted the great social and economic reform which is the only solution to the most burning problems of the United States.

A New Competitor to Aluminum

One of the effects of this war has been the rise of magnesium as a competitor to aluminum. It is highly valued for its low specific weight, two thirds of that of aluminum. Pure magnesium is soft and flexible, but these disadvantages can be overcome by alloying it with other metals such as aluminum, manganese, or zinc, without appreciably increasing its specific weight.

There are no figures available about the present total world production of magnesium (in 1938 it was 31,039 tons). According to a report made by Donald Nelson, the head of the US Office of War Production, the magnesium production of the USA, which was 3,019 tons in 1938, rose to about 200,000 tons in 1943. A tremendous rise in the production of magnesium is to be assumed in other parts of the world too, all the more so as large quantities of magnesium are now obtained, for instance in the USA and Norway, from the magnesium content of sea water which, after all, is available in unlimited quantities.

The "Taio To," as this tower is called, is situated in the precincts of the "Kongo San Mai In," one of the temples on Mount Koya near Osaka, Japan. The tower, which is now protected as a national monument, was built in 1223 by Masako, the widow of Shogun Yoritomo, as a place of prayer for the eternal rest of the spirits of the deceased Shogun and her two sons, who had preceded her in death.
On Mount Koya

C. Cruse
Though far removed from politics and war, the subject of this article makes itself heard to you almost every day right outside your own window.

BIRD SIGNALS

By CHRISTINE McLAUGHLIN

It is not strange to reflect that, while of the family of mammals man alone is truly talkative, the bird family is garrulous as a whole? Whenever two or more birds of a kind meet they start talking, unless, indeed, the weather is too miserable for words. Birds are very sensitive to the weather, being depressed in bad and cheerfully voluble in good weather. Light has a noticeable effect on them, as witness the increase in bird song as spring brings with it longer and brighter days. Larks love the sunlight; and swallows too, to judge by their exhilarated twittering, love best the days of brilliant blue sky when they skim back and forth high up in the air filling it with their cheery voices. Some cage birds will start singing by electric light no matter whether it is day or night outside.

But rain by no means extinguishes the inclination in birds to sing. On the contrary, the soft, warm showers of May and June lend a wonderful impetus to the song urge, and the rain-veiled air is vibrant with a variety of voices. In daytime the disposition to sing is less influenced by light and far more so by humidity than is generally realized. Warmth, humidity, and diffused sunlight appear to form the ideal combination inciting birds to sing.

LOUD AND MUTE SIGNALS

On any fine day in spring or early summer, trees and hedges are full of bird voices. In the plane trees the doves thrum their low call untringly. The bulbuls in the red maple keep on burring tranquilly. On a roof some distance away a pair of magpies sit exchanging remarks. The dove, the bulb, the magpie—each in its way is giving vocal expression to the mood of the moment; the sense of security and of joy in the brightness of the hour. Reduced to the simplest terms it is the sentinel’s reassuring “All’s well!” that they utter. The bulbuls call it to each other, so do the magpies up on the roof, so the noisy mynahs, so the finches in the Chinese ash. All keep on telling each other over and over again that all’s well.

Some kinds of birds post sentinels; but, speaking generally, each bird stands sentinel on its own life and fortune all the time. That is why you see them always alert, constantly changing position, and cocking their heads now this way, now that. The habit of signaling and of endorsing the signal by repetition comes in very useful here, as it quickly spreads the news, good or bad, over a large area. If the bulbuls burr placidly, not only all the other bulbuls within earshot know that there is nothing to worry about, but the members of other species too; for every bird understands the signals, at least the most important ones, of all the other birds.

About now, having listened rigidly motionless all this time, your leg goes to sleep, or your foot has sunk too deep into the soft loam and you betray your presence by some involuntary movement or sound. All at once the bird that had ventured close, unsuspecting, breaks off its song abruptly. This is the alert for the immediate neighborhood. The fluting of the oriole in the next tree ceases instantaneously, the bulbuls hush, the tits slip away quietly. All around the atmosphere is tense with the silence of alarm. Thus abrupt silence, particularly in birds of a talkative disposition, is as effective a signal to the birds as a loud alarm call.
Generally speaking, the mute signal serves as a preparatory alert while the loud signal is a very definite alarm bugle. The oriole will give a strident shriek reminiscent of the azure-winged magpie’s call instead of merely falling silent. The dove

Roused, in a fright her sounding wings she shakes;
The cavern rings with clattering . . . .
A sparrow flushed from its nest makes for a near-by branch and sits there chattering from shock for perhaps two minutes together. And when the azure-winged magpie catches sight of a cat creeping along beneath its perch, it lets loose a flood of shrill abuse that puts all the birds around on guard.

MOBBING THE MAGPIE

This goes to show that no hard and fast rules can be given for the responses (vocal or otherwise) of birds; and this is only to be expected, birds being neither mechanical contrivances nor chemical compounds regularly giving the same reactions to the same type of stimuli. They are complicated living organisms; and if one wishes to approach a real understanding of the ways and the nature of birds it is as well to assume the presence of a far greater degree of complexity and variability in their temperamental make-up than is generally allowed for.

Meanwhile, you having made no further suspicious movement, the birds regain their confidence and begin to utter notes of tranquillity. But not for long. For one of the pied magpies on the roof suddenly decides to invade the grounds. Its progress is attended by the sharp cries of alarm and anger of all the birds who have nests in the vicinity. But the bulbul, casting caution to the winds, go to the attack. A little band of five or six, they whirl furiously around the black giant, spluttering threats and rage and abuse. It is the burring note you hear. Before, in the shrub, it was soft and murmurous; but now, fierce and long-drawn, what different feelings it expresses. It is no longer the signal: All’s well! It is the call to arms against the foe and rolls incessantly till he has been driven off.

SONG—A SIGNAL

The excitement has stimulated the bird population. The mynahs at opposite ends of the garden start to toss off their shrill calls alternately, timing them neatly as if they were playing ball. The blackbirds begin to sing and the finches to exchange their interrogatory whistles. Then the bulbul puffs out its chest and ringingly defies all the world. Brave and hilarious is the bulbul’s song; and from all directions where bulbuls are, answering challenges come ringing back. From a dozen different places the listener is assailed by the “song” of birds.

The popular idea that it is joy that makes a bird sing probably originates in the fact that people in general never hear a bird unless it is singing, and then only if the tune is melodious. But song is not a peculiar trick to be considered by itself. It is just one more signal, and the gander’s trumpet and the cock’s cry fall into the same category as the thrush’s tuneful witchery; for the birds do not seem to share our ideas about what is musical and what is merely noisy.

Is it joy that makes the lonely cage bird sing, or the solitary migrant stop to give its ditty? It is rather the call for companions of its own kind, for a mate. Or it may be that the bird is singing to comfort itself in its solitude, just as Gilbert White, most famous of all bird observers, an English naturalist who lived in the eighteenth century, already suspected birds which spread the winter months in flocks of being motivated to some extent by the “helplessness of their state in such rigorous seasons; as men crowd together, when under great calamities, though they know not why?”

In winter during a cold snap birds will sing, possibly because the exercise stimulates circulation. A rifle report will set a bulbul chortling and a blackbird singing from fright. And a canary was known to sing so furiously whenever the piano was played.
that the owner gave up playing lest the bird sing itself to death from excessive nervous excitement. No, it is not always joy that makes a bird sing.

And in spring the song signal carries a number of different meanings. Singing, the bird announces to all the world where it has staked its claim and defies any cock to dispute its title to it; singing wildly, it meets challenge with challenge, proclaims its victory, attracts the hen bird; and singing and sparring, it disposes of rivals.

Clearly, song, even if we leave out singing from sudden fright, is not a paean of joy, though upon occasion it may be: it is a signal. It may be called the signal of self-assertion in its widest sense, embracing aggressiveness, the call for a mate, exuberant spirits, etc.

**SIGNS AND MOODS**

Any bird signal, whether note or song or call, conveys a message. Under different conditions or in different seasons the identical signal may express dissimilar, even opposite, meanings. The various shades of meaning may be reflected in a change in the frequency or emphasis of the signal—or not. And when we hear a bird express patently dissimilar things by means of signals which to the human ear sound exactly alike, any analogy which perhaps we were tempted to perceive between the human language and that of the birds is destroyed.

The birds’ “language,” as for lack of a better term we must continue to call it, has nothing in common with our languages. There is no structure to it and, far from there being any sort of vocabulary, the number of signals of any one bird can usually be counted on the fingers of one hand. However, the signals become intelligible at once if we see in them the equivalents of our “loud” thoughts and feelings, of our outcries, exclamations, laughter, weeping, etc., particularly of our hm! haw! or oh! Who would venture to list and define the meanings of any one of these? Yet nobody finds any difficulty in understanding the exclamation, however different its meaning from previous occasions.

The bird thinks and feels “aloud” continually. A cat is angry all over from its lashing tail to its spitting mouth and purrs when it is pleased; the dog has its bark and its whine, when angry it growls, and its tail takes care of its joy. In a bird the whole gamut of feelings and thoughts and responses is expressed by signals; and being an extremely high-string creature, it reacts to the slightest stimuli at once and very positively—by signaling. Its vocal faculties play a role of paramount importance in a bird’s life. The signals are the principal—if we except posturing as in courtship and the trick many birds share of twitching the tail when nervous or excited—we might say, the sole means of self-expression at a bird’s disposal.

The signals are the bird’s responses to external and transient impressions like daily changes in the weather, the passage of a marauder, or the discovery of a rival. But the type of signal predominantly used depends on the bird’s prevailing mood, which passes through various phases in the course of one year, and these are occasioned by changes occurring in its organic condition. Hence we have the song phrase, the call of self-assertion with its multiple shades of meaning, at its strongest and finest in spring; then it is the call to arms in defense of the chicks which we hear most often; later again renewed snatches of song, as from the blackbird after the molting, or a change of signal, as in the tit which in autumn mostly reduces its short phrase to two syllables; during winter some birds make an occasional imperfect effort at song, while others appear to forget their song phrase completely and content themselves with bort call.

Furthermore, the identical signal may express at one time the momentary response and at another the prevailing mood; this is especially the case with song as well as with the mute signal. During hard cold rain, all the birds fall silent from sheer misery, and during a stifling noon hour they hush, creeping listlessly about the twigs which no breath of air stirs. Here silence is a sign of temporary depression and, if occurring during the song phase, stands in blunt contrast to the prevailing urge toward vocal activity. On the other hand, silence becomes the expression of a prevailing mood during molting, when the physical discomfort associated with it makes many birds disinclined to lift their voices. Again most of the smaller birds, unless suddenly
frightened, keep absolutely silent while they have chicks in the nest. At this time the cessation of bulbul song, for example, might easily deceive one into thinking that they had left the district for some unaccountable reason, so quiet and stealthy is their behavior.

**BIRDS AND ACOUSTICS**

Listening to the birds and watching their ways awakens respect for their excellent good sense, and presently leads one in all seriousness to entertain theories involving a measure of intelligence on the part of the birds which one would have denied them before.

The cooing of doves hidden in impene-trable foliage, the blackbird’s cheery "Hallo everybody!" the call of the bulbul—how full their voices sound from the domes of dense-leaved trees. Are birds aware of the fine acoustic properties of such trees as the planes or the neighborhood of echoing buildings? Do intelligent birds like blackbirds and bulbuls consciously, take advantage of the presence of good acoustics? This question is not entirely unreasonable. For if, as we have seen, unfavorable conditions suppress the song impulse while favorable ones (warm, showery days, the neighborhood of a rival, etc.) have the opposite effect, is it unreasonable to argue that good acoustics will stimulate the bird to sing on and on in that particular spot ... that returning accidentally it remembers ... that presently it will make this spot its favorite song perch, realizing that here its song comes out stronger and finer than anywhere else?

Of course, any such theory can only be entertained on the supposition that the birds themselves are fully aware of their vocal faculties. And this is just what we find. If the bird watcher listens to and studies the signals as providing the most reliable guide to field identification, he is simply borrowing the method the birds themselves employ to distinguish friend from foe, members of their own species from strangers or from closely allied species very similar in appearance and frequenting the same haunts. The distinctive notes daunt a weaker rival, attract the hen, and prevent any attempt at crossbreeding. But obviously the most distinctive notes would fail in their purpose if the birds themselves did not pay close attention to them and were unable to differentiate among them.

**IMITATION AND IMPROVISATION**

There can be no doubt that birds take the liveliest interest in their own and other birds’ vocal powers, as well as in any strange interesting sound which they then mimic to the best of their ability.

The urge to copy, including as it does the impulse to repeat signals, accounts for the greater part of the twittering and warbling that continues from dawn to dusk. It makes for such polyglots as the mynah and the blackbird. Wilkinson, the author of *Shanghai Birds*, gives several instances of the copying of other bird signals, among them that of a blackbird giving a perfect imitation of a finch’s whistling phrase. The copying of bird signals appears to be a pastime quite a number of birds delight in.

But the birds’ interest is not confined to bird notes. It extends to purely mechanical noises. The local mynah, for instance, was one day heard accurately copying the harsh rasping sound of a lawn mower at work near by every time it rattled over the grass. One among several theories concerning the woodpecker’s drumming has it that, while originally merely the unavoidable by-product of his food-hunting methods, the bird grew so delighted with the sound produced that, whenever it strikes a resonant branch, it keeps on hammering just for the
Some birds can be taught to mimic words. Better still, as we have seen, birds will learn spontaneously by imitation and improvisation. A species of songbirds does not imply equally talented songsters as anyone will admit who has kept canaries. On the other hand, experiments have shown that a common sparrow brought up with canaries will, according to its gifts, make a more or less successful effort to sing like them. Even in their wild state a flock of sparrows may, though admittedly only rarely, be heard to indulge in a mellow warbling strikingly different from their usual shrill chatter.

FROM REPTILE TO SONGBIRD

The vocal faculty differs among species; it differs among individuals of the same species; it is subject to changes; it is capable of development—all this because it is the bird's principal means of expression and because the bird takes the keenest interest in signals and sounds of all kinds. This leads to the conclusion that the successive generations of a species do not signal and sing alike.

A comparison of bird language to our own generally proves misleading rather than elucidating; yet we can safely draw a parallel in so far as the bird's language is a flexible living thing, like our living tongues, such as English or German. Just as our modern languages register changes in the course of a few decades, changes which reflect intellectual and spiritual developments, so we can guess by inference at the tremendous changes which have taken place in the language of the birds in the course of the millennia since they first took to the air, spurning the lowly crawling existence of the reptile from which they descended! To reflect on their history gives one the sensation of a gripping crescendo. They are still animated by the evolutionary urge. And there is much sense in the remark of one writer that the nightingale Cleopatra heard on the banks of the Nile did not sing the same tune as the modern nightingale in our woods.

**Girl and Soldier**

Tall (6 ft. 1 in.), 22-year-old Barbara Brown of Detroit got mad when a soldier failed to show up for a date—and took it out on the Army.

A onetime telephone operator, Barbara marched to a telephone, called the police, represented herself successively as the operator at Fort Wayne, Selfridge Field, and Wayne County Airport. Her message: all soldiers on pass in the area return to their stations at once. More than 2,000 did, leaving drinks, dates and shows and a trail of blue air. Barbara finally looked up a policeman and confessed. Said she: "If I couldn't have him I was making sure no one else could."

Barbara was arrested, then released. Reason: there is no law against such japery.

**Couldn't Take It**

In Elwood, Ind., Grocer Harrison Holmes listened to a customer complain for an hour about rationing, got a gun and shot him dead.
THE GAS TURBINE

By A. J. ZERNIN

War has always been a busy time for inventors, and in modern times the battle of minds working in laboratories and workshops has risen to an importance equal, if not superior, to that of the battles fought by the soldiers in the front lines. Having realized this, every belligerent state is lavishing its financial support upon every experiment and test that may, in one way or another, contribute to the total war effort. Although most of the inventions and technical improvements are at present directed toward purposes of destruction, some of them will, in the end, be of great benefit to mankind as a whole. One of these is the jet-propulsion plane described in the last issue, another the gas turbine.

The author is an engineer living in Shanghai who is regarded as an authority in the field of combustion engines—K.M.

The gas turbine is the youngest member of the family of thermal prime movers. It put in its first appearance some ten years ago, after its various experimental models had passed through thirty years of development, years filled with hard work and not always free of disappointment. The problem of the gas turbine has been studied by many inventors in various countries and has been handled in different ways.

The name "gas turbine" is somewhat mis-leading, as the turbine is only a part, although an essential one, of the total heat engine. It is true that what enters the turbine part of the power plant is actually in gas form; but this does not necessitate the gas-turbine plant being fed with a gas fuel. This new type of prime mover can be operated with either solid, liquid, or gaseous fuel.

In order to convert the fuel—whether coal dust, oil, natural gas, blast-furnace gas, producer gas, etc.—into that gaseous state in which it can be utilized by the turbine part, a heat generator is required, forming the second essential device of the prime mover. According to the type of the gas turbine, this device consists of either an explosion chamber or a combustion chamber. The third principal part of the gas turbine, likewise absolutely indispensable for each system, is a compressing device for the combustion air and, when gas fuel is used, also for the gas. In addition to these three essential parts, there are such other equipments as fuel feeders, speed and load regulators (governors), heat recoverers, coolers, etc., which are also indispensable but of a secondary nature and which are to be found in a similar form with other heat engines.

There are three basic types of gas turbine in existence, each with its individual merits. However, in order not to burden this article with too many engineering details, we shall consider only the combustion turbine, which is not only the simplest of the three types but has also reached the highest degree of perfection and can boast of the largest number of engines already in operation.

The accompanying diagram shows the arrangement of the combustion turbine and its parts and illustrates its working method. Through the air intake, the combustion air enters the rotary air compressor at atmospheric pressure. After having been compressed, it passes on to the combustion chamber, where the fuel—gas, oil, or coal dust—is injected in a continuous stream by means of a nozzle. Here the combustion heat of the burning fuel is transferred to the air which, for reasons which we shall explain later, is blown in in a quantity several times in excess of that required for complete combustion.

In the turbine itself, the expanding gas drives a rotor equipped with a series of blades against which the gas current is guided by a series of vanes fixed to a stator. Thus there is no difference here in comparison to the steam turbine. Indeed, the simplest form of a turbine is a windmill, which also produces power by transforming the energy contained in a stream of gas (air) into mechanical energy. After leaving the turbine, the gas escapes by the discharge
pipe; but as it still contains a considerable amount of heat, the exhaust passes through a preheater, where the air entering the compressor is preheated, thereby reducing the fuel consumption of the unit. In cases where simplicity, a minimum of space, and light weight are given first consideration, gas turbine plants may dispense with this air preheater.

Diagram of the Combustion Turbine

As may be judged from the diagram, the design of the gas turbine of this particular type is simple compared to that of steam, Diesel, or other combustion engines. The principal moving parts of the combustion turbine are the revolving rotors of the turbine and of the compressor. There are, of course, auxiliary devices such as the automatic governor, which controls the admission of fuel and regulates the speed at varying loads; the feed device for the fuel; and a starter. But these mean nothing in comparison to all the many parts and auxiliaries of a complete steam plant or of a Diesel or other reciprocating combustion engine of the same capacity.

To set the engine in motion, an independent source of energy has to effect the initial compression of the combustion air. For this reason, the diagram also shows the starter, in most cases probably an electric motor which takes its power from the mains. In the case of independent and isolated engines, like locomotives, aircraft and other engines, other means must be employed for the starting device, which may raise a problem where light weight is essential.

Like the steam turbine, the gas turbine is a high-speed prime mover and therefore suited for driving rotary machines. Electric generators, centrifugal pumps, rotary air and gas compressors, and propellers of 3,000 revolutions per minute or more, are the field in which gas turbines may be employed with advantage. Other equipment to be driven may necessitate the use of a reduction gear, but the simplicity of the gas turbine will cause designers to consider the application of this new prime mover even under such circumstances.

The first gas turbine of the type described was built by Lemalde and Armengaud in 1904 but, owing to the technical inadequacies of the time, this turbine was practically only able to drive its own air compressor. In 1926, Dr. Aurel Stodola, an outstanding Swiss authority in the field of turbine research, proved mathematically that this must always be the case unless some wizard were able to construct a far more efficient air compressor. Ten years later, Dr. Stodola himself was able to carry out impressive tests with the first successful experimental gas turbine. In the intervening years, discoveries had been made in two entirely separate industries which provided the clue to the solution of the problem. On the one hand, the metallurgical industry produced alloys to withstand great heat and corrosion from burning gases. On the other, aircraft research, in its effort to discover the best profiles for airplane wings and propeller blades, laid down principles which aided several of Dr. Stodola's assistants in constructing more efficient compressor and turbine blades.

Until recently there was no material from which the turbine blades, vanes, and other guide apparatus could be constructed that could, for any extended period, withstand the constant contact with gases at a temperature exceeding 600° centigrade. On the other hand, the combustion of the various fuels raises the temperature by from 1600° to 2400° centigrade; and, as the combustion air forced into the combustion chamber is usually already preheated, gas temperatures of from 2000° to 2500° might easily be obtained for the operation of the turbine. In order to reduce this temperature, the large excessive quantity of compressed air, which we mentioned before, must be blown into the combustion chamber. From the point of view of thermal efficiency—i.e., converting as much heat energy contained in the hot gases as possible into mechanical energy—nothing would be more desirable than to operate with the hottest gas, and it is a pity that, on account of the inadequacy of the construction material, the combustion gas has to be diluted by so great an excess of air that its temperature is reduced to 600° centigrade. This applies to all combustion turbines hitherto installed. Ac-
cording to reports reaching us from America, new turbines are being constructed to be driven at a temperature of 800° centigrade, an improvement which has apparently been made possible through the discovery of new alloys used in the construction of the turbine blades.

The turbo-compressor of Dr. Sanford A. Moss, thanks to which planes can fly at an altitude of 11 kilometers above the surface of the earth, is a turbine driven by the exhaust gases of the aircraft engines, and its blades have to withstand a heat of up to 1,000° centigrade. The research work in connection with this particular compressor gave the turbine constructors many valuable hints. But it did not wholly solve their problem. The turbo-compressor does not have to withstand the terrific heat for more than a few hours at a time, whereas a gas turbine for industrial purposes or ships has to run continuously for weeks on end.

Owing to the low temperature at which the gas enters the turbine, the thermal efficiency of the gas turbine, at least of the type we have described, is comparatively low and amounts to no more than 18 to 20 per cent. Preheating of the combustion air by the turbine exhaust raises the efficiency to from 22 to 25 per cent, while additional devices may raise it to as much as 30 per cent, but this only at the expense of simplicity. In comparison to the modern Diesel engine, these figures are not impressive, as no Diesel engine of 1,000 hp or more would be regarded as satisfactory unless at least 37 per cent of the fuel heat is converted into mechanical energy. However, we must bear in mind that there is also a commercial efficiency which makes it possible for a gas turbine utilizing only 18 per cent of the fuel heat to compete with a high-grade Diesel engine of twice the thermal efficiency. For, aside from other factors, gas turbines can be run on bunker oil, which costs about half as much as does the oil required for the more delicate Diesel engine. Furthermore, we must not lose sight of the fact that gas turbines are still in their infancy and will improve with every progress in temperature effected.

After more than thirty years of development in the research departments of several manufacturing concerns, which went on entirely unnoticed by the general public, the gas turbine was presented for the first time to the engineering and industrial world at the Swiss National Exhibition in Zürich in 1939. This turbine set was designed and built by Brown, Boveri & Co., Ltd., a Swiss firm famous also for their improvement of the steam turbine. Previous to that, a single gas-turbine set had been operated for approximately three years in the United States, but its existence was hardly known. The sensation caused by the turbine exhibited at Zürich was the more complete as it was not a small trial set specially built for the exhibition: it had a capacity of no less than 4,000 kilowatts (6,000 hp). Even in our days of gigantic figures, the set cannot be considered a small one. It had been ordered by the Municipality of Neuchâtel, and after the termination of the exhibition it was erected somewhere underground in that town so as to be out of the range of bombs. This set being intended to serve only in case of emergency, it was not provided with a preheater; and it is noteworthy that, in order to produce an effective load of 4,000 kilowatts, the turbine power amounts to 16,000 kilowatts, 12,000 kilowatts being absorbed by the air compressor.

Since then, quite a number of gas turbines of the same system have been built by various manufacturers, the United States leading with gas turbines running on cheap fuel oil, for which conditions in America are more favorable than in most European countries.

There is one more point which we must touch upon since it will have a great bearing on the future employment of the gas turbine: it requires practically no water for its operation, in contrast to all steam plants, Diesel engines, and other combustion engines. Hence the gas turbine is very suited for hot, dry countries, and for replacing such engines which, like steam locomotives, depend on water and have to carry the water in their tanks or in a separate tender for a working period of two or three hours. Since 1941 a trial locomotive driven by a gas turbine-generator set has been operated by the Swiss Federal Railway Administration. Records are not at hand, but there is no reason to doubt that it is a success.

The thermal process of the gas turbine completely excludes the use of water, with the exception that one or the other inventor may have used water for reducing the temperature of the combustion gas. But the cooling effect of water can be replaced by other means. The possibility of doing entirely without water seems to fit the gas turbine particularly well for use as the
propelling engine for aircraft. It is only a matter of time before the gas turbine in its simplest form is developed to so small a size and weight and yet to so high an efficiency that it will be able to compete with the combustion engines now solely employed for this purpose. It is pretty certain that plans and designs of airplanes with a gas-turbine drive have been drawn up and calculated; but it is more than doubtful whether any such scheme has already materialized. There is still more than one problem to be solved, and the reliability of the gas turbine depends to a great extent on the durability and other qualities of the metals used in the construction of the engine. It can be safely predicted, however, that these problems will be solved sooner or later, and that this newest of prime movers is facing a great future.

GERMANY'S TRADE IN EUROPE

The restraint imposed by the war upon the publication of German foreign-trade figures has led to a plethora of rumors and statements regarding Germany's trade relations with the rest of Europe. The fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the war seems an opportune time to present a picture of the actual course taken by Germany's foreign trade. Let us begin with the figures themselves.

Without the Ostmark (former Austria) they were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports (in billion Reichsmark)</th>
<th>Exports</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
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These few figures speak their own language. The interruption of connections with overseas resulting from the outbreak of war led at first to a slight decrease in foreign trade. This decrease was, however, soon made up for by directing the trade that formerly went overseas to the European continent. As time went on, Germany succeeded in considerably increasing the economic ties with the friendly and neutral countries of Europe in spite of the war. The many years of preliminary work put into the trade with southeastern Europe were particularly fruitful. The growth in trade continued without interruption, so that the figures for 1943 for imports as well as for exports exceed the prewar figures by 50 per cent.

The figures quoted refer to actual trade only. Supplies of war material to allied and friendly countries are only included when such supplies were delivered within the compass of mutual trade agreements. On the other hand, the large supplies of arms and war materials delivered by Germany in the form of military aid to her allies are not included in foreign-trade statistics. This aid to her allies represents several times the value of the material actually bought and must be regarded as considerable additional exports on the part of Germany.

The increase of Germany's foreign trade is not diminished if one takes into account the rising prices among her partners in trade. For although the wholesale-price index in a number of countries on the Continent has risen by 100 per cent or more since the beginning of the war, Germany herself with her controlled economics forms a stable island in the sphere of prices. Moreover, Germany has made long-term reciprocal price agreements with most of her trade partners, so that the quantity and value of the trade with Germany is often hardly affected by price fluctuations. Hence German exports have risen during the war in quantity too.

Balanced Foreign Trade

The above figures show that, thanks to Germany's unbroken export strength, German foreign trade could be kept more or less balanced throughout the years of war. Neither in the case of imports nor of exports was there any considerable or continued surplus. The only exception is to be found in 1942, when there was an import surplus...
of 1.1 billion Reichsmark. This led at the time to a certain clearing debt on the part of Germany; but in 1943 the first step toward the bringing about of a balance was already made. As a result, the past year closed with a surplus of 300 million Reichsmark on the export side. In all cases where individual countries still have genuine clearing demands on Germany, this is due solely to delays in delivery occasioned by present conditions; these delays will rapidly be made up for after the conclusion of peace by Germany’s industry, whose capacity has been vastly increased by war production. At any rate, Germany’s genuine clearing debts are much lower than, for instance, England’s debts to the Empire and the neutrals, not to mention the Lend-Lease debts. With the allied and friendly countries, Germany was even able to achieve an active balance, for Germany delivered far more to her allies than she received from them.

Germany’s trade with southeastern Europe showed an active surplus of almost 300 million Reichsmark for the years 1941 and 1942. In other words, Germany is placing her economic strength at the disposal of her allies, even if this means considerable curtailments for the German consumer. If Germany is importing surpluses in agricultural products and raw materials from her allies, she in turn is supplying industrial products and consumer goods which are indispensable for the maintenance of the economic structure of those countries.

It may seem contradictory that, in spite of this active trade balance, Germany’s balance of payments with her allies shows a considerable debit. But these debts do not arise from any disparity in trade. In part Germany’s passive balance of payments is to be explained by the long terms she allows for the payment of her industrial supplies. Above all, however, Germany has to undertake considerable burdens for account of services rendered; for example, she has to compensate her allies for the large costs arising from the transporting and feeding of German troops. Another constant weighty burden is represented by the remittances of wages made by the foreign laborers who, in 1943 alone, sent home savings amounting to 900 million marks. From 1940 to 1943, savings totaling more than 2 billion marks were transferred abroad in this way. This figure does not include the amounts foreign laborers are permitted to take out when they go on leave, etc.

**TRADE WITH THE NEUTRALS**

Although the major part of Germany’s foreign trade in the war goes to the allied and friendly countries and the occupied territories, the trade with the neutrals is of no means insignificant, and this applies again to both sides. Some of the neutrals are perhaps even more dependent on the trade with Germany than the other way round, all the more so as a properly functioning transit of goods throughout Europe is impossible during the war without the aid of Germany. The trade of the neutral countries of the Continent has always been directed chiefly at the other European countries, and during the war this dependence has increased considerably. Thus, for instance, over 85 per cent of Sweden’s trade is with the countries of the Continent and must to a large extent avail itself of transit through Germany, although German communications are sufficiently strained by the war. Switzerland, who is entirely surrounded by the German sphere of power, is in a similar position. As far as these two neutrals are still able to maintain a convoy traffic with overseas, this is also only possible with Germany’s compliance.

But even with Germany alone, not including the occupied territories, the economic ties of the European countries are such that there are few neutral or friendly countries in whose foreign trade Germany’s share does not amount to 50 or even 70 to 80 per cent. Germany has seen to it that her trade with the neutrals is balanced, so that no large or continued debt can arise on either side.

If Germany is obtaining valuable ores or essential industrial products from some of the friendly or neutral countries, this is not due only to a particularly accommodating spirit on the part of her trade partners: Germany pays for them with no less valuable or indispensable goods. For example, Germany has undertaken to supply the coal requirements not only of her allies but of various neutral countries as well. As a consequence, Germany’s industry and the German consumer have had to put up with a curtailment of their own supplies. Even if the German counterblockade were not there to prevent it, the Allies would by no means be able to undertake such huge coal supplies to the neutrals, since Germany’s opponents are themselves suffering from a
shortage of coal as well as of shipping space.

There is not a single country on the Continent which could do without its vital supplies from Germany. One glance at the display windows of the large shops in the capitals of the neutral or friendly countries suffices to show what Germany is still exporting in the way of high-quality consumer goods, although the home demand must often remain unsatisfied. The German consumer finds it by no means easy to forego such conveniences of a high standard of living, but he regards this as one of the sacrifices to be made in war time.

GERMANY’S TRADE IN EUROPE

Germany is aware of the fact that interstate commerce in war time must be based on give and take, on reciprocity. Without the import of essential raw materials or valuable machinery and consumer goods from Germany the economic structure of most of the countries of the Continent could not be maintained. An interruption of the supplies from Germany and the cessation of the rich marketing possibilities in Germany would plunge these countries into a serious economic crisis with growing unemployment. By maintaining its high standard, Germany’s foreign trade has become the economic backbone of a Continent at war.

THE KAISER OF AMERICA

URING the Great War it was Henry Ford who—probably unintentionally—became a legendary figure; in this war a similar myth is being built up around Henry Kaiser. Like Ford, Kaiser is already regarded as being the creator of modern war production, and, like Ford, he is expected to introduce a golden postwar decade and to exploit the gigantic equipment of the war potential for peaceful purposes after the war. The purpose of this propaganda for Kaiser is, above all, to emphasize that it is not the anonymous machinery of the state which has made possible the tremendous war production but, as has always been the case in America, private enterprise, for which new record achievements are being claimed, particularly since the outbreak of war.

It is, however, rather questionable whether this private enterprise is being done a service by limelighting Kaiser of all people. For Kaiser’s undertakings lack the very feature characterizing the nature of private enterprise, a feature which Ford possessed to a marked extent: personal risk, the investment of private capital. Kaiser is the representative of an economic system which cannot possibly exist without the state as the supporter and initiator of the enterprise. Kaiser has always done business with the state only, received his funds from the state, and risen to his present position by means of the state. Without the state he would be nothing, for he is not an entrepreneur in the true sense but only a “contractor.”

The story of his rise runs true to the demands of American legend. Born the son of a poor cobbler in New York, Kaiser’s first successful venture was in the photographic business. Soon after the turn of the century, however, he went to the American Northwest, and there he turned into the typical Westerner in the unfettered scope of his thoughts and actions. He started a sand and gravel business, and by 1913 he was working—on his own and with a small capital—at his first public contract, the surfacing of a highway. From then on he made his living by public contracts, profiting from his contract prices and building up his business as a road contractor. In the first few years after the Great War, he was able to merge fifteen sand and gravel pits into his business and combined his various enterprises under the name of “Henry J. Kaiser Co., Ltd.”

After handling highway contracts in all parts of the country during the twenties, he succeeded in his first really big deal in connection with the construction of Boulder Dam. The contracts for this enterprise were of such a size that neither Kaiser nor any other single contractor on the West Coast could have undertaken to fill them. So Kaiser arranged the merger of six firms

Hero worship is embedded in the soul of every nation. In time of war especially, a nation creates legendary figures. The figures surrounded by these legends always throw a revealing light on the mentality of the nation that has chosen them.
into a syndicate, and these “Six Companies” then built Boulder Dam by the employment of revolutionary building methods.

WITH PUBLIC FUNDS

After a period of successful activities the capital of this syndicate began to accumulate and it became necessary to invest it; the contractor firms soon turned into producer firms. Building-material companies were bought, oil refineries built, and in 1939 Kaiser made a scoop with the erection of a large cement factory. Kaiser himself admits that, at that time, he knew nothing about the cement business; all he knew was that the cement market of the West Coast was controlled by a combine demanding exorbitant prices. Hence, when the Government invited tenders for large quantities of cement for Shasta Dam, he founded—on paper—the “Permanent Corporation” and underbid the combine on this eleven-million-dollar contract by 22 cents per barrel. The Government, having made sure that Kaiser would be able to supply the cement at the price quoted once the factory was built, supported its construction—which cost ten million dollars—by advancing seven million dollars through the Bank of America. The new cement works have an annual capacity of five million barrels and now show more than a million dollars profit every year. This was Kaiser’s first industrial enterprise and the beginning of his rapid rise to the position of leading industrialist in America’s war production.

In 1938 a group among the “Six Companies” considered the building of freighters. A shipbuilding firm was taken in, and in 1939 the new concern was awarded its first contract from the US Maritime Commission for five freighters. When the British wanted to have sixty emergency freighters built in the United States in 1940, they were forced to turn to Kaiser, as the existing shipbuilding works were no longer able to accept a contract of that size. Kaiser accepted the contract for 120 million dollars and founded his own shipbuilding works; the capital was supplied by the British. Later, when the US Government announced its program for the mass construction of emergency freighters, Kaiser was given the lion’s share. At the same time he built one shipyard after another for government contract to deal with the gigantic orders for ships, and today approximately a quarter of the entire emergency freighter program is in his hands. To this was added the construction of airplane carriers, landing vessels, frigates, and seaplanes, which are partially assembled from mass-produced parts that make it possible for them to be delivered within a very short time. On the other hand, this system of construction inevitably entails certain technical deficiencies. Nevertheless, since the middle of 1943 the shipbuilding orders of the Kaiser group have totaled more than three billion dollars.

With the idea of finding a profitable use for the huge cement ovens of the Permanent Corporation in times of declining demand for cement, Kaiser planned the construction of a magnesium factory even before the cement factory was completed. This represented his first invasion into the field of raw-material production. The necessary capital was again supplied by the state, this time by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which placed at his disposal an initial sum of 3.5 million dollars and finally more than 20 million dollars, accepting as a security the income from two of his shipyards. So far, however, this enterprise has not been very successful, its production costs being too high. At present, the plant is only working at two-thirds capacity; but on the whole this does not cause any financial difficulties, as the large profits from the shipyards are enough to cover all obligations.

THE PUBLIC BEARS THE LOSS

Another of Kaiser’s enterprises is also working at a loss: the steel works at Fontana. When the steel shortage became more and more acute in 1941, Kaiser made use of all his connections and in 1942 actually managed to obtain the 150-million-dollar contract for the construction of a steel plant at Fontana in California. This plant is intended to form the center of a planned new industrial region in the West, but it is founded on rather slim iron-ore reserves. As the necessary coal has also to be brought from afar at high freight rates and, moreover, the interest and amortization costs for the growing credits—128 million dollars so far—are higher than in the case of Kaiser’s competitors, the plant is too expensive in its production in a normal economy. Kaiser has admitted that this enterprise can only flourish as long as his shipyards are busy and the war continues. Like many other industrialists, Kaiser is hoping that after the war the RFC will write off the capital loaned as war losses or at least demand only a fraction to be repaid; consequently he believes that he will be able to maintain the profitableness of the plant after the neces-
THE MARCH OF WAR

THE HONAN AND HUNAN CAMPAIGNS

(April 18 to July 18, 1944)

The Japanese campaigns in China during the last three months represent the most extensive fighting between the armies of Nippon and those of Chungking-China since 1938. The position of the Chungking war zones, from north to south, before the beginning of the offensive give an approximate idea of the course of the front:

2nd War Zone—western Shansi, northern Shensi
8th War Zone—southern Shensi, Northwest China
1st War Zone—northern Honan, southern Hopeh
5th War Zone—parts of Honan, Anhwei, Hopeh
6th War Zone—southern Hopeh, western Honan
3rd War Zone—parts of Chekiang, Fukien, Kiangsi
9th War Zone—parts of Hunan and Kiangsi
7th War Zone—Kwantung

The majority of the fighting of the last three months took place in the areas of the First (Honan campaign) and the Sixth and Ninth (Hunan campaign) War Zones. (Honan means "south of the River," i.e., the Yellow River; Hunan means "south of the Lake," i.e., south of the Tungting Lake.)

THE TWO CAMPAIGNS

The Honan campaign consisted of three thrusts. The first one started on April 18 from the Peking-Hankow Railway north of the Yellow River and from Kaifeng on the Lunghai Railway. After their junction, these two Japanese columns advanced southward along the railway deep into Honan Province. The second thrust began on May 1 from Sinyang, some 160 kilometers north of Hankow, in a northward direction. Both thrusts met on May 9 near the station of Chuehshan on the Peking-Hankow Railway. The third thrust was made toward the west along the Lunghai Railway as far as the great bend of the Yellow River. It culminated in the capture of Loyang.

However, the Honan campaign was not limited to these three thrusts along the railways. A large part of Honan in the angle formed by the Peking-Hankow and the Lunghai Railways was also occupied: the
armies advancing from north to south along the Peking-Hankow Railway sent off detachments which moved in a northwesterly direction toward the Lunghai Railway. In recognition of his successes, General Shunroku Hata, the Commander in Chief of the Japanese troops in China, was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal.

The initial positions in the Hunan campaign were similar. Here, too, the Japanese were in possession of the northern and southern ends of an important railway, the Canton-Hankow Railway, while Chungking dominated the central part. Here, too, the campaign consists of thrusts along the railway. The first push began on May 27 in Yochow; after occupying the airfield of Hengyang and by-passing the heavily fortified city of Hengyang, these troops reached a point on the railway some 55 kilometers south of Hengyang. The second thrust was started on June 27 from Canton in a northward direction. At the time of going to press, this thrust has advanced about 50 kilometers north of Canton. The distance separating the two Japanese armies amounts at present to some 250 kilometers. A sidelight brought the Japanese to Pinghsiang. As in Honan, the Hunan campaign is not limited to the railways only.

**REASONS AND RESULTS**

In their proclamation of June 20 the Japanese declared that their campaign was directed not against the Chinese people but against America and Great Britain and those affiliated with these nations. The reasons causing the Japanese High Command to conduct these two campaigns may be more or less the following:

(1) The desire to establish a direct railroad connection under Japanese control between North and South China. Up to now, Japan still lacked this connection.

(2) The struggle against the enemy air force (US Fourteenth Air Force in China; Combined American Chinese Air Unit; Chungking Air Force; Twentieth US Bomber Command). At present it possesses approximately 800 to 900 planes which, on the one hand, are constantly being decimated by the Japanese air arm and, on the other hand, replenished by new planes arriving from America. In the course of their two campaigns the Japanese have either captured a large part of the enemy air bases built during the last few years, as, for instance, Hengyang; or destroyed them by a *coup de main*, as in the case of Lushih (Honan); or cut them off from their overland supply lines with Chungking, e.g., the air bases east of the Canton-Hankow Railway; or brought them within range of the Japanese air arm, as has been the case with the airfields located east of the Peking-Hankow Railway.

(3) The destruction of Chungking forces and the cutting off of the troops of the Third War Zone from Chungking.

(4) To deprive Chungking of its food-stuff and raw-material sources in the areas captured or cut off from Chungking.

(5) Pressure on Chungking to force it to change its political attitude. One of the most important results of the two campaigns has been the deterioration of relations between Chungking and the Anglo-Americans. Chungking places most of the blame for its defeats on the insufficient aid provided by its allies, and Japanese war reports show that hardly any Allied war material was to be found on the battlefields. Nor have the American planes been aiding Chungking ground operations to the extent desired by Chungking. The visit of Vice-President Wallace in Chungking (June 20—July 3) did not improve relations, as it was overshadowed by the Japanese victories.

An interesting factor in the Honan campaign is that the Chinese Red Army, whose main forces are concentrated around Yenan (Shensi), did not come to the aid of the hard-pressed Chungking troops. This reveals the grave tension between Chungking and Yenan.
THE BATTLE OF NORMANDY

(June 6 to July 18, 1944)

In the small hours of June 6, 1944, First Lieutenant Ohmsen, in command of a fortified post on the east coast of the Cotentin Peninsula, was the first to signal the approach of the invasion fleet. The alarm sounded throughout the German fortifications and garrisons in Western Europe. Around 1:30 a.m. the invasion battle, for which the world had been waiting so long, was on.

LANDINGS

The amphibian operations were carried out along familiar lines. Employing an immense fleet of more than 4,000 ships together with several thousand smaller craft protected by the combined Anglo-American navies in English waters (the ratio of their composition being about 3:1) and backed by some 11,000 first-line aircraft, the Allies let loose their customary preparatory and protective bombardment. Apart from the matter of quantity, there was only one feature which distinguished this landing from its predecessors in the Mediterranean: the truly lavish utilization of paratroops and airborne formations. These were ordered to get at the defenders from the rear, to disrupt their lines of communication and, if possible, to capture important traffic centers.

Our map indicates the main areas where landings were carried out from the air and the sea during the initial phase of the invasion, those that failed as well as those that succeeded. Among the failures were the air landings on the Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey (not on our map), which in turn prevented Allied naval operations in the waters west of Cotentin in support of the airborne troops that were landed near the west coast of the peninsula. It is an important fact that, except in the area east of the Orne estuary, airborne troops were, with all their lavish equipment, never able to hold out unless they succeeded in joining hands with formations landed from the sea.

FIRST BATTLE CENTERS

The focal points during the first few days of battle were (1) east and west of the Orne estuary and along the strip between the Orne and the Vire Rivers, i.e., the western part of the Calvados coast, where the British Second Army under General Dempsey established a number of beachheads; and (2) in the Vire estuary and north of Carentan, where the US First Army under General Bradley gained a foothold. At the end of the first week of battle, these two armies had, with the aid of an uninterrupted flow of reinforcements, succeeded in effecting a junction and in consolidating a bridgehead stretching in a semicircle within the northernmost of the red lines shown on our map.

On the other hand, the Allies also had considerable failures: (1) British attacks against Le Havre and the coast south of that port as well as the capture of Caen had been frustrated, the troops to the east of the Orne finding themselves in a precarious position; (2) the Americans had failed to cut off the Cotentin Peninsula at its narrowest part, an object indicated by landings south of Lessay, nor had they managed either to capture or isolate Cherbourg. German fortified points were, moreover, continuing to operate from within the Allied bridgehead, a fact which also characterized the fighting of the ensuing weeks. The invaders, having the advantage of determining the time and place of attack, must make the best of the surprise element. Every minute counts in pushing ahead as fast as possible before the defenders can put their machinery into high gear and bring up reserves strong enough to oppose a concentrated attack. This is why the Germans manning the first line and in Cherbourg were fighting to the last in order to give their High Command enough time to move up and deploy for counter-action.

CHERBOURG

Not until the end of the second week did the Americans reach the west of the Cotentin Peninsula at Carteret and begin their northward push against the now isolated German forces in and around Cherbourg. Meanwhile, the British advanced toward St. Ló and Caumont, while bitter fighting raged in the Tilly sector. East of the Orne, the British remained hard-pressed, although they were now being reinforced from the air, the sea, and across the river. In this
particular sector, the fighting took place in wooded terrain, both sides forming hedgehog positions and using infiltration tactics, making it impossible to ascertain a front line.

Although the British were active around Tilly during the third week, this period was marked by the battle for Cherbourg. Throwing large forces into the fray, General Bradley tried to overwhelm the defenders in the shortest possible time. As the speedily unloading of heavy war material along the beaches offered great difficulties, it seemed worth-while to the Allied command to risk sanguinary losses if Cherbourg could be captured with a minimum of destruction to the harbor facilities. Heavily outnumbered, the defenders had after heroic fighting to give way. At the end of that week, the northern part of the peninsula was in American hands, except for a number of fortified points within the immediate area of Cherbourg and for the northwesternmost corner of the peninsula, where German troops fought on to the last. The Germans had found time thoroughly to destroy the port. Two weeks after the occupation of Cherbourg, the Daily Telegraph reported that no Allied vessel had entered the port yet. Two minesweepers had worked their way to within 1 ½ miles of the docks, which was as far as any of them had been able to get. Thousands of mines completely blocked the access to the inner harbor. As long as these had not been cleared away, the Allies could not even get near the wrecks of ships and other obstacles which were still barring the way.

NAVAL SCREEN

During the ensuing three weeks, the Anglo-Americans attempted to expand their bridgehead toward the south. A frontal attack in the direction of Lessay did not get beyond La Haye-du-Puits where, after a fluctuating battle, the Germans halted the southward advance. Equally unsuccessful were attacks made from Carentan in a southwesterly direction toward Périers. The defenders did not withdraw toward the Lessay-Périers area until the sixth week, nor did the Americans reach St. Lô before July 18. In counterattacks, German tanks even penetrated beyond the Taute-Vire canal. The British, advancing toward Caen from the north and west, occupied that part of the town which is situated west of the Orne. Their thrust across the Odon River failed to reach the middle Orne.

The Allied Command has taken advantage of its tremendous naval superiority and
has used the firing power and mobility of its heavy warships to the utmost. Protected by an air force far superior in numbers, the Allied fleet showered the defense with a heavy barrage, except at those points where coastal guns of equal range and caliber could answer them, as, for example, off Cherbourg and Le Havre. A battleship of the Nelson-Rodney class with at least nine guns of the heaviest caliber can fire two salvos of 9 tons each every 90 seconds for several hours, or eighty salvos aggregating 720 tons per hour. One hour's bombardment by three battleships approximately equals the amount of explosives dropped by 1,000 bombers in a raid on Berlin. It is fairly safe to assume that the German High Command will not accept a decisive battle within the range of Allied naval guns; the Anglo-Americans, on the other hand, have as yet hardly ventured out of that range.

**ALLIED NUMBERS...**

It is remarkable that, contrary to expectations, the invasion operations have up to the time of writing been carried out only in Normandy and nowhere else. This and the fact that both armies in General Montgomery's army group have been swelled to a strength far exceeding that of regular armies may be due to the extreme difficulties experienced by the Allies in their landings, the Allies having underestimated the powerful German defense and their own casualty rate. In the sixth week of the invasion the British Second and US First Armies in Normandy were estimated to be about 40 divisions strong. In view of the fact that the invasion army stationed in the British Isles before June 6 was estimated by German military circles at 80 to 100 divisions, this would mean that about half of it has been sent across to Normandy. However, reinforcements may be coming directly from America: among prisoners recently taken in the St. Lö sector there were troops shipped from New York only a fortnight previously, with one day's stopover in England. In comparison to the tremendous size of the landed armies, the space at their disposal for deployment and an offensive into the heart of France is rather narrow, all the more so as the German defense line hemming it in includes swamps, rivers, flooded areas, and forests. Strong attacks for the purpose of widening the bridgehead into a large deployment area are therefore to be expected. There also remains the possibility of another landing, perhaps to be co-ordinated with actions from the Normandy bridgehead.

... AND ALLIED LOSSES

A factor which has affected Montgomery's plans is the new German weapon V-1, the "dynamite meteors." Apart from the destruction wrought almost without interruption since June 16 in London and southern England, where war industries, stocks of arms, and communications have been hit—entailing certain supply difficulties and imposing an additional strain upon railways through the evacuation of London and the mobilization of workmen in other counties—the Allies have been forced to employ a considerable percentage of their air force against the bases whence the V-1's are assumed to be fired and against the flying bombs themselves. The fact that owing to V-1 the invasion forces did not receive as much air support as had originally been provided for was admitted by the British Prime Minister in his speech of July 6. But what may be worse is that the V-1 is heralding a new kind of warfare the effects of which cannot be gauged as yet.

The Allied losses in men can only be guessed at. But considering the fact that most of the time they had to advance in frontal attacks against strong German fortifications and that several troop transports were sunk, losses are likely to exceed 200,000. Allied material lost during the first month of the invasion battle included, according to the German High Command communiqué of July 8, 1,655 planes and 1,059 tanks, not counting those lost at sea. 56 transports aggregating 348,000 tons were sunk and an additional 45 units with a tonnage of 260,000 tons damaged. 2 heavy cruisers, 4 light cruisers, 26 destroyers, one frigate, and 10 E-boats were sunk; while several battleships, 22 cruisers, 25 destroyers, 13 E-boats, and 28 special landing boats sustained heavy damages. Losses through mines are not included. Part of these German naval successes were achieved by another new weapon, the "One-Man Torpedoes."

The attitude of the French population has proved a disappointment to the Allies. Contrary to expectations, they found that the majority of the French people were indifferent or even hostile toward the invaders. This is not to be wondered at. After suffering for months from Allied bombing
attacks on their towns and villages, the French were placed in a new predicament by the invasion, and tens of thousands of French civilians have already lost their lives in the course of the battles.

The Winter War in the East
November 1, 1943, to April 15, 1944

In the December 1943 issue we gave an account of the summer campaign of 1943 carrying the story up to November 1. The following analysis is a very brief one, as the winter war was conducted along principles similar to those discussed in connection with the summer campaign.

The Plans

After Stalingrad, the German High Command saw quite clearly that under the prevailing circumstances a further offensive into the depths of the USSR could not be expected to bring about decisive results. It decided to withdraw its armies far back toward the west, nearer to its bases and system of communications, and thus to economize in men and material in view of the expected demand for German troops in other parts of the Continent. This withdrawal, however, was to be carried out in constant combat with the Red armies, inflicting on them as large losses as possible. Moreover, it did not mean that the Germans have abandoned the idea of offensives, but merely that they are waiting for the opportune time and place for them. This is the strategy the German High Command had successfully employed during the summer campaign of 1943, and it planned to adhere to it in the course of the winter too.

The Soviet High Command, on the other hand, was in a different position. By exerting frontal pressure over a very extended front, from Velikiye Luki to the Sea of Azov, it had been able to gain much ground during the summer but had not succeeded in destroying German manpower to any noteworthy extent. Even according to their own figures, the Soviets had, in the period from July 5 to November 5, 1943, captured only an average of 790 men a day, of whom more than half were wounded. But now the winter, always the most favorable season for Russian armies, was approaching, and the Kremlin apparently laid its plan along a new line. This plan has been made evident by the course of events since November 3, and it consisted of this: while a certain amount of pressure all along the front was to prevent the Germans from denuding some parts of the front in favor of others, the real attack was to be made by the First Ukrainian Army under General Vatutin in the Kiev area. The overwhelmingly superior quantities of men and material assembled here were to push westward and then to wheel around toward the south in order to cut off and annihilate the German armies in the Dniepr bend.

In a way, the Soviets tried to repeat their Stalingrad maneuver. Again the Germans were standing in a triangle pointing eastward. In the winter of 1942/43 this triangle followed the bend of the Don and had its apex at Stalingrad. In the autumn of 1943 the triangle followed the banks of the Dniepr and had its point in the easternmost corner of this river's bend. In the case of Stalingrad the Russian success was brought about by the breakthrough at Bogutchar, whence the triangle was cut off at its narrow base, and a subsidiary breakthrough at Serafimovich, halfway between Bogutchar and Stalingrad. (See our article "The Winter War," May 1943.) The plans in the autumn of 1943 called for similar breakthroughs in the left flank of the southern German armies, preceded by a push toward the west with the purpose of enlarging the area and number of troops to be cut off.

Soviet Operations

On November 3 the Red offensive in the Kiev area began. It made rapid headway in the direction of Jitomir, which was evacuated by the Germans ten days later. But while the Soviets were celebrating a great victory and the collapse of the German front, they were hit by Field Marshal Manstein in the left flank of their wedge.
with such force that they reeled back halfway to Kiev. The first attempt of the Soviets to execute their plan had miscarried.

It was only toward the end of December that the Soviets were ready for their second try. On January 2, Jitomir was once more evacuated by the Germans. Again the Soviet thrust moved at a rapid initial speed, reaching the line Sarny/Kostopol by the middle of January. At the same time they made their first subsidiary push toward the south, in the direction of Uman. But while the German armies had allowed them to move quite far westward, they offered determined and successful resistance to this thrust toward the south. The troops to do this were mainly the ten divisions of General Stemmermann, which occupied a wide square from the Dniepr (between Kanev and Cherkasy) westward.

In the meantime, the armies of General Konev had extended the bridgehead established in October west of the Dniepr between Kremenchug and Dniepropetrovsk, and on January 28 a junction was brought about between Vatutin's and Konev's armies to the rear of General Stemmermann. But, in the first place, by their presence and power his forces interfered considerably with the movements of the two Soviet armies; in the second, they succeeded on February 18, after suffering relatively small losses, in breaking through to the main German lines; and in the third, their efforts had shown results. The southward push of Vatutin's left wing toward Uman had been stopped. This can be seen clearly on our map. Where the red lines, based on the Soviet war communiqués, are far apart, the Soviet advance was rapid; wherever they run close to each other the Soviets were halted for a considerable time.

Early in February, Vatutin's armies resumed their westward push. It carried them further into Poland. Rovno and Lutsk were evacuated by the Germans on February 3. The world waited for the Soviets' next move. Theoretically they had the choice of pushing either west in the direction of Lemberg, i.e., along the northern slopes of the Carpathians, or southwest toward the Carpathian passes, or south down the Pruth and Dniestr valleys toward the Black Sea. Whatever their original intention, our map makes it clear that toward the west they got stuck first on the line Sarny/Lutsk/Rovno/Shepetovka and then on the line Kovel/Brody/Tarnopol.

The Reds now threw the weight of their forces toward the south to cut off the Ger-
man triangle which still had its easternmost point at Kherson. Our map shows that between March 1 and April 15 the Reds were able to gain considerable ground, but nowhere did they succeed in breaking through. The thin chain of the German-Rumanian troops gave way, bent, and stretched, but never broke. Moreover, it withdrew to the south sufficiently slowly for the rest of the German-Rumanian forces to evacuate from Kherson and the Bug valley. In the end, the front ran almost from east to west, and the German southern armies were separated by 300 kilometers (Yassy/Stanislau) from the German divisions on the central front. But between the German armies on the central and on the southern front, there was no gap through which the Red forces could have advanced into Europe; there was the mighty wall of the Carpathians with its few, well-defended passes. Behind this wall, the lines of communication between Germany and the southern armies remained intact.

By the middle of April the real winter campaign had come to a close. The Reds still made a number of attempts to push the German-Rumanian forces further back, but not with full force and without success.

On the other sections of the Eastern Front, particularly in the area of Vitebsk and Moghilyov, the cornerstones of the German central front, Soviet attacks were frequently reported during the winter and spring but, as our map shows, the front did not witness any changes in this sector. Ever since the middle of January, the front ran from Dombrovitsa via Moghilyov/ Vitebsk to Novosokolniki. It was only in the Novosokolniki/Leningrad sector that the front line moved. On January 14 the Red armies had begun large-scale operations in this sector, the purpose of which was to cut off and destroy the left wing of the German front and perhaps to break through to the Baltic. Again the Soviets started with considerable initial success; but they were soon stopped, and the war settled down on the line Narva/Lake Peipus/Pskov/Novosokolniki.

At the extreme other end of the front, in the Crimea, the Soviets had been attacking the small isolated German-Rumanian force ever since November 1 with more than thirty divisions. But it was only on May 13 that the last German troops evacuated the peninsula.

THE BALANCE

The Soviets had conquered a large area which had formerly been the agricultural and industrial center of the USSR. But they found these territories terribly mutilated by the war and almost depopulated, the inhabitants having left the country in endless columns before the Red flood.

Nevertheless, on the map the Soviet gains remain most impressive, and they were utilized—although without success—for the “war of nerves” against Finland and the Balkan nations. But if they were frank, the Soviet leaders had to admit that the chief aim toward which they had striven so tenaciously—the envelopment and destruction of the German southern armies—had not been achieved. The Soviets had spent the entire winter in a series of attempts in this direction. They had thrown enormous quantities of men and equipment—particularly of artillery, which has become their main weapon of late—against the thin German-Rumanian front, and they had sacrificed untold numbers of their soldiers in attempted breakthroughs. (On June 26, 1944, Berlin announced the total Soviet losses during the first three years of the war to have been 6,650,000 prisoners, about 12,700,000 killed, 93,420 tanks, 88,646 guns, and 57,954 planes.) But, although many circumstances had favored them and various opportunities had appeared most promising, they did not succeed. Thanks to the huge numerical superiority of their armies, the Soviet generals were able to steamroll forward over wide areas, but they were not able to execute successful large-scale maneuvers. Stalingrad was the sole exception.

The German High Command has accomplished what it set out to do. Not for a moment did it abandon its principle of preserving, at the price of territory, its armed forces, in order to save them up for an opportune moment. It was not easy for the German leaders to sacrifice wide areas of great economic, political, and military significance. The decision to do this after Stalingrad was one of the most difficult and at the same time most far-reaching decisions ever made by an army command. The German people accepted this decision with calm determination, realizing that, in view of the circumstances obtaining on the other frontiers of Europe, this was the best way to carry on the war in the East.
ART IN MONGOLIA

By BEATA VON ERDBERG

There is hardly a visitor to China who is not attracted by what the curio dealers call "Mongolian art." Behind this term there is a long story. This is entertainingly told by our author, who has made a special study of the subject. Most of the art objects shown are from the collection of Mme. Clemann in Peking.—K.M.

THE Mongols, living on the northern borders of the Middle Kingdom, were always classed by the Chinese as "Barbarians," a term applied by them to practically all non-Chinese people. The Mongols are nomads, and the cultural possibilities of tribes constantly on the move must needs be smaller than that of agricultural settlers, who can store belongings in permanent dwellings. Though the Mongols did achieve a certain degree of culture by availing themselves of Chinese objects and ideas, their clumsy and sparing use of the niceties of civilization has always seemed barbaric to the Sons of Han. This term also befits much of the philosophy and most of the outward manifestations of their religion. Lamaism came to them from Tibet, a country hardly more civilized.

Tibetan traits fought and mixed with Chinese ones in building up an art for the Mongols. Artistically the Chinese were, of course, superior, but the frightening directness of the Tibetan imagination was often preferable for putting over a religious idea to a simple people, who believed what they saw. Chinese styles had to sell themselves; Tibetan forms were accepted without questioning as coming from the holy land. But this prestige was not sufficient to compete with the wide range and fertility of Chinese art. In the face of such overwhelming offers, the taste of the Mongols struggled to pick out what would please them most and serve them best.

TO ROB IS EASIER THAN TO MAKE

From early times the nomad people of the steppes to the north and the west of China have looked upon her as the cradle of material riches, the source of articles of luxury and artistic refinement. They did have crafts of their own: the Scythians of the first few centuries A.D. were skilled in metal work and decorated their felts, using a style of animal decoration not derived from Chinese art. But the hardy herdsmen and warriors had little leisure to spend on the elaboration of such techniques. Nor did they have to, for they could avail themselves of the products of skillful and patient Chinese workers, either by swift raids into their territory or by exchange of goods. At times the desired wares would come to them by a still easier way as tribute from the Chinese to stave off further raids. Thus the Hunnish chieftains could cut their barbarian clothes from finely embroidered Chinese silks and drink from wine cups delicately painted in red and black lacquer by the artists of the imperial Han workshops. All these rich spoils, tokens of their might and splendor, followed them to their graves.

When Genghis Khan rose to power, he raised with him a people who had hitherto been of no significance, politically as well as culturally. He wanted his people to be warriors only. Captured swordsmiths of many nations forged their weapons, women and slaves tended their herds. Their finery was obtained the easy way, from slain enemies and plundered cities.

But the Mongols who followed their leaders to the west saw a greater variety of artistic forms than their precursors, who only knew their immediate neighbors. They destroyed the flowering Mohammedan culture in Persia and the Caliphate, but not so completely that it did not influence them. It inspired the shape of the Moscow Kremlin and of Sarai on the Volga, "the most beautiful city in the world." A goldsmith from Paris worked for the Great Khan in Karakorum, and the Mongols especially admired his mechanical wonders. It seems doubtful
whether many artists of pure Mongol blood were responsible for the splendor of their capitals and the tents of the mighty. The spoils from so many rich, now devastated, countries must have been enormous. It still remains a puzzle where all these treasures have gone. Karakorum must have been the richest city in the world.

After the downfall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368, the Mongols were reduced to their original territory and reverted to nomadic life. During their sovereignty over China they had lost—culturally overwhelmed by the Chinese—what chance they might have had to express an artistic individuality of their own. China was again their only source of inspiration. Influences from other countries had to submit to China’s cultural monopoly.

**ART FOLLOWS RELIGION**

The primitive rites of shamanistic nature worship did not inspire artistic production. In the sixteenth century the Mongols were converted to the Yellow Church of Lamaism. They suddenly found themselves adherents of a cult that needed temples, statues, pictures, and many ritual objects, which only the artist could fashion. All these were strange to them, and in order to fill their temples they had to follow foreign styles and employ foreign craftsmen. Chinese artisans skillfully blended their native style with the cruder art of Tibet, the cradle of the Yellow Church. Their Mongol employers were probably little interested in one style or the other from an artistic point of view. But they demanded skill, which China could supply, and—more important—strict adherence to the rules of their religion. Their models came from Tibet; hence, for religious reasons, they demanded a recognizable similarity to the venerated Tibetan objects.

**FREE MOVEMENT VS. SOLID MASS**

As a nomad people the Mongols had no architecture of their own. They felt oppressed in cities and stone houses. The light felt tent, easily moved, quickly erected in any location, guaranteed them their freedom and independence. Yet they were impressed by stately and massive structures which could defy enemies and time. Chinese architecture captivated them by its splendor and majestic expansion; Tibetan buildings impressed them with their solidity and height. The best-known exponent of the Tibetan style is probably the Potala of Lhasa with its many stories and rows of small, often walled-up windows. Tibetan buildings are made up of cubic blocks; they seem like fortresses compared with Chinese halls with their open fronts and curved roofs.

After the experiences of their wars, the Mongols, who always lived and moved at ground level, appreciated an immovable stronghold, raised above the ground, not as a graceful pavilion, but as a compact, enduring mass. The higher lamas and dignitaries of the Yellow Church, though they shared their people’s aversion to living in solid houses, nevertheless preferred temple-like, enduring buildings of imposing size for their domains, because they were thus lifted above ordinary mortals and made to seem more like the gods.

Today, architecture in Mongolia shows the rather superficial blending of the Chinese and the Tibetan. Originally, the Mongols had “Tibetan” temples and “Chinese” temples, and there was a marked difference between them. The Tibetan form was probably introduced first; but by the end of the last century it was already almost extinct in its pure form.

These buildings were more vertical in proportion and very different from the horizontal halls of the Chinese, with their graceful red columns, curved roofs and decorated eaves and ridges. The “imperial” temples, subsidized from Peking, were, of course, purely Chinese. They were also more colorful and graceful than the Tibetan structures, which soon had to yield to Chinese influences. Today, those temples which still adhere to the Tibetan proportions and construction have at least a Chinese roof over the second “story” to boast of (Fig. 1). The interior consists of one high hall; pillars and columns are decorated in the Chinese manner with gold and colors (Fig. 4).

Most Mongol temples are built of wood, more rarely—the imperial temples among them—of brick. Both materials are rare and precious in Mongolia. The use of wood for wall and roof must needs change the aspect of Chinese architecture. The effect is less solid, sometimes it looks almost flimsy, and many of the roof decorations, originally executed in glazed tile, must be omitted.

Though the Mongols favor the vertical proportion in their buildings, they have never adopted the rising spire of the Chinese pagoda. The Tibetan form of the stupa reliquary, the “bottle pagoda,” is found
ARCHITECTURE

IN MONGOLIA

Fig. 1. The Dpo-chen Lama Temple of Dsam Kura, Urga. Gilt kneb and ritual ornaments on dark woodwork over white walls.

Fig. 2. Courtyard of the Dpo-chen Lama Kura, Urga. A polygonal brick building with pointed roof like a Kirghiz tent and a Siberian porch, among purely Chinese buildings.

Fig. 3. Lama performing ritual prostrations before a small temple in the steppes of Outer Mongolia. It is built of wood and retains the shape of the movable tent.

Fig. 4. Interior of a monastery temple in the steppes of Outer Mongolia. Low tables, cushions, books, and musical instruments await the lamas for the prayer service. The throne of the highest lama stands against the back wall.
MONGOLIAN PAINTING

Fig. 5 The Wheel of Life, from rebirth to rebirth, revolving around the sources of evil, held by a servant of death. Painted on coarse cloth in warm colors and gold.

Fig. 6 A form of the Bodhisattva Manjushri, god of wisdom, on a white horn. Appliqué of colored silk, made by Chinese in the Mongol taste.

Fig. 7 Lama painter of Outer Mongolia with an unfinished picture.
everywhere. Topped by sun and moon, it symbolizes the five elements—earth, water, fire, air, ether. Its measurements follow strict rules, which guarantee harmonious proportions to this queer combination of heterogeneous shapes. We find it in temples, over tombs, or as monuments erected by a devotee or for some special reason.

Siberian blockhouse architecture and the pointed tops of Kirghiz tents may be recognized in a few smaller temple buildings, which often have gabled entrance porches. They look out of place and utilitarian among the Chinese and Tibetan forms (Fig. 2).

The Mongol nomads cannot be expected to add any features of their own to this architectural mixture. Yet the semiglobular shape of their tents with the flattened top is copied in some of the small local temples. They still preserve the shape of the movable temple yurts of old times. Now they have settled down and are built of wood, but their size and shape are those of an ordinary dwelling-tent, with the addition of a window or two (Fig. 3).

**PAINTING TRAVELS LIGHT**

Architectural forms can only travel in small reproductions, and much is changed or lost on the way. Paintings, on the other hand, are easily transported, especially in the scrolls of the East. A great number of them must have found their way to Mongolia through pilgrims and missionaries or as presents from India and Tibet. They fixed in the minds of the Mongol faithfuls the pictures of the gods in Indian form and attire. Iconographic rules, precepts of materials, shape and color—important in the secret teachings of the lamas—could be most faithfully obeyed in painting. Its illustrative value to a mostly illiterate congregation made painting indispensable.

Itinerant Chinese craftsmen traveled from temple to temple, mended the old gods and painted new ones. They can hardly be called artists; but they knew how to draw the outlines in gold and mix colors, which would make the picture a luminous spot in the dark temple—bright greens and garish pinks, fiery red and deep, black blue.

**GODS WHOLESALE AND RETAIL**

In Peking workshops, where quantities of religious pictures in all sizes are painted for Lamaism at home and abroad, the work is carried out with speed and precision, owing to an extensive division of labor. The master drafts the composition with ink. He is familiar with the Tibetan aspects of Buddhist deities; he has drawn the same faces, hands, draperies, and attributes over and over again. Stencils are also used. Apprentices specialize in attributes, jewelry, animals, landscape, or other background details. Others fill in the flat, bright colors, and the last touch is given by the specialist in gold painting (nowadays a cheap substitute) which emphasizes all the important contours.

Beauty was not judged by very sophisticated standards; if the picture was bright and new, if every detail was iconographically correct, the painter was sure to please his customer. For a richer effect, silk or embroidery were sometimes used instead of painting (Fig. 6).

**THE MAGIC TOUCH**

But these pictures by Chinese craftsmen were mere decorations, unfit for the magic purposes of esoteric Lamaism. Only those painted under strict observance of sacred rules by Mongol or Tibetan monks, who lived a holy life and conceived the correct form of the god through meditation, could be sacred pictures with miraculous powers (Fig. 7). Another monk sat by the artist and meditated, thereby banning the god to be portrayed, so that he would take shape in the picture. The rules which fixed outline and color for each superhuman being had already been laid down in India. The painter could use his imagination only on the background and the small attendant figures.

These painters also observed certain technical rules. Linen was the material commonly used, prepared with chalk and a glue made from fish bladder. This glue is also used in the colors. The surface is polished with the tooth of a wolf or boar. Cow gall gives brilliance to the colors.

Compositions which try to give concrete evidence of an abstract conception consist of a profusion of details, logically and schematically arranged to teach the faithful a lesson. The “Wheel of Life” (Fig. 5), uniting many scenes in a geometrical composition, gives the painter a chance to vent his imagination on palaces of bliss (almost all of these are in the Chinese style of architecture), the fires and tortures of hell (this theme is so tempting that it often takes up more than the allotted one sixth of the
wheel space), and lively and amusing genre scenes with tents, cattle, thieves, and sweet-hearts. Paintings of the "Wheel of Life" are quite common, since they are comprehensible to the layman and embrace most of the basic teachings of Lamaist Buddhism concerning the migration of souls.

Within this limited scope of freedom there are good and bad paintings, crude and delicate, colorful and garish, with individual or conventional details. Their religious purpose overshadows the artistic one to a much greater extent than in any other religious art of the East or West. For any other kind of painting there was no reason or inspiration—not even a place to put it.

A GOOD MARKET FOR SCULPTURE

What has been said about religious painting also applies to Lamaist sculpture. The iconographic, esoteric rules appear perhaps to be more strict for the latter, as this technique has less room for background details. But it was not necessary for the artist to live a saintly life or observe certain religious practices while shaping a god or demon. Life and divine powers entered the statue with the "intestines," i.e., relics, jewels, and holy scriptures, which were ceremoniously sealed into its hollow body. Most of the Lamaist figures on the curio market today have been robbed of their precious contents.

The materials for Mongol sculpture are unbaked clay, bronze, and wood. Figures of the latter material were mostly made in China, since wood is rare in Mongolia. The bronze figures, too, are for the greater part made in China. Workshops in Peking specialize in Lamaist bronzes, mostly in small sizes, which they sell to visiting Mongols. At the beginning of this century, Russian foundries also realized that good profits were to be made in this line. The whole set of bronze statuary covering the walls of the new Maidari Temple in Urga, built in 1911, was, so the Russians said, cast in St. Petersburg. Since all Lamaist figures are mechanical reproductions of a conventional model, Chinese or Russian origin would in no way make any difference in the style. Clay figures were erected in situ—especially in the imperial temples—by itinerant Chinese modelers in the same crude way as in North China.

A FLAIR FOR THE DRAMATIC

Bronze is the costliest material, but it is best suited for Lamaist statuary. The exaggerations of posture and movement, which especially characterize the terrible aspects of the gods, demand a firm material which will support extended and contorted limbs, flames, and many attributes, without the danger of dropping or breaking off. Beauty could not very well be expected to grace these horrifying deformations of the human form. Since that was not the intention either, only elaborate decorative details, coloring, gilding, or a setting of precious stones could atone to a certain degree for their revolting appearance. It was almost impossible for the artist to show any originality, the same rules which restricted the painter also cramping the sculptor's style.

The sculptor with a flair for the dramatic was the most successful. If he could make his terrible figures convincingly terrifying, if they could make the beholder shudder, they were well done (Fig. 8). The benign aspects offered a greater chance to their "portraitist," but again the Tibetan style with the conventional sharp features, long eyes, and rigid or much-curved posture leaves little scope for the imagination. Moreover, many of the Lamaist figures have a multitude of heads and arms; that is another obstacle in the artist's path, which only the greatest are able to overcome. It is one thing to represent a beautiful human shape in a lovely statue, but it requires real skill to convince the beholder that a deity with eleven heads and a thousand arms

The Eight Offerings
Fig. 8 The terrible goddess Lhama, with crown and necklace of skulls, crossing a sea of blood on her mule, with an elephant-headed and a lion-headed attendant, both clad in human skins. The mule is covered with the skin of her own son, whom, as a queen of Ceylon, she vowed to kill if she could not convert her people to Buddhism. Wood, carved and painted.

Fig. 9 The goddess Ushnisha, with three heads and eight arms, and two adoring apsaras (angels) on lotus stalks. Note the grace of the hands forming Mudras, mystic gestures of benediction. Gilt bronze.

MONGOLIAN SCULPTURE

Fig. 10 Bronze incense burner. The smoke escapes through the open mouth of Shen-kuin-tengri, an earth goddess of fertility, dressed in a tiger skin and holding thunderbolt and bell, fertility symbols.

Fig. 11 Portrait of Jonsun Lama, the teacher of the last Khutukhtu of Urga. Sculpture in wood on an altar in Dson Kura, Urga, executed by a Mongol artist, early 20th century.
Fig. 12. A beauty from Urga, with silver headdress set with coral and turquoise. Russians and Chinese can be seen peering through the arcs of the elaborate coiffure caked out with horsehair and stiffened with glue.

Fig. 14. Small box with lid. Dark wood set in silver filigree with semiprecious stones.

Fig. 13. Top: Bumbat, a pitcher for holy water, which is sprayed with the peacock feathers. Bowl for fat; wood, silver, and stones.

Bottom: Pilgrim bottle; wood and silver. Silver box for a talisman god. Small wooden bowl with silver cover, for incense.
may still possess a harmonious form (Fig. 9). And great artists rarely found their way to Mongolia.

GODMOTHERS WITHOUT GIFTS

It is unfortunate that the Lamaist style of sculpture originated and flourished at a time when neither India nor China—the two cultures who were godmother to this new child—had a plastic art of any importance. What was left of the sensual grace of Indian sculpture is still found in Nepalese bronzes; but from there to Mongolia is a long way, and the once delicate models were taken over by clumsy hands. China, too, had not had a plastic revival since the art of the T'ang sculptors waned.

Where, then, could the Lamaist image-makers turn? It would take a strong and living inspiration to give the spark to this new style, cramped at the outset by an iconography that defied the tender yearnings for beauty. Neither India nor China could give this spark, and it is small wonder that the bulk of Lamaist sculpture is the sad product of uninspired artisans. Only now and then does one find in Mongolia a work, dating perhaps from the Ch'ien-lung period, which betrays a more skillful and loving hand (Fig. 10). Some of the slick modern products are not too revolting, and at times even beautiful in a smooth, if empty way. Occasionally we come across a bit of portraiture done by Mongol artists which is most strikingly lifelike (Fig. 11).

The sanctity of the earth, which forbade disturbing the ground by digging, may account for the absence of stone figures; for there is workable stone in Mongolia. The Turkic people who lived on the great plains in the time of the T'ang dynasty have left us traces of stone statuary, crude and solid figures standing on guard at the tombs of important people. Time, weather, and wanton destruction have been hard on them, so that it is difficult to say whether similar figures on the site of the old Mongol city Shang-tu in Inner Mongolia were different from them or not. Even in their prime, in the thirteenth century, they must have been quite primitive. To the Mongols of today they are as alien as they seem to us.

IRON IS NOBLER THAN GOLD

Outer Mongolia produced no metal for the same superstitious reason that barred their use of stone. By now the Russians will have changed that; but then, the resulting metals will not be used for religious figures.

Bronze and silver were imported. Though the Mongol currency, such as it was, was on the silver standard, and they knew the value of gold, iron has always seemed to them the noblest of metals. Doubtless this preference is a remnant of warrior days, when the metal that made the blade and deadly point was the most important and the most valuable. Native craft still uses iron; e.g., for bridles and stirrups, and the knife everybody carries for use at meals. It is often beautifully decorated with inlay of gold and silver. For the more extensive needs of the image-maker, bronze was the finest metal, unless silver was chosen for statues of small size.

PUNISHMENT OF THE GODS

Not many Mongols know the art of metal work, and these work in iron or in silver. Tibetan and Mongol lamas jealously guard the secret of an alloy of pewter, copper, and a bit of silver and gold, used for ritual vessels, which are said to have an especially melodious and lasting tone when struck. On the whole, the work of native artisans does not compare favorably with that of their Chinese colleagues.

Among both parties there was many a scoundrel who feathered his own nest at the expense of the pious donor or jewelry-minded beauty. A Mongol silversmith once showed his friends a statuette of Avalokitesvara, fashioned from solid silver. He intended to offer it to a temple, so that he might be cured of his heart trouble. "When I was young," he explained, "I wandered around the country plying my trade. The women came to me with their silver and asked me to turn it into ornaments for their hair and dress. I always mixed a bit of lead into the silver and made quite a nice, steady profit that way. Now the god has punished me with this illness, and I shall give the silver to him, that he may take his curse from me."

VALUABLE WOMEN

Aside from herds and horses, the family fortune consists of silver, and this the woman carries on her body in the form of an elaborate headdress with plaques, chains and pendants (Fig. 12); she also has belt buckles,
OFFERINGS AND DRAGONS

Though the Mongols did not invent the patterns which beautify their objects of daily use, ritual or practical, they have shown preference for certain ornaments in the vast store of Chinese decoration at their disposal. Since their religion covers every aspect of daily life, it is only natural that the symbols of their cult should occur again and again, not only on ritual objects, but also on practical things, as on boxes and teabowls. Among such symbols the “Eight Offerings” are the most popular; they lend themselves easily to many shapes and spaces, and we find them most frequently arranged in a circle on a round object.

The dragon, though not originally Buddhist, is almost as popular in Mongolia as in China. Big dragons decorate temples; small ones adorn lids or serve as handles. As the emblem of the Chinese emperor it came to Mongolia on political rather than religious grounds; but just as in China, it blends easily with almost any kind of decoration.

Chinese decoration of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties takes its motifs either from earlier styles or direct from nature. Birds, insects, and especially flowers and other plant forms, occur in ever new shapes. The Mongols do not have much taste for flowers and butterflies in irregular, naturalistic patterns. The beauty of natural forms does not mean much to them, unless it is the holy padma (lotus). Their taste, though modeled for centuries on Chinese lines, is still that of a primitive people, who prefer the geometric or stylized to the naturalistic and asymmetric. Of the simpler forms of line decoration, spirals and cusps are most often found. These go well with the stones set into the silver, which are in most cases round (Fig. 14).

A Mongol’s hands are clumsy from hard riding and hard weather. Everything he owns must be sturdy and pack easily. Everything made for or by him is compact and durable; the style follows the same trend. We are today often satiated with the overrefined products of skilled artists. We may then turn with relief to the robust and obvious gaiety of objects appreciated and used by the nomad herdsmen.
PLANETOIDS

(Condensed from the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung."
Zürich)

In the New Year night of January 1, 1801, Piazzi in Palermo discovered the first of the tiny planets. By 1890, 300 of them had been found by visual means in the space between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter. With the coming of photography it was possible to catalogue 1,800 planetoids whose orbits could be more or less determined, while some 5,000 members of the planetoid swarm have been observed at least once. Modern studies of the skies have shown that, with the means available at present to science, as many as 50,000 planetoids could probably be found.

All these tiny planets are being systematically catalogued by a smoothly working international organization. The observatories of Bern, Heidelberg, Vienna, Brussels, Algiers, Cordoba, the Cape of Good Hope, and Johannesburg are collaborating with the institutes for astronomical calculations of Professor Brendel in Heidelberg, Professor Numerov in Leningrad, and Professor Maurer in Bern. The central point of the organization is the Institute for Astronomical Calculations in Berlin, which issues the catalogues and circulars of observation.

The reason for this organization becomes clear when one is told that the discovery of a planetoid means only the beginning of the work. Observers must see to it that as many and as exact loci of the planet as possible are established, covering as long a period of time as possible. Only then can the laborious work of the calculators begin: the determination of the orbit. Following in the footsteps of Kepler, Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace, it was the German mathematician K. F. Gauss who finally worked out the perfect method of determining the orbit of planets and planetoids. With this method it became possible to find the six elements of the orbit by means of three complete observations. These elements tell us all we have to know about the size and shape of the orbit, its situation in space, and the position of the planet in it at any given time.

The 400 or so planetoids discovered at first all moved in the space between Mars and Jupiter. The scientific world was amazed to hear in 1898 that planetoid No. 433, called Eros, crosses the orbit of Mars and approaches to within 18 million kilometers of the earth. In 1937, the planetoid Hermes was discovered, which approaches to within 600,000 kilometers of the earth, i.e., less than twice the distance of the moon from the earth. On the other hand, Hidalgo makes excursions almost as far out as Saturn, its distance from the sun varying between 300 million and 1,400 million kilometers.

The orbits of those planetoids which approach closely to the large planets suffer considerable interference and consequently require an immense amount of calculation. But the scientific yield is worth the trouble, as important astronomical constants can be checked and adjusted. Thus the calculations for the planetoids Sirene and Valentine made it possible to adjust the figures for the masses of Mars and Jupiter. Another example of this kind is provided by Eros, whose orbit was observed in great detail by more than a score of observatories in the period from 1930 to 1942. With the aid of these observations Professor Stacke of the Institute for Astronomical Calculations of Berlin calculated the interference exerted by all planets with the exception of Pluto on Eros. The object of this calculation was to confirm or correct the figure for the distance between the earth and the sun—the most important of all astronomical constants, as all our measurements of the universe are based on this figure.

The resultant tiny adjustment means that the figure for the distance to the sun has
had to be increased by 170,000 kilometers to 149,670,000 kilometers. By the same calculations, the moon was found to be heavier than was formerly believed: its mass being \( \frac{1}{81.53} \) rather than \( \frac{1}{81.28} \) part of the mass of the earth. The relationship in the mass of the earth and moon to that of the sun has also been affected. The old figure was \( \frac{1}{320,390} \); the new one is \( \frac{1}{320,377} \). These examples show how every effort is being made in the ceaseless struggle for utmost accuracy.

If we bear in mind that of all these vast hosts of tiny planets only two, Ceres and Vesta, can sometimes just barely be made out with the naked eye, we need not be astonished that the physical study of the planetoids is faced with great difficulties. Only in the case of the four largest of them has it been possible to determine their diameter by direct means; they were found to be from 200 to 800 kilometers. Photometrical methods prove that the majority of the dwarf planets have a diameter of less than 100 kilometers, many of them being probably no more than 10 to 12 kilometers. Light measurements, especially in the case of Eros, have led to the opinion that the planetoids are not spherical but probably of an irregular shape.

Statistical studies are still in full swing. They concern the distribution of orbit elements in space; the possible connections between planetoids and comets, meteors, and the zodiacal light; and finally, the most important question, the origin of these tiny splinters of the universe.

**AMERICAN LANGUAGE**

*London’s “Sunday Express” reports the following dialogue between two US soldiers in Britain trying to get friendly with an English girl.*

“Yeah.”

“No kiddin’?”

“No kiddin’.”

“Kinda tough.”

“I’ll say.”

“Swell dame, though.”

“Yeah, swell.”

“Kinda ritzy.”

“Sure.”

“How’s tricks?”

“Okay.”

“Yeah?”

“Yeah.”

“Say, sister!”

“What’s cookin’, sister?”

“Say, sister.”

“What’s cookin’, sister? Say!”

“Kinda snooty.”

“Yeah, kinda.”

“Any mail?”

“Yeah, plenty mail.”

“Folks back home okay?”

“Yeah, okay.”

“‘At’s swell.”

“Say, sister.”

“Where ya goin’, sister?”

“Say, sister.”

“What’s cookin’, sister’

“Say, sister.”

“Why a doot’.

“Kinda snooty.”

“Yeah kinda.”

“Cigaret?”

“Thanks a lot.”

“It’s a crazy country.”

“Sure is crazy.”

“Snooty dames, snooty as hell.”

“Say, sister.”

“Where ya goin’, sister?”

“Say, sister.”

“What’s cookin’, sister?”

**INFLUENZA AND WAR**

*(Condensed from a recent weekly report of the Hygiene Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations in Geneva)*

The widespread belief caused by the epidemic of 1918/19 that the appearance of violent ‘flu epidemics is connected with war and conditions created by war docs not correspond to facts.

The principal epidemics registered in Europe during the last century were in 1803, 1833, 1836/37, 1847, and 1889/90, i.e., in years of peace. On the other hand, none of the wars of the nineteenth century was accompanied or followed by influenza epidemics. The same holds good for the period between the two World Wars, during which more or less serious waves of influenza were observed in Europe in 1922, 1927, 1933, and 1937.

A detailed study of the pandemic of 1918/19 led to the realization that almost all the countries of the world were attacked by influenza, irrespective of the fact whether they had participated in the war or not. In Europe it was called “Spanish grippe” or “Spanish ‘flu” because it first appeared in Spain (April 1918), i.e., in a country that had remained out of the war. Switzerland, although also a neutral, was hit by
that influenza epidemic in October/November 1918 just as badly as, if not worse than, France and Germany. The disease struck Africa, America, and Asia, which were remote from the theater of hostilities. In India, one of the countries most severely affected by the epidemic—which caused some six million deaths there from June to November 1918—the living conditions had not been changed at all by the war. Only after hostilities had ceased in Europe did the disease reach Australia and the islands of the Pacific.

The findings of the Hygiene Section seem also to disprove the idea that the influenza epidemics are caused by undernourishment of the population. The disease violently ravaged such countries as the United States, which by no means suffered from malnutrition; nor did it spare the wealthy classes. But this does not imply that food conditions are of no influence on the mortality rate from influenza. Observations made in India seemed to point to the fact that inadequate nutrition may act as a factor in bringing about death through lowered resistance.

As regards the present influenza situation, the Hygiene Section reports that the disease has made its appearance in the United States in a mild form, although a large proportion of the urban population has been affected. In England it began to appear in the second half of November 1943, causing over 1,000 deaths in a single week. In Northern Italy it was reported in the second half of November, but here the mortality rate remained insignificant. In Switzerland, Hungary, Slovakia, Rumania, Denmark, and Norway only a few cases or no cases at all were reported up to the middle of December.

NEUTRALITY

Stockholm's "Svenska Dagbladet" regularly contains cartoons of "Puff and Puff," two wise dogs who comment on the state of the world. One of their latest philosophical remarks is:

"What I like best is the radio program is the time signal."

COMRADE LIZARD

(Condensed from "Time," New York)

On April 4, 1944,a statement was issued in America which sharply rearoused US suspicions of the Soviets. It was made by Victor Kravchenko, 38, Captain in the Red Army and Chief of the metals section of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in Washing-
Even before the war, the reticle in optical precision instruments had usually been manufactured from spider threads supplied by ordinary garden and house spiders. Since the outbreak of war, however, this "raw material source" proved insufficient, so that the black widow had to be resorted to.

Each of these living spinning machines, which are fed a few live flies a week, supplies up to 50 meters of thread in a week. It is produced from a liquid which is secreted by the insect from its spinning gland and which immediately coagulates to become a tough thread. The same principle is employed nowadays in the chemical manufacture of various artificial fibers which, however, cannot be compared in quality to the thread produced by a spider. A certain amount of skill is required to induce the spider to spin its thread on a frame without entangling it. Although this work is not without danger to the men employed on it, it is possible, if proper precautions are taken, to avoid being bitten by the spiders. The artificially increased productivity has certain disadvantageous consequences—for the spider: its life, which is normally about a year, is shortened to four months at the most.

SHE COULD TAKE IT
(Condensed from the "Schweizer Illustrierte Zeitung," Zürich)

During an air raid on a place in Thuringia, an incendiary bomb fell into the room of the 85-year-old widow Auguste Himmler and smashed through the lid of a linen chest, where it lay showering sparks in all directions. The old lady fetched a thick winter coat from the cupboard, threw it over the bomb, wrapped it up, and calmly carried it out into the yard. Where it burned out without causing any damage. For the courage she showed, she was decorated with the War Cross with Swords.

U.S. SOLDIERS AND RELIGION
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

"When the ten million and more come marching home again—such of them as do come back—most of them will not be bothering their young but hard-boiled heads any more about religion in the old home parish than they did about religion in their outfits—which was mighty little."

So Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell answers the sanguine who believe that World War II will turn U.S. fighting men into peacetime churchgoers. Dr. Bell, High Church Episcopalian priest, takes no stock in the no-athiests-in-foxholes [trenches] idea, quotes a chaplain that if the saying is true it is only "because there are few atheists anywhere."

Dr. Bell's explanation: "The separation of Church and State in the schools, and the astounding incompetence of most of the churches in respect to religious education, and the indifference of parents to God, have combined to turn out a group of young people composed, to the extent of about 80%, of religious illiterates.

"The churches had not won them in the days before they went away. They will not have lost religion while in the forces. Few of them had any to lose."

The men, says Bell, think of the churches "as social clubs ... smothered by respectability and enervated by timidity ... led chiefly by parsons more intent to please the congregations than to blunt out the disconcerting will of God ... controlled ... by small-bore laymen fearful lest the Church blow ardently upon the latent fires of spiritual and moral revolution ... impotent to prevent the war ... [unable] to stand for prevention of a revengeful and dishonest peace."

Last week a Jesuit chaplain (whose name was withheld) corroborated this report. Wrote the chaplain: "If you read the Catholic press nowadays you get the impression that there is a great religious revival going on in the armed forces. Personally I think that is a lot of tripe. The picture of a crucifix and a scapular medal gives the impression that every soldier says an Act of Contrition every night. But I have found instances of Catholics who don't even know the Hail Mary and as far as the Act of Contrition is concerned, don't make me laugh! And for penance, all I could give them was, 'My Jesus mercy!' to be said ten times a day for the next ten days. It was something they could remember."

"The best priests aren't in uniform. The bishops and the religious superiors are not parting with their race horses. They release the plugs and plow horses—even a few problem children.

"My experience has taught me that you have to haunt these boys in the Army. You have to come back again and again after they have refused to go to Confession. You have to win them, pester them, and change your attack with every visit. You
have to kid and joke. You have got to put serious truths in their own language. You have got to be at their beck and call 24 hours a day and at last one day they may ask you to hear their Confessions. One of my classmates once said that the job of saving souls is like trying to catch snowflakes in a tin cup. It's still tougher in the Army.

"Those soldiers are fed a diet of: Live or die! Kill or be killed! Exterminate the bastards! Are we going to wait until the war is over and then say 'Tut! Tut!'? They admire now the priest who will crawl 100 yd. under live ammunition—and the Protestant minister too. They don't care very much about words, least of all about abstract words. Campaign ribbons are going to count an awful lot with them after the war, and the man or the priest who has 'been there' with them is going to have their ears."

SCOTSMAN IN THE TREASURY
Condensed from "L'Illustre," Geneva

With her debts amounting to 5½ billion pounds sterling, England has need of a miser to watch over the expenditures of the state. That miser is John Anderson. Born in Scotland, he is fifty-eight years old. He was a penniless student at the University of Edinburgh and later at that of Leipzig, where he obtained his doctorate of philosophy. In 1905 he entered the colonial administration in a modest capacity. Here he immediately attracted attention by his energy and his knack of seizing upon the slightest opportunity for promotion. 1914 saw him head of the merchant marine service. Hard, intractable, sure of himself, he toiled fourteen hours a day to reduce the bills submitted to the Government by the shipowners, and did wonders. As a reward, he was equipped with full powers and sent to Ireland to quell the revolt fermenting there. The sons of Eire threw stones at him but, upon his return, the old English Conservatives took him to their bosom. He became "Sir" John Anderson.

As Permanent Undersecretary of the Home Office (1922-32), he soon forgot his earlier promise to devote his efforts to the furthering of social insurance and to the raising of the standard of living of Scottish sailors. It was not long before he was regarded as a fierce reactionary. When the "hunger marchers" of 1930 streamed from all over the country to London, he brutally stopped them and made them go home—without listening to what they had to say—to their fireless hearths and bare tables.

In 1932, disturbances, risings, boycotts, and famines were multiplying dangerously in India. A man with a hard fist was the obvious solution. All thoughts turned to Sir John. Overnight he was appointed Governor of Bengal. Within two years of his arrival in Calcutta, the province was brought completely under control. But the trains by which the Governor was supposed to travel were mysteriously derailed; on the race course at Darjeeling, some young Hindu fanatics fired on him at close range and disappeared immediately in the crowd of natives; one night, his car was thrown into the Ganges. On each occasion he escaped, and London gave a triumphal reception to the "empire builder," who returned without a scratch to his native country in 1937. He was elected to the board of the Midland Bank, was invited to the garden parties of the greatest armament dealers, and shared in the profits of Vickers. Six months later, he joined the Cabinet and, at the outbreak of war, he was Home Secretary and Minister for Public Safety.

Since then, the ministers around him have changed, and the Chamberlain Cabinet fell under the attacks of Churchill. Anderson remained like a rock. However, in October 1940, being partially responsible for the poor organization of the ARP during the first few weeks of the battle of England and hence extremely unpopular among the air-raid victims, he was replaced in the Home Office by Herbert Morrison and appointed Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Tall, thin, with sparse hair and a reddish face, he is the typical Scotsman of Punch's cartoons. His cold, unmoving glance, his thin lips, freeze the requests of importunate petitioners. In Parliament he is a poor speaker; his voice is dry and hesitating, and he is unable to silence his adversaries by a lightning retort. He will never be popular, but this fact does not bother him much. His connections with heavy industry, his Conservative friends who support him, and the Rightest journalists who take his side, are his protection against wind and tide.

What does he care whether he is blamed for sabotaging the Beveridge plan, for imposing excessively heavy taxes on the middle classes, for favoring his friends with Government jobs? He is convinced that he
is doing his best in carrying out the work demanded from him by Churchill.

THE GENERAL WON

(Condensed from “Time,” New York)

John Hersey’s A Bell For Adano is the story of what happens behind the lines of a typical Italian town in the confused interlude between war and reconstruction—when the high aims for which the war was fought disappear before the realities of incompetence, brutality, red tape, swollen eyes, dead bodies, ruined buildings, ruined lives, cynicism, contempt, and the starved inertia of purposeless living.

It begins when Major Victor Joppolo, 35, a senior officer of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory, enters the town of Adano. It ends, 286 pages and three weeks later, when he is recalled.

Hero of the book is Major Joppolo. He is patient, tenacious, understanding, humble in the sense of being willing to drudge for what he believes in, and possessed of a genuine love for Adano, the place and the people. This love is epitomized in his effort to get the people of Adano a church bell to replace the bell the Germans carried off for scrap. Victor Joppolo brings to Adano the unbelievable thought that government should be the servant of the people. There are no subtle shadings in Author Hersey’s portraits. Victor is unqualifiedly good.

U.S. Divisional Commander General Marvin, who resembles General Patton, is unqualifiedly bad. He has been built up as one of the heroes of the invasion. But “I can tell you perfectly calmly that General Marvin showed himself during the invasion to be a bad man, something worse than what our troops were trying to throw out.”

When a mule cart blocked his armored car outside Adano, General Marvin ordered the cart tipped off the road. When the terrified mule began to scream, the General ordered it shot. When his staff officers objected, thinking of the effect on the townspeople of Adano, the General damned them up and down. Then the General issued an order forbidding any carts to enter Adano. That stopped all food to the starving town. When General Marvin and Major Joppolo met, each felt an instantaneous, unrelenting mutual dislike that grew in a few moments to intense hatred. When the General discovered that Joppolo had countermanded his order and had let the food carts come into Adano, he cussed until he choked.

Major Joppolo’s requisition for a bell for Adano struck headquarters as another sign of his failing mind. And when General Marvin discovered that the Major was still on the job, he stopped reading Secretary Stimson’s commendations long enough to fire Joppolo.

The mood of A Bell for Adano is bitter. Its humor is raucous and wild. It is a deadly account of U.S. official incompetence.

WEDED TO EUROPE

(Condensed from the “Svenska Dagbladet,” Stockholm)

Although Sweden’s foreign trade in 1943 was still considerably below that of the years before the present war, its total turnover increased from 18.2 million tons in 1942 to 19.6 million tons in 1943. The distribution was as follows in 1943:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries of the European Continent</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the World</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next to Germany, Switzerland is the country which figures highest in Sweden’s trade; in 1943 she received about 10 per cent of Sweden’s exports. The trade with Italy practically ceased in 1943, but a certain compensation is to be found in the increase of trade with Spain and Portugal.

The trade with countries outside of the European Continent has shown a further decrease. From 21.5 per cent in 1942 the proportion of these imports was reduced to 17.7 per cent, while Sweden’s export to countries outside of the European Continent shrank almost 50 per cent from 1942 to 1943.

Among imported goods, coal takes first place in volume. Its imports [from Germany] increased from 1942 to 1943 by almost one million tons, amounting to 3.58 million tons in 1943.

HE FIGURED

(Condensed from “Time,” New York)

In the South Pacific, a U.S. flyer landed after disregarding orders by flying through his own side’s flak. When reprimanded he explained “I figured if they couldn’t hit the Japanese, they couldn’t hit me.”
THE FACE OF THE PACIFIC

By KLAUS MEHNERT

While lecturing on the history of the Pacific in the University of Hawaii, the author became interested in the evolution of the Pacific map. The history of the Pacific map is the quintessence of the history of the Pacific, for it visually records the countless voyages of exploration, conquest, commerce, and religious zeal on this ocean. Although it is fascinating to watch the gradual emerging of the Pacific's features from complete obscurity in a dramatic, three-centuries-long struggle between imagination and facts, no book exists as yet on this subject.

The author visited a number of leading libraries possessing old maps and, with the aid of the University of Hawaii authorities, the University of California, the Library of Congress, the Library of Pomona College, and various individual historians, collected reproductions of more than five hundred of the most important maps in Pacific history up to 1800, as well as literature about them. Students participating in his seminars at the University of Hawaii, among them some of Chinese and Japanese parentage, assisted him in this research.

Owing to the war, the work was interrupted and part of the collected material lost. But at a time when people have become engrossed in the Pacific as never before and when millions of people every day follow the course of the war on the Pacific map, an outline of the history of this map may be of interest.

DAWN

MARTIN Waldesemüller's map made in 1507 may be regarded as the first map of the Pacific Ocean. It is the first to represent the Pacific as an ocean in its own right. The maps of the world produced by European cartographers before 1507 did not contain a Pacific Ocean for the simple reason that they did not know of America as a continent and hence made the Atlantic reach from Spain to Asia.

One of the most famous representations of the world previous to 1507 is the globe of Martin Behaim, completed in 1492, before the news of Columbus's return from his first voyage became known (Fig. 16). This globe contains the sum of Europe's geographical knowledge on the eve of the discovery of America. But even after this discovery, Columbus's idea, which he maintained up to his death, namely, that sailing westward he had reached, not a new continent, but the eastern coast of Asia, continued to exist for a while. The map of the world drawn by Juan de la Cosa, one of Columbus's companions, in 1500; the map of 1503 known as the map of Bartolomeo Columbus; and Contarini's map of 1506 all cling to this idea. Hence we are hardly according Waldesemüller too great an honor if we regard his work as the beginning of the real cartographic history of the Pacific.

Martin Waldseemüller was born about 1470 in the German town of Radolfzell on an arm of Lake Constance. He grew up in Freiburg and studied at the university there. Later he joined the group of scholars in St. Dié under the patronage of the Duke of Lorraine and became the outstanding geographer and mapmaker of his day. He died about 1518. In spite of his remarkable achievements, Waldseemüller would only be remembered by experts today were it not for his map of 1507, a huge wall map totaling 36 square feet. It is famous for the facts, first, that it is the first wall map of this type; secondly, that it contains all important discoveries of the preceding decades; and chiefly that it is the first map to apply the word "America" to the New World. For us, however, this map is of particular interest because it contains in the center of the upper part two world hemispheres—to our knowledge, the first of their kind—the right-hand one of which is reproduced in our Fig. 1.

Of course, there are many mistakes in this map. It suffers from the usual underestimation of the width of the Pacific; it shows Japan near America instead of near Asia; the picture it gives of Indonesia is still very inadequate; the coast of East Asia leaves much to be desired; Australia is missing altogether; and the west coast of America is drawn in straight lines. But,

ARTICLE
compared to all cartographic products before 1507 and to many of the ensuing decades, this map by the German master is surprisingly accurate. The fundamental fact which opened up the path to a complete recognition of the cartographic picture of the Pacific is to be found on his map.

![Diagram of the map of the world](image)

**Fig. 1**—The first map of the Pacific, Martin Waldseemüller's hemisphere. It forms part of his large wall map of the world (1507). The angles have been added by us.

(To make our illustrations as clear as possible we have greatly simplified them, reproducing only those features of the maps which are of interest in connection with our article. We have translated the inscriptions into English unless the terms used are still familiar today, e.g., "Cathay" for China, "Zipangul" for Japan.)

America is shown as an independent continent consisting of two large parts connected by a narrow isthmus, a continent which possesses a land bridge neither to Europe nor Asia. The fact that Waldseemüller with his bold straight lines gives a so amazingly accurate outline of the American west coast is all the more surprising as, to science's knowledge, no European eye had yet seen a single bit of this coast in 1507. The only trouble with Waldseemüller, whom we shall have to mention many more times in these pages, is his unwieldy name (unwieldy only to the non-German, for in German his name is easy enough, meaning Forest Lake Miller). But would our readers prefer the scientific name which he adopted and which is a Greek translation of his name—Hylacomyllos?

The attempt has been made to interpret Waldseemüller's straight lines of the west coast of Central and North America as an indication that even to him America was a part of Asia and that he merely refrained from drawing the details of the connection between the two. What Waldseemüller actually thought, nobody knows; however, a glance at Fig. 1 makes it hard to follow this theory. After all, Waldseemüller drew the east coast of Asia up to 70° northern latitude not in straight lines but with various details, mainly from Behaim, which shows that he took it to be the actual coast. Any land connection between America and Asia could thus only be presumed north of 70°. We must add here that the history of geography and particularly of cartography is a most controversial matter and, in order not to overburden this article with learned quotations, we shall henceforth not enter into any of these controversies.

Martin Waldseemüller was a great scholar, who studied many ancient and new sources before he produced his map. He was familiar with the works of Ptolemy of Alexandria, with the travels of Marco Polo and Columbus, and he took some very important ideas from a letter of Amerigo Vespucci dealing with the latter's voyages along the eastern coasts of America in the years 1497/1502. Considering the rate at which news traveled in those days, Waldseemüller worked with astonishing speed: Amerigo wrote this particular letter in the spring of 1503 to Florence; from there it reached Alsace after a detour via Paris; and from Alsace it was sent on to Waldseemüller by a young German scholar. By 1507 the map was published.

But scientific news did not always travel so quickly, and not all cartographers were as eager to incorporate the latest discoveries. Moreover, geographical knowledge was guarded as suspiciously by the governments as military inventions are nowadays. Hence only some of the cartographers were influenced by Waldseemüller, while many others continued to drag along old conceptions for a long time. Indeed, there was even retrogression to be found. But ideas live on. Waldseemüller's map of the world—which had probably been inspired by an unusual combination of hard scientific work and an almost visionary intuition—was an accomplished fact.

*  

If we wished to follow every phase in the evolution of the map of the Pacific, we would have to look at each bay of the coasts and each little island separately. In this article, however, we shall only deal with a few of the outstanding problems.
HOW WIDE IS THE PACIFIC?

The overestimation of the extent of Eurasia from the western coast of Spain to the eastern coast of China on the part of medieval cosmographers contributed toward the fact that the width of the ocean to be crossed in a westerly direction to reach China was vastly underestimated. The Florentine geographer Toscanelli, by whose writings Columbus was influenced, calculated the distance from Gibraltar westward to the coast of China to be 130 degrees, while in reality it is 233 degrees. This miscalculation helped Columbus to decide upon his voyage; and when he found land he took it for granted that it was Eastern Asiatic soil.

Although Waldseemüller recognized the separate nature of the newly-discovered land, he still clung to the overestimation of the extent of Eurasia which automatically entailed an underestimation of the Pacific. His two world hemispheres of 1507 prove that he assumed the distance from Gibraltar westward to the southeastern coast of Asia to be 155 degrees. Although this was 25 degrees nearer the truth than Toscanelli's calculation, it was still 78 degrees off. As Waldseemüller calculated the width of the Atlantic between West Africa and Central America fairly accurately at 75 degrees, his entire miscalculation is projected into the width of the Pacific, which he represented to be 80 degrees instead of 165 degrees slightly north of the equator.

For the accurate determination of the latter, reliable clocks are needed such as were not yet in existence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This explains why the maps of those days usually contain far more errors in longitude than in latitude.

It is all the more to be admired that Ribero’s map of 1529 already assumes a width of 140 degrees. Of course, the following century saw many a throwback as, for instance, Belga’s map of 1603, which returned to a width of 95 degrees. But on Blaeu’s map of 1606 the width was already increased to 150 degrees. Complete accuracy was only obtained during the nineteenth century.

THE NAME OF THE PACIFIC

The name which the mapmakers first gave to this ocean depended on the side from which their thoughts approached the Pacific. If they looked eastward from Europe across Asia, the natural thing for them was to call it the “Eastern Ocean,” i.e., in Latin, Oceanus Orientalis (or Orientalis Oceanus or Mare Orientale). This is the term used on the globe gores of 1507 (or 1509). We have reproduced only seven of the twelve gores of 30° each which make up the entire globe. In this as well as in other illustrations the longitudinal degrees shown are those of Waldseemüller, not of our time.

Our chart shows how the calculation of the width of the Pacific has changed since Waldseemüller. At first the width assumed by him was even reduced. It was only the crossing of the Pacific by Magellan in 1520/21 which created an entirely new situation. It was some time, however, before this new situation found its expression in cartography. It must be inserted here in explanation that it is much easier to determine the latitude at which one finds oneself than the longitude.
Occidelltalis to the eastern Pacific and Oceanus Orientalis to the western Pacific.

A third group was looking from Europe—so to speak—southeastward. It considered the waters which washed the "Indies"—as all of south and southeastern Asia was frequently called at that time—as the Indian Ocean, which it divided into two parts: a southern Indian Ocean corresponding to the Indian Ocean of today (between Africa and Malaya) and an eastern Indian Ocean, Oceanus Indicus Orientalis, corresponding to our Pacific. This latter term is to be found on Nos. 6, 9, 34, 49, while No. 14 gives the name Oceanus Orientalis to the northern Pacific and Oceanus Indicus Orientalis to the southern Pacific.

A new note entered into the name-giving contest when Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama. On September 25, 1513, he beheld the Pacific from its eastern shore, the first European to do so. (Marco Polo had seen it from the Asiatic side.) This happened at a place where the isthmus runs from east to west. To cross it, Balboa had to march southward, and when he first saw the ocean it lay toward the south. So he called it la mar del Sur (the Southern Ocean). This term or its equivalents (Mare Australis, Oceanus Meridionalis) found entry in many outstanding maps and globes such as Nos. 18, 22, 46, 54, 55, and 79.

The name by which we know the ocean today was given it most fittingly by its first conqueror, Ferdinand Magellan, and it has survived because it is so much more expressive than those other purely geographical terms. When on November 28, 1520, after terrible storms and hardships in the strait which bears his name, Magellan sailed out onto its broad, majestic waves, he called it El Mar Pacifico, the Peaceful Ocean. (Incidentally, Magellan had a knack for suggesting geographical names which stuck. One need only remember his Tierra del Fuego.) We find the new name for the first time on the map which his companion, Pigafetta, made upon his return from the voyage. It was some time, however, before the name caught on. Balboa’s term had a head start and was at first far more widely used. But on the Münster map (1540) we find Mare pacificum, after Finaeus (1531) had called it MARE MAGELLANICUM.

For a long time both terms, Southern Ocean and Pacific Ocean, were used only for sections of the Pacific and not for the ocean as a whole. The point is this: people were not yet thinking in terms of the Pacific as a single ocean. In a way, this also meant a retrogression after Waldseemüller. While his hemisphere showed the entire ocean, even though far too narrow, later world maps rarely presented the Pacific as a whole, because they usually had America and part of the eastern Pacific at the western end of the map and the Orient as well as part of the western Pacific at its eastern end.

In this respect, the Ortelius map of 1589 (Fig. 3) opens a new period in the history of Pacific mapmaking, for this is, as far as we know, the first map dedicated to the Pacific as such. The English translation of its title is “Latest Description of the Pacific Ocean, commonly called the South Sea, with the neighboring regions and the islands scattered in various places on it.” It carries the words MARE PACIFICUM, QUOD VULGO NOMINANT MAR DEL ZUR all across the entire ocean, clearly indicating that this term is meant not for a part but for the whole ocean. In his map of 1570, Ortelius still used the terms MAR DEL ZUR and EL MAR PACIFICO for two different portions of the ocean, but his map of 1589, following No. 73, gives definite preference to the word Pacific. Owing to the great influence which this map exercised, Magellan’s term now became firmly established. However, there were still a number of throwbacks to be found after 1589, and to some extent the term South Seas has survived to this day, although more as a poetic than as a geographical expression.

ONE AMERICA OR TWO?

With regard to the shape of Central America we find a contradiction in Walde-
THE FACE OF THE PACIFIC

Waldseemüller’s work of 1507. On his large world map he shows a narrow passage between North and South America, while on the hemisphere (Fig. 1) these are linked by a land bridge. We have not seen the original of the map for, of a thousand copies printed, only one has survived and is now kept in the Wolfegg Castle in Württemberg, Germany. But on the many reproductions of the hemisphere copied by other mapmakers the isthmus linking North and South America, at the spot which we now call Central America, can be seen clearly.

Both of Waldseemüller’s conceptions have found their followers. One school adopted his strait theory as shown on his large world map. (Nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 30, 32, 40.) It was only after 1542 that no more important maps were drawn in this fashion. The land-bridge character of Central America had by then been established beyond doubt by half a century of exploration. The other school followed the land-bridge theory which we found on his hemisphere. (Nos. 7, 9, 23, 27.)

Although Waldseemüller drew his west coast of Central America before any European eye had seen it, he came remarkably close to the truth. It runs toward the northwest, at first at an angle of 32°, then at an angle of 69° to the equator. In reality the two angles are 28° and 58°. But among those who believed in the land bridge between North and South America there soon developed a new school which, abandoning Waldseemüller’s conception, drew the course of Central America’s Pacific coast almost parallel to the equator, indeed, even with a tendency toward the southwest rather than the northwest. Among the maps available to us, the first to show this new theory was that of Thorne (1527), probably under the influence of ideas similar to those which led to the Schöner map of 1524, about which we shall have more to say later on. (Others were Nos. 26, 28, 36, 37, 44, and 93b.) Even so careful a mapmaker as Ribero (1529), closely followed by No. 31, has an angle of only 9° (Fig. 4).

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, we find an increasing number of maps which show the coast more or less correctly. This is understandable. By 1539 the entire Pacific coast of Central America, from the innermost point of the Gulf of California in the north to the coast of Colombia in the south, had been explored.

THE SOUTHWEST PASSAGE

Waldseemüller’s hemisphere of 1507 (Fig. 1) only reaches to about 40° south. But his globe gores (Fig. 2) extend all the way to the South Pole, and on them South America ends at about 43°. Thus Waldseemüller assumed that the American land barrier did not reach the Antarctic. It was Magellan’s similar conviction that prompted him to look for a southwestern passage to the Pacific, that is, a passage which would take him south and west around the American continent to the coveted Spice Islands (the Moluccas), which the Portuguese had reached in 1511.

Why did Waldseemüller and Magellan believe that there was a passage south of America? From a pamphlet printed about 1506 and called Copia der Neuen Zeytung aus Presigly Land, we learn that somewhere around 40° southern latitude on the east coast of South America a Portuguese ship had rounded a cape but then had been forced back owing to adverse winds. If there is anything at all in this statement, it was probably the enormous mouth of the Rio de la Plata (35° southern latitude) which the crew had seen. While it is very likely that Magellan based his plan on some such report as this, in the case of Waldseemüller it might have been just a guess or a strange
intuition. Or perhaps it was the idea that there was one great ocean around the South Pole and that—like Africa, India, and southeastern Asia—South America, too, had somewhere to come to an end. At any rate, all Waldseemüller's many followers used his conception. And even those cosmographers who did not depend on him—such as the makers of the Lenox globe and the so-called Leonardo da Vinci globe—show South America washed in the south by a wide expanse of water.

Another school of mapmakers took over Waldseemüller's conception of the southern portion of South America but added a huge south-polar continent further to the south, separated from America by a strait. We find this idea for the first time on the Schöner globe of 1515 (Fig. 17), that is, five years before Magellan actually discovered the strait. (Nos. 11 and 14 are very similar.)

In September 1522, the few survivors of the first circumnavigation of the globe returned to Europe. Pigafetta's sketch of the Strait of Magellan became known. It was now realized that the strait was about 10° to 12° further south than had been assumed, that it was very narrow, and that Magellan had named the land south of it Tierra del Fuego. Proof of the speed with which geographic news must have spread in the first decades of the sixteenth century is Schöner's globe of 1524, which already shows the strait at almost the correct latitude (Fig. 6).

While on this globe Schöner still showed Magellan's Tierra del Fuego as part of his own imaginary southern continent which was copied by many of his followers, more detailed knowledge about Tierra del Fuego was gained by Francis Drake when in the autumn of 1578 he entered the Pacific by way of the Strait of Magellan. Unlike Magellan, he was met by heavy storms. His ship was carried southward until the coast of Tierra del Fuego, which appeared as a group of islands, came to an end. "The uttermost cape or headland of all these Ilands stands neere in 56 deg., without which there is no maine or Iland to be scene to the Southwards, but that the Atlanticke Ocean and the South Sea, meete in a most large and free scope," reads the report of the voyage. Although the first complete circumnavigation of Tierra del Fuego was only accomplished in January 1616 by the Dutch navigators Schouten and Le Maire, who named the southernmost cape Cape Hoorn after one of their ships, the idea that Tierra del Fuego was part of a southern continent was seriously impaired by Drake. The Silver Map on a medallion kept in the British Museum and cut, probably soon after 1580, in honor of Drake's voyage, shows a broad expanse of water south of Tierra del Fuego. (Recognition of Drake's discovery was also embodied in Nos. 78, 88, and 92a.)

But in general the knowledge of Drake's discovery spread very slowly. It would appear that for political reasons Queen Elizabeth had at first forbidden any account of the expedition to be published—1588 was the year of the Armada. Hence a large number of maps continued to show Tierra del Fuego as part of a southern continent. (Nos. 77, 80, 82-86, 93b, 96.)

It was only after the return of the Schouten and Le Maire expedition that the realization of Tierra del Fuego's island character became general. Since the navigators who had proved this fact were Netherlanders, the Dutch mapmakers became leading in the correct representation. The Janssonius map (1621) shows Tierra del Fuego clearly as a separate island without any connection with the southern continent.

SOUTH AMERICA'S PACIFIC COAST

Thanks to the efforts of four centuries of chroniclers and historians, we now know almost every step that was made in connection with the exploration of South America's west coast, and it seems to us as if the outline of this coast should have been clear to mapmakers ever since 1537. In 1522 the Spaniards, having established themselves in Panama, began to explore the coast further south in search of Peru, the land of gold. By 1537 the Spaniards had reached a point approximately 36° southern latitude. Magellan, on the other hand, had, after entering the Pacific, cruised northward along the coast to a point somewhere between the thirtieth and fortieth parallel—if not farther—before he struck out westward; and in 1526 Guevara sailed from Spain through the Strait of Magellan to Mexico's west coast. Yet, mainly owing to the difficulty in longitude determination, it was a long time before the simple outline of the coast found its correct reproduction on maps.

Reduced to fundamentals, the Pacific coast of South America consists of three lines and two angles, as indicated in our sketch (Fig. 5). Omitting the Gulf of Pana-
ma, one might even reduce the lines to two
by linking Arica and Pt. Paria with the
west coast of Mexico. As Fig. 1 shows,
Waldseemüller actually used only two lines.
Comparing his idea of the coast with reality,
we find him remarkably accurate in two
essential points. He placed the
spot where the coast changes its
direction, i.e., Arica, at 17° southern
latitude (in reality 18.5°),
and he believed that the angle
between the two lines was 116°
in reality 133°). Again we must
remember that Waldseemüller
drew his lines many years before
any European had traveled along
these coasts. His conception of
this coast, including his error of
underestimating its southern ex-
tension, was adopted by his many
followers.

To make Waldseemüller’s coast
 correspond to reality, four changes were
necessary:

1) The continent had to be made to
reach further south. This, as we have seen,
was done by nearly all mapmakers after the
result of Magellan’s voyage became known.

2) The Gulf of Panama had to be added.
This could be done after it had been explored
in 1513/22. Schöner (1524) already gives
the general idea. The Gulf is drawn particu-
larly well on Ribero’s map of 1529 (Fig. 4).

3) The angle at Arica had to be in-
creased. For quite some time after Wald-
seemüller, the mapmakers did too much of
a good thing. Instead of stretching the
angle from 116° to 133°, they practically
drew a straight line for the entire west
coast. On No. 12 the angle is 154°, and
No. 20 shows an angle of 180°, in other
words a straight line. Not until the last
quarter of the sixteenth century and particu-
larly in the first half of the seventeenth
century was the angle given its correct size.

4) Actually the long straight stretch of
the Pacific coast of South America between
Arica and the Strait of Magellan runs almost,
but not quite, parallel to the meridian. It
tilts very slightly to the east, forming an
angle of about 85° with the equator. Wald-
seemüller’s coast tilted in the opposite
direction. For some reason the great major-
ity of the early maps exaggerated Waldseemü-
ller’s small error by letting the coast tilt
heavily toward the west, greatly decreasing
its angle with the equator. The Lenox
globe (1508) makes the angle 42°. Leonardo
da Vinci (1519) still smaller. Thorne (1527)
gave the coast the correct tilt toward the
east, and Mercator (1538) made it parallel
with the meridian. But the tendency to-
ward the west remained. Even Belga (1603)
still has it. It was only in the
first half of the seventeenth cen-
tury that it was finally elimi-
nated.

During the sixteenth century
a peculiar development took
place in the drawing of this coast:
southern Chile developed an ugly
boil, which grew to large dimen-
sions before it disappeared again.
The reason for this is easy to see.
The west coast of South America
was charted not in one piece but
mainly from the north and partly
from the south. Owing to the
difficulties in determining longi-
tudes, the two lines did not quite fit
together (the Strait of Magellan
had been placed too far east), just as if,
in building a tunnel at the same time from
two sides, the directions were not properly
observed. To make up for the discrepancy,
the boil developed. Perhaps it was also
purposely cultivated by the Spaniards to
fool any other people who might wish to
reach Peru. Its first indications are to be
found on the maps of Thorne (1527) and
Tramezini (1554). It grew to full size in
Russelii(1561)and survived through the maps
of Mercator (1569), Ortelius (1570, Fig. 19)
and many others. (Nos. 68, 74, 77, 80, 96.)
A similar boil, but at a point further south
and directly above the Strait of Magellan,
is to be found in another group of maps.
(Nos. 88, 92a.) A relatively accurate early
presentation of the general outline of the
coast is given by Santa Cruz (1542), followed
by Nos. 81, 94, 102, and 105.

NORTHERN HORIZON

One of the most intriguing mysteries of
the Pacific map was that of the northern
passages. To understand the intensity with
which this question was fought over by
geographers, one must remember that
the aim of Columbus and his followers had been
to reach the treasures of the Orient, de-
scribed by Marco Polo in such glowing
colors. As soon as it was realized that
Columbus had hit on something that nobody
had expected, the first question was how to
get around this obstacle. The Portuguese
had discovered the southeastern passage to the Pacific around Africa and India; Magellan the southwestern passage around South America. Why should there not be northern passages, a northeastern one around the north of Europe and Asia, and a northwestern one around the north of America? The desire to find northern passages was particularly strong among the English and French, for whom they would be closer to home than the southern passages already discovered and in use by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Today we know that these northern passages actually exist, at least from the geographical point of view, but that, owing to their extreme northern location, they could have been of no practical importance for the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Yet the desire to reach the east by way of the north was so strong that the search for these passages never ceased. This search and the hopes behind it are clearly reflected in the maps of those times.

Waldseemüller assumed both a northeastern and a northwestern passage, as can be seen from his gores of 1507 (Fig., 2). His Asia ends at 62° to 70° northern latitude, his America at 57°. (Actually the northernmost point of the Asiatic continent is 77°, and of the American continent 72° northern latitude.) His many followers accepted this example in this as in so many other respects.

The cartographic fate of the northeast passage can be told briefly, although the belief in its existence goes back into antiquity when the inhabited world was thought to be an island surrounded by an ocean. Had not the wise Strabo, Emperor Augustus's contemporary, taught that in all directions where men had penetrated to the limits of the earth they had met the ocean? After Waldseemüller, almost all mapmakers drew northeast passages; among the exceptions were Schönner (1515), as well as Nos. 27, 32, 34, who extended one part or another of northern Russia or Siberia to the North Pole. They may have been influenced by Ptolemy, who did not show a northeastern passage on his map (Fig. 14). Others drew northeastern passages, but put them so far north that any attempt to navigate them must have seemed rather hopeless. One such map is that of Vespucci (1523), whose Asiatic continent reaches north beyond 80°.

The almost unanimous belief in the existence of a northeastern passage is rather strange if we consider that actually the northern shores of Asia were only explored during the years 1734 to 1823 and that for 326 years all attempts to travel from Europe to the Orient by the northern sea route around Asia came to nought until Norden­skjöld finally accomplished the feat in the years 1878/79.

**AMERASIA**

Far more intricate and interesting is the cartographic history of the *northwest passage*. But before we turn to its various champions we must deal with a group of maps which belong to what we shall call the Amerasian school.

It all started with the Schönner globe of 1524. (We cannot enter here into the discussion as to whether this globe was actually made by Schönner or not. At any rate, it represents Schönner's ideas on the subject.) Johannes Schönner, 1477-1547, was Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg, an outstanding globemaker and astronomer and one of the leading scientists of his time. His first globe, 1515, followed Waldseemüller with regard to the northern end of America. In the accompanying text he expressly stated that America was surrounded by water. But in 1524 Schönner produced a globe of a totally different conception (Fig. 6). What made him link southeastern Asia and Central America by land and thereby represent South America as an extension of Asia? This idea seems very strange to us today—
but not so to his contemporaries. It is quite likely that the majority of thinking people of that time who had heard anything at all about the discoveries during the years following upon 1492 had in their minds a conception far more similar to Schöner than to Waldseemüller. For this there were many reasons:

(1) The survivors of Magellan's expedition had returned with very faulty ideas in the matter of longitudes. One of their accounts stated that the Strait of Magellan was separated by 106° of longitude from the Philippines (in reality 160°). This calculation was accepted by Schöner, there being no other authorities on the subject at that time.

(2) Schöner had received false information about the geography of Mexico. It was wrong inasmuch as it placed Mexico's Pacific coast much too far west, about 80° west of the Strait of Magellan (in reality: 30°). Putting together these figures of the width of the Pacific and the location of the Mexican west coast, Schöner could not but arrive at the conclusion that the Philippines were only about 26° of longitude from the Mexican west coast (in reality: 130°) and that the Ladrones (Marianas) were just off this coast.

(3) The news about the great wealth which Cortes had found in Mexico caused Schöner and many others to assume that the Spaniards had reached the Asiatic countries praised by Marco Polo.

(4) There was no evidence of water north of the line Mexico/Philippines, as no European had as yet traveled there. Magellan had not been farther north than the fifteenth parallel northern latitude.

(5) Balboa had called the ocean South Sea, not West Sea. Did this not indicate that a belt of land connected the Isthmus of Panama with Asia?

(6) Columbus's own brother, Bartolomeo, on his sketch map of 1503, had brought South America into the immediate vicinity of Asia.

By piecing together all that he knew—and all that he could know—Schöner found Mexico and eastern Asia in such close proximity that he believed them to be one. Everything seemed to fit into this theory—the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, Magellan, and others, as well as the accounts of Marco Polo and Cortes. Only one thing did not tally: if Schöner's theory were correct, how could Marco Polo have sailed home from Cathay? One of Schöner's followers (No. 21) solved this question very ingeniously by drawing a canal through the land bridge between Asia and South America. But most of the mapmakers who accepted Schöner's Amerasian conception (Nos. 29, 43, 50, 55) were not worried on that score. After all, Marco Polo might have been lying. For some time Schöner's theory pushed all others into the background.

In 1542 and 1543 Spanish expeditions starting from Mexico followed the coast northward to a point about 42.30° north. They found no sign of a land bridge to Asia, but neither did they prove that there was no land bridge further north. So Gastaldo, beginning with his map of 1546, simply extended the ocean farther to the north but otherwise continued the Amerasian conception. His seam between Asia and America was now no longer on the twentieth but on the fortieth northern parallel (Fig. 7). Gastaldo's map of 1548 breaks the record in the matter of land bridges. He links America not only with Asia but—via Greenland—also with Europe. As he has no Terra Australis, his earth consists of one continent only (Fig. 8). In the Gastaldo version, Schöner's Amerasian theory was followed by many mapmakers. (Nos. 59, 63, 68, 84.) But finally the land bridge between Asia and America disappeared, disrupted by the gradual recognition of the full impact of Magellan's voyage and defeated by the continuous failure of all attempts to find the wealth of Marco Polo's China in North America.

NORTHWEST PASSAGE

It is a characteristic of most human beings that they do not like incompleteness. There is a certain horror vacui in man which makes him fill in gaps in his knowledge with his imagination. The geog-
rappers of Europe had absolutely no knowledge about the outline of the northern coast of North America; in fact, they could not have any knowledge of it, as the first voyages along that coast were not accomplished till the nineteenth century. Yet most mapmakers insisted on drawing it on their maps. Waldseemüller had done so too but, by drawing a straight line, he had at least indicated that he did not know anything about that coast. Others, however, took the figments of their imaginations for facts, and entered elaborate coast lines and bays on their maps (for example, Nos. 28 and 46).

These men as well as the followers of Waldseemüller showed nothing but water north of America. But they were soon overshadowed by another school which believed in a narrow strait leading between America and some arctic continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, similar to the strait drawn on many maps between South America and the antarctic continent. This school was under the influence of the fertile brain of Mercator. He developed the two chief variations on the theme of the northwestern strait. The first (1538) was that the land north of America was a part of Asia reaching far to the east (Fig. 9). (It was followed by Nos. 37, 49, and 51.) In his second version (1569) Mercator emancipated this northern land from Asia and made it into a separate continent which he visualized as a round continent cut like a cake into four parts by four rivers. (An earlier suggestion of such conditions within the polar circle was included in Nos. 4 and 29.) This version was taken over, the size of the polar continent varying, by Ortelius in 1570 (Fig. 19) and a long list of maps. (Nos. 70, 77, 80, 85-88, 96.)

Thus, as in the case of the northeast passage, we again find the curious fact that the majority of mapmakers believed in a northern passage although all attempts to find one by practical navigation proved nothing but an endless chain of disappointments. Ever since the continental character of America had been sensed, the pages of history were filled with the names of those who made such attempts. Some of them thought they had actually found it. There are so many islands, sounds, and bays between North America and the Pole that most voyagers returned—if they returned at all—with hopeful stories: they had almost reached the Pacific! Many books were written to prove that a northwest passage was possible. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, for example, used this argument: if there were a land bridge between Asia and America, the Tartars would have gone to America; since no Tartars were found in America, there could be no land bridge. A similar argument had been advanced by Sanuto in 1588: there are horses in Asia. But the Mexicans were afraid of Cortes's horses; hence America and Asia have no land connection.
century was overland through Canada (Alexander Mackenzie, 1793). And when in the twentieth century Amundsen (1903/06) finally succeeded in navigating north around America, this had a purely scientific and no commercial significance.

A northwest passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific presupposes not only that there is water north of America but also that there is water between America and Asia. In this respect we have so far met with two schools, that of Waldseemüller (Fig. 1) and that of Schöner-Gastaldo (Figs. 6 and 7). It was only one more step to sever the latter's land bridge completely and to replace it by a strait. This step, perhaps made already by Gastaldo himself, is to be found on the map of Zaltieri (1566, Fig. 10), which may have been copied from a lost map by Gastaldo. The Zaltieri map not only shows the strait; it even has a name for it—Strait of Anian. Much has been written about the origin of this name; most likely it was a corruption and misunderstanding of a word used by Marco Polo. For us the interesting thing is that both the strait and the name made an unusual hit with the mapmakers of an entire century. They are contained in one way or other in a large number of maps up to 1783. (Nos. 62, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72-74, 77, 80, 82, 85-88, 90, 93b-96, 98, 101, 113, 140.)

But, lest we fall into the error of believing the Strait of Anian to be an early reproduction of the Bering Strait, we must stress the fact that Zaltieri and his followers put the southern entrance of the Strait at about 40° northern latitude, while that of the Bering Strait is about 20° further to the north, and that they did not have the slightest knowledge of the long eastward extension of northeastern Asia on the one hand and the long westward extension of Alaska on the other.

The schools we have mentioned so far were gradually outdistanced by mapmakers who resisted the temptation of drawing coasts from imagination. An early representative of this group is Ribero (Fig. 4). The maps belonging to this group are not nearly as exciting as those mentioned before, and they could not satisfy the curiosity of their contemporaries. On these maps the coasts of North America were drawn not from high-flying imagination and combination but according to facts or what their makers took for facts. (Nos. 39, 41, 42, 43, 71, 79, 92a, 93a, 97, 100, 102, 105, 108, 115, 123, 125, 127, 129.)

While in the sixteenth century the Mercator school with its imaginary coast was far ahead in popularity, in the seventeenth century this second, neocentralist group conquered the field. The many disappointments in the search for a strait had dampened the ardor of the cartographers. The first step toward the solution of the northwest passage puzzle was made by the Bering voyage in 1741 from Kamchatka to Alaska, which found its scientific reproduction on the map of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1758). This map, however, was still inclined to consider the Aleutian Islands as parts of an American peninsula protruding far to the west. The second step was made by the last Cook expedition (1776/80). But the puzzle was actually only solved in the nineteenth century in the course of explorations such as those of Parry, Beechey, Franklin, and others.

THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA

Having seen how the shape of Central America emerged and how the northern mystery was treated, we now have to fill in the gap between the two. A correct reproduction of North America's Pacific coast is to be found relatively late. Well into the second half of the seventeenth century this coast is incorrectly drawn on the great majority of maps. The reason for this is simple. The tremendous expansive energy of the Spanish people had spent itself in Central and South America, the West Indies and the Philippines. Besides, there was no powerful magnet drawing the Spaniards from their bases in Mexico into North America. Early reports about the easy wealth of these areas were soon found to be completely baseless. (The discovery of California's gold riches was only made in 1848.) By the middle of the eighteenth century the Spaniards had hardly...
expanded northward beyond the areas occupied in the first rush of their discoveries, and they held no permanent settlements beyond the peninsula of Lower California. There was little knowledge about the course of the coast further to the north, and little interest in it. Only Drake had followed the coast to about 48° northern latitude. A decisive change in this attitude was wrought by the coming of the Russians to America in the wake of Bering's voyage. In 1769 the Spanish authorities were warned of the danger of Russian encroachments. Now the Spaniards took up the exploration and colonization of the coast in earnest. In 1776 San Francisco was founded. By 1780 the coast was known up to the sixtieth parallel, that is, as far as Alaska, whose coast was meanwhile being approached by the Russians who founded Sitka in 1799. Thus reliable maps based on facts, not on fancy, could not be expected before the end of the eighteenth century. How did the various mapmakers and their schools treat this coast up till then?

Waldseemüller (Fig. 1) admitted his ignorance of details by drawing an absolutely straight line running exactly from north to south, or parallel to the meridian. In reality the general direction of the coast from Sitka to Cape Corrientes in Mexico runs at an angle of 28° to the meridian. Most of Waldseemüller's followers stuck to his example. The entire Mercator school which we discussed in connection with the northwest passage drew its own fanciful west coast but, on the whole, also had the coast run along the meridian.

A school which drew an entirely different coast line took its inspiration from the Verrazano voyage. In 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano, in the service of the King of France, had sailed along the east coast of North America in search of a route to Asia. It seems that somewhere between 35° and 40° northern latitude he thought he saw an expanse of water on the other side of a narrow neck of land. This led a number of mapmakers to believe that at this point North America narrowed down to a thin isthmus and that the water on the other side was the Pacific. This is the conception on which Maiollio based his map of 1527 (Fig. 11). (Also Nos. 26, 28, 78.)

Far closer to the truth than any of the schools mentioned so far came the cautious group of mapmakers who only drew as much as they knew. This group starts with Ribero's map of 1529 (Fig. 4) and is followed by Nos. 31, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 57, 79, 92a, and 103. In this group we would also include Gastaldo for giving a rather good picture of the coast, had he not—with the possible exception of his map of 1556—spoiled his and his school's record by his adherence to the Amerasian conception.

Two mistakes crept into the maps of the cautious group. The first was the tendency to draw the west coast beyond Lower California more or less parallel to the equator. This error is found in Hondius (1630). He took it from Mercator, who had made it on his map of 1569, perhaps owing to an erroneous interpretation of the account of the Coronado expedition (1540-41) in the work of Gomara, and from Ortelius (Fig. 19). Hondius's example was followed in Nos. 105 and 113, down to 1783 in Vaugondy's map.

The second mistake pictured Lower California not as the peninsula it is but as an island. This error survived through a long list of maps. (Fig. 12 and Nos. 99-101, 108, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118, 120, 123, 124.)

Up to the end of the seventeenth century, the mapmakers of the cautious group had not dared go beyond the northern end of Lower California. In his map of 1700, Delisle carried the coast to 42° northern latitude, and in 1722 to 45°. The outlines of the complete coast, including that of Alaska, are found on the map of the St.

**Fig. 11—Vesconte de Maiollo's map of 1527 shows the Verrazano conception of North America, with its west coast turning at a sharp angle toward the northeast. South America's Pacific coast is drawn as an almost straight line. The straight running in a north-south direction through Central America was soon abandoned by mapmakers, as its nonexistence had been proved by the mariners.**
Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1758) and No. 137. Yet even the relatively enlightened eighteenth century produced a number of maps of this coast which were a relapse into mapmaking by fancy, examples being the map of Sanson (1705), which puts the south coast of Alaska 10° too far south and shows a northwest passage through Canada and an "eastern ocean" in what is today the northwestern corner of the USA; the maps Nos. 132, 135, and 138, which greatly embellished the "eastern ocean"; and the maps Nos. 134 and 139, all of the French school.

"TERRA AUSTRALIS"

Any geographical discussion concerning the Pacific coast of the American continent could only start after the discoveries of Columbus; but the cartographic history of the other shores of the Pacific goes far back into antiquity. Among geographical puzzles one of the most intriguing was that of the southern continent—the Terra Australis, a puzzle which caused cartographers as much excitement and as many headaches as the problem of the northwest passage.

The conception of a southern continent was originally based on Greek cosmographical theory. Once the Greeks had proved that the earth was a sphere and not a flat disk, they began to speculate on the existence of a continent in the southern hemisphere. Two classical geographers in particular influenced the thought of later students in this respect. Pomponius Mela (Fig. 13) represented what we might call the "wet" theory. He believed that the southern hemisphere consisted chiefly of ocean in which, surrounded by water, there was a continent; this continent had Ceylon—the Taprobane of the ancients—for its northeasternmost extremity, and at a very early stage it was called Terra Australis (southern land). Ptolemy on the other hand, the great geographer of Alexandria who worked about a century later, represented the "dry" theory, which supposed the southern hemisphere to consist largely of land. He linked southeastern Asia by land, which he called Terra Incognita, with the west coast of Central Africa, thus making the Indian Ocean a "mediterranean" sea (Fig. 14).

During the Middle Ages the Greek concept of the spherical shape of the earth and of a southern continent was rejected by the teachings of the Church. "There is no reason," St. Augustine wrote in his celebrated De Civitate Dei, "for giving credence to that fabulous hypothesis of men who walk a part of the earth opposite to our own, whose feet are in a position contrary to ours." He also emphasized that the Scriptures said nothing about antipodes and finally that there was no historical testimony as to the existence of such regions. This last statement was undoubtedly correct, as the Greeks had based their conception of a southern continent not on experience but merely on the work of their brains. Not all churchmen, however, rejected the sphericity of the earth. St. Isidore of Seville and the Irish priest Virgilius both conceded the possibility of antipodes. But while, by an irony of fate, there are today no churches in the antipodes dedicated to these two, there are some dedicated to St. Augustine, the very man who refuted their existence.

The medieval conception of the earth is shown in the round or oval maps which represented it as a disk, curious mixtures of Bible interpretations, Arab influence, and geographical features taken from the ancients. In the latter part of the Middle Ages they became more realistic. The maps of Marino Sanuto and Petrus Vesconte in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (Fig. 15) are among the best of their time and were frequently copied and gradually improved upon. These maps follow Mela's "wet" theory, with an ocean around the inhabited world, but without his southern continent. On the other hand, Ptolemy's maps came into vogue again and were often reproduced. His Geographia, showing the Terra Incognita in the south,
became practically a best-seller and had a total of forty-eight editions all over Europe between the years 1472 and 1624. A combination of both types was the map (of uncertain date) of the codex in the Venice Library which, although a disk, showed Ptolemy's southern land bridge.

Marco Polo's account of his travels gave a new impetus to the supporters of the southern land theory. In describing the countries between China and India, Marco Polo spoke of Chamba (Cochin China) and Java the Great (Java). He then described a number of other places, giving the distances to them. While we know now that he measured the distances to these places from Chamba, he was for a long time misunderstood by his learned readers, who believed the distances to be measured from Java. This misunderstanding led to the belief that, 1,200 miles to the south of Java, there was a great and rich country called Locach (later corrupted into Beach) where brazilwood grew and gold was to be found, and still further south the island of Java the Less. This interpretation took the geographers to some fabulous countries far into the southern hemisphere, while in reality Marco was only speaking about Siam (Locach) and Sumatra (Java the Less). The great voyages of discovery which carried the Portuguese around Africa to the Indian Ocean shattered Ptolemy's "dry" theory, proving that the Indian Ocean was not a landlocked sea and finding no trace of the southern continent. Yet the Terra Incognita remained on many maps, only moving further to the south.

Behaim's globe of 1492 (Fig. 16) was an effort to reconcile Ptolemy's teachings with the newly acquired knowledge. Behaim broke up the central part of the Terra Incognita, replacing it by some islands but still leaving its western and eastern portions which reached out from southern Africa and southeastern Asia like two arms stretched toward each other.

An entirely new development began with Schöner's globe of 1515 (Fig. 17). In dealing with the southwest passage, we have already seen how he came to draw a southern continent on it. His continent enclosed an antarctic sea like a huge, not quite closed ring with its opening south of Java, and was called by Schöner Brasiliae Regio, the land of brazilwood. In his map of 1520 he further developed his theory with some minor changes, and on the map of 1524 (Fig. 6) he inscribed on the continent the words "the southern land recently discovered but not yet fully known." From now on the southern continent became a standard feature. With the exception of Waldseemüller and his school and some other maps (Nos. 35 and 48), most mapmakers agreed on the existence of a Terra Australis, differing only with regard to its size and shape. If there were no southern continent, they argued, the northern hemisphere with its vast land masses would be heavier than the southern one and the world would turn upside down. As Asia, Europe, and Africa are for the most part to the north of the equator, there must be a continent south of the equator so large that with the southern parts of Africa and America it would form a weight equal to that of the northern countries.

From Schöner's map of 1515 onward, the southern continent grew lustily till about 1640. During this period it passed through two stages. The first was initiated by
The Face of the Pacific

Flo. 17—This reproduction of part of Johannes Schöner's globe of 1515 shows that he drew a strait to the south of South America, although not far enough to the south, four years before Magellan discovered the strait which bears his name. Schöner's southern continent enclosed the South Pole like a wide ring of land open toward the southwestern Pacific

Flo. 18—On Finaeus's map of 1531 the Terra Australis has grown to respectable proportions. We have simplified the projection used on the original map.

Finaeus in 1531 (Fig. 18, followed by Nos. 33, 34, 43, 46, 49, 50, and 55). These maps retained Ptolemy's southern continent whose existence no one had disproved, although Da Gama had broken a hole in its southwestern and Magellan in its southeastern corner. In fact, Magellan's voyage seemed to have furnished additional confirmation of a Terra Australis, for had not Magellan seen land on his left when passing round the southern tip of America? It is also quite possible that the Portuguese, while trading in Indonesia, had heard of some large country to the south. On the maps of the Finaeus group the Pacific coast of the Terra Australis followed approximately the thirtieth southern parallel, but southeast of Java it had a deep gulf, where the break had been in the ring-like southern continent of Schöner (1515, Fig. 17). Of the two bulges created by the gulf, the western one was now called Brasilie Regio and the eastern one Regio Patalis. This latter name derived from the name of a town, Patala, near the mouth of the Indus, about the southeasternmost point reached by Alexander the Great. Standing as it then did at the edge of the known world, Regio Patalis came to mean since Pliny as much as "the furthest," thus later being applied to part of the southern continent. By now the mapmakers had convinced themselves so thoroughly of the existence of the Terra Australis that Mercator wrote on his map of 1538: "That there are lands here, is certain, but how many and in which limits, is uncertain."

The originator of the second stage in the growth of the southern continent and the outstanding representative of the largest type of Terra Australis was Mercator, with his map of 1569. It was taken over by very many maps, among them Ortelius's of 1570 (Fig. 19) as well as Nos. 70, 74, 77, 82-88, 90, 93b, 94, 96-98, and 105.

Mercator and Ortelius (whose map we reproduce as it is more clearly drawn) depicted practically everything as Terra Australis which was not proved to be water; but by omitting names and details of outline they admitted that they did not know much about this continent. They left a neck of water between Terra Australis and New Guinea, which latter had been visited by the
Portuguese in 1526 as "Papua Island" and renamed *Nova Guinea* two decades later. On the whole, the insular theory of New Guinea prevailed, but some maps (such as Nos. 84-87) made New Guinea part of the *Terra Australis*, while Plancius (1592), to be on the safe side, showed New Guinea as an island on the western end of his world map, and part of the *Terra Australis* on the eastern end. The first to sail through the strait between Australia and New Guinea was Torres in 1606. It was during the same expedition that Quiros gave to the New Hebrides—which he had discovered and which he believed to be part of the long-looked-for southern continent—the name *Australia del Espiritu Santo* (*Australia of the Holy Spirit*) in honor of King Philip III of Spain, who was also Archduke of Austria. The present name of Australia, which is a combination of *Australia* and *Terra Australis*, was suggested by the explorer Flinders early in the nineteenth century.

If we look at the outline which Mercator and Ortelius gave to the Pacific coast of the *Terra Australis* we find it (as a comparison of Figs. 19 and 20 shows) in some ways surprisingly similar to the shape of North Australia as we know it today. No wonder that down to our days there has been much speculation as to whether mapmakers such as Schöner, Finaeus, and Mercator did not have some actual knowledge of Australia; whether, in other words, Australia was not discovered much earlier than has generally been assumed. But a closer examination reveals that in Mercator's coast line we do not find traces of Australia but only of the wrongly interpreted Marco Polo. Mercator calls the island in the gulf Java the Less (Sumatra); the peninsula west of it is labeled "Beach, Ouriferous Province" (the

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**Fig. 19**—On the map of Abraham Ortelius of 1570 the *Terra Australis* has attained its largest size. Part of its coast facing the Pacific resembles the coasts of Australia. To South America Ortelius gave a big island in southern Chile. Japan is at approximately the right place, but its shape is still quite wrong.

**Fig. 20**—Outline sketch of Australia and Tasmania. The heavily drawn parts of Australia's and Tasmania's coasts were discovered by Dutch explorers between 1605 and 1644; the rest much later by the English.

Locach=Siam of Marco, a term which survived down to Visscher's map (1639).

There is one small group of cartographers that does not fit into the Schöner-Finaeus-Mercator tradition. They drew a very small continent around the South Pole, only a few degrees in size. (Nos. 12, 37, 52.)

Finally, there was, prior to the actual discovery of Australia, a third group which confined itself strictly to depicting known lands, straits, etc., and refused to commit itself as to the existence of a southern continent. (Nos. 20, 25, 42, 45, 58, 68, 92a, 93a, 103, 106.) Similar to this group is that composed of maps which assumed a southern continent but sketched its outline very cautiously and only in part or in straight lines. (Nos. 21, 54, 71.)

The idea of the *Terra Australis* was not just the pastime of cosmographers and mapmakers. It also led to many expeditions which ventured forth during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in search of that continent. Mendoza, Drake, Quiros, Le Maire, Van Diemen, Roggeveen, Bouvet, Wallis— they all set out to look for the *Terra Australis*. What they found was at first a great number of islands and, later, Australia and New Zealand too—that is, regions which differ greatly from the old conception of the *Terra Australis*.

The actual discovery of Australia took place in two phases. Between 1605 and 1644 the Dutch discovered the entire north and west coasts and the western half of the south coast (Fig. 20) of what they were later to call New Holland, as well as some parts of Tasmania and New Zealand. The
first Dutch discoveries did not essentially contradict the Terra Australis conception; it was not blasted until in 1642 Tasman traveled in a wide circle around "New Holland," thus proving it to be a continent and not linked to a Terra Australis. Among the earliest to give an idea of Australia were the cautiously drawn map of Colom (about 1642) as well as Nos. 110, 115, 117. An attempt to reconstruct the east coast was made by Callander (1766,68), just prior to Cook's voyage. But it turned out to be at fault. The correct reproduction did not come till after the second phase of Australia's discovery (1769/70), when Cook explored New Zealand and Australia's east coast, leaving only the remainder of the south coast to later explorers.

Yet the belief in the great southern continent survived even after Tasman's and Cook's voyages. "To put an end to all diversity of opinion about a matter so curious and important" as the Terra Australis was the main object of Cook's second voyage (1772/74). After stopping at New Zealand, Cook sailed as far south as he could. He made a complete circle around the southern hemisphere at about 55° to 65° southern latitude and thereby sailed through regions where the Terra Australis was formerly believed to be and where he found nothing but water, a few barren islands, and antarctic ice. Only after the results of this voyage became known did the alluring Terra Australis disappear for good from maps.

SOUTHEASTERN ASIA AND INDONESIA

We have seen that by the time of Behaim (Fig. 16) two arms reaching out from Africa and southeastern Asia and a number of islands were left of Ptolemy's Terra Incognita. We are only interested here in the arm of southeastern Asia, which resembles an elephant's trunk, and in the islands to the east and southeast of it. As to their knowledge of these islands, the cartographers depended principally on Marco Polo's words and on their own imagination. So they drew islands in any shape that suggested itself to them and labeled them with names from Marco Polo such as Java the Greater (for either Borneo or Java), Java the Less (Sumatra), Pentam (Bintang), Malauir (Malaya), Neceuveran (Nicobars), Anguana (Andamans), Seilan (Ceylon). To the north they drew some of the 7,459 islands of which Marco Polo had spoken.

Behaim's conception was adopted by Waldseemuller. His gores (Fig. 2) show the same elephant's trunk and large islands. The Behaim-Waldseemuller conception was later copied with minor changes on a large number of maps. (Nos. 4-6, 8-10, 13-16, 23, 24, 27, 30, 40.)

One school branched off with the Schoner globe of 1524—the Amerasian school. With it the elephant's trunk disappeared, since southeastern Asia was linked to Central and South America. The Mar del Zur was believed to be identical with Ptolemy's Magnus Sinus (Fig. 14). Schoner drew this globe when the first results of the Portuguese voyages to Indonesia and of Magellan's voyage had become known. Thanks to Schoner's quick work, we find on his map names such as those of the Moluccas, Gilolo, Timor, Brunei (Borneo), some of the Philippine Islands, and the Ladrones (Mariñas), the latter too far to the south.

Another school branched off with Thorne's map (1527); it dissolved a large part of the elephant's trunk into a number of large islands. (Nos. 37, 51, 52.)

And, of course, there was again the group of independent mapmakers who only included that for which there was some basis. To it belong Maiollo (1527), one of the first to show the Philippines; Ribero (1529), who drew Sumatra, the north coast of Java, the Malay Peninsula, and some of the Molucca and Philippine Islands; Cabot (1544), who put the Ladrones in the right place and gave many of them their correct names; Gastaldo (1561), with many details in the Banda Sea; Berteli (1565), with a large number of island names. From then on Indonesia and southeastern Asia were drawn more or less correctly. Island by island, the picture of this maze of islands was pieced together. On Mercator (1569) we find New Guinea, on Ortelius (1589) the Solomons (discovered in 1567). Particularly good is the map of Linschoten (1599), his chief error being that he put the Ladrones too far to the south.

THE PACIFIC COAST OF ASIA

Ptolemy left the question open as to what lay beyond China (Fig. 14). There was land where his map ended. Mela, on the other hand, drew an east coast for Asia which ran approximately from north to south as a prolongation of the east coast of India (Fig. 13). The medieval disk map followed his example except for adding the
Malay Peninsula—and Paradise (on the eastern rim of the earth). Behaim’s coast (Fig. 16) ran due north along the shores of Champa (Cochin China). At about 22° northern latitude, it turned east at a right angle, which is not bad (Haiphong is actually on 21°). After running eastward for about 30° longitude (in reality it is only 15°), it turns northwest.

While so far the job is quite a good one, the drawing now becomes totally wrong, and it is with the portion from here to the East Cape that we shall be concerned. Behaim’s coast runs at an angle of about 65° to the equator up to 66° northern latitude and then turns west. In other words, his coast line runs from about Amoy to Turukhansk on the Lower Yenisei, and all the huge land masses to the east of this line, including large parts of North China and Siberia, are not to be found on his globe. This conception was adopted by Waldseemüller and followed by his entire school.

While Behaim and Waldseemüller had drawn the coast incorrectly in a northwestern instead of in a northeastern direction, another group came nearer to the truth by drawing the coast straight from south to north. (Nos. 16, 17, 26, 28, 34.)

The group which at a very early stage gave the coast its almost correct shape did this, curiously enough, by way of an error. The first to fall for it was Contarini (1506, Fig. 21). He extended northeastern Asia so far to the east that it reached the immediate vicinity of Scandinavia. We find his conception, although with some alteration, on a number of maps. (Nos. 4, 37, 52.)

Since this essay is concerned with the evolution of the Occidental map of the Pacific, we shall not deal here with cartography of purely Oriental origin. The Yellow Sea is found on Mercator (1569, and No. 64), although a little too far to the north; the peninsula of Korea on Plancius (1594 and Nos. 92a and 97), although too narrow and in a wrong direction. Many maps between 1595 and 1660 made Korea an island. (Nos. 89, 91, 93a, 112, 114.) There is a certain parallelism in the cartographic history of Korea and California. Both were generally represented correctly as peninsulas in the sixteenth and wrongs as islands in the seventeenth century. Sakhalin (Karafuto), the Sea of Okhotsk, and Kamchatka are on Halley (1700); the Manchu Empire up to the Amur River in the Jesuit Atlas (1717); the Gulf of Anadyr on Strahlenberg (1730); the Kuril Islands on Laurent (about 1750); and the northeasternmost extremity of Asia on Delisle (1731) and Kyrilov (1734).

NIPPON

Marco Polo acquainted the west with the existence of the island empire of “Zipangu,” which he had not visited himself but about which he had heard that it was an island of gold and pearls, lying toward the east in the high seas, 1,500 miles distant from the continent. In his work on the cartography of Japan, Count Teleki points out that Marco Polo was right if one understands his “1,500 miles” as 1,500 Chinese li and counts them from Quinsai (Hangchow), where Kublai Khan’s forces had gathered against Japan. (The southern end of Kyusu is almost exactly due east from Hangchow.) But whatever Marco Polo may have had in mind when he made his statement—it was misunderstood. As a rule, we do not find Japan on the medieval disk maps as they were limited in space, although Fra Mauro (1459) managed to squeeze it in, barely off the coast. Its real appearance on a western map was made by Japan on the famous map of Toscanelli (1474) and on Behaim’s globe. Both had understood Marco Polo to say that one large island was located 1,500 miles east of the China coast; hence they gave this island the shape of a large rectangle running from north to south between about 5° and 28° northern latitude. For about half a century almost all map-makers followed the Toscanelli-Behaim conception in one way or another. Contarini (1506) placed the island closer to America

FIG. 21—Giovanni M. Contarini (1506) gave northeastern Asia an extent which brought it close to Scandinavia. Of America he showed only part of South America’s northeastern coast. Cuba and Japan (Zipangu) are close together. The inscription on the coast of South China is a translation of the inscription on the original. It shows that Contarini believed Columbus actually to have reached the Orient.

As actual knowledge of the coast increased, its correct features gradually extended northward on the maps of the leading geographers.

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As actual knowledge of the coast increased, its correct features gradually extended north-
than to Asia. So did Waldseemüller and his school. Ruysch (1508) even merged Japan and Haiti (known as Española in those days) into one. His example was of great influence, and on many maps Japan as such disappeared in favor of Haiti. The American school went its own way again and omitted Japan, as did some mapmakers who did not belong to the American school (e.g., Nos. 22, 37), most of them being those who drew northeastern Asia and northwestern America so close together that no space was left for Japan.

A new situation arose with the voyage of Magellan, who had sailed across the Pacific without hitting anywhere upon Zipangu and who, instead, had found the island groups of the Ladrones (Marianas) and the Philippines. When, in 1542, the first Portuguese landed in Japan, the identity of the Japan which they found with the Zipangu of Marco Polo was soon realized. Cabot (1544) pushed Japan further to the north and closer to Asia (between the Ladrones and China) and gave the island a northwestern trend instead of drawing it parallel to the meridian. Descellers (1546) put the island still closer to the China coast but continued to give it the general outline indicated by Toscanelli. The first to give Japan approximately its right location on the map was Homem (1558). But it did not stay there, and on some maps moved again to halfway between Asia and America. (No. 86.) Mercator (1569) gave Japan both the correct location and direction but still adhered to the old idea of a single island. Ortelius on his map Asiae Nova Descriptio (1570), and Dourado (1581), broke up Japan into several islands in which, with some imagination, one can recognize the three main islands of Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku. Ortelius's special map of Japan (1595) is remarkably correct as far as the three main islands are concerned, except for underestimating the northward extension of Honshu (Fig. 22).

The northernmost of the great Japanese islands, Hokkaido (or Yezo, as it was then called) had one of the most curious fates in cartographic history and led to a terrific confusion in the minds of the mapmakers. The first report about this island was sent to Europe by a Jesuit in 1566. Later on it was linked with baseless rumors of islands rich in gold and silver near Japan, and Ortelius (1589, Fig. 3), showed the Isla de Plata, the "silver island," north of Japan. (Nos. 104 and 106 left it there but called it Yezo.) Spanish and Dutch expeditions were sent out to find the wonderful islands. In the foggy north Pacific it was very difficult to follow coast lines and establish correct positions. So Yezo started out on its long wanderings. Graaf (about 1650) made it a huge piece of land and probably a part of America; Witsen (1692) part of the Asiatic mainland; Sanson (about 1705) part of an arctic continent; Strahlenberg (1730) and Bellin (1735) part of Kamchatka, and some mapmakers even put one Yezo in Asia and one in America. After these voyages all around the northern Pacific, Yezo finally returned to its more or less correct location—but not yet its correct shape—on Delisle (1731) and Kyriolov (1734). Bering's voyages cleared up the matter and also reduced some other fancies such as Gama Land, State Land, and Compagnies Land, which turned out to be small islands in the Kuril chain. The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences map of 1758 gives what is on the whole a correct picture of the northwest Pacific.

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

We have dealt in this article with the evolution of the main features of the Pacific map, omitting to trace the appearance of the countless islands and island groups. Most of them became known relatively late, as the early navigators happened to choose courses which allowed them to see only very few of the thousands of islands. Of those that were discovered, many did not find their way onto maps for a long time, among them the Carolines (later Marshall Islands), which had been discovered in 1526. In his Periplus, Nordskjold explains the reasons:

That such islands, discovered as they were by chance, were never definitely entered on maps or
charts, was owing to the uncertainty which there was, even in the eighteenth century, in deciding the geographical co-ordinates of an island lying out of sight of any known land. It was therefore almost impossible when making the definite maps, or what was called the "Padrón general" of the map of the world, to register such isolated observations. After having placed those islands discovered by chance sometimes in one spot sometimes in another, so as to make the last sailing reports agree with the statements of previous mariners, the difficulty was finally solved by excluding from the map almost all the newly discovered islands that were far out in the Pacific. The chart of this ocean therefore became almost as blank and devoid of names as the map of the interior of Africa at the commencement of the nineteenth century.

Many Pacific islands were rediscovered and named in the second half of the eighteenth century, during the voyages of exploration made by Byron, Carteret, Wallis, Bougainville, and Cook. After Captain Cook's three great voyages (1768/80) there were no major white spots left on the Pacific map; and when, on January 18, 1778, Cook sighted the Hawaiian Islands, all features of the Pacific, with a few minor exceptions, had become known.

THE MEN BEHIND THE MAPS

At the end of this article we give a list of some maps and globes which are of particular interest from the point of view of Pacific cartography. The reader who lets his eyes wander over those columns will find names of many nationalities represented. Until 1506, with a few notable exceptions such as Martin Behaim, men from Italy and from the Iberian Peninsula were leading in the field of mapmaking. In 1507, with the appearance of Waldseemüller's work, the center of gravity shifted north of the Alps. Against relatively few names of cosmographers in southern Europe stands the long list of outstanding cartographers in the north, at first chiefly in Germany. Waldseemüller in Freiburg and St. Dié, Schöner in Nuremberg, Apianus—father and son—in Ingolstadt, Frisius in Strassburg, Münster in Heidelberg and Basel, Gryneus in Basel, the Frenchman Finaeus in Paris, and many others: these became the authorities on geography. While the explorers of southern Europe bravely went out into the world in their frail ships, gathering material and drawing crude section maps of their discoveries, the scientists in the north collected all this information and pondered over it in their learned studies. They were not satisfied with registering a discovery here or there: they tried to combine them into new conceptions of the world as a whole. As men who were not involved in the rivalries of Spain and Portugal, they had no call to keep their ideas secret. With their primitive printing establishments they produced maps and globes of our earth which influenced the thinking of many generations and in turn inspired the explorers to new adventures. Not all of their thinking brought these cosmographers closer to reality—we have only to remember Schöner's American conception. Yet their maps were momentous landmarks in the evolution of the Pacific map, results of great erudition and bold—sometimes too bold—reasoning.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the center of gravity in cartography once more seemed to shift southward, in the days when Agnese and Gastaldo labored in Venice and the Homem family in Lisbon. But after 1570 it stayed for good in the north. By now two nations from northern Europe, the English and the Dutch, were also venturing out on the high seas; and while the English produced relatively little in the way of mapmaking, the Netherlands became its new center. The Dutch and the Flemish obtained their scientific inspiration from southern Germany. Mercator was a pupil of Apianus, and the Ortelius (Ortel) family came from Augsburg. But the Netherlands did something entirely new—they turned mapmaking into business on a big scale. In 1570 Ortelius published in Antwerp the first atlas with seventy maps, outdistancing anything done before in this field. The demand for this epochal work, which broke Ptolemy's hold for good, was so great that in forty-two years it went into at least forty-one editions in seven languages. As new material accumulated, so-called Additamentum IV included, for example, the Pacific map of 1589, Fig. 3.) In 1595 a similar work with a hundred and seven maps was issued by Mercator, father and son, who for the first time employed the name "atlas" after a mythological figure of the Greeks. A whole dynasty of mapmakers evolved. To it belong Jodocus Hondius (brother-in-law of Mercator Jr.); his two sons; one grandson; and one son-in-law, Jan Jansson; with the latter's two sons-in-law. Closely linked with it—sometimes in friendship and sometimes in competition—were W. J. Blaeu with his sons and grandson as well as De Wit and Visscher. But nothing lasts forever. By their very ef-
Sciency the Dutch cartographers eventually chocked their market, and people were ready for something new. The center of mapmaking shifted to France, at that time at the height of her European career. The three brothers Delisle had much to do with this shift as well as Sanson with his grandson Vaugondy, D'Anville, and the two Buaches.

Finally, to use the words of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Germany since the middle of the 19th century has become the headquarters of scientific cartography."

Apart from the nations mentioned, representatives of various other countries participated in the work of cartography, for example, Russians and Scandinavians with regard to the northern Pacific. And while some nations have been leading, we can readily say that the evolution of the Pacific map from nonexistence in the fifteenth century to near perfection by the end of the eighteenth century, has been the fruit of the collective efforts of the whole of Europe in the field of exploration and thought.

### Landmarks in the History of the Pacific Map

List of some maps or globes, 1507-1783, which are of particular interest in the study of the history of the Pacific map. The real names of those mapmakers who have become known under the latinized version of their names are added in parenthesis. No account has been taken of the many controversies regarding dates and makers' names of many of these maps, the most generally accepted dates and names being given. "w.m." stands for world map, "hem." for hemisphere, "rect." for rectangular.
Radio and Madness

Dr. O. E. Pfister, a Swiss psychiatrist, has been studying the effect of radio broadcasts on the insane. Paranoiac schizophrenes, he has found, are attracted by the incorporeal, invisible transmission of voices by the radio; they often use expressions taken from the radio: they speak of “built-in microphones” which transmit their thoughts, of “radio thought interference,” “loudspeakers in the head,” etc. Broadcasting studios frequently receive letters demanding high indemnities for neglected insults or persecution. Even physical damage is sometimes ascribed to the radio. Then there are the paranoiac prophets and world saviors, who seem to have a special predilection for the radio. They all want to use the microphone to proclaim their more or less religious prophecies and plans for improving the world. Another type of—usually female—paranoiac keeps on writing to the studios about the marriage proposals or love declarations made to them over the radio by speakers or singers.

Many of the letters received by the studios reveal serious mental deficiencies in persons living outside of asylums. It appears that these insane reveal their hallucinations to the radio before the people of their surroundings have become aware of them. Dr. Pfister suggests that psychiatrists, when examining patients, ask them what they think of the radio, since an informal conversation on this subject may easily uncover paranoiac symptoms in the patient.

Man at Work

In a Chicago court Robert M. Hoffman Jr. said his business partner had operated branch offices in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco chiefly in the hope of finding a pretty stenographer to marry.

Ticklish

In Frankfort, Ky., a divorce was awarded to Charles R. Barnett, who charged that his wife had refused to kiss him because his mustache tickled.

Gratitude

In Cedar Grove, N.J., Private Dominic Donadio gave his newborn son a middle name: Furlough.
WHEN THE ANTS CAME

By CARL STEPHENSON

This unusual story from the wilds of Brazil, written by a Viennese author in 1937, gives a powerful picture of the struggle between the few and the many. Although it has already appeared in America in an English translation, we are presenting it in this new and condensed translation in our magazine as one of the best German short stories of the last few years.—K.M.

"If the brutes keep on their present course, and there is no reason why they shouldn't, they'll be all over your plantation by the day after tomorrow at the very latest."

Leiningen sucked placidly at a cigar about the size of a corn cob; he gazed at the agitated District Commissioner for several seconds. At last he took the cob out of his mouth. With his bristly gray hair, his bulky nose, the untouched and untouchable look of his light eyes, he resembled a scrappy old eagle. "Nice of you to come all the way up here just to warn me. But you don't seriously mean that I should run away from the ants?"

The Brazilian Commissioner threw up his long arms and clawed the air with wildly distended fingers. "My God! Leiningen! I guess you don't know these devils! They're not animals which one can fight—they are an 'act of God!' Ten miles long, two miles wide—ants, nothing but ants! They'll eat a full-grown buffalo down to the bone before you can spit three times."

The German grinned. "I know them well enough. 'Act of God!' When I began this model farm three years ago, I took everything into account that could possibly happen. I'm ready for anything—even your ants."

The Brazilian rose heavily. "Your obstinacy endangers not only yourself, but the lives of your four hundred workers. I wish you luck, but I don't believe you'll have any. You don't know these ants."

Leiningen accompanied him down to the river, where the Government steamer was moored.

The reported enemy was by no means unfamiliar to the planter. Before he started work on his settlement, he had lived long enough in the country to see for himself the fearful campaigns of devastation wrought by these ravenous insects. But he had planned his measures of defense accordingly. So far he had successfully warded off all such "acts of God" as drought, flood, plague—unlike his fellow-settlers in the district, who had made little or no resistance. His motto was: The human brain is stronger than the elements; it need only become fully aware of its powers.

That same evening, Leiningen assembled his workers. He did not want to wait till the news of the threatening invasion reached their ears from other sources. Most of them were natives of that district; the cry "The ants are coming!" was identical to them with instant, headlong flight, a race for one's bare life. But so great was the Indians' trust in Leiningen, in Leiningen's word, and in Leiningen's wisdom, that they received his curt tidings and his orders for the imminent struggle with the same calm with which they were given; unafraid and alert, as if they had been promised a new kind of game, a new competition or hunt. The ants were indeed mighty, but not so mighty as the boss. Let them come!

They came at noon two days later. Their approach was announced by the wild unrest of the horses, which must have scented from afar the exhalation of danger and which were scarcely controllable in stables or under their riders. It was announced by a stampede of animals: jaguars and pumas flashing by, nimble stags of the pampas and bulky tapirs, no longer hunters but themselves hunted; maddened herds of cattle thundering along with heads lowered, nostrils snorting; small monkeys chattering in a dementia of terror. They were followed by the creeping and jumping
denizens of bush and steppe, big and little rodents, snakes, and lizards. Pell-mell the rabble swarmed down the hill to the plantation, scattering right and left before the barrier of the water-filled ditch and hurrying on toward the river where, again balked, they fled along its bank.

This ditch was one of the defense measures which Leiningen had long since prepared against the advent of the ants. Twelve feet across, the ditch encompassed the plantation, starting at the river which bordered it to the north and debouching into it again below the plantation near Leiningen's house. Leiningen had constructed a dam by which water from the river could be diverted into the ditch. The water had been let in, so that now an imposing girdle of water, a huge quadrilateral with the river as its base, completely surrounded the settlement. Unless the ants were clever enough to build rafts, they would hardly be able to reach the plantation.

The women and children and the herds of cattle were taken to the other side of the river. Finally Leiningen made a careful inspection of the "inner moat," a smaller ditch lined with concrete which extended around the hill on which stood the ranch house, barns, and stables. Into this concrete ditch led the inflow pipes from three great kerosene tanks.

Leiningen stationed his men at irregular intervals along the water ditch, the first line of defense. Then he lay down in his hammock, puffing drowsily at his cigar and waiting for developments. When a messenger came with a report that the ants had been sighted coming from the south, he mounted his horse, which at the feel of its master seemed to forget its uneasiness, and rode leisurely in the direction of the threatening offensive. The southern ditch, the upper side of the quadrilateral, was a little over two miles long. This was the scene of the first act of the war between Leiningen's brain and twenty square miles of life-destroying ants.

It was a sight one could never forget when a black fringe covered the tops of the green hills along the southern ditch. The nearer the mass approached—and it approached at an uncanny speed—the more clearly could one see the high green grass of the rich pastureland toppling and disappearing as if it were being mown by an invisible giant sickle.

Even Leiningen, who had ridden up just in time to restore his men's loss of heart by a display of unshakeable calm, could not quite conquer a disagreeable feeling: yonder were a few billions of voracious jaws bearing down upon him, and only a narrow ditch—which all of a sudden seemed very inadequate—lay between him and his men being gnawed to the bone, "before he could spit three times."

One could not help but admire the orderly formation in which the hostile army was approaching. No human battalions, however well drilled, could ever hope to rival the precision of that advance. The foremost front reached the obstacle of the ditch almost simultaneously in one straight line. As soon as the ants had informed themselves of the nature of this obstacle from the reports of scouts—which took place very quickly—the army divided up. The two wings marched toward the side ditches. This outflanking maneuver took more than an hour to accomplish; no doubt the ants expected to find a means of crossing at some point. During this time the enemy on the central, the southern front remained perfectly still. The besieged were almost able to contemplate at their leisure the thumb-long, reddish-black, long-legged insects; they clearly saw the coldly shining eyes intent upon them and the razor-edged mandibles of this host of infinity—or at least they thought they saw them. Now both Leiningen's brain and the more primitive brains of the Indians and the mestizos sensed that inside every single one of that deluge of insects dwelt a thought. And that thought was: Ditch or no ditch, we'll get your flesh yet!

It was four o'clock in the afternoon before the hostile wings reached the ends of the ditch and thus the river. By some kind of mysterious telegraphy, the report must have spread very swiftly along the entire enemy line. Would the lack of any possibility of crossing cause the ants to abandon the plantation and to turn toward spoils more easily attainable? If the planter had nurtured any such hope, he was soon to be disillusioned. Attracted by the screams of some of the sentries to the central part of the southern ditch, he saw a flood of ants, about a hundred yards in width, pouring in an immense glistening black cataract down the slope of the ditch and mingling with the dirty water. Soon many thousands were drowning in the sluggish flow, but they were followed by troop after troop who clambered
over their sinking comrades and then them­selves served as bridges for others following behind them.

Near Leiningen a few mounted herdsmen awaited his orders. He sent one of them to the upper weir of the river: the river was to be dammed more strongly to increase the speed and power of the water flowing through the ditch. A second peon was dispatched to fetch spades and kerosene sprinklers.

The ants were approaching across the water more quickly than Leiningen had deemed possible. Impelled by the mighty cascade behind them, they came closer and closer to the threatened inner bank. Every creature that drifted off or sank was replaced by dozens of others. Leiningen had to admit to himself that it was a stroke of luck that the ants were attempting the crossing on a comparatively short front. Had they assaulted simultaneously along the entire length of the ditch, the outlook for the defenders would have been black indeed. Even as it was, it could hardly be described as rosy. But the nearer the danger approached, the less did the German seem to be aware that death in a gruesome form was drawing closer. The shadow of threatening annihilation paled before the fact that the war between his brain and the "act of God" was reaching its climax. Such, indeed, was the suggestive power of his reckless confidence that the Indians forgot their instinctive fear.

The kerosene sprinklers arrived, sprinklers hitherto used to destroy pests and blights and which were now filled with kerosene. Streams of the evil-smelling oil poured out over the enemy.

The ants responded to these defensive measures by increasing the vigor of their offensive. Whole clumps of crawling insects began to roll down the opposite bank; at the same time Leiningen noticed that the front of attack was widening visibly. As the numbers both of his men and of his sprinklers were limited, this constant extension of the line of battle represented a particular danger. Here and there dark ribbons were already mounting the inner bank. The file of defenders was too sparse in comparison to the close ranks of the opponent. Though his men toiled like madmen, the situation was becoming more and more perilous.

One of the herdsmen struck with his spade at an enemy clump. He did not draw it back quickly enough from the water—in a trice the wooden shaft swarmed with insects scurrying upwards. With a curse the man flung the spade into the ditch. Too late—some of the ants had already reached his body. They lost no time; wherever they encountered bare flesh they bit deeply and locked their devilish jaws. A few of them, bigger than the others, carried in their hindquarters a sting which injected a burning and paralyzing venom into their victim. Screaming, frantic with pain, the peon danced and twirled like a dervish. Leiningen's voice out­yelled the screaming of the bitten man. "Into the kerosene, you fool!" he roared. "Off with your shirt! Dip your paws in the kerosene!" His words were obeyed. But even then the fierce mandibles did not let go; another peon had to help the victim squash and detach each separate insect.

Leiningen surveyed his position. A dispassionate observer might have estimated the odds against him at a thousand to one. But then such an onlooker would have reckoned only with the capabilities of several billion ants and not with those inherent in a man's brain. Leiningen had not erred when he had decided to avail himself of the elements: the water in the ditch was beginning to rise. The speed and power of the flowing water increased, swirling into quicker and quicker movement the living black carpet, carrying away parts of it along the hastening current.

The ants on the opposite bank ceased their cataract as if they had become aware of the impossibility of attaining their aim in this way. They withdrew to the upper edge of the ditch. All the troops so far hurled into the water had sacrificed themselves in vain. Countless drowned or drowning insects drifted along with the current. The news ran swiftly along the entire chain of sentries. The men boisterously celebrated their triumph—as if there were no longer billions of merciless cold and hungry eyes watching them from the opposite bank, watching and waiting.

The sun sank behind the forest, and twilight fell. It was not only hoped but expected that the ants would remain quiet until dawn. Moreover, the current in the ditch had become so fast that it was bound to frustrate any attempted crossing. Leiningen ordered his men to camp along the bank overnight; two of his motorcars were to patrol until morning along the ditch and illuminate the surface of the water with
their headlamps. Having thus taken all necessary and possible precautions the planter ate his supper with considerable appetite and went to bed. His slumbers were in no wise disturbed by the memory of the waiting twenty square miles.

MORNING came and found a thoroughly refreshed and active Leiningen riding along the ditch. The planter studied the motionless, unaltered throng of besiegers. He had ridden along the eastern and southern sections of the ditch and found everything in order. But along the western section, which ran beside a forest, he found the enemy very busy indeed. The trunks and branches of the trees and the creepers of the lianas on the far bank of the ditch fairly swarmed with industrious insects. But they were not eating the leaves then and there. They were gnawing through the stalks; a thick green shower of leaves was falling steadily to the ground. Leiningen thought at first that they were vanguard columns sent out to obtain fodder for the rest of the army. But then all at once he realized the aim that rain of green was intended to serve.

Each single leaf, pulled and pushed by dozens of toiling insects, was borne straight to the edge of the ditch. Leiningen was forced to admit to himself that the situation was now far more ominous than that of the day before. He had thought it impossible for the ants to build rafts—well, here they were, enough of them to bridge the ditch.

Leaf after leaf rustled down the slope into the water; the current drew them away from the bank and carried them into midstream. And every single leaf carried several ants.

The sporting zest with which the excitement of the previous day had inspired Leiningen had now vanished; in its place was a cold and violent determination. He would send these vermin back to the hell where they belonged, somehow! Of course, this “how” was at the moment the greatest problem. He had underrated the enemy—now he would have to see how to cope with him.

The number of floating leaves was increasing swiftly; it could not be long now before the whole mile-long stretch of water was spanned by the green pontoon over which the ants could move more or less as they liked. The air rang with the curses of bitten Indians. They had removed their shirts and pants, the more quickly to detect the upward-crawling ants; wherever they saw one they crushed it. For the time being this defense was still possible, as long as the insects arrived singly. Additional help was given by the man at the weir intermittently lowering the water level in the ditch and then suddenly flooding it with a tidal wave which washed away the enemy vanguard.

While the besieged were directing their attention and strength at the defense of the forest section, the seemingly unaffected line above the wood, where there were no leaf pontoons, became the theater of decisive action. Here the defenders’ front was sparse and scattered; everyone who could be spared had hurried away to the south. Into the bed of the ditch here an irresistible throng poured unexpectedly at a moment when the level of the water was low. Rushing across the ditch they attained the inner bank before the slow-witted Indians had fully grasped the situation. Their frantic screams puzzled the man at the weir. Before he could direct a new flood from the river into the safe-guarding bed, he saw himself surrounded by raging ants. He ran like the others, ran for his life.

When Leiningen heard this he knew that the plantation was doomed. He wasted no time bemoaning the inevitable. As long as there was the slightest chance of success, he had defended his soil; now any further hesitation was both useless and fatal. He fired three revolver shots into the air—the prearranged signal for his men to retreat instantly within the “inner moat.” Then he rode toward the ranch house.

This was a couple of miles from the point of invasion. Of the three kerosene tanks at the back of the house, one had already been half emptied by the constant withdrawals needed for the sprinklers. The remaining kerosene now flowed through subterranean pipes into the concrete trench surrounding the house and the stables.

One after the other, Leiningen’s men came running up. One could see that their belief in a favorable outcome of the battle was considerably shaken. The planter assembled the peons around him.

“Well, lads,” he began, “we’ve lost the first round. But we’ll beat them yet, don’t you worry. Those who think otherwise can draw their pay and push off; the rafts are ready on the river, and there’s plenty of time to reach them.”
No one stirred. Leiningen acknowledged this silent vote of confidence with a satisfied laugh.

The bridges over the concrete ditch were removed. Here and there an ant came to the edge of the ditch, gazed at the kerosene meditatively, and turned back again. Apparently they had little interest at the moment in what lay beyond the evil-seeking barrier; the abundant spoils of the plantation seemed more attractive. Soon the trees, shrubs, and beds for miles around were shrouded with ants, busily gobbling the yield of long months of strenuous toil. As twilight began to fall, a cordon of ants marched up to the kerosene trench but remained passive. Leiningen posted sentries with electric torches and withdrew to his room. He considered various schemes by which he would be able to increase the future yield of his plantation to enable him before long to make up for the damage he was now suffering. Having arrived at a satisfactory result, he went to bed and slept deeply until morning.

The third day of siege dawned. When Leiningen stepped onto the roof terrace of his house at sunrise, he was greeted by a fantastic sight: for miles in every direction there was nothing but a black multitude, a multitude of rested, sated, but none the less voracious ants; as far as the eye could see there was nothing but that crawling flood.

At first it seemed that the kerosene would serve its purpose. The besiegers sensed the peril of swimming in it and made no move to plunge into the ditch. Instead they began to throw shreds of wood, twigs, and dried leaves into the kerosene. Everything green which could have been similarly used had long since been eaten. After a time, though, a long procession could be seen, bringing from the west the tamarind leaves used as rafts the day before.

Since the kerosene, unlike the water in the outer ditch, was perfectly still, the twigs, leaves, and other refuse piled up along the outer bank. It was several hours before the ants succeeded in covering an appreciable part of the surface. So far they had been satisfied with throwing down objects which would float; now they proceeded to a direct attack. Their troops swarmed down the concrete side; arriving on the supporting surface, they dragged small bits of it to the edge and in this way gradually approached the other side.

During all this time the planter watched them with interest and without taking action; he had also ordered his men not to disturb the ants. So the peons squatted idly along the edge of the ditch and waited for a sign from the boss. Finally, the time for action seemed to have come: the kerosene was covered with ants, and the first of them were landing on the inner bank.

“Everyone stand back from the ditch!” commanded Leiningen. The men stepped back without the slightest idea what the boss had in mind. Leiningen stooped forward and leisurely dropped a stone into the ditch which split the floating carpet and its living freight, revealing a patch of kerosene. A match spurted, drifted down to the oily surface, and Leiningen jumped back: in a flash a towering rampart of fire encompassed the garrison.

This spectacular inspiration, which the Indians had not expected, threw them into ecstasies. They clapped their hands and yelled. It was some time before the kerosene burned down to the bottom and the wall of smoke and fire disappeared which Leiningen had raised between the besieged and the besiegers. The ants had retreated in a wide circle from the scene of devastation.

Yet the perseverance of the creatures was not yet broken; indeed, every setback seemed only to whet it. The concrete had cooled, the glow of the burned flotilla had gone out, and the kerosene from the second tank was rising in the ditch, when the ants advanced for a new attack. The foregoing scene was repeated in every detail, except that on this occasion far less time was needed to bridge the ditch since the kerosene was now already covered by a film of ashes. Once again thousands upon thousands of ants perished in the flames. Once again they withdrew; once again kerosene flowed into the ditch. Weren’t the brutes ever going to stop this senseless self-sacrifice? It was senseless, wasn’t it? Well, yes—it would have been senseless if the defenders had had an unlimited supply of kerosene.

When Leiningen reached this stage in his reasoning he felt for the first time since the arrival of the ants that his confidence was failing him. A disagreeable uneasiness crept under his skin. He loosened his collar: nasty prospect, to be eaten alive! And there
wasn't a chance in hell for him and his men once the devils got across the trench.

For the third time the kerosene was burned down to extinction. For the fourth time it flowed into the trench again. It was obvious, however, that this meant only the postponement of death, not its prevention. A few of the peons began to pray; others, cursing insanely, fired their revolvers against the black masses, as if such desperate actions could have changed the situation.

LEININGEN flogged his brain till it reeled. Was there nothing on earth which could put an end to this apparition from hell? Yes, one hope remained: to dam the river completely so that its waters would fill not only the ditch but overflow into the entire gigantic basin in which the settlement lay at the edge of the hills. The ranch house stood upon rising ground. Since its foundations were higher than the top of the dam along the river, the flood would not reach it, and there was no fear of the ants being swept up to it. Any remaining ants trying to save themselves up the slope could be repulsed by kerosene.

It was possible—yes, if one could only get to the dam. A distance of nearly two miles lay between the ranch house and the weir—two miles of ants. Would any of the Indians undertake such a risk? Hardly; and even if he did, it would be almost impossible for him to succeed. No, there was only one thing for it: he would have to make the attempt himself. What, after all, would he risk? Nothing more than he had already risked hundreds of times: his life. He had claimed that one could get out of any disagreeable situation if only one knew how to use one's brain. Well, that alone was not enough; if necessary, one had also to be a man—man enough to take the danger by the horns and to run through two miles of man-eating ants.

The ants were building their bridges. Leiningen got up on a chair. "Hey, boys, listen to me!" His voice brought the men around him; they came from all four sides of the ditch. In their despair, in the listlessness with which they already accepted death as inevitable, every word from the boss seemed to them the harbinger of a new chance of salvation. Silently they pressed about the planter.

"Listen, fellows!" Leiningen continued. "There's still one chance of saving our lives by flooding the plantation from the river. I've got you into this mess, and I'll get you out of it. The moment I'm over the ditch, set fire to the kerosene. That'll allow time for the flood to do the trick. And then wait for me, till I come back. I'll come back, trust me"—he grinned—"even if I have to go through a slimming cure on the way."

He pulled on high leather boots, drew heavy gauntlet gloves over his hands, and stuffed the spaces between boots and breeches, between gloves and arms, between shirt and neck, with rags soaked in kerosene. A close-fitting pair of mosquito goggles protected his eyes. Finally, he stuffed cotton in his nostrils and ears and had his clothes drenched in kerosene.

He started off toward the northwest corner of the trench. With a huge bound he was over—he landed among the ants.

The besieged men had no opportunity of watching Leiningen's race against death. The ants had once more arrived at the inner bank, and the kerosene ring stood in flames again. For the fourth time that day the reflection from the fire shone on the sweating faces of the imprisoned men and on the reddish-black armor of their merciless oppressors.

Leiningen ran. He ran with long, regular strides, with only one thought in mind: he must get through! He dodged all trees and shrubs; except for the split seconds his soles touched the ground the ants should have no opportunity to get at him. Not until he had reached halfway did he feel ants under his clothes and a few on his face. In his stride he struck at them, almost mechanically; he was scarcely conscious of their bites. He saw that he was drawing appreciably nearer to the weir—the distance grew less and less, sank to five hundred, three, two, one hundred yards.

Then he was at the weir and gripped the ant-shrouded wheel. Hardly had he seized it when a horde of infuriated ants flowed over his hands, arms, and shoulders. He started the wheel—before he had turned it once the swarm covered his face. Leiningen turned the wheel like mad, his lips pressed tight. Whenever he opened his mouth to draw breath, a few of the revolting insects tried to slip in between his lips; he had to keep his teeth closed to prevent them from getting at his tongue and his gums. He turned and turned. The barrier sank down
toward the bottom of the river. The water gushed into the ditch. The flooding of the plantation had begun.

Leiningen let go the wheel. Now for the first time he realized he was coated from head to foot with ants. In spite of the kerosene, his clothes were full of them; more than enough had found their way to his body, others were clinging to his face. Now that he had carried out his task he began to feel the torment caused by the bites of hundreds of insects sawing and boring at his flesh. For an instant he was tempted to plunge into the river if only to rid himself of the torment. To be eaten by the pirayas! While he was already running again he tossed ants from his gloves and jacket, brushed them from his bleeding face, squashed them to death under his clothes. One of the creatures was clinging to his face right beside the rim of his goggles. He managed to tear it away, but the agony of the bite and its corroding acid penetrated to the eye nerves. His vision seemed impeded by fiery circles surrounded by milky fog; for a time he ran almost blinded, trying desperately not to trip and fall. His heart pounded painfully and irregularly, his lungs were compressed as by a giant fist. The burning girdle of kerosene toward which he was running appeared infinitely far away. A stone in his path—the planter stumbled, fell. He tried to rise, but felt as if he were pinned under a rock which made any movement impossible. Something, however, that seemed outside him dragged him to his feet with superhuman power. He stood. He began to run again.

Through the blazing ring hurtled an apparition which collapsed on the ground on the other side of the ditch: Leiningen. At the moment he touched the ground, having achieved his goal, he lost consciousness, for the first time in his life. He looked frightful. The peons rushed up to him, stripped off his clothes, tore away the ants from his body which looked like a single, open, bleeding wound. In some places deep holes had been eaten into his flesh; in others the bones were showing. They carried him into the ranch house.

When the curtain of fire sank to the ground, the men saw, instead of the immiterable host of ants that had been waiting there half an hour ago, a wide expanse of water. Imprisoned between water and fire, the ants had been delivered up to the annihilation whose tool they had so often been. At the lower end of the ditch, at the place where the river dam had its second gap, the new lake flowed back into the river, sweeping along the lost armies to vanish forever.

Leiningen lay on his bed, swathed in bandages from head to foot. With herbs and ointments they had stopped the bleeding and dressed his wounds. "He won't die," said the old Indian who had bandaged him, "he doesn't want to."

"GROSSRAUM" MEDICINE

The East Asiatic Medical Congresses which take place about once a year in the various countries of East Asia are in charge of keeping the peoples of the Grossraum of Greater East Asia healthy. The exchange of scientific knowledge, dealing particularly with the problems of tropical diseases, continues the tradition of former tropical congresses in East Asia. The first two congresses met in Tokyo and Manila, and for next year Hankow has been chosen as the meeting place. It may be regarded as an outstanding success that, in the midst of war and the present difficult conditions, a congress of this kind could assemble this year in China, with delegates from all countries concerned participating.

The Congress was officially opened in Nanking but, except for the first day, it met in Shanghai. Nineteen delegates, headed by Prof. Dr. Haruo Hayashi of Tokyo, came from Japan; twenty-eight from North China; nineteen from Manchoukuo; two from Burma; two from the Philippines; three from Thailand; and one delegate represented French Indo-China. Two German physicians were invited as honorary delegates. In addition to the delegates of the various countries, most Shanghai physicians, many doctors of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy, and a large number of medical students participated in the Congress.

The Congress was opened by a lecture by Dr. Lu Yun Chi, the Director General of the National Health Administration of the Chinese Government, which was followed by a long list of lectures. These were subdivided into three sections running parallel. Section 1 dealt with tuberculosis; Sec-
tion 2 with biology, physiological chemistry, and dietetics; and Section 3 with internal medicine, surgery, and ophthalmology. A number of pharmaceutical firms had arranged an exhibition of their products. There were also a number of banquets and social gatherings.

BOOK REVIEW

Der Tanzfächer und andere kleine Geschichten aus Nippons heutigem Alltagsleben (The Dancing Fan and other Short Stories from Nippon's Everyday Life of Today), translated by Kurt Meissner. (Tokyo, 1943; privately printed, 281 pp.)

Kurt Meissner, a German businessman and Japanologue, has published the German translation of 16 modern Japanese short stories in a volume privately printed in a limited edition. To the reader who is interested in the everyday life of the Japanese and their psychology, this book has more to say than many other books on Nippon, for here Nippon herself speaks to the reader in absorbing, well-written, and expertly translated stories. The translator has successfully endeavored to present a cross-section of modern Japanese literature by translating works by 16 representative Japanese authors, as well as of life in Nippon as it is today by choosing stories dealing with the lives of all classes—farmers, soldiers, artists, intellectuals, children, capitalists, office employees, etc.

Two of the stories contained in this volume, namely, "The Spell of Spring" by Jun Minamikawa, and "Old Jinshichi" by Joji Tsubota, appeared in an English translation in The XXth Century.—M.


The booklet, which is richly illustrated, consists of a lecture given at the Catholic University of Peking by the author, who is the founder of the Institute of Geobiology in Peking.

Like all the other publications by this author, this work merits attention by reason of its exceedingly interesting and enlightening representations and conclusions. It is probably the first brief summary of all that has hitherto been written on palaeo-anthropology. This literature was as good as inaccessible, especially for the layman. Furthermore, a large number of fossil human remains have been unearthed in various parts of the world such as China, Java, South Africa, Palestine, and Europe in the course of the last twenty years. These new discoveries, together with all other known fossil human remains, are discussed in detail by the author, who divides them into "The Lower Pleistocene Men" (Sinanthropus and the Prehominiens); "The Middle Pleistocene Men" (The Neanderthal Man and the Neanderthaloids); and "The Upper Pleistocene Men" (Homo Sapiens).

He ends his work with a "Summary and Conclusions: The Trend and Meaning of Human Evolution," containing the philosophical conclusions to which we have become accustomed in previous works by this author. Let us quote only two examples. Under "A key to the past" he writes:

"Why not extend and generalize this law [increasing cerebralization associated with increasing consciousness] from Man to the rest of the living world? Is not the human stem a branch (or perhaps rather the stalk) of the whole tree of life? And, if so, can life be different in the branch and in the tree?"

And his final sentence, under "A key to the future":

"Too many people believe that Prehistory dangerously bends our eyes down and back toward some sort of 'under-Mankind'. Its quite opposite effect, as a matter of fact, is to force our vision up and ahead, in the direction of an 'upper-Humanity', which, incidentally, will never materialize unless we fully develop within ourselves the exceptionally strong unifying powers exerted by inter-human sympathy and religious forces."

—H. Höne.

APPENDIX

Condensed Version of the Lend-Lease Act

An Act to Promote the United States Defense

Notwithstanding any other law, the President may from time to time, when he deems it in the interest of our national defense, authorize the Secretaries of War and the Navy or the head of any other department:

(1) to manufacture in arsenals, factories, or shipyards under American jurisdiction or otherwise procure any defense article for a government or any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States.

(2) to sell, transfer, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of to any such government any defense article.

(3) to test, inspect, prove, repair, fit out, recondition, or otherwise place in good order any defense article for any such government.
APPENDIX

(4) to communicate to any such government any defense information—defined as any plan, specification, design, prototype, or information pertaining to any defense article furnished under the second paragraph.

(5) to release for export any defense article for any such government.

Defense articles are defined as: any weapon, munition, aircraft, vessel or boat, machinery, facility, tool, material, or supply necessary for manufacture, production, processing, repair, and servicing operations; any other commodity or article for defense.

The President may buy any defense article, etc., from any country.

The President may give such orders as he deems necessary for the carrying out of any part of the Act.

Restrictions in the Act by Congressional amendment include:

(1) The President must consult the Army Chief of Staff and Navy Chief of Operations prior to disposing of US articles.

(2) Not more than US$1,300,000,000 worth of US defense articles may be disposed of, with the value of each article determined by the head of the department concerned.

(3) Conditions of disposal may be determined by the President: they may consist of payment in kind or other property or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory.

(4) Presidential powers under the Act will end on June 30, 1943, or can be terminated any time both Houses of Congress express the desire, by a simple majority vote, to terminate them. The period for the delivery of items contracted under these powers is limited to five years, ending on July 1, 1946.

(Both these periods have since been extended twice by Congress by another year, thus running until 1945 and 1948 respectively.)

(5) Contracts to transfer defense items should include a clause that the consignee government shall not again transfer title to others without the President’s consent.

(6) The President must report to Congress at least once every 90 days on his actions under the Act as far as he considers this compatible with the interests of the United States.

(7) Congress must authorize or appropriate funds for procurement of all new articles for foreign government.

(8) Nothing in the Act shall be construed to authorize the convoying of vessels in belligerent zones by naval vessels of the United States.

(9) There is no change intended in existing laws covering the use and disposition of US armed forces.

Anglo-American Deliveries to the USSR

For a long time the Soviets emphasized the fact that they were not satisfied with the quantity of armaments delivered to them by their Allies. On October 4, 1942, Stalin declared in a letter to an American journalist that “Allied help for the Soviet Union has so far been still little effective.” (For full text, see our issue of November 1942, p. 370.) And on March 9, 1943, Admiral W. H. Standley, the US Ambassador to the USSR, complained that “there seems to be a desire on the part of the Soviets to make things appear as if they are fighting this war with their resources alone without outside assistance.” The world at large was kept in the dark as to the part played by Anglo-American armaments in the Soviet war effort.

On June 10, 1944, for reasons unknown to us, Tass finally published details—supplied by the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Moscow—regarding the supplies received by the Soviet Union from the USA, Great Britain, and Canada since the outbreak of war. We are publishing an English translation of this communiqué, the first to contain detailed figures on this matter, in full for two reasons: first, because it provides an important document in connection with this issue’s article on the Lend-Lease system; secondly, because it throws a new light on the domestic situation in the USSR.

The fact that the Soviet Union requires such vast quantities of war material from abroad as listed below indicates that the world might have to revise its opinion of the Soviet armaments industry. The large shipments of raw materials are particularly remarkable and indicative of the labor shortage in the Soviet Union, since almost all these raw materials are to be found in large quantities among the mineral resources of the USSR.

Deliveries from the USA were made on the basis of the law concerning Lend-Lease supplies of armaments; from Britain chiefly on the basis of the Agreement on Reciprocal Supplies, Credit, and Method of Payment of August 16, 1941, and the Agreement on the Financing of War Supplies and Other Military Aid of June 27, 1942; and from Canada in accordance with the Canadian law on the mutual assistance of the United Nations.

I

In the period from November 1, 1941, to April 30, 1944, the USA sent the Soviet Union 8.5 million tons of armaments, strategic raw materials, foodstuffs, and machinery worth a total amount of 5,357 million US dollars. Of this quantity, 7.4 million tons of a total value of 4,612 million US dollars arrived in the Soviet Union, distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941/42</td>
<td>1.2 million tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1.1 million tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan./April</td>
<td>2.1 million tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7.4 million tons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On May 1, 1944, 68,400 tons were en route by ship.

The following are the most important armaments and transport equipment received by the Soviet Union from the USA:

- 6,430 airplanes, and in addition 2,442 airplanes from the USA for account of obligations undertaken by Britain
- 3,734 tanks
- 10 mine trawlers
- 22 large destroyers
- 62 torpedo boats and small destroyers

...
206,771 motor vehicles
5,307 other units of mechanized military transport
17,017 motorcycles
3,168 antiaircraft guns
1,111 Oerlikon cannons
22,4 million shells
991,4 ... cartridges
57,900 tons of gunpowder
130,000 ... tons, tridentroluf, amount
1,220,000 kilometers of telephone wire
2,150,000 telephome apparatuses
5,5 million parts of boats
22,8 ... yards of material for uniforms
2,073,000 truck tarpaulins

Among strategic raw materials:
476,000 tons of high-octane airplane gasoline
90,000 ... aluminum and duranium
841,000 ... copper and copper articles
42,500 ... zinc
6,700 ... nickel
1,160,000 ... steel and steel articles, incl. 246,000 tons of rails and parts

For the requirements of the armaments industry the following were supplied:
20,380 metal-cutting machines
257,200 million dollars' worth of various industrial equipment, incl. power equipment for a total output of 588,000 kilowatts, among this equipment being 262 portable electric power stations of a total output of 39,000 kilowatts: equipment for 4 oil refineries and 1 aluminum smelter
4,138 ship engines with a total power of 1,768,700 horse power
2,718 presses and hammers
521 cranes
300 excavators
251 locomotives for railway requirements
1,154 platforms
80 tanks for the transports of add

A total of 2,190,000 tons of foodstuffs was supplied.

II

In the period from June 22, 1941, to April 30, 1944, Great Britain shipped 1,150,000 tons of armaments, strategic raw materials, industrial equipment, and foodstuffs to the Soviet Union.

Of this quantity, 319,000 tons of armaments were sent off without payment as part of her military aid; 815,000 tons of raw materials, industrial equipment, and foodstuffs worth a total of 83.7 million pounds sterling were supplied on the basis of the Anglo-Soviet Agreement on Reciprocal Supplies (Credit), and Method of Payment of August 16, 1941 (part on credit, part against cash); a small quantity of goods (2,000 tons worth 5 million pounds sterling) was sent right at the beginning of the war against cash.

Of the goods shipped, 1,041,000 tons arrived in the Soviet Union:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>158,000</td>
<td>375,000</td>
<td>361,000</td>
<td>114,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>301,000</td>
<td>341,000</td>
<td>171,000</td>
<td>206,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On May 1, 1944, 44,000 tons of freight were en route to the Soviet Union.

The following are the most important armaments and transport equipment received by the Soviet Union from Great Britain:

3,284 airplanes
4,222 tanks
12 mine tawlers
5,883 motor vehicles and armored trucks
562 antiaircraft guns
548 antitank guns
17 million shells
230 ... cartridges

17,300 tons of gunpowder
214 radio apparatuses for directing artillery fire
116 U-boat-detecting apparatuses

Among strategic raw materials the following were supplied:
103,560 tons of rubber
31,400 tons of aluminum
32,400 ... copper
29,400 ... tin
47,700 ... lead
7,400 ... zine
2,700 ... nickel
245 ... cobalt
93,000 ... jute, sisal hemp, and articles manufactured from these

Among equipment supplied for use in the armaments industry the following were delivered:
6,191 metal-cutting machines
14.4 million pounds sterling worth of various industrial equipment, incl. electric power equipment for a total output of 374,000 kilowatts and 15,084 electric motors
194 presses and hammers
24 cranes
112,200 worth of technical diamonds
198,200 tons of foodstuffs

III

From the beginning of the war up to July 1, 1943, deliveries from Canada to the Soviet Union were made for account of obligations undertaken by Great Britain and on the basis of the credit agreement concluded between the USSR and Canada on September 2, 1942. Since July 1, 1943, Canada has been supplying the Soviet Union directly, on the basis of the agreement between the USSR and Canada on military supplies from Canada to the Soviet Union, in accordance with the Canadian law "on the mutual assistance of the United Nations." Since the beginning of deliveries up to April 30, 1944, Canada shipped to the Soviet Union 450,000 tons of armaments, strategic materials, and foodstuffs worth a total amount of 187.6 million Canadian dollars.

Of this quantity, 93,000 tons of freight valued at 116.6 million Canadian dollars were delivered up to July 1, 1943, for account of British obligations; 182,000 tons of wheat and flour worth 10 million Canadian dollars on the basis of the credit agreement between the USSR and Canada; and, in the period from July 1, 1943, to April 30, 1944, in accordance with the law on the mutual assistance of the United Nations, 175,000 tons of freight worth 61 million Canadian dollars.

Of the goods shipped from Canada, 355,000 tons arrived in the Soviet Union:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1944</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>124,000</td>
<td>106,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following in the Soviet Union from Canada:

1,158 tanks
842 armored cars
2,568 trucks
827,000 shells
34.8 million cartridges
5,000 tons of gunpowder
30,300 ... aluminum
9,100 ... lead
28,300 ... copper
6,700 ... zine
1,824 ... nickel
13,300 ... rails
209,600 ... wheat and flour

On May 1, 1944, 60,000 tons of freight were en route to the Soviet Union from Canada.
STALIN THE HISTORIAN

By KLAUS MEHNERT

The title of this article is not meant ironically: Stalin has actually played a decisive part in the development of modern Soviet historiography. He would not have done so unless he ascribed an eminent political significance to this field of thought. In the following article, ideas which may seem new and sensational even to most historians are presented for the first time in the bright light of a political magazine. For Soviet historiography, unexpected as this may seem, allows us to look deeply into the laboratory of Bolshevist ideology and world plans. Indeed, the Soviet historian is about to replace the Comintern agent in Stalin's world policy, and the Bolsheviki's new history of the world is the ideological conclusion drawn by them from the changed world situation.

The article describes first Bolshevist historiography up to 1934, then the reasons for its revision, and finally the new historiography and its significance.

DEAD MAN'S PURGE

For Bolshevist historiography, May 16, 1934, the day on which Stalin signed a decree concerning the teaching of history, is a date of decisive importance. On this day, historiography executed an about-face.

The period up to 1934 was dominated by Mikhail N. Pokrovsky. I met him in 1930 when I spent two months in the USSR for the purpose of studying the Soviet university system, in which he occupied a leading position. Pokrovsky turned out to be quite different in appearance from what I had imagined him to be. I knew that he, who was then sixty-two years old, had started out as a historian but had joined the Bolsheviks in 1905, since which time his career had been chiefly a political one. After years spent as a fugitive abroad, he returned to Russia in August 1917 and took an active part in the Bolshevist Revolution. With the victory of the Bolsheviks he became Chairman of the Moscow, i.e., the most important Soviet and later a member of the Central Committee of the Party. But instead of the wild revolutionary such a career had led me to expect, I found him to be a typical professor with thick glasses and a beard. At that time he was at the height of his reputation and occupied a number of key positions in the country. His history of Russia, which he had written abroad, had appeared in a condensed form in a huge edition and was to be found in every library and university in the USSR. More than any other book it dominated the Soviet Union's ideas of history, for it had received Lenin's express blessing:

I congratulate you very heartily on your success, I like your new book Brief History of Russia immensely. The construction and the narrative are original. It reads with tremendous interest. It should, in my opinion, be translated into the European languages.

When Pokrovsky died in 1932, he was given a state funeral with military honors on the Red Square, and his urn was interred in the wall of the Kremlin. The numerous obituaries by the Party and other leading organizations confirmed that the deceased, a loyal pupil of Marx and Lenin, had marched unswervingly along the lines laid down by the Party.

But hardly two years had passed after his death before that decree of May 16, 1934, appeared. The entire historical work and school of Pokrovsky was condemned lock, stock, and barrel. A wave of newspaper articles spoke of Pokrovsky's disciples as 'enemies of the people, contemptible
Trotzkyist-Bukharinist agents of Fascism.” Of course, many other old Bolsheviks were subsequently also “unmasked as pernicious saboteurs.” But this usually happened during their lifetime. The fact that a man who enjoyed the highest honors up to two years after his death was suddenly represented as an enemy of the country is without precedent even in the Soviet Union. How did this happen? To give an answer we must go back a little further.

HISTORY À LA MARX

Marx’s theory of history has become known as “historical materialism.” This doctrine, which has ostensibly evolved the iron, irrefutable laws governing mankind’s historical evolution, contains the most sacred sentence of orthodox Marxism: “It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.” Hence the emphasis is placed by Marx on the materialistic side. What counts is man’s position in the process of production—which in turn is determined by the degree of evolution of the productive forces—and the relationship between labor and capital. According to Marx, the resulting conflicts are the motive power of history. This motive power led to the evolution of capitalism from feudalism. In capitalism, in turn, capital was concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer individuals, which led to the birth of a new conflict: the workers rebelled. When the workers seize the means of production, communism is born, in the eyes of Marx an earthly paradise. For Marx, the ensuing millennium has as little in common with the preceding stages of evolution as the Kingdom of Heaven has with life in this vale of tears for the Christian.

Thus for the Marxist the evolution toward communism is the goal of world history. That which is general—the iron, impersonal laws of evolution, for instance the trend toward capitalism and the latter’s metamorphosis into communism—completely dominates that which is specific—the historical life of the nations and of individuals.

Bolshevist intellectual life is ruled by what is called the “social task.” The sciences are not supposed to concern themselves with their own problems as they are uncovered by free thought nor to search for truth as such: the “scientists in uniform” are in duty bound to pursue only such questions as are handed to them as social tasks by Party and State. Like the industrial worker, the Soviet scientist works at strictly prescribed, limited tasks. For both, the final product is a concrete thing of whose composition and form they must be fully aware when they start work. Among all the sciences, that of history is considered by Marxists as a particularly effective weapon in political warfare. Hence Pokrovsky, too, was given a “social task,” the task of demonstrating by the methods of historical materialism the effect of the Marxian laws in the case of Russia and of proving that the entire evolution tended toward the Revolution and communism. Russia as such was hardly of interest, it could just as well have been any other country; and actually other Marxists were simultaneously at work in other countries to prove the same for their own countries, although none of them attained Pokrovsky’s eminence. To put it in a nutshell: Pokrovsky had to show not what was specific but what was general in Russian history.

POKROVSKY’S RUSSIA

Pokrovsky’s historiography differs from historiography of the Tsarist period not only by the fact that it is Marxist but also by its far freer attitude toward the problem of Russian history as such. First of all he was not obliged to glorify either Russian history, or Russia’s rulers, or the conquest of other peoples by the Russians. On the contrary, his social task included the stipulation to represent Russian history up to 1917 in such a way that the fundamental and utter difference between the capitalist Russia before and the Bolshevist one after the Revolution, between the Russian people before and the Soviet people after November 7, 1917, be made perfectly clear. Although, according to the laws of historical materialism, the Soviet state had evolved from the Tsarist Empire, the two were antipodes in Pokrovsky’s eyes.

Secondly, he could keep out of the great dispute which for two centuries had divided the Russian intelligentsia into Westerners and Slavophiles. For him as a Bolshevik, the question did not exist whether Russia should assimilate herself to Western Europe or whether Russia was a thing in itself, the emanation of all that was good. He repudiated capitalist Western Europe just as much as the imperialistic dreams of the Slavophiles.

Thirdly, in contrast to his predecessors, Pokrovsky regarded the Tsars not as the
"collectors of Russian soil," but as conquerors who created the Russian Empire in the course of a very prosaic struggle for markets. Ivan the Terrible, for example, he called "a pigheaded [samodur] hysterical man, who only thinks of his own 'ego' and wishes to be aware of nothing beyond this valuable 'ego,' neither political principles nor social obligations," who owed his victories over the Order of the German Knights to the fact that "where the Order had a hundred soldiers the Muscovites came with tens of thousands." (Russkaya Istoriya, Vol. I, pp. 206, 258.)

In colors such as these does Pokrovsky paint the entire historical picture of Russia up to the Revolution of 1917, which wrote a finis to this trend and which, according to him, ushered in an entirely new epoch. This was the official history of Russia in the Soviet state up to that May 16, 1934, when Stalin signed his decree.

We publish this decree in the Appendix to this issue, as it is indispensable as a document to this article. But, apart from the fact that it condemns history as it was taught up to that time, the reader will not be able to gather much from it, for its significance is not to be found in its wording. Indeed, the decree is but one of the many examples where the true significance of an action in the USSR is not perceptible on the surface. We must admit that, when it was published, we, too, interpreted the decree mainly in connection with the Soviet patriotism which was at that time suddenly being promoted. Only during the last few years, especially the last few months, did we realize that the reasons for the decree were to be sought much deeper.

WHERE MARX ERRED (1):
THE USSR STANDS ALONE

Pokrovsky developed his view of history before the Bolshevist Revolution and changed very little afterwards. It corresponded to the ideas conceived by the Bolshevists on the basis of Marx's doctrine and before they had had any practical experience with the Soviet Union. Had Marx been right in his prognosis of developments after the Revolution, Pokrovsky would probably never have fallen into disfavor after his death. But the more experience was gained with the Soviet Union and with the world surrounding it, the clearer did it become that Marx erred gravely in a number of extremely important points, four of which we shall deal with here. Since, however, the Bolsheviks could in no circumstances disavow Marx, they simply maintained that Pokrovsky had interpreted him wrongly, thus sacrificing the disciple for the mistakes of the master.

In his Communist Manifesto of 1848, Marx declared that the Revolution would break out in several of the economically more advanced countries. But the opposite took place. The Communist Revolution broke out in Russia, i.e., (1) not in several but in a single country, (2) not in a highly developed industrial country but in the most backward of all the European powers. And as the months were followed by years, it became more and more apparent that the other states were making no preparations whatever to follow Marx's prognosis. World revolution in the sense of the Communist Manifesto had become a fata morgana; Marx's historical materialism had failed.

HELPFUL LAW

The Bolsheviks did not grasp the full import of this fact until after the death of Lenin, when they immediately set to work to create a new doctrine corresponding more closely to facts. Since any new doctrine had also to be supported by Lenin's authority, they eagerly combed through his writings. And they were successful. There is hardly anyone in the world whose every single word has been preserved with such minuteness as Lenin. Not only his books and articles: even his letters, notes, and marginal remarks were collected and docketed. During his lifetime, Lenin covered a great deal of paper with the most varied things. Thus one of his lesser known publications (On the Question of the United States of Europe, 1915) contained a brief remark to the effect that capitalism evolved unevenly. This remark was turned by the Bolshevist scholars into the Law of the Uneven Evolution of Capitalism during the Age of Imperialism. Since Marx had written before this age, he cannot be blamed for possessing inadequate knowledge of this law. So Marx's honor was saved.

According to this law, say these scholars, the Communist Revolution need not necessarily break out simultaneously in various countries: it can at first break out in any one country. Another effect of this law is that not only this revolution but even the victory of socialism is possible in a single country. In other words, socialist society, which Marx had visualized only as a world-
wide society, can, according to this new law, be formed in a single country—i.e., the Soviet Union—however many capitalist countries there may still be in the rest of the world.

In this way, the Soviet state became the sole representative of the evolutionary idea of mankind in the world. The Soviet state, that which was specific, represented mankind, that which was general. The specific was placed above that which was general. With that, the Soviet Union gained an entirely new significance. Now the USSR was no longer a small, incidental part of the world revolution, desperately waiting for the highly industrialized countries also to have their revolutions and come to its assistance: it became a thing in itself.

In order to take this new change into account, historiography was given a new label: instead of "historical materialism" it was from now on called "dialectical materialism." The evolution of mankind was still supposed to progress according to Marx's iron laws, from one step to the next up to the ultimate step of communism. But this evolution, instead of proceeding logically according to a fixed plan, was now supposed to proceed dialectically, i.e., contradictorily. Thus while, according to Marx, politics were bound up with his iron laws of world history and were subject to definite principles, the Bolsheviks can, in the age of dialectics, pursue any tactics they like. For they represent the specific, the USSR, which to them is the supreme stage reached by human beings on this earth.

WHERE MARX ERRED (II): NO NEW MAN

The fact that the Soviet Union remained the only country in the world in which the Marxist Revolution became reality was not the sole disappointment which made the evolving of new doctrines necessary. A second, equally great disappointment was experienced by the Marxists in the Soviet Union itself. Let us recall that fundamental sentence of Marx's according to which the social being of men determines their consciousness. Well then, social being in the Soviet Union differed radically from that in capitalist Russia—the means of production had been expropriated, the old classes liquidated, the controlling force of private capital destroyed, and agriculture collectivized. According to the iron laws of Marx, the consciousness of man, especially his attitude toward work, should now also have changed radically.

At first this seemed to be the case. During the years of military communism immediately after the Revolution, and then again in the early years of the first Five Year Plan, the inhabitants of the country were in a state of fever, in which money seemed to lose its importance and when it appeared that other motives than that of profit might be the impulse to their actions. That was the period when Stalin declared that work was a matter of honor. But on both occasions it did not last long. As the people did not change, military communism had to be replaced by the semicapitalist "New Economic Policy" and the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the first Five Year Plan by the capitalist system of wages. In June 1931 Stalin saw himself obliged to come out strongly in favor of the principle of inequality in order to prevent the collapse of Soviet economics.

Since then, to stimulate the Soviet citizen to work, the Bolsheviks have been playing again on the individual's age-old desire for personal gain, which had formerly been decried by them as capitalistic and wicked. The fact that he who does more and better work is also paid more has opened the gate to differentiation, which has meanwhile taken on proportions never dreamed of at that time, so that now there is hardly any other country in which the difference between high and low incomes is greater than in the USSR. The consciousness of men has changed so little in spite of the changes in the economic sector that all the old tricks of capitalism and many additional new ones ("Stakhanovism," "socialist competitions," severe punishment, armies of agitators, etc.) were necessary to force the people to work. Even so great an admirer of Stalin as Wendell Willkie had to admit in his One World that the Soviet methods of exploiting and paying laborers would please the most antisozial-minded American capitalists.

ANOTHER HELPFUL QUOTATION

Fortunately for the Bolsheviks, the scholars of the Marx-Engels Institute were able to find a suitable quotation for this development too. In a letter (May 5, 1875) Marx once remarked that after the Revolution mankind must first pass through a lower phase of communism before it could enter the higher one. In the lower phase, there would still be a certain inequality, as men
would not suddenly lose their old consciousness through the Revolution but must first grow into their new consciousness. Hence to begin with they would have to be paid "according to work." Only in the higher phase could wages be paid "according to the requirements" of each individual. The lower phase was later also called "socialism," the higher one "communism." (The word socialism has many meanings and is interpreted by the English Labor Party or the German National-Socialists quite differently from the Bolsheviks. We cannot go into this difference here and shall use the word in the meaning applied to it by the Bolsheviks.)

Marx did not indicate how long he imagined the first phase to last, as he was scarcely interested in it and devoted himself entirely to the higher phase. Probably he thought of a few years. His whole attitude leads one to assume that he was convinced the younger generation, untouched in its consciousness by capitalism, would already grow up in the economic conditions of socialism with the new consciousness. But this was not the case. Although well over half the population of the Soviet Union has by now grown up entirely under the economic conditions of the Soviet state, with not even a vestige of a capitalist eggshell attached to it, there is no trace of that new consciousness to be found in it. Like their fathers and forefathers, they only work—apart from exceptions to be found also in capitalistic countries—when they are induced to do so by wages, force, or war psychosis. The indications pointing to a change are so minute that the principle of payment "according to work" which Marx only visualized for a short period of transition has been firmly anchored in the so-called Stalin Constitution of 1936 (Article 12). Indeed, the leaders of the Soviet Union are now concerned so exclusively with the development of the socialist phase that the impression is given that they themselves have almost ceased to believe in the communist phase.

In other words, formerly the conception was that at the moment of the Revolution the great fundamental change in the evolution of mankind had come and that at this moment an entirely new trend, consisting of two phases—a lower temporary one and a higher permanent one—would take the field. Both phases were regarded as identical in kind, although differing somewhat in degree, and were both together opposed to the entire history of the past. Today, however, the Bolsheviks have realized that the Revolution has by no means brought about this change and that the change will only come, if at all, with the transition from Bolshevik socialism to communism. It is apparent that Soviet society of today and for a long time to come lacks that which would distinguish it fundamentally from capitalist society, namely, the new attitude toward work. Hence, as far as the consciousness of men is concerned, the Bolshevik socialism is much nearer to capitalism than to communism. Thus Marx’s idea as represented by Pokrovsky in his historiography, namely, that capitalism and socialism are antipodes, has been discarded.

WHERE MARX ERRED (III):
CLASSES AND THE STATE

In Marx’s eyes the state is an instrument with which the ruling class dominates the other classes. The object of the Communist Revolution is, during a transient phase of a proletarian dictatorship, to abolish classes and to institute a classless society. In a classless society there is no longer any need for the suppressing of classes and consequently no room for the state, the instrument of class suppression.

But what has really happened? Instead of the state dying off, as Marx had expected it to, the present Soviet state confronts the individual more overwhelmingly and brutally than any other state in the world. Nowhere else has the individual so little say, for nowhere else is the individual’s political master and economic employer to such a degree identical. But if there is a Soviet state, there must also be Soviet classes. After the existence of classes had for years been denied, Stalin himself admitted it in a somewhat tortuous declaration contained in his speech of November 25, 1936. He did, it is true, make a difference between exploiting classes, which had been liquidated, and nonexploiting ones, which existed. But this does not alter the fact that, according to the Bolsheviks’ own words, in spite of Revolution, socialization, collectivization, and millions of lives sacrificed in the class struggle, there is no classless society in the Soviet Union. Instead, a society of Soviet classes has come into being, and another essential difference between socialist and capitalist society has failed to materialize.

Theoretically, there is one possibility open to the Bolsheviks of explaining the gap be-
tween that which was hoped for and that which has actually come to be. They might say—and in former years this argument was actually made use of—the condition prophesied by Marx could not become reality in one country alone but only after the completion of world revolution. However, for motives of foreign policy they do not deem it wise to speak so openly of the world revolution. Hence the present condition has for many reasons become a permanent condition. The present Soviet society is now represented as the pinnacle of human evolution. The question whether beyond this there may be an even higher pinnacle seems to have become very doubtful even to the Bolsheviks themselves. If this pinnacle should ever materialize, it will be so far in the future that it has no practical interest for the present generation.

WHERE MARX ERRED (IV):
PROLETARIANS AND NATIONS

There was one more point in which the Bolsheviks experienced a disappointment. Marx had taught them to believe in the solidarity of the workers of the world. "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" was not only an appeal: it was an article of faith. But year followed upon year after the Revolution without the slightest indication of this faith being realized. Not only did the Finnish or German worker loyally stand up against the Red Army in a hundred battles: years previously the rise of National-Socialism, which came about with the support of a large proportion of the German working class, had shaken this faith. When Stalin officially dissolved the Comintern in May 1943, this was not only a propagandistic trick out of consideration for the Allies but also the acknowledgment of a fact; for the reality which counts today for Stalin is the alliance USSR-USA-Great Britain, not the international proletariat. As the driving force behind evolution as seen by Marx and Lenin, the "worker" has been dethroned.

One of the reasons for this is to be sought in Marx's erroneous estimation of the middle classes. Marx really only knew two opposed classes—the bourgeoisie, which possessed the means of production, and the proletariat, which possessed nothing. He clearly showed in his *Communist Manifesto* that he did not ascribe a historic role to the middle classes, for in his eyes the middle classes were being pulverized between the other two forces and were hence irrelevant. We may say that Marx was probably right regarding the middle classes as he knew them. The small tradesmen and shopkeepers of his time have actually lost all political importance today. However, according to that very law of dialectics, progressing capitalism produced an entirely new middle class, of which Marx could have had no knowledge in 1848—the army of engineers, scientists, officials, employees, managers, which has risen to an undreamed-of economic and political eminence. The correct assessment of the importance of the middle classes helped National-Socialism on its road to power, and this in turn has made the importance of the proletariat appear slighter than Marx and even Lenin had assumed it to be. National-Socialism has demonstrated the power of the national idea, which stands above classes, and has forced the Bolsheviks to speak more and more of the "nation" and less and less of the "proletariat."

The theory of the "Popular Front" was the first step in this new trend. Since then the thesis of the co-operation of the democratic peoples has on the whole replaced the "proletarians of all countries" in Soviet propaganda. In its appeals to the Yugoslavs, Czechs, Poles, etc., Moscow turns to them as nations, not to their proletariat. Moreover, an entirely new—or rather, very old but wholly un-Marxist—political category has made its appearance: that of the Slavs.

While formerly the Kremlin appealed to the sympathies of the workers of the world by praising the USSR as the "state of workers and peasants," its new slogan is that of "amity of nations." It is supposed to tell the world: within the borders of the Soviet Union, 150 peoples have solved their economic, national, and cultural problems in cordial amity. Other states need only join to participate in these blessings; for whether there are 150 or 160 or 200 peoples is in the last analysis a matter of indifference, since, after all, the problems of their living together have already been solved in principle. If Russians, Bashkirs, Turkmens, etc., can live together harmoniously in the Bolshevik "amity of nations," why not Poles, Germans, or Americans too? By this thesis of "amity of nations" Stalin seeks to prove that the Soviet Union, as that which is specific, simultaneously represents the quintessence of that which is general, that the Soviet Union is the world in miniature—incidentally, not so very miniature as, after all, it covers one sixth of the surface of the
SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION

Let us summarize the points which in view of the present situation the Bolsheviks have to explain to their people and the rest of the world.

(1) The Soviet Union is a peak in human evolution and a thing in itself. It will continue for a long time to exist in its present state. It is not a passage rapidly to be traversed but a room in which one should make preparations for a long stay.

(2) The present so-called socialist Soviet society is closely related as regards the attitude of the individual toward work and the state.

(3) As regards the existence of classes and the state with the preceding step of evolution, capitalist society, and is not its antipode.

(4) The nations and not the workers are the reality and the driving force in evolution, and the Soviet Union is through the "unity of nations" an exemplary world in miniature.

To this must be added, for reasons which we discussed in detail in "Shoulder Straps—And Then?" (February 1944), the necessity of creating a "Soviet patriotism." Thus Soviet historiography now finds itself in a situation which differs fundamentally from that of Pokrovsky. The past suddenly appears in an entirely different light. The specific, i.e., the USSR, completely overshadows that which is general, i.e., humanity. The USSR is no longer only a part of the general evolution: it is something unique and history must supply the answer why this unique development took place in Russia and only in Russia. What distinguishes Russia to make her capable of a development which was not possible in far more advanced states? In view of the close relationship of the Soviet Union to old Russia, it must be possible to discover characteristics of the Soviet Union of today in the Russia of yesterday. The very idea of the Soviet state must be embedded somewhere in the old Russia. This explains why the Soviet Union is no longer a state possessing no past and only a future but a state which has a historical reason for existence. Thus the history of Russia becomes an essential part of the history of the Soviet Union.

THE NEW SOCIAL TASK

Now we see why the social task of modern Soviet historiography differs fundamentally from that of Pokrovsky. In Pokrovsky's days the Party was interested in the history of old Russia only in so far as the antipodal nature of the Soviet Union could be emphasized by it. Today, however, Soviet historiography must depict the history of the Russian people as that of the Soviet people. The history of the Soviet Union no longer begins on November 7, 1917, but in the dim past, and it is up to the historians to show how the idea of the Soviet Union evolved and was revealed in the course of the centuries. Just as the specific, the Soviet Union, must be represented as the quintessence of that which is general, namely, humanity, the specific, the history of the Russian state, must be represented as the quintessence of that which is general, namely, the history of mankind. One people, a chosen people, becomes the representative of history. Here we come upon that Messianic spirit which has frequently played a role in the history of the Russian people; only in the present case it appears in a highly dangerous form for the rest of the world, it no longer being in the hands of a few visionaries but in those of coldly calculating, ruthless politicians possessing vast resources of power.

The old and the new Bolshevikist historiography are diametrically opposed, and the chasm between them is so great that the transition proved a difficult matter. Almost a decade was needed for its ideological conquest. Many of the most important ingredients of the new historical doctrine have not become known until the last two years, and almost every issue of the principal magazines we receive from Moscow contains more material. The basic outlines of this new historiography have, however, already been fixed.

COMRADE PANKRATOVA

The leading figure in modern Soviet historiography is Professor A. M. Pankratova. I met her more than ten years ago while I was in Moscow for negotiations regarding the publication of the Russian prewar diplomatic documents. In addition to the Russian edition of this collection, which was to cover some forty volumes, a German edition was published simultaneously, because Germany was interested more than any other country in the opening of the secret prewar archives,
as the thesis of Germany’s sole guilt collapsed in the same degree as the inside story of the prewar days became known. The death of Pokrovsky who, as Director of the Central Archives, had been in charge of the publication on the Soviet side, had made new negotiations necessary.

The negotiations took place before the publication of Stalin’s decree of May 1934, and the new trend which was soon to set in in historiography was not to be felt yet. I would never have dreamed that Comrade Pankratova, who participated in the negotiations but kept very much in the background, would one day become the female pope of Russian historiography. Today it is almost impossible to open a modern Soviet book on history without finding a contribution or introduction by her. She also edited the three-volumed standard work Istoriya SSSR (History of the USSR), which appeared in Moscow in 1940 in an edition of altogether 550,000 copies.

**LAND COLLECTORS**

For reasons which the reader will understand in the further course of our analysis, a suitable interpretation of the period of the Kiev Rus (a state on the Dniepr which existed from the ninth to the twelfth century) became a hinge upon which the new doctrine of history turned. In complete contrast to Pokrovsky, the Stalin school must represent the Kiev Rus as the direct and organic forerunner of the later Moscow and St. Petersburg state. This undertaking was apportioned to Professor B. D. Grenov, a member of the Academy of Sciences. He carried out his work by skillfully juggling with the terms Rus and Russia. According to him, the Kiev Rus was “a state common to the White Russians, Ukrainians, and Russians which preceded the formation of these three peoples.” *(Istorichesky Journal, 1943, No. 7, p. 100.)* One of these three branch peoples, the Russians, later formed the Moscow state, which did not conquer the Ukrainians and White Russians, as Pokrovsky would have it, but reunited them as, according to Grekov, the Russians had after all already been partners in the Kiev Rus. By this identification of Rus with Russia, the incorporation of all east Slavic territories into the Moscow state is supposed to appear not as imperialism but as “collection of Russian soil.”

But what could be done about the conquest of Tartars, Kirghiz, Georgians, and numerous other non-Slavic peoples? Here the Bolshevik historians find themselves in a difficult situation. During the Pokrovsky period, they produced a flood of literature which, usually with the aid of documents, was to prove that Russian imperialism had barbarically conquered and exploited one people after the other. These books make very unpleasant reading, filled as they are with the vices of the conquerors. In a vein similar to that in which the Spanish chronicle Las Casas once de glamourized the exploits of the Spanish conquistadors in America and represented them as a horrible oppression of the Indians, the Pokrovsky school depicted the advance of Russian imperialism in gloomy colors in order to win over the national minorities of the Soviet Union to the Bolshevist Revolution. In his *Report on the Revolution of 1905*, Lenin summarized the situation as follows: “In Russia almost three fifths of the population are subject to national oppression. They are being Russianized by force.” As late as in the newest bible of the Bolsheviks, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, which appeared in 1938, the Tsarist regime is still described as “hangman and torturer of the non-Russian peoples” and Tsarist Russia as “a prison of nations.” *(English edition, 1943, p.4.)* And even Comrade Pankratova wrote in *Istoriya SSSR*: “The brutal exploitation and colonial oppression of the other peoples by Tsarism... led to the degeneration and dying out of entire tribes.” *(Vol. III, p. 91.)*

**SAMPLE OF DIALECTICS**

In these circumstances it was not very well possible suddenly to maintain the opposite and to declare that these peoples had voluntarily and willingly joined the empire (as the Poles and other peoples are expected to do now). How was one to emphasize the unity of Russian and Soviet history without burdening the Soviet Union with the sins of Russian history! Stalin’s historians have found an ingenious dialectic expedient for this situation.

Their argumentation proceeds from the Marxist doctrine that, according to his well-known iron laws, the evolution of mankind passes through various stages, which have been named as follows: primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist *(History of the Communist Party, p.123).* At the time when Russian imperialism began, i.e., in the sixteenth century, the Moscow state
was in an advanced stage of feudalism, while the peoples of the lower Volga and in Siberia were still in the stage of early feudalism or even that of slave and of primitive communal society. Their subjection—and this applies in a corresponding manner to almost all Russian conquests—thus represents their inclusion in a higher stage of evolution than they themselves had reached at the moment of their conquest. In this way, imperialistic conquests were turned into a noble mission by dint of which the Russian nation led other peoples—even by force, because these peoples, like the Finns today, did not know what was good for them—toward the socialist paradise.

Of course, this theory does not agree with the accusation often made by the Bolsheviks that the Tsarist regime had intentionally kept the subjected peoples at a low level of evolution. Stalin himself has said: “Tsarism consciously cultivated a patriarchal-feudal oppression in the borderlands in order to keep the masses in slavery and ignorance.” (Marxism and the National-Colonial Question.) But one must not be too particular.

UPLIFTED KAZAKHS

The effects of the new historiography can be demonstrated by the example of the Kazakhs. This people living in the wide steppes of northern Central Asia has suffered gravely through the loss of its freedom. Speaking about the work The History of the Kazakh SSR from Earliest Times up to Our Day, which appeared in 1943 and was edited by her, Comrade Pankratova said:

One of the most important problems facing the authors was the correct motivation and evaluation of the fact of Kazakhstan’s colonial subjection by Tsarist Russia and the historical motivation of this subjection (Istorichesky Journal, 1943, No. 11/12, pp.86-87).

As it is really quite impossible to claim that the Kazakhs subjected themselves voluntarily, she continues:

Although we by no means wish to idealize military-feudal imperialism and the effects it has had in Kazakhstan, we cannot but emphasize that the inclusion of Kazakhstan in the sphere of influence of Russia, who had at that time already entered upon the road of capitalist development, had a progressive influence on the further development of Kazakhstan.

Here dialectic materialism is at its best: the destruction of the entire social life of the Kazakhs, the annihilation of the material foundation of their existence, the wiping out of their leaders, has, through the magic touch of the dialectical wand, been transformed into a blessing for the Kazakhs, as all this brought about the raising of the Kazakhs to the next stage of evolution, moving them a step closer to perfection.

LIBERATOR NATION

Like the Kazakhs, all the many other peoples were thus included in “Russia’s sphere of influence” and were borne forward in her motherly if painful embrace toward the culmination of their (unconscious) dreams in socialism. Should a people—in the past or in the present—feel a desire to free themselves from this embrace, this would mean a crime against the laws of evolution; and stringent measures would have to be taken to rid the people of any such desire, like ridding a naughty child of the desire to eat poison. In this way, the Russian people are made to appear, for the time being in a territory covering one sixth of the surface of the earth, as a liberator nation par excellence, as the instrument of world history.

From this it is only a tiny step—a step which Soviet propaganda has not yet made but which we can already predict and for which all these dialectics serve only as a preparation—to the theory that Russia is thus also destined to be the liberator nation on a world-wide scale. Today the Soviet Union is the only country already to have attained the fifth stage; and any people drawn into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union—even by force—should feel grateful that it thereby fulfills the meaning of its evolution and attains paradise. So the new historiography already contains the ideological justification for any and all Bolshevik conquests, which it sanctions in advance in the same way as it has subsequently sanctioned the conquests of the Tsars.

IVAN THE GREAT

This new point of view has also resulted in a wholly new evaluation of the individual figures of Russian history. An example: Ivan the Terrible was an outstanding but at the same time one of the most frightful and perverted rulers ever to have sat upon a throne.

It is easy to understand that the historians of the Pokrovsky school seized upon this ruler to demonstrate the evils of Tsarism to the Russian people by the example of his hypertrophy of divine right.
Today the shoe is on the other foot. An article on Ivan recently appeared from the pen of Professor S. V. Bakhrushin in the Moscow magazine Bolshevik (1943, No. 13), which is the authoritative political periodical of the Soviet Union and the mouthpiece of the Communist Party.

From beginning to end this article is a panegyric of the Tsar. Even the assumption of the title of Tsar by Ivan is praised by the Bolshevist professor, as Ivan thereby showed "that the Russian state possesses a right to an eminent place among the other European nations. . . . Not for nothing did the enemies of Russia refuse to recognize Ivan's rank as a Tsar." The contemporary thinker and author Ivashko Peresvetov is quoted with this sentence: "Without fear [here Bakhrushin adds in explanation: i.e., 'without terror'] no state can be maintained." The bloody deeds of the Tsar, the author declares, were by no means the emanation of the insanity of a diseased brain; rather were they "although harsh in form, in reality appropriate."

All of Ivan's atrocities are excused by Professor Bakhrushin in one fundamental sentence: "Under those conditions they were inevitable." What arouses the Professor's greatest admiration for the Tsar is his imperialistic policy of conquest, which led him victoriously into the non-Slavic territories of the lower Volga and the Baltic. The invasions of the Baltic countries are justified very simply: "Russia needed an exit to the Baltic Sea."

Bakhrushin's evaluation of the Tsar is a far cry from Pokrovsky's, which is termed nihilism by Comrade Pankratova and bitterly attacked for its unsympathetic attitude toward Russian tradition. (Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1943, No. 7/8, p. 34.)

Pokrovsky, she writes elsewhere, has done great harm to the education of the younger generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism. (25 Let, p. 13. In the following pages of our article we shall frequently quote this basic work, 25 Let Istoricheskoi Nauki v SSSR—25 Years of Historiography in the USSR—which consists of numerous contributions by leading Soviet historians.)

**STALIN ADDS 2,000 YEARS**

If the reader is amazed at the trends of Soviet historiography as divulged up to this point, the following pages will show him the full extent of this thought structure. In Pankratova's three-volumed history of the USSR, we find sentences such as:

The oldest copper products found in the Soviet Union date from a period three thousand years B.C. . . . The mountains of the Caucasus, Central Asia, Altai, and Ural became the center of the bronze culture. (Vol. 1, p. 8.)

At first we are nonplussed. What is the connection between the Soviet Union and Central Asia three thousand years B.C.? But the solution of this riddle is soon found. Stalin's historical school postulates an inherent unity of the evolution that has taken place in more than five thousand years in the territory of the present Soviet Union and maintains that the history of the USSR includes everything that ever took place within the present borders of the Red state since the beginning of time and in the lives of all tribes that have ever inhabited this territory. Thus if the Soviet Union were one day to possess a part, say, of Palestine, Comrade Pankratova would be equally justified in counting the figures of the Old and New Testaments among the forefathers of the USSR.

The argumentation which leads to this result is more or less the following. The Soviet idea is the embodiment of the evolution of humanity and hence also of all the peoples belonging to the Soviet Union. The entire historical existence of these peoples is therefore an active form of expression of the Soviet idea. Thus it has become the duty of Soviet historiography to trace back the history of each of these peoples to its beginnings and to include it in the history of the Soviet Union. Pankratova has formulated this command of Stalin's as follows:

In the history of our country must be included the history of the numerous peoples which are at present united in the close family of peoples of the Soviet Union, but the history of the USSR should not be turned into the history of these individual peoples. It must be a unified history of the USSR as a whole. (25 Let, p. 14.)

The second half of this declaration means that the significance of the history of a people lies not in its own life but in the submerging of its national life and state in the Soviet state; for it is only by the conscious renunciation of any other idea of their existence and their future that the peoples fulfill their historical mission.

For the Soviet historian pursuing the history of every individual people of the Soviet Union to its beginnings, astonishing perspectives are now opened up: the history of the USSR grows to unlimited proportions in time as well as in space.
Here again the interpretation of the Kiev Rus plays an important part. According to Grekov, the Kiev Rus represented not a slave state but a feudal system. At first sight this difference does not seem very sensational. But it lays an important foundation. We recall that in the eyes of the Bolsheviks feudalism represents the third stage of evolution. If the Russians were in the third stage during the period of the Kiev Rus, then a second as well as a first stage must have existed somewhere. This endeavor to trace the history of the Russian people through a second and first stage back to prehistoric times is interfered with by the well-known migration theory of Klyuevichky and other pre-Bolshevik historians, according to which the Slavic inhabitants of the Kiev Rus had migrated there from other regions. But this difficulty is removed by the theory of the Stalin historians, namely, “that there was no such thing as a Slavic migration and that the Slavs were the original inhabitants of the territory which they populated in historic times.” (25 Let, p. 229.)

But if the Russians were indigenous to the Kiev region, then it is, as Professor S. V. Kiselov writes, “to transfer the formation of the Dniepr Slavs to prehistoric times.” (25 Let, p. 50.) Not for nothing does Pankratova declare that Stalin’s suggestions to the Soviet historians have “expanded the chronological frontiers of the history of the Soviet peoples by at least 1,500 to 2,000 years.” (25 Let, p. 18.) After this, who would deny Stalin the title of a historian?

ANCESTORS DISCOVERED

Who, then, are the ancestors of the Russians in the pre-Kiev period? We are told that the world has known them for a long time but failed to regard them as the ancestors of the Russians: they are the Scythians and the Sarmatians. There are a great many “proofs” of this. Professor A. Mishulin, for example, has discovered such proofs in the military field in his article on “The Strategy of the Scythians” (Istorichesky Journal, 1943, No. 8/9). In a description of the Eastern European campaigns of the Persian kings Cyrus and Darius, the Professor arrives at the conclusion that the Scythians of 3,500 years ago and the Red Army of today utilize three main principles in their strategy: to lure the enemy into vast spaces by a retreat; to destroy the evacuated territory by “scorched earth”; and to harass the rear of the enemy by guerrillas. The Professor adds:

The fighting traditions of the oldest inhabitants of our country were handed down from generation to generation through many centuries and have impressed their stamp upon the national character of the great Russian people.

Furthermore, if the Kiev Rus was a feudal and not a slave state, this is enough to prove that the Russians did not lag behind the Europe of those times but developed parallel to it. In this way, the history of Russia and that of Europe approach each other much more closely. Professor I. I. Smirnov writes:

Seen from this angle, the rise of the Kiev state appears as an expression of the general European process of transition from slave-keeping antiquity to the feudal Middle Ages, a process which, by reason of its nature, is one and the same for Western and Eastern Europe. (25 Let, p. 96.)

And this in turn means, according to Professor Grekov,

that Russian culture developed in a close, insoluble connection with the cultures of the world and represents an organic part of European culture. (Vestnik Akademii Nauk, 1943, No. 7/8, p. 121.)

MODEL HISTORY, MODEL HISTORIANS

If Russo-Soviet history is so closely related to European and world history, all European and world history hinges to a certain extent on Russian history, since the latter is so far the only one successfully to have traversed all five stages of human evolution and thus represents a sort of model history of the world. This is the starting point for some extraordinary arguments. Just as in the Occident the history of the world from 400 B.C. to 1500 A.D. circled around the Roman Empire in its various manifestations, so that the history of the Germanic tribes or the Scythians or Egyptians during this period was always regarded as a marginal phenomenon of Roman history, so in the teachings of the Soviet historians Russian history is now made to appear as the central history of the world around which everything else is grouped.

“Where, if not in the Soviet Union, must and can the true Marxist history of antiquity be written?” asks Professor M. A. Korostovtsev (25 Let, p. 189). Indeed, if Russia’s history represents the model history of the world, the Soviet historians automatically become the model historians of mankind. They, who are most closely acquainted with Russia’s history, should also be in the best position to interpret the history of the world. (That the rest of the
world is subject to the same laws of historical evolution as Russia does not even have to be proved. For the Soviets this is a law of nature, and the laws of nature are not proved but uncovered.)

FROM MOSCOW TO ATHENS AND ROME

Whither this may lead is shown by Professor S. A. Jebelyov, who claims to have discovered so close an interrelationship between the ancient Greeks and the original inhabitants of Russia that he suggests speaking in future only of a "Greco-Scythian" and then of a "Scythian-Sarmatian-Greek culture" (25 Let, p. 204); and Korotovtsev calls the study of the history of Greece and Rome "one of the most important tasks of Soviet science" (25 Let, p. 204). Professor A. Mishulin has the following to say about Jebelyov's scientific method:

The new philological interpretation of a Chersonese text, the new analysis of the meaning of several Greek terms, especially verbs, have provided the author with the possibility of a new historical construction.

Only by this method, Mishulin continues, has it been made possible to interpret old texts correctly and, for example, to discover that a revolt of Scythian slaves took place in the Crimea in the first century B.C.,

the first revolutionary uprising of the oppressed against the oppressors in the territory of the USSR. . . . Thus, almost simultaneously with the preparation of the Celtic and Germanic blow against slave-keeping Rome in the West, Scythian-Slavic tribes prepared a mighty blow here in the East against the dying slave-keeping civilization. (Istorichesky Journal, 1944, Vol. I, pp. 76-77.)

By arguments such as these, the history of the Roman Empire is linked up with the history of the Soviet Union, and the Russian people is revealed to have been even in the dim past a liberator nation, a midwife in the transition from the second to the third stage—just as at present from the fourth to the fifth stage—of human evolution.

How useful the Scythian ancestors are is proved by Professors Mishulin and A. Udaltsov. Mishulin points out that the Scythians, according to their own legends, were descended from Zeus and Hercules, which means that by way of the Scythians the Red Kremlin is linked up with the Greek Olympus. And Udaltsov, starting out from Hercules' amorous adventures with a dragon girl as narrated by Herodotus, arrives at the conclusion—which incidentally corresponds perfectly to his social task—that the Scyths were not a single people but composed of a large number of peoples (Istorichesky Journal, 1943, No. 11/12, p. 69). Thus the Scythian ancestors already embodied the "amity of nations"; they were a sort of ancient Soviet Union. And when Udaltsov finally declares the ancient Slavs to have "synthesized the cultures of the West, East, and South in their own culture," he postulates a similar kind of supernatinal culture for them as the Bolsheviks do for the Russians of today.

REVOLUTION BY VERBS

The reader may have noticed that Professor Jebelyov owes his revolutionizing results to "the new philological interpretation . . . the new analysis of the meaning of several Greek terms, especially verbs." But how is it possible that a particular interpretation of a few Greek verbs is enough to overthrow all former conceptions of history? After all, our idea of history was not produced by any one man but by thousands of historians who studied tens of thousands of texts. What kind of a method is this which suddenly throws a new light on the past?

It is called the Japhetite Method and was invented by Professor N. Y. Marr, this "greatest of our scholars" (25 Let, p. 200), the son of a Scotsman and a Georgian woman. According to his theory, the so-called racial languages represent only the various stages in the evolution of a single language process, in other words, there is no such thing as a racial language or family of languages. Marr sees the root of a language neither in race nor physiology but in the fact that a group of people belong to the same form of economy. As the Russian people has attained the highest form of economic development, the Russian language was bound to become the central language, the key to the only correct interpretation of all the languages in the world, a key that could be applied by the Bolsheviks in whatever way suited them best. This Marxist-Marrist theory is in fact so revolutionary that with its aid a Greek verb can be transformed into pure dynamite.

But we have not yet exhausted the possibilities of Stalin's conception of history. So far we have only seen how, via the Kiev Rus and the Scythians, a connecting link has been formed with the history of the Occident, of which there is allegedly a deeper understanding in the Soviet Union than anywhere else. But there are still all
the other peoples now belonging to the Soviet Union, each of which offers unlimited possibilities to historical imperialism.

UNLIMITED POSSIBILITIES

Let us take the peoples of the Caucasus, for example. Professors S. V. Kiselyov, V. I. Avdiyev, and M. A. Korostovstev (25 Let, pp. 45 ff., 55 ff., 189 ff.) have discovered that the peoples now living in the Caucasus had extremely close relations in their early history with the old cultures of the Near East such as Egypt, Sumer, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Persia—there is really no limit here. And since Marr teaches that "socio-genetically the Greek world is related less to the West and to Rome than to Asia, especially the Near East," the Caucasian peoples form a second link between Moscow and Athens.

Particularly promising perspectives are offered to Soviet historiography by the study of the Asiatic peoples belonging to the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik interpretation of the history of the Central Asiatic as well as Siberian and Mongolian peoples is a useful tool for permeating Asia with the Russo-Soviet idea. Thus, for instance, the Soviet historian A. Okladnikov seeks to prove close connections between the Yakutians in northeastern Siberia, i.e., a Soviet Russian people, and China during the Bronze Age (Istorichesky Journal, 1943, No. 10, p. 56).

To use a simile one could say: just as, since the introduction of the metric system, all measurements are as a rule measured by the meter (although some people have retained the yard or other measurements), so in future the history of mankind is to be measured by the standard of Soviet history. But there is one essential difference. The fact that the meter is one forty-millionth part of the equator is more or less arbitrary; one could just as well have taken one fifty-millionth part. Russo-Soviet history, however, is, according to eternal—one is almost inclined to say, divine—laws, the standard measure of all things.

REVOLUTION BY HISTORY

We must ask our readers not to consider this new Soviet historiography simply as the phantom of queer fancy or the private hobby of Comrade Pankratova. Astonishing as it may seem, we are faced here by the Soviet conception of history. Behind it stands Stalin with all his authority. On it are working hundreds of Soviet historians. Without exaggeration one may say that nowhere else in the world does there exist today a conception of history of similar extent and of such dangerous force. The Soviet historian is the prophet of the new doctrine of world revolution through world history. It would be idle to discuss this doctrine from a scientific point of view: it is not historiography but rather "mythopoiesis," a creating of myths. The Bolsheviks, who pride themselves on being the greatest of materialists, are working here with the power of a suggestive idea like almost no other political movement of modern times.

To understand what the Bolsheviks hope to achieve with a historiography such as theirs, one must realize how they envisage the postwar world. They expect, first, that they will win the war, and secondly, that the postwar period will be one of exhausted, frustrated people open to new ideas and ridden by serious economic crises. By that time the new Soviet historiography will be more or less complete and will appeal with its powerful Messianic spirit to postwar mankind. If everything goes according to Stalin’s program, there will then be only one other ideology of world-wide appeal, the American one. But how are the Americans going to fare in an ideological competition with Bolshevism? There is little in the field of ideas which they can oppose to it. To see how weak they feel ideologically, one need only read the section in Wendell Willkie’s One World in which the author, one of the most convinced and outstanding representatives of American capitalism, narrates his own conversation with a thirty-two-year-old Bolshevik engineer on the advantages and disadvantages of capitalism and socialism. As he describes it himself, Willkie was unable to advance anything even halfway convincing to the almost hypnotic trains of thought of the Russian.

STALIN’S “ONE WORLD”

With their “American Century” and postwar world plans, the Americans, without knowing or wishing it, are preparing the way for the Soviets. Who says “One World” will finally land in “One Soviet World.” He who denies the importance and difference of races and peoples: what argument does he have against Pankratova? He who professes a shallow belief in progress: how will he be able to evade the suggestive power of the doctrine of the five stages of evolution?
And he who believes that all evolution tends toward democratic capitalism: will he not in the next crisis of capitalism offer a fertile soil for the Bolshevist doctrine of capitalism as the preceding step to socialism?

The bulwark against the establishment of a world Soviet state are the nations. With all other human institutions Bolshevism can compromise, even with man's desire for personal property. Between national consciousness and Bolshevism, however, there can be no compromise. Moscow knows that it would not have too much trouble in thrusting the Soviet economic and political system on the war-impoverished world, but that the national consciousness of the peoples has been strengthened, not weakened, by the war. For that reason Stalin has made the thesis of "amity of the nations" the central idea of his new notion of the world and is conducting a ruthless war against the nationalist elements within the various peoples. Developments in the USSR since 1917 have shown that the liquidation of the representatives of national ideas speeded up the process of Sovietizing, or even Russianizing the peoples.

NEGROES AND YAKUTIANS

A comparison with the American idea of world hegemony reveals the forcefulness of Stalin's edifice. It is true that the USA is also composed of members of many peoples. But her citizens are people who immigrated from many countries (or their descendants), prepared to become a new nation in the American melting pot. To what extent America is striving to catch up with the process of becoming a nation is to be seen in the fact that America's educational system largely serves for the purpose of Americanization and that immigration, which helped up the process of "melting" by new influx, has been stopped almost entirely during the last few decades.

The Negroes have become a problem in the USA for the very reason that they proved themselves to be "nonmeltable," originating as they do from a totally different race and culture. Even the USA's present imperialism, which is sometimes given an almost Messianic interpretation by the Americans, is not immanent in Americanism but the result of the definite policy of certain circles. Nothing would change in Americanism if the Americans were one day to abandon, as they may perhaps do, their world plans. On the contrary, Americanism will have to alter radically if they cling to their world plans.

Bolshevist imperialism, on the other hand, is different from other imperialisms. It is part of the nature of the Soviet state constantly to have to demonstrate that it is preferred and loved by other peoples who can only fulfill their destiny by rallying around the Russian people and thus marching toward socialism. Furthermore, the Soviet Union is not a nation; not even the Bolsheviks claim this. The more peoples it includes and the more varied these are, the more Sovietic will the USSR become. The presence of Estonians, Turkmen, Yakutians, and many other peoples is far from being a problem for the Soviet Union: it is part of its very essence. In the USSR there could be no Negro problem either. Just like the other Soviet peoples, the Negroes, too, could become an "inseparable part" of the history of the Russo-Soviet people, and Africa no less than the Caucasus or Central Asia a part of the original home of the Soviet people. After their visits to Siberia, both Wendell Willkie and Henry Wallace enthused over this solution of the Yakutian problem; in doing so they unwittingly emphasized, by the contrast of the unsolved Negro problem in the USA, the weakness of Americanism as an ideology of world domination. Indeed, after having read Willkie's book one can easily imagine him as a Soviet citizen ten years from now, whereas even the most vivid imagination could never visualize Stalin as an American.

"INTERNATIONAL PATRIOTISM"

The changes in the meaning of "patriotism" in the USSR are quite consistent with the various trends. Some ten years ago, when the word appeared for the first time, it was always in connection with "Soviet patriotism." Hence at that time one could discover a certain similarity to American or any other patriotism. Recently, however, the term "international patriotism" has made its appearance. This expression, which we first met with in an article by A. Lavrets'ky (Znamya, 1943, No. 11/12, pp.269-277), is a typical product of Bolshevist dialectics and is intended to make the no longer concealable Russo-Soviet Messianism palatable to other nations. The Soviet Union being the soul of the struggle against the world enemy Fascism, argues Lavrets'ky, the patriotism of its inhabitants is an international patriotism. "Our great
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By SAPAJOU

state of many nationalities is by its very principle the embodiment of patriotic internationalism." For, as B. Volin writes, "the Soviet Union is the mighty bulwark of peace and of amity among the nations of the globe." (Sputnik Agitatora, 1940, Vol. XXIV, p. 277.) And Professor E. Tarle, whom Pokrovsky's attacks had sent into exile and who is now reinstated in high honors, declares: "The salvation brought by the Red Army to the world consists not only in the liberation of the nations enslaved by Fascism but also in the fact that moral principles are being restored." (Istorichesky Journal, 1944, Vol. I, p. 106.)

In view of this attitude, it is only logical for Bolshevism to dissolve the local coherence of the peoples controlled by it. As a result of the Bolshevist policy Siberia is now populated with uprooted Estonians, Finns, Uzbeks, Volga Germans, etc.

So we see that the international Soviet patriotism has nothing in common with what the rest of the world understands by patriotism. Indeed, it must not even be confused with a Russian patriotism. For if the history of the world becomes the history of Russia, and consequently the history of Russia the history of the world, then even the Russian people loses its own history in the ocean of world history. If Yakutians, Latvians, and one day Negroes, become Soviet Russians, the Russians, too, in the last analysis, become Yakutians, Latvians, and Negroes.

Thus it would be quite mistaken to assume that the Russo-Soviet Messianic spirit of Stalin's historiography was invented for the benefit of the Russians. The Russians, on the contrary, are just as much victims and tools of Bolshevism as any other nation, only in a different capacity.

After the failure of the hopes they had placed in the international proletariat—which turned out to consist after all mainly of national-minded proletarians—the Bolsheviks went in search of another instrument that would be international enough for their international purposes. They believe to have found it in the Russians. To a greater

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU

At the Crossroads
extent than any other nation, with the exception of the Jews, the Russians today are an international nation. The foundation for this seeming paradox was laid during five hundred years of Russian expansion which—in complete contrast to, let us say, British expansion—led to a thorough mixing of blood and cultures. Compared with society in England, France, Germany, or Japan, Russian society of prerevolutionary days was strongly denationalized. In it, many nationalities were represented, including Russians, Georgians, Baltic Germans, Tartars, etc., all of whom called themselves "Russians." Nor was the society of any other nation so closely bound up with the cultures of other countries as the society of Russia, for a large part of which French was the principal medium of conversation.

The unconscious process of the Russians’ denationalization was consciously accelerated by the Bolsheviks after the Revolution, mainly by the standardizing and leveling influence of superindustrialization, collectivization, and large-scale resettlement. This process is now to be crowned by the new historiography. Have not the Jews, uprooted from their soil two thousand years ago, everywhere and nowhere truly at home, become an "international nation," the representatives of antinational ideas throughout the world? This is the fate which the Bolsheviks have in store for the Russians. This is the reason why Russo-Soviet history includes the history of ancient Mesopotamia and China. By Russian history being turned into world history, the Russians are to become "international patriots" or rather patriots of the Bolshevist International. Thus it also came about that Stalin, a Georgian, or Ehrenburg, a Jew, are among the leaders in the "Russianization" of the world and are being extolled today in the USSR as shining examples of true Soviet Russians. Indeed, they come much closer to the Bolshevist ideal of a Soviet Russian than an average Russian peasant or laborer who still has traces left of regional, cultural, and national ties. Yet Moscow believes itself to have been sufficiently successful in its effort to denationalize the Russians to be able to afford to give them back their old shoulder straps and other symbols. Does that seem illogical? Perhaps, but it is plain dialectics.

Beyond the borders of Russia, too, the Bolsheviks are collecting members of the most varied nations, people who represent the type of the true Bolshevik, who have lost their national feeling and who see the goal of their lives in spreading and safeguarding the rule of this type of person all over the world. With their aid the Bolsheviks are spreading their ideas and awarding good and bad marks for the behavior of the various nations and statesmen. The present war against Germany is for the Bolsheviks a war against the national idea anywhere in the world, a war against all nations who are hostile to the idea of a Soviet mankind.

Anyone who through his actions or theories helps to destroy the idea and the life of nations is favoring the designs of Bolshevism. Only real nations are armored against the new secret weapon of the Bolsheviks in their struggle for world domination—Stalin’s doctrine of history.

Monsieur de Vergennes, who was French Foreign Minister till his death in 1787, once told the Duke of Manchester, the envoy of the English Crown, a rather improbable story. The Duke shrugged his shoulders doubtfully. "The story is true!" said Vergennes. "I give you my word!" Manchester just smiled. "You can really believe me, Your Grace!" Vergennes said with heat. "I give you my word, not as a Minister, but as a man!"

Louis XIV, "le roi soleil," deigned to ask one of his courtiers: "When is your wife expecting her confinement?"

Flattered, the courtier bowed and replied: "Whenever Your Majesty commands."
EUROPE AND THE WORLD
By F. A. SIX

One of the most essential factors to an understanding of the present world situation is the changed situation in which Europe finds itself toward the rest of the world. The following article, telegraphed to us from Berlin, is a short survey of this change.

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The medieval structure of the Holy Roman Empire was the first example of a European concentration of power. The progressive weakening of this all-embracing structure led to the formation of individual nations and made the beginnings of a system of states possible. In the changing struggles of the late Middle Ages and early modern times, the nations gained their independence and developed the political techniques of disputes and interstate relations. Although the consciousness of a certain unity was preserved for a long time, the medieval structure with the empire as the leading authority was definitely abolished; the old idea of political authority on which this structure rested was replaced by the modern idea which rediscovered politics as the driving force of communal life and which was formulated once and for all by Machiavelli.

Until the system of states was fully developed, the individual powers struggled for supremacy in the now chaotic sphere of Europe. These endeavors were, on the other hand, opposed by the desire for independence on the part of the threatened nations, so that from then on Europe's history was characterized by the juxtaposition of the European states.

The expansive forces which had always been inherent in these states turned to overseas territories and included them in European politics. In this way the process of discoveries which took place at the close of the Middle Ages was endowed with world-historical significance. The discoveries introduced a political development whose course led to world politics in the true sense, to the inclusion of the whole earth in the effective sphere of European politics.

At first the history of Europe continued on its own undisturbed course. Overseas interests were included in the decisions wrought by European wars without playing any decisive role. However, the European conflicts gradually led to an increasing interlocking of what had formerly been separate points of dispute, entailing closer and closer relations among the European states, relations which found their expression in the numerous Pan-European congresses and conferences. The system of states had crystallized into an edifice of powers which now opposed any desire for hegemony on the part of one state by the regulating principle of balance. Soon the special position of England became discernible: lying at the edge of Europe she developed more and more into a ruling maritime power and acquired an extensive colonial empire which soon exceeded that of the other powers. The game of the European powers gained in versatility when during the eighteenth century Russia developed into a power in the east and began to have a determining voice in European affairs. A fundamental change, however, was brought about by the increasing weight of the overseas territories, which now themselves became the causes involving European powers in wars and which finally found opportunities during these wars of freeing themselves from the tutelage of their mother countries. From then on they followed their own tendencies of expansion within their spheres as did formerly the European mother countries.

This process had all the more far-reaching effects as Napoleon's ploughing up of the Continent fully occupied the European powers and as, even after his downfall, European domestic affairs continued to require all the nations' strength for a long time. The
result of this was that among the European powers it was only England who, in her aloofness from the affairs of Europe, was able to build up a world position and to represent Europe in the world.

When after the settlement of Continental problems caused by the Napoleonic period the European powers again turned to overseas expansion, they met not only with England’s firm position but also with the United States and Japan, two new powers which, during the decades of Europe’s isolation from overseas affairs, had abandoned their passive attitude and had, with England, entered the circle of world powers. The European powers were thus confronted with a development which began to deprive Europe of its hegemonic position and led to the replacement of the European system of states by a world system of states.

Among the European powers, France, for the sake of her Continental claims, in which she had a dominant interest, renounced any grandiose world-political claim and contented herself with the colonial empire granted her by England. Germany, however, whose founding as an empire had changed the conditions of balance on the Continent to which England’s world policy had become accustomed, grew into the real rival of England in world politics. To combat this rival, England saw herself forced to involve the non-European countries which had grown into world powers. In this way England found herself included in this world-state system on a par with other, equally powerful world states, which threatened soon to surpass her.

After it had been possible during the fifteen years from 1918 to 1933 to keep the center of Europe weak, Germany’s rebirth led to the re-creation of the same front, to which this time the world-revolutionary aims of Bolshevism were added. The situation finally culminated in a second world war, which now, however, was also directed at the growing might of Japan. During its course, the lastremaining separate fields of conflict were included in the general world-political struggle. Just as in former centuries of European history the Continental powers stood out around which the smaller states grouped themselves, so now the world powers stand out which have united the other states within their spheres on a hegemonic or federative basis. In this decisive struggle for the future face of the earth, the freedom of Europe’s peoples and the unity of its territory, as well as Europe’s place among the world powers within their future structure of balance are at stake.

**Americana**

**Apology**

During a wage dispute, John L. Lewis, the well-known American labor leader, was opposed by Patrick J. Hurley, the former Secretary of War and at present Roosevelt’s emissary to Chungking. Lewis called Hurley a “Judas who sold the ideals of his youth for thirty measly pieces of silver.” When Hurley protested vehemently and demanded an apology, Lewis turned to the official arbitrators and said: “Okay, cut out the measly.”

**On the Job**

Early one morning the volunteer fire brigade of Lohrville, Iowa, set out and drove several miles toward the east before it realized that the fiery reflection in the sky was the sunrise.

**Fact**

During the production of a new film, Marlene Dietrich complained that the scenes in which she appeared had not turned out well. The same cameraman had been behind the camera in the taking of *The Garden of Allah*, her favorite movie. So she had a few scenes shown from *The Garden of Allah* and said:

“In this film I look charming, why can’t we do it as well this time!”

“Because I am eight years older,” said the tactful photographer.
LIMNOLOGY

By AUGUST THIENEMAN

"Limne" is a Greek word meaning "lake." Readers will be surprised to find that limnology—a term few people have ever heard of—is an absorbing science covering a wide field.

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THERE is an essential difference in the economic exploitation of the fruits of the earth and those of the water. Many of the green plants growing on land are used directly for human consumption, and are consequently grown by man. On the other hand, true water plants are—with a few exceptions in the tropics—not used at all directly for human consumption.

But when we remember the cultivation of rice, we begin to look at these circumstances with other eyes. It is true that the rice has its roots in the earth of the rice fields and draws from it nutritive substances which, after the harvest, are partially replaced by artificial fertilizers. But the irrigation water also provides convertible plant food; the quality and quantity of these latter nutritive substances depend on the chemism of the water. The irrigation of the rice fields is an entirely artificial one; and in order to have sufficient water at all times of the year, especially in southern regions, natural lakes are often used as storage places or artificial lakes created by means of dams. The surface water of these lakes is carried to the rice fields by means of canals and ditch systems often extending many kilometers in length.

WEALTH LOWER DOWN

This surface water, however, is already largely deprived of its content in nutritive substances by the organisms living in it; it contains only traces of dissolved nitrogen and phosphorus compounds. On the other hand, a German limnological expedition to the Sunda Isles discovered that the water at the bottom of such lakes, the hypolimnion, (from the Greek hypo=below) contains a vast reserve of these substances. Thus every cubic meter of water from the hypolimnion of the small lake of Ranu Lamongan in eastern Java contains an average of 0.35 grams of phosphorus and 3.1 grams of ammonic nitrogen. A total amount of 1,430 kilograms of phosphorus and 12,170 kilograms of ammonic nitrogen are dissolved in the water more than 8 meters below the surface of this tiny lake (750 meters diameter; 28 meters maximum depth). In the case of large lakes, these figures take on gigantic proportions. There can hardly be any great technical difficulties in obtaining the valuable water from the depths of these lakes for the rice fields instead of the poor surface water. The technical exploitation of this one secondary result of a limnological expedition would be enough to repay the cost of the expedition several times over.

Indirectly the vegetative substances of the fresh waters form the basis for all animal production of the waters, including fishing and fish breeding. But here again it must be emphasized that there is an essential difference between cattle raising on land and fish breeding in the water. All animals used in one way or another by man convert vegetable substances (grass, leaves, etc.) directly into meat. It is, however, a great exception for fish to feed directly off plants; the chain leading from original plant food to the fish contains many links, including as it does low forms of animal life on which the fish feeds. Hence an exact knowledge of the metabolism in fresh waters is of great importance to fishing interests. The many-linked feeding chain also explains the difficulty in finding scientifically correct methods of fertilizing fish ponds. Other water animals, such as crabs, mollusks, turtles, and amphibians, are eaten by man, especially in the tropics, or exploited in other ways; the same applies to them as has been said about fish.
FISH, SAND, AND HYGIENE

The total production of fresh-water fishing is usually underestimated. In Germany the annual income of fresh-water fishing according to the last prewar figures amounted to 150 million marks, that of coastal and deep-sea fishing to 80 million marks. If, as a rule, the production of salt-water fishing seems larger, this is to be explained by the fact that inland lakes, ponds, and rivers are distributed over countless localities and that their products are usually consumed locally without previously being concentrated at a few centers, as is the case with sea products in most countries.

As for the "inorganic" production of inland waters, we shall only touch upon them very briefly here; they consist in the main of lake chalk and lime, lake ores, gravel and sand, travertine, medicinal mud, etc. Just a few figures to show that these products amount to considerable quantities too: in the Lake of Zurich an annual quantity of 1 million tons of gravel and sand are dredged, and in Lake Constance some 300,000 to 600,000 tons. Calculated at a price of 3 marks per ton, this would represent an annual turnover of 1 to 2 million marks in the case of Lake Constance alone.

Much as the various items mentioned here under the heading of "production" of fresh-water bodies may differ from each other, one thing holds good for fresh-water production of any kind: a deeper understanding of it and the possibility of its economic development can be achieved only on the basis of theoretical limnological studies. Wherever inland waters are exploited or wherever they tend to obstruct human endeavors, the results of limnology gain practical importance.

This is especially true of the role played by inland waters in the hygiene of man and beast. It is a recognized fact in the advanced countries of Europe and North America today that in all matters affecting the obtaining of drinking water and the hygiene of waterworks a limnologist should be consulted (although in actual fact this is not always done). In questions regarding the contamination of water and the removal of waste water the limnologist gives his advice on the basis of a biological analysis of the water; indeed, waste-water biology is, next to fishery biology, one of the oldest branches of applied limnology. There are close relations between limnology and the struggle carried on against human and animal diseases in all those places where disease carriers either live in fresh water or use fresh-water animals as intermediary hosts. In many cases, measures of combat must set in at the stage at which the carrier lives in the water, so that intensive limnological work becomes necessary.

LIMNOLOGY VS. DISEASES

Take the case of fasciolose, a cattle disease caused by liver flukes (Fasciola hepatica L), which are transmitted by a certain kind of snail. In 1925, in Bavaria alone at least 60,000 sheep, 18,000 head of cattle, and 3,000 goats fell victim to the liver fluke. In other regions, for instance in the North Caucasus, where sheep raising is of primary importance, the damage done by liver flukes is considerably greater.

As regards malaria, we need only point out that that part of its combat which is directed against its transmitter, the Anoph­ eles, is now based entirely on a hydro­ biological-limnological foundation. As a result, malaria has lost its importance in large areas formerly entirely infected.

Let us not forget disease-causing bacteria living in water and transmitted to humans and animals with or by water. Limnological studies are bound to gain considerable importance in the fight against them as soon as the normal bacteriology of our inland waters has been thoroughly studied. At present we know—strange as it may sound—hardly anything about the true water bacteria. It is absolutely necessary, if only for practical hygienic reasons, that the study of the bacteriological world of our inland waters be undertaken as soon as possible with the greatest possible intensity, employing methods which have, in part, already been perfected.

The productivity of inland waters, their hygienic significance, and their technical exploitation are the main problems with which applied limnology has to deal. The problem of the technical exploitation of fresh water and inland waters appears to be limited entirely to the nonbiological part of limnology. As a matter of fact, questions concerning hydraulic engineering, the importance of certain inland waters as sources of power, etc., touch mainly on hydrology and hydrography, the theory of currents, etc. But everywhere biological life, too, influences lakes and streams; one need only think of the sedimentation—to be traced in
part to living organisms—in reservoirs, of the growing over and silting up of lakes and their technical significance, the role of iron bacteria in the supply of drinking water, etc. For every body of water is a unity, a totality, in which the happenings of the environment and biological processes exert an inevitable reciprocal effect upon each other.

FRUSTRATED CAUSEWAY

Here, too, we can quote an example in which the value of a limnological "interference" can be expressed in a round figure. In the autumn of 1932 the authorities decided to remove a "death curve" on the motor road from Kiel to Plön. The road circled a small bay of the Plön Lake and thus formed a narrow curve which had been the scene of many accidents. The idea was to build a 400-meter causeway across the bay and in this way to straighten out the road. On the basis of some primitive drillings and soundings made by a firm of contractors, the building plans were already drawn up. But our own knowledge of sedimentation conditions in that lake made the whole enterprise seem rather doubtful. So we took a hand, without being asked. We discovered that the bottom of the lake, which was to support the dam, was covered by a layer of ooze not 2 meters thick, as had originally been assumed, but 11 meters thick. That put an end to the project; even if half a million marks had been invested in the construction, the success—a firm road bed—would have been extremely doubtful. In this one case, the interference of the scientist, the limno-geologist, saved the state an amount of at least 400,000 marks.

We have emphasized the practical significance of the science of limnology so much because there are many people who regard only such sciences as valuable which produce immediate practical results. Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that theoretical limnology possesses far greater significance for the culture, the spiritual culture, of the present time. We see the reason for this in the peculiar structure of this science. After all, the true essence of a science is often revealed far more by its methodology than by the objects it deals with.

GEOGRAPHY? BIOLOGY?

Today the term "limnology," which originally meant the science of lakes only, has been extended to cover the science of fresh-water bodies of any kind. Limnology deals with everything concerning inland waters. But inland waters are part of the earth's surface, and hence it would be natural to regard limnology as nothing but a partial field of geography. Indeed, the realization that every body of water forms a greater totality with its environment, that what happens even in a lake without influx and efflux can in the last analysis be understood only in connection with the peculiarities of its environment, is gaining more and more ground.

However, to the limnologist a body of water is not only a section of the earth covered with water, a lake, for instance, not only a depression of the earth's surface filled with water. To him its penetration with life is part of the body of water. A lake is the lake basin, its body of water, and everything in the way of plants and animals living in it. Thus to the "geographical attitude" is added a "biological attitude."

The biological parts of limnology, the study of individual organisms living in water and the study of the community of life in inland waters, are in turn parts of general ecology, i.e., that part of biology dealing with the mutual relations between organisms and their environment (of a biological and nonbiological nature).

TOTALITY!

In addition to this "geographical" and "biological" attitude in limnology, there is a third form, which we should like to term "totality." This "total" attitude is the real "limnological" attitude. We treat every body of water as a unity, not only in a geographical sense: we regard it as a uniform sphere of life. Thus our science can be compared to a flight of steps rising from a study of animals and plants as well as the physical and chemical properties of the water, to the study of the relationships linking the organisms with each other and with the characteristics of their dwelling place, and culminating in the realization of the unity and totality of the lake—from life in the water to the life of the whole body of water. And finally it has arrived at the knowledge that these objects of its study, the inland waters, are not only linked up with the entire life and development of the earth, but that even cosmic rhythms are reflected in the occurrences within them.

So modern limnology has developed into a science of synthesis which considers one of
its main tasks to be the study of the reciprocal effect of the penetration with life and the conditions for life in fresh-water bodies. Geography and geology, chemistry and physics, zoology and botany, are the basic sciences upon which limnology is founded. It is one of those sciences developing in increasing numbers in recent times which place the total aspect in the foreground, which pay no heed to the boundaries of the traditional "academic" sciences but unite partial fields of them in new syntheses and thereby build bridges between that which formerly seemed to have no connection.

PLANS AND MATERIAL

Only the recognition of relationships as a whole has provided research with a direction and a goal—and this is of tremendous significance to the further development of our science. It might be objected that all individual parts must first be studied in detail before turning to wider relationships. But, to put it figuratively, one does not start carting stones and mortar until the architect has drawn up the plans of the house. Otherwise the building material would lie around unused and perhaps disregarded and might even become useless; and then the stones must laboriously be hewn again in order to make them fit into the proper place of the whole.

Every science must go through periods of stock-taking, during which it must devote itself chiefly to the collecting of individual facts, as well as periods in which total syntheses are in order. For the way in which the whole of a science develops throughout history does not depend on an ideal plan. Here, too, the tenet holds good that it is men who make history. But everyone is—more or less—a child of his times, influenced, at least unconsciously, by their spiritual trends. They affect the scientific activities of every true scientist, whether he admits it or not. Hence it is hardly a coincidence that the conscious emphasis on synthesis is beginning to play an increasing role, especially in Germany.

To give concrete examples of what I have called the "totalitarian" attitude in limnology, I shall briefly describe two of the standard types of lake.

THE ALPINE LAKE

First, there is the oligotrophic (from the Greek oliges = small, scant; trope = nutrition) type represented, for example, by the large Alpine lakes. The water of a lake of that type is poor in plant nutrients. This depends, of course, on the geological conditions of its close environment and of the areas in which its tributary streams originate; here we see that the lake is not an isolated phenomenon but part of a greater unity. Scarcity of nutrients entails a poor quantitative development of plankton, the free-floating animal and plant life in a body of water. As a result, the water is clear and transparent, usually colored blue to bluish-green. As light can thus penetrate to relatively great depths, the submerged water plants can grow fairly far down. The beds of the young Alpine lakes are usually hard and rocky; as a result, the shore region is narrow, for the lake has not had time enough to gnaw deeply into its resistant banks. Hence the shore vegetation also covers only a narrow strip and is poorly developed from a quantitative point of view. These lakes are deep; so the water mass of the hypolimnion, the deep layers which destroy plant nutrition, is greater than that of the epilimnion (from the Greek epi = on, upon), the surface water that produces nutrients. The dead remains of the scarce plankton production and scanty shore vegetation sink into a large mass of water; the decay caused by their decomposition is, so to speak, very much diluted, so that comparatively little oxygen is withdrawn from the stagnant water of the lower levels; and since, as a result of the great depth of such lakes, the sinking plankton arrives at the bottom in a largely decomposed, mineralized state, the sediments of the lake contain little in the way of organic substances. Consequently, animals requiring oxygen can live at the bottoms of these lakes, in the water as well as in the mud. The quantitative development of the fauna at the bottom is directly related to the quantitative development of the plankton; its limiting factor is nutrition. If an oligotrophic lake is very clear and transparent, which means that its nutrient-producing levels reach far down and are thus of great volume, there can be a relatively rich fauna at its bottom.

On the whole, the typical oligotrophic lake is at a stage of equilibrium: almost the entire mass of substances contained in the bodies of organisms is dissolved again and returned to the water. The entire circulation of nutrition represents a more or less completely reversible process. In other words, we find a mutual effect of all the members of the system of the lake upon
each other, the result of which is the maintenance of the system's equilibrium. This makes the lake an entity, a unity of life of a higher order.

THE LOWLAND LAKE

Now let us turn to the eutrophic (from the Greek eu = well, easy) lake as represented, for example, by the type of large lakes in the North German plains. Bedded in the rich diluvial deposits of the low plains, it possesses a wealth of plant nutrients and consequently also of plankton. The result is turbid water of a green to yellow or brownish-green color and a limitation of vegetable life to the surface levels. The lake has been able to eat deeply into its soft banks, so that a wide shore with rich vegetation has been formed. The lakes are comparatively shallow; their epilimnion—which, together with the shore, produces the organic substances—is of a greater volume than their hypolimnion. When it dies, the rich vegetation of the shore and the surface water sinks down into the relatively small mass of water of the hypolimnion where it decomposes, thus in summer withdrawing the oxygen from the water of the lower levels to such an extent that in some cases the oxygen is entirely used up. As the sediments at the bottom of the lake are also rich in undecomposed, decaying organic substances, only such organisms can exist at the bottom which can remain alive with a minimum of oxygen. Although they have plenty of food, the oxygen conditions represent the factor limiting their quantity, a factor which in extreme conditions (when there is no free oxygen whatever) may reduce the life at the bottom of a lake to a minimum.

Such an extreme eutrophic lake is no longer in a stage of equilibrium. In it a surplus of organic substances is built up every year in organism bodies which cannot be completely decomposed again and returned to the circulation. This surplus produced in the epilimnion sinks down every year into the hypolimnion. Thus a deficit in nutrients would arise if—thanks to the location of these lakes in regions rich in plant nutrition—a constant influx of dissolved nutrients did not balance this deficit, so that every year the eutrophic lake can begin its circulation again with the same supply of nutrients. The intensity of the transfer to the hypolimnion of not entirely decomposed organic substances produced in the surface water determines the speed of the natural maturing of the lake, i.e., of its gradual transformation into a shallow pond, a bog, a marsh, and finally into firm land.

Hence the circulation of substances in a eutrophic lake is only in part a rhythmical, reversible process: it always includes a considerable irreversible residue. And this irreversible residue, especially the ooze of decaying matter being deposited at an increasing speed, shows that the lake is also dependent on outside factors not contained in the lake itself, that its totality is included in a greater system, a greater totality.

INFLUENCES FROM BEYOND

Thus the study of what happens in these two types of lake leads to the realization that the lake and its environment in turn form a superior unity. No essential part can be taken out of this totality without destroying the existing equilibrium; and this totality as such has its own laws, just as each community of life and every plant and animal species has its own laws. There is no such thing as an entirely self-sufficient single biotope, complete in itself, since all abodes of life are connected, linked up, contained in the one great sphere of life. Only this latter, i.e., the earth itself, the whole great realm of terrestrial life, might be called complete in itself and secluded.

But even this is not correct! One must not forget the cosmic influences involved in terrestrial happenings. Without sun there can be no production of vegetable substances, no life! The rhythm between day and night influences all living things and can be noticed even in such details as the vertical expansion of the plankton in a lake.

Moreover, the change in seasons is caused by cosmic, not by terrestrial influences; and how this change affects the entire aspect of a sphere of life, even the build and way of life of every individual creature, especially in the higher latitudes, is so well known that we need only point to the appearance of the countryside in summer and in winter. In the lakes of our latitudes the change of seasons causes above all the change between periods of stagnation and circulation: in autumn, when the time returns where the temperature of the water sinks more at night than it rises during the day, the surface water gradually sinks to the bottom and the hypolimnion receives a new supply of oxygen.
Larger climatic fluctuations, which are never produced by terrestrial factors alone and whose causes are for the greater part to be sought beyond our planet, also affect the course of all kinds of biological phenomena. For more than thirty years the relationship between the climatic conditions of individual years and the size of the harvests in Norway, the fishery yield at the Lofoten Islands, and even the production of cod-liver oil has been known. It is the periodicity of the sun spots which makes itself felt here, as it does in the fluctuations of the ground water level, etc. The same periodicity has been proved in the bottom sediments of certain lakes. The sediments, however, are so to speak the excrements of the great organism “lake”; in them is mirrored the character of its entire metabolism. Differences in sediment mean differences in metabolism; if the rhythmical changes in the nature of the sediment coincide with the periods of the sun spots, this indicates a rhythmical, cosmic effect on the totality of the lake.

So the life of the lake not only extends beyond its borders but is entwined with the life of the highest totality we know, the cosmos. We see that limnological and hydrobiological work is, after all, more than just fishing for plankton or catching newts and frogs and water bugs.

Thirty years ago, when the cry for synthesis was to be heard only in isolated cases, limnology was one of the first among the natural sciences to work toward synthesis and, in its own sphere, to build bridges between the various parts of biology and the nonbiological natural sciences. Its advance in the years after the Great War—a development experienced by but a few of the other natural sciences—went parallel with the general trend, especially among the younger generation, to get away from specialization toward a uniform conception of the whole.

It is true, however, that this urge toward synthesis has not yet been fully recognized by all representatives of science. The bridging sciences are still fighting hard for their existence. To those, however, who are convinced of the unity and totality of science, the support of such spheres of science must be a matter of deep concern. These sciences are working at reassembling the specialized dispersion of science and in this way intervene significantly in the entire spiritual life of the nations.

Regarding life from a totalitarian point of view does not mean an underrating of analytical work: it builds up on the latter. But in pursuit of its goals it follows new paths, creates new methods.

We see the essence of limnology in a conscious emphasis on synthesis—without ever overlooking the fundamental analytical treatment of its field of subjects—and in the stressing of total traits in the life of nature, traits which enable one to understand the details too. This manner of regarding nature as a whole will play an increasingly important role in the gradual overcoming of the present spiritual and cultural crisis.

And the final goal of the study of nature seems to us to be—not, as one scientist put it, the uncovering of relationships of law—but, after an analysis of the parts, to recognize the world as an order, a totality, as a cosmos!

**Efficiency**

In London, the Admiralty Stores List includes:

- Pots, Chamber, plain.
- Pots, Chamber, with Admiralty monogram in blue, for hospital use.
- Pots, Chamber, fluted with royal cypher in gold, for Flag Officers only.
- Pots, Chamber, round, rubber, lunatic.

*(The New Statesman and Nation, London)*

**Tactical Consideration**

High on a ladder in the British Admiralty’s war room stood a WREN (a member of the Women’s Royal Naval Service) sticking pins in a map which marked the progress of a North Atlantic convoy. A crusty British sea lord stalked in, glanced upward at the map. Said he:

“Captain, that WREN will either have to wear pants or we will have to move the convoy to the South Atlantic.”
LAKE RAPPEN NEAR OBERSTDORF, GERMANY
HISTORY BY MAIL
By JOHN DUEHRKOPP

Those who do not collect stamps will be surprised to discover how much of Europe's recent history is mirrored in stamps.

It is a rare event for us to receive a letter from Europe; and when we do happen to be the lucky recipient of such an uncommon object, we hardly pay any attention to that little square of colored paper sticking modestly in the corner of the envelope. And yet how much these stamps can tell us about their countries. For, after all, they are not only the post office's receipt for postage paid but in addition a sort of visiting card of their country, whose history, economics, science, art, culture and, last but not least, scenic beauties reflect in a thousand ways.

It is by no means the intention of this article to initiate the reader into the mysteries of philately with all its technical complications of counting perforations or looking for secret watermarks. We shall speak, not of stamp collecting, but of the stamps themselves as witnesses to the most recent chapter of European history.

Let us turn back the wheel of time to the Polish campaign of September 1939. On September 8 of that year the German Army communiqué announced: "The Polish garrison of the Westerplatte in Danzig has surrendered." This meant that Danzig was free again. To commemorate the return of the city to Germany, two special stamps were immediately issued in Germany showing the famous Church of St. Mary (Fig. 24) and the "Krantor" in Danzig, together with the inscription "Danzig ist Deutsch."

A few days later, after a campaign of eighteen days, Poland was occupied by German troops. The German Governor General took office and the first postage stamps for the occupied territories were issued. These were the well-known German stamps with the head of President Hindenburg overprinted with the words "Deutsche Post Osten" and the values in Polish currency (Fig. 1). However, this issue was soon replaced by Polish stamps captured in Warsaw and overprinted with the German national emblem and the designation "General-Gouvernement" (Fig. 23). It might seem like an irony of fate that these overprinted stamps were the very ones which had been printed in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Polish Republic and which showed outstanding events from the past history of Poland. When the stocks of these stamps had been used up, the new final issue appeared in the autumn of 1940. Famous buildings of Warsaw, Cracow (Fig. 9), and Lublin are reproduced in this beautiful set.

The occupation of Denmark and Norway found no philatelic expression, all current stamps being recognized by the German occupation authorities, who used them also for their own communications. The only effect was that the portrait of King Haakon disappeared from the stamps; instead the portrait of Vidkun Quisling appeared in various commemorative issues (Fig. 3).

Let us step a little ahead of chronological events here and mention an issue brought out by the Norwegian Emigré Government in London. According to one of its decrees, all mail posted on merchant vessels and warships sailing under the flag of the Norwegian exile government had to be franked with these new stamps after January 1, 1943. The designs of these stamps include a representation of the latest Norwegian destroyer Sleipner, a merchant convoy en route and, on the highest denomination, the portrait of King Haakon.

The Netherlands were ruled since 1890 by Queen Wilhelmina, and her portrait is to be found on many a Dutch stamp. But the German Western campaign, which started on May 10, 1940, created a new situation. A series of stamps which had been issued immediately before the outbreak of hostilities and which showed a medallion of the
Queen was confiscated by the German troops of occupation and replaced by a neutral issue whose design simply consisted of large numerals. Their denominations remained unchanged in guilders and cents.

In neighboring Belgium there was no philatelic indication of the occupation of the country, the stamps with King Leopold's portrait remaining in circulation. Only the return of the territories of Eupen and Malmedy, which had been severed from the Reich by the Versailles Treaty, was commemorated in Germany by two stamps showing views of those towns (Fig. 4).

In Luxemburg affairs took a different turn. After the German troops had occupied the Grand Duchy, postal developments followed a similar course here as in Poland: German stamps with an overprint were first circulated and soon replaced by the current stamps of Luxemburg overprinted in German currency (Fig. 22). As from January 1, 1942, these latter were also withdrawn from circulation, and from that date on only the ordinary German stamps have been in use. So this small European state has also ceased to exist in philately.

As in Belgium, the current stamps were also left in circulation in the occupied part of France, and no German occupation stamps were issued. The return of Alsace and Lorraine, which Germany had lost through the Versailles Dictate, was reflected by the overprint of "Elsass" on the ordinary German stamps. After a short period of transition the stamps of the Reich were the only ones to be valid here.

The conclusion of belligerent events in the West was provided by the occupation of the British Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey on July 1, 1940. As it was not possible to issue new stamps quickly enough, the English stamps showing King George VI were allowed to continue in circulation. Since the local stocks of one-penny stamps were very soon exhausted, the German postal administration was forced to resort to cutting the twopenny stamps in half. Not until 1941 did the islands receive their own stamps in penny denominations with a special emblem.

A new chapter in the history of the war was begun with the Balkan campaign in 1941. It was in April of that year that, as a result of the victory of German and Italian troops, the kingdom of Yugoslavia disintegrated into its former parts of Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia as well as the Italian-occupied territories of Fiume, Kupa, and Laibach. On April 10, 1941, the independent new state of Croatia was founded which, until it could issue its own stamps, made use of stocks of former Yugoslavian stamps. In order, however, to blot out the portrait of King Peter II, who had occupied the Yugoslav throne since 1934, the stamps were overprinted with a coat-of-arms (Fig. 2) and with the words "Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska" (Independent State of Croatia). An issue similar in appearance was brought out to commemorate the founding of the new Croatian Army. These stamps, which were sold at twice their face value, were very limited in number and sold out within a few days. Several months later, the new state introduced itself with its own stamps depicting the romantic nature of this country in attractive views of Zagreb (Fig. 18), Konjic, the Velebit massif, etc.

Reborn Serbia, whose past philatelic history is a rich one, also resorted at first to overprinted stamps, to appear finally with its own issue showing views of some of its famous monasteries. Montenegro, which also declared itself an independent state, accepted Italian regency. After the country was occupied, the current Italian stamps with the portrait of King Victor Emmanuel and with the Roman coat-of-arms were overprinted with the name of the country and remained in circulation until Badoglio's treason. In 1943, Montenegro issued an additional series of its own with scenes from the country's national literature. We might mention here as a philatelic freak that these stamps bore on their reverse side quotations applying to the scenes shown. After Badoglio's treason, German troops undertook the protection of the country, and now we find again the old Yugoslavian stamps with the overprint "Deutsche Militär-Verwaltung Montenegro."

Finally we must mention the numerous occupation issues brought out by the Italian civil authorities in the territories mentioned above as well as on a number of Greek islands. An example: in the Italian-Croatian border treaty the basin of Laibach was ceded to Italy and immediately incorporated as an Italian province. After a few intermediary series of stamps with the overprint "Zona Occupata," the ordinary Italian stamps were the only ones to be valid there.
The complete occupation of Greece brought the conclusion of military operations in the Balkans. Since all recent issues of Greek stamps were of an entirely neutral character, all current stamps remained in circulation. The latest series shows views of ancient historic significance, for instance, Herakleion on Crete and the monastery of Meteora. An interesting feature of this series is that the face values are considerably higher than those of former issues. This is the first time that a stamp of 200 drachmas has made its appearance (Fig. 20).

The stamp history of the Baltic states is particularly variegated. Lithuania, which had celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its independence by a commemorative issue on January 13, 1939, and had brought out some special stamps six months later on the occasion of the return of the Vilna territory, was swallowed up in the summer of 1940 by the Soviet Union, in company with Latvia and Estonia. So we find Lithuania’s last issue depicting allegorical representations of peace overprinted with “LTSR/1940 VII 21” (LTSR=Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic). When the German armies marched in the summer of 1941, these new Soviet Republics came to an end. Under German occupation they were combined into the territory of the Commissar General for Ostland and were given stamps of the German Reich with a portrait of the Führer and overprinted “Ostland” (Fig. 21). In addition, there were a number of local issues which, sold at a considerable premium, served mainly for charitable purposes.

The stamps of many countries reflect the gigantic struggle against Bolshevism. A Finnish stamp depicting the proud castle of Viipuri tells us of the recapture of this town by the Finnish Army on August 30, 1941. To commemorate Finland’s struggle for freedom, a series was also issued showing President Risto Ryti and Field Marshal Mannerheim (Fig. 7). The same stamps with an overprint served as the occupation issue for Eastern Karelia. In Rumania stamps were issued bearing an appeal to join in the “Holy War Against Bolshevism”; they show the heads of a German and a Rumanian soldier in addition to the emblems of both countries. The proceeds from the sale of these postal stamps went to charity. Another Rumanian stamp shows the heads of King Michael, Marshal Antonescu, Adolf Hitler, and Benito Mussolini.

A symbolic representation of the nations united as comrades in arms is given in a special issue produced for the exhibition “Europe’s Fateful Struggle in the East” which was held at Zagreb in December 1941. The stamp shows 4 warriors whose shields display the armorial bearings of Germany, Croatia, Italy, and Rumania (Fig. 8). The stamps were sold at a premium, the proceeds of which were intended for the Croatian volunteers fighting on the Eastern Front.

Hungary, whose Honved soldiers are now fighting shoulder to shoulder with the German troops in the East, also has an issue depicting her various arms in action (Fig. 14). When Stephan Horthy, the son of the Hungarian Regent, met his death as a flying officer in 1942, the whole nation mourned with his family, and a commemorative series was brought out showing Stephan Horthy and his mother in a black mourning border.

France was also represented by volunteers on the Eastern Front and issued several stamps showing fighting French soldiers; in addition to the normal text they are overprinted with the words “Front de l’Est.” Similar issues are in circulation in the Netherlands and Norway, depicting heads of their soldiers and bearing the inscription “Legioen Nederland” (Fig. 13) and “Norske Legion.” There are also several Belgian issues with allegorical scenes of the war to proclaim the presence of the Flemish and Walloon Legions on the Eastern Front. A stamp bearing the name “Slovensko” and containing the scene of an infantry detachment in action tells us that even the small Slovak state has contributed its bit in Europe’s struggle.

The mail connection of the soldiers at the front with their families at home is, of course, of great importance in war time. Almost every country has a special field-post service for its soldiers and sailors, which transports letters and parcels free of charge. In the German armed forces, this service has been developed to a very high degree. Thus we find a German field-airmail stamp depicting a Junkers transport plane and printed in steel blue. On the Eastern Front, every soldier is given four of these stamps a month, two for himself and two for his family to use. Another field-post stamp is used for small field-post parcels; every soldier receives one such stamp every month, which can be used for parcels up to one kilogram. In Finland we find a similar
stamp for the transport of field-post parcels (Fig. 12).

Although Italy has been very conservative in the issuing of new stamps during the last few years, the checkered history of that country is inevitably reflected in its stamps. Among the rare special series issued during the first two years of the present war are those commemorating the historic meetings between Mussolini and Hitler, showing the heads of these two great leaders. Similar stamps were issued in honor of the same occasions in Germany (Fig. 15). After the treason of the House of Savoy, Mussolini proclaimed the National Republican Government in Northern Italy. The current stamps with the portrait of ex-King Victor Emmanuel were overprinted with the letters "G.N.R." ("Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana"). These stamps (Fig. 10) may one day prove a rare document of the times. For they were withdrawn again after a few days, since the overprint was almost illegible and by no means served the purpose for which it had been intended, namely, to blot out the portrait of the ex-King. Another series appeared with the overprint "Italia Repubblicana Fascista Base Atlantica" to serve for franking military correspondence intended for an Atlantic base. In that part of Italy occupied by the Allies, the old stamps are also being used (Fig. 11); but here they bear the overprint "A.M.S." (Allied Military Service).

Let us finally point out some philatelic innovations brought about by Allied military actions in North Africa. On the French colonial stamps of Morocco we find the overprint "E.F.M." (Expeditionary Forces Mail). The so-called Committee of Liberation in Algiers has also brought out some stamps showing various allegorical scenes with the inscriptions: "République Française—Comité Français de la Libération Nationale" or "Aide aux Combattants et Patriotes" and "France d'outre Mer." Similar series were issued for the territories of Mauretania, Senegal, and the Somali coast.

We have made no particular mention of the stamps of Great Britain as we cannot discover any reflection of the present historical events in them. New issues of the last five years are confined to a single new series in six denominations which was brought out to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the postage stamp. It is well known that the first postage stamps of the type and appearance with which we are familiar today were used in Great Britain in the year 1840. Just as on the very first issues, so also on the anniversary series the head of Queen Victoria is shown, namely on the left side of the stamp, while on the right side of the anniversary stamp appears the portrait of the present ruler, King George VI.

Our survey would be incomplete if we did not mention the multitude of charity postal stamps, which give us an impressive idea of the welfare work being carried out for those who have suffered from the war. In the Great War there were already numerous stamps issued by the countries concerned which, sold at a considerable surcharge, brought in large sums for charity. In the present war we find, for instance, a special German issue on Heroes' Memorial Day 1943 depicting various arms in action (Fig. 30). The surcharge went to the war-wounded. France remembers her prisoners of war with two special stamps which, with an actual denomination of only 80 centimes and one franc, bear a surcharge of five francs. Even greater is the charity surcharge on the stamps issued for the same purpose in Belgium: it represents thirty times the face value (Fig. 6). Incidentally, Belgium also issued series of stamps for "Winter Relief," similar to the series in Germany.

It goes without saying that there are a great number of special issues in favor of the Red Cross. By means of the most varied designs, these stamps acquaint the public with the vast field of activity of this world-wide charity organization. With scenes varying from a shining red cross suspended over the battlefield of Solferino (Fig. 16) to the depiction of a blood transfusion or a modern hospital plane, these stamps appeal in the various countries for the activities of the Red Cross, and their surcharges bring in considerable funds for the alleviation of suffering (Fig. 17). In addition to these, there are series brought out for special charity purposes as, for instance, to help the blind or to restore valuable cultural monuments. For the air-raid victims in Nisch, some of the denominations of the above-mentioned series of famous Serbian monasteries received an appropriate overprint and a large surcharge, amounting to as much as 33 dinars.

Even the nonbelligerent and neutral countries have special charity series. Since
"One day when I went into a friend's flat," tells George Bernard Shaw, "I saw a caricature of me that seemed to be good—cruel, of course, but still what a caricature should be. Then ... I saw it with a mirror."

**Caricature**

"One day when I went into a friend's flat," tells George Bernard Shaw, "I saw a caricature of me that seemed to be good—cruel, of course, but still what a caricature should be. Then ... I saw it was a mirror."

**Radios in Sweden**

According to a survey made in January 1944, the total number of radios in Sweden was 1,709,012 with a population of some 6.4 millions. Stockholm tops the list of Swedish towns with 316 radios per 1,000 inhabitants, followed by Sodertalje and Malmo, both with more than 300 per 1,000.

**Business Genius**

One day during a heavy blizzard some one suddenly started shouting "Hitler! Hitler! Hitler!" in a street in the slums of New York. People came dashing out of the houses to see what had happened. They found an itinerant apple vendor to have been the cause of all the commotion.

"Why are you yelling 'Hitler'?", asked a policeman.

"If I yelled 'apples'," the man said, "nobody would come out in this weather."
RED BLOOD FROM GREEN LEAVES

In recent publications we have received from abroad there was mention of the surprising healing properties that chlorophyll, the green coloring matter of plants, has been discovered to possess. As the subject seems particularly topical at a time when thousands of people are being wounded and injured every day, we have asked Dr. H. Wilpert, a German biologist living in Shanghai, to combine these reports with a short résumé of what science knows about this subject.—K.M.

There have been various reasons for science's efforts to uncover the secrets of chlorophyll. The significance of this substance becomes clear when one bears in mind that it is only with the aid of this green plant pigment that nature can employ the rays of the sun to produce carbohydrates from carbon dioxide and water. These carbohydrates, in turn, are used by the plants in the synthesis of fats and albumens. The building up of these primitive substances is only possible with the aid of chlorophyll. Animals and the human being are unable to build them up on their own and must use the substances contained in the plants to nourish themselves. So the plant, or rather the chlorophyll, is a fundamental condition for all animal and human life.

Apart from their natural curiosity as to how the plant manages to build up these substances, scientists believed that it would be possible one day to copy this process on a large scale, as there is no lack of the basic substances—carbon dioxide and water.

In 1913, Dr. Richard Willstaetter of Munich discovered some facts which give an indication of how chlorophyll may possibly have a catalytic influence on chemical reactions in the plant. But today there are far more problems than solutions in this respect, and we have not come a single step closer to a technical application of the process. The whole secret is embedded in the tiny plant cell, which does such manifold work that it is quite impossible to survey all its simultaneous functions.

Willstaetter revealed the molecular structure of chlorophyll, and it became apparent that, surprisingly enough, the chlorophyll molecule is very similar to the red blood pigment, the hemoglobin. Both possess nearly the same structure with the characteristic difference that the central atom in the latter is an iron atom, while the central atom in the chlorophyll molecule is magnesium. Later Burgi made detailed physiological studies of chlorophyll and found that its physiological effect with regard to its reaction to oxygen was also identical to that of the red blood pigment.

In view of the fact that chlorophyll is so similar in its molecular structure to that of the red blood pigment, it was an obvious step to use chlorophyll as a strengthening drug and for the treatment of anemia. It might be objected that, after all, sufficient quantities of chlorophyll are taken every day with the consumption of vegetables. The reply to this is that the chlorophyll in plant cells is enclosed by comparatively strong cell walls, so that the human body is not always able to make use of it. Moreover, there are only tiny quantities of chlorophyll contained in a plant: only 1 per cent of the dry substance consists of chlorophyll, and in the case of edible plants the dry substance hardly ever accounts for more than 20 per cent of the total. In other words, 100 grams of vegetables contain no more than about 0.2 grams of chlorophyll. Hence the chlorophyll preparations prescribed for these purposes are actually chlorophyll extracts. Some of these preparations contain a small additional quantity of iron, since the red blood pigment contains iron.

The latest and most promising medical application of chlorophyll is in the field of infections. Well-known medical experts have reported numerous cases in which chlorophyll has conquered deep-set infections, healed open wounds, given relief in cases of chronic inflammation of the lymph gland, and prevented ordinary colds.

At Philadelphia's Temple University it was discovered that chlorophyll strengthens the walls of animal cells. This observation led to the question: Would it not be pos-
able to employ chlorophyll to fight bacteria? Even the best antiseptics usually have one disadvantage in that, if they are strong enough to kill the causes of the disease, they often disturb the function of the surrounding tissue at the same time. Might chlorophyll enable the body to fight the invading bacteria and yet spare the tissue?

Laboratory experiments have shown that, in itself, chlorophyll does not have the power to kill off bacteria. But when it is in contact with live tissue it seems to strengthen the cells’ power of resistance and to hamper the growth of bacteria. Its specific ability of breaking down carbon dioxide and releasing the oxygen spells doom for the bacteria, which can only live in suppurating wounds beyond the reach of air. Even in generous doses chlorophyll has shown no irritating effect. The department for experimental pathology at Temple is now preparing various ointments containing chlorophyll for all kinds of infections and is experimenting with them. Incidentally, ointments containing chlorophyll, usually in addition to sulfonamides, have already been marketed in China.

Last year, a dozen well-known doctors published their experiences with chlorophyll in the American Journal of Surgery. All in all, some 1,200 cases, from deep-seated infections to superficial skin injuries, had been treated by these men, and in case after case the report ended: case cured. Patients arrived with a ruptured appendix and incipient peritonitis; after the necessary operation, a chlorophyll solution was successfully applied to the deep wound by means of a tube. In other cases a compress with chlorophyll or an ointment containing chlorophyll was applied. Serious bone diseases, inflammation of the brain, and many cases of mouth infections, angina vincenti, and pyorrhea alveolaris have been cured.

For quite a number of years, chlorophyll preparations for injection have been marketed by reputable firms for the treatment of tuberculosis and arteriosclerosis. The American specialists Robert Ridpaths and T. Carroll Davis have had excellent results in the treatment of 1,000 cases of infections of the respiratory organs. They reported that they had not seen a single case treated with chlorophyll where the patient had not been either completely cured or at least shown considerable improvement. Chlorophyll tampons inserted in the nose during colds have been outstandingly successful in giving instant relief. Patients with a cold in the head or the nose were greatly relieved within twenty-four hours.

How does chlorophyll destroy bacteria or hamper their growth? Beyond the facts that it strengthens the cell walls, hampers the growth of the bacteria, and gives the body a chance to mobilize its own defenses, doctors know very little. Perhaps there is something in the theory that the effect produced by chlorophyll is produced by its hampering influence on the vitamin metabolism of the bacteria, which latter are—like humans and animals—dependent on the presence of certain substances of a vitamin character.

PENICILLIN—MEDICINE FROM MOLD

By HANNS WIRTZ

During the last few months, various sensational reports have appeared in the press about a new drug called penicillin which is supposed to possess miraculous healing properties. "Time," in its issue of March 15, 1944, went so far as to say: "Penicillin will save more lives than war can spend," and even Churchill mentioned the new drug in one of his speeches.

We have just received detailed material on penicillin from Europe, and Dr. Hanns Wirtz of Shanghai, who obtained his degree in pharmacy at the University of Bonn, Germany, tells our readers about the nature and significance of the new medicament in the following article.—K.M.

WHEN Robert Koch proved more than sixty years ago that a certain group of diseases, now known under the collective name of "infectious diseases," has its cause in the activity of numerous kinds of tiny parasites such as bacteria, protozoa, or fungi, he laid the foundation for effective countermeasures. Once an enemy is recognized, it is possible to lay bare his weak points and to construct the necessary defensive weapons. The same applies to the infectious diseases. Starting out from Koch’s
discovery, several methods for their prevention or cure were developed. At first the greatest success was achieved by the injection of the blood serum from animals that have been inoculated with the respective bacteria or their toxins. Such serums, when introduced into the human body, provide it with the necessary power to resist and combat an infection by virtue of the antibodies it contains. In addition to this serum therapy, chemotherapy was evolved, i.e., the treatment of the disease by chemical reagents that have a toxic effect upon the microorganism causing the disease, without seriously harming the patient.

The success of this latter method, the wide employment of which began with Germany's Gerhard Domagk's publication on his experiments with sulfa drugs in 1935, was so overwhelming that it appeared at first as if this was the only promising method of combating such infectious diseases as pneumonia, typhoid, angina, scarlet fever, or gonorrhea. Hence the experts of the whole world turned their attention to testing and improving the sulfa drugs, with the result that another promising discovery in this field lay fallow for many years.

In 1928 Dr. Alexander Fleming, Professor of Bacteriology at St. Mary's Hospital Medical School, University of London, was studying the growth and properties of staphylococci, a genus of cocci bacteria most commonly found in boils, abscesses, carbuncles and similar supplicative processes. One day he observed that part of the medium in which he was culturing these staphylococci had been invaded by mold. A few days later, Dr. Fleming noticed that the mold had cleared a wide, bacteriafree area between itself and the staphylococci—perhaps had killed them. Realizing the importance of this phenomenon, he began to devote his attention to it. First he identified that particular mold as Penicillium notatum, a close relative to the ordinary mold, Penicillium glaucum, that annoys us by its appearance on stale bread, shoes, imperfectly sealed preserves, etc. Dr. Fleming then grew the mold on a liquid medium in glass containers. The mold secreted a substance into the medium which was capable of preventing the growth of disease-producing microorganisms. Dr. Fleming named this by-product penicillin.

Although several similar antibiotics—i.e., antibodies produced by bacteria to stem the growth of their rivals—were known, none had so far been employed successfully in medicine. The reasons for this were their comparative toxicity and the difficulty of producing them.

Fleming therefore examined his penicillin especially for its toxic effect on the animal organism and found that the medium containing penicillin was no more poisonous to animals than the pure medium. Above all, penicillin did not harm the white blood corpuscles, the human organism's chief troops of defense against harmful germs.

After the therapeutic effect of penicillin had been proved by excellent results in the treatment of infected wounds with a liquid containing penicillin, the question of producing it was studied. Although it became possible in 1932 to raise the mold in a synthetic medium, the penicillin itself could not be extracted in a concentrated, stable form without losing its effectiveness. Numerous attempts to overcome this difficulty were unsuccessful. And when in 1935 the sulfa drugs, which combine normal conditions of manufacture with their great effectiveness and comparatively low toxicity, commenced their triumphal march against the infectious diseases, Dr. Fleming and other researchers on penicillin believed that the latter would hardly attain any practical significance as an antiseptic beside the sulfonamides.

With the increasing employment of the sulfonamides, however, it became apparent that, beside the various bacteria they succeed in laying low, there are some germs which are insufficiently or not at all affected. It also turned out that the therapeutic result depends to a large extent on whether the drug can reach the focus of infection in an effective concentration. In cases where the infection has advanced to a stage at which necrosis, phlegmon, or thrombosis has set in, the chances of a cure have proved to be limited.

Hence medical science began to seek for means of closing these gaps. According to the Shanghai Times Week of August 9, 1944, Japanese research workers have been experimenting with penicillin for ten years. In England Dr. H. W. Florey and Dr. E. B. Chain of Oxford's Sir William Dunn School of Pathology resumed the interrupted work with penicillin. With the aid of a large research team, they succeeded in developing a method by which penicillin could be extracted from the culture medium and rid—at least partial-
Of impurities without destroying its  

The examination of the efficacy of penicillin on the germs of the various infectious diseases showed that penicillin, too, is no panacea against all pathogenic germs. The following bacteria proved to be particularly sensitive to the drug: Streptococcus pyogenes (suppurating wounds, puerperal fever); Staphylococcus aureus (diseases of the bone, carbuncles); Streptococcus pneumoniae (pneumonia); Corynebacterium diphtheriae (diphtheria); Clostridium welchii, septics, oedemations (gas gangrene); Neisseria gonorrhoeae (gonorrhea); Neisseria meningitidis (meningitis, typhus). Less sensitive were, on the other hand, the germs causing typhoid fever. Wholly resistant were those of plague, cholera, dysentery, and tuberculosis.

Penicillin's effectiveness consists in that it prevents the dividing and multiplying of the bacteria affected by it. The drug is, in effect, as the technical term has it, a bacteriostatic, while most antiseptics are, for example, carbolic acid, kill the bacteria directly.

Although the characteristics of penicillin were now known and the experiments on animals had provided good results, the drug was still far from being introduced into general medical practice. Again it was the sensitiveness of this organic substance which, in contrast to the sulfonamides, placed great obstacles in the way of large-scale manufacture. It took months of work on the part of Dr. Florey's entire team to produce enough penicillin to treat one or two patients. Moreover, the first man treated showed violent by-effects in the form of shivering and rising temperature, which were, however, traced to impurities which it was later possible to remove. Researchers successfully went to work to discover technical methods of production with a sufficient yield, so that today it has become possible to provide pure, concentrated penicillin preparations on a comparatively large and increasing scale. But it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to cover all requirements by the culture method, as it is very difficult to protect the mold from bacteria in the air whose enzymes tend to destroy it. This problem will hence only be fully solved by the chemical synthesis of penicillin which, although probably possible, has so far not yet been effected. Before penicillin can be synthesized, its exact chemical composition must be known. However, the difficulties involved in obtaining the absolutely pure secretion of Penicillium notatum (there are at least 100,000 molds and fungi, and there are always spores of some of these molds in the air) have resulted in several formulas for the chemical composition of penicillin having been advanced so far. Some scientists regard it as a peptide of the formula C$_{24}$H$_{32}$N$_2$O$_{12}$; others claim it to be a hydro-aromatic compound C$_{24}$H$_{35}$O$_{10}$N$_2$ or C$_{14}$H$_{19}$O$_6$N or C$_{24}$H$_{30}$O$_{11}$N; and finally there is one group of scientists who maintain that penicillin is a nitrogenfree compound.

Norr is it possible to determine the weight of the penicillin contained in a given solution without an exact knowledge of the chemical composition, although the exact determination of the penicillin content of such a solution is essential to its therapeutic application. Hence the biological test method has been resorted to. That quantity of penicillin was determined which, dissolved in 50 cc of meat extract, was just able completely to arrest the growth of a specific culture of Staphylococcus aureus. This quantity was named an Oxford unit, or also a Florey or Heatley unit. In view of the rapid secretion of penicillin from the body, vast quantities of these units are needed. In the case of pneumococci infections, for instance, the amount of penicillin needed for a cure is around 100,000 Oxford units, while there
have been reports on the curing of serious streptococcus cases which mention the injection of 830,000 to 7,900,000 Oxford units.

According to the latest information, there are seven manufacturers in Great Britain and 21 in America (two Canadian, the rest US) now producing penicillin or soon to be in production. America expects about 200 billion units a month to be produced by the end of the year. The American factories will have a top capacity of nine pounds (almost 7 billion units) a day, compared with a total production last year of about 15 pounds. Prices now vary from US$2.85 to $10 for 100,000 units (last year's price: $20).

The small quantities produced until recently make it obvious that there are not nearly as many reports available on successful treatments as was the case some ten years ago when the sulfonamides were introduced. Nevertheless, there exists already enough material to permit the conclusion that, in cases where sufficient quantities of penicillin are obtainable, the drug can produce amazing results.

By far the greatest experience has been gained in the treating of war wounds with penicillin. The bacteriologist Florey and the surgeon Cairns of Oxford joined the British troops in North Africa and Italy for three months to make observations on the spot. After some initial failures, they obtained very favorable results. The danger of infection in the case of war wounds was practically eliminated. The best results were achieved by powdering the wounds with a mixture of penicillin and sulfonamide.

Extremely impressive results were attained with penicillin in the treatment of sulfonamide-resistant cases of gonorrhea which, with few exceptions, were cured in two days. Numerous cases of otherwise hopeless staphylococcus infections were also cured with penicillin, among them osteomyelitis (inflammation of the bone marrow), infections of the skin and subcutaneous tissues (furuncles, etc.), and other infections.

In the case of pneumococcus and meningococcus infections, experience has proved favorable but not extensive, as here the excellence of the sulfonamides is undisputed, and there is no reason to employ penicillin for diseases in which simpler methods lead to the same result. The same applies to a large number of other infectious diseases, such as arthritis, infections of the urinary tract, infections of the nose, sinus, and ear, ulcers, cellulitis, infections of the hands, burns, etc. Many authors report on excellent results with penicillin in the treatment of these diseases; but at the moment these fields of indication are of no practical significance. For almost the entire present production goes to the armed forces for the treatment of all kinds of wounds, only a small surplus being released for the treatment of civilians. Naturally, this limited quantity is reserved mainly for such cases where other drugs have failed.

Whether penicillin will hold its own beside the proven medicaments used today, or whether it may even replace these, will only become apparent when the medical world can be supplied with unlimited quantities at competitive prices, which is not yet the case. It looks as if penicillin or similar by-products of other microorganisms, such as pyocyanase, tyrothricin, gramicidin, claviformin, patulin, spinulosin, citrinin, gliotoxin, aspergillin, flavicin, clavacin, and actinomycin, may be able to close the gaps left by the sulfonamide therapy. Various reports have already been published according to which most human and animal pathogenic germs can be arrested in their growth by one or the other antibiotic. This is also true of the particularly insensitive acid-resisting bacilli. Indeed, even the tuberculosis bacillus, which is otherwise practically impregnable, has been successfully attacked by preventing its growth, not by penicillin, but by actinomycin, an antibiotic analogous to penicillin but obtained from a different mold.

It would thus appear as if, with the aid of antibiotic and chemotherapeutic substances, practically all infectious diseases will be preventable or curable in future. It is also entirely within the realm of possibility—and this is Florey's opinion too—that an antibiotic will be obtained one day from one of the countless microorganisms which will prove to be the universal cure for all diseases caused by germs.

Perhaps a step in this direction has already been made in Japan, where Professor Dr. Masahiko Kuroya of the Tohoku Imperial University and his assistant Dr. Shikaji Kondo recently announced the discovery of a new type of penicillin with a fungus-growth-prevention power many times greater than that of Dr. Fleming's penicillin.
WORD MIGRATION IN THE ORIENT

By DR. EMMO GEHR

In May 1942 this magazine published “The Strange Case of Leprosy,” by Dr. Gehr, an article which aroused much interest among our readers. Dr. Gehr, who at that time was living in Tokyo, has now moved to the Leper Asylum in Chiangmai, Thailand, to continue his research work there. But, like many of his professional colleagues, he devotes his spare time to other intellectual pursuits. For many years Dr. Gehr has been a student of languages and can read more than a score of them. In the following pages he outlines some of the ideas which he has formed in the field of comparative languages. The study of this subject is a relatively new science, and many are the disputes among its adherents. Not all our readers may agree with every conclusion reached by Dr. Gehr or with the transcriptions he uses, but probably all will find the article stimulating reading. —K.M.

WORDS migrate around the globe just like races and people and their ideas, their cultures, and their commercial products. Just as human races are divided into peoples, tribes, and clans, so do languages, idioms, and dialects evolve. That branch of research dealing with these processes is known as the “science of comparative languages.”

A dry, dull business? Far from it; it is thrilling and—dangerous. Dangerous in that many an enthusiast with insufficient training and superficial knowledge has landed himself in the wildest speculations, claiming, for instance, the close relationship between the Chinese and ancient Egyptian language and script. However, even within the limits of well-substantiated facts this branch of science is fascinating enough, and the expert is able to trace many an event in the history of culture by it.

“MAN” FROM INDIA

Centuries before our age of airplanes, express steamers, and railways, the advanced cultures of the earth were in close touch, influencing and stimulating each other. Among the principal of these cultural centers were those of China/Japan, of ancient India, of Persia/Arabia, and of the Greek Occident. Many of the European and Asiatic languages have their roots in Sanskrit-Pali. Take the word “man,” for example: it comes from the Sanskrit, is manus in Bengali, appears in Malayan as manusia, in Thai as manut, and has become Mensch in German and “man” in English. Or the Sanskrit pitar (father): Bengali—pitar; Persian—peder; Greek—pater; Latin—pater; French—père; German—Vater; and so on. “Sister” is in Bengali sahodara (bhagini); in Malayan saudara; in Russian syestra; and in Europe Schwester, soeur, suora, etc. The Bengali word bhrata is the Russian brat, the German Bruder, the English “brother.” The number “ten” is dasan in Sanskrit and Zend, tasn in Armenian, diesits in Russian, dëszimt in Lithuanian, deka in Greek, decem in Latin, deich in old Irish, taïhun in Gothic, zehn in German.

The case of the word “fire” is a remarkable one. The Indian agni became the Latin ignis. But most European languages derive their equivalent from the Greek pyr: from this evolved Feuer, “fire,” feu, fuego, and fuoco. And now watch out! This is where it gets dangerous in the sense just mentioned: the Thai word for fire is fai; the Hakkas in South China say fat, the Fukienese oah, the Annamites hao, the Northern Chinese huo (火), and the Japanese finally pronounce it hi. The close similarity in the pronunciation of “h” and “f” is revealed, for example, by the new Japanese romanization, according to which Mount Fuji must now be written “Huzi.” So we have huo—fuoco, fat—fai—feu and hi, all no doubt very similar. But it seems equally certain that the word used in the Sino-Japanese sphere of culture is not identical with that of the Indo-European sphere. What we have here is a convergent development, i.e., for more or less haphazard reasons words of the same content are also similar in sound.

But still more mysterious processes can be traced. In Asia as in Europe, every infant says to its mother: ma, mama, ma-
man—not because it recalls the “common human original language” (in all probability this has never existed), but because this sound is the simplest one for the human mouth to produce. So every baby happily gurgles ma-ma-ma to itself and does not mean anything by it at first. But as the mother is always closest to it, the most important “object” of its environment and hence the first one to be given a name, this first sound becomes the term for her.

**TEA AND SAGO**

The cultures of Greater East Asia have always been closely linked with each other. Each of the nations has experienced a period of florescence, once possessed a mighty empire, and allowed neighbors near and far to participate in its cultural achievements. Hence it is not surprising that words and expressions also underwent numerous migrations and changes in this part of the world. In fact, some of them accompanied Oriental products and culture all over the globe, just as East Asia has received ideas, goods, and words in exchange from India, the Near East, and Europe since time immemorial. There are many examples. Let us look at a few.

Wherever tea is drunk, this delicious beverage is known either as thé, *Tee*, “tea” (originally also pronounced “tay”) or as *chá* (茶), *sha* or *ché* (Annamite). Where did these words originate? Where did tea come from? Probably the plant itself did not originally come from China. But the first reports of tea—as a medicine and beverage—were brought to Europe in 1559 by the Dutch, who called it *thee*, because the Chinese merchants in Fukien from whom they obtained it pronounced the Northern Chinese *chá* as *te*. Approximately at the same time, however, the Portuguese brought the beverage to Europe but, instead of from Fukien, from Kwangtung Province, where the word is pronounced *ç'ah*. As a result, Portugal still calls it *sha*, in contrast to the rest of Western and Central Europe. While the precious little leaves traveled to Western and Central Europe by sea, they reached Russia by caravan overland. Unlike the sea voyages, which started from Southern Chinese coastal cities, the overland transport set out from Northwest China, where tea is called *ç'ah*: consequently, it is known as *chá* or *çh'ài* in all Slavic languages.

Sago also conquered the world from the East: the Malayan *sagu*, Thai *saku*, came to Fukien as *sia-ko-bi* (謝高米), which the Hakkas in Kwangtung pronounce *sa-luk-mi*. In North China it is known as *hai-kwo-mi* (西谷米; pronounced *sai-kwok-mai* in Cantonese) and *kuang-lang-mien* (抗御麵) as well as *sha-ku-mi* (沙谷米). So we see that the name “sago” penetrated all languages that possess a word for it at all.

A Chinese word that traveled around the globe is *ta-feng* (大風), in Hakka and Cantonese *thai-fung*, Fukienese *tea-hong*, Bengali *tuphán*, the “great wind” or typhoon. In Japan the same Chinese characters are pronounced *t-kaze*, which also means great wind.

A Javanese word that has found acceptance in European languages is “batik.” The Malayan *orang utan*, meaning “man of the woods,” has even become a semiscientific term for an anthropoid ape—on the strength of an error. European travelers expressed amazement at the apes they had observed in the interior; the coastal inhabitants of Borneo misunderstood their description, thinking that by “manlike apes” or “apelike men” the Europeans meant the wild pygmy tribes they knew as “men of the woods.” The Europeans, however, had never seen these shy jungle dwellers. And so the name “man of the woods” was attributed to the apes.

**COFFEE IN THE EAST**

To return to beverages: if the Orient produced tea, the Occident contributed coffee to the gratification of mankind. The Japanese got to know *koffie* through the Dutch and still call it *kohi*. In China and southeastern Asia it was introduced by the Arabs themselves; so the Chinese say *k'as-fei* and the Thaidlanders *ga-fü*—derived from the Arabic *kahwa* or *khwâ*. The Dutch also brought the cup (“een koffje koffie”) to Japan; hence the Dutch *kop* became the Japanese *koppu*. The Arabian word “alcohol” migrated to Japan (*arukôru*) with the Dutch; in Thailand (*álghohol*) it was introduced by the English; Europe, which owes so much to Arab sciences, took over the word directly; in China, on the other hand, the expression *chiu-ching* (酒精) was coined, analogous to the English “spirits of wine.”

The earliest travelers anywhere in the world and at all times were probably merchants and missionaries, adventurers and scientists. The merchants in particular always took along their national culture and civilization into foreign countries, enriching the languages of those countries—far more
so than the messengers of ideas and ideals, the missionaries. (After all, there are considerably more people who appreciate coffee or tea than are converted to the Mohomedan or Christian faith!) Not until later does the scholar act as the transmitter of scientific terms. In the East it was in former times the Portuguese, Dutch, and Arabs who were chiefly active as foreign merchants, and Chinese and Malays as native ones. Their travels covered the whole of this vast region: countless linguistic traces bear witness to this. To this day the Malay and the Thai­lender use the Portuguese word lelang for “auction.” Butter is known for “butter,” and these names appear in the Chinese bie (butter), and became the house­hold word “maskee” on the China Coast, in the sense of “never mind” or “so what!”

INDIAN AND CHINESE TERMS

The neighboring regions of Thailand and Malai, situated as they are between the Indian and the Chinese spheres of culture, contain many borrowed terms from both these spheres in their languages. Thus, from the Sanskrit-Pali, we find in Malayan rupa (form), manusia (mankind), bumi (earth), seteru (enemy), peraks (examine); and in Thai rup, manut, pumi, sadru, and priksa with the same meanings. Since the original home of the Thais was in Yunnan, they may have brought along many a Chinese word in ancient times to their new home. Among these might possibly be terms such as pie (plait; Chinese: pien 髮), un (warm; Chinese: uen 暖 or Cantonese: wun), ngun (money; Chinese: yip 金, Fui­kinese: gun, gin, Hakka: hung, Cantonese: ngan).

But even in more recent times Chinese merchants have introduced many a term into these two languages, for example kung-szu (公事), pronounced, of course, as the Fukiene­se do (kong-si), meaning company. The Malayan word is kongs, in Thai it is gongsei (office). The “master,” “tuan,” is in Malai tauke (towky); it would be hard to recognize the Northern Chinese tou-chia (頭家) in it. But in South China we find the Cantonese t'au-ka, the Hakka theu-ka, and finally the Fukiene­se thau-ke. In Thai it is tauy (leader).

The newcomer, the greenhorn, is in Indonesia and Malai a singkek or singkheh. It is the Chinese sin-k'e (新客, new guest), which the Fukiene­se pronounce sin-kheh. Incidentally, kheh (guest), Cantonese haak and Hakka hak, is in South China the name for the Hakka tribe (客家, guest people), which immigrated from North China. In Japanese k'e, kheh, hak has become kyak(u), the final “u” hardly being pronounced.

FROM “DARABAN” TO “SARONG”

In East Asia, Japan has always represented the great reservoir for all cultural influences of the globe, absorbing, testing, and transforming them. Minoru Umegaki expressed this very well in his interesting article on “Japanese Words of Foreign Origin” (Contemporary Japan, November 1943): “Our traditional self-preservation spirit urges us to nationalize things foreign in our own way for indigenous enrichment.” And: “Just as Japanese culture is intimately associated with Chinese culture, so our language has close relations with that of the continent.” And this in spite of the fact that Japanese and Chinese, far from being related languages, belong to two entirely different language families.

In addition to many European words, some of which we have already mentioned—to which we might add such further old and new examples as daraibhas from the Dutch draaibank (lathe), meriyas from the Spanish medias (hosiery, knitted goods), and naifu, teburu, aisukurimu, shatsu from the English knife, table, ice cream, shirt—Japan has assimilated Indian (Buddhist Sanskrit expressions), Cambodian, Javanese, and Malayan as well as a few Korean and Ainu words, words which now form an integral and harmonious part of her inter­esting language. As a result of the leading role now played by Japan in the entire East Asiatic sphere, expressions and terms from almost all the languages of this sphere have in the last two years been introduced into Japanese. Minoru Umegaki mentions among others copra, durian, mang­ga, mandi, and sarong. But by far the most important part in the Japanese language is played by the words, terms, and expressions which, together with their characters, were borrowed from the Chinese and Japanized. They are known in Japanese as kango (漢語)
in contrast to the *Yamato-kotoba*, the original, primary words of the Japanese language.

Just as Japan has become East Asia's mentor, the Japanese language will in future become the main medium of communication in this area. The objection has been raised—also on the part of some Japanese—that this language is too difficult for such a purpose, and that simpler languages such as Malayan or even English would lead more quickly to a linguistic unification of Greater East Asia. In common with the majority of Japanese experts, we cannot subscribe to this opinion. Today, the German language dominates Europe, although English, Spanish, Italian, and even French are simpler than German. In the same way, millions of Chinese, Malays, Javanese, Thais, and Burmese are now learning Japanese. Most of them are already acquainted with the Chinese language. Especially the Chinese learning Japanese, in addition to knowing the characters, expect to recognize countless well-known words in Japanese which Japan has borrowed from China. But a disappointment is in store for them! No wonder, for most of the *kango* originate from past centuries with different pronunciations and different usage—and, moreover, from South China instead of from the North!

**A RIDDLE SOLVED**

Let us imagine a Japanese soldier, in private life a peasant or a fisherman, making friends with two Chinese schoolboys in Peking. In writing, they have no difficulty in making themselves understood, but orally they get nowhere! So the soldier takes a piece of chalk and draws some characters on the sidewalk. He starts with the word "chalk" itself (白). He repeats: *hakuboku*—you must be able to understand *that*; it's a *kango*, a word taken from the Chinese? Indeed, they do understand the characters "white inkstone," but the pronunciation? Shouldn't it be *pai-mo* or at least something similar? No, it is pronounced *hakuboku* and nothing else in Japanese, and little La can grasp this no better than young Chen.

Now their classmate Ah Sheng happens to come along, whose family is from Canton. He maintains that these two characters are pronounced *paak-mak*, not *pai-mo*. If he had chanced to be from Fukien, he would say *peh-bak*. Now we are beginning to approach the Japanese sound of the word for chalk: "b," "p," "f," and "h" are closely related sounds—the Thailander can never agree with a foreigner whether a Thai or European word starts with "p" or "b." Like the Spaniard, the Japanese pronounces "f" bilabially, i.e., not like most Occidentals do between the lower lip and the upper teeth but between both lips so that it comes out as a sort of mixture between "h" and "f." "M" and "b" (both labial sounds) are also brothers. So we arrive at hak-bak for "chalk"—the final "i" in Japanese, as we have said before, is often inaudible, the place-name Kusatsu being pronounced like "Ksats"; and the changeability of vowels was to be seen from many of the examples of migrating words shown above—the result being: *hakuboku* (q.e.d.).

Let us now take the word *shimbun*, so familiar today all over East Asia, or rather, *shimbun-shi*, meaning "newspaper" (*shimbun* = news). The appropriate characters (新聞紙) are pronounced in North China *hsin-ween-chih*; similar, but not very, is it? Here again the key is to be found in South China: the Cantonese *san-man-chi*, the Hakka *sin-vun-chi*, and finally the Fukienese *sin-bun-chi*. The call *banzai*! (ten thousand years of life, 祇壽) is pronounced *wan-sui* in North China, *man-sui* in Canton, *ban-hoe* in Fukien, and *wan-soi* by the Hakkas. "Virtue" (德) is pronounced *te* in North China and has turned via the Hakka *tet*, the Fukienese *tek*, and the Cantonese *tak* into the Japanese *toku*. It is interesting to compare the numbers:

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</table>
REPAYMENT IN KIND

It would be wrong, however, to assume that Japan has never been anything but receptive in linguistic respects. Since the first half of the last century, Japan has created countless new biological, medical, and other scientific terms which, in turn, have in many cases been adopted by Chinese-speaking scientists. For reasons of greater brevity and pithiness, and since the Chinese characters were in any case indispensable, the Japanese chose kango, i.e., Sino-Japanese terms, and not Yamato-kotoba. The ancient Chinese word lai-ping (來平), for instance, which was first employed in China for leprosy in 278 A.D., was introduced into Japan in the seventh century as raibyo. In the meantime, several other expressions were used for leprosy in China, the one most often used in recent times being maf-yo (麻癬). Now, however, raibyo/laip- ping has returned to China as a technical term, and with it many other word-formations such as rai-kessetsu (雷キセツ), Chinese lai-chii (チチ), for leprosy nodules, etc. Many other word formations have also migrated from Japan to China, as, for instance 代理 =commercial agent, 外務 =foreign minister, 名 =design, all of them newly formed words originating in Japan. Times of war have always proved particularly fertile in creating new terms and expressions; Japan coined kaki (木: the Cantonese would pronounce it fo-hai) for “firearm”; gin-yoku (銀鷹: Cantonese ngan-yik; Fukuienesse gin-ek) for “silver wings”; and many other terms, thus repaying China in kind for the words borrowed from her language.

TRACES OF THE PAST

Languages and words not only migrate, often hurrying ahead of human migration; they also stay behind and bear witness to the past. The old Roman Empire has perished—the Latin language lives on among the scientists of all continents, even in regions which never saw a Roman. In the same way, ancient Greek, ancient Ethiopian, and ancient Bulgarian (old Slavic church script) bear witness to vanished cultures, the former also in scientific nomenclature, the latter two as the languages of religion.

Language, racial, and national borders are rarely identical. Thousands of kilometers separate China from Turkey (although there are Turk peoples living very much closer to China, Central Asia generally being regarded as the original home of all Turks). But the domains of the Chinese and Turkish languages adjoin each other. You did not know that? Open an atlas at “Central Asia”: not far from the Western border of Ningsia you will find the name “Bilgochi,” which is composed of two genuine Turkish (or Turk) words. You will find many names with ak- (Turkish: white), hara: (black), kysyl- (gray); for instance, north of Lake Aral, Karakum (black valley)—Karakorum is also a Turk word, and in Usbekistan there is Kysylkum, the “gray valley.” Alttyndagh in northern Tibet is the “golden mountain”; north of Lhasa there is Tengri-nor: nor is a Mongol word, but tengri (tangri) is Turkish, meaning “God,” so that Tengri-nor is the “lake of God.” Atbasar in Kasa­kistan is the “horse market”—at is the Turk word for “horse,” while basar is Persian (bazaar); the Malays say pasar.

So we see that in Central Asia—the “cradle of mankind,” the “navel of the world”—cultural currents from all parts of the old world cross each other and reflect: from and to East Asia, India, Persia, Arabia, and the Occident. The study of word migrations and the changes these words undergo make it possible for the etymologist to trace high points in bygone cultures and to aid the historian in setting down the chronicle of mankind.

Hollywood Statistics

O. E. Brand, Justice of the Peace of Los Angeles' Fourth District, which includes Hollywood, recently performed his 30,000th marriage ceremony. Mr. Brand is a conscientious man who has been keeping accurate statistics from private interest and for official purposes. These statistics show that, although he married 30,000 couples, no more than 41,482 different people made use of his services as a registrar. This is to be explained by the fact that 18,000 of the marriage candidates registered—most of them are connected with the movie industry—made their vows for their second time, 6,000 for the third time, and more than 5,000 for the fourth or fifth time.
RUMORS
(Condensed from the article "Troop Transport" by John Steinbeck in the "New York Herald-Tribune")

The ship is heavily armed with cannons. This is a constant reminder to the men that the ship is always in danger of being sunk. However indifferent one may pretend to be, the thought of this never leaves one entirely. There might be U-boats everywhere. At any moment the explosion may come which will send the big ship to the bottom.

A part of every man is in a state of constant tension, listening and waiting. At night little insignificant sounds grow and appear charged with meaning and frightening. The human brain reacts strangely to such tension. Out of its fear it constructs reality and passes this on to others. A troop transport buzzes from stem to stern with rumors, and on all troop transports they are the same rumors, standard troop-transport shockers such as the following:

1. This morning we were sighted by a U-boat. It spread the alarm to other U-boats by radio, and a whole pack is assembling to cut us off and sink us.

2. This morning a submarine came up close to our ship. We had trained every gun on it when at the last moment it signaled that it was one of our own.

3. Something terrible has happened among the officers. (This rumor only circulates among the privates.) No one knows exactly what the crime is, but it is a fact that a number of officers have been arrested and will appear before a court-martial. (This may, of course, be pure wishful thinking!)

4. The front part of the ship is flimsy and has only been patched up temporarily. It will hold as long as we don’t have any heavy seas, but then it will probably fall apart.

5. Yesterday the German radio claimed our ship had been sunk. Our parents, wives, and friends who know we left on this ship are beside themselves with worry, and we have no means of letting them know we are all well as no news can be sent out.

6. Some sort of an epidemic has broken out on board. The officers are secretly removing the dead at night.

LIFE FROM VENUS
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

Professor Louis Backman of Upsala University, Sweden, a well-known medical writer, suggested that it was entirely possible that organisms causing recent flu epidemics had come from Venus, Jupiter or Mars.

Laboratory workers have known for some time that bacteria and other living cells can survive extreme cold close to absolute zero (—273.18 C.), the supposed temperature of interplanetary space. But most modern physicists believe that cosmic rays and short-wave light rays (particularly ultra-violet) would destroy any life passing through interstellar space. Professor Backman’s hypothesis attacks this objection.

Backman believes it very unlikely that life originated on the earth; he thinks it more probably started in the more favorable atmosphere containing methane and ammonia gases which surround planets such as Jupiter, Venus and Mars. From them, he says, living organisms may have been transported to the earth by meteorites or by the propulsive power of the sun’s rays.

“At minus 273 degrees,” he comments, “even the most violent chemical reactions
are forced to complete inactivity. No reactions, no life processes can take place; even molecular movement ceases. Without molecular movement, no evaporation can take place. Thus all reactions produced by light rays are precluded, and as the life processes have ceased, the organism cannot be damaged by chemical or physical means."

Thus, Backman believes, organisms riding on cosmic particles or meteorites might fly safely through celestial space. He admits they would meet a great hazard when they hit the earth's atmosphere, where atmospheric friction would heat the particles or meteorites enough to destroy all organisms clinging to them. But he believes that the atmosphere may tear the organisms away from their carriers before they get too hot. Any such free-floating bacteria which came in on the earth's dark side, shielded from the sun, might drop safely to earth.

HERO WORSHIP
(Condensed from "The American Magazine," New York)

In a military training camp for women in Des Moines, Iowa, there was an old non-commissioned officer, a tough old fellow. He didn't like women, especially in uniform, and never missed a chance of making life difficult for them.

The girls were each allowed to have one photograph over their camp beds. One day when I was making an inspection tour with the noncom, there was a photo of him hanging over every bed. He got redder and redder but said nothing. When we were back in the office he asked respectfully:

"Do you think, Sir, they really mean it?"

I replied that this was obviously an epidemic of mass infatuation. The non-com had himself transferred.

PROGRESS
(Condensed from the "Schweizer Illustrierte Zeitung," Zurich)

The note by which orchestras tune their instruments is high A. The accepted pitch of the high A was fixed at the International Tuning Note Conference—the things people think of!—in Vienna in 1885 at 440 single or 435 double vibrations. Hence the C major in the Meistersinger overture is sounded at the same pitch all over Europe. In America the standard pitch may be a little higher, so that it is possible to hear the Meistersinger overture over the radio from there in C sharp major.

Hitherto, when there was no tuning fork, there was often an argument, for example among the players of a quartet, as to how high the A was to be. The Swiss postal administration has done away with this predicament. In Switzerland you now simply ring up "Information" and ask for the standard A to have the correct pitch sounded to you over the telephone. From now on, violinists can no longer increase the brilliance of their tone by tuning a little too high, and singers whose voice cannot quite get up to high C cannot cheat any more either.

BED- AND BATHROOM STATISTICS
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

The John B. Pierce Foundation of Manhattan, a housing research group, investigated the bedroom and bathroom habits of Americans. Findings:

After getting into bed, 22% of husbands read, 12% talk to their wives, 7% listen to the radio, 3% pray, 2% smoke, 2% eat, 2% get up to close the window, 30% say
they do nothing. Of the wives, 29% read, 11% talk, 8% listen to the radio, 5% pray, 3% think, 2% smoke, 1% eat, 1% get up to go to the bathroom, 40% do nothing. The average husband is ready for lights out after 19 minutes; the wife, after 14 minutes.

87% of husbands and wives sleep in a double bed, but 42% of the wives think twin beds would be preferable.

In summer, 70% of wives sleep in nightgowns, 24% in pajamas (10% more switch to pajamas in winter), 1% in shorts, 5% nude. In summer, 70% of wives sleep in nightgowns, 24% in pajamas (10% more switch to pajamas in winter), 1% in shorts, 5% nude. In summer, 70% of wives sleep in nightgowns, 24% in pajamas (10% more switch to pajamas in winter), 1% in shorts, 5% nude. In summer, 70% of wives sleep in nightgowns, 24% in pajamas (10% more switch to pajamas in winter), 1% in shorts, 5% nude.

Favorite sleeping position of wives: on the stomach. About half of the women said they slept with an arm or leg hanging over the edge of the bed.

63% of wives usually dress and 72% undress in the presence of their husbands; 20% never do either. Of those who do, 6% are embarrassed.

80% of wives do not lock the bathroom door while bathing, but of those who do, nearly half lock it even when no one else is home.

M.A. of Oflag

(Condensed from "Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm)

"You announce your intention to go in for an examination in a certain subject. Your application is sent to England, and after some time you receive your examination papers and put down your written answers under the supervision of the officer in charge of studies at the camp. The papers are sealed and sent back to England for marking. And, again after some time, you receive the decision: passed or failed. There are hundreds of students who can boast after the war of the curious degree of M.A. of Oflag B (Oflag, short for Offizierslager=Officers’ Camp) or whatever the camp may have been called," reports the Swedish YMCA secretary Gunnar Jansson in a survey of scientific studies among British prisoners of war in Germany.

SKYWAY FLIVVER

(Condensed from "Life" and "Time," New York)

Along the 761-mile airway between Stratford, Connecticut, and Dayton, Ohio, farmers in the fields in the summer of 1942 saw a strange craft skittering overhead. It had no wings. Its spraddle-legged landing gear hung gauntly from its snub-nosed body. Above the fuselage whirled a shimmering set of paddles, like a busy egg beater. On an open frame at the tail whirled another but smaller airscrew, in a vertical plane: even the tail surfaces of the what-is-it were busy.

But its designer, onetime big-plane builder Igor Sikorsky, knew that fellow airmen no longer regarded the helicopter as a product of aviation’s lunatic fringe. His helicopter works on a different principle from de la Cierva’s autogyro. The autogyro uses a 200-hp airplane engine which turns a propeller in the nose of the ship, impelling it forward but not up or down. On top it has a rotor which turns automatically when the plane is in motion, but the autogyro cannot lift unless the ship is already moving forward. The helicopter, with mechanically operated rotors, can hover in a stationary position off the ground, ascend and descend at any speed, stop, back up, go sideways or forward. The small rotor at rear is used only for steering.

In spring 1943 Sikorsky’s craft got formal recognition, when the Army Air Force announced that it had ordered some helicopters for military use. The Army, for obvious reasons, did not tell just how far its interest in the helicopter went. But Igor Sikorsky knew, and what he knew seemed to satisfy him.

The helicopter had been simplified and made as comfortable as any small commercial aircraft. Two years ago, Sikorsky’s dream-craft was an uncovered, bony collection of tubular steel and whirling props. Orthodox airmen eyed it askance as Sikorsky, with a too-small fedora perched sedately on his bald pate, dropped down into Connecticut sand pits and flew out again, or started to land on the hangar roof, skipped off it and landed on the apron in front. In tests, the Army found that it would do all that Igor Sikorsky had promised and more. It can hover so steadily that once an army
The Sikorsky Aircraft division of United Aircraft Corp., at Bridgeport, Conn., is now operating the first helicopter production line in the U.S., and probably in the world. In the last eight months, Sikorsky has produced helicopters for the Materiel Command of the Army Air Forces. The ships have been tested in Burma, evacuating wounded from the jungles; in patrol work along the Atlantic coast; in Alaska.

Now coming off the production line is the company's XR-4. By fall this will be replaced by a later, heavier-load-carrying model, the XR-5. Powered by a 450-h.p. Pratt & Whitney motor, the XR-5 carries a pilot and passenger in tandem, flies faster than 110 miles an hour, has a range of some 400 miles.

The helicopter can land safely almost anywhere. With floats it can land and take off either from water or land. If its engine fails, the helicopter can land without power, unwinding earthward at leisurely speed. It can travel through murky weather at low speed, stop, back up or go sideways when it comes up to trees or buildings. It is easy to fly and, except for the danger of collisions in the air, close to foolproof.

Other air designers were thinking of aircraft as competitors to the train and the ocean liner. Sikorsky had some reason to believe that he had developed the competitor to the automobile.

But helicopter fans who see themselves hedgehopping home in the postwar sky have still to hedgehop one major obstacle: the cost. The price per helicopter may not fall below $5,000 for some time after war's end. Actually Sikorsky men see their first postwar market as "feeders" to airline, and for short-flight air "bus lines." Bus lines see this too. Already 70 of them have filed applications with the Civil Aeronautics Board to operate helicopter bus lines.

**CONFERENCE**

*(From "Time," New York)*

When Japanese planes bombed Humboldt Bay last June, a three-star admiral and a two-star general were caught offshore in a small powerboat. The admiral bawled an order to get away from the beach; the general shouted to get back to shore.

The enlisted helmsman stopped his craft, folded his arms and firmly demanded: "Make up your minds."

After one of the quickest joint staff conferences on record, the Navy set the course.

**CHILDREN AND WAR**

*(Condensed from the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung," Zürich)*

According to the statistics of the International Association for Children's Aid, there are 152 million children up to the age of fourteen in the belligerent and occupied countries of Europe, including Russia. So far, very little has become known about the influence of war on their mentality. Yet there are a few observations which may be stated.

In total war, the life of virtually every child is in danger, and its soul is constantly exposed to heavy wear and tear. Most observers consider the disruption of family life responsible for the chief damage done to the child. Many a family will, of course, be restored after the end of the war; but it is an open question to what extent the damage suffered can be remedied. On the other hand, thousands of children will remain without family and without roots. Many do not even know their names. They will have to live under a new name, without parents, perhaps in a foreign country or even on a different continent.

It has been stated that many children find it harder to be separated from their families than to live under bombs. The happier and better balanced a child was in its own family, the more easily will it fit into its new surroundings. There is perhaps
no better proof of the strength of family ties than the reports about children who, night after night for many months, calmly slept in subway stations in spite of the noise made by the trains, while, when evacuated to a peaceful rural home, but among strangers, they were miserable and nervous.

Contrary to many expectations, children do not seem to suffer particularly under bombs, provided that the adults around them keep their heads. We are told of five-year-olds who, at the start of the airraid, take their picture book, follow their mothers to the shelter, and become engrossed in their book as if nothing had happened.

Of unusual interest is the example of a three-year-old German boy. There had been air raids and bombs ever since he was born. He calmly let himself be awakened, dressed, and carried to the cellar, where he always had a cheering effect on the other people present. Never did he show the slightest trace of fear. But one day, when he was playing with other children, one of the bigger boys put on a mask and, advancing toward the child, howled in a changed voice: "I am the bogymen!" For the first time in his life the child showed fear. The next time the siren sounded he screamed: "The bogymen is coming!" and, crying as if his heart would break, was not to be calmed. After that he was always afraid of air alarms. The latent fear which no alarm and no explosion had been able to rouse had been wakened by a childish game which appealed to the child’s imagination, while the real danger from outside had found no echo in his soul.

RATIONS FOR THE SHIPWRECKED
(Condensed from the "Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm, and "Neue Zürcher Zeitung," Zurich)

Medical experts of Harvard University have discovered that dextrose (grape sugar) can to a certain extent replace drinking water for shipwrecked people. Almost all the space available in lifeboats for the storing of provisions is taken up by water, as a human being can remain alive for 30 days without food but only a few days without water. The Harvard experts claim that experiments with human guinea pigs have shown that persons replacing part of their water consumption by dextrose keep in better physical and mental shape than persons who had to get along on a reduced water ration without dextrose.

The medical laboratory of the US Navy has also produced new rations for ship-wrecked persons in the form of tablets which can be consumed even when the mouth cavity is entirely dried out. The daily ration consists of three different tablets weighing altogether 140 grams: one tablet of citric acid to stimulate the flow of saliva and to provide the necessary fruit content in the diet; one tablet consisting of sucrose (cane or beet sugar), corn sirup, and citric acid with some fat added; and one tablet consisting of sucrose, corn sirup, and malted milk. The old ration for shipwrecked persons consisted of biscuits, malted-milk tablets, pemmican, and chocolate, taking up far more space and weighing about 300 grams. The new rations were tried out by 18 volunteers, who spent four days on rubber rafts in the Gulf of Mexico and lived exclusively on these rations during that time.

BOYS WILL BE BOYS!
(The following two photographs are reproduced from the "Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm)

American MT-boat in the Pacific, painted to resemble a shark

Prime Minister Churchill inspecting invasion troops whose helmets bear the magic formula AAAO. You would never guess it, but the three A's stand for "anywhere, anytime, anyhow, "and the zero for "nothing else counts"

COINCIDENCE
(Condensed from "Das Reich," Berlin)

A German officer was traveling in an express train on one of the main lines. During the journey a military patrol checked up on all the passengers. The officer also showed his papers. The leader of the military patrol, himself an officer, got a surprise when he saw the other man’s military pass: as luck would have it, the pass belonged to the patrol leader’s brother, who had been a prisoner of war in Canada for a year. The American spy, who had landed on German soil from a plane, was arrested.
TIMELESS PATTERNS FOR CHANGING ART

With one of the triumphs of modern science, the camera, Professor Karl Blossfeldt has turned his gaze toward nature. Without retouching or artificial effects, merely by a manifold enlargement of plants and their sections, he demonstrates the close relationship between man's changing forms of art and nature's unchanging forms. Here we find some of the styles of the past represented, full of dramatic tension or serene tranquility: the delicacy of a rococo ornament, noble fluted columns, modern wrought-iron grilles, or Gothic rose window.
Stalk of burnet (Sanguisorba canadensis) with sprouting leaves, magnified twice

Young aconite shoot, magnified twice

Winter horsetail (Equisetum hiemale), magnified four times

Young fronds of maidenhair fern, magnified twice

Leaf rosette of saxifrage, magnified twice
THE MARCH OF WAR

I. In Asia

THE BURMA FRONTS

(Autumn 1943 to Summer 1944)

CLIMATIC conditions in Burma only permit large-scale military actions in this region in the months not affected by the monsoon, which latter lasts from May or June to September or October. Hence the fighting that has taken place in Burma since the beginning of the Greater East Asia War is divided into three seasons of battle. During the first of these, which lasted till June 1942, the Japanese threw the British and Chinese troops right out of Burma. During the second one, a thrust begun by the British on December 18, 1942, led their Anglo-Indian divisions along the Arakan coast south as far as the vicinity of Akyab; between March 6 and the middle of May 1943 they were thrown back to the Indo-Burmese border by a Japanese counterthrust. Chungking's urgent requests for war-material supplies and the desire of the Anglo-Saxons to use more Chinese troops than hitherto against the Japanese led in the Quebec Conference of August 1943 to the appointment of Lord Louis Mountbatten to the post of Supreme Commander of the Allies in southeastern Asia (his second-in-command is General Joseph Stilwell) and to the laying down of a big plan of campaign for the third season, 1943/44.

Looking back at this battle season, we can reconstruct the Allied plan. It provided for a fourfold land attack on Burma: (1) along the Arakan coast; (2) in the area south of Imphal; (3) in the Huktoon valley (all these three having their bases in India); and (4) from Yunnan across the Salween. The high spot of this plan consisted of the intention of landing large forces from the air in Central Burma in the rear of the Japanese Army and thus to place the Japanese front between two fires and destroy it. We do not know to what extent a naval attack from the Indian Ocean was also provided for. Many commentators had predicted "triplibian" operations from the fact that Mountbatten-Churchill's triplicabian policy — was given the ranks of General of the Army, Admiral of the Fleet, and General of the Air Force. So far, however, the Allied fleet in the Indian Ocean —first commanded by Admiral Sir James F. Somerville, later by Admiral Sir Bruce A. Fraser— has undertaken but one large-scale action, a raid on Sabang (northern Sumatra) on April 19, 1944.

ARAKAN COAST

After the conclusion of the rainy season, the 7th and 5th Anglo-Indian and the 81st West African Divisions advanced late in 1943 into the mountainous jungle region of the peninsulas formed by the Rivers Naaf, Mayu, and Kaladan, in a repetition of the campaign conducted at the end of 1942. A landing attempt carried out on the coast of the Mayu peninsula in January to assist this advance was warded off by the Japanese. At the beginning of February the Nipponese began their own counterattack which, by means of bold thrusts into the rear of the Allied troops, disorganized the latter and threw them back. On March 14 Buthidaung and on April 20 Paletwa fell into Japanese hands. Although the British in turn began a counterthrust in May, which is still going on, the rainy season set in soon after and made any large-scale fighting impossible.

IMPHAL

Late in the autumn of 1943, fighting had taken place on the border between the small state of Manipur and Burma in the course of which the British first penetrated into Burma approximately up to the line Fort White/Falam/Haka, to be thrown back later by the Japanese only to carry out a new penetration early in 1944, when they established headquarters in Tidim and Tammu. On March 8 the Japanese in this sector started an offensive with a violence which came as a complete surprise to the British. One Nipponese column thrust back the 17th British Division from the Tidim/Imphal region (Taungzan fell on March 20, Tidim on March 31); a second column attacked the 29th Division in the Tammu/Imphal sector (Tammu fell on April 1); and a third column moved —this took the enemy entirely by surprise— northeast of Imphal onto the Imphal/Kohima
highway, occupying Ukrl on March 29 and Kohima on April 6. The object of the Japanese counteroffensive was probably the Assam Railway which, although possessing only a single narrow-gauge track, is of outstanding importance for the bringing up of supplies for the Allied armies and for the supplying of Chungking. But the Japanese forces first started a concentric attack on the strongly fortified town of Imphal.

Imphal proved considerably stronger than had been expected. It turned out that, at the time when the Japanese cut off the town from its communications, it was already occupied by tens of thousands of Allied troops which, moreover, were being effectively supplied with reinforcements and material from the air. According to a UP report, the entire 5th Division was transported from Arakan to Imphal by air. Mountbatten himself flew to Imphal to encourage the troops to hold out. When the rains set in, Imphal was still in British hands; and if, even before the monsoon, the Japanese had found it difficult enough to supply their deeply advanced troops via jungle paths, this became doubly difficult during the rains. The war got stuck in the mud, and the Japanese took back their most advanced spearheads to shorten their lines.

HUKUONG VALLEY—MYITKYINA

In the northeasternmost part of Burma, two American brigades and three Chinese divisions trained in India began an arduous march toward Myitkyina in October 1943. Their goal was to establish connections with Yunnan via the Hukoung valley and Myitkyina, by which route the so-called Ledo Road was to be built as a substitute for the Burma Road. (Ledo is the terminus of the Assam Railway.) When this column reached Myitkyina by the middle of May, there was much rejoicing in the Allied camp. But as it turned out this rejoicing was premature, for the Japanese offered stiff resistance and did not evacuate Myitkyina until the night of August 2.

SALWEEN FRONT

In April 1944 Chiang Kai-shek started his first large-scale offensive since the beginning of the China incident in 1937. It was directed from Yunnan toward the Burma Railway with the object of forming a junction with the Allied troops moving along the Hukoung valley. At the end of April, Chinese divisions crossed the Salween and occupied those parts of Yunnan which are to the west of the Salween and which had been lost to the Japanese before. Fighting took place here throughout the month of May, and in June the Japanese carried out a counteroffensive which prevented a junction between the Chinese and the troops in the Hukoung valley and stabilized the front approximately on the line Tengyueh/Lungling/Pinka/Manhin.

AIR-LANDING OPERATIONS

The collapse of the Allied offensives on the Arakan coast and in the Imphal area and the unsatisfactory progress of those at Myitkyina and on the Salween destroyed the hopes placed on the air-landing operations. The commander of this large-scale action was Major General Charles Wingate, whose adventures in the Near East and in Abyssinia had caused the English to call him their new Lawrence. On May 5 extensive air landings were commenced in the region of Katha, i.e., in the area where the Burma Railway branches into the Bhamo and Myitkyina sections. These operations ended in a disappointment. Wingate was killed on March 24 in a flying accident. Contrary to Allied expectations, the Burmese population did not offer any support, and the unforeseen Japanese successes in the Imphal sector made it necessary to divert troops intended for Katha to that front. Toward the end of June, the survivors of the Katha action managed to join the Hukoung valley column near Myitkyina.

ALLIED DIFFICULTIES

The reasons for the unfavorable course of the Allied Burma campaign during the season 1943/44 are the following: (1) the superiority of the Japanese troops in jungle warfare; (2) the differences of opinion in the Allied conduct of war (the British are interested chiefly in the war in Europe, and the Americans have scattered their troops all over the world); (3) the crisis in the Indian hinterland, which ties down strong British forces, and the famine in Bengal, which interfered with Allied supplies; (4) the fact that Bose's Indian troops are fighting on the side of the Japanese, a fact which does not enhance the willingness—none too great as it is—of the Indian troops to fight under the British flag; (5) the insufficient supplying of Mountbatten with troops and material as, according to a complaint made by him during a recent visit to London, the unexpectedly high demands made by the war on the European war theater necessitated the employment of troops and arms in Europe which had originally been destined for the Burma front; and (6) the vast numbers of men in the Allied ranks incapacitated by tropical diseases, hitherto amounting, according to Mountbatten, to 250,000 soldiers.

The result of the last battle season, we find, is that the Allies have not gained a single one of their objectives—the destruction of the Japanese positions in Burma and the establishment of an overland connection between India and Chungking. The chief sufferer of this failure is Chungking, which must postpone its hopes for increased supplies from abroad by another year.
II. In Europe

On all three European battlegrounds the past summer saw a general withdrawal of the far-flung German fronts. At the beginning of summer the German lines of defense resembled strong dikes to protect Europe from the onrushing floods. Because of their many thousand miles of length, these dikes could only be manned by a thin line of guards. The precariousness of the German situation resulted from the fact that the dikes were good only as long as they held in its entire length. A single breach too large for immediate repair exposes wide areas of the hinterland to the flood, depriving the rest of that section of dikes of its usefulness and forcing the defenders to withdraw to new dikes raised far to the rear. The dikes of Europe were pierced this summer in three places: at Cisterna on May 24, in the Vitebsk-Jlobin area on June 23, and at Arrancholes on July 31. What followed in all three cases was not a question of defending the rest of the dike but of saving the guards from the flood and manning new, shorter dikes.

THE ITALIAN FRONT

(May 11 to August 31, 1944)

By the middle of November 1943 the Allied armies in Italy got stuck near the line which runs from the mouth of the Sangero on the Adriatic to the mouth of the Garigliano on the Tyrrhenian Sea, and for a long time the Anzio-Nettuno bridgehead established on January 22 did not alter the general situation, all attempts at establishing a connection between the bridgehead and the main front being foiled.

To break the deadlock, the Anglo-American forces were regrouped. As the main part of the US 5th Army was needed to consolidate and reinforce the Anzio-Nettuno landing head, a large portion of the British 8th Army was transferred from the Adriatic sector to occupy the Allied left wing with the rest of the US 5th Army. By the beginning of May a formidable strength was ready for action along the Allied left wing and in the bridgehead south of Rome.

THE SUMMER OFFENSIVE

On May 11 at 11 p.m., after an extraordinarily heavy artillery barrage, the Allies, some ten divisions strong, began to attack along the 30-mile stretch from the Cassino sector to the Tyrrhenian Sea, thus intoning the prelude to the great summer battle for Europe.

But the defenders made the most of the mountainous terrain, and the Allies, who had an overwhelming superiority in numbers and material, suffered very heavy losses. Slowly the Allies gained ground. On May 17, the Germans evacuated Cassino, the scene of one of the most heroic defensive battles in this war. When the Allied left wing had reached the Terracina area, the Anzio-Nettuno landing head came to life with a violent artillery barrage early on May 23. The aim was to join up with the formations advancing from the south and, by a northward push, to cut off the withdrawing German divisions operating in the Liri valley. They succeeded in their first object on May 25, four months after the first landing south of Rome, but they failed in the second. While the Germans were fighting a violent delaying battle on the slopes of the Alban and Lepini Mountains, their lines to the southeast and east were systematically taken back. On June 5, the Eternal City was evacuated in order to spare its invaluable treasures and monuments.

With the occupation of Rome the Allied left wing speeded up its advance across the plain to the north of the city in order to outflank the German troops in the interior of the peninsula. But Marshal Kesselring succeeded in frustrating all such designs. His 10th Army gradually withdrew toward the north, where the Apennines form a barrier across the northern bottleneck of the peninsula and where his numerically weaker forces had a better chance of defending themselves. The weekly front lines on our map show the absence of any Allied breakthrough after the occupation of Rome.

While fighting abated during the first three weeks of August along the entire front in Italy,
with only some activity in the Florence and Arezzo sectors, major breakthrough attempts on a broad front were launched in the Adriatic sector later during that month. The right wing of the British 8th Army had been strengthened considerably for this purpose, for here the Allies no longer faced difficult mountain barriers on their way into the Po valley. Preparations were also made for an attack by the 8th Army’s left wing, from the area east of Florence. A breakthrough into the Po valley would give the Allies far better chances to use their material superiority; it would give them access to the agricultural and industrial riches of that densely inhabited part of the country—two fifths of Italy’s population live there—and it would threaten the German positions in the mountains further to the west with envelopment from the north.

The Allied landing in southern France on August 15 and the German evacuation of that region have denuded Marshal Kesselring’s right wing. The Alps form a steep precipice there on the Italian side, and the Germans must try to hold the passes and their western approaches. Fighting for them has already flared up. In view of Allied naval supremacy, the defense of the Nice gap will be extremely difficult. Besides, the Allies may yet carry out another landing in the Gulf of Genoa.

RESULTS

It has been one of the Allied aims to tie down large German forces on the Italian front. But the German High Command has preferred to give up territory rather than throw reserves into battle in an area which is isolated from the rest of Europe by the towering wall of the Alps. German troops may even have been withdrawn from that theater of war as the territory to be protected grew smaller and the lines of communications shorter, and as mixed German-Italian formations under the command of Marshal Graziani—which were trained and equipped in the Reich—arrived on the scene.

On the other hand, the stubborn German resistance has tied down very considerable Allied forces in an area where they can hardly hope to determine the outcome of the great European battle. While giving the Allies some political prestige, the occupation of southern and central Italy is no economic asset, this territory being dependent on outside food supplies and virtually without industry. Although General Alexander has seen to it that English and American blood was spared as much as possible at the expense of Polish, French Colonial, De Gaulist, and other auxiliaries, heavy losses have been inflicted upon the Anglo-Americans too. According to a statement by War Secretary Henry Stimson, US casualties in Italy up to May 27 aggregated 55,150, while Churchill admitted a total of 73,122 British casualties in Italy including those of Dominion and Indian troops up to June 5. To this must be added casualties suffered since the beginning of June as well as losses on route and officers and sailors lost by the combined navies. Politically speaking, the Anglo-Americans have also been faced by difficulties in Italy. Moscow is utilizing the dissension among the Italian population, which has been increased by Allied maladministration, as a fertile ground for planting its doctrines. One third of the Italian fleet had to be handed over to the Soviets. And the Bonomi Cabinet, which succeeded that of Badoglio and includes in its ranks a number of Communists, has reflected the confusion and bitterness felt in Allied-occupied Italy. In his letter of resignation from the Cabinet, the famous Italian liberal Benedetto Croce flayed the indifference of the Italian people, who “listen to none of us,” and characterized the Allied armistice terms as “terrible and merciless.”

The battle of the last few months has been fought on ancient historical ground cradled with more monuments of past splendor than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Names of cities antedating Rome have been mentioned in communications, as have been the flourishing centers of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Some of the most venerated monuments of the Occident, among them the Abbey of Monte Cassino, have been destroyed despite all endeavors on the part of the German High Command to spare such irreplaceable treasures. It is to the credit of the defenders that, through the early evacuation of such cities as Rome, Siena, and Florence, a substantial part of this rich legacy has been saved, although their defense might have offered the Germans military advantages.

THE EASTERN FRONT

(June 22 to August 31, 1944)

The two great German offensives of the summers of 1941 and 1942 were followed by four great Soviet offensives (winter 1942/43, summer 1943, winter 1943/44, summer 1944), the last of which is the subject of this survey, although it has not yet come to a close. After the first Soviet offensive had brought the success of Stalingrad, the second and third ones lacked the hoped-for breakthrough and resulted in a forcing back—sometimes fast, sometimes slow—of the German lines which on the whole remained intact. It was only the fourth offensive which succeeded in achieving a breakthrough of considerable depth in one sector of the German central front.

THE BREAKTHROUGH (JUNE AND JULY)

With a sentimentality one would hardly expect from them, the Soviets began their summer offensive this year on June 22. Within a few days the Red Army tore up the German front over a width of 300 kilometers. The bastions of the German defense in this sector fell into their hands
after a brief struggle—Vitebsk and Jlobin on June 26, Orsha on 27th, and Moghlyov on 28th. The host of the Red Army poured deeply into the German-occupied territory. Among the reasons which made these Soviet successes possible we shall enumerate the four principal ones.

(1) The German commanders on all fronts, including the Eastern Front, had to manage with a minimum of forces, as all available reserves were being trained in the use of new weapons and methods far behind the front lines. The Volksicher Beobachter wrote at the end of June: "The German eastern army has had to fight its battles before without obtaining operative reserves at the disposal of the Supreme Command. This will be no different in the coming weeks." It was only through the unflagging watchfulness of the German military command, the unparalleled performance of the troops, and with a good portion of luck that it had been possible from the spring of 1943 to the spring of 1944 always to distribute the slender forces available in such a way that the Soviets did not succeed in any large-scale breakthrough.

During the pause in fighting lasting from the middle of April to June 22, both sides regrouped their armies. The German Command seems to have expected the next powerful Soviet thrust in Galicia—approximately in the sector Kovel/Tarnopol, where the Soviet front bulged furthest west—in the direction of the industrial area of Upper Silesia, and the Soviets succeeded in deceiving the German Command as to the vast extent of their preparations in the northern part of the central front, between Vitebsk and the Pripyt Marshes. It is possible that the German Command placed too much confidence in the resisting power of this sector, which had succeeded throughout winter and spring in warding off numerous heavy Soviet attacks. The Germans may also have believed that the area, abounding as it does in lakes and rivers, would favor the defense even more in summer than in winter. According to Moscow, the Red forces which attacked in the breakthrough area amounted to one million men under 300 generals and colonels.

How slight the German forces were in the area exposed to the Soviet attack is revealed by the following facts. The Soviet attack took place, roughly speaking, in eight columns, which are indicated in our map by black arrows. When these columns met in the rear of the German bulwarks, the latter were isolated. The whole thing went so fast that hardly any German troops managed to get out of the four fortified areas. If, in spite of this fact, the Soviets themselves claim to have taken no more than 10,000 prisoners in the Vitebsk area and only 18,000 in the particularly large area of Jlobin/Rogachyov/Bobruisk, this means that the Germans really only had a very small number of men in the front line. Behind the front line there were even less. Through a concealing thrust of units of the II and III "White Russian Fronts," for instance, the Soviets encircled the immense area of Orsha/Jlobin/Minsk (more than 30,000 square kilometers) within ten days from the beginning of the offensive. But although the Soviets do not as rule hide their light under a bushel, we have never read any Soviet figure on the number of prisoners made in this area. It looks as if it was too small to be worth mentioning.

The German reports, too, reveal the tremendous superiority in men and material on the part of the Red Army. In the middle of July a German reporter wrote: "The German eastern army has had to fight its battles before without obtaining operative reserves at the disposal of the Supreme Command. This will be no different in the coming weeks." It was only through the unflagging watchfulness of the German military command, the unparalleled performance of the troops, and with a good portion of luck that it had been possible from the spring of 1943 to the spring of 1944 always to distribute the slender forces available in such a way that the Soviets did not succeed in any large-scale breakthrough.

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initiative and being able to determine where he wishes to mass his forces for the attack.

(2) The smooth functioning of the German war machine was disturbed by a crisis within the German military command. Officers who had only reluctantly obeyed the orders of the political leadership during the years of advance, rebelled against them after a year and a half of withdrawals. The resulting conflict between parts of the military and the political leadership, which came to a head on July 20, was bound to have an unfavorable effect on the course of the war.

(3) In three years of war, the Soviets had learned much from their German enemies. With boldness and skill they employed the strategy of by-passing; instead of attacking the strong points of the German defense, they advanced into the area between these points, thus breaking up the cohesion of the German front, and threw their fast armored units deeply into the territory in the rear of the Germans, leaving it to less mobile units to liquidate the bastions left behind.

The Twelve Soviet Fronts
(from north to south)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Commanding General</th>
<th>Starting Date of Summer Offensive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>Meretskov</td>
<td>June 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leningrad</td>
<td>Govorov</td>
<td>July 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Baltic</td>
<td>Maslennikov</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Baltic</td>
<td>Yeremenko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Baltic</td>
<td>Bagramyan</td>
<td>June 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III White Russian</td>
<td>Chernyakhovsky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II White Russian</td>
<td>Zakharov</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I White Russian</td>
<td>Rokosovsky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Ukrainian</td>
<td>Konyev</td>
<td>July 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Ukrainian</td>
<td>Petrov</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Ukrainian</td>
<td>Malinovsky</td>
<td>August 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Ukrainian</td>
<td>Tolbukhin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Finally the Soviets owed their breakthrough to their gigantic artillery preparation. Soviet reports go to show that, in those sectors in which breakthroughs were planned, up to 300, indeed, in some cases up to 400 cannons were used per kilometer of front. The Soviets have divided their artillery as follows: (i) “destruction artillery,” consisting of 152-mm and 203-mm howitzers and other heavy-caliber guns, which is supposed to destroy enemy fortifications; (ii) “long-range artillery,” which turns its attention chiefly to the enemy artillery further in the rear, and consisting of 107-mm, 122-mm, and 152-mm cannons with a range up to 25 kilometers; and (iii), by far the largest group, “infantry-supporting artillery,” whose job it is to back up the attacks of the infantry. In the course of this war, the Russian artillery has developed to what is now the most outstanding weapon of the Soviets. By dint of long practice it has become possible to lay down an advancing artillery barrage no more than 150 to 200 meters before the attacking infantry. The effect of this combined firing was in some cases so great that the infantry found not a single enemy alive in the positions they reached.

All Soviet reports, however, prove one reason not to have been among those enabling them to break through: demoralization of the German Army. On the contrary, the Soviets emphasize the fierceness of the German resistance. Encircled German units continued to counterattack until
their ammunition was exhausted. In describing
the battle of Vilna, the Soviets say that the Ger-
mans defended every house. In some houses, 
Tass wrote on July 14, there had been hours of
fighting for every floor, indeed, for every room;
and one Hitler Youth regiment made 19 counter-
attacks there in one single day. Moreover, the
fact reported by the Soviets that the Germans
had time enough to destroy all war-essential
establishments before evacuating such towns as
Baranovice, Pinsk, Grodno, etc., shows that the
German retreat was not a flight.

The Soviet breakthrough confronted the Ger-
man Command with two main tasks. The first
of these was the establishment of a new line of
defense far behind the disrupted front. It was
undertaken by Field Marshal Model. At the
points on our map where the red lines are clustered,
the front can be discerned at which the German
Command succeeded in halting the Russian offen-
sive. To accomplish this, the employment of
fresh troops was necessary. We do not know to
what extent the German Command had to resort
for this purpose to its reserves. The Russians
even claim that German divisions from Italy and
France were thrown onto the Eastern Front. It
is possible that the German Command transferred
some divisions from one front to another in order
to leave the reserve armies, destined for other
purposes, as untouched as possible.

The second main task confronting the Germans
was to decide what to do about the neighboring
sectors of the front. As regards the sector to
the north, it was decided not to withdraw the German
troops, notwithstanding the fact that up to the
end of July a gateway some 120 kilometers wide
stood open between the Gulf of Riga and the
northwesternmost Red spearhead through which
the German armies in Estonia and Latvia might
have been able to withdraw. Not until the fall
of Mitau on July 31 and the reaching of the coast
of the Gulf at Tukum by the Soviets on August 1
was this gate—temporarily—closed. The reasons
which contributed toward the German Command's
decision not to withdraw the armies on the northern
sector in spite of the risk this entailed were the following:
the desire not to deliver up the Baltic
States to the Soviet Union; the possibility of
threatening the right flank of the Soviet armies
advancing toward East Prussia; the safeguarding
of the net and mine barrages which effectively cut
off the Bight of Leningrad between Estonia and
Finland from the Baltic, so that German shipping
in the Baltic—particularly important for com-
 munications with Finland and the iron mines
in Lapland—could proceed undisturbed. As re-
gards the southern front between the area of
the breakthrough and the Carpathians, however, the
German Command decided to take it back. This
was done at first without, later with Soviet pres-
ure.

STABILIZATION (AUGUST)

August was marked to the same extent by the
German defense as July had been marked by the
Soviet attacks. The Germans worked feverishly
at the reinforcement of this front while the Soviets
prepared the next stage of their offensive. If
one bears in mind what is needed in the way
of men and material for their next breakthrough
attempt, it becomes obvious that the Soviet High
Command needs time for bringing up the necessary
thousands of cannons and millions of shells.

The outstanding developments in August were
(from north to south):

(1) By the occupation of the university town
of Dorpat in Estonia and its environment, the
Soviets succeeded in reducing the territory held
by the Germans on the Baltic. But in return the
Germans restored the connection lost three weeks
earlier between their Baltic divisions and the rest
of the German Eastern Front, when the armored
troops of General Count Strachwitz occupied
Tukum on the Gulf of Riga on August 20.

(2) On August 1 at 5 p.m. a Polish revolt
broke out in Warsaw. Although it took more
than a month to liquidate, this revolt did not
open the way to the Soviet for the Soviets. On
the other hand, reciprocal accusations of having
intentionally caused the revolt to break out pre-
maturely led to new tension between the Polish

(3) The German troops annihilated several
of the Soviet bridgeheads on the western bank of
the Vistula. No exact information on the number
and size of these bridgeheads is available.

(4) In Rumania, in the narrow area between
the Carpathians and the Black Sea, the opposing
armies had faced each other almost without fighting
since the second half of April. When the Soviet
offensive commenced on August 20 it succeeded
without particularly heavy fighting—its preliminary
barrage lasted only 105 minutes—in forcing
breaches west and southeast of Kishinyov. When
the treachery of King Michael became known on
August 23, it was clear that, as in the case of
Badoglio, the open betrayal was preceded by a
secret one which had demoralized the Rumanian
Army from within after years of brave fighting.
In the chaos resulting from the collapse of the
Rumanian Army, the German divisions could
retreat to the Carpathian passes only after bitter
fighting and heavy losses, while the Red troops
continued the occupation of the country without
any further Rumanian resistance.
THE BATTLE OF FRANCE

(July 19 to August 29, 1944)

In our last issue's review of the invasion battle we pointed out two remarkable facts, viz., (1) that only one major landing operation had been carried out during the first six weeks, and (2) that the number of troops pumped into the comparatively narrow bridgehead was out of proportion to the area then at the disposal of the Allied Command. Although this seemed to indicate that General Eisenhower intended to concentrate all his available forces for a push from this one bridgehead, the German High Command could not be sure of that and had therefore to maintain considerable forces all along the far-flung coasts of Europe, a factor which limited the forces opposing the Normandy invaders and gave the Allies a vast superiority in the bridgehead area. The two German armies, the 5th and 7th, under the supreme command first of Field Marshal von Rundstedt and since July 6 of Field Marshal von Kluge, with Field Marshal Rommel as second-in-command, had to deal with four Allied armies: the Canadian 1st Army under Lieutenant General Crear operating from the easternmost wing of the Normandy bridgehead; the British 2nd Army under Lieutenant General Dempsey slightly further west; the US 1st Army under Lieutenant General Bradley, which maintained contact with the British 2nd Army; and Lieutenant General Patton's US 3rd Army, consisting of armored and mechanized divisions and forming the mobile western wing. The strongest reinforcements were sent to this latter army.

While the British and Canadian armies, forming the 21st Army Group, remained under the command of General Montgomery, who has since been promoted to the rank of field marshal, Lieutenant General Bradley later took over the command of the US 1st and 3rd Armies, which formed the 12th Army Group, being succeeded in the command of the US 1st Army by Lieutenant General Hodges.

On July 24, following upon a violent artillery and air bombardment, the Americans began their offensive southwest of Carentan and northwest of St. Lô. In the course of heavy fighting the invaders succeeded in gaining ground in a southerly and southwesterly direction. The German troops in the Lessey and Périers sector were temporarily cut off, but managed to break through toward the south and establish themselves in new positions. However, US pressure did not subside. The coastal area in front of the Allied west wing as far as Avranches was bare of natural obstacles and covered by a network of excellent roads, thus favoring mobile warfare. After an attack from Coutances along the highway to Avranches and along the coastal road to Granville the Americans broke through the German lines immediately south of Avranches on July 31. This breakthrough decided the entire campaign. Another wave of US troops advanced east from Granville to Villedieu to co-operate with formations further to the northeast in protecting the left flank of the main thrust. Several German attacks against this flank in the area of Tassy, Villedieu, and Mortain, which at one time narrowed the American corridor of Avranches to twenty kilometers, had to be abandoned, as the southward advance of the British 2nd Army from the region of Caumont threatened the rear of the German divisions. The fate of the campaign in France was sealed; what was at stake now was no longer the fate of French territory but that of the German armies in France.

Through the breach at Avranches the mobile wing of the US forces poured like a flood via Dinan, Rennes, and Fougeres toward the west and southwest coasts of Brittany, toward the lower Loire, and toward the upper reaches of the Mayenne River, across which a spearhead was driven to Le Mans with the obvious intention of enveloping and destroying the German formations in Normandy. Thence powerful spearheads were driven toward Orléans, Chartres, and Dreux to protect the southern flank of the first operation as well as to outflank the German armies in northern France.

At the end of the tenth week of the invasion, when the Canadian 1st Army succeeded in fighting its way to the area north and northeast of Falaise, the Germans found their westernmost divisions...
caught in a pocket formed by the triangle Falaise/Fiers/Argentan, a pocket still open to the east between Falaise and Argentan. In a grim struggle the defenders defeated all Allied hopes of closing the pocket, frustrating successive outflanking maneuvers. When the Falaise/Argentan gap was narrowed from the north, it was widened again by a counterattack toward the southeast. While the German detaching movements continued toward the east, barrier positions protected the communications flank as far as the lower Seine. US bridgeheads across that river were either eliminated or kept in check.

In the meantime American spearheads advanced from the area of Chartres and Dreux in the direction of the middle Seine and Paris, co-ordinated with a drive from Orleans toward Pithiviers and Sens. On August 24 they reached the western city limits of the capital. Wishing to spare Paris the fate of being turned into a battleground, the Germans intended evacuating the city without defending it. But, following upon Allied appeals to the French population to take up arms against the Germans, franc-tireur groups within the capital—consisting largely of Communist elements—precipitated fighting which caused some damage to the city.

Southeast of Paris, American mechanized forces had meanwhile driven across the Seine toward the lower Marne, while those moving on Sens and Troyes continued in an easterly direction or wheeled around, heading northward. The entire Allied right wing east of Paris moved against the left flank of the German divisions in northern France in a new attempt at a large-scale encirclement supported by attacks from the Allied bridgeheads across the Seine northwest of the capital. But once again the Germans foiled their plan, successfully continuing their detaching movements across the lower Seine. On August 29 Rouen was evacuated after the destruction of all harbor facilities and installations of military importance.

Since then, the names of places at which great battles were fought during the first World War and during the German campaign of 1940 have again been appearing in the Army communiqués: Amiens, Soissons, Arras, Reims, Verdun, and the Rivers Somme, Oise, Aisne, Marne, Meuse.

Far to the rear of the Allied front, some of the groups manning the original dikes were still holding out, although swamped by the flood. The German formations in Brittany, which had been cut off by the breakthrough of Avranches, withdrew to the ports of Brest, Lorient, and St. Nazaire. Here, fired by the example set by the German garrisons of St. Malo and Cézembre, they withstood heavy Allied attacks. So did the garrison of Le Havre.

The breakthrough at Avranches made it imperative for the Germans to withdraw their forces stationed in western and southern France, especially after the large-scale landing along the Riviera coast and further west begun by the US 7th Army under Lieutenant General Patch on August 15. This landing was supported by five battleships, 26 cruisers, 9 aircraft carriers, nearly 100 destroyers, and hosts of other craft. Advancing north and northwest from the Mediterranean coast, the Allies immediately cut the main railway line linking France and Italy and threatened the only remaining line by way of the Mont Cenis. The German 19th Army under Field Marshal Blaskowitz, which had been stationed on the French Mediterranean coast, fought delaying actions in order to enable the German forces in south and southwestern France to be withdrawn before they could be cut off by an outflanking drive on the part of the US 7th Army or by an advance of the US 3rd Army to the Swiss border. The garrisons of Toulon and Marseille, which withstood severe attacks from land and sea, had their full share in protecting the movements of detachment carried out in the Rhone valley.

Allied action in the area between the Loire and the Pyrenees did not begin until the last part of August, when US troops advanced southward across the Loire and landings were carried out in the Bay of Biscay. They encountered the resistance of German forces in some harbor towns. Considerable assistance was rendered the Allies by the Maquisards who, especially in the Pyrenees, included many Red Spaniards. The same is true of the fighting in southeastern France, where the mountainous nature of the country favored the organization of armed bands and their supply by the Allies with arms and ammunition.

The fanatical fighting spirit displayed by the German divisions throughout the hard summer months has been confirmed by countless Allied news dispatches from all fronts. The German soldier's determination is due on the one hand to his knowledge of what defeat would mean and, on the other, to his conviction—strengthened by many a statement from authoritative German quarters—that new divisions and weapons are being forged day and night by the concerted action of the entire nation.

**Herbs and Medicine**

During the war the cultivation and gathering of medicinal herbs have increased considerably in Germany. By this means more than 2 million kilograms of dried herbs can be obtained annually, representing the equivalent of more than 12 million kilograms of fresh plants. The gathering was carried out chiefly by school children and youth organizations under expert direction.
THE ORBAN BROTHERS
By WERNER BERGENGRUEN

Many modern German short stories favor historical topics. The author of this one, who is well known in modern German letters, has chosen 1455, one of the decisive years in Occidental history, for the period of his story. Telling it with masterful restraint, he has interwoven the fate of nations with that of a historical personality, Orban the gunsmith, and his new weapon.—K.M.

JOHANX Hunyadi, Governor of Hungary, had in his service twin brothers by the name of Orban, hot-blooded men with active minds, deeply devoted to each other until a girl brought discord between them. In the events which we shall narrate here, this girl will have no part, or the most important part, according as to how you look at it, and will remain nameless.

Although the difference in age between the brothers was no more than a quarter of an hour, they are called the older and the younger in this story, as their given names have not been handed down and are anyway a matter of indifference. For a man's given name is often enough a coincidence and an outward attribute; but with his family name a man is bound up in such a way that it is not the name which appears as part of his character but rather the man himself who appears as part of his family name.

The older of the brothers was a scribe versed in law and in negotiations, the younger a master gunsmith. The art of casting and setting up cannons was held in high esteem; whoever mastered this art was considered to be worth more than five noblemen since, after all, every king could create hundreds of the latter by a word or letter.

At that time, envoys of the Byzantine Emperor appeared in all Christian countries to persuade the rulers to send aid to the threatened city of Constantinople; where they did not succeed in this, they sought at least to enlist proven experts in the art of fortification and ballistics, holding out great promises to such men.

An offer of this kind was also submitted to Orban the younger at a time when he was occupied with dubious and unkind thoughts about his own fate and that of his brother and the girl. He listened to the envoy and promised him a reply for the following day. The envoy left, and an hour later a Turk appeared in his place. For between Hunyadi and the Sultan there was at that time a peace treaty covering a number of years, and at Hunyadi's court there were sometimes Turkish delegates to be seen. Orban the younger did not give a definite reply to this Turk either.

Now the younger brother went to the older and told him about the two offers. The conversation took place in the study of the older brother, before whose door the younger had seen the little lapdog which his brother had presented to the girl. Hence, when he had finished his report, Orban the younger said:

"I wouldn't like to stay here, I suppose you can understand that. Perhaps we shall be able to live together again as friends some time in the future. Now all I ask of you is that you advise me which offer to take, as you are more experienced in such matters than I am. And then you must also see to it that the Governor releases me from his service."

Orban the older arranged for both the brothers to be received on the following day by the Governor. Johann Hunyadi said: "I have nothing against your trying your luck elsewhere. My country is at peace, and I am glad to save a salary. If you wish to return later, I shall take you on again."

Hereupon the brothers asked the Governor to decide which offer the younger twin should accept. The Governor said: "Everybody knows that I have been at war with the Turks since I was able to lead an army
and that I shall also be at war with them in future until I cannot lead an army any more. Hence it should be my wish that your art be used in the defense of the Christian city of Constantinople. But I am also old enough to know, that in all the entangled affairs of men and states, black and white are never as clearly defined as on the squares of a chessboard. You have probably heard of the strange prophecy made to me by a Byzantine pilgrim when, after the battle of Kossova, I had to flee secretly through enemy country and had reached the depths of my misfortunes; namely, that the Christians would never be able to live in peace until the Greeks were exterminated and that, in order to put an end to the misshaps of Christianity, it would be necessary for Constantinople to be destroyed by the Turks. So decide as you think fit."

Hereupon the younger brother accepted the Greek proposal, although the Turkish one offered him greater advantages. With the Turks, so he reasoned, he would as a Christian be entering upon too uncertain conditions, and it would anyway be more fitting to live among and to help Christians.

The brothers embraced each other at parting, and the older one said: "I do hope that God will protect you. If anything should happen to you it would weigh upon my soul. But the girl is stronger than I, and I cannot do without her yet."

ORBAN the younger arrived in Constantinople and marveled at all the pomp and splendor there. He was given a magnificent apartment, with walls of Greek marble—only that there were no servants. He was provided with a spacious foundry—but the tools were dilapidated. He made urgent requests for new equipment; but the Greeks smiled at his zeal, and the high officials let it be noticed that he was making a nuisance of himself. At the same time, however, they lamented about the huge siege fortress which the Sultan was having erected on the Bosphorus, and said: "It won't be long before the encirclement of the city is complete and the siege starts."

The Emperor was still in contact with the regions of the West, so that fresh arrivals were still joining his army, among them recruits from Hungary, some of them being people from the gubernatorial court who were acquainted with the Orban brothers. Although the younger twin tried to go out of their way, he could not avoid hearing about his brother and his love affair. Thus he was not allowed to forget his unhappiness.

Across the Golden Horn, opposite Constantinople, lay Galata, a trading center of the Genoese. Surrounding it were fields and meadows belonging to the citizens of Constantinople. For his work, Orban frequently required things he could not obtain in the imperial capital, no matter how urgently he requested them; the signature of some official was lacking, or the request had first to be submitted to some authority. So he got into the habit of making purchases among the Genoese of Galata, although it appeared doubtful to him whether he would ever get back his money.

Men from Constantinople had come to look after their fields at Galata. They met Turkish horsemen who were grazing their beasts in the wheat; a quarrel instantly flared up, blood flowed, and this was the first clash in the long struggle for the imperial city. Orban happened to be on the way to one of his Genoese merchant friends. He noticed the crowd, heard the shouting, and hastened to the spot. Both sides got assistance. Finally the Turks drove many of the Greeks off with them as prisoners. Among them was Orban.

The column met Mohammed, the Sultan of Sultans, whose face darkened with rage. He was still too young to show mercy and ordered the prisoners to be killed. As he rode on he turned back, and his glance fell upon Orban, who was not dressed in the Greek fashion. He beckoned him and asked: "Who are you? What are you doing among this rabble? Don't you know enough to keep away from them?"

Then he ordered a horse to be given to Orban, who had to ride next to the Sultan so that the latter should lose no time. The Sultan asked: "How much does the Emperor pay you?"

Orban named the sum. The Sultan said with an angry laugh: "I would give you five times as much. Nor should you believe that you would be the only Christian in my camp. There are thousands of them who think themselves lucky to serve me. But I leave it to you whether you
will stay with me or return to that Emperor."

Orban did not reply to this. But he thought of what the Governor had said to him; he thought of the prophecy and of all the obstacles he had been faced with in the imperial city. He also thought of what the men arriving from his native place had told him.

The Sultan began again: "All the cannons I have used or seen up to now have not satisfied me, and I have despised those who cast them. Why is it not possible to cast cannons of such a size and such mighty effectiveness that no wall in the world can stand up against them? Is it because men are afraid of bold ideas?"

Orban replied: "For that reason, and also because most military leaders are not able to provide the necessary funds. For the cost and the difficulty of the casting, of moving it and working it, would be so tremendous that many a prince might have to forego all other artillery for the sake of this one cannon."

"That does not bother me," said the Sultan. "Whoever undertook to cast me such a gun would have everything he required, and even more, at his disposal. You are the first to speak like that. I have questioned many experts on ballistics, and they all hastened to prove to me by intricate calculations that it would never be possible to make such a cannon, or at least to discharge it without danger."

"It is possible," said Orban.

The Sultan examined his face, just as he had examined his knowledge and experience before. Then he asked: "Do you think you can do it?"

Orban trembled at the magnitude of the vision which arose before him. He remained silent for a while. Then he said hoarsely: "I will cast the cannon."

Mohammed had his foundry in Adrianople. When Orban arrived, endowed by the Sultan with unlimited powers, it was night. He had torches lit, inspected the foundry, and gave his instructions. Before daybreak eighty men were already working to tear down the walls, for the foundry was not large enough to hold a casting of such size. Then only did Orban retire to rest. And from then on he had no more thoughts for the girl or for his brother. The new building was erected, the huge smelting oven was built and tested, the casting form lay in the ground, the dry wood was piled up. This was two months after Orban’s arrival in Adrianople. He sent a messenger to the Sultan: the casting could begin.

Mohammed rode for fourteen hours on relays of horses. Then he entered the dark foundry, which received its light from the red fire holes of the oven. He knew that many experts had advised him against this enterprise, saying that it was impossible to cast such an enormous object in a single casting. A tiny error, a slight blocking of one of the windpipes, would be enough to blast the foundry and the whole town of Adrianople to high heaven.

Orban showed him all the details of the casting, while he and his helpers and servants, sprayed by red sparks, stirred the bubbling mass of molten ore. Mohammed seized a long stirring pole and joined in the work. Nor was it beneath his dignity to pull the huge bellows.

The melting metal hummed, sang, and roared. Floor and walls began to tremble softly. At last Orban said in a low voice: "It is time."

The Sultan cried: "There is no God but God and no one is his equal!"

With that he grasped with his two hands the heavy iron ramrod which was suspended by chains and drove the plug of the outlet opening into the oven. The glare shut every eye. The white, foaming molten stream roared into the stone trough above the form and hissed down through the casting holes. The air howled as it escaped through the windpipes.

It was quiet and dark. The vast weapon, matching the vast spirit of the conqueror, was cast.

The Sultan made a sign to one of his followers, who spread a prayer rug on the ground. Mohammed threw himself down and remained in this attitude for a while. Then he rose and quickly went out without saying a word. On the following day he sent rewards and presents.
and fevered was completed, he felt a desolate
demptiness growing in his heart. And just
as the white-hot metal had shot into the
tempt form and taken possession of it, so
all passion, all anger and pain over the girl,
his brother, and his own disrupted life sud-
denly flowed back into his vacant heart.

The cannon was without ornament and
as somber as a rock. There was no sign,
o no embellishment, to indicate its creator,
as was the custom, for in Orban’s thoughts
there had been no room for adornment.
Now, however, in his mood of dejection it
occurred to him to leave behind at least a
monument to his unhappiness. Perhaps in
this way he could transfer it from his soul
to the metal. In those days, when every
gun was still a beautifully executed single
piece, the art of casting cannons was allied
to that of casting sculpture, and Orban also
had some knowledge of decorative casting.
So he created a hoop several feet wide which
he welded around the mouth of the cannon.
On it the coat of arms of his family appeared
twice, representing the two brothers; be-
tween the two escutcheons stood a female
figure, separating them. The coat of arms
was surmounted by a striking arm with a
sword; over one of the escutcheons Orban
turned it around, so that the two faced
each other with swords drawn. He applied
a number of similar symbols in relief. While
doing this, he was seized by a passion for
sculpture which no longer allowed him to
think in terms of powder and shot.

This is how Orban filled that empty period
before preparations for the transporting of
the cannon were completed, a period which,
although requiring his co-operation, did not
need his full attention. This period lasted
for some time, regardless of how Mohammed
tried to hasten the work; for the Sultan
believed that the mere sight of the cannon
must instill his army and its leaders with
the utmost confidence in victory. The fact
was that the confidence of his men had
diminished, since up to then all bombard-
ments and attacks had gained nothing but a
few unimportant outer fortifications. The men
often talked of how in eight hundred
years this city had been besieged by the
believers in the Prophet twelve times without
being subdued once. Indeed, during the
third of these sieges, which had lasted for
seven years, Ejab himself, the standard-
bearer of the Prophet, had fallen unvictorious
before the walls of the Emperors. Others,
again, especially the dervishes, spoke elo-
quently of that ancient prophecy: “Ejab
will return from the Occident, he will be
torn asunder by flames, but they will not
keep him. He will rise again, and the city
will be ours.” Thus, just as among the
Christians, there circulated among the Turks
too a prediction concerning the fate of the
city.

At last the procession started off. It is
two days’ march from Adrianople to
Constantinople; to cover this distance
with the cannon took two months. Seventy
pairs of oxen drew it, and two hundred men
walked on each side to keep it balanced with
the aid of taut ropes. Five hundred men
had worked to reinforce the bridges and the
roads. The diameter of the barrel was
twelve spans, and each of the balls, which
were quarried from the black rock of the
coastal mountains, weighed twelve hundred-
weight.

This cannon was placed in front of the
city of Constantinople, opposite the Gate of
St. Romanos, to this day still known as the
“Gate of the Cannon.” On the eve of the
first shot a Venetian spy was discovered
hiding in the barrel. The Sultan ordered
him to be bound at dawn in front of the
mouth of the gun. It took two hours to
load the cannon, so that the work was
started while it was still dark. The time
for the shot to be fired had been announced
to the whole army, in order to prevent men
losing the power of speech and pregnant
baggage women their unborn children be-
cause of the thunder. Mohammed was
present with his highest dignitaries. The red
sun rose above the city. The Turks said
their prayers; Orban crossed himself and
bowed his head.

The Sultan cried out loud: “There is no
God but God and no one is his equal!”
Orban released the shot. The earth
trembled.

The men all thought they had gone deaf.
The first thing they heard was the dismayed
cry of a gunner: “The cannon has cracked!”
Then they heard the groans and whimpering of injured men.

"Orban has been torn to pieces!" came a cry. "No, it is the Venetian!" called others. "No, Orban, Orban, he can still be recognized!"

All these cries were uttered in confusion and terror, and no one knew whence they came. For no eye could penetrate the immense cloud of smoke, and all felt as if they were staggering through the night. Mohammed silently groped his way through darkness and disorder. His spirit was so rent that he felt unable to bear the sight of a human face. He refused all attempts to accompany him, got to his horse, and slowly rode into the desolate plain, incapable of raising his eyes to the shimmering city with its unshaken walls.

In the fields he was met by a column of horsemen. Mohammed was about to wave them off angrily; but the sight of one of them gave him such a shock that he drew up his horse with a sudden backward movement. One of his subordinate officers, who had conducted the stranger from the outposts, reported to the Sultan: an embassy had arrived from the Governor of Hungary to sever the peace treaty. The stranger, on whom Mohammed's eyes were still resting in bewilderment, had dismounted and handed him a letter containing his credentials.

"Your name is Orban?" asked Mohammed when he had finished reading. "Have you a brother?" Then he told him, bluntly and without sparing him, what had happened. "Come along, I'll take you there."

They rode. Orban had covered his face, no longer able to master his expression and his tears.

One of Mohammed's generals came galloping up to them. "Lord! Lord!" he shouted from afar. "Lord! The cannon is undamaged!"

Only one of the welded-on ornamental hoops had burst. The pieces had injured a few men and killed the gunsmith. But the cannon was unharmed, and the ball had blasted away a piece of the gate wall. Nevertheless, the event had had its effect as a bad omen; there was no mistaking the terror and despondency.

All that was left of Orban had been collected and covered with a horse blanket. His older brother stood looking down for a long time. The people also brought him parts of the hoop; he tried to piece them together and looked at the sculpture. There was a Latin cross, a Greek cross, a crescent; there was the zodiacal sign of the Gemini, burst asunder and threatened by Venus; there were the hostile coats of arms and the figure separating them. Large parts remained destroyed, other parts were roughly worked. Yet even a stranger might have been singularly moved by these fragments, for they were the attempts of a human being to express his entire destiny.

Orban the older, however, in the cloud of smoke of his self-hating grief, saw in these fragments the course of events from the first misunderstanding between the two brothers, and in all of this he saw only his own guilt. He suddenly also recalled certain things the girl had said, things which he had not understood at the time but whose meaning was now made clear to him: namely, that the irrevocable situation brought about by the departure of the younger brother had suddenly made her own decision appear to the girl in the light of torturing doubt. He recalled minute indications, facial expressions, a turning away of the eyes, a tightening of the corners of the mouth, an inclination of the head, an anxious pressing of his hand. Yes, he was certain now that she had loved his brother and was secretly lamenting the fact that she had understood her true feelings too late.

Meanwhile, the Sultan had ordered his artillery experts to assemble. They would not speak openly and avoided any mention of their predictions. Nevertheless, their former views could still be discerned, namely that a cannon of that kind was an impossibility; at the first shot the hoop had come off, at the second the whole barrel was bound to burst and kill hundreds of men.

Orban approached the group and begged the Sultan for a hearing. "My brother and I shared everything in life; thus I am familiar with his professional work, just as he was familiar with mine. What happened at the first shot was a chance misfortune. I beg you to let me take charge of the next shot. I shall prove that the work of my brother can stand the test."

"Your master has sent you to sever the peace treaty," the Sultan said doubtfully. "You propose to fire the cannon at the city of your brethren in faith?"
“Yes,” replied Orban and let his glance travel coldly over all these men whom, together with himself, he had chosen as a retinue to follow his mangled brother in death.

Orban ordered and supervised the loading, and it was with two and a half times the regular powder charge that he intended to blast this corner of the earth to pieces. When the preparations were completed, the Sultan stepped up close to the cannon and, with a lordly gesture, commanded his courtiers and artillery experts to his side. “Begin!” he called impatiently. Orban cast off his cap and his cloak; those next to him were startled at the sight of his face.

The thunder of the shot made even those tremble who were prepared for it. It took several seconds for them to realize that they were still alive.

The smoky darkness thinned out. A desolate stump of wall indicated the spot where the Gate of St. Romanos had been. The murmuring turned into shouting, people came running from all sides, and thousands of voices roared over the plain: “Ejub lives! Ejub has returned, the fire has rent him but it did not keep him! Thus it was prophesied. We shall take the city!”

Orban looked wildly around him. Men called out to him and pressed about him, some flung themselves on the ground before him, one man shyly touched his feet. Suddenly he, too, shouted fiercely: “We shall take the city!”

“We shall take the city,” said the Sultan, slowly and in a low voice.

TO OUR READERS

The present issue opens the fourth year of this magazine’s publication.

When on October 1, 1941, The XXth Century made its appearance, East Asia had not yet been drawn into the vortex of the second World War, and we formulated our editorial policy in the leading article “Aloha” as follows:

The walls of political, ideological, and economic differences between the nations have grown to terrifying height. It becomes daily more urgent that an increasing number of people should be bold enough to penetrate these walls of hatred and suspicion, wise enough to know that our world is formed by divergent forces and not by one-sided decisions of any single group, and keen enough to see not only the urgent today but also the great yesterday and the still greater tomorrow. For one day this war will end, and what will follow must be based on knowledge which the war has obscured and on thoughts which in the present over-emphasis on action have not yet been voiced.

It is to such knowledge and thought that The XXth Century will be dedicated.

Although two months later the flame of the second World War covered the Pacific; although Shanghai ceased to be neutral ground and, of the twelve nationalities represented by authors in our first three issues, some could no longer collaborate, we have endeavored not to alter our magazine’s political trend.

When we published our first three issues we were thinking of readers in last Asia as well as in other parts of the world, and we intended to devote the magazine about equally to Eastern and to other questions. But after December 8, 1941, the magazine’s readers were all to be found in East Asia, mainly among people who had been used to reading magazines from Europe and America.

It was not an easy task to step into the gap brought about by the cessation of intellectual exchange with countries abroad and, side by side with press and radio, to provide a window onto the outside world. But we were aided in the study and interpretation of the available material by the
expert knowledge of world affairs on the part of our authors and staff members. Moreover, a great deal of additional material from other parts of the world has been reaching us during the last few months in the form of books, letters, magazines, and newspapers. Although the impression of world affairs obtained from this material is on the whole no different from the picture which can be formed on the basis of news generally available in East Asia, this material from outside is a valuable supplementary source of information containing many important details, including as it does ten dailies from Stockholm, Berlin, Munich, Zürich, Geneva, and Moscow, and several dozen magazines. This widening scope of our information has been appreciated by our old readers and has, in addition, brought us many new friends.

Of course, it would be preferable if our magazine had staff members traveling all over the world and writing their own reports on what they see; but for the time being we shall have to work with the material which reaches us in Shanghai from various sources. And for the collecting and sifting of this material, Shanghai is exceptionally well suited. Take the Soviet Union, for the study of whose current affairs there is no better place outside the USSR. Our readers may remember the article "Two Secrets of the Red Billions," in the May 1944 issue. It was based on Soviet material about the Tenth Session of the Supreme Council of the USSR (January 28 to February 1) which became available in Shanghai early in April. In reading European newspapers and magazines we have found many items and articles on the same topic but none which gave such detailed and comprehensive information as we were able to publish because the material available to us in Shanghai was more complete than that available to students of Soviet affairs in Europe or America. Regarding the USA too, we have been able of late to obtain much fresh and detailed material. * * *

The problems confronting mankind at present are so vast that, while no one is equal to their full interpretation, every contribution in this direction, be it ever so small, is worth the effort. Nobody can, for example, follow the discussion of peace and postwar problems being carried on at present in the world without a feeling of dismay at the overwhelming confusion. To present its modest share toward clarifying the causes, meaning, and consequences of the events of our time will continue to be this magazine's policy in the fourth year of its publication.

The Editor

BOOK REVIEW

Chinese Handicrafts, by Hanna Woidt. (Peking, 1944, 55 pp. and many photographs)

The meagerness of our Book Review section has shown that few books worth mentioning have appeared in Western languages in East Asia during the last three years. It is therefore with special pleasure that we turn to reviewing this book. In this which can truly be called a labor of love, Hanna Woidt acquaints the reader with a field generally neglected in all the wealth of literature on China, a field disappearing more and more under the impact of modern times: the handicrafts of China.

The author possesses a wide knowledge of the subject and a great talent of her own for handicrafts which has enabled her to deal expertly with the theme with the aid of typical examples, illustrations, and descriptions. From the making of simple objects of wood to those of pottery and brass; from intricate wood carvings via the complicated manufacture of old horn lanterns to the fairy-tale figures used in shadow plays; from delicate embroidery designs to the primitive hand-loom of blue-and-white peasant cloth, heavy brocade, and fine materials produced by various methods—through all these articles which play a part in the daily life of the people of China, this book leads a way.

The terse, lucid style is full of charm and humor and draws the reader's attention to the close union joining practical use, beauty of form, and symbolism in the products of the Chinese crafts. The whole appearance of the book is a source of pleasure: the hand-woven linen cover, the many photographs, some of them beautifully hand-colored, and the clear sturdy print. Thus, from cover to content, the work is a tribute of affection to the handicrafts of China.

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Japan, by Carl Emmo Vissering. (Tientsin, 1944. Published by the author. 199 pp.)

This collection of twelve lectures on the history, culture, and art of Japan complements the author's first book on China; it is its twin in appearance and arrangement and has good illustrations.

From the myths and legends overlying the remotest centuries of Japan's history, the reader is taken through the age of adaptation to Chinese culture and the introduction of Buddhism, and through the following rhythmical recurrence of zealous reforms under Imperial leadership, alter-
BOOK REVIEW

...ating with the turbulent and interminable struggles of great families craving power at the expense of both their happiness and the happiness of people. The last chapters, showing the best forces of the country riding the crest of a new wave of reforms, bridges the gulf opened up to our Western eyes by the Restoration and convinces us that the New Japan is a logical outcome of the Old, founded on its best traditions.

Most of the numerous quotations do credit to the understanding interpretations and translations of Hermann Bohner. Trilling inaccuracies in Mr. Vissering's statements on history and art are rendered inoffensive by the pathos and silken sheen of his language.—E.C.

Shakespeare Sonnet (Shakespeare's Sonnets), translated into German by Eta Harich-Schneider. (Peking, 1944, Pekinger Pappelinsel, FRB $36.00)

The appearance of this exquisitely made-up volume of Shakespeare's sonnets in a new German translation is a literary event of some importance.

Samuel Johnson said that the merit of poetry lay not in its being untranslatable, because thereby readers were obliged to learn the original language. If there is any truth in the saying of the Augustan arbiter poeseos, it would at any rate seem to apply to Shakespeare's sonnets. In their steady, deliberate flow, imperceptibly arrested between octave and sestet to break forth triumphantly into the glorious final couplet, they are, in spite of their apparently artless rhyme scheme, much more intricately patterned than the sonnet forms used in German verse, which are nearly always the Petrarchan, with its one simple division, or the Miltonic, that knows no break at all. But even less translatable would appear the enormous wealth of thought and the wide range of conceits, metaphors, and comparisons that are packed into the decasyllabic iambs.

However, all doubt as to the possibility of the task will disappear once the reader has become absorbed in this volume. The introduction—a little masterpiece of succinctly expounded scholarship—is not only a really helpful initiation into the strange world of the poems that have given rise to so much learned controversy: it also reveals the translator's power of insight, her "feeling" for Shakespeare's mood, so indispensable a qualification for her enterprise. And as the reader proceeds, he will forget all about Dr. Johnson's canons. He will simply drink in the sonorous music of the poems, now sweet and soft, now harsh and sarcastic, and will himself live through the ardor of sensitive imagination and the sincerity of emotion of which these immortal love songs were born.

The reviewer, who has to compare the translation with the original and, perhaps, with some of the existing German translations, will then ask himself what it is that makes this rendering a genuine re-creation of the spirit of the original. It cannot be the literal faithfulness, which is observed but fortunately—not overstrained—for faithfulness alone, as has been said of marriage, is too little for a happy alliance and too much for an unhappy one. Nor can it be the conscientious reproduction of the rhyme scheme, which in such attempts so often gets the upper hand and diverts the reader toward redundancy and pointlessness.

We believe that the value of the present translation lies in a twofold achievement. Eta Harich-Schneider has succeeded primarily in entering into the Shakespearean mood as much as. Shakespeare's thought progresses from an exultant admiration of his beloved's beauty, intellect, and grace to a sad sense of the transitoriness of all things, the decay wrought by time, the clash between the ideals of "fair, kind and true" and the sordidness of a world of political and moral corruption:

"Tir'd with all these, for restful death I cry."

Perhaps it needed a woman's intuition to penetrate this tangle of conflicting emotions and see them as a whole, united by one loving and suffering heart. Yet to guide this intuitive comprehension, the experience of the cataclysm of our own time was also necessary, a time which in its tragic restlessness is so like that in which Shakespeare lived. May it not be that, because they lacked this experience of the futility of earthly existence, the nineteenth-century translators ultimately failed?

The second achievement is one of form, and one that might have been expected from as renowned a musician as Eta Harich-Schneider. For she brings to her rendering those priceless talents that only the born musician possesses, the accuracy of feeling and the delicacy of touch which alone produce the true concord of well-tuned sounds.

Musical rhythm and resonance are the wings on which her inspiration soars aloft. They make her overcome the complex problems of prosody so marked when English has to be shaped in an inflected language such as German. And she thus succeeds in transplanting even those "dancing children"—the English monosyllables—into a congenial atmosphere where only very seldom do they show a little uneasiness in their unwonted surroundings.—R.

Gedichte (Poems), by Carl Heinz Eickert. (Peking, Pekinger Pappelinsel, 59 pp.)

This volume of poems represents a curious mixture of analytical intellectualism and lyrical emotionalism, containing for the greater part poems of mood and introspection, uncovering, not a uniform conception of life, but the soul of a young author.

In one of his poems the writer speaks of himself as swinging ceaselessly from side to side like the pendulum of a clock. But when one has read them all one is bound to feel that the pendulum swings further toward the misty, melancholy side, to that side on which the dark questions of human existence are to be found. This tendency is most clearly expressed in the excellent poem "Von der menschlichen Kreatur, die wir sind" (Of the Human Creature that We Are), in which the poet asks struggling humanity the age-old question: Whither? Wherefore? Why? What are you striving for? We hope that Eickert will one day give us the answer in new poems.

A word regarding the form. We find many different meters in this volume. Not all of them are equally suited to express the thoughts of the poet so that the reader understands these thoughts with ease. For the thoughts are difficult, and some of them are cloaked in rather obscure symbolic robes, with the result that it takes some effort to recognize their contours. Some of these robes are very beautiful.
All in all: a promising beginning. But let the poet remember in his future work that he too is faced by the question: What are you striving for?—v. R.

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On To Delhi. A Monthly Illustrated Magazine on Indian Affairs in East Asia. (Shanghai, August 1944)

Published by the Director of Enlightenment and Cultural Department of the Indian National Army Training Centre in Shanghai, this monthly, of which the first issue appeared in August, is aimed at showing what the Indian thinks about India today.

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In this clearly printed, useful little manual you can find such varied expressions as "gelände-sprung," "trucking," "juke box," "trigger man," "FCC," "FERA," and all the rest of the alphabet soup of American governmental organizations.

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Sinologische Arbeiten 2 (Sinological Studies 2). (Peking, 1944, Deutschland-Institut, 204 pp.)

This second issue of a publication which was started last year contains the following essays by German sinologists:

- Weitere Beiträge zur Kompilation und Überlieferung der Ming Shih-lu, by Wolfgang Frank;
- Bronzentexte der Chou-Zeit, by Max Loehr;
- Ein mongolisches Textfragment über den Ölsten-fürsten Galdan, by Walther Heissig;
- Das Lhasa-nu-chuan und seine Illustrationen seit der Sung-Zeit, by Ihe Martin;
- Zu H. Wilhelm's Um die Megaphysik, by P. Beatus Theunissen Ofn.

** DOCUMENTS **

Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)

(May 16, 1934)

Concerning the Teaching of Civic History in the Schools of the USSR

The Council of People’s Commissars and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) state that the teaching of history in the schools of the USSR is not administered satisfactorily. Textbooks and even the teaching are of an abstract, schematic nature. Instead of the teaching of civic history in a lively manner, the narrating of the most important events and facts in their chronological sequence accompanied by characterizations of historical figures, the students are given abstract definitions of social-economic structures, thus substituting obscure schemes for coherent narration of civic history.

An essential requirement for the thorough mastery of history is the observance of a chronological sequence in the presentation of historical facts, personalities, and chronological dates. Only such a course in history can assure the student accessibility to, and clarity and concreteness in, historical records; on this basis alone can a correct analysis and synthesis of historical events be arrived at, which will guide the student to a Marxist understanding of history.

In accordance with this, the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) decree:

1. By June 1935, the following new textbooks shall be prepared: (a) a history of the ancient world; (b) a history of the Middle Ages; (c) a modern history; (d) a history of the USSR; (e) a modern history of dependent and colonial countries.

2. Approval of the following list of members of groups entrusted with compiling the new historical textbooks shall be confirmed: [there follows the list of names]

3. In order to train qualified specialists in history, the faculties of history at the Universities of Moscow and Leningrad shall be restored on September 1, 1934, with a contingent of students to be admitted in the autumn of one hundred and fifty for each of the faculties, the term of training to be five years.

Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR,

(Signed) V. Molotov

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),

(Signed) J. Stalin
WAR BOOM

When the second World War began, American national income had, after the depression of the thirties, not yet regained the boom level of the twenties. Whatever merits the New Deal may have had in the social field, it failed as an economic policy in attaining its main goal, namely, increased production and employment. At the outbreak of war, the number of unemployed amounted to 10 to 12 million, and this figure does not even include the millions of idle hands in agriculture. The American economic system employed 2 million people less in 1939 than in 1929, although the population had increased by 10 millions in the intervening ten years.

Rearmament succeeded where the New Deal had failed: it managed fully to exploit America's tremendous productive capacity. Rearmament, which began after Hitler's world-shaking conquests in the spring and summer of 1940 and went into high gear after the Pearl Harbor disaster in December 1941, lifted American trade and industry from stagnation to capacity output within an incredibly short time. As early as the second half of 1942, unemployment was reduced to a minimum and, in many fields, even gave way to a perceptible shortage of labor. Millions of unskilled laborers have become skilled during the war; simultaneously, the number of young men called to the colors has mounted from a few hundred thousand to almost 11 million. The number of laborers actually employed in production has risen by 7 million. The number of female workers grew from 13 million (including 2 million unemployed) before the war to 18 million in the autumn of 1943, and the proportion of women in production has gone up to one third of the total labor. Moreover, working hours have been increased from an average of 38 hours in 1939 to 45 hours per week.

20 billion dollars' worth of new plants have been put up, while the total of industrial investments, after deduction of amortizations, amounted to 26 billion dollars before the war. The total value of production in America, which in 1940 had still amounted to less than 100 billion dollars, had reached an annual level of 200 billion dollars by December 1943. Even taking into account the rise in prices, this represents an increase in production of at least fifty per cent.

From 1939 to 1943 the total wages paid by industry had tripled. The nominal in-
Industrial wages have risen by an average of 50 per cent, but the increase in the cost of living has canceled about half of this rise. For 1943 the profits of the industrial concerns, after deduction of almost 14 billion dollars of taxes, were calculated at more than 8 billion dollars, which represents an absolute record and is twice as much as in 1939. The driving force in this boom is, of course, war production, which at present accounts in value for half of the entire production.

In 1943 the state laid claim to about half of the current national income. But although the government revenue has increased almost tenfold since the thirties, no more than about one third of the war costs could be financed from taxes. The national debt, which amounted to about 40 billions in 1939, will probably amount to 210 billions by July 1, 1944, and it is reckoned that it will have reached some 300 billion dollars by the end of the war. (In comparison, it is interesting to recall that, at the end of the Great War, America's national debt stood at approximately 25 billion dollars.)

**THE PRICE PROBLEM**

On the basis of this economic development, one would have expected a mighty rise in prices. I must admit that, while feeling confidence in the actual carrying out of the gigantic American economic plans, I had anticipated a violent explosion of purchasing power to force up prices. But I was mistaken. In America, prices have risen less than here in Sweden or in England. The cost-of-living index has risen no more than about 25 per cent and the wholesale index by some 40 per cent since 1939. (During the Great War, the wholesale index was already 100 per cent higher at the corresponding stage after the outbreak of war.) One may distrust price indices, but the fact cannot be denied that the price increase has only been a slight one.

On the whole, prices for goods in the early stages of production have gone up more than for finished goods. While the prices for raw materials are more than 60 per cent above the prewar level, finished industrial products have risen in price by no more than about 25 per cent. Agriculture received on an average 100 per cent more for its products, while the Administration, with the aid of subsidies, did not let retail prices for foodstuffs rise more than 45 to 50 per cent.

I must admit that the question as to why no larger rise in prices has taken place is hard to explain, and I must limit myself to mentioning a few factors which have contributed to this state of affairs. First of all, civilian production has, in spite of the tremendous extension of war production, been maintained and in some sectors even increased. While in England actual consumption in 1942 was already 20 per cent below the prewar level, it was in the same year 13 per cent above the prewar level in America. It is true that the production of all goods interfering with war production has been reduced or even stopped. But the production of the remaining consumption goods has risen in comparison to the civilian population, which has been reduced as the result of conscription. Agricultural production, for example, has been increased to such an extent that the consumption of foodstuffs is considerably higher than in 1939. Rationing was necessary only to prevent an excessive increase in consumption as a result of the rising income. Another factor was provided by the speculative hoarding up to Pearl Harbor, which made it possible later on to draw upon large stocks for supplying the demand.

But both these explanations do not suffice, as the gap between the income of the consumers and the supply of goods has become wider and wider. While the sum total of incomes paid after deduction of taxes has been calculated at 126 billions for 1943, the expenditure for consumption during the same year amounted to only 88 billions. The "inflationary gap" of 38 billions of unused purchasing power represents almost one third of the total income. The major part of this surplus is saved or, to put it perhaps more correctly, not consumed. It is this immense saving, calculated to total 100 billion dollars for the years 1942, 1943, and 1944, which needs to be explained.

**AMERICANS AND PRICES**

It would appear that the consumption habits of people are far more rigid than we economists have always believed. When the Americans found themselves with rising incomes but unable to buy automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, or radios; when textile goods became not only more expensive but also poorer in quality; and when some of the daily requirements were rationed, people apparently did not have enough imagination and intelligence to use
their money for other sensible purposes: they simply kept it. The money was used to pay off mortgages and installment debts or to pay cash for things formerly bought on credit, or it was paid into the bank. Incidentally, a similar trend made itself felt in England.

In conversations with American colleagues I sometimes heard the idea voiced that the Americans might have a somewhat different reaction to the danger of inflation than we Europeans. Economists have generally assumed that when the public fears an increase in prices it seeks safety in goods. People want to buy before prices have risen. In America there has been a lively discussion of the danger of inflation since the beginning of the war. Hence the psychological conditions for a demand and consequently a price increase should have existed. But, so I was told, the average American would on the contrary be more inclined in such a case to keep liquid assets in order to be ready to seize a really good chance for speculative buying in expectation of the approaching rise in prices. In other words, his penchant for taking a chance would work as a price-stabilizing factor. I have mentioned this theory to show how obscure the entire question of price trends in America still is.

That any large increase in prices can also be prevented during the further course of the war is to be assumed from the fact that increasing quantities of raw materials can be made available for civilian consumption. In the same measure in which the production of goods for civilian requirements increases, the "inflationary gap" will diminish.

On the other hand, the effect of domestic political developments on prices cannot yet be predicted. The antiadministration bloc in Congress, consisting since the elections of 1942 of reactionary southern democrats and conservative Republicans, is consciously or unconsciously pursuing an inflationary policy, opposing the Treasury's proposals for new taxes to reduce the "inflationary gap." Congress also opposes the continuation of foodstuff subsidies by which the prices for food are being kept down. The success of this opposition would represent a grave threat to the price-stabilization program. For if the foodstuff subsidies were to be abolished and the cost of living rose, the familiar inflationary spiral with the cost of living and wages exerting a reciprocal effect upon each other might easily be set in motion.

AGRICULTURE

The total number of employed in agriculture has not changed, having remained at some 10 millions. Production, however, has increased by about one third in comparison to the average of 1935/39. This rise is not surprising in view of the fact that the entire prewar agricultural policy was directed at enticing the farmers to reduce production with the aid of subsidies. There has been no increased mechanization. What with increased production and doubled prices, the income of the farmers has been tripled. The rise in food prices is largely responsible for the mounting index of the cost of living. Behind this development stands the farm bloc, which wields great influence within the Congress majority: but by means of wide, skillful publicity the farm bloc has managed not to lose the sympathy of the American people. Indeed, the American farmers have been getting away with murder, as the Americans say.

In my opinion, a serious error was committed in the agricultural policy of the United States when it did not seize upon the chance offered by the war of putting agriculture back on a sound basis. We must bear in mind the fact that large agricultural regions are considerably overpopulated. In the advanced agricultural regions with their almost industrial form of production, American agriculture is at a high level. But the majority of the rural population in America carries on a very primitive form of agriculture. One third of all the American farmers raise 80 per cent of all marketed products. Among the remaining two thirds there are many pure proletarians living at an incredibly low standard, especially in the Southern states.

Now the war has presented America with a chance that may never return again to take the poor slaves of the soil from the overpopulated proletarian agricultural regions and put them into war production or the Army. America's agricultural production, which hardly depended on the sharecroppers, would not have suffered; moreover, production in general could have been increased considerably by mechanization. But this policy did not suit the large landowners in the South. By influencing legislation and by corrupt application of the laws, they managed to have even unproduc-
tive farms declared "war-essential." As a result, the owners or tenants of such farms were exempt, although even experts in the Administration were ruthlessly called to the colors if they happened to be of the right age, and although the shortage of labor represented an obstacle to rearmament that could sometimes hardly be surmounted. What was worst, however, was that these agricultural laborers and small tenants in the South now became entirely dependent on the large landowners, whose whim determined whether they would be called up or not. Thus a new foundation has been laid for that particular kind of American serfdom.

Nothing has been said in America about this scandal in the agricultural policy. The silence is a result of the fear of the reactionary bloc dominating Congress. The retaining of superfluous labor in America's agriculture must one day have an intensifying effect on the great overproduction crisis in world economies which all experts expect to occur once the food shortage of the war and the first few postwar years has been overcome.

THE PROBLEM OF READJUSTMENT

The most interesting fact about the American boom is that it has remained stable so far, although the phase of investments has long been left behind. The main reasons for the stability of the boom are:

1. the strong Government demand for war-essential goods;

2. the centrally directed production and price formation. America's postwar economic problem is: what will happen (1) when the Government demand for war-essential goods gradually diminishes and ceases, and (2) when enforced regulation is replaced by free enterprise?

Outside of Germany and Russia there is no record in history of a boom ever having been stabilized. In a liberalistic-capitalist society a boom is always followed by a crisis and depression. During the thirties America did not even succeed in the more simple task of overcoming a depression, and to stabilize a boom is far more difficult. How can a chaos be prevented?

The Americans themselves are quite optimistic and believe that they will be able to stabilize the war boom in peace time and at the same time to remove the present government control of economics. This optimism is promoted by such organizations as the US Chamber of Commerce. The fact that their endeavors have not been without success is revealed by the polls conducted by Fortune: when America entered the war in 1941, no more than 10 per cent of the population believed in the possibility of escaping widespread unemployment after the war; today, however, 80 per cent of those who are employed are convinced that they will keep their jobs after the war.

I shall attempt to analyze the psychology of this surprising optimism. It is, so it seems to me, a result of the successful carry-ing out of the production program during the war which has given the Americans an increased self-confidence. Yet this success was only possible with an unlimited purchasing power and an incessant demand. After the war, the situation will change, especially if sound finances are aimed at. To a certain extent, the present mood in America reminds one of the mood of the late twenties when economic circles and, I am ashamed to say, even economists were convinced that there would never be a depression again. The year 1929 showed that all the optimism in the world cannot prevent a crisis.

POSTWAR EMPLOYMENT

Let us consider the problems one by one and begin with that of employment. When peace is signed, the armed forces—which at the peak of the war absorbed about 11¼ million Americans—will be demobilized. Assuming that 2½ millions will remain under the colors, this means that 9 millions will have to be re-employed by peace-time production.

War production will largely be discontinued. Aircraft production will be reduced to perhaps 5 per cent, shipbuilding to 7 to 10 per cent. The manufacture of machine tools during the last three years was on an average ten times greater than during any prewar year. This industry now has a capacity great enough to supply a country like Italy with all its machine tools within six weeks. Today this industry is already working at no more than 75 per cent of its capacity. Even under the most favorable conditions of transport to Russia, China, and countries with a poorly developed industry, it can hardly be assumed that its output will be more than 60 per cent of its present one.

Synthetic-rubber production has been estimated at 800,000 tons for 1944, i.e., two thirds of the entire world's rubber production
before the war and one third more than the entire annual prewar requirements of the USA. Unless America places an embargo on the import of natural rubber—which would seriously prejudice the interests of the rubber-growing countries—her synthetic rubber production cannot be maintained anywhere near its present level. The output of the steel industry has increased by 80 per cent, so that here, too, curtailments will be necessary. Aluminum production has risen tenfold since 1938, amounting to 900,000 tons in 1943. 80 per cent of this production goes to the aircraft industry, whose output we have assumed will decline to 5 per cent. Magnesium production has risen from 2,410 to 300,000 tons. Although an increasing employment of these light-weight metals in civilian production is expected after the war, the quantities involved are not very great.

Let us therefore assume that the demand for labor in the war industry will be reduced by some 5 millions or more, at least 4 millions of which in the aircraft, shipbuilding, steel, and machine-tool industry. On the other hand, the demand for labor in other industries where it declined during the war—paper, textiles, leather, furniture, etc.—will rise, let us say by 1 million or more. Hence altogether 4 million laborers will have to be discharged. This would mean that, in comparison to the 10 million industrial workers before the war and the 18 millions today, there would be 14 million laborers employed in industry after the war—certainly a very optimistic assumption.

Some 500,000 hands will be released from the transportation system, and another million from the tremendously inflated Administration. Including the 9 million men discharged from the armed forces, there will be a total of 14½ millions looking for jobs. It should be borne in mind that all these figures are based on the assumption that the rest of America’s economy will continue at full capacity. Should any unemployment occur in other than the fields named here, the number of laborers without jobs would increase correspondingly.

CONJURING WITH FIGURES

Where are these 14½ million hands to find work in peace-time production? Let us assume that 3 to 4 million women, young people, and oldsters will voluntarily withdraw from the process of production. A million will return to agriculture, although from the point of view of efficiency this is pure madness. Working at full capacity, commerce might be able to employ another 2 to 3 millions. Domestic service and other similar jobs might take care of a maximum of 3 millions. Assuming an unemployment figure of 3 millions, there remain another 2 to 3 millions who could be employed in the building industry.

So the conjuring trick has succeeded and the work problem has been solved! One often meets with calculations of this kind in America. As a “proof” of the economic optimism this calculation is useless, for it is wholly static. It presumes the probability of that which is to be made probable, namely capacity production. If we assume, however, that there will be no capacity production, then the releasing of labor in all branches of industry will take on far greater proportions and the possibility of finding new jobs will be correspondingly smaller.

Next let us look at a calculation based on production and income rather than employment. I refer in this connection to a book published by the Department of Commerce, Markets After the War by S. Morris Livingston, the bible of the optimistic post-war planners. Livingston defines full employment in 1946 more or less as follows. In 1940 there were 9 million unemployed and 46 million employed. By 1946, as a result of the increase in population, the total number of people available for employment will have grown by 2½ millions. On the other hand, some 5 million women, aged, and young
people, who were not employed before the war, will leave the labor market again. The armed forces will require 2 million men instead of 500,000 before the war. The number of unemployed will presumably be 2 millions. In order to achieve that which Livingston calls full employment, the number of employed would hence have to be 10 million higher in 1946 than in 1940. In view of the increase in the work productivity per hour of about 2½ per cent per annum, and taking into account an average working week of 38 hours, this would necessitate an increase of 50 per cent in total production compared with prewar times.

Livingston admits that the situation would be quite different if 1940 were to supply only the same volume of production as 1940, which latter was by no means low in comparison to the thirties. In that case, unemployment would, in addition to the 9 million of 1940, include the 2½ million new hands and another 8 million released as the result of the increased work productivity per hour, thus totaling almost 20 million.

PARADOXES

I have tried to find out how the various branches of industry gauge their own prospects in comparison to Livingston’s plan and have discovered that they reckon with much lower figures. In other words, the manufacturer believes there will be full employment in America as a whole; but for his own industry he usually foresees a production far below that taken into account by the Livingston plan.

Where are the purchasing power and demand for goods to come from to justify an increase of production of 50 per cent over the prewar production when the Government ceases to require almost half of the national production for the war? Can anyone seriously believe that the American industrialist will step up and tell the people that the grave economic situation forces them to propose a vast increase in the level of wages in order to provide sufficient purchasing power to permit industry to work at full capacity? Things like that don’t happen, not even in fairy tales. On the contrary, the manufacturers are demanding a lowering of wages and declaring that, as a result of price control, the price of industrial goods has risen much less than wages. (As a matter of fact, the net profit per unit produced has sunk by approximately 10 per cent.) If, however, wages are not raised but even reduced, the necessary purchasing power for capacity production disappears and the downward spiral of depression is set in motion.

But let us for the sake of argument assume that the manufacturers will in a fit of reckless generosity agree to a certain increase in wages. Let us furthermore assume that the Government will contribute the additional purchasing power—procured by means of vigorously underbalancing the budget—to continue the boom. Even assuming these highly improbable conditions, it is unlikely that the consumers will have enough confidence in the future, and enough intelligence, imagination, and culture really to raise their standard of living so rapidly and to such an extent as would be necessary for capacity production. Raising consumption by 50 per cent is a feat imposing higher demands on the consumers than they can be expected to meet. If, on the other hand, the consumers do not transform their income into purchases to a sufficient degree and very rapidly, the boom will collapse like a house of cards as soon as the war demand declines.

POSTWAR PROSPECTS

We must now examine the various factors influencing the postwar prospects. Let us first study those favoring a continuation of the boom. At the end of the war there will be quite a number of factors contributing toward a demand for goods. Merely to replenish exhausted stocks there is likely to be a demand for goods totaling some 10 billion dollars in value. To this must be added the extraordinary demand for American products that will arise from the relief activities of the UNRRA.

Great hopes are placed in the so-called “deferred demand,” i.e., the demand for goods which could not be met during the war—from cooking utensils to automobiles. In 1941 there were, for example, 27 million private cars in use in the USA. By the beginning of 1945 this number will have been reduced to about 20 millions by normal wear-and-tear, while at the same time the population will have increased. Behind this deferred demand stand the vast savings made during the war. I do not believe, however, that the greater part of these savings will appear as purchasing power on the market; they are more likely to be kept in the form of capital. Alvin Hansen reckons that the total demand for consumption goods during the first two years
after the war will amount to about 10 billion dollars per year. (At present it is around 3 billion dollars, and in 1937 it was 7.6 billion dollars.) At any rate, this demand will not result in an increase of employment but at the most in a curtailment of dismissals. Even if automobile production were to be increased from the 6 millions of the top year of 1937 to 8 millions, the automobile industry would be forced to discharge several hundred thousand men. This fact is often overlooked.

The chief hope is placed in a brisk building activity. The economic stagnation of the thirties and the building restrictions during the war have indeed created perfect conditions for a building boom immediately after the war. But even under the most favorable conditions and with the support of a vigorous public building policy, the building of houses can be increased at most to 5 billion dollars per annum for a short period of time. Even this would mean that 1 1/2 million homes must be built every year, which is a very large figure. As a result of the big investments in new factories, etc., during the war, other building activities cannot amount to much, at most 2 to 3 billion dollars per year.

Among the factors favoring production, the Americans also count the assumption that the war will continue on one front or another even after it is over on other fronts. Should, however, the war end simultaneously in all theaters, this would lead to a sudden cessation of war requirements and to an economic catastrophe in America. The cry has already been raised that Government requirements, which amount at present to 100 billion dollars per annum, must not sink to less than 30 billion at the end of the war. It strikes one as ironical when, in conversations, the high Government expenditure after the war is mentioned as a reason for consolation even by the champions of sound state finances. Actually, the demand for a balanced budget has practically disappeared in America, and I predict that, at least in the coming decade, we shall not see a balanced federal budget again in America.

UNFAVORABLE FACTORS

Now let us turn to those factors which are unfavorable to capacity production. First of all there is the fact that the change-over of America’s economy from war to peace will entail at least a temporary wave of unemployment. Secondly, the wages paid in the war industry, which will then dis-
appear to a large extent, were particularly high. Moreover, the return to normal working hours will have an unfavorable effect on the sum total of wages paid, as large premiums are paid for overtime. Thirdly, America will develop “depressed areas” such as England had after the Great War, but on a vastly increased scale. Since 1940 the population of thirty so-called “war centers” in America has risen by 10 to 60 per cent. California, Oregon, and Washington will be badly hit by the shrinking of the aircraft and shipbuilding industry, and it is not improbable that every second laborer in a state like California will be out of a job. The states of the Old South will be even more directly affected by mass unemployment. Here there are many munitions factories and other plants for which there will be no use after the war.

Fourthly, the American economic and social policy is confronted with a gigantic problem raised by the necessity of shifting the labor forces as rapidly as possible to those centers most likely to require them under peace-time conditions. It is true that formerly the American laborers were very mobile; but in future this cannot be counted upon. Many of those, for example, who moved to the West Coast with all its natural charms during the war will wish to remain there, even under unfavorable employment conditions. They will all hope for improvement and think that unemployment will not hit them personally. The fact that the anticipated 15 million war veterans who, together with their relatives, will dominate American politics after the war, will insist on high relief payments for the jobless will also not contribute toward the mobility of the laborers. The stagnation of the thirties has proved how immobile the working classes of America are today.

These problems are all the more serious as a deterioration in the relations between employers and employees must be reckoned with after the war. As we have already mentioned, the employers are demanding a reduction of wages. The employees, on the other hand, are demanding compensation in the form of increased wages after the war for their loyal attitude during the war and their acceptance of the Government’s wage-stop policy. If we take into account the disturbed state resulting from the process of changing over and the mass unemployment in the areas of war production, as well as a probably very complicated domestic-political
situation, we are bound to reckon with a radicalization of the labor classes, with conflicts in the employment market, and with a growing acuteness of the racial problem. An epidemic of serious and perhaps bloody conflicts in the labor market would naturally have a very depressing effect on economic developments.

PROBLEMS THEY SPEAK ABOUT

All these things are rarely mentioned in America, so that discussions of the future have an atmosphere of unreality and illusoriness. Instead, other postwar questions are discussed all the more vigorously.

(1) One of these problems is the future of the stocks belonging to the Government. In order to be able to carry on the war, the armed forces must always have at their disposal immense stocks of goods of all kinds down to shoes and provisions. These stocks, which will be worth some 80 billion dollars at the end of the war, will have a depressing effect on economics.

(2) Even more difficult is the problem of the war-supply contracts in force at the end of the war. It has been calculated that there will be current contracts for goods worth 75 billion dollars at the end of the war, about ten times as much as at the end of the Great War. These contracts are distributed among about 100,000 chief contractors, who in turn have more than a million subcontractors. Thus the greater part of American industry is involved in the coming giant settlement between Government and industry. One of the main conditions for a smooth change-over in economics is that the quickest possible clarification is effected in this field. For this, legislation is needed to fix the rates of compensation to be paid to the suppliers for their canceled contracts, a legislation on which as yet no agreement has been reached. Moreover, the situation requires an extremely involved legal administration to deal with each case individually. And in most cases, this clarification can only be effected after the war, i.e., during the actual period of readjustment. The military purchasing organizations have already begun to cancel one order after another. The question as to the order in which cancelations are to take place will play an important role. Those enterprises which are first released from their contracts will have an advantage over the others in the struggle for the postwar market. The way matters are now, it is to be expected that those enterprises working at the highest cost of production will be the first to have their contracts canceled, as this would mean the greatest saving to the Treasury. Hence the least efficient manufacturers would be given an extra chance to be the first to switch over to peace-time production.

(3) The most difficult winding-up problem confronts the Government-owned plants. Of the 20 billion dollars' worth of new factories built during the war, three quarters belong to the Government, representing an investment of 15 billion dollars. Some fields are entirely dominated by Government-owned industry.

These factories are solidly built and have the most modern equipment. For a quarter of them there is no use whatever in peace. The remainder could be adjusted to peace-time production.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proportion of Government-owned Production (in per cent)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Synthetic rubber</td>
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<tr>
<td>High-octane aviation</td>
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<td>gasoline</td>
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<td>Magnesium</td>
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<td>Aircraft</td>
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<td>Aluminum</td>
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<td>Machine tools</td>
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What is America to do with this Government sector of her industry? To let it continue in the form of Government enterprises would be against every American tradition. The most natural solution would be to have it taken over by private industry. But at what price? Industry has already pointed to the fact that as a result of the hectic times in which they were erected the building costs of these plants were abnormally high, that the plants are by no means always favorably located, that many of them would have to be rebuilt for peace-time production, etc.

It is extremely important that all these questions be clarified as quickly as possible in order that the process of adjustment is not impeded. But if the Government were, for this reason, to sell the factories cheaply, then the agricultural population and probably small business circles, too, would raise a storm, calling attention to the corruption scandals after the Great War. If, on the other hand, the selling prices were high, the plants would remain unsold. The suggestion has been made that the dilemma could be avoided by leasing the factories to business concerns. But that would be no solution.
The situation is further complicated by the fact that it is really only the giant corporations which can be considered as partners for the Government, as all the plants are of gigantic size. Among the enterprises financed by the Government, 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) per cent represent an investment value of 100 million dollars each, and 30 per cent (including the above 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) per cent) one of 50 million dollars or more each. Only 4 per cent are valued at less than 1 million dollars each. Hence the idea advocated in America that the small businessman should be given preference in the disposal of Government-owned enterprises is merely an illusion.

Anyway the war has entailed a strongly emphasized trend toward large enterprises. The awarding of war contracts favored the large enterprises, as there was usually a need for rapid deliveries. Moreover, the restriction of civilian production decreed in 1941 and 1942 chiefly hit the small enterprises. However, toward the end of 1942 and in 1943 the small enterprises were given a new chance when the large enterprises saw themselves forced to employ subcontractors. But this has also entailed a growing dependency of small enterprises on the large industrial corporations.

* * *

I regard it as my duty to warn my compatriots of two great illusions:

(1) That America will succeed in stabilizing her economy after the war.

(2) That the Americans and British will succeed in building up a satisfactory international economic system for themselves, for us, or for the world.

In my opinion everything points to the fact that America is drifting into a turbulent economic development after the war which will very soon culminate in a depression and mass unemployment. Moreover, it is very likely that all the fine plans for the liberation and stabilization of world economics will remain empty promises, so that the international problems will on the whole be unsolved when peace breaks out. This would mean an economic order in the world worse than that existing before the war.

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU

Turkish Demitasse
THE TRANSCONTINENTAL ROUTES OF ASIA

By WALTER J. KAHLER

The first condition for the economic development of a country and the obtaining of markets for its products is the presence of routes of communication. In the construction of these, three factors have to be taken into account: first, the geographical nature of the terrain and its obstacles, such as difficult mountain passes, precipitous river valleys, arid deserts, etc; secondly, the presence of oases or water holes to be used as resting places; and thirdly, political conditions in the regions through which the road is to pass.

The principal features which give Asia its characteristic appearance are the flat northern steppes of Siberia, the steppes and deserts in Western and Central Asia, and the verdant tropical areas of the south comprising India, Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China. This tropical region is separated from Turkestan and Mongolia by the mountain wall of the Hindu Kush/Pamir/Himalaya massif and by the Tibetan plateau.

These topographical features have determined the movements of the great migrations of peoples in their search for fertile areas as well as the direction of the transcontinental caravan roads. Three principal routes evolved: (1) the trans-Siberian route; (2) the old silk roads leading through Chinese Turkestan; and (3) the southern route via Iran/Baluchistan/India and the Burma Road.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S CAMPAIGN

The earliest information about Central Asia came to us through the expedition of Alexander the Great to India. 2,274 years ago he advanced to the Pamir plateau and thence across the Oxus (Amu Darya) River as far as Maracanda (Samarkand). Through him, Greek coins and Greek art were introduced to Bactria (Balkh) and western India.

This journey was started early in 313 B.C. with the campaign against Darius, which was launched from Egypt. After defeating the army of the Persian King at Gaugamela (in the vicinity of Mosul), Alexander conquered Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. Later on he turned northeastward in pursuit of Darius. He marched via Hecatompylos (Damghan) to Meshed and thence made a detour through southern Afghanistan. In the middle of the winter of 330 B.C. he crossed the snowed-up passes (4,000 to 5,000 meters high) of the Hindu Kush range. In the following years he was occupied with the conquest of Bactria and Sogdiana.

In the spring of 326 B.C., Alexander undertook a campaign against India, starting from Kabul with an army of 120,000 men. After crossing the Punjab, he had a fleet built at Hydaspes and sailed with it down the Indus River till he reached the Indian Ocean. From here he sent one part of his troops by ship up the Persian Gulf, while he himself led the main body of his army through the desert of southern Persia. Three quarters of his army succumbed to the rigors of these marches, dying of heat, privation, and lack of water.

After rejoining his fleet at Susa, Alexander made his triumphal entry into Babylon in the spring of 323 B.C. Shortly afterwards he suddenly fell ill with a fever after a banquet. A few days later he died. He was then barely thirty-three years old. The expedition, during which this great military leader covered a distance of at least 15,000 kilometers, took eight whole years.

THE OLD SILK ROADS

As early as one hundred years before the Christian era, one of the first of those great transcontinental routes developed which traverse the whole Asiatic continent from east to west. These were the old silk roads which connected “Sera,” the distant eastern country of silk, with the Mediterranean ports.

Two thousand years before Christ, China was already producing silk, a commodity in great demand in the countries of the East. What vistas of trade opened up should
new markets in the West be found for this highly prized product!

In the second century B.C., the emperors of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), under whom China experienced her most spectacular rise, had expanded the Chinese Empire in the west almost as far as Lake Lob Nor. The neighboring region of eastern Turkestan (now the province of Sinkiang) was inhabited by the Hiungnu or Huns, a restless, predatory nomad tribe which constantly menaced China’s borders in the west and in the north.

It remained for Hsia Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.), the greatest emperor of the Han dynasty, to construct the first caravan road to the countries of the West. Emperor Wu Ti first sent General Chang Kien with an embassy to the Yue Chih (the Tokhars)—who had settled in Ta Yuan (now the province of Fergana and Samarkand) after the Huns had driven them westward—in order to establish relations with these people and conclude a treaty with them against the Huns. In 126 B.C. Chang Kien returned to his country without having achieved any concrete results, but bringing with him a great deal of valuable information. He gave an account to the Emperor about the foreign peoples in Turkestan, the thoroughbred horses of Fergana, the caravan roads to Syria, and about the mighty Roman Empire whose influence extended at that time as far as the Caspian Sea.

After several other expeditions sent out by Emperor Wu Ti had also ended in failure, Ho Kiu-ping, a young, energetic leader, managed to reach the capital of Fergana with an army of 60,000 men consisting of infantry and cavalry. At the same time, he succeeded in driving the Huns toward the north and in seizing the Tarim basin for China. Thus the greatest obstacle had been removed, and trade connections with the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire could at last be established.

For the safeguarding of the new trade routes, fortified military posts, watchtowers, relay stations for horses, inns, and customs stations, were erected along the roads at regular intervals. Transports were guarded by mounted patrols, and mail was forwarded by mounted couriers.

In 114 B.C. the first caravan started on its way to the west. From that time onward, every month witnessed the departure of long columns of donkeys, pack horses, ox carts, and camels laden with silk, cotton, tortoise shell, spices, pearls, and other valuable goods for the ports of the Mediterranean. They returned to China with amber, corals, woollen cloth, wine, grapes, drugs, legumes, and glass of various colors. Thus two thousand years ago the “silk roads”

Trans-Asiatic Routes

In view of the unusually large number of place names mentioned in the article, the map contains, for reasons of clarity, only the most important ones.
developed, of which some sections, gradually following the trend of motorization, are still used today.

SKIRTING THE DESERT

The Central Asiatic route forks at Tun-hwang, a town lying in the western portion of present-day Kansu Province. The Yu Men just behind this town is a narrow gorge in the rocky mountains which separate eastern Turkestan from China. This gate owes its name to the yu (nephrite, jasper, or jade) found in the vicinity of Khotan in the rubble of the mountain streams, and transported through this rock gate since time immemorial. At this gate and at the Yang gate to the south of it were the two customs stations at the end of the Great Wall.

The heart of eastern Turkestan is formed by the Takla Makan Desert with the Tarim basin. It is encircled by three high mountain ranges: in the north by the Tien Shan, in the west by the Pamir plateau, whose 8,000-meter-high mountain walls drop precipitously toward the deep Tarim basin, and in the south by the Kunlun Mountains.

The course of the roads was necessarily determined by the presence of oases serving as watering and resting places for man and beast. The South Road led south of the desert past Lake Lob Nor and via the oases of Charklik/Cherchen/Khotan and Yarkand to Kashgar. The North Road followed a course leading via Loulan and along the Tarim River via Kurla, Kucha, and Aksu at the foot of the Tien Shan range to Kashgar. The latter road, being the shorter one, was preferred. It is still in use today, although traffic now branches off from Anhshi toward the north via Hami, Turfan, and Karachar.

This northern branch had already developed shortly after 270 A.D., although it did not touch Hami then. This was due to the singular circumstance that the Tarim River for some unknown reason suddenly shifted its bed toward the south. The river no longer debouched into Lake Lob Nor but formed a new lake, Karako Shun, to the southwest of the Lob Nor. In consequence, the Takla Makan Desert meanwhile grew considerably larger. The drying up of the water simultaneously spelled the doom of the old commercial and garrison town of Loulan on the western shore of Lake Lob Nor. In 1273 Marco Polo passed by a little to the south without being aware of Loulan. It was left for Sven Hedin during his expedition into the Takla Makan Desert in 1900 to rediscover this ancient town buried in the sand. Among the most valuable discoveries made here by the Swedish explorer were—apart from ornamental objects, old coins, wood carvings, bronze spoons, and pieces of woolen cloth with Hellenic patterns—old Chinese writings on wood, silk, and paper. They are believed to date from the year 200 A.D.

MOUNTAINS

The highest mountain barrier which had to be surmounted was the Pamir plateau, which is frequently covered with deep snow. The broad valley basins of this desert lie at an altitude of between 3,500 and 4,000 meters, while the surrounding peaks rise to more than 7,000 meters. But this mountain wall also possesses gates through which the regions of the Amu Darya, Syr Darya, and Indus Rivers can be reached.

From Kashgar there were three routes to the west. The northern one, which is still in use today, leads via the Terek Dawan pass (3,900 meters), in the Alai Mountains, and the towns of Fergana to Samarkand. The second route also crosses the Pamir plateau across the Terek Dawan Pass; after following the course of the Surkhan River, a tributary of the Amu Darya, for some distance it joins the road from Samarkand north of Balkh. The third route from Yarkand reaches Balkh south of the Pamirs.

India can be reached by a route across the glacier-covered heights of the Karakoram range to Ladakh and Kashmir, and thence over Peshawar to the Ganges, or along the Indus to the ports of Barbaricum and Barygaza near Karachi on the Indian Ocean. This road is also still in use today during the months from July to October when Yarkand caravans with yaks travel along it carrying chiefly yak-hair rugs and hashish from Turkestan to India. Many a pack animal, however, is lost on this journey, which involves weeks of exhausting traveling over the difficult and steep passes of the Karakoram Mountains (the Karakoram pass is 5,574 meters high).

Traffic in the region of the Amu Darya with Balkh—or Bactra, as it was then known—as the chief juncture and trading center was especially brisk. From here merchandise was transported over the passes of the Hindu Kush to Kabul, from where it was sent on to Alexandria Arakhoton...
THE TRANSCONTINENTAL ROUTES OF ASIA

(Kandahar) or through the Khyber Pass to Parusapura (Peshawar). From Bactra, the ancient Persian imperial road led westward via Antiochia, Margiana (Merv), and Meshed to Hecatompylos, the capital of the Parthians. Further stations along the road to the Mediterranean ports were Rages near Teheran, Ecbatana (Hamadan), and Seleucia (Bagdad). On the south road leading via Kandahar, Carmana (Kerman), Persepolis, and Susa, goods from India were principally transported.

In the old Phoenician commercial towns a new industry began to flourish as a result of the silk trade. At Antioch, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut, the silk was woven into various kinds of material, which Phoenician ships carried to Rome where the valuable materials always found eager buyers.

HUNS

A hundred and twenty years had passed since the opening of the silk roads when the Huns again invaded the Tarim basin and drove out the Chinese. This interruption of trade lasted fifty-six years till General Pan Chau put an end to the rule of the Huns. He crossed the passes of the Pamirs, reached the Caspian Sea in the year 95 A.D., and restored trading connections with the West. A quarter of a century later, however, China lost the Tarim basin for good. By 150 A.D. all traffic had ceased. Direct trading relations between China and the Roman Empire had lasted for more than two hundred and forty years (114 B.C. to 127 A.D.).

These events go to show that the factors of political security and international cooperation play a far greater role in the maintenance of transcontinental roads than technical obstacles such as high mountains and difficult river crossings. History shows that the creation of such long-distance routes was undertaken chiefly on the initiative of strong empires which desired to expand their trade. This was the case in Asia at the time when the borders of China and the Roman Empire almost met. The connecting link between these two great powers was provided by the Parthians, who were the intermediaries of trade and forwarded the merchandise through Persia. Trade and traffic on the old routes experienced a revival in the thirteenth century when Kublai Khan ruled over the greater part of Asia. Weaker states, on the other hand, especially those wedged in between two stronger ones, intentionally neglect to build traffic arteries in order to make it harder for their neighbors to invade their territory. Other countries, again, close their borders hermetically toward the outer world in order to make it impossible for foreign agents to poke around for oil, coal, minerals, etc., as the presence of such riches generally provides great powers with the first incentive to invade a weaker country.

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO

The Huns undertook several colossal military campaigns in the course of their history. In the third century they subjected the Chinese, and in the fourth they overran all of western Asia. In 375 A.D. they advanced as far as Hungary, and under the leadership of Attila they spread terror throughout Europe. Even more devastating was the second invasion of the nomads under Genghis Khan who expanded the power of the Mongols from the East China Sea to the borders of Europe and united the largest Asiatic empire in history. The armies of this great conqueror terrorized Syria, Turkey, and Poland; in 1241 they even advanced as far as Silesia. History witnessed a repetition of this spectacle one century later when the warriors of Tamerlane ravaged the towns of Mesopotamia and of the Levantine coast.

In the second half of the thirteenth century Genghis Khan's grandson, Kublai Khan, endeavored to consolidate this the greatest empire which the world had ever seen. He was a peaceful ruler, tolerant in religious matters and a patron of the sciences. Under his reign transcontinental trade between Europe and China also experienced a new revival.

After two papal embassies had succeeded in 1246 and 1253 in reaching Karakorum, then the capital of the Mongol empire in the Gobi Desert, it was the famous journey of the brothers Nicolo and Matteo Polo and of Nicolo's son Marco which brought new information about the countries of the Far East to Venice.

The three Polos were the first Europeans to have crossed the continent of Asia in its whole length: the barren steppe area of the Near East, the fertile country of Fergana, and the Pamir plateau covered with the bones of animals which succumbed in this wilderness. They traveled along the old silk road on the southern fringe of the Takla Makan Desert and traversed the sandy
billows of the Gobi Desert till they reached China, the land of silk. This journey from its starting place at Ayas on the Gulf of Alexandretta to Peking took four years including two stops of a year each at Fergana and Kancheow.

Young Marco enjoyed the special favor of Kublai Khan. He was appointed governor of a province, and in the course of ten years he made extensive tours of inspection in the various parts of the Chinese Empire on behalf of the Khan.

In 1292, after a sojourn of seventeen years in Mongolia and China, the Polo brothers returned by ship via Indo-China, Sumatra, Ceylon, and India to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf. Thence they traveled by land to Trebizond on the Black Sea. In 1295, after an absence of twenty-four years, they finally arrived back in their native city of Venice.

The reports of his experiences which young Polo wrote down during the time of his imprisonment at Genoa in 1298–99 seemed so incredible to the Venetians that he was given the nickname of "Marco Millione," because in their opinion he exaggerated everything a million times. Marco Polo's many observations included some regarding the trade routes. He mentioned the brisk trade in the port of Hormuz (Bandar Abbas) on the Persian Gulf. He described the strange ships, constructed without nails, which brought Kashmir shawls, gold brocade, precious stones, ivory, and other rare articles from Asia and Africa and loaded thoroughbred horses for India. With great admiration Marco described the well-organized courier system already existing at that time in China and the thousands of relay stations to provide fresh and rested horses for the dispatch riders, so that it was possible to carry urgent mail four to five hundred kilometers in one day and as many kilometers at night.

THE CITROÉN EXPEDITION

When after the death of Kublai Khan toward the end of the thirteenth century the Mongol Empire broke up into a number of autonomous states, transcontinental traffic between Europe and the Far East was disrupted again. Not until recent times did an expedition with modern equipment succeed in establishing a new record by crossing the whole of the Asiatic continent from Beirut to Peking with a motor caravan.

In this case, too, it was not so much the geographical obstacles as the political conditions in Central Asia which placed the greatest difficulties in the way of the undertaking. It was at first planned to follow the same route which Marco Polo took six hundred years before; but the USSR refused to permit the transit through Soviet Turkestan. As, on the other hand, the crossing of the Himalayas with motorcars appeared technically unfeasible, it was found necessary to split up the expedition. One group was to advance from Beirut toward the east, and the other from Peking toward the west. Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan was fixed on as the meeting place.

The leader of this expedition, G. M. Haardt, had already acquired considerable experience in the organizing and carrying out of motor expeditions during his crossing of Africa from Algiers to Capetown in 1924/25. On April 4, 1931, the Pamir group of the expedition started from Beirut with a staff of scientific collaborators and seven caterpillar cars especially designed for this journey, among them two movie trucks and one radio, one cooking, and one ambulance car. The China group started simultaneously from Peking with nine cars.

The first lap of the journey from Syria to Kashmir, 5,850 kilometers, was covered in eighty-one days without any particular difficulty. Here, however, the expedition was brought to a halt by the mighty mountain ranges of the Himalayas, the Karakoram, and the Pamirs, which separate tropical India from the Central Asiatic steppe and desert area. In the end, the dauntless leader of the expedition, leaving all the other cars behind in Kashmir, started from Srinagar on July 12 with only two caterpillar trucks.

TRUCKS ON MULE TRAILS

The caravan road to Gilgit had until then only been used by mules and yaks, but on the whole it is fairly passable during the summer months. Motorcars, however, are faced with almost insurmountable obstacles by the sharp curves and steep ascents of the narrow mountain path which in some places leads along almost vertical rock walls high above roaring mountain streams and rivers without bridges, at others over ice-covered or snowed-up passes, while at some points it is blocked by avalanches. The two cars had frequently to be unloaded and kept from slipping down the ice-covered
Khyber Pass pierces the rugged and desolate mountain barrier separating Afghanistan from India. For more than thirty miles the road winds its way along a narrow valley through which all conquerors had to pass with their armies.

Tibetan lamaseries are more often than not built on the top of high hills, whence the inhabitants enjoy a good view of the surrounding country.

Bridges are the only means by which travelers in Tibet can cross the icy, charming rivers.
Barriers of Rock and Snow

In winter, ice walls six meters high cover the Kandovan Pass (3,100 meters) in the Elbruz Mountains, which separate Iran from the Caspian Sea.

The author's camp at the foot of the Lachalang glacier.

The lovely vale of Kashmir was a favorite place of the Moghal emperors. This is one of their beautiful pleasure gardens at Nishat Bagh.

The author with a Ladakh family in Kashmir. The young girl is wearing a peculiar headdress formed like a cobra head which probably derives its origin from ancient snake worship.

Yak caravans bring precious goods over the snowy Himalayas from Turkestan to India. Here we see bags of hashish in the customs yard at Leh in Ladakh.
The journey of the group from Peking had not been any less eventful. The trip through the Gobi Desert made it necessary to carry along sufficient fuel for 2,000 kilometers. Between Xingsia and Liangchow, 200-meter-high sand dunes had to be negotiated. The road was so bad that this section of 450 kilometers, which under normal circumstances can easily be covered in eight hours, took six whole days. The expedition had to battle against sand storms blowing across the dusty steppes of Turkestan and choking up the carburetor, and to endure the icy cold of the Mongolian winter. The main difficulties, however, arose from the attitude of the Sinkiang Government. While the Chinese government gave the expedition a permit for the journey provided that it took along a delegation of eight Chinese officials and scientists, the Governor of Sinkiang refused to let the expedition enter unless it left these Chinese members behind.

Trouble in Sinkiang

When the expedition was about to leave Kansu Province at the end of July, a revolt of the Mohammedan Tungans suddenly broke out. On reaching Hami, the whole town was found to be in an uproar. Simultaneously, the members of the expedition learned that two supply columns with gasoline and spare parts had been plundered near the border. Destroyed villages and burning houses were passed on the way. The corpses of men and horses marked the direction which the revolt had taken.

In Turfan an order from the Governor was handed to the expedition commanding it to proceed at once to Urumchi. This involved a detour of over 400 kilometers. On their entry into the capital on July 8 they were received with military honors, cannon salvos, and a sumptuous banquet; subsequently, however, they were prevented for two months from continuing their journey. On September 6 the cars were at last permitted to proceed to Kashgar after the leader of the expedition had declared himself prepared to install a radio station at the headquarters of the Governor.

The last lap of the journey to Aksu was accomplished in less than one month without further incident, excepting one difficult passage at Tokosun just behind Turfan where within a few kilometers the road descends 2,000 meters down a rocky ravine.

United with the members of the Kashmir expedition, the return journey was begun on October 8. Twenty days later they had reached Urumchi again. Christmas was spent with the German missionaries at Kanchow and New Year in Liangchow. On February 12, 1932, Peking, the destination of the expedition, was reached. This last part of the journey from Aksu to Peking, a distance of 5,000 kilometers, was covered in 127 days.

It can be seen from this that Marco Polo as well as the Citroën Expedition—the latter, by force of circumstance only for part of the way—followed the course of the old silk roads, simply because these present the most convenient connection between West and East. In the meantime the Russians have completed the construction of a motor road across the Terek Dawan passes from Osh to Kashgar. This road will link up Sinkiang with the existing Russian Turkestan motor roads to Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara, Merv, and Meshed.

Apart from the above-mentioned Terek passes, there are hardly any technical difficulties to modern road construction in the way of changing the ancient caravan road into a road for long-distance motor traffic by improving the road foundations and building hotels, gasoline stations, and repair shops. The reopening of this old transcontinental road would have a tremendous influence on the commercial traffic between the peoples of the West, Central Asia, and East Asia. Whereas until now goods destined for the interior of Asia had to be brought by ship to the harbors of the south Asiatic coasts and from there overland across the formidable mountain passes of
the Himalayas, they would in such a case reach Central Asia by a direct route. However, this project depends entirely on the willingness of all the states concerned, especially the USSR, to collaborate. The distance of 11,000 kilometers from Istanbul or Cairo to Shanghai could then be covered in forty-two days at an average of only 250 kilometers per day, while the camel caravans in the time of the silk roads required almost ten months for the same journey. Afreighter takes thirty days for the voyage from Port Said to Shanghai and an express steamer of the Scharnhorst class twenty days.

THE AUTHOR’S EXPEDITION

When I set out in mid-December 1935 from Berlin on my journey through Asia I had the choice of taking the route either through Turkey or through Egypt. The route via Turkey is still the same by which hundreds of years ago caravans traveled from Bagdad to Stambul; but today it is still in a condition hardly better than during the Crusades. For the motorist, this route is no pleasure jaunt. Apart from the annoying formalities connected with the transit permit, the roads, bad enough at any time, become almost impassable in winter owing to the heavy downpours which convert them into deep mud. On the other hand, the roads through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria are for the greater part paved with asphalt.

Generally speaking, the section Cairo/Calcutta offers hardly any difficulties worth mentioning to people not averse to roughing it, provided the journey is undertaken at a favorable time of the year, i.e., in spring or autumn, in order to avoid the rainy season and the great heat of summer in the Sinai, the Syrian, and the Persian-Afghanistan desert areas.

Many years ago the journey from Calais to Calcutta (11,000 kilometers) was covered in the record time of thirty-three days by an English motorist. I myself had no intention of racing across the Continent: my idea was to allow more time for making cultural and sociological studies on the way, so that I took altogether six months to reach Calcutta from Berlin.

Shah Reza Pahlevi succeeded in suppressing the bands of robbers which used to make the Kurdistan and Afghanistan border regions of Iran unsafe. He created a strong police force and simultaneously had a large part of the old caravan road widened and converted into good motor roads.

Afghanistan was opened to international transit traffic a bare ten years ago. Until then this area was as inaccessible to Europeans as Tibet or the Hejaz. The country is inhabited by a number of independent tribes, such as the Baluchis, Kharotis, Ghilzais, Pathans, Waziris, and the Afridis, as well as by Turkmen, Tajiks, and Uzbeks in the north—a total of about 12 million—who are all fanatical adherents of Islam, bold, warlike, and extremely intolerant of those of a different creed.

Politically speaking, Afghanistan is a buffer state between Russia and British India. Climatically and geographically, it is a country of extremes. High, rocky, icy mountain chains and sun-parched deserts form the principal features of the country. More than half of it is occupied by the trackless snow-covered mountain ranges of the Paropamisus and Hindu Kush. South of these the view of the colorless deserts of the Registan is lost in the quiver of vibrating heat waves which hover over the desert wastes and delude the traveler with mirages. A geological curiosity is provided by the rivers of this country which, instead of flowing toward the ocean, dry up somewhere in the desert or, like the Murghhab and Hari Rud Rivers, debouch into lakes. In spring, when the snow on the mountains melts, they swell into mighty rivers.

ONE HOLDUP

"For Heaven's sake, don't go through Afghanistan," we were warned, when I left Meshed with my companion, "you will never leave the country alive. Not long ago another car was held up and robbed on the way to Duzdab." However, we experienced nothing of the sort, apart from one little holdup which, in keeping with the wildness of the country, was of a warlike nature and landed us in the gloomy dungeon of an Afghan mud fortress. But later, over tea and cakes, our captors were unmasked as perfectly harmless frontier guards.

We had no cause to complain of any lack of hospitality in the country of the Emir. The difficulties we experienced were of a different nature. In May the heat was already so intense during the day time that our tires burst. We were obliged to travel in the evening and at night and to sleep through the day in the vaults of some caravanserais.
The section from Herat via Farah to Kandahar (660 kilometers) is only a caravan trail and rarely used by cars. After Kandahar, however, the road improves. With the widening of the roads, which chiefly wind along river valleys, the forwarding of goods, hitherto taken care of exclusively by caravans—there are no railways yet in Afghanistan—is gradually being shifted to trucks. Steel bridges are being thrown across the rivers, and in the larger cities garages, repair shops, and hotels are making their appearance.

Kabul, the principal junction of the brisk caravan traffic between Baluchistan, Bactria, Turkestan, and India, can also be reached from Herat by a northern route via Balkh and the passes of the Hindu Kush; but this far more interesting route is at present hardly feasible for automobiles.

There is already considerable motor traffic through the Khyber Pass to Peshawar. Since ancient times all great conquerors with their armies have traversed the twenty-eight kilometers of this much-disputed pass. At Fort Jamrud starts the great North Indian trunk road, running via Lahore/ Delhi Benares to Calcutta, an asphalt road about 2,300 kilometers in length.

India possesses an extensive network of roads and railways. Most of the great trunk road from Delhi to Bombay and Madras (2,800 kilometers) with an extension to Madura and Colombo in Ceylon (1,000 kilometers) is also asphalted. Moreover, there are good roads leading to all important places as well as to those of historical interest.

THE MISSING LINK

As for the topography of Burma, the next country to be traversed, I have dealt with that in detail in the article "Burma Trails," appearing in the March 1944 issue of this magazine. Suffice it to say here that, until recently, the only land connections leading from Burma to her neighboring countries were narrow jungle and mountain paths. The upheavals entailed by the present war have served to break through the isolation imposed upon Burma by her natural barriers. The widely discussed "Burma Road" came into existence, connecting Mandalay—lying on the main traffic artery of Burma—with Kunming and the road system of Central China. Furthermore, there is a project for a road to link up Mandalay with Hanoi (1,400 kilometers) which is to lead through the Shan States and Laos.

As little as ten years ago Thailand still possessed a road mileage so negligible as hardly to be worth mentioning. Not until 1937 did the Government begin to open up the country by constructing highways; it started an eighteen-year plan for road construction to be completed in three laps of five, five, and eight years in order to cover Thailand with a modern road system whose center will probably be the new capital Pechabun, 300 kilometers north of Bangkok and 100 kilometers southeast of Pitsanulok. The first part of the program, 4,400 kilometers, was recently accomplished at the expense of 30 million ticals (now called baht).

In Malai and particularly in French Indo-China, both roads and railways are excellent. The "Route Coloniale No. 1" or "Mandarin Road" is a first-class highway which, starting at Langson on the Chinese border, leads along the coast via Houé, Tournane, and Saigon to the Thai railway station of Aranya Pradesa, a distance of 2,620 kilometers.

A quarter of a century ago, China hardly possessed any highways at all. During the last ten years, however, the Chinese Government has made great efforts to expand the road system. The old routes were shortened and converted into motor roads. Early in 1937 it was already possible to travel by car from Talifu to Canton and Shanghai, and from there on to Peking.

Hence there is only the connection between Imphal in Assam Province and Bhamo or Mandalay in Burma (700 kilometers) still lacking to span the last gap between the European and North African road systems and the Chinese road network via the southern route.

RAILWAYS...

The railway lines run in the same direction as the great highways. The Russian Trans-Siberian railway is up to now the only one connecting Europe with the ports on the Yellow Sea. The train covers the distance of 10,000 kilometers from Berlin to Fusan on the extreme point of Korea in twelve days.

Contrary to the prevailing endeavor of all modern states, the Soviet Union, which occupies half of the whole Asiatic continent, has remained aloof from the community of
nations. There is very scanty information concerning journeys in the interior of the country, its traffic, commercial, and industrial conditions. As a rule, foreigners were only permitted to travel on the Siberian railway and on the line from Leningrad via Moscow and Kiev to the Caucasus. Since Stalin has been ruling Russia, the country has been hermetically sealed to foreign explorers and travelers. Consequently, Soviet Russia cannot be reckoned with in any free transcontinental traffic for the time being.

Another possibility, namely, a railway line from Istanbul across Iran and Turkestan, has not even been seriously considered yet on account of the unsettled political conditions in Central Asia. The southern section via India, however, is gradually approaching completion. During the present war, this project is being promoted with particular energy by the Allied powers, as it provides a strategically important means for the swift transport of troops and material.

The section which still lacked completion until recently in the Bagdad line is now open to traffic. The Iranian railway from the Caspian Sea to Bandar Shapur on the Persian Gulf (about 1,500 kilometers) was completed just before the outbreak of the war in 1938. A branch line which is to connect Teheran with the Turkish railway net at Tabriz is under construction, and so is another line which will connect the trans-Iranian railway via Kerman with the Indian trunk line at Zahidan (Duzdab).

The Indian railway system—attaining a total length of more than 65,000 kilometers—whose principal trunk line reaches as far as Calcutta, extends in the east to the trackless border mountains of Burma which separate this country from China.

... AND PROJECTS

In order to connect the hitherto completely isolated railway lines of Burma and Thailand with those of India and China, the following projects have been considered:

(1) An extension of the Indian railway, which ends at Chittagong on the Gulf of Bengal, along the Arakan coast across the 700-meter-high Taungup Pass to Padaung on the bank of the Irrawaddy River opposite the Burmese railway station of Prome.

(2) An extension from Lashio, the terminus of the branch line from Mandalay, across the Salween River ferry at Kunlong, then south along the Burma Road to Kunming. The French railway line Kunming/Haiphong was inaugurated in 1910.

(3) A railway connection from Moulmein on the Gulf of Martaban to Pitsanulok, the station on the Thai north-south line, 390 kilometers north of Bangkok.

(4) The Japanese project, that has frequently appeared in the press since the conquest of the Malay Peninsula, of connecting Fusan in Korea by a direct railway line with Shonan. This line is to run from Shanghai via Hangchow/Chuchow/Kweilin/Liuchow/Nanning to Lungchow, the northernmost terminus of the French Indo-China railway. The railway system of French Indo-China is to be linked up with that of Thailand, from where a direct connection with Shonan has been in existence for more than fifteen years.

Only two sections of about 500 kilometers each are still missing to make this project, which involves 8,000 kilometers, a reality: the section Liuchow/Lungchow, and that from Tanap via Pakse to Uban, the terminus of the eastern Thailand railway line, unless the existing line via Saigon/Pnom-Penh/Aranya Pradesa is made use of, which, however, involves a considerable detour.

With the opening of this line as well as of the Iranian and Burmese sections mentioned above, it would in the future also be possible to reach the great ports of East Asia from Europe by train via the southern route.

**Revenge**

A citizen of Cleveland, Ohio, who had been out of work for a long time during the depression and who now has an excellent position in an armament plant, made use of the present shortage of labor to apply for a job. He was offered 29 jobs and gleefully turned them all down.
NIETZSCHE AND OUR TIMES
By ROBERT SCHINZINGER

The question of survival or nonsurvival has perhaps never loomed so large as today. If, in the face of a tormented Europe, we draw attention to the fact that October 15, 1944, was the hundredth anniversary of Friedrich Nietzsche’s birth, we do so because this “good European,” though a true son of his own, the nineteenth century, did not acquire his real significance and influence until our twentieth century.

Like Janus, Nietzsche’s philosophy has two faces: one turned back, with an exquisite feeling for historical reality, with a keen, pitiless eye for all symptoms of decadence and decline; the other face turned forward, with a profound faith in life and a courageous determination to master the future. It is this antinomy in Nietzsche’s nature which makes him appear so related to our own age, in which realism and idealism, skepticism and heroism, are linked in a strange union. The spiritual situation of Europe which, in spite of the horrors of two world wars and the chaos of the intervening period, has retained the will to live, the will to master its future, is well represented by Nietzsche, who traversed the bottomless pits of Schopenhauer’s pessimism and fought his way through to a philosophy filled with a will toward life and the future. Pain and suffering led the philosopher to his ultimate depths and produced a renewed faith, a new love of life which has nothing in common with rose-tinted idealism or a naïve optimism based on a belief in progress. Nietzsche characterizes his “new humanity” as the feeling a warrior has on the evening of the battle which has decided nothing and brought him only wounds and the loss of his friend—the feeling of this warrior, who on the following morning, in spite of all this, still salutes the dawn and his own fortune.

Interpretation and Misinterpretation

There have been three waves of Nietzsche’s influence: fin de siècle, the period before the Great War, and the period between the two world wars. Each of these periods took from Nietzsche that which conformed to its own spirit.

The weary maturity of civilization at the end of the nineteenth century, which has been called the fin de siècle, found in the magic of art that which other centuries had sought for and found in religion. The passionate frenzy of what was then the younger generation sensed a deep, mysterious relationship between Baudelaire’s poetry, Wagner’s music, and Nietzsche’s philosophy. As a pupil of Schopenhauer, the young Nietzsche was convinced that life only had a meaning if it produced great men, artists, philosophers, and saints, who were able to scorn life. The masses who, like ants, assiduously believed in the progress and happiness of mankind, were what Schopenhauer called the “factory goods of nature”; Nietzsche, in Thus Spake Zarathustra, drew them as the “last men”:

The time will come when man no longer casts the arrow of his longing beyond man... Then the earth will have grown small, and on it hope the last man, who makes everything small. His race is ineradicable like the sand flea... “We have invented happiness,” say the last men and blink their eyes. They have left the regions where it was hard to live: for one needs warmth. One still loves one’s neighbor and rubs shoulders with him: for one needs warmth... No herdsman but a herd! Each has the same desires, all are equal: he who feels differently voluntarily goes to the madhouse.

Life was only truly worth living if it proudly rose above itself. Art and philosophy were means toward such self-liberation, were means of escaping the iron ring of necessity. This is the atmosphere in which the young Nietzsche wrote The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music and his Thoughts Out of Season. Richard Wagner was for him at that time the prophet of a new Dionysian art. He confessed that when listening to this music he felt as if he had reached the most blissful state of nirvana, with all his former life lying far behind him like a distant mist.

One of the most stimulating philosophers of the last century is discussed by a modern German philosopher living in Tokyo.
The romanticism of the nineteenth century had reached its peak, and all that Nietzsche taught as "amor fatti," "will to power," and "superman" was interpreted, or misinterpreted, in this sense of exquisite aestheticism. Beyond good and evil, the artistic genius enjoyed the mature beauty of decadence, with an indifferent "après nous le déluge." This was the very opposite of what Nietzsche really meant.

The second wave of Nietzsche interpretation gave expression to the naturalistic trend of the period before the Great War. In the evolution from ape to man, the superman was the next step. What was entirely overlooked was Nietzsche's moral conclusion: that man would one day cause merriment and shame to the superman, just as the ape now offers it a ridiculous and at the same time embarrassing sight to man. Nietzsche's fight against Christianity and Christian morals, as well as his doctrine of the will to power were accepted literally during that phase of naked, naïve naturalism. Only his demand for a brutal, healthy egoism was seen, not his fine distinction between common and lofty morality. There were not a few Nietzsche followers who believed themselves to be supermen once they had absolved themselves of all responsibility. They did not grasp that the superman is distinguished by superhuman responsibilities and duties. That Nietzsche had broken the old tables of moral values to set up a new, more honest and sounder ethical attitude in place of the old malice and hypocrisy, and how bitterly he condemned those materialistic trends of his time and the somewhat overbearing attitude of his own country and countrymen—all this was either not noticed or not taken seriously. The academic philosophy, on the other hand, was inclined to regard Nietzsche more as a highly imaginative thinker and dangerous author than as a philosopher.

THE THIRD WAVE

The third wave of interpretation came after the Great War. A new generation, which had passed through the experience of war, utterly disillusioned and yet filled with the desire for a new start, found itself in the very situation Nietzsche had felt coming. The bankruptcy of the old idols and values had become apparent. Christianity, although generally accepted, had not been able to prevent the world conflagration of Christian peoples. Something was fundamentally wrong, and the history of the last thousand years looked suspiciously like the "rise of nihilism" as Nietzsche had described it. To conquer this nihilism was felt by the new generation to be its moral and political duty. People became sensitive and distrustful toward great words and gestures on the part of all isms which were unable either to foresee or prevent the great catastrophe. The demand was raised for a philosophy which could stand the test of the most sophisticated skepticism, which was ruthless in unmasking, pitiless in its striving for truth, and which at the same time

Friedrich Nietzsche in 1899

opened up a new vision into the future. What was wanted was a philosophy which did not idealize the nature of man and yet led him beyond himself. Nietzsche was interpreted in the words of his Zarathustra:

...The superman is the meaning of earth. Let your will say: the superman be the meaning of earth! I adjure you, my brethren, remain faithful to earth and do not believe those who speak unto you of superterrestrial hopes! Poisoners they are, whether they know it or not.

The new generation was looking for a philosophy which had man as its central point and at the same time turned the gaze inward toward the depths of the human soul, a philosophy filled with life and thoroughly human. And this was the path shown by Nietzsche, whose philosophy, to use the words of a Frenchman, gave expression to a "puissant besoin moderne." This
new need, felt everywhere in Europe, sought for forces impervious to the most ingenious psychology and skepticism, forces enabling one to endure and master life. People all over Europe are seeking for contact with the very reality of life. Philosophers and authors are tiring of the abstract intellect and are seeking like Antaeus to gain strength from the soil. It was this trend that gave to philosophy a new life impulse, a new realistic tone and a sober concentration on the one question of modern philosophy: what is man?

THE PROS AND CONS OF HISTORY

Nietzsche, who began as a classical philosopher, was early to realize the value and danger of historical knowledge. Only history can teach what man is. Only he who knows the past and the true forces of historical reality is able to affect the future according to his plans. Only from history do we learn what true human greatness is. If, as Schopenhauer says, the meaning of history is to produce great men, then this stimulating aspect may well represent the greatest value of historical knowledge. On the other hand, the feeling for history leads to everything of the past being loved simply because it is of the past; this aesthetic indulgence spoils the taste for what is new and for the things that are to come. To sit back and observe the vast spectacle of history is fascinating and at the same time paralyzing. Those who have learned to see things from all sides lose the naive onedimensional action and fall victim to a Hamlet-like indecision.

Nietzsche conquers the danger of historicism and relativism by following them to their logical conclusion and pushing suspicion and skepticism to their extremes. This leads him to the conviction that the Christian and Buddhist cultures of the last two thousand years have been heading toward nihilism. The task now facing man is to drive this nihilism to its extreme and thus to its conquest. "That which desires to fall should be pushed," but the place of that which has fallen must be taken by something new and positive. Nietzsche seeks for a philosophy regarding the past and the future in one, combining an incorruptible eye for historical reality with a dauntless will toward the future. From the moral point of view: he feels himself to be a man looking back on thousands of years, but also looking forward to thousands of years. He feels himself to be the heir to the most lofty spirit of the past and at the same time the first ancestor of a new aristocracy. And this is the characteristic of the philosophy of the twentieth century: that it sees through the historical nature of all phenomena of human life and yet finds the courage to make a radically new beginning.

LIFE AND KNOWLEDGE

Of course, not all philosophers of our time have made history their chief subject. There is one section following the old idealistic tradition and studying the relationship between pure mathematics and logic (Couturat and Russell) or the logical foundations of the natural sciences (the Marburg school, Poincaré). The other section, which regards the problem of history as the fundamental problem of human existence and knowledge, can in turn be divided into three groups. The first of these champions a "philosophy of values" (Rickert, Münsterberg), the second the ideas of neo-Hegelianism (Gentile, Glockner). This second, but to an even greater degree the third group, is decisively influenced by Nietzsche and sees in the historical factor of human life its essentially metaphysical character. A new kind of metaphysics in the form of a philosophy of life or a philosophy of human existence is arising especially in Germany (Dilthey, Heidegger, Jaspers). The fact that knowledge, too, is in some way a function of life and not something abstract floating in a vacuum is no longer interpreted in the manner of narrow naturalism (as James still does); the historical orientation has resulted in a widened horizon. What is important is that this new ontological realism does not destroy the truth value and the logical integrity of knowledge.

Even from Nietzsche's relativistic point of view, to regard knowledge as a function of life does not mean to deny the value of truth. Here, too, he arrives at something positive by following the negative point of view of relativism to its logical conclusion. It is possible that knowledge originally arose from the competition of fallacies, among which the more useful or more comfortable ones or those with the older tradition survived. Finally, however, truth evolved as the most useful fallacy. The urge toward truth gradually gained the upper hand over the fallacies because it was better suited for serving the purposes of life.
TRUTH AND FALLACY

Strictly scientific philosophical idealism teaches that the human mind formulates models and hypotheses whose consequences must coincide with our experiences. The experiment is a means of discovering this coincidence. If phenomena occur one day which cannot be explained by our "laws of nature," we must change our hypotheses.

Starting from another angle, Nietzsche arrives at the conviction that it is senseless to speak of absolutely true or absolutely false knowledge: there are only probabilities. There is no neutral authority to decide over the absolute truth or fallacy of our knowledge. Our only criterion is the conclusiveness of our knowledge and its fruitfulness in practical experience. Mathematics, Nietzsche says in his paradoxical manner, deal with exact figures (straight lines, circles, etc.) which are not to be found in that form anywhere in our actual experience; hence mathematics are based on "productive fallacies." According to Nietzsche, logic also arose from the fallacy that there are identical things. Moreover, it is essentially optimistic in so far as it arbitrarily assumes that our human thinking, by following its own (logical) laws, must hit upon the truth of reality. By pushing this sophistic skepticism to its extreme, he can say that truth is that measure of fallacy without which life cannot exist. But by pushing the relativity of truth to its extreme he also proves the relativity of fallacy, and all that remains is probability; i.e., a sentence may be regarded as true or as highly probable if it proves itself fruitful in the reality of life. But what does this mean? It means that because of its ontological nature the truth conception must necessarily prove fruitful and victorious in competition with the false conception. Nietzsche did not say this in so many words, but it is the implied logical consequence.

RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS

One of the most difficult problems Nietzsche had to deal with was that, on the one hand, he characterized religion and metaphysics as fallacies and, on the other hand, realized that mankind cannot live without such fallacies. Without them no individual would want to plant trees bearing fruit in the remote future. So here, too, we have productive fallacies. At the end of the racing track the chariot must turn back again. At the extreme of modern skepticism one must return to religion and metaphysics. That is the idea of the circle. Nietzsche wrote his Zarathustra as metaphysics which are not metaphysics, and as a religion which is not a religion. What he calls "amor fati" and the "eternal recurrence of the same" is the expression of this new attitude.

Like all classical German philosophers, writers, and poets, Nietzsche sees in the early periods of Greek culture the finest flowering of humanity. His criticism of culture is even more radical than Rousseau's; with Socrates begins the decline, in Christianity nihilism is enhanced, and in modern times the crisis has been reached. Now it is a matter of returning again to the simplicity of the Greeks, who were so close to life and reality.

Just as any follower of a doctrine prefers to be attacked rather than tacitly ignored, so all fervent Christians of our times have learned from Nietzsche's polemic. They feel that Nietzsche's attack was directed less against Christ than against Christianity as a phenomenon of history, especially against the Church, which had for so long been used to keeping the mills of the state going that it had become estranged to its real tasks. Moreover, Nietzsche never denied how much he owed to his religious education. "One must have loved religion and art like one's mother and nurse—else one cannot grow wise."

In Nietzsche the religious crisis of our day has reached its climax, and this to many already means the transition to a "theology of the crisis." Above all, however, the new generation feels that Nietzsche, by destroying historical religion, has so to speak uncovered the religious roots of mankind.

THE WORK AS A WHOLE

Naturally the three waves of Nietzsche's interpretation we have mentioned correspond to a certain inner development in Nietzsche's thinking. But it would be wrong to regard the transitions from the romanticism of early works to the skeptical relativism of the aphoristical works and from this to the prophetic attitude of Zarathustra as disjunctive and unconnected. To understand Nietzsche means to understand the necessity for Nietzsche to discover and overcome nihilism in himself, to understand that he had to combat Schopenhauer's philosophy and Wagner's music as being the most sublime forms of a self-liberation which was purely negative, flight from reality, a
symptom of decadence. The new self-liberation of Nietzsche, however, represents a heroic effort to accept the iron ring of necessity and to include fate into our will. Hence what he later acknowledged of his earlier writings is his realization of how the ancient Greek spirit conquered pessimism, how the Greek tragedy celebrated an apotheosis of life over the chasm of existence.

Before he could proclaim his new philosophy of life he had to wage war upon those forces standing in his way. Nietzsche, the amoralist, antichrist, and relativist, is driven by a fanatical love of truth, by an "intellectual integrity" which forces him to push his skepticism to extremes and leave no stone unturned when it is a matter of revealing the rotten foundations of modern culture. The romantic pessimism bears fruit and destroys itself, and the moral impulse of intellectual integrity discovers a new, unmistakable foundation in life itself and its evolutionary tendency. Here lie the roots of a new morality and new metaphysics, but they cannot be "made" artificially. What has been called Nietzsche's positivistic phase is the necessary connecting link between negation of life and affirmation of life. He knows that moral values do not become worthless by the fact that we realize that such natural motives as fear, vanity, egoism, or lust for power have brought men to acknowledge those moral values. Whatever may have been the psychological reasons for acknowledging a moral value, the value itself, the virtue achieved, by dint of the pure air it lets us breathe and the spiritual feeling of well-being it communicates, constantly ennobles the motives of our actions, and later we no longer carry out the same actions from the same coarser motives which formerly impelled us.

The "new humanity" Nietzsche teaches, his new tables of values, i.e., his new conception of man, is proclaimed in Thus Spake Zarathustra. He lacks the words and terms to indicate the new: hence he speaks prophetically in allegories and poetical images. There is no doubt that his new doctrine caused a great deal of confusion, and perhaps not without his intention. He has a good measure of Socratic irony, and there were also not a few who would have liked nothing better than to poison him. The new light he kindled was to be a beacon for straying mariners on the ocean of doubt, but a will-o'-the-wisp for those who felt safe in the possession of absolute truth.

All in all it is less the concrete content of his philosophy than his ethical aspect and his basic attitude toward life and reality which have exerted such a decisive influence on the philosophy of the twentieth century. Even in France, where the traditional Cartesian dualism is still in fashion and where Nietzsche's philosophy is regarded as mysticism and German monism, even there Nietzsche the moralist is greatly admired (Th. Maulnier). The superman and eternal recurrence are interpreted as an ethical appeal, as a cosmological vision intended to raise man above himself (Aandler). Although Bergson, before his death, reverted to Catholicism, his philosophy of the clan vital once had so world-wide an effect because it followed the course taken by Nietzsche.

Nietzsche, who wrote his philosophy in aphorisms, did not have the ambition of building up a system. On the contrary: according to Nietzsche, the will to evolve a system is the will to lie. The fundamental spiritual attitude of "intellectual integrity" makes it impossible to force facts into the straitjacket of a system. But several central ideas can be established:

(1) Nietzsche objects just as much to the separation of appearance and the thing-in-itself, of semblance and essence, as he does to the belief in a transcendental god.

(2) Life and reality have their value in themselves and have as a common characteristic a sort of family resemblance, the "will to power," i.e., power, fullness, force, and richness of life. Knowledge as well as morality arose in the service of this will to power.

(3) Since there is no transcendental goal outside the earth, all existence is in the form of a circle; the end returns to the beginning. There is no means of escape from this circle of necessity. (Eternal recurrence of the same.)

(4) Applied to man, this means that the will which is still opposed to reality and fate has not yet reached its most profound point. Only the heroic decision to say "Aye" to the iron ring of necessity and to accept fate achieves the highest form of human existence in the "amor fati." Nietzsche draws a distinction between this amor fati and that which he calls Turkish fatalism, which resigns itself to the opposition of will and fate. Amor fati is to experience the identity of will and fate.
(5) Since there is no transcendental god and no transcendental goal, man must look for the goal of his existence in himself. This is the meaning of what Nietzsche calls the superman. All human relations are now given their meaning by this new goal of an evolution of human existence.

(6) The table of new values erected by Nietzsche is no casuistic morality of laws. There are only the two supreme principles of powerful and noble existence. He knows of only one moral difference, that between common and noble morality. Pity is rejected because it shames him to whom we show pity. Love is rejected if it originates in weakness. It is replaced by "bountiful virtue," which originates in strength. It is like the setting sun, which gilds everything it touches and is not content until even the poorest boatman rows with golden oars.

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

All Nietzsche's intellectual efforts culminate in the duality of possibilities of decline and the necessity of a new rise, in other words, in visions of a total catastrophe of culture and the vision of a new humanity. Either the "last men" or the "superman" will be the masters of the earth; but Nietzsche knows that master men and the men of the herd are this only in relation to each other. Exceptions are only possible as such if there is a dominating rule. Hence the little men must be given courage to be what they are.

Nietzsche's political visions of the future show the same dual nature. In its essence, the state is a culture-forming force, but in its decline it can have a destructive influence on culture. In the same way, war may produce creative powers or be the hibernation of culture. Sixty years ago Nietzsche saw the classic period of wars approaching, of wars more terrible than ever before. He foresaw that England must lose in importance; for "nowadays one must be a soldier if one wants to have credit as a merchant." America, he thought, was generally overrated, but in Russia he perceived new, unsuspected forces. These might become a threat to Europe, but this very fact would force old Europe to rise up, to strengthen the will toward one Europe. The "good European," representing the sum total of the strong forces of the old European culture, will force evolve. Nietzsche is modern enough to know that it does not suffice to set up an ideal image of man; man must be placed in such conditions of existence that only the desired type will be able to survive.

Grand Politics is a historical study looking into the future. On the one hand it is impelled by contempt for the present type of man: "My humanity is not to love mankind but to endure it." On the other hand, it is determined by anxiety for the future. It does not offer any concrete goals, as these latter only emerge from the actual concrete situation. It aims at a new morality, a new attitude. The educational reforms he proposed in his youth were aimed at educating superior men as an elite of culture, while the masses were to receive their education from the unconscious but hearty food of tradition. His new idea of education, however, is that of discipline and breeding, by which means the biological, economic and, above all, spiritual conditions for a leading class are to be prepared. "I write for a race of men which does not yet exist."

The great philosopher Aristippus came to the court of Dionysius, the Tyrant of Syracuse, and showed himself quite prepared to follow the customs and manners of the court.

"I would like to know," the Tyrant said rudely, "why the philosophers come so often to the rulers and the rulers so seldom to the philosophers."

"Because," Aristippus answered, "the philosophers know exactly what the rulers need, but the rulers don't."
ACCORDING to our present knowledge of the origin of the earth and the evolution of its inhabitants, there can never have been an earthly paradise. For the very word “paradise” implies perfection, which would make all striving and evolution superfluous, while it is just this striving and evolution which has produced all the varied forms of organic life we see about us today. Nevertheless, the idea of a lost paradise has always filled the dreams of mankind: and as it was to be found nowhere in the world, it was put at the beginning of Creation, although it might just as well have been placed at the end of the earth’s history, had this not been at variance with human and earthly shortcomings.

IN SEARCH OF PARADISE

The former site of paradise has been sought for all over the world. Historical sources point to the original center of human culture, the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers. Instinctively we visualize paradise as a place abounding in flowers and fruit such as is only to be found in the tropics. As voyagers to the East first meet with such natural wealth in Ceylon, it is easy to understand that men have tended to regard this exquisite island paradise as the Garden of Eden of yore.

Meanwhile, however, the history of evolution, supported mainly by the proofs provided by paleontology, has shown that even man was subject to an evolution from a primitive to a complicated creature, a creature which was only able to gain its dominating position among all other creatures by the development of its brain. We know now that it is a waste of time to seek for the location of the Garden of Eden and to wonder what it may have looked like, for it is a pure figment of human imagination. On the other hand, the science of evolution and experiments in heredity have taught us that in the course of time new species of animals and plants have developed whose last descendants form the present fauna and flora of our earth. The process of mutation and transformation has covered periods of time inconceivably long to the human mind; but there are many indications that the present species originated in certain centers of origin and distribution whence they conquered the world.

PARADISE WITHOUT BEAUTY

According to Professor Ludwig Diels, Director of the Berlin Botanical Gardens, one of these centers, from which our present vegetation obtained many of its species, is to be sought in the high plateau of eastern Tibet, a rolling grassy plain bounded in the east by the Himalayas and in the north by the Kunlun range. It is a region of great geological age, if not the oldest part in that section of the earth’s surface.

Although this botanical center of evolution, the original home of many different plants, may justifiably be called a paradise, we must not imagine it to be a flower garden abounding in tropical forms and colors; for some parts of this area are stark and monotonous, a true steppe with all the characteristics of such a region. But nature has chosen this place to provide the links between east and west and north and south, for four great floras join hands here: the central Chinese, the western Chinese, the Himalayan and, in the high, cold mountain regions, the arctic.
BOTANICAL "MISSING LINKS"

This region has gained its importance in the eyes of science by the fact that it possesses several connecting varieties or genera of plants which have given proof of various long-suspected connections as well as important details to enhance our knowledge of the history of evolution. In other words, that plateau has supplied the botanical missing links for a number of species and genera, as the following examples go to show.

The orchid genus *Cypripedium* (lady's-slipper) is to be found throughout the rest of the world in several separate subdivisions which are so clearly defined that there can hardly ever be any doubt as to which species an individual plant belongs to. But in eastern Tibet all these separating the species become untenable: here there are varieties whose characteristics penetrate such artificial boundaries.

While in this case it is only a matter of doing away with separating lines drawn within a genus, other examples show that even the characteristics defining various genera may be wiped out here. This is the case, for instance, with two genera of the primulaceous plants, the primrose (*Primula*) and the sea-navelwort (*Androsace*). In Europe they appear as two sharply defined genera. But in the mountains of eastern Tibet there is a genus *Pseudoprimula*, which is closely related to the primrose and may at the same time be regarded as the ancestor of the sea-navelwort.

There are also connecting forms between the saxifrage (*Saxifraga*) and the golden saxifrage (*Chrysosplenium*) which had never been expected, for elsewhere these two genera differ to such an extent that so close a relation had no longer been deemed possible.

Of the columbine (*Aquilegia*), whose blossoms in Europe are always spurred, a primitive form still exists here whose petals have not yet developed a spur and which must hence be regarded as the older one, as simplicity is the primary in nature, complexity being the product of later evolution. The generic characteristics of the foxglove (*Digitalis*) and larkspur (*Delphinium*), whose difference is obvious even to the superficial observer, become so similar in species to be found in eastern Tibet that one seems to be faced by the very plant in which both genera have their common origin.

In Central Europe there is only a single species of the herb *Paris* (*Paris quadrifolia*) to be found, and its area of distribution reaches as far as Central Asia. In the high mountains of Yünnan, *Paris* appears in vast numbers of species and varieties, all of which, characteristically enough, are distributed over small areas only. The same applies to edelweiss (*Leontopodium alpinum*), of which the inhabitants of the Alps are so proud because of its rarity. In Europe it represents the only species of its kind, while in Central Asia edelweiss is to be found in many species and varieties as well as in vast quantities, so that "edelweiss steppe" has become the term for one of the natural formations of that region.

What is typical, however, is that most of the varieties represent primitive forms limited to a few species which, on the other hand, cover whole tracts of land.

FROM DESOLATION TO BEAUTY

The entire aspect changes in the bordering area to the south, where the four mightiest rivers of eastern Asia, the Yangtze, Mekong, Salween, and Irrawaddy, flow down from their sources in the marshy, upland plateau 4,500 meters above sea level. After a lei-
surely course through the broad valleys of the rolling plateau, they turn into foaming torrents cutting through the rugged mountains of western Yünnan and Szechwan. The effect of their erosion has given this part of the world a peculiar appearance. Peaks 7,000 meters high and vertical canyons 3,000 meters deep are still undergoing changes as a result of the continuing plutonic activity of this tectonically speaking still young region.

The regional changes in vegetation and the immense variety in species in this majestic mountain country with its romantic wildness provide scenes of singular beauty.

This region is marked by its great number of endemic species, i.e., such species as have originated on the spot and whose special characteristics have caused them to remain at the center of their origin. The explanation for the origin of such forms and the fact that they have not left their original location is to be found in the secluded nature of those valleys, in the equable climatic conditions over a long period of time, and in the lack of a struggle for existence. Thus these remote valleys developed a wealth of species such as is hardly found anywhere else in the world, with the possible exception of the Chimborazo region in South America. However, we must not confuse the above-mentioned wealth of species with a mass vegetation; on the contrary, the individuals of any one species are comparatively rare in the Yünnan-Szechwan region and are limited to small areas.

**GOAL OF MANY EXPEDITIONS**

For more than fifty years, phytogeographical and phylogenetic research has devoted great attention to this region. When toward the end of the last century the French Jesuit father Delavay sent the first botanical collection to Europe from what was then the almost inaccessible province of Yünnan, more than half of the 3,000 species he had collected proved to be new to science. Thus a new flora was introduced of whose existence nothing had been suspected and which appeared to be the richest anywhere in the world. From then on, this corner of the world became the goal of expeditions led by a number of prominent scientists.

Many botanical novelties were brought back by the well-known sinologue Faber. A tragic fate overtook another German expedition led by Dr. R. Brunhuber and Karl Schmitz, who were both murdered in 1909 on the upper Salween. Such names as Filchner and Tafel are also intimately connected with the exploration of Tibet, and some Shanghai readers may remember the expedition of Walther Stoetzner, who was accompanied by several Shanghai Germans, among them Fritz Seeker. One of the most productive collections was that of the Viennese botanical geographer Handel-Mazzetti, who thoroughly covered the whole district in the years 1913 to 1920.

The southwestern region was opened up chiefly by French and English explorers. In addition to the “Mission Lyonnaise,” there was George Forrest who collected specimens in the mountains of the upper reaches of the four great rivers. No less was the tribute due to E. A. Wilson, author of the well-known *Naturalist in China*. Among more recent expeditions, those of Kingdom Ward and Lord Cranebrook deserve special mention. The two first German Schäfer expeditions also made this area their objective and returned with valuable information.
CENTER OF ORIGIN OR REFUGE?

The region has been called the "cradle of the plant world," while Wilson, looking at it merely from the viewpoint of its abundance in flowers, calls it the "garden of the world." E. Schäfer, who developed his theories of evolutional history principally from his study of fauna which, it must be admitted, does not provide as convincing proofs as botany, is more reserved in his judgment and feels equally justified in regarding the region as an area of refuge. In his opinion, plants, animals, and man, when experiencing a deterioration of climate such as occurred, for instance, during the glacial period, retreated into secluded, inaccessible valleys and preserved their primitive forms till today.

INCUBATORS OF NEW SPECIES

However that may be, the geographical conditions make the beneficial effect on the evolution of species clear. In the unfavorable conditions for existence on the northern upland plateau the primitive forms of the plants eke out a meager life in vast quantities but in few numbers of species. The more highly developed species are to be found in the craggy border area whose narrow valleys with their comparatively unvarying conditions of existence act like an incubator upon the organisms, subjecting them to mutation until they are entirely adapted to the specific local conditions. In this area there are a great number of different species. On the other hand, the number of their individual plants is limited, and they cover only very small areas, i.e., only those in which their organism is in complete harmony with its environment.

An example of how the mountain ranges, with their narrow valleys and ridges too high for life to cross, are able to isolate the species is provided by any geographical profile chosen at random, as, for instance, the sector between Batang and Yachow, following the thirtieth degree of northern latitude for a distance of four hundred kilometers.

MIGRATING PLANTS

If the existence of primitive forms speaks for the assumption of a center of origin, this simultaneously emphasizes the second great significance of this area as a center of distribution from which individual elements radiated over China and beyond to find on their wanderings suitable conditions of exist-

ence thousands of miles from their original home.

The mechanisms for dissemination provided by nature are as varied as they are ingenious, no matter whether they rely on their own power, on human or animal agents, or on water or wind. Migrations of plants have been going on since time immemorial. If we only go back as far as the glacial period—expressed in figures, for 30,000 years—this means, in view of the preponderant annual character of plants, i.e., those which sprout, blossom, and bear fruit within the course of a year, a series of 30,000 generations with all its possibilities of territorial expansion and individual mutation, while man has covered the same period with no more than a thousand generations.

The effects of plant migration play an important or even a determining role in the composition of a flora. China obtained the great majority of her species from the Tibetan center, and her adjacency to the Himalayas has also provided the flora of western and central China with many Himalayan species, among which, strangely enough, the Sikkim element predominates.

However, the mutual influences exerted upon each other by the various regional floras in the way of exchange of species represent a very complicated chapter of botanical geography, since they are affected by a great many circumstances. Thus one might feel inclined to assume that, as a result of the existing territorial links, the flora of Europe or at least that of the western part of the Asiatic continent would be the one to be most thoroughly penetrated by Chinese elements. It is true that many European plants are of Central Asiatic origin, but their number is much smaller than one would tend to believe on the basis of given conditions.
Southern Tibetan scene. It is from this region that many of the present-day plants of Asia, North America, and Europe have originated.

BOTANICAL GARDEN OF EDEN?
Grazing yaks on the high plateau of Tibet. Many primitive forms of the kingdom of plants are still to be found here.

Whole bushes of edelweiss cover the slopes of Tibetan mountains.

The hot, damp atmosphere in the deeply eroded valleys of Southwestern China acts as an "incubator" of new plant species.
NORTH AMERICA A BOTANICAL COLONY OF CHINA

The opposite is true of the Atlantic part of North America. By means of various comparisons, Asa Gray has demonstrated to us the striking similarity and correlation of the two floras. A notable number of families, genera, and species is common to both regions, but in most cases China possesses by far the greater number of species, a fact which points to an earlier botanical colonisation; in North America we sometimes find only one or two species of a genus, while in China there are many. Thus, for instance, the genus Magnolia, which does not occur at all in Europe and in the western part of North America, is represented by nineteen species in China and Japan, while there are seven species to be found in the Atlantic part of North America. Of the catalpa tree, which is native to China, there are also five species to be found in China and two in North America. The genus Wistaria exists in only four species throughout the world, all of which are to be found in China while two of them also occur in America.

The reason for this curious phenomenon of floral relationship between China and the Atlantic part of North America is to be sought as far back as the Tertiary. Before the glacial period, Asia and North America had a much closer territorial connection than is the case today, and on account of the more favorable climatic conditions of those times the vegetation of the northern areas was also far more extensive and luxuriant. Thus the main essentials for a plant migration or an exchange of plants were present. During the glacial period, however, the polar ice cap advanced southward and separated the two continents forever, as it did not recede to its former limits during the subsequent warm period, remaining instead quite a bit further south.

It seems strange that it is the Atlantic part of North America which shows so striking a resemblance to the Chinese flora; one would, after all, expect the Pacific coast to be more likely to provide such parallels. But this is where geographical conditions on the American continent interfere. The plants flowing in from Asia over the old northern land bridge were blocked in their migration to the south by the inhospitable Rockies and arid prairies. In the east of the American continent, however, the Asiatic species could spread without hindrance. Moreover, they found a suitable climatic environment here. Although the Pacific coast offers a similar environment, the sole strip of land by which the plants could get there was so narrow that this stream of plants advancing along it from the north got suffocated.

* * *

So China shelters in eastern Tibet and western Yunnan and Szechwan a botanical center of evolution and distribution which has benefited the vegetation of the entire Eurasian continent as well as the rest of the world. There, far off from the bustle of the world and undisturbed by political events, nature has been going on for thousands of years evolving new forms of plant life to offer the earth.

Not Only in Canada

The Member for North Battleford, Saskatchewan, Mrs. Dorise Neilsen, declared in the Canadian House of Commons:

"On October 1, 1913, no fewer than 1,075,000 women were gainfully employed in Canada... They are filling places... in our gun factories, shipyards, steel mills... Wherever it is a question of dexterity or accuracy or patience or pride in work, women are not second to men... [These women] are wondering what their position will be when the war is over. Are the governments and employers going to say: 'Well, girls, you have done a nice job; you looked very cute in your overalls and we appreciate what you have done for us; but run along now; go home; we can get along without you'?”
Not long ago we received the book "Mission to Moscow" by Joseph E. Davies. It deserves particular attention, first of all because its author is among the leading American politicians; secondly because of the supremely important subject of the USA and the USSR; and thirdly because it is a best-seller read by millions of people all over the world. Unfortunately we are not in possession of the original edition, but of a translation published in Switzerland. For this reason, passages quoted by us had to be translated back into English. The page numbers mentioned refer to the edition in our hands.

THE OFFICIAL COMMISSION

JOSEPH E. Davies, the successor of William C. Bullitt as US Ambassador to the USSR, left for his post on December 15, 1936. Immediately before his departure he was, according to a note in his diary, entrusted with a special commission to be carried out together with his routine duties as Ambassador: he was to settle the problem of Russian debts to America.

As is well known, America had made loans to the Russian Government before the Bolshevik Revolution, loans for which the Soviets had always refused to accept any responsibility. This had contributed toward America's refusal to recognize the Soviet Government. When Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union in 1933—for reasons which we explained in detail in our article "USA and USSR" (November 1943)—Litvinov promised in return for this recognition to satisfy the claims of American citizens and the US Government on the Soviet Union. A "gentlemen's agreement" containing a basic arrangement was signed by Litvinov and Roosevelt. As far as we know, the text of this "gentlemen's agreement" has never been published, and Davies also discreetly omits any mention of its details in his book in order to draw as little attention as possible to this embarrassing matter.

However, at the time of Davies's departure for Moscow, the US Government took the stand that the Soviets had not lived up to the obligations they had assumed under this agreement. Hence complaints about the attitude of the Soviets in the debts question, and remarks about the great disappointment this attitude had proved to Roosevelt, played an important part in Davies's conversations with the various representatives of the Soviet Government in Moscow.

A year and a half later, when Davies was transferred to Brussels and was preparing for his departure, he had not progressed a single step in this whole matter. It was only his farewell visit to the Kremlin which seemed to bring a change for the better. Davies describes how Stalin himself made certain proposals as to how this matter was to be cleared up. Davies took these proposals in the form of a written memorandum on his trip to America. Although he was no longer Ambassador to the Soviet Union, he was commissioned by the State Department to continue working on this matter.

The subject gradually disappears from the pages of Davies's book. The last occasion on which it is mentioned is in his letter to the State Department of January 17, 1939, from which it is quite apparent that by that date no settlement had been arrived at yet. From the fact that this entire complex of questions does not reappear again in the book, it is to be assumed that the problem had not been solved by October 28, 1941—the date of the last entry. Later it was, of course, overshadowed by the far greater debt problem of the Lend-Lease supplies.

... AND THE CONFIDENTIAL ONE

In going through the plentiful material contained in the book concerning Davies's official main task, we arrive at the conclusion that he was unable to settle the debts problem either during his time in Moscow or later. How, then, is it possible that such immense credit for the building up of American-Soviet relations is ascribed to Davies? Since his achievements are not
to be found in the field of his official commission, they must be sought in the carrying out of confidential tasks not acknowledged in his book and dealing with the political instead of the economic sector.

We were not present when Davies, before leaving for Moscow, paid his farewell call in the Oval Room on the second floor of the White House. Hence we submit it purely as a hypothesis that Roosevelt said something to the following effect to Davies on this occasion:

"Look here, Joe. There are three dangerous nations: Germany, Russia, and Japan. It would be disastrous if these three should ever get together. It is your job to see to it that they don't. Do your utmost to get Russia over on our side. Since war is inevitable, the best thing would be for the Nazis and the Soviets to kill each other off. Then we could step in and take care of what's left."

We repeat: this is only a hypothesis, but a hypothesis substantiated by all the political remarks contained in Davies's book. Davies's hatred for Germany permeates the whole book. On every few pages there are attacks on Germany, even when they have nothing to do with the subject. As for Japan, he has less to say; but it is clear that he feels similarly about this country. The possibility of an understanding between Berlin and Moscow weighs on Davies's mind like a nightmare. Naturally, he only touches upon this question very carefully. But it reappears time and again:

It requires hardly any explanation that a combination of German scientific and industrial methods, German talent for organization and discipline, with the wealth of human and natural resources of Russia would have a great influence on Europe and the world (p.320).

When this understanding was actually arrived at in August 1939, Davies called it a "disastrous calamity" (p.356); and when finally the war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, he spoke of this event as a "true gift of God" (p.378).

PARTNER LITVINOV

In his efforts to bring about an American-Soviet understanding, Davies was aided by the fact that his Soviet partner in the debt negotiations, Foreign Commissar Litvinov-Finkelstein, was just as fanatic an enemy of Hitler as he was. Davies tells us of numerous conversations he had with Litvinov; as soon as political questions were touched upon, these conversations all took on an anti-Hitler note. Litvinov knew exactly how Roosevelt felt on this point. In his very first conversation with Davies, Litvinov (1) called Roosevelt a "very great man"; (2) hinted that America and Japan might find themselves in conflict; and (3) attacked Hitler and gave vent to his annoyance over England's and France's weak attitude toward Germany (p.44). Subjects similar to these reappeared later in every conversation between these two men. The better they got to know each other, the more openly did Litvinov speak. He even went so far as to interfere in questions of American domestic politics by declaring himself to be "very worried" over the neutrality legislation then being discussed in America, which was intended to keep America out of the imminent conflicts (p.61).

During the increase in tension brought about by the Spanish Civil War, Litvinov encouraged the democracies to threaten war on Germany and Italy and declared that both "were not yet ready with their war preparations" (p.83). After the incorporation of Austria, he demanded "a change of government or at least a change in the policy of Great Britain" toward Germany (p.225). And when Davies asked him to further American-Soviet relations by sending the Russian Ballet to the World Exhibition in New York, he refused this and promptly made a counterproposal to send the male choir of the Red Army (p.175).

As regards what Davies himself said in political conversations, the book shows far greater restraint. It is to be found only indirectly, for instance, in the letter written by Davies to Harry Hopkins, in which he urges the American Government "to encourage Russia not to yield in her support of collective security and peace" (p.337). Stripped of diplomatic phraseology, this is a request to stiffen the Soviet Union's back against Germany. In a word, the conversations between Litvinov and Davies had the main purpose of mutually reinforcing each other's attitude toward Germany.

WHERE DAVIES SUCCEEDED

How did Davies fulfill his task of bringing about a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the USA? One year after his recall, the foundation for the German-Soviet understanding had been laid: Litvinov had been fired and replaced by Molotov.
who soon after concluded the pact with Ribbentrop. Had Davies published his book at that time, he would have had to call it "Failure of a Mission." But he did not publish it until the autumn of 1941, when the nightmare had passed and when Germany and the Soviet Union were at war with each other. Now Davies could be put forward as the great man who had prepared the field for the friendship between Moscow and Washington.

Ever since diplomats have existed, it has been a moot point whether decisions in the sphere of foreign politics are attributable to these diplomats or whether they are the result of objective forces. Many important trends have been the work of great diplomats; we need only think of the role of Talleyrand in Vienna or of Bismarck in Paris. But just as many trends arose without them. To what extent can it be attributed to Davies that the Soviet Union finds itself today in the same camp as the Americans? According to the text of the book, to none whatever. For, according to the book, he did not conclude any agreements of political significance with Litvinov; he only inveighed against Germany. In actual fact, however, his conversations with Litvinov probably went much further.

This is the only explanation for the fact that he is being so lionized in America at present, although he had hardly any visible successes to show during his period of office except for a trade agreement the effects of which, moreover, did not come up to expectations. The truth is that everything, including his failure in the question of debts, is of minor consideration in comparison to the fact that, together with Litvinov, he worked out the main principles of common American-Soviet policy. In his final report to the State Department, Davies insisted that foreign-political friendship with the Soviet Union was of far greater importance than the existing differences:

When in 1935 the Soviet Government did not fulfill its obligations with regard to the agreement on the debt settlement, loans, and the Comintern, our Government was genuinely pained .... At that time it was appropriate to insist firmly on the carrying out of every single obligation on the part of the USSR .... But the situation with regard to European peace as well as that in the Pacific Ocean and the Far East has changed entirely .... Today, greater problems are at stake .... In my opinion, it would be advisable for the mission here to be carried on in as friendly and harmonious a spirit as ever possible .... No attitude must be adopted which gives rise to distrust and hostility (pp.328,329).

Hence also Davies's acknowledged endeavors to keep differences between the two states as much as possible out of the press (p.273). Hence also his pressure on the British Ambassador to Moscow to cause him to sue for Moscow's friendship (p.250).

It is true that Stalin has always conducted his own purposeful policy and has never hesitated to go his own way, as was the case in 1939 when, by means of his pact with Ribbentrop, it led him without effort to Bessarabia, eastern Poland, and the Baltic states. But the anti-Hitler course worked out by Davies and Litvinov was not affected, and Litvinov needed only to be fetched back from obscurity at an opportune moment for continuing it. The significance of Davies's book is to be found in the very fact that it elucidates these connecting threads, and the book will one day be an important source for the history of diplomacy between the two World Wars. But this was naturally not the reason for its publication; the reason is to be found elsewhere.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

We do not know exactly when the American edition was published. Apparently the plan to publish the book arose in the autumn of 1941, when the Soviet Union was at war with Germany and thus had automatically joined the camp of the Anglo-Americans. At that time, there were two things Roosevelt was aiming at: (1) to win over the strongly anti-Bolshevist public opinion of America to co-operation with Moscow; and (2) to increase America's confidence in the Soviet fighting power. For both these aims, the book was eminently suited. By exploiting the American's faith in "documents," it skilfully seeks to invalidate all the reasons for the American's dislike for the Soviet Union.

(1) In the vexatious debts question, Davies pretends that, through Stalin's personal intercession before his own departure, everything had been settled. As we have seen, this was not the case.

(2) He tries to counter the American's repulsion toward the atheism in the USSR by little anecdotes; he narrates, for example, that there are many icons hanging in the room of Kalinin's mother and that Kalinin had said that the icons did not bother him and that he had nothing against them (p.184). Davies's favorite method of indirectly defending the religious policy of the Bolsheviks
consists of repeated attacks against the policy of the National-Socialist Government toward the Church.

(3) To do away with the dislike of the American upper classes of Bolshevism as an economic system, Davies declares that there is no such thing, for "the Communist principle has been abandoned in fact and in truth" (p.73).

(4) Naturally very little is said in the book about the Comintern. The first time he mentions the word, he interprets it in a footnote as "the organization of the Communist Party of which it is claimed that it supports and directs the Communist machinations... in non-Russian countries" (p.56). Davies uses the skeptical "it is claimed," although his own Government had his predecessor hand numerous notes to the Soviets which showed that there was plenty of proof of the existence of these activities.

(5) Stalin's purges of prominent Soviet leaders had started a wave of distrust of the Soviet Union in America. During Davies's term of office, the Radek and Bukharin trials as well as the execution of the generals and the liquidation of tens of thousands of other political and military leaders took place. In order to make these events palatable to the American public, Davies had an inspiration: he called all those who were liquidated "fifth columnists" and praised Stalin for having destroyed the "fifth column" in the Soviet Union by his purges. It goes without saying that, at the time of the trials, no one even thought of the "fifth column"; and, in order to harmonize the reports written at that time with this new theory, Davies would have had to rewrite them entirely. He preferred another method. In the middle of his book (pp.209-215) there is a chapter entitled "The Fifth Column in Russia" written four years after the trials. In it he describes how, in the summer of 1941, he suddenly realized the true significance of the purges. By means of this explanation, Davies makes out Stalin's annihilation of his political rivals to have been a patriotic deed.

(6) Davies's book was intended to help wipe out the bitter memory of Stalin's pact with Hitler and Stalin's actions in Eastern Europe in 1939-40. For this purpose, the book contains material reaching up to the end of October 1941, far beyond Davies's actual term of office. This enables Davies to enlarge upon his thesis that the Soviets had been driven to their pact with Hitler by the "reactionaries in England and France."

(7) For years people in America had been accustomed to speak of National-Socialist Germany and Bolshevist Russia in the same terms, especially in the years 1939 to 1941. Now suddenly the two had to be separated and one to be described as evil and the other as good. Davies attempts to do this with the staggering argument that Communism is far closer to Christianity than National-Socialism. In proof of this thesis he states: "The Communist ideal is that the state should disappear... The National-Socialist ideal is the complete opposite—the state as the supreme virtue in itself" (p.377). In this connection it is to be said that in the Soviet Union the state has long been a "thing in itself," not only in practice but also in theory, as is proved by an article on the Soviet state by Vyshinsky in the Pravda of June 16, 1944.

"FEVERISH WAR PREPARATIONS"

The second important aim of the book, we have said, was to enhance America's faith in the fighting power of the USSR, which was very necessary at a time when the Red Army had been thrown back thousands of kilometers. Hence numerous reports by the Ambassador dealing with questions pertaining to economics, especially armaments, have been included in the book. As the Ambassador made a number of extensive journeys and observed things with the eyes of an experienced economist, these reports contain a lot of material which, although it has meanwhile become obsolete, bears important witness to the early start of Soviet rearmaments, especially as it was published by a friend of the Soviet Union. As early as July 1, 1937, Davies writes that the Soviets were spending twice as much on armaments as England and France put together (p.123). On several occasions he speaks of "feverish war preparations"; and after his visit to the tractor factory in Rostov on the Don, the largest of its kind in the USSR, he made the following entry:

When we left the works, my unofficial advisers, the group of [American] journalists, agreed that the factory was being turned into a plant for the manufacture of caterpillar treads for large tanks (p.446).

Davies was hardly justified in representing his conclusions about the armament strength of the USSR as entirely new discoveries of his own. His reports on Soviet economics did not contain much more than what was
being reported at that time by all halfway efficient embassies and what such serious American students of the USSR as Harold Denny and Demaree Bass were continually publishing in The New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor. The novelty lay, not in that America heard of these things, but in the fact that Davies, with his close connections with numerous political and economic leaders of the USA, possessed a far greater resonance for such ideas in Washington’s leading circles than his predecessor or the press.

DAVIES AND HIS BOOK

We have already briefly characterized Ambassador Davies in our article of November 1943. The only new fact we learned about him from his book is that once before, in 1913, he was considered by Woodrow Wilson for the post of Ambassador to Russia (p. xiii), in other words, that he is an old-timer in the Democratic Party. His reports and letters show that he is a typical successful American businessman and millionaire and that he has a very good opinion of himself and his ability. The ladies’ luncheon to which his wife was invited by Mrs. Molotov is “the first ladies’ luncheon in the Soviet Union”; his farewell on his departure from Moscow is “the biggest farewell.” It strikes one as slightly curious in a highly political documentary work published with official support when one finds a letter written by Davies to his daughter and describing the farewell speech made by Litvinov in his honor to contain the following “inserted remark” by Mrs. Davies:

Daddy doesn’t say so, but it was really a wonderful mark of honor for your brilliant father and the work he has done here. You would have almost burst with pride—like me (p.279).

Davies was in the Soviet Union between January 18, 1937, and June 10, 1938, actually off and on altogether only twelve months. But the five hundred pages of his book contain material covering five years—from November 16, 1936, to October 28, 1941—official reports to the State Department, personal letters, entries into two different diaries, footnotes, and explanatory additions. All this not very homogeneous material has been most skillfully composed and makes absorbing reading. However, it is necessary to make certain reservations toward the contents of a book written in war time about an ally for whom goodwill is to be created. Even if we assume that the official reports are authentic and untampered with—although one cannot help remarking how smoothly they run and that there are no dots to indicate omissions which must have been unavoidable—we must bear in mind that only a very small and careful selection of these reports was included in the book. The numbering of the documents shows that, during his term of office in Moscow, Davies wrote no less than 1,348 reports to the State Department alone. Yet only some 50 reports are reproduced. With a selection such as that, almost anything can be proved.

The two diaries are not entirely convincing. Many quotations from them give the impression of having been entered afterwards in order to link up the actual documents in the desired manner. Examples of this are the many attacks on Germany, which have nothing to do with the subject. It is rather hard to imagine that the American Ambassador in Moscow spent his free time filling his diary with attacks against a government with which he had nothing whatever to do. One entry occupying a full page is devoted to Roosevelt’s famous Quarantine Speech. Why should the Ambassador have bothered to copy into his diary a speech his President had made in Chicago? It had been reprinted in millions of newspapers and was at his disposal any time he needed it. Hence its place is hardly in the diary of an ambassador but certainly in a book of political propaganda. And finally, a father, even so proud a father as Davies, would hardly write about his own daughter in his private diary:

She speaks quite good Russian, has graduated from Vassar and is attending lectures at the Moscow University (p.101).

Whoever was in charge of editing the book has done a good job. The book contains only a few factual errors. (Davies calls the tune of the International—which was composed by a Frenchman—typically Russian; he speaks of the Armenian Mikoyan as a Georgian and calls the German Military Attaché von Koestrich instead of Koestring.)

Although the book contains nothing new for those who closely follow the trends and problems in the Soviet Union, it is interesting by reason of the vividness of its descriptions. It also throws some new light on questions affecting the Soviet Union only indirectly. When, for example, in October 1939 the Soviet Minister in Belgium submitted to Davies, who was then Ambassador to Brussels, the question of mediating peace

THE XXth CENTURY
THE GERMAN STAGE IN 1944

By CHRISTIAN RETTNER

The long queues forming in front of the booking offices hours before they opened, and the fact that a curtain never rose except on a packed house, speak more eloquently than statistics of the nation-wide popularity of dramatic art in war-time Germany. More so than in times of peace, the war-time audience of the German theater was the German people—men and women from all walks of life, many in uniform and many still bandaged. And as it is after all the audience which determines the program, last season’s program reflects the attitude and interests of the German nation in the fifth year of the war.

As in previous years, the program included the performance of numerous dramatic works by Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, and other classical German authors. But apart from these, last season witnessed what was perhaps a record number of premières. The German public today lives intensely in the present and consequently demands of the stage the presentation of dramatic subjects—not war subjects only, but every subject—in terms of the present. This demand has created great opportunities for the modern playwright, opportunities which, as the wealth and diversity of new plays show, he was not slow to seize.

ANCIENT SUBJECTS

It was a bold step to turn again to those epic subjects to which we owe some of our greatest masterpieces. Nevertheless in this field of dramatic art four outstanding achievements were recorded in recent months:

In Helena, Hermann Rossmann does not destroy the mystery shrouding the immortal figure of Helen of Troy; she appears now as the sensuous beauty, now as the cool philosopher. The drama might more fitly have been entitled “Hector,” as Hector is the central personality and perhaps the finest Rossmann has created. Of all the heroes of the Trojan War, Hector alone remains insensible to Helen’s beauty, the cause of the then 9-year-old conflict; he only sees humiliation in the suffering engendered by a woman’s charms. His one aim is to put an end to it. And so he leaves wife and child to decide the issue in single combat.
with the invulnerable Achilles. He fails to save Troy. But the ideal he personified and served triumphs over his heroic death. A new world will be born because Hector’s son survives—that is the message of this powerful drama.

In four acts, Socrates, defending himself valiantly and brilliantly, is hounded to death by the pack of demagogues in the great drama of the Swiss playwright John Knittel. Socrates the man could be killed, but Socrates the sage who retrieved the lost gift of philosophy and revealed the true aims and destiny of mankind, achieved immortality. Although written four years ago, Socrates only recently witnessed its first performance in Linz, where it proved a great success.

The fragmentary records about Hildebrand and Hadubrand in the Nordic saga have inspired Walter Buhrow with the idea for his tragedy, in which these fragments have been welded into a drama of imposing dimensions. Hadubrand, the youthful romantic visionary, refuses to recognize his father, whom he believed dead, in order to preserve his idealized conception of him. Relentless fate, or rather the dynamic conflict between their two natures, inevitably brings father and son face to face as enemies and representatives of two opposing armies to engage in deadly combat. Hildebrand wounds his son mortally. As he bends over him unarmed, Hadubrand gathers his failing strength for the single purpose of slaying his father. The figures of this gripping drama are not so much men of flesh and blood as elemental forces in conflict.

Der Nibelungen Tod witnessed a triumphant first performance in Munich. Max Nell, known for the purity and harmony pervading all his works, gives us here the essence of the ancient saga and goes to the core of Siegfried’s guilt. When Siegfried strove to win Kriemhild, the mortal woman, and light heartedly betrayed Brunhild, he violated the divine quality which lent him invulnerability. In betraying the divine in himself and stooping to mortal woman he becomes vulnerable and is slain by those for whose sake he became guilty, by men who destroyed him for possessing attributes they themselves could never hope to attain.

These four plays are among the most memorable of the season. The modern interpretation of these classical subjects has come as a revelation to many. Not that it offered anything in the way of sensational originality, for these themes have been too profoundly studied by artists and thinkers of past ages to allow of any radically new interpretation without violating their intrinsic character. But beneath the surface of the thread of action—which, by the way, has proved a pitfall to many a mediocre man of letters who was tempted by its patent dramatic value—there lie vast depths of ancient thought, ethics, and traditions condensed in symbols and masked by elliptical phraseology. The new note in the modern dramatizations may be traced directly to the war. Far from eclipsing the past, the present has led many Germans to the belief that the source of the nation’s destiny is to be sought in the records of its cultural infancy, the Nordic sagas, which in consequence have become the object of study on an unprecedented scale.

THE MODERN PLAYWRIGHT AND THE WAR

The premiere of Herybert Menzel’s third play The Letter recently took place in Posen. In this play a German soldier happens to find the long-lost farewell letter which a French soldier wrote to his wife Georgette. When the German brings it to her he is met by the writer himself who has just returned from Germany, a released prisoner of war. This letter, coming at a psychological moment, serves to destroy the estrangement which arose during the long separation between Georgette and her husband. In the play, especially in the first and second acts, political events and personal experience are ably correlated and the problems of the individual closely interwoven with broader issues. The high expectations raised by Menzel’s previous plays were entirely fulfilled by this, his most moving and mature drama.

The Letter is one of the best among the few tentative attempts to dramatize war subjects. The small number of war plays argues the playwrights’ full awareness of their handicap: an all too subjective view, which hinders them from putting into proper perspective the great issues and events of the present. Those few dramas relating to the war which have appeared represent pioneer work in the exploitation of new and promising avenues of dramatic art. Like all genuine works of dramatic art. The Letter bears the seal of symbolism: the particular symbolizing the general, the individual the type, the small family unit the larger unit of the community, the nation, humanity.
Of an entirely different type is Hans Rehberg's *Wolves.* Rehberg has made his name by his dramatizations of German as well as European historic subjects. *Wolves* represents his first war drama. Its opening scene on the terrace of a Silesian country estate reveals the spiritual havoc created in Maria von Oppen by the death of her husband, who has been killed in action. Reluctantly she consents to a new union with her dead husband's brother Kurt. Kurt, too, is killed together with his friend, the commander of the U-boat, during an air attack on their ship. While the commander's wife takes her loss with stern composure, Maria collapses under the new blow. Grief brings her to the verge of insanity where she raves against that "horrible monster, the fatherland" until she wins through to the realization that the gulf between the living and those who died for their country can only be bridged by a deep love of the fatherland.

The most interesting part of the play is the dramatic U-boat scene: the sighting of the convoy after a long period of inactivity, the attack of enemy planes, the feverish tension under which the torpedoes are released, the silence preceding the explosion. This scene is a bold experiment in uncompromising dynamic realism.

The German theater celebrated Japanese National Day last spring with the drama *Ayatari,* which was given its first performance simultaneously in the theaters of Oldenburg, Görlitz, Bochum, and Karlsruhe, and in which Wilhelm von Scholz has dramatized the readiness of the Japanese at any moment to lay down his life for his country. In this drama an American learns of a secret in Japanese airplane construction. Discovering this, Ayatari, the inventor, deliberately causes the crash of his plane which carries himself and the man who would have betrayed this valuable secret.

**FOREIGN PLAYS**

The close ties uniting Germany with Japan and Italy have found expression in the performance of these countries' dramatic products in German versions. Many of them are translations; others are German versions of these nations' classical subjects. One of these latter is Langenbeck's drama *Loyalty,* produced in Munich on March 5, which presents a German dramatization of the celebrated Japanese tale of the Forty-Seven Ronins.

Modern Italian comedies were very popular, especially in Berlin. The feature common to most of these comedies is the emphasis on the value of the family or communal unit and the conflict between family interests and individual interests.

As in previous seasons, the German stage did not confine itself to the performance of the dramatic products of Germany alone. The dramatic works of many other countries were produced with great success. French plays in German versions were performed on various stages, as well as *The Chalk Circle* translated by Johannes von Günther, a charming Chinese play in which pedagogic realism is blended with fairy-tale poesy. In Vienna the excellent Latvian comedy *Münchhausen's Marriage* was performed. And the newly founded Stuttgart theater produced Shaw's *Saint Joan.* Nor has the war terminated the activities of the German Shakespeare Society, which collaborates closely with the German theaters, and last season's program featured several plays, especially comedies, by the English bard.

**COMEDY**

Among all the types of dramatic products the wholesome, laughter-provoking comedy, than which there is no more exhilarating spiritual tonic, still has no rival in popularity. We reveled in comedies, the playwrights saw to that. The modern comedy writer is an accomplished juggler of mistaken identities, complications, errors, disguises, and all the other items he can dig out of his time-honored bag of tricks. With few exceptions, all the breezy modern products made a hit, a large number of them showing distinct originality.

Karl Stadler's *Bettine,* for instance. This was a comedy of mystification of the first order. A historical episode suggested this play to the author. It takes place early in the nineteenth century in the house of Professor Savigny in Berlin, where the atmosphere has suddenly become charged with disquiet and spookiness. It affects all the members of the household, from Savigny, who finds it difficult to preserve his dignified composure, to the housekeeper, who becomes a prey to the wildest superstitions. Every member of the household behaves oddly, and Bettine Brentano, Savigny's young sister-in-law, keeps on throwing out dark hints which increase the ever tension. Is it ghosts? The threat of scandal finally
wrests from Bettine the confession that she has been secretly married for the past five days to one of the guests in the house, the poet Achim von Arnim. This confession is followed by other revelations, for it turns out that the mischievous god of love, taking advantage of the atmosphere of disquiet created by Bettine’s uneasy conscience, has inspired several other members of the household with amorous feelings, among them the cook and the eternally bashful copyist. An ingenious idea brilliantly executed.

Wilhelm Utermann, who made his reputation with his previous comedies, took the title for his latest play Pelican from the popular belief that the pelican will tear open its breast to feed its young, the pelican in this case being an imperious old lady in a black silk dress belonging to the highest Swedish aristocracy. She shirks no sacrifice, nor has any scruples, where the family honor is concerned, and rules the roost with a rod of iron which is especially hard on the younger generation. She accuses a guest, the charming young man who eventually marries her niece, of theft in order to account for the disappearance of certain valuable jewels. In the end the old tyrant is herself unmasked as the one guilty of the “theft”—for the most honorable of motives of course. Utermann’s new play is distinguished by good characterization.

Bernhard Rehse, well known for his earlier plays, came out with a new, highly entertaining comedy The King of Bells, which possesses all the charm of a historical costume play and takes for its hero Napoleon’s youngest brother, King Jerome of Westphalia, known for his gay, irresponsible disposition. The King of Bells revolves around the king’s flirtation with a court lady and ends with the tragicalcomical exit of Jerome cutting a rather sorry figure as a lover rejected and a king dethroned. Rehse has proved his mettle by the manner in which he exploits the dramatic value of coincidence for this climax.

The Divorced Couple by Hans Moser, who has made a name for himself as a music historian, received less attention than it deserved. In this play—incidentally, the writer’s first dramatic work—two people, bored to death with each other, are brought to their senses by a clever sham divorce. Hans Moser shows a flair for grotesque parody which entirely reconciles one to the comedy’s shortcomings.

FOLK PLAYS

Although we have left the folk play to the last, it is by no means inferior in rank to the others. If we assemble all the types of plays so far discussed into one all-embracing category, calling them, say, standard plays, then folk plays represent another large category, containing, as will be seen from the following, the same types of plays as the standard plays, but of a totally different cast.

In the vigorous promotion of the folk play and its immense popularity we can discern the symptoms of a revival of the local cultures of the various parts of Germany. Of all the forms of art, dramatic art is perhaps the best vehicle for the expression and preservation of characteristic traditions, rural customs, and local history. The folk plays are preponderantly single-act plays and are often written in the vernacular of the district of their origin. They tackle everything under the sun and range from mythohistorical to modern times, from outright farce to tragedy.

On a one-act-play night given in Munich, an old Flemish and an old Irish play were performed before a highly appreciative audience. In The Land of Heart’s Desire the audience became acquainted with Irish folklore as the great Irish poet and dramatist William Butler Yeats magically re-creates it in this play. Lancelot and Sanderein, in which a poet of the Middle Ages sings of the blooming of young love and its blighting by murder, has been rewritten and adapted for the modern stage without spoiling the intrinsic character of the old song. Watching the play unfold was to feel transported to the age of romance and chivalry, the actors resembling the figures of a medieval Gobelin come to life.

Michel Gruber is a peasant drama, the first play by Karl Springenschmid, who is a high Government official in Salzburg and well-known for his numerous stories in which the human types of his native district are vividly portrayed. The central figure of the drama is the leader of the uprising of Lutheran peasantry against their Catholic overlord which took place in 1526. The high degree of historic authenticity adds a documentary to the dramatic value of the drama recently performed for the first time in Salzburg.

Horribilicribifax is a comedy written by Andreas Gryphius 300 years ago. It was
recently adapted for the modern stage and accepted for its first performance by the municipal theater of Göttingen.

The Swabian Dialect Theater was founded by the KDF organization and is dedicated to the performance of comedies and other plays in the Swabian dialect. Many performances were given before the Swabian units fighting at the front whose ears were aching for the familiar sounds of their own dialect and the peculiar blend of Swabian humor.

The folk play is equally at home in northern Germany and in dramatic present-day events, as is proved by August Hinrich's latest play *Hard Times*. This drama was performed on the August Hinrich Stage of Oldenburg in April. As Hans Sachs is popularly known as the Cobbler Poet of the Middle Ages, so August Hinrich may be called the Carpenter Poet of our times, being a carpenter by profession. On a visit to the poet's home a yellow cock carved in birchwood was noticed, a gift from an anonymous Swedish admirer sent at the time when Hinrich's *When the Cock Crows* conquered one Swedish theater after another. In his native town of Oldenburg, Hinrich wrote his first play *Children of Longing*. This was soon followed by *Fridhjof* which, after having been played under 13 different titles, established the poet's reputation once and for all when it was produced in Berlin under the name which stuck, *Uproar Over Iolanthe*. Many other works, both literary and dramatic, followed. Hinrich is celebrated not only as a humorist, but also as the bard of poetic, ethic, and social values whose words go straight to the heart of the people.

His latest drama, *Hard Times*, was written in Low German in the form of a three-act folk play. Its theme is the present war as it affects a farmer of the Oldenburg district, his friends and his family. The young farmer volunteers for military service as his father who died in the first World War did before him. He leaves behind his mother, who now runs the farm with the aid of Jünn the farm hand and the young farm girl Theda. When the young farmer, seriously wounded, returns to the farm he finds the ties of love and friendship which he held sacred broken by a love affair of Mieken, his betrothed, and Gord, his friend. But his farmstead has remained unchanged, and so have the people within it, his mother and Jünn and the girl Theda, remained unchanged in their steadfast courage and loyalty. The poet's deep and sympathetic understanding of human nature transfigures the whole drama.

**Bombs and the Stage**

The intensification of aerial warfare did considerable damage to German theatrical life, but practically all the theaters which were bombed continued to play in emergency buildings. Five years of war and air bombardment have failed to enervate theatrical life in Germany.

When the theater of Augsburg was demolished in a raid, the theater staff, undismayed, set to work to improvise a new stage, and the program was continued unaltered. The lack of the technical equipment of the modern stage called forth the exercise of ingenuity, and absolute simplicity in stage effects was achieved without falling back on crudity. Since one of the plays happened to be Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, the performance came dramatechnically much closer to the kind envisaged by the English poet than has usually been the case. The performance thus proved another constructive effort toward the eradication of superabundance and overelaboration which was advocated by the late Traugott Müller, whose stage design for this same play, produced in the autumn in Berlin, consisted solely of a severe semicircular whitewashed wall with a few arched gateways. It goes without saying that a stage denuded of all distracting effects makes far greater demands on the abilities of the actors and the merits of the play. The Augsburg performance in some measure epitomized the most striking aspects of modern dramatic art in Germany: simplification and revaluation. In common with all other aspects of life and culture, dramatic art has also been undergoing a thorough revaluation under the relentless impact of the war; and in these new trends we discern the first signs of that renaissance in dramatic art which will be witnessed after the war.

Toward the close of the theater season the Berlin Staatsstheater produced Schiller's dynamic *Die Räuber* under conditions unique in the history of dramatic art. *Die Räuber* has been performed in times of romantic self-deception and again in times of political upheavals when the play was used as a propagandistic weapon. Now it was performed by men and women who had gone through the stern schooling of almost five years of war—many of the actors partaking
in it as well as the director and the producer had seen active service until shortly before the performance—before a war-time audience and in a theater partially demolished by a recent raid with the reek of smoke and crumbling mortar still hanging about the pit. The audience flocked to the theater in a spirit of defiance. The performance in this atmosphere laid bare the very core of the classic drama which sublimated power and action and the resolute spirit of youth and manhood.

The temporary closing of the German theaters on September 1 was a sacrifice to the stern necessities of total war. As a substitute, the German radio has inaugurated a weekly program "The Stage at the Microphone" in which plays of every type from tragedy to farce will be broadcast in condensed form. All the leading members of the dramatic profession now engaged in the armament industry have declared their willingness to make the German public a gift of the little leisure time they have by putting themselves at the disposal of the radio.

Thus a way has been found to continue the cultivation of dramatic art and tide over these critical times until, with the restoration of peace, the theaters open their doors again and dramatic art resumes its wonted prominence in the life of the nation.

BEHIND SOVIET PRODUCTION

By B. THOMAS

Of the underlying of the Soviet Union's strength customary in the twenties and thirties has of late been widely replaced by an equally unrealistic overrating and a readiness to trust Soviet slogans. As a result, many people are inclined to believe the Soviet thesis that the country's production is based on the patriotism and voluntary efforts of the people. The following article subjects this thesis to scrutiny based on plentiful items supplied by the Soviet press and radio during the last few months. The author obtained this doctor's degree in economics at the University of Gottingen with a thesis on Soviet economics.—K.M.

DURING the first period after the Revolution, when the Bolsheviks still believed that the Revolution had produced a new man with a new attitude toward work, stimulating the workers by differentiated wages was rejected with indignation. In the Soviet State, it was claimed, all work would be performed not for personal gain but by reason of superior insight, just as, for example, the amateur sportsman exerts himself for love of his sport and not for the sake of any material profit. But just as the sportsman exerts himself more when he is in competition with other sportsmen, so the socialist worker was to be stimulated by competition with others to do his best. Even when the stimulation by wages later proved indispensable, the idea of socialist competition was maintained, although it lost in importance.

By spring 1942 the Soviet Union had suffered heavy blows as a result of the war and the loss of large territories, and it became apparent that production could not be increased to a sufficient extent with the existing methods. Following upon Stalin's order of May 1, a gigantic movement was organized which, under the collective name of "All-Union Socialist Competition," plunged the whole country into a frenzy of competitions. These competitions, called voluntary, function something like this:

The collective of workers of one factory suggests to the collectives of other factories, usually of the same line of manufacture, that they pledge themselves to increase production, reduce manufacturing costs, save labor, etc. As every Stalin speech, revolutionary anniversary, military success, the beginning of the harvest campaign, etc., is used as an opportunity to release a wave of such competitions, they have become a permanent institution. Hardly has one competition come to an end when an appeal for a new one is voiced. In this way all productive enterprises, indeed, even colleges, scientific institutions, etc., participate in the All-Union Socialist Competition.
Competitions take place not only among various factories but also within a factory among the various departments. When this still proved insufficient, the competition was extended to the individual worker. At the meeting of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions early this year it was declared:

It is absolutely necessary that all male and female workers, engineers, technicians, and employees participate in socialist competition . . . . Under no circumstances must there be in the plants a single workingman, a single workingwoman, who has not undertaken a concrete obligation.

And Trud, the organ of this Central Council, adds the following explanation (12.3.44):

The conditions in all enterprises must be such that not a single group of workers, not a single person, can keep aloof from competitions.

THE ORGANIZERS

Who is to see to such conditions being brought about?

Competition will then be completely successful, when our Party, trade union, and Comsomol organizations have managed to persuade the entire mass of workers to participate in individual competitions. (Pravda, 2.4.44.)

The Comsomol is particularly active in this respect, having created “Comsomol Youth Brigades” all over the country which, by their example, are to stimulate the other workers to produce more. Today there are 115,000 such brigades with some 800,000 members. Their latest achievement is the introduction of “tables of hourly production,” in which not only the daily production of each worker, but even the production of every single one of his working hours is registered and compared with that of his co-workers.

Of course, the actual direction is in the hands of the Party. Each factory, indeed, each department of a factory has its own Party cell; these cells, in turn, form special “agitation collectives for the increase of production.” We are told, for instance, that in the city of Khabarovsk alone there are 100 such agitation collectives of the Party with more than 1,000 individual agitators. One of their duties is daily to publish the results of production in tables and posters, and to issue daily pamphlets with detailed results of production in all brigades and working groups. (Radio Vladivostok, 28.4.44.)

What we have said of industry applies also to agriculture, as the campaign for the 1944 harvest has shown. Here, too, Party and Comsomol members must create conditions which make it impossible for any farm hand “to keep aloof from competition.”

Instructions run as follows:

The kolchoz workers undertake concrete obligations for each day. The agitators note down these obligations and in the evening, together with the heads of the various work brigades, they examine the result of the work of each person and post it on the notice board. The public nature of the competition has borne excellent fruit. (Komsoomol'kaya Pravda, 10.8.44.)

The forms of agitation recommended are:

Lectures, speeches, discussions, reading aloud from newspapers, publishing of local news sheets, radio, movies, reading halls, clubs, wall bulletins, pamphlets, etc. . . . . All this must not be done episodically, once or twice a week, but systematically, every day . . . . By no means during working hours, but during the lunch and rest intervals, even though these are only short. (Propagandist, No. 13, 1944, pp. 4-7.)

AGITATION

It is apparent that the worker is to have no time to think of anything but his work and competitions. To bring about such a state of affairs a vast number of agitators is employed. The approximately 11 million members of the Comsomol and 5 million members of the Party are not enough. Moreover, the Party and Comsomol have, as a result of the war, undergone such changes in membership, ideology, and tactics that the majority of their members, especially in the rural districts, can hardly keep up with them and must, in turn, be taken care of by super-agitators. The Central Committee of the Party was forced on July 17, 1943, to pass a special resolution “On the organization of political lectures by Party and Soviet members for the rural population.”

During the first ten months after the decree, 3,868 agitators made 88,452 political speeches in 6,918 kolchozes in Moscow Province alone (Propagandist, No. 11/12, 1944, p. 26). This means that in the rural districts of Moscow Province, not counting towns and factories, an agitation speech was made on an average every five minutes during these ten months. In other parts of the USSR the demand for agitators is even greater. Some 40,000 provincial and county agitators were sent out in Gorki Province (Propagandist, No. 5, 1944, p. 40), 20,000 in Tambov Province (Radio Moscow, 9.8.44.) Hence the total number of these super-agitators in the rural districts throughout the Soviet Union is more likely to be above one million than below.

Why, in spite of the existing shortage of manpower, are such numbers mobilized during the fourth year of war for purposes
of agitation? The reply given is always more or less the same:

Where insufficient attention is paid to agitation, where the agitators are not properly instructed, where the process of work goes on without their supervision, success fails to come; for without ceaseless agitation the successful carrying out of socialist competition is impossible. (Radio Khabsarovsk, 26.6.44.)

Agitation of an extent unparalleled throughout the world is an absolute essential for the functioning of Soviet economics. There is also another such essential.

**PIECE-WORK WAGES**

In the *kolkhozes* where no additional payment is offered for harvest-yields exceeding the plan, where there are no piece-work wages for working groups and individual workers, and where wages are paid on a collective basis—in those *kolkhozes* there can be no real competition. (Propagandist, No. 13, 1944, p. 5.)

So we discover that all the tremendous efforts, the spiritual and moral influence exerted on the workers, are in no way sufficient to bring about the desired production and that they must be supplemented by concrete material advantages for each *kolkhoz* worker.

A factory in Moscow Province had, in accordance with the constant urging on the part of the Government, started a vegetable farm which the factory workers were to run in order to improve their own food supplies. But neither the appeal to their social conscience nor to their collective interest could induce the workmen to work there. Thereupon the factory commission which was in charge of the farm increased the wages for field labor. The result was mass participation on the part of the workmen. However, there was still a shortage of buckets for irrigation. Now it was announced that those workers who brought their own buckets would receive a bonus of 25 per cent. And lo and behold, there were buckets in plenty.

This example is lauded by *Trud* (27.7.44) as a proof of the skilful employment of piece-work wages. And if even in a case like this—where every worker of the factory should be interested in increasing the production of foodstuffs reserved exclusively for the factory staff—the stimulus of individual piece-work wages is indispensable, this is all the more true in cases where the production goes to the state.

How completely the attempt to educate men toward a new attitude toward work has failed is revealed by the development of agricultural wages. Immediately after the collectivization of agriculture wages were calculated according to the total harvest yield of the *kolkhoz* and distributed equally among all the members of the *kolkhoz*. But it soon turned out that with equal wages production went down considerably. So the *kolkhoz* was divided into "work brigades" and wages calculated per brigade; the result was that the individual laborers began to work a little harder. The next step was to subdivide the brigades into "work groups" (zeevo), but even this was not sufficient. With brutal frankness, a high Party official, in an article in *Pravda* (25.8.44), attacked the system by which all the members of a work group receive the same wages based on the production of the whole group. He declared that wages should be differentiated within each group, too, as it was an "injustice" for people with a weak constitution or a mother with many children, who cannot do the same amount of work in the fields, to receive the same wages as the others; they should be paid less. And he proved with the aid of statistics that the daily production of a work group was quintupled and more when the group piece-work wages were replaced by individual piece-work wages.

In this way, the piece-work wage system, which was formerly repudiated as being the epitome of capitalist exploitation, is carried to greater extremes in the USSR than in any other country of the world. To obtain even a tiny increase in work, the Soviets must pay correspondingly higher wages. Piece-work wages represent the second absolute essential for the functioning of Soviet economics.

**FORCE**

The third and perhaps most powerful weapon in the struggle for production is force, which stands behind everything. Again and again it is said, although it should be a matter of course after twenty-seven years of Bolshevism:

Members of the village organizations, ComsomoL members, Party members, and the workers of the machine-tractor stations must safeguard the carrying out of production. (Radio Vladivostok, 27.9.44.)

They must do it, whatever the cost. They must bring about conditions in which the workers have no choice left but to supply the production demanded from them. It was not by chance that, in an appeal during harvest time, the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (10.8.44) reminded its readers of Kalinin's
words, in which he ferociously attacked everyone who would not carry out the work demanded from him:

A person of that kind is our enemy. The Comsomol members must pillory him, must expose him to the entire nation. If he should prove incorrigible, he must be dealt with severely.

Each and every Soviet worker and peasant must participate in the competitions and must fulfill the production plans drawn up by the Party. No explanations are accepted for their nonfulfillment. Such cases are simply denounced as sabotage and the guilty ones treated as saboteurs, deserters, and enemies of the people, "according to the laws of war."

THE PEOPLE'S PROPERTY

In the course of the harvest campaign of 1944 the Soviet population was overwhelmed with a flood of appeals and measures to safeguard the harvest against theft. From the two-pages-long "Decree for the Protection of the Harvest" in the Pravda (17.7.44) we learn that no handful of grain may be left even a moment unguarded and unsupervised. It has been demanded time and again that while the harvest is being cut, threshed, transported to the barns or railway—short, during every single stage—it be weighed and checked again and again and kept under a constant guard in order to prevent its disappearance. According to Radio Moscow, 90,000 Comsomol members were needed in Odessa Province and 21,000 in Gorki Province to guard the harvest day and night from the point of its ripening up to its delivery to the state to stop the people from laying hands on the "people's property." (Komsomolskaya Pravda, 18.8.44.) If tens of thousands of men have to guard the fields and barns—not counting those guarding storehouses and factories in the towns—the number of those who might steal the produce must amount to hundreds of thousands in each province. This makes it clear that the protection is needed not against a few criminal elements but against a large part of the people itself.

In view of this, it is not surprising that there are ceaseless complaints about sabotage in the grain deliveries to the state:

In some of the counties of the Maritime Province, people do not want to deliver anything to the state in spite of their having stocks of threshed grain. (Radio Vladivostok, 18.8.44.)

In those kolkhozes in which agitation does not function efficiently there are poor harvest results. In the kolkhoz "Ukraine," in which each Comsomol member was left to his own devices, no more than 57 per cent of the area was harvested. The Comsomol failed here to bring the young people under its influence. (Radio Vladivostok, 15.9.44.)

Wherever we look, it is the same: where the people are not completely and continuously under the influence of the Party and the Comsomol, where they are left the least bit to themselves, work immediately slows down and "treacherous tendencies" and "saboteurs" make their appearance. Even the members of the Comsomol do not fulfill their duties unless they are constantly driven.

*   *   *

We do not by any means wish to under-rate the role of Soviet patriotism in the evolution of the USSR during the last few years. Indeed, its role has been emphasized in former articles appearing in this magazine. But the fact must not be overlooked that, to a very considerable extent, this Soviet patriotism is the result of agitation, piece-work wages, and force applied more ruthlessly than in any other country in the world. According to statements made by the Soviets themselves, the wheels of production slow down if they are not constantly impelled by a maximum of agitation, piece-work wages, and force.

If we consider that in National-Socialist Germany, in spite of millions of non-German laborers and the most violent bombing attacks, and in capitalist America and England, a gigantic production is being achieved with a minimum of such methods—partly through ordinary working discipline, partly through a common spirit of self-sacrifice—then the Moscow thesis of the patriotism of the Soviet masses manifesting itself in an enthusiasm for work and in voluntary competitions appears in a different light.

Truth Will Out

In California a psychiatric patient was asked if he were Napoleon. He craftily said "No." A lie detector showed he was lying.
THE MARCH OF WAR
INVASION BATTLE
(August 30 to October 3, 1944)

With our last report on the battle in Western Europe went to press, the Allied offensive was still in full swing, having lost none of the momentum which had carried it forward since the breakthrough at Avranches on July 31. The speed of the Anglo-American advance was sustained by extremely strong tank and mechanized forces, which continued to receive reinforcements and which were supplied to a large extent by air. In the early part of September the Allies hoped to achieve the chief aims of the entire operation in one big sweep: the annihilation of the German armies in the West and the breaking open of a passage into the heart of Germany.

There were times when the position of the withdrawing German forces and of the entire German Western Front was very critical. Those divisions which had crossed the lower Seine and were retreating along the Channel coast were dangerously exposed to outflanking movements from the south and southeast by strong Allied spearheads which had crossed northern France and Belgium, and the rapid fall of Antwerp on September 6 placed them in a very serious position. Other Allied forces were pushing eastward into Luxemburg, Lorraine and the zone bordering on the German West Wall at Aachen, while the 19th German Army had to fight its way back in the Rhone and Saône valleys against strong attempts of the 7th US Army and De Gaulist divisions to block its path to the Belfort gap.

There were times when it seemed as if the German armies were already overrun, unable to make a new stand, at best able to keep on fighting in isolated pockets far in the rear of the advancing Allies. It is perhaps one of the most difficult of military feats to stabilize a front again after a large-scale breakthrough of the enemy. But by the middle of September, in a development paralleling that on the Eastern Front several weeks earlier, a new front line began to emerge (see map) behind which the bulk of the German forces took up position after fighting its way through.

At this point General Eisenhower decided, in order to regain the initiative and to restore the war of movement, on the large-scale employment of paratroops and airborne forces. These were landed on and after September 17 in the Eindhoven, Nijmegen, and Arnhem regions. (The latter two are important as crossings over the Waal River and the Lek.) A simultaneous powerful land attack from the line Antwerp/Maastricht toward the north was to establish contact with the airborne formations. Eisenhower hoped thereby to shake the German resistance in the Dutch-Belgian border zone, to outflank the German system of fortifications running along the German border west of the Rhine, and to open a way into the North German plain.

Connections with the airborne troops in the Eindhoven and Nijmegen areas were actually established by the Allies. But the link between these two areas remained precarious, the passage between Eindhoven and Nijmegen being subjected to German flank attacks and, indeed, interrupted several times. The 1st British Air-borne Division, the elite force landed in the Arnhem area, on the other hand, suffered a crushing defeat and together with a Polish paratroop regiment was completely annihilated in a 10-day battle. With winter rapidly closing in, with its wet ground and unfavorable flying conditions, Churchill had to tell the British that there was little chance of a quick end to the war.

The size of the Allied armies in the West has, according to German reports, been estimated at around 60 divisions. The 21st British Army Group under Field Marshal Montgomery is still occupying the left wing, with the 1st Canadian Army on the Channel coast and in the Antwerp sector, while
the 2nd British Army, stationed in the Nijmegen region, is co-operating with the 1st Air-borne Army, a separate fighting unit consisting of British and American divisions and one Polish parachute brigade. The 12th US Army Group under General Bradley is holding the front from Aachen to Trier (1st US Army) and the Moselle positions as far as the Nancy/Lunéville area (3rd US Army). The 6th US Army Group under General Devers forms the last link to the Swiss frontier, with the 7th US Army holding the front between Épinal and Belfort and De Gaulist divisions further south. Besides these armies at the front, there is another army (9th US Army under Lieut. General Simpson) stationed in France.

If we are to believe Churchill, the Anglo-Americans have lost 235,000 men (90,000 British, 145,000 US casualties) in France alone, which includes neither De Gaulist and Polish troops nor the severe losses in Belgium and Holland. At Arnhem alone, Allied losses numbered 6,450 prisoners and thousands of killed.

In order to interfere with Allied communications, the Germans, apart from destroying railways and roads, took care to bar the most important ports to the invaders, at the same time tying down Allied forces aggregating probably some 10 divisions. The German garrisons of the following ports and fortresses were still holding out at the end of September: Dunkirk, Calais with the coastal artillery group of Cape Gris-Nez, the Channel Islands Jersey and Guernsey, Lorient, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle, Gironde de Nord, and Gironde de Sud. Le Havre fell to the enemy on September 12, Brest after an embittered struggle on September 20, and Boulogne on September 24. What the attackers found was nothing but a heap of ruins, the port facilities having been as systematically destroyed as in Cherbourg.

US CASUALTIES

The chart of US casualties on the next page, based on official American announcements, embodies the two charts published in our issues of October 1943 and April 1944 and brings them up to date.

In our review of October 1943 we mentioned that the curve was until then practically a straight line, almost as if orders had been given to add the same number of casualties every week. As the battles grew more furious, an adjustment was made. But we find that after the change in the angle of the curve a straight line reappears, irrespective of whether an offensive was in progress or whether the fronts were quiet. Indeed, the angle of Curve II (Army) between April 30 and July 13, 1944 — the period during which the Italian offensive (May 11) and the invasion (June 6) began — even declines a little. The most grotesque section of the straight line is the one between September 19, 1943 (total figure 105,205) and July 13, 1944 (total figure 235,411), which takes no cognizance of the heavy losses suffered in five weeks of invasion, while the more alert United Press in its analysis of a week previously had already arrived at a figure of 261,541 (dotted line in our chart). But again, once the Office of War Information had decided on a readjustment after July 13, there was no wavering from a straight line.

It is interesting to check up on US figures by comparing the total with the casualties given for some individual campaigns. Adding the total losses as issued per September 1943 to the admitted losses in the Italian campaign and the invasion battle (both by the end of August) we arrive at a figure of 320,000. But by the end of August 1944 the total admitted US casualties numbered
389,125. This would leave 69,000 to cover all losses sustained from September 1943 to August 1944 by the US forces throughout the rest of the world. It would have to account for all battles in the South Pacific with their costly island-hopping strategy (according to Navy Secretary Forrestal, the occupation of Saipan, Guam, and Tinian alone cost 25,536 casualties), for all naval losses on the US supply lanes and in the war zones, notably in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and the Channel, as well as for the air war which, particularly over Europe, had to be paid for heavily. (At the beginning of May 1944, there were over 10,000 US airmen in German prison camps, and since, according to German statements, no more than one quarter to one fifth of them get away alive, it would mean that some 40,000 to 50,000 US airmen had been lost by that time over Europe alone. These figures do not include the interned crews of planes making emergency landings in Sweden and Switzerland, nor the planes lost on the way back across the sea or making crash landings. To these must be added the air casualties in the Pacific area, China, and the rest of the world, which must add up to another imposing figure, considering the hazards involved in raids from aircraft carriers or primitive advance bases which the Pacific war imposes.) It is evident that 69,000 casualties do not suffice to account for all these operations.

Churchill's recent speech, in which he mentioned 237,000 cases of sickness as against 40,000 battle casualties among the 14th British Empire Army fighting in Burma, draws attention to another problem with which the US forces have to reckon and which is costing the American people dearly on top of the losses sustained in actual battle.

WORLD PRESS DIGEST

PROGRESS

(Condensed from "Time," New York)

Inventions recently granted patents by the U.S. Patent Office:

An ultraviolet radiation system for theaters, offering the double advantage of making fluorescent-coated aisles and seats visible and giving the audience an ultraviolet bath.

A timing mechanism making possible synchronized sky-writing by squadrons of airplanes.

A metal foot protector that fits over the shoe and prevents toes from being smashed by falling objects or careless steppers.

A windshield wiper for eyeglasses.

Night-fishing equipment with a float which flashes a light when a fish bites.

Sinkers for ice cubes, to keep the ice away from the eager lips of highball drinkers.

FRUIT TRADE REVOLUTION

(Condensed from the "Münchner Neueste Nachrichten," Munich)

The present war has wrought revolutionizing changes in the international fruit trade, changes whose full effect cannot be gauged as yet. But it can already be stated as a fact that the shortage in expensive vessels required for the oversea trade in fresh fruit will continue for a number of years after the war.

With the beginning of the U-boat war, the overseas fruit-producing and exporting countries suffered tremendous losses in their export trade until they adjusted themselves to the new situation and reorganized their production accordingly. The problem facing them was to adjust their production of fresh fruit to the few still available means of transport. There were two possibilities open to them: drying the fruit, or canning it or its juice. The more delicate a fruit is, the more does it cost to transport it over long sea routes. This applies chiefly to the citrus fruits, especially oranges. In spite of the great difficulties the orange-producing countries had to overcome in adjusting themselves to the new conditions, they succeeded in doing this in a surprisingly short time and in a very efficient manner. Since drying is impracticable in the case of most citrus fruits, the only method left was using them for the manufacture of juice, as had already been done to a mounting extent in California before the war. Pales-
The orange juice now being produced in all these countries has almost unlimited keeping qualities. Moreover, it saves a tremendous amount of shipping space, without the vitamin content which makes oranges so valuable suffering appreciably. Finally, the shipping of orange juice saves large quantities of packing material, especially wood for cases, which, in countries like Palestine, had to be imported at great expense. Add to this the costs for sorting, wrapping, stamping, etc., of the oranges, requiring a lot of manual work, costs which are all obviated in the manufacture of juice. The only raw material the canning factories in Palestine have still to import is tin plate for the cans.

Will the manufacture of orange juice disappear again after the war to be replaced by the export of fresh oranges? Most experts think not. The transport of fresh oranges requires fast refrigerator ships, and these will not be available for some time. Consumers, too, have in most countries already become so accustomed to fruit juices that there is but little demand for fresh fruit. Moreover, oranges are in most countries a typical winter fruit, being eaten at a time when there is no other fresh fruit. After the war, however, there will be no shortage of fresh fruit even in cold countries as, thanks to modern deep-freezing methods, it will be possible everywhere to buy perfect frozen fruit in the middle of winter.

In the case of bananas, producers have turned mainly to drying. Here, too, a great deal of freight space is saved and the fruit can be kept longer. Drying for export purposes has also increased greatly during the last few years in the case of other fruits: apricots, apples, pears, peaches, to name the chief varieties. Methods of drying have been improved considerably, so that the former widespread aversion to dried fruit of this kind has largely disappeared today. The manufacture of canned fruits as well as of jams and fruit juices from these fruits has also increased and is in the process of being still further expanded.

SEDIMENT

(Condensed from "Time," New York)

In the largest sedition trial in U.S. history, 28 men and 2 women were accused in Washington of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. Government in favor of a Nazi dictatorship and of uttering sentiments such as:

"The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was deliberately invited by the public officials of the U.S."

"The Government of the U.S. and Congress are controlled by Communists, International Jews and plutocrats."

"The cause of the Axis powers is the cause of justice and morality and . . . any act of war against them is unjust and immoral."

"He always brings all his relatives so he can order enough."

(Münchener Illustrierte Presse)

MOSCOW AND THE POPE

(Condensed from "Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm)

Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow, the late head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, recently discussed the position of the Pope in an article entitled "Does Christ Have a Representative on Earth?" which appeared in the journal of the patriarchate. After quoting various texts from the Bible, the Metropolitan arrived at a negative reply. He emphasized Jesus's last words to his disciples: "I am with you alway," and takes them as a proof of the fallacy of the idea that Christ has a representative on earth.

On the other hand, the Metropolitan agreed that there might be a central authority of the Church to handle the administration of the Church. He also admitted the possibility of a union of Christian churches around one central figure. However, this figure should not be the "representative of Christ," but the president of a bishops' council chosen from the bishops in the capitals of the world.
HOW THE SWISS SEE IT
(Condensed from "Gazette de Lausanne")

The American is capable of superhuman efforts, but he is unable to sustain them for any extended period. Remembering that shortly after Wilson's intervention in the Great War the Central Powers collapsed, some Americans are inclined to believe that the sole presence of American forces will decide the present struggle; moreover, they tend prematurely to see in the initial successes the achievement of victory and from then on to take it easy in factories or mines. The coal strikes followed upon the first victories in Tunisia. At one moment they caused production to fall 89 per cent in the coal industry, and the consequences are still making themselves felt in the delivery of airplanes.

REPARATIONS

Gustav Cassel, the leading Swedish economist and one of the most outstanding in all Europe, addressed an appeal through the Swedish press to the Soviet Government which contained the following passages:

The report that Russia intends to demand an indemnity from Finland has filled me with deep anxiety. Once the idea has taken root that the powers emerging as victors from the present war may count on war indemnities from the vanquished, serious detriment cannot be avoided.

After the Great War, I made tireless efforts to point out what a serious blunder the Allied demand for reparations on the part of Germany had been, and I am still convinced that this demand for reparations was one of the greatest obstacles standing in the way of a normal world economy and of creating a friendly spirit among the nations. Above all, this demand for reparations set at nought all efforts at establishing a new international monetary system of satisfactory stability. Hence it is of extreme importance that Russia does not set an example which might put the entire postwar economic policy on the wrong track. Nothing could be more favorable at the present moment than a Russian decision to refrain from any demand for reparation from Finland.

(The Soviet Government did not follow Professor Cassel's advice and burdened Finland with a war indemnity amounting to 300 million US dollars.)

BEEF AND COCONUTS
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

Doctors have long known that beef blood plasma could be used for human transfusions if every trace of certain beef substances poisonous to man were removed. Last autumn a U.S. blood expert, Julian Herman Lewis, announced that he had made beef plasma safe by treating it with alkali. Now news has come that Dr. F. Ronald Edwards of the University of Liverpool has figured out a way to purify it with heat. If one of these methods can be used for mass production, the plasma supply will be almost limitless—a 1,000 lb. steer is 7% blood.

Research to find a substitute for human plasma does not stop with beef blood. Some substitutes that work: coconut milk, casein, isinglass (fish gelatin), pectin. But doctors still reserve their real enthusiasm for safe human plasma or human serum albumin. Serum albumin is extracted from blood plasma by a newly perfected process; the albumin goes six times as far as an equivalent amount of plasma, is now being made for use by paratroopers, small naval units, other troops with little room for luggage.
On July 7, 1503, a man, prematurely aged and with a burning heart, was sitting on the desolate coast of Jamaica and writing a letter. What he saw was not reality as it surrounded him—the rotten deck of his stranded ship, his ragged, mutinous seamen. He felt neither the hunger in his bowels nor the fever and gout in his bones. For what he forced himself to see with all the ardor of his devout soul was the coast of an ocean never yet beheld by the eyes of a European and possessing gold and pearls in abundance. A decade was to pass before others fulfilled this vision and discovered the Pacific, and still more years before they were to conquer the treasures of the Aztecs and the Incas. But in his mind’s eye Columbus already saw everything as clearly as if he need only reach out his hand to grasp it.

In his letter Columbus had described to the “Most serene, high and mighty Princes, King and Queen, our sovereigns” the experiences of his fourth and last voyage to America, which took him along the newly discovered coast of Central America. And now he was telling them of the wonderful things he had heard there, in Veragua: of the country of Ciguare, nine days’ journey to the west and on the shore of an ocean. He wrote: “They also say that the sea goes round Ciguare, and from there to the river Ganges there are ten days. It seems that these lands are in a similar situation towards Veragua as Pisa to Venice,” i.e., on the other side of a peninsula.

Columbus, steeped entirely in Ptolemy’s and Behaim’s conception of the world, believed himself to be on the east coast of Indo-China; hence it seemed quite natural to him that the other side of the peninsula should be washed by the Magnus Sinus (a part of the Indian Ocean), and that the Ganges should be a few days’ journey further away. But we know today that these words of the discoverer represented the first news of the eastern shores of the Pacific Ocean to be sent by a white man to the Spanish royal couple.

Without hesitation, Columbus covered the paper with the golden legend of Ciguare: “There, they say, there is infinite gold and the natives wear corals on their heads. . . . They also say that women there wear necklaces hanging from the head down their backs. . . . They also know pepper.” He himself, he said, had not been in Ciguare. He was too ill, his ships too rotten. But even the Caribbean coast of Veragua offered enough treasures for the moment:

I sent seventy men inland; and within five leagues, they found many mines; the Indians who went with them led them to a very high hill, and there showed them all their eyes could reach in every direction, saying that in all of it there was gold, and that towards the west the mines stretched for twenty days. . . . In this land of Veragua I have seen more signs of gold in the first two days than in Españaola in four years, and that the lands of the country cannot be more beautiful nor better tilled, nor the men more cowardly, and good harbors and beautiful rivers and easily defended against the world.

All this was no surprise to Columbus; he had known it for a long time, for he was in the country of Aurea whence King Solomon had once obtained his gold! “I say that those mines in Aurea are the same and fit in with these ones in Veragua. . . . Solomon bought all that, gold, stones and silver, you can send there for it to be gathered if you wish.”

The gold which Columbus had collected himself was indeed not worth mentioning—but for this, too, he had a noble explanation:

The gold . . . of the territory, though according to my information it be much, I did not think it seemly nor in good service to Your Highnesses to take it from them by way of robbery: an orderly behavior will spare [us] all scandal and bad reputation and will [in the end] bring it all to the Treasury, so that not one grain remains [behind].

The discoverer, living as he did in a world of imagination, entirely forgot the desperate nature of his own situation. Everything appeared to him in the most brilliant light, and the exploitation of the treasures of Solomon seemed a matter of certain-
ty. "Your Highnesses are as much Lord and Lady of this as of Jerez or Toledo."

Gold and pearls were not the only attraction of this fairy-tale country. He was already thinking of the future work of Christian missionaries. He, who was in reality the discoverer of a continent, imagined himself to be on the coast of Marco Polo's "Mango" (South China) and close to the rich Mongol emperor—one and a half centuries after the Mongols had been driven from China! Removed from reality by 150 degrees of latitude and by as many years, he wrote:

I arrived in Mango province, which is next to that of Cathay. . . . The Emperor of Cathay long ago sent for wise men who might instruct him in the law of Christ [a reference to the request for Christian instructors to be dispatched to his empire, which the Great Khan had sent with the elder Polos]. Who will it be who will offer himself for this? I bind myself to take him there safely.

After almost a year of terrible waiting on Jamaica, Columbus was rescued and brought safely back to Spain in November 1504. But, without having seen his beloved "India" with its golden treasures again, he died on May 20, 1506.

A KING'S DECISION

Several years passed before the natives of Veragua saw European ships again. Spain had other worries. King Ferdinand who, a widower since 1504, was fighting for the inheritance of his consort Isabella and quarreling with the nobility, could not for the time being concern himself with the fanciful notions of a dead visionary whose golden promises had only too often disappointed him. But around 1508 he could breathe more easily in Spain and Italy. Through the death of his son-in-law, Philip of Hapsburg, and the lunacy of his daughter Johanna, he had become the undisputed ruler of all Spain. Moreover, he urgently needed money. The Caribbean islands were not yielding much income. Perhaps it would be worth while after all to look a little more closely into Columbus's golden Veragua and the ocean he suspected of lying behind that country.

At that time, the eastern contours of Central and South America were beginning to loom up out of the darkness of the unknown. The third and fourth voyages of Columbus and the voyages of other discoverers had shown that there was a closed coast line stretching for thousands of miles, at least from Honduras to the Rio de la Plata. Little as one was conscious of the full significance of these discoveries, there could be no doubt that this land was not a group of islands but a mainland, a Tierra Firme. The Spanish King had no power over the eastern projection of this Tierra Firme, present-day eastern Brazil. The treaty of Tordesillas had allotted it to the Portuguese. But as for the parts allotted to Spain—Central America and part of the north coast of South America—Ferdinand now decided to open them to colonization. By the River Darien (now known as the Atrato River) he divided them into two provinces: New Andalusia, i.e., approximately present-day Venezuela, east of the river; and what was later to be called Golden Castle (Castilla del Oro), i.e., present-day Central America, west of the river.

Neither of the two governors appointed to these provinces by the King—the first European governors on the American mainland—were to play the role the King had intended for them. The Governor of New Andalusia soon had enough of starvation and poisoned native arrows. He abandoned the settlers placed under his care in San Sebastian on the east coast of the Gulf of Darien and died soon afterwards in Haiti. The other one, Diego de Nicuesa, tried in vain to settle in Veragua, and he and his companions were soon delivered up to starvation, disease, and embittered Indians in a place he himself had named Nombre de Dios.

CARIBBEAN

The Isthmus of Panama in the Sixteenth Century

BALBOA TAKES OVER

The man who seized the reins in this situation in Tierra Firme and who stamped the whole future course of developments with his will was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. Like many of his countrymen, he had come to the West Indian isles to seek his fortune. Like many others, he had made debts in-
Finally, he had become fed up with life as a planter in Española (Haiti) and had looked for a new start. But in order to be able to leave he had first to satisfy his creditors, and there was little prospect of that. So he smuggled himself as a stowaway on board a ship in which Martin Fernandez de Enciso was transporting additional men and provisions to the colony of New Andalusia. This is how Balboa came to the Tierra Firme. Enciso took over the leadership of the colony. However, it soon became apparent that he did not have the stuff in him to lead desperate men, cut off by shipwreck from the rest of the world, on the inhospitable beach of a strange continent. When he and the other officers no longer knew which way to turn, Balboa stepped forward with a proposal. He said:

I remember that some years ago we entered this gulf [of Darien], and in the direction of the west, on the right hand, if I remember correctly, we landed and saw a village on the other side of a large river [the Darien River], and the air was cool, and there was an abundance of provisions in the land, and the natives did not use poisoned arrows.

The men were only too willing to grasp the straw held out by these words. They crossed the gulf without bothering about the fact that they were now penetrating into another province, Golden Castile. They defeated a local chieftain, occupied his village, which they found well provided with gold and food, and erected a Spanish settlement which, in honor of an image of the Virgin Mary in Seville, they named Santa Maria de la Antigua, later shortened to Antigua. Enciso, who continued to claim leadership over the men, made himself very unpopular by his petty legalistic activities and was deposed in the first of those countless Ibero-American revolutions. Balboa was a sworn enemy of all jurists, and later wrote to the King:

I desire to ask a favor of your Highness... It is that your Highness will command that no bachelor of laws nor of any thing else, unless it be of medicine, shall come to this part of the Indies on pain of heavy punishment which your Highness shall order to be inflicted, for no bachelor has ever come here who is not a devil, and who does not lead the life of devils. And not only are they themselves evil, but they give rise to a thousand law-suits and quarrels.

In place of Enciso, Balboa and Martín Zamudio assumed the government of the new colony. For ambitious Balboa it proved a disagreeable surprise when, shortly after he had got rid of Enciso, Nicuesa with his half-starved survivors arrived in Antigua which, after all, belonged to his province. The chroniclers do not quite agree on the details of the ensuing events in Antigua. But there is no doubt as to the result: in March 1511 the party led by Balboa arrested Governor Nicuesa, put him and his followers on a worm-eaten ship, and forced him to set sail. Nothing was ever heard of him again.

In order to place the events in Antigua in a desirable light to the King, Zamudio was sent to Spain.

**Panciaco’s Fateful Words**

Balboa, for the time being without a rival and determined to show his King that he was the right man at the right spot, enthusiastically undertook the subjugation of the country. Some two to three hundred men were at his disposal for this purpose. He made his advance westward along the Caribbean coast. In his campaigns Balboa combined extreme brutality with skillful diplomacy. It was his policy to intimidate the natives by flagrant violence, to take all their gold, and then to win them over to his cause in order not to leave any enemies in his wake on his further advances. In a blood bath he first robbed the chieftain Careyta of many subjects and all his treasures; then he reconciled him and received from him a promise of alliance and, to confirm the pact, his daughter as a concubine. Then he penetrated into the country of the chieftain Comagre, who received him respectfully and delighted him with rich gifts of gold. During the distribution of the treasures, an argument arose among the Spaniards. Panciaco, the son of the chieftain, had been observing the curious actions of the white men and their lust for the yellow metal. Now he stepped forward. He contemptuously knocked over the gold scales and spoke the following words, quoted so often since then:

Why quarrel for such a trifle! Is it for this you leave your country, cross seas, endure hardships, and disturb the peace of nations? Cease your voracious brawl and I will tell where you may obtain your fill of gold. Six days’ march across your mountain will bring you to an ocean sea, like this near which we dwell, where there are ships as large as yours, and cities, and wealth unbounded...

My father has an ancient enemy, Tubanama, who lives beyond the mountains fronting the other sea. From time immemorial our people have fought his people; many have been killed on either side, and many enslaved. Could we for once bring low this hated Tubanama, no sacrifice would be too dear. Be yours the gold; give us revenge.
The path is difficult, the enemy fierce. One thousand Spaniards are none too many successfully to cope with him. Prepare your army, I myself will accompany you with all the warriors of our nation; bind me fast; keep me in close custody; and if my words prove false, hang me to the nearest tree.

The report of a sea on the coast of Ciguare which Columbus had included in his letter from Jamaica was the first confused hint, Panciaco's speech the second, more concrete indication, of the eastern Pacific in the early literature of the Spanish discoveries. This was the very thing Balboa needed. Nothing was more likely to fortify his insecure position in the Tierra Firme than gold for the royal treasury and the fame of a discoverer. We know nothing of Balboa's geographical ideas; it is hardly to be assumed that he was much concerned with cosmographical speculations. He probably shared the common belief that the ocean on the other side of the isthmus was part of the Indian Ocean and that consequently the country of that chieftain Tubanamá must be in the vicinity of rich India.

A LETTER

Balboa returned to Antigua from this campaign with gold and highflying plans. But there were many reasons which for the time being prevented Balboa from carrying out his thrust to the golden coast on the other side. Again there were disputes to be settled among the colonists and battles to be fought with neighboring natives; again provisions were running short; again reports and requests had to be sent to Spain. But above all there were not enough men for the march across the isthmus. Panciaco had spoken of a thousand, and Balboa hardly had a hundred able-bodied men left at his disposal. In this emergency he wrote his famous letter of January 29, 1513, to the King. "Most Christian and Most Puissant Lord," he began his long epistle which had the double purpose of gaining Ferdinand's favor for himself and aid for the expedition he planned. He gave an impressive picture of the tremendous difficulties through which he had led his young colony ("We have valued a sack of corn higher than a bag of gold") and proudly emphasized his role as a leader ("Up to the present time I have taken care that none of my people shall go hence unless I myself go in front of them"). He described the effortful manner in which, according to what he had heard, the natives got the gold from the rivers, and told of a chieftain who "has a great place for melting gold in his house, and he has a hundred men continually working at the gold." But Balboa did not want to divulge everything he knew at once: "I have news of many other things, but I will not declare them until I know them more fully." Yet he could not refrain from lifting a corner of his secret, and so he told the King about the coast with its wealth of gold on the other side of the mountains:

The Indians say... that the other sea is at a distance of three days' journey... They tell me that there is such great store of gold collected in lumps, in the houses of the caciques of the other sea, that we should be astonished. They declare that there is much gold in very large grains in all the rivers of the other coast... They say that the people of the other coast are very good and well mannered; and I am told that the other sea is very good for canoe navigation, for that it is always smooth, and never rough like the sea on this side, according to the Indians. I believe that there are many islands in that sea.

The following were Balboa's concrete proposals to the King:

The chief requirement is that a thousand men should come from the island of Española, for those who might come direct from Castile would not be fit for much until they were accustomed to the country, for they would be lost, and we who are now here with them. It is also necessary to provide the means of building small ships for rivers, and to send pitch, nails, ropes, and sails, with some master shipwrights who understand shipbuilding.

He ended his long letter with many flattering words for the King and signed with a flourish as "the making and creation of your Highness, who kisses your most royal hands and feet, Vasco Nunez de Balboa."

At the time when King Ferdinand was about to receive this letter from Balboa, the reputation of the presumptuous conquistador was at its lowest at Court. Enciso, the deposed legal expert, had passed such withering judgment on Balboa, especially on his treatment of Nicuesa, that the King was infuriated, and Balboa's emissary Zamudio deemed it wise to disappear from Court as quickly as possible.

Then Balboa's letter arrived and rekindled Ferdinand's interest in the Tierra Firme. While the Portuguese had in the last few years been returning from their voyages to the East richly laden with treasures, the new Spanish possessions in the West had so far proved a disappointment. If Balboa was telling the truth—and the King was only too willing to believe him—a new age would at last begin. There was no time to be lost. Portugal was already knocking at
the door of eastern Asia and, according to
the common conception of the world, thus
approaching the Tierra Firme. It was im-
perative that a Spanish fleet should hurry
troops to Antigua to take possession of the
gold and pearl coast beyond the Cordilleras
before the Portuguese could reach it from
the other side. Of course, Balboa—so the
King thought—was not the man for this
job. He had received too many unfavorable
reports about him. On July 27, 1513, he
appointed Pedro Arias de Ávila—called
Pedrarias in the chronicles of his contem-
poraries—to be Governor of Golden Castile.

LA MAR DEL SUR

In that summer of 1513, Balboa did not
yet know that the King had wholly with-
drawn his favor from him and appointed a
successor. But through a letter from Spain,
probably written by Zamudio, he was ac-
quainted with the fact that his affairs stood
badly at Court. He had to reckon with the
possibility that the next ship might already
demand his dismissal and arrest. His only
hope for salvation lay in an achievement
great enough to regain him the confidence
of his king: the march to the other coast.
Fortunately for him, 150 men and provisions
had just arrived from Española. Balboa
hesitated no longer. On September 1, 1513,
he started out on his historic expedition.

During the years he had spent on the
Tierra Firme, Balboa had accumulated a
sufficient number of reports on the geog-
raphy of the isthmus to know whence he
would have the best chance for traversing
it. With some 190 Spaniards and hundreds
of natives, he sailed along the Caribbean
coast to the country of the cacique Careta,
doubtlessly because he knew that here the
isthmus was especially narrow and because
he could reckon on friendly support on the
part of his father-in-law’s tribe. It was
from here that he began his march on
September 6.

Traversing the territory first of friendly,
then of hostile Indians, Balboa led his band
under unutterable difficulties over the ridge
of the Cordilleras. Some of his men were
incapable of carrying on and were left
behind on the way in an Indian village.
One of the chieftains had told Balboa about
a mountain from the summit of which one
could see the ocean on the other side. It
was this mountain which he was approaching
with the handful of men still with him
amounting to barely seventy. For the
dramatic events which now followed, and
for the historic moment when the first
European saw the Pacific from America,
we shall let the chronicler Oviedo speak.
Arriving nine months later in the Tierra
Firme from Spain, he made use of eye-
witness reports in his description, which we
have translated below:

One Tuesday, the 26th of September of the
year 1513, at ten in the morning, the captain
Vasco Nuñez, marching at the head of all those
who were ascending a barren hill, saw from the
top of it the sea of the south [la Mar del Sur]
before any of his Christian companions who were
accompanying him, and he, very happy, turned
his face suddenly toward the people, raising his
hands and eyes to Heaven, thanking Jesus Christ
and His glorious Mother the Virgin, Our Lady;
and then he knelt down on both knees on the
ground and gave great thanks to God . . . . And
he ordered all of them who were accompanying
him also to kneel and likewise give thanks to God,
and they begged Him with great fervor that He
allow them to discover and see the great secrets
and riches which were in that sea and coasts, and
they hoped for the greater glory and growth of
the Christian faith and for the conversion of the
native Indians of these southern parts and for
much prosperity and glory for the royal seat of
Castile and for the princes thereof, present and
to come. They all did so very willingly and
eagerly, and immediately the captain ordered a
beautiful tree to be cut, and from that a high
cross was made which was placed on that same
spot and high hill whence that southern sea had
first been seen . . . . And he ordered also that all
the persons who were with him should write their
names in order that the memory of them be pre-
served, since they were the first Christians to see
that sea; all of them sang that song of the glorious
saintly doctors of the Church, Ambrosus and
Augustine; a devout cleric, called Andrés de Vera,
who was with them, also sang it with them with
tears of blissful devotion: Te Deum laudamus; Te
Dominum confitemur.

Balboa, fully aware of the historic signifi-
cance of this moment, ordered a document
to be drawn up regarding the discovery. In
it, the name of the new sea, “Mar del Sur,”
found its first documentary expression.
Balboa himself signed first, followed by
Andrés de Vera, and in the third place
appeared a name whose bloody luster was
soon to outshine that of Balboa: Francisco
Pizarro. The other 64 names followed in
turn. Then the men descended to the sea.

He arrived at the shore at the hour of vespers,
and the water was low; and he and those who
were with him sat down and waited for the high
tide because at low tide there was much and poor
walking; and as they waited, the sea rose in the
view of all, much and with great force. And as
the water arrived, the captain Vasco Nuñez in the
name of the most Serene and very Catholic King
. . . took in his hand a flag and royal pennant
of their Highnesses on which was painted the
image of the Virgin, Sancta Maria, Our Lady,
with Her precious Son, our Redeemer Jesus Christ, in Her arms, and at the foot of the image were painted the royal arms of Castile and León; and, with an unsheathed sword and a shield in his hands, he entered the water of the salty sea up to his knees and commenced to walk saying:

"Long live the most high and powerful monarchs, Don Fernando and Doña Johanna, sovereigns of Castile and León and Aragon, etc., in whose name and for the royal crown of Castile I take and seize the real and corporal and actual possession of these seas and lands and coasts and parts and southern islands with all thereto annexed kingdoms and provinces which do or may belong to them in whatever manner and for whatever reason and title it may be, ancient and modern, of times past or present or future, without any contradiction. And if any other prince or captain, Christian or infidel, or of whatever law or sect or condition he may be, claims any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and prepared to contravene him and to defend in the name of the Kings of Castile, present or future, whose is this empire and the sovereignty of those Indies, the islands and the northern and southern Tierra Firme, with their seas, as also in the arctic pole as in the antarctic, on the one and the other side of the equinocial line, within or without the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, according to which more completely all of this and each thing and part thereof belongs to their majesties and their successors, and as more fully in writing I affirm it will or can be said and alleged in favor of their royal patrimony, and now and in all times as long as the world shall last until the final universal judgment of all mortals."

While the first Spaniards thus stood on the eastern shore of the Pacific and laid claim to the whole ocean with Balboa’s enthusiastic torrent of words, their Lusitanian cousins were fortifying their own position on its western shores: Serrão made himself indispensable in Ternate (Moluccas), and in Malacca the Portuguese were making preparations for their first voyage to the Celestial Empire. The thin but irresistible lines of Iberian expansion had reached the Pacific from two sides. It was only the width of this ocean that separated Europe from full knowledge of the circumference of the earth. In seeing the part of the Gulf of Panama which was within his field of vision, did Balboa perhaps sense that he was faced here by but a tiny part of the largest of oceans, which covers half the globe? Hardly. In view of the stage of geographical conceptions of his time, it is not likely that Balboa realized the entire significance of his discovery. The very name Mar del Sur, which he chose because at the point at which he had crossed America the range of the Cordilleras happened to run for a few hundred kilometers from west to east instead of its usual north-south direction, shows to what hazards his conception of the world was subjected. Thus today we accord a far greater historical significance to his immortal achievement than Balboa could have foreseen in his boldest dreams.

Even our admiration for the purely technical aspect of his march has increased in the same measure in which the isthmus has been opened up geographically during the last few decades. Although Balboa’s sure instinct had led him to choose one of the most favorable points for his crossing of the isthmus, the difficulties offered by mountains, bogs, jungle, wild animals, disease, hunger, and oppressive heat were still gigantic. Not to mention the thousands of suspicious natives with which the isthmus swarmed and on whom the Spaniards had to rely for provisions and guides.

The next few months provided a series of adventures. Balboa explored a section of the Pacific coast. He obtained gold and especially pearls in large quantity. He saw the Pearl Islands from a distance and eagerly collected all information the local caciques could supply him with on his blue Mar del Sur. The chieftain Tumaco told him that the sea and the coast extended without end toward the south where, far, far away, there lived a great people of immeasurable wealth, which navigated the ocean and kept strange domestic animals. In explanation Tumaco modeled an animal out of clay which looked to the Spaniards like a camel but by which the cacique probably meant the llama of the Andes. Pizarro was probably present when the Spaniards were given this unmistakable reference to Peru, the future scene of his deeds.

On January 19, 1514, Balboa returned in triumph to his capital. Less than two months later, a man by the name of Pedro de Arbolancha was on his way to the King with gold, pearls, a letter from Balboa’s hand, and reports on the discovery of the Mar del Sur. By these means the conquistador hoped to gain Ferdinand’s favor and perhaps even his confirmation as Governor of Tierra Firme.

PEDRARIAS

For a few weeks the fate of America hung in the balance of chance. Had Arbolancha left for Spain immediately after Balboa’s return, the King would have found out in
time that all the aims for whose sake Pedrarias was to sail to the Tierra Firme with a costly fleet had already been attained by Balboa at no expense to the state treasury. It is quite conceivable that Ferdinand would in that case have canceled the whole Pedrarias expedition and left the successful Balboa at his post. But Arbolancha did not leave Antigua until the second week of March, and so it came about that he was still far away from Spain when Pedrarias’s armada sailed on April 11, 1514, to bring a new era to America.

When Arbolancha arrived at Court soon after with his important news and rich treasures, Balboa appeared to the King in a more favorable light than before. Ferdinand was faced by a dilemma. On the one hand, he had to ask himself whether it was right to judge so proven a man as Balboa by his former sins. Would it not be better to leave him, the specialist of the Tierra Firme, at his post for the greater glory of Spain and her King and as a spur to future discoverers? But on the other hand Pedrarias had already left and could not be recalled. The unfortunate compromise on which the King decided was to appoint Balboa “Adelantado [Governor] de la Mar del Sur” under Pedrarias without, however, any clear definition of his rights. He signed the necessary documents on September 23, 1514, but they did not arrive in Antigua until March 20 of the following year. Meanwhile, a lot of water had flowed down the Darien River there, and we must go back in our narrative to the summer of 1513.

The fact that Pedrarias de Ávila had held a high position at the Court of Castile and possessed the favor of Bishop Fonseca, who had the deciding word in American affairs, was due to the noble birth of his mother and his own activity, and the wealth of his Jewish grandfather. The date of his birth is not known; at the time of his appointment as Governor of Castilla del Oro he seems to have been in his sixties. The King must have placed full confidence in him and equipped him with far-reaching powers. Among other things, Ferdinand stipulated in orders dated July 24 and 28, 1513, that Balboa with all his companions was to be brought to trial.

Among the 1,500 men with whom Pedrarias put out to sea in April 1514 were many names which were to play an important role during the next few years in the history of the Pacific coast. But later generations which were aware of ensuing events could only shake their heads in amazement when reading the long list of cavaliers of noble blood who, in total ignorance of the tasks awaiting them, set out here for the jungles of America. Of those 1,500 there was hardly more than a handful of men who were fit to be colonists and settlers. All the others voyaged to the Tierra Firme as if they were going on a chivalrous campaign against the King of France.

At the end of June 1514 Pedrarias’s fleet cast anchor in Antigua. Several surprises awaited the noble gentlemen. Pedrarias found out that the main purpose of his expedition, the discovery of the ocean on the other side, had already been achieved six months earlier by Balboa; and his cavaliers, who had dreamed of spending their time with heroic campaigns, esteemed administrative activities, and the picking up of gold nuggets, were conscious of a chill feeling of dismay when they saw their own bitter future mirrored in the ragged, starving figures of the men of Antigua.

In all respects, however, matters went smoothly enough at first. Balboa handed over the administration without protest to his successor. In accordance with the royal command, his term of office, especially his behavior to Nicuesa, was made subject to an investigation. But Bishop Juan de Queredo—the first bishop on American soil—who had arrived with Pedrarias, persuaded the latter that it would be dangerous to send the deposed but still ambitious conquistador to the royal court in Spain. So Balboa remained in Darien.

Rivals

This was not a happy decision. It did not remain concealed for long that the two men regarded each other as bitter rivals. It is easy to understand their feelings. Balboa had by the force of his energy opened up and subjected the Tierra Firme and from one day to the next found himself degraded from a leader to an inferior. Pedrarias, an old and ailing man, saw himself, in spite of his high title, in the shadow of the far younger Balboa, who radiated health and was intimately familiar with all the problems of Golden Castile. The ensuing months did nothing to reduce their mutual distrust. The enemies the impetuous Balboa had made could count on the willing ear of Pedrarias, and those who felt critical toward the new Governor knew that they
would always find an eager listener in Balboa.

There were enough reasons for discontent. The scarcity of provisions, in conjunction with the murderous climate and tropical diseases, killed off hundreds of the new arrivals. The supplies brought by the armada did not last long; the fields previously cultivated did not produce enough for the tremendously increased number of Spaniards and fell, moreover, victim to swarms of locusts. Within seven or eight months, the number of Spaniards had shrunk to half. As for the collecting of gold and the relations with the natives, things were also in a bad way. Pedrarias's men treated even those Indians allied to the Spaniards with such inhuman cruelty that many tribes were soon in open revolt and sought to outdo their enemies inbarbaric acts of revenge.

While Balboa was thus watching his own future as well as his work in the Tierra Firme being delivered up to destruction, ships arrived from Spain on March 20, 1515, bringing provisions and the above-mentioned appointment of Balboa to the post of "Governor of the South Sea." Pedrarias now found himself in a difficult position. His in many respects superior rival had regained royal favor and had been appointed Governor of the Pacific coast, i.e., according to expectations the richest and most important part of Castilla del Oro. In his predicament, Pedrarias did the obvious thing: he tried to keep the King's order a secret from Balboa. He was not successful. The Bishop again took sides with the younger man and saw to it that the latter was handed his appointment.

The tension between Pedrarias and Balboa had now grown to be such a burden for the whole colony that the Bishop proposed an ingenious remedy: Balboa was to marry one of Pedrarias's daughters, who had stayed behind in Spain, and in this way build up a new relationship with the latter. The two rivals agreed to this proposal and made up. In a solemn ceremony, Doña Maria became Balboa's bride by proxy and he himself the son-in-law of his superior. At last the road seemed free to harmonious constructive work. By the end of 1516 all matters had been so satisfactorily settled that Balboa began with Pedrarias's consent to prepare his second expedition to the Pacific. He was drawn to his South Sea; and, since the expeditions made to the

Pacific coast during the last few years by Badajoz, Guzman, Morales, Pizarro, and Espinosa had revealed the great difficulties involved in marching along the coast, he intended to carry out his discoveries by ship. He made the curious decision to fell trees for shipbuilding on the Caribbean instead of on the Pacific coast, probably because he regarded the timber on the northern slopes of the Cordilleras as more suitable and because he wanted to make use of his period of waiting for the arrival of necessary reinforcements in the town of Acla, which had meanwhile been founded. His haste was caused not only by his own impetuosity but also by an agreement with Pedrarias.

The business of carrying the timber across the mountains to the upper reaches of a river flowing into the Bay of Panama was a tremendous one. Balboa's patience and endurance were sorely tested. Hundreds of natives perished as a result of the heavy work. A lot of timber got lost in the transportation; part of it was made useless by insects; another part was swept away by the river during a flood. Added to this there were diseases, stifling heat, lack of provisions—in truth, the first fleet built by white men on the shores of the Pacific was born in agony. But in the end Balboa's iron will triumphed. The first Spanish ships sailed down the river into the blue Pacific. On the Pearl Islands, Balboa established his headquarters for his future expeditions. The rest of his men followed, more ships were built, and the whole of the Pacific coast of America, with the gold of Peru and the pearls of California, was waiting to be discovered. Balboa seemed to be standing on the threshold of his greatest deeds.

THE FALL

During the years in which Balboa struggled first with Pedrarias and then with the Cordilleras, certain incidents had taken place in Spain which were to affect the further course of events. King Ferdinand had died in 1516. His grandson and successor Charles received more and more complaints against Pedrarias, chiefly over the revolting cruelty of his officers toward the natives, until the King decided to replace Pedrarias by the Governor of the Canary Islands. Although this appointment did not become official until the spring of 1519, rumors of the imminent change of governors reached the ears of Balboa on the Pearl Islands at the
very time when he was making preparations for his first long Pacific voyage, which might possibly have taken him to Peru.

Balboa was in a dilemma. On the one hand, he had long overstepped the time granted him by Pedrarias for his discoveries, thus incurring the latter's displeasure. On the other hand, his future under a new governor was very uncertain. Since he was determined not to be deterred from his voyage of discovery by anything, he figured out a plan by which he hoped to provide against both possibilities. He sent some of his followers to Acla to obtain information. Should they find that Pedrarias was still Governor, Balboa planned to carry out his South Sea voyage in spite of his time having expired, as he thought he could count on the subsequent indulgence of his father-in-law. Should Pedrarias, however, have been deposed, the messengers were to return with the trumped-up news that Balboa had been appointed Governor of Tierra Firme. In that case, his men would not hesitate to accompany him on his great voyage. And once he had returned from his expedition with gold and new discoveries, he hoped—that—as in the case of his first discovery of the South Sea—his success would speak for him again and cause his disobedience to be forgotten. But things turned out quite differently.

Pedrarias nurtured a growing suspicion against his son-in-law, as he had heard rumors about an impending mutiny and had intercepted a letter in which one of Balboa's friends advised him to undertake his South Sea voyage without bothering about Pedrarias. The men sent to Acla were arrested. The conspiracy came to light. The Governor, who himself hastened to Acla, wrote Balboa a letter ordering him to come there too. Balboa obeyed, perhaps because he was afraid that an open breach with the highest representative of the King in the Tierra Firme would deter his own men from further connections with him and from the voyage to the South Sea; he may also have hoped to be able to placate his father-in-law. On his way across the isthmus he met with a detachment led by Pizarro, who arrested him in the name of Pedrarias and took him back to Acla as a prisoner. On January 12, 1519, the legal investigation of Balboa's case was concluded. Upon the judge's question whether the case should be referred to Spain, Pedrarias replied in the negative. Thereupon judgment was pronounced: for high treason, Balboa and four of his conspirators were to be beheaded. A few days later, the sentence was carried out on the plaza of Acla.

The fact that Balboa was snatched from the midst of his historical mission had far-reaching consequences. Had he remained alive and in his position of Adelantado of the South Sea, he would probably have soon found the route to Peru. The history of the Pacific coast of South America might have taken a different course under him from under Pizarro. But just as he once deprived Nicuesa of the glory of discovering the Pacific, so was he now deprived by Pedrarias and Pizarro of the chance of discovering Peru. But even without Peru, Balboa is assured of his immortality. Pedrarias's behavior toward him is understandable both from a psychological as well as a legal point of view, but this does not make the figure of this suspicious, bitter old man any more attractive. In the opinion of Bancroft, the American historian, the two rivals were like the radiant Balder and sinister Loki of ancient myths.

**Cop Copped**

In Chicago, Patrolman Lynn Scott, author of a manual on the proper behavior of policemen, was arrested for attempting to sell stolen ration books.
The boy Yoshko stood on the wharf. He was staring out across the foaming waves toward the distant horizon. From behind him came the noise of the town, built around the ruins of Diocletian's palace. He hated the town. All his longing went out to his distant home.

Suddenly his heart was racked with pain. He turned and moved toward the hill that rises near the harbor. And hardly had he felt the first stone steps under his feet when he began to hurry. Taking two steps at a time, he dashed up toward the top. He felt as if he were flying.

At the top, he stood very straight, shading his eyes with his hand, and looked. In the blue-gray distance, beyond the wide sea, covered by mist, swam the island, almost hidden by the heavy bulk of other islands, yet discernible to a sharp eye—the island that was his home. Longingly, voraciously, his eyes took in the hazy outlines. Like a mountain the island of Ala lay in the water. He recognized the range in which his home town was embedded, he burned with desire to see the stone town house of his parents—but the island was too far.

Are the kids playing now? he thought. Where are they playing? In the downstairs room? Has the maid put Tonko and Marinko on the donkey to take them along to the cathedral square when she fetches water! Yoshko closed his eyes. He visualized the cathedral square—almost like a beautiful hall, with a stone floor and noble stone walls, quiet and high; only the clapping of the donkey's hoofs and the rattling of the buckets was to be heard; on the edge of the well sat a soldier, on sentry duty... he was joking softly with the women.

What is Father doing? Yoshko went on in his dreaming. He is sitting at the marble-topped table at the café, reading the paper... or has he gone out shooting or fishing? Ah, that he could not be there! That he knew nothing, nothing here in this place, where he was a stranger! And Mother!

They had told him that she was sick. Sick! Mother? Never! Impossible, he decided. Never during his whole life—Yoshko was fourteen years old—had she been sick.

But why, why would they not let him go home? Christmas holidays, the holidays he had been longing for so ardently, had begun. He was free! Then suddenly he was told: you can't go home yet. Stay. Why? Your father wishes you to. Why?!

Again he stared across to his island home, the island of which so much belonged to his father. He could make out nothing, not even the Napoleonic fortress high up on the mountain, much less his father's vineyards with their olive groves.

Had the house in the vineyards burned down? Had the sheep been taken ill? Had Father had an accident? And suddenly he was seized by the determination: he wanted to go home. I am the oldest son! He quickly ran down the steps and hastily examined the sailing ships on the right-hand side of the harbor. His eyes moved from ship to ship—there must be one, at least one, from home among them! From Makarska and Almissa, from San Pietro and San Martino, from the smallest islands far out to sea there were large and small sail-
boats bobbing about on the water. But none from home!

At last! The furthest of the vessels, a strong, large ship lying by itself some distance away from the wharf: that belonged to Rodich, he recognized it at once. And on the quay stood the owner, his son beside him.

"Are you sailing home?" Yoshko asked, coming up to him quickly with a greeting. "Today?" The ship was loaded with potatoes and seemed ready to leave. Yes, they were going to sail after dark.

"Would you let me go along with you?"

"It is cramped and dirty, but you're welcome to come, young master," said the boatman.

Yoshko ran off. He was burning with eagerness to fetch his things. The boat would not sail till evening, and now it was noon. But he wanted to get on board as soon as possible—it was like a bit of home. Suddenly he stopped and ran back to Rodich.

"Is my father all right?" he asked, all out of breath.

"I haven't heard anything about his being ill."

"Have any of the houses burned down over there?"

The boatman crossed himself: "For five years there hasn't been a fire in the town, praise be to Mary!"

"Has nothing changed since I went away?"

"The world is still standing, young master!" laughed the man good-naturedly.

Yoshko turned away again. Why was he not supposed to go home? His steps became slower, while once again he pondered over his father's mysterious order. At this moment, he was conscious of being stopped. In front of him stood Mariya, touching his arm. "Are you sailing home?" she asked softly, hesitatingly, "today?"

He nodded, embarrassed.

"Yoshko!" she said more emphatically now. "Give my love to my old mother! She is living in the town now, next door to the Leporinis."

"Yes, of course!" the boy replied. He did not look at Mariya and made as if to move on. But she would not let him go.

"Wait a minute," she said, pulling out a little golden chain which she held out to him. "Take the necklace with you," she begged him, "it's for the child living with my mother."

Yoshko looked at the ground.

"Please!" Mariya beseeched him.

At that he picked the chain out of her cool hand and quickly went away.

Is it her child who is to have the necklace? he thought uneasily. Did she have a child and no husband? It seemed terrible to him, and sinister, the way children were born. He quickened his steps to run away from his thoughts.

In his small room at the teacher's wife's he quietly packed his clothes and belongings and managed to get away with his suitcase without being seen. Hours before sailing time he was already on board. He sat there impatiently and would have liked to ask again and again: "How much longer?" "Are we sailing soon?" But his young pride prevented him. Silently he sat there, staring across the sea in the direction where his home lay.

At last the outlines of the islands and of the mainland vanished in the early winter dusk. At last Rodich the boatman, who had been sleeping, got up. At last his son returned from the town. The anchor was weighed, sails were set, and the ship slipped out into the night, gurgling softly. They soon got under way, a favorable north wind driving them along.

Never before had he returned home on a simple sailing boat. But the steamer only left twice a week, and he couldn't wait. It was wonderful, this secret return at night on the bobbing vessel!

Passing by the islands, they sailed out into the open sea. The wind died down.
The boatmen lit their pipes, made Yoshko sit down between them, and huddled close together—it was getting cold. The stars were twinkling, little waves gently slapped the side of the ship; a steamer with lights was hurrying across the sea in the distance. Silence, deep silence spread all around. The men, stimulated by Yoshko’s eager questions, talked in low voices of distant journeys and foreign lands, and the boy listened spellbound.

They all began to feel hungry; they ate white bread and drank a dark, purplish wine out of wooden tumblers. It made Yoshko tired. He swayed into the smoky cabin and quickly fell asleep, although bothered by insects and disturbed by the jerking of the rudder chain.

A few hours later, Yoshko was woken by the rattle of the anchor being let down. In the shelter of the harbor the ship stopped at the wharf. Home!

Silent and dark, his home town lay before him. Then the bells rang for early mass, and here and there a light appeared in a window. Yoshko felt at peace.

“Come along with us to the Cathedral!” the boatman said. “You can’t go home just now and wake up everybody.” And Yoshko went along. The church was a blaze of light and full of people.

Once a year, in Advent, just before Christmas, a service is held on Ala for the poor. The holy stories are told in the Slavic tongue of the people. This was what was happening that morning. In humble devotion, the crowd was listening to the tales of wonder. The Savior had been a child of the poor, as they themselves were. He had loved the poor; He promised to redeem them. His words of promise still sounded full of life and power. Faces radiant with trust were listening to the message of bliss.

Yoshko was one of the many to hear the miracle. He saw the shepherds clearly before him, no different from his father’s shepherds in the olive grove. The angels appeared to him in person. He listened to the tale of the Three Wise Men and loudly joined in the refrain. Suddenly, a few rows in front of him, he saw Bara, the oldest of the maids in his father’s house. He craned to look—wasn’t his mother sitting beside her? But no! Father and Mother never went to the people’s mass.

Impatiently he murmured the closing prayer. He was the first to rush out of the Cathedral. Outside it was still dark. They would all still be asleep at home. But now he couldn’t wait any longer; the house was not locked—joy rose in his cheeks.

He went in, lit a few candles, sat down at the piano, and played all the carols he knew as loud as he could. His four younger brothers immediately came rushing down from the floor above, still warm from their beds, barefoot and in their nightshirts. They tumbled all over him with shouts of joy and added to the hubbub.

“Where’s Mother?” cried Yoshko. At that the shouting suddenly died down, and the ten-year-old brother answered softly:

“Mother and Father are at the vineyard house. Yoshko—I don’t know why...”

Why had they gone away now, just before Christmas! Why to the vineyard house! Yoshko couldn’t make it out.

Then Bara returned from the Cathedral with the nursemaid. Speechless, they stared at the boy who had come home.

“What’s the matter with Mother?”

“She is ill,” said the nursemaid.

“Not so very ill,” said Bara, “she’s really quite well!” Yoshko’s impatience grew.

“Ill—not so very ill? What do you both mean? Are we spending Christmas this year at the vineyard? Or are Mother and Father coming back? Is she ill or isn’t she?”

“Uncle Vidrich is out there,” said Bara, “he’s hunting with the master.” Vidrich was the doctor.

Yoshko took a candle and went out to the stable. He called the black donkey fondly by its name, saddled it and mounted. In vain did the maids run along beside him, in vain did they try to keep him back with wails and threats: he went on riding, impervious and with a stern face—to his parents. The donkey had not had any fodder, the servants whined, and he himself no breakfast! Yoshko trotted along the dark street. His father would be angry; he would punish him severely! Yoshko rode on.
His shout was swallowed up by the thundering of the waves. The boat went on rocking quietly. Father fished on undisturbed, Uncle Vidrich seemed to be staring lazily into the water.

He called out once more, piercingly, as loud as he could—in vain. He listened. Nothing.

Then—what was that? He heard a muffled scream. Yoshko screwed up his eyes to see better. He peered hard, he wanted to wave—but he saw that the men in the boat had not moved. It was not they who had called. Then again there came the cry, softly, hardly audible.

Where did the sound come from? Holding his breath, tensely, the boy listened to the silence which had spread again. Then, for the third time, came the scream. But now he knew: that was not how his father called; nor his uncle. No shepherd boy, no wine-grower, screamed like that. No human being! But he also knew: the scream came from the house.

Murder! he thought, horrified to the depths of his soul. For decades no crime had been committed on the island, he knew that. But only a human being in the most frightful distress could scream like that—and his mother must be in such distress!

He let go of the donkey, dashed down the path, stood still to listen, heard nothing, raced on; desperately gasping for breath he reached the house—and there it was again. His blood still pulsing violently, Yoshko stood at the door. In haste he tried to collect his thoughts; but he was already seized by an urgent presentiment. He thrust open the door, and in a flash he understood. That which he had never seen, never experienced, never really known, he now suddenly comprehended. His mother was lying on her bed in labor. He fell on his knees where he stood and buried his face in his hands.

Trembling he lay at the bottom of a collapsing, vanishing world... quivering he groped for support...

Then something familiar penetrated his ear: his mother's voice, kind and human. Although it came very softly, as if from a swollen mouth, it was audible and clear.
His mother, a moment before a tortured female creature, was once again his mother. With a sigh of relief she said: "God has sent you, Yoshko! Come closer, Yoshko, come."

Still half out of his mind, he staggered to his feet, staggered toward her, but fell down beside her bed and buried his face in the tumbled pillows.

"You must not be frightened," she now said pleadingly, her voice a little firmer, and gently laid her damp, trembling hand on his. "The time hasn't come yet, Yoshko!"

And then, quite calmly and with tender assurance, she went on: "Go now, child. Light a fire in the stove. A good fire with plenty of wood, take dry wood only. Fill the big kettle with clean water from the spring above and put it on the fire."

He dashed half stupefied, gathered up wood in the shed, threw down the load at the wrong place in his excitement, picked it up again. At last it was built up in the stove.

"I am the only man in the house," he said to himself, two, three, four times. "Everything depends on me!"

His mother lay with her eyes closed—he could see it. Was she asleep? No! Now she was speaking again. He ran to her and knelt down again beside her bed, eager to help. Her eyes turned toward him—with difficulty, so it seemed to him—and rested on him, shining damply.

"Yoshko," she said softly, "it is God's will that you should become a man early. I ought not to have left Bara in town, but I did not think it would come so soon. Father has gone fishing with Uncle Vidrich."

She asked him to do a few more little things for her. He hurried back and forth between cupboard and table, between bed and fire. In between he fetched water in the jug to fill the big kettle.

Then his mother spoke to him again. "Run to Perkovich's! Or no—to Antich's, that's the nearest! I can't wait any longer. Tell them to send a woman, Yoshko, any woman—a girl, for all I care—but hurry! And call Father, if you can."

"I can't!" said Yoshko in despair, as he sprang to the door. As he left, he heard his mother whisper: "Pray for me, my son!"

Yoshko ran for a quarter of an hour without stopping. It had sounded so terribly serious, what Mother had said last. She was lying there all alone. . . . His legs seem to fly.

No smoke! He saw this as soon as Antich's house came in sight. Wild fear struck him: suppose Antich, too, were at mass with all his people? He squeezed the last ounce of strength out of his lungs and shouted before he got there: "Antich! Mara!!!" He flung himself into the house. Nothing. Empty. No fire in the stove. Only a cat. . . .

In despair, Yoshko broke into sobs. Then, pulling himself together, he ran off again: to Perkovich's. He almost suffocated from lack of breath. He had to stop. But whips seemed to be driving him on every time he paused: Mother! Mother must have help!

At Perkovich's—yes, there was smoke! But only an old, paralyzed woman was sitting by the hearth.

"I'm Yoshko. . . my mother . . . someone has to come . . .!"

No movement showed in the dull, ancient face.

And he raced back.

Perhaps an hour had passed when he saw the house again in which his mother was lying. And now he heard her scream again.

"No one there! Mother! Mother! Not at Antich's nor at Perkovich's."

With parched lips his mother whispered: "Virgin Mary, plead for me!" And after a while, as if from the remoteness of death, her eyes still dim with horror: "You must fetch Father, Yoshko, you must!"

Yoshko rushed out of the house again, determined to jump into the sea and swim across. But alas, the boat had meanwhile drifted out, far out. At this moment of utmost despair Yoshko had an idea. In frantic haste he picked up an armful of dry wood and carried it up the rocky height near the house. He plucked a burning brand out of the stove, lit a fire on the rocks, threw on it all everything burnable he could find nearby, fetched more wood.

He felt a great relief. The strong smoke was being driven out to sea. Father would smell it, would know: a fire would never be lit up here without a special reason.
Yoshko stood and stared out tensely... Now? Now? Was the boat moving now? Not yet? Then it started to move.

"Mother, Mother! They're coming. Father's coming!" And he ran to the top again to pull apart the fire. Then he knelt down and prayed. He prayed wordlessly; his whole being ardently implored God to let this awful thing end well.

His mother was now screaming almost without pause. After a long, seemingly endless time the screaming suddenly stopped. Profound silence.

Inexpressible gratitude suddenly filled the boy, and he threw himself on the ground, sobbing with weariness and exhaustion. A few minutes later he was asleep.

Yoshko slept for many hours. His father came to look for him, but when he found him asleep he only spread his coat over him and went back to the house. The ground had already grown cold when his father roused him toward evening. Slowly he followed his father to the house. The flickering light of the fire in the stove was playing over the darkening walls of the large room. From the direction of his mother's bed came the whimpering of a thin voice, like the mewing of a young cat.

Yoshko stood beside the cradle, stiff and aloof, looking down at the newborn child without gentleness. His mother softly called him to her side.

"Yoshko," she said, as he approached, "it is a girl!" He looked at his mother. Her strong face with its firm chin had become soft, the outlines blurred in pain and delight. Had Yoshko ever seen her cry? He could not remember. Now tears were running down her cheeks. In embarrassment he looked away.

"I'm hungry!" he finally said, in a determined tone of voice. Someone gave him a bowl of gruel, and he scooped it up with a spoon.

Yoshko was not punished, nor was he praised. But Father spoke to him differently from before. The distance between father and son seemed to have diminished. The boy was now treated almost like a man. Slowly his heart filled with pride.

On the following day his mother called him again. "Yoshko—it is a girl!" she said blissfully. The features of her familiar face were once again firm and clear. Yoshko looked at the infant, which the mother was openly holding to her breast: it wasn't ugly any more—a little human being, well shaped and miraculous.

"I would like you to be her godfather, Yoshko," his mother said quietly. "Without your help we might both of us have died, the baby and I. I want you to watch over her for me."

Yoshko blushed with pride. His father came up and approved of the plan. Then he proposed that Yoshko should make preparations in town for Christmas and the christening. Nothing could have been a greater honor to the boy! In ten days the double celebration was to take place. By then Mother would be well again, everybody would come—it would be glorious!

Yoshko rode back on the black donkey. This time the donkey had been fed and groomed. On the way he met Bara. "You see?" she said, "didn't I tell you? Your father is sending you back!"

Yoshko straightened himself on the animal's back and laughed, laughed till his whole face shone with joy.

"What are you laughing at, you silly boy?" said Bara. "Isn't he sending you back?"

"Yes!" replied Yoshko. "Yes! Yes!" and rode on. Not until they were some distance apart did he turn round and yell: "Hurry up, old woman! Hurry up! Mother has given birth to a girl!" And he gloated over her amazement.

He reached the town. Unexpectedly he read the name Leporini on a grocer's signboard. He suddenly remembered dark-haired Mariya, her necklace and her child. Oh, why ever had he been so ill at ease when he had agreed to her little request? He was a little ashamed of his shame of the day before yesterday.

When he knocked, an old, rather helpless woman came out with a frail, dirty child on her arm. For a long time she did not understand him. He had to shout his brief message in her ear. Finally
she grasped it, and then she would not let go of him with her questions and gratitude.

A grown man with miraculous strength, he strode among his brothers at their play. They received him with surprise; he stood there for a while looking down at them, lost in thought. Shyly they asked him: “Will you play with us?” That woke him up. “I am busy. Shopping, inviting, making calls, fixing up things”—They stared incomprehendingly, and Yoshko laughed happily:

BOOK REVIEW

Das Sutra Vimalakirti (The Vimalakirti Sutra), translated into German from the Japanese manuscript of Kunene Kozan by Jakob Fisher and Yokota Takezo. (Tokyo, 1944, The Hokusio Press, 154 pp., Yen 7.30.)

This translation into German of the Vimalakirti-Nirdesa (The Vimalakirti Sutra on Redemption) was published as a commemorative issue of one of the numerous associations founded in Japan for the study of German language and culture. As the Sanskrit original of this work has been lost, the German text is based on a Chinese translation from the original and a Japanese translation from a Tibetan translation.

Considered from the point of view of the efforts being made to open up the Buddhist literature to the world public, the appearance of every new sutra in a European language is, without doubt, a happy event. Since the dawn of Schopenhauer's study of Indian spiritual treasures, these efforts have been continued with great perseverance, although with inevitable intervals. At first it was the Pali literature which attracted the translators, but now attention is apparently being centered on the Mahayana literature, the positive or negative value of which is still very little known. Unlike the Pali suttas, the Mahayana sutras consist less of philosophical ethical teachings than of ideas of a poetical pantheistic superdimensional world of wonders. The sutra which has been translated here is based on the idea of "nonduality," i.e., the suspension of the contrast between activity and destruction (in Nirvana), an idea which is regarded as the key to "enlightened action." The Mahayana world reveals itself here to be turned actively toward life, in contrast to the spirit of the Pali doctrine, which is based entirely on renunciation of the world.

It is to be regretted that the present edition, attractive as it is in its make-up, is not free of misprints, one of which is even to be found on the title page. The phonetic transcriptions of the original languages follow various systems, a circumstance which, it must be admitted, can hardly be avoided, especially in the case of quotations. The German diction—style as well as grammar—could be improved upon. The great German translators, Grosheide, Neumann, Seiden-stuecker, Nyantatoka, Dhalke, Franke—have already created a certain terminology for the Buddhist world of ideas which has not been taken sufficiently into consideration in the present work.

Nevertheless, we must fully acknowledge the merit claimed by the authors in their Table of Translations on pp. vi-viii, namely, of having made the first translation into a European language of this sutra so widely known in Mahayana countries.


Not until he was seventy years old did Confucius tackle the study of the I-ching, one of the most difficult texts of world literature and, to us Westerners, the strangest of Chinese classics. Even a good translation conveys to the layman the impression of a most complicated mystery. Wilhelm not only lifts this veil: he elucidates the connection between this amazing store of belief and thought of the Chinese and their history, their philosophy, and even their daily worries. By careful scrutiny of the different parts of the text, he lays bare the very roots of the Chinese conception of the Great Change, which governs all life and all events, and of the two forces of Heaven and Earth, creation and conception, which bring about birth and growth. Before our eyes he builds up the trigrams and the hexagrams with their numerical finesse and their complicated but logical interplay of meanings. As the laws governing Nature and Man unfold, we understand why this book, comprising the wisdom of some of China's best thinkers, should be thought capable of answering the questions of those troubled by weighty decisions. It has become an oracle, invested with the power to solve problems, by bringing them in connection with what appears from the outside to be a mere coincidence.

The author of Die Wandlung has a flair for striking quotations, and his interpretations are a revelation to the reader. His language is scientific German at its best: not easy, but clear and richly modulated, a pleasure to read or hear.

Behind this little volume towers like a mighty background the imposing mass of the original text with the whole literature concerned. As we feel that the author has fully mastered this intricate subject, we follow him with confidence into the unknown.—E.C.
**SHANGHAI, DECEMBER 1944**

**THE AMERICANS AND THE WORLD**

By **KLAUS MEHNERT**

The most important conceptions of the political future of the world are those of Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the USA. Then there are those of Great Britain and of the medium-sized and small states. The German and Japanese conceptions are well known to all those living in Axis territories. As for the Soviet ideology, we have subjected this to an analysis in our article “Stalin the Historian” (October 1944). In the following pages we shall deal with the attitude of the Americans on the basis of extensive and recent material.

Since its coming into being as an independent state, the United States has, as a result of its geographical position, had three possible choices for its foreign policy: isolation, imperialism, and world co-operation. In American history, all three of these possibilities have played a role; indeed, one might say that they are latent in every American. The country’s foreign policy depended on which of the three principles predominated at the time. Woodrow Wilson represented world co-operation. From 1919 to 1938, the isolationist mood dominated and was expressed, for example, by the neutrality legislation of the thirties. When under Roosevelt’s influence America took an active part again in world politics, the people themselves followed hesitantly. After Pearl Harbor, isolationism disappeared.

At first, many Americans actually regarded the war as an altruistic crusade against evil, and they enjoyed the feeling of a common cause with the United Nations. Just as at the outbreak of a war the individual cheerfully joins the ranks of his nation, so the Americans, after twenty years of isolation, were uplifted by the feeling of being part of a world community. They felt the urge to glorify their partners and enthusiastically did so. England, which they had so often regarded with distrust, now became the “tight little island” which had heroically withstood the German onslaught; even the Bolsheviks, whom they had hated for two and a half decades, turned into heroes and glorious allies. In 1917 the United States had entered the Great War under the slogans of “The War to End All Wars” and “Make the World Safe for Democracy.” Twenty-five years later these slogans were not employed as such, but in principle the feeling was much the same.

But three years have passed since Pearl Harbor and the Battle of Moscow.

**IMPERIAL BRITAIN**

The Americans have discovered that, instead of the experiences of 1940 and 1941 chastening the British, the latter have remained the same egocentric imperialists America knew before. The attitude of London toward India and the Near East, in particular, has led to much tension. As long as the English were on their last legs, the Americans were prepared to disregard the cost of saving them. Today, however, the American taxpayers do not see why they should finance the further existence of the Empire without any compensation. In their eyes, for instance, the cession of British bases in the Western Hemisphere in return for American lives and goods would be no more than fair. And if Churchill said in spring: “There is not the slightest question of any cession of British territory—not the slightest,” the Americans know that this was addressed to them, and they resent it.

The two publications which have done much to crystallize the American distrust of England are Wendell Willkie’s *One World,*
with its accusation of British imperialism, and that much-quoted editorial in Life of October 12, 1942, which clearly expressed that which most Americans were already feeling (see Appendix).

THE SINISTER BEAR

America went to war against the idea she had formed of Germany and against the claim to European hegemony that she believed to see embodied in Germany. For some time now, she has begun to realize that, in the case of victory, she will be faced by a claim to world hegemony in the form of the Soviet Union. The illusion that Stalin's intentions were limited and that all he wanted to do was to drive out the Germans from the Soviet Union, in order to be able to devote himself again to the welfare of his subjects, has received crushing blows. Just as England was closest to the hearts of the Americans in the days of Dunkirk, so the Soviet Union was at the peak of its popularity in the USA during the weeks of Stalingrad. Today, however, when the Red flag is waving over large parts of Eastern Europe and the Russians are making not the least provision for a halt in their advance, the old suspicion of the Red peril is rearing its head again. With consternation the Americans are looking on while Stalin, paying no heed whatever to the Atlantic Charter, and not bothering to ask anyone else's opinion or to enter upon discussions, is steadily pursuing the path which he deems the right one and which the Americans are coming more and more to dislike.

The Americans used to claim that, in dealing with Hitler, there was only one choice: endless appeasement or force. Now they have realized that this actually applies to their relations with Stalin, and that they must either let him have his way or oppose him with force. No wonder that in America one hears more and more mention of a third world war, among others from the mouths of Henry Wallace, Wendell Willkie, Sumner Welles, William Bullitt, and Norman Thomas. The words of those who, like Karl H. von Wiegand and Demaree Bess, have raised their voices in warning of the Soviet Union, are being paid more heed than a year or two ago. "Is it not tragicomic," wrote the New York Mirror a few weeks ago, "to see Russia as our partner while the mouth of the Russian bear is dripping with Polish and Finnish blood and its rapacious claws are stretching from Alaska to England's throat?" The Soviet press is indicating growing concern over the American criticism of the USSR; and Time reports the symptomatic fact that Cornell University, whose Russian Department was hitherto in the hands of professors with Communist leanings, invited the journalist William Henry Chamberlin, well known for his critical attitude toward the Soviet Union, to give lectures during the past summer term.

In December 1943 the USA and the USSR concluded an agreement according to which America would grant the Soviets a 10-billion-dollar postwar credit, chiefly in the form of industrial plants. At first the American business world hailed this plan as an important step toward combating unemployment in postwar America. But it was not long before the first doubts began to appear. Walter Bossard, the Washington correspondent of the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, reported that the American experts examining the orders planned by the Russians found that these orders went far beyond the requirements of actual reconstruction. "Not without anxiety," wrote Bossard, "is the question being weighed as to whether Russia, whose labor is far cheaper than American labor, may not within a comparatively short time appear as an unwelcome competitor, especially on the Asiatic markets." Hence there was little mention in American trade journals of recent months about the 10-billion-dollar credit. First they spoke of 5, then of 3, and most recently even of only 1 billion dollars. And the time can be foreseen when the fact that a large part of the Soviet industry was destroyed by the war will fill the Americans with a feeling less of pity than of relief.

PANGS OF CONSCIENCE

The press and radio of America have during the last two years become more and more critical toward Chungking, and during 1944 the American journalists reported little that was good from Chungking. While the Chungking Government is being called undemocratic and corrupt, the reports cabled home by American journalists last summer about their prolonged stay in the Communist parts of China were filled with praise. The professorial manner in which the American short-wave radio seeks to advise Chungking every day represents a continuous interference in Chungking's domestic affairs. The recall of General Stilwell and departure of Ambassador Gauss have openly revealed the existing conflict.
The long series of defeats suffered by the Chungking armies during the last few months is causing anxiety to the Americans, who are plagued by a guilty conscience toward China. And when we have a guilty conscience toward someone, this generally does not make him any more likeable to us. On the contrary, we look for anything to assuage our conscience and emphasize the unfavorable traits in the other in order to take comfort in the thought: he isn’t worth being treated differently.

NO SANTA CLAUS

As a heritage from the unpaid debts of the first World War, the Americans have retained a justified suspicion that they will not be paid the debts of World War II either. In the first exuberance of their war enthusiasm they gave little thought to this; nor were the amounts involved very large. Meanwhile, however, they have mounted to many billions, and the early enthusiasm has cooled off. Americans are beginning to worry whether Uncle Sam is not being played for a sucker or regarded as Santa Claus by the United Nations. In October, Congressman A. L. Miller voiced the suspicion that the 10-billion-dollars’ worth of Lend-Lease deliveries would never be paid back by the British who, by figuring every slightest British delivery or help, even in England, as “reverse Lend-Lease,” consider their debts as already more or less canceled.

When Roosevelt made his report to Congress on Lend-Lease activities in August 1943, it contained a cautious intimation that the Allies would not have to repay this debt. But Congress and the public responded so antagonistically to this that Roosevelt quickly retracted, declaring he knew nothing about the disputed paragraph and that it had probably been inserted through the negligence of a secretary.

THE EUROPEAN JUNGLE

The feeling toward Europe has also changed. When they entered the war, the Americans had figured out things very nicely: the Germans would be defeated, Europe would be liberated, and everything would be fine. Instead of which they are now beginning to realize that everything is going quite differently. In southern and central Italy there is a depressing chaos from which so far only the Bolsheviks have benefited; in the Balkans the Soviets seem to have come to stay; and France and Belgium are disrupted by internal conflicts.

The American is accustomed in his vast continent without traditions to tackle things according to the maxims of common sense. Europe is to him a jungle of traditions, ideologies, and contradictions which tire him out, annoy him, and make him long for the wide open spaces of his own continent. Add to this the American’s increasingly guilty conscience toward Europe on seeing how, with the aid of his armies and his Lend-Lease goods, Stalin is dying one piece of Europe red after another. The reaction is, as in the case of China, to run down the object of the guilty conscience: Europe is a hopeless case, say the Americans the more distasteful they find the job of “liberating” Europe. May the devil or Stalin take the Europeans, the whole lot of them! They don’t deserve any better!

EXIT WILLKIE

The contest between the late Wendell Willkie and Thomas E. Dewey for the Republican Presidential nomination supplied an interesting barometer of the mood in America. Willkie, whom Time called “Wendell (me too) Willkie,” because he imitated Roosevelt on all essential points, had committed himself to an idealistic international co-operation in his utterances, and had adhered to this even after Roosevelt had long abandoned it. His series of articles appearing in a large number of newspapers in June 1944 culminated in the words:

Our sovereignty is not something to be hoarded, but something to be used. The United States should use its sovereignty in cooperation with other powers to create an effective international organization for the good of all. Small nations should have a say; their destiny should not be decided by the great powers. The Republican platform should state the conviction that, Mr. Churchill to the contrary, the ideologies for which we fight have not become blurred for us... We are fighting a war for freedom... not only at home but everywhere in the world.

Dewey, on the other hand, did not commit himself to any definite foreign policy. It is true that, in order not to appear as an isolationist, he made a few statements expressing his willingness to support international co-operation. But he did this in an incomparably more cautious form than Willkie; and the foreign-policy plank of the Republican Party was purposely kept extremely vague.

When Willkie, after his ignominious defeat at the Wisconsin Primaries in April, with-
drew from the race, *Time* wrote (17.4.44): “Everyone suddenly realized that this was a most significant election—most important occasion since Pearl Harbor. . . . Wisconsin had clearly voted no confidence in global good will and foreign policy of generalities. They had voted against the ‘crusade’ kind of internationalism.” And the internationally minded *New York Times* wrote sadly that with Willkie “the only able Republican” had withdrawn from the campaign.

Dewey’s victory over Willkie was a proof of America’s disillusionment over world politics; and among the millions who gave their vote to Dewey on November 7 there were many who did so because they knew that he wanted to be President of the United States and not a world messiah.

Another symptom of the change in American feeling is Roosevelt’s attitude. Roosevelt has often been compared with Woodrow Wilson. But in character they are as different as can be. Wilson was a professor with his head in the clouds who failed miserably when he attempted to cling to his ideals. Roosevelt is a thoroughly accomplished politician who, for reasons of political expediency, likes to act the part of an idealist without being one. His velvet glove hides a deliberate imperialism. Just as he has turned the majority of the Central and South American states into vassals of the USA by his so-called “Good Neighbor” policy, so he would like by means of an apparently altruistic policy to make large parts of the world dependent on Washington.

Time and again, Roosevelt has shown himself to be a master of psychology. Three years ago he won the hearts of the Americans for himself and his plans by the idealistic formulations of the Atlantic Charter, in which he himself, being the shrewd realist he is, can never have believed. Today he is trying to exploiting the disillusionment of the nation for his world plans. Those of his friends and collaborators who, like Henry Wallace and Sumner Welles, had committed themselves too strongly to the idea of altruistic world cooperation, were ruthlessly thrown overboard; and since 1943 the strains of the Atlantic Charter are no longer to be heard in his public utterances.

**WHY “UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER”?!**

Symptomatic of Roosevelt’s attitude is the “unconditional surrender” thesis. “Unconditional surrender is an American idea,” wrote the London *Observer* a few months ago, “dating from the U.S. Civil War, a conflict in which one side or the other had to give in completely. Europe offers no U.S. parallel.” Stalin has never agreed to this thesis and has ostentatiously chosen another path in his negotiations with Rumania and Finland. Churchill, too, has been cautious. The “unconditional surrender” thesis belongs to Roosevelt. He first formulated it in Casablanca, and he re-emphasized it in mid-August 1944.

Roosevelt has often been reproached in the Allied camp with forcing the German and Japanese nations to a fanatical resistance by this thesis, thus prolonging the war. It has been suggested that, like Wilson, he should have either persuaded part of the enemy population by means of friendly peace prospects to discontinue the war or attempted to shorten the war by a reasonable negotiated peace. These critics do not grasp the fact that in 1943 and 1944 Roosevelt was not in the least interested in shortening the war. Had peace come before the autumn of 1944, Roosevelt would have lost his main argument in the election campaign, namely, that he was irreplaceable for the victorious continuation of the war. (A poll of public opinion in July revealed that if the war were still on by November 7 Roosevelt would get 50.8 per cent and Dewey 42.2 per cent of the votes, but if the war were over Dewey 49.6 per cent and Roosevelt 40.4 per cent!) Furthermore, the longer the war lasts, the more will Germany—so bitterly hated by Roosevelt—be transformed into a pile of rubble; the more will America’s allies be weakened; the greater will be the weight of America, the last great power to enter the war and the one to dispose of the greatest reserves; the more extensive will be the destruction of large parts of Europe and Asia, whose reconstruction is to offer America unlimited markets and a far-reaching control of these regions.

Did not Roosevelt’s economic adviser, the financier Bernard Baruch, recently give as a reason for his optimism about American postwar economics the fact that the United States could participate after the war in the reconstruction of half the world? And when the *Wall Street Journal* writes: “American building experts anticipate large quantities of American machinery such as dredgers, demolition machines, cranes, etc., having to be supplied to the reconstruction areas. American architects, construction engineers,
and other firms connected in one way or another with reconstruction will open branches in the areas devastated by the war or delegate their representatives," and utters a warning against "overhasty reconstruction of the bombed cities according to obsolete plans," does that not sound as if this organ of American high finance were afraid that Europe might possibly do its own reconstructing without profits to America?

FEELINGS TOWARD OTHER NATIONS

To the same extent to which the international idealism is vanishing among the Americans, their realistic imperialism is moving into the foreground.

(1) For the last year or so, the neutrals have not found much sympathy in America. The very conception of neutrality no longer fits into America's present ideology, as is shown in another article in this issue.

(2) The European members of the United Nations are not very highly thought of. The Americans are clever enough to know that refugee governments or governments à la Bonomi, De Gaulle, Pierlot, are unstable institutions which demand a lot but have little to offer or say. France, whether represented by Pétain or by De Gaulle, has been treated by America emphatically as a nonequal. In any case, there is the danger that the United States treats those states not belonging to the small number of great powers in the same way as she has been accustomed for decades to treat Nicaragua and other Central American republics.

(3) The South American states have proved often enough that they have only joined the United Nations with reluctance and are not interested in the war.

So all that remains is the Big Four. And it is to them that the planned postwar organization applies. The League of Nations has had a poor press in the USA. Not only has it been discredited by the abuse of its strength in the twenties and the obvious display of its weakness during the thirties. In an America which rejects even the idea of neutrality there can be no place for an organ like the League of Nations which, at least in its phraseology, was comparatively neutral and democratic.

WORLD ORGANIZATION

The conception formed in America of the organization of the world differs essentially from the ideals of the League of Nations.

Since State Secretary Hull's declaration on March 21, 1944, so much has been said and written about this organization, and the Dumbarton Oaks Conference (August 21 to October 7, 1944) has supplied so much additional material, that it is possible to form a fairly clear idea of the American plans. (See Appendix for a condensation of the Dumbarton Oaks plan.)

According to these, the leadership in the postwar period is to be in the hands of the Big Four: the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, and China, to which France may later be added as the fifth power. We see that the idea of all states being equally subjected to the world organization has disappeared, as has the idea of an independent international police force superior even to the great powers, ideas propagated in the early stages of the war and championed by Willkie up to his death. The role of the General Assembly is limited to an advisory function.

"The world organization proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference could easily be transformed into a dictatorship of the four powers, who on the plea of preserving peace could enforce their will on weaker nations," said the US Foreign Policy Association. Well, some people may have no objection to this. But what if the Big Four disagree with each other?

Absolutely essential to the functioning of the plan is unanimity among the Big Four. This exists at present as far as the war against Germany is concerned. But not even optimists believe that it will continue to exist in the postwar world. The Soviets made it perfectly clear at Dumbarton Oaks that they had no intention of submitting to a majority decision of the Security Council directed against them. The commentary of a leading US radio station reprinted in our Appendix shows that the Americans feel likewise. It also brings out the biggest hitch in postwar Big Four co-operation.

SOVEREIGNTY OR COMMUNITY?

Fundamentally, the American postwar plans are concerned not with a world organization of nations but with the continuance of the war-born alliance of the Big Four. The proposed postwar world organization lacks the basic condition which might make it into a true league of nations: the surrender of absolute sovereignty by the member states. Shortly before his death, Wendell Willkie openly spoke of this in Collier's,
when he wrote about the election platforms of the Republican and Democratic Parties:

The platforms of both parties contain an irreconcilable paradox which in its plain implication can only confuse, deceive and disillusion the American people. This paradox is provided by the fact that permanent or lasting peace cannot be attained without what is popularly called loss of sovereignty. We are presented with this extraordinary proposition: we are jealously to guard our sovereignty, but somehow all nations are to be welded together into an international organization with power to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

Whenever a party to a proposed agreement stands pat and refuses to yield any individual right or privilege, there is no agreement. Yet, it is under similar conditions that we talk of creating or participating in an international organization. What we shall create is at best a consultative pact between by now 'peace-loving' nations, an arrangement which may be different in words but which, in fact, will not differ at all from most of the alliances in history.

Actually it is impossible to imagine a functioning world organization—no more than any organization within the framework of a Grossraum, an individual state, or a family—without the individual or the group surrendering part of their sovereignty. Absolute sovereignty and community are irreconcilable. One must choose between the two, and America has made her choice. Roosevelt made this clear when he declared at a press conference early in June: "The United States has an objective today to join other nations for the general world peace—but without taking away the integrity of the United States in any shape, manner, or form." For those slow of grasp, Time added: "Integrity was the Roosevelt word for sovereignty." This makes all the hopes formerly placed by many Americans on a postwar community of nations wholly illusory.

**BIG FOUR—THREE—TWO**

Among the Big Four, Chungking China, compared to the other three, is only geographically big. Hence America is speaking more and more frequently of the Big Three. The New York correspondent of the Svenska Dagbladet formulated it as follows:

It is becoming increasingly clear that Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin are of the opinion that the postwar world order can best be maintained if the military power remains in the hands of those now holding it, viz., in the hands of the USA, Great Britain, and Russia.

But when the Americans subject the Big Three to a closer scrutiny, they find that they actually only consist of Big Two. For some of them, these Big Two are the USA and the USSR, e.g., for Time, which wrote on May 8, 1944: "The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are unquestionably Great Powers, Britain is a conditional Great Power . . . . China is a potential Great Power."

Others see the USA and Great Britain in the Big Two. Among them is the well-known American General Patton, who publicly declared in May: "Undoubtedly it is Britain's and America's destiny to rule the world." (Only in the revised version of this statement was the USSR included among the General's choice of world rulers.)

In the preliminary work for the UNRRA a clear tendency toward Anglo-American exclusiveness was revealed. Walter Bosshard reported from Atlantic City that the impression among the delegates of the UNRRA Conference was that "England and the USA wish to retain the entire relief work in their own hands." In the Combined Raw Materials Board, which has to supply the raw materials for the UNRRA and on which in consequence all UNRRA activity depends, America and—to a far lesser degree—England are the sole rulers.

**BIG ONE**

But if one section of the Americans think they can get along without England and another without the Soviet Union, there finally remains only the Big One. Indeed, the Americans are becoming accustomed to the idea of being the "Big One." And in order to justify a high level of armaments after the war, American leaders are already spreading the fantastic assertion that Germany is even now preparing for a third world war and that General von Stülpmagel has been appointed to work out the necessary plans for it.

By such and similar processes of thought, America is seeking to vindicate her monoinperialism in her own eyes. Although she pretends that it is only the force of circumstances that has temporarily placed the lead among the United Nations in America's hands, the recent conferences in the Allied camp have shown that the Americans are finding it increasingly strange when other nations want their own way. Yesterday they were accusing Germany and Japan of suffering only puppets around them; today they ought to have a look in the mirror.

The "Big One" attitude finds expression in the most varied fields. During the
negotiations first in London and then in Chicago on the future organization of world air traffic, England represented the view that a supranational organization should be created to run or at least to supervise air communications. America, on the other hand, objected. In her feeling of great superiority in aircraft construction, she wishes to see no barriers raised against her future expansion in the air. The American Office for Civil Aeronautics submitted a gigantic program last summer which provides for the establishment of air lines totaling 140,000 miles to encircle the globe at various latitudes, under American management. Time plastically describes the impression the world map showing the planned lines made upon the foreign representatives: "The British stared when they saw blue lines running through British territories. The Dutch came to worry about their KLM (Royal Dutch Air Lines) interests. The enigmatic Russians came and went, enigmatically."

The demand has been voiced repeatedly in Congress that America must in future have the largest fleet in the world. Naturally, this largest of all air and naval fleets also requires a large number of bases. Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, who demands conscription for the time after the war, said in the Saturday Evening Post: "We must have bases wherever our strategists deem them necessary." Roosevelt himself, in his Seattle speech last August, raised a demand for bases in the Western Pacific. As for the South Pacific, he declared:

There are hundreds of small islands in the Southern Pacific which are in British and French possession. We do not want them, but Britain and France might be happy to enter into an agreement by which these islands could enjoy additional protection.

In America's foreign-trade policy, there has always been a contradiction between a desire for her own sphere of influence closed to the rest of the world and for an Open Door policy in the rest of the world. As a principle, the European Grossraum as envisaged by Germany or the Co-Prosperity Sphere in East Asia is no less distasteful to the American business world than the British Empire. As was explained in Gunnar Myrdal's article in our November issue, the Americans will be faced by the alternative in the years of demobilization of either changing their domestic economic and social structure or conquering new markets for a vast export trade. It goes without saying that the latter would be more to their liking. The American trade magazine Iron and Coal Traders' Review recently wrote: "A vast amount of shutting down cannot be avoided in American heavy industry if we do not succeed in achieving an immense expansion of markets in comparison to the peace-time markets." For this purpose the Americans are trying to exploit the positions gained by Lend-Lease as well as their military conquests.

Another paradox: on the one hand the Americans want to export as much as possible, on the other they do not wish to open their markets to foreign goods to be supplied in return, nor have they any idea as to what to do with more gold. It is hard to imagine what the future American foreign trade is supposed to look like.

ROOSEVELT AND CONGRESS

Of the three foreign-political principles we mentioned at the beginning of this article, isolationism and imperialism get on quite well with each other. Both place the interests of the United States before everything else. And just as it is the strong point of US imperialism that it can fall back upon an almost unassailable hemisphere, so is the American isolationist pleased over every increase of America's power in the world—always with the reservation: if one day we should cease to like it we can withdraw again to America. Hence the activities directed at creating an American sphere under the leadership of the USA and those directed at strengthening American influence on a world-wide scale go parallel.

This fact is of great importance to America's foreign policy during Roosevelt's fourth term. If Roosevelt were really the idealist he pretended to be during the days of the Atlantic Charter, he would be so much at variance with the disillusioned American people over questions of foreign policy that last month's election would have confronted him with as hostile a Congress as Wilson had to face in 1919. But Roosevelt is not a Wilson, and the Congressional election results have proved that Roosevelt, intrinsically always a realist, and the disenchanted Americans have met on a middle line as regards foreign policy.

What were the reasons for Congress's opposition to Wilson in 1919? Let us quote from a popular American schoolbook:
The points of complaint were that the sovereignty of the United States was sacrificed, that we were pledged to make war to the bidding of the council of the league, that we would be eternally embroiled in the quarrels of Europe, that purely domestic questions like immigration laws and the tariff were subjected to the interference of other nations, that Great Britain was represented by six times as many voices in the assembly of the league as we were.

The postwar ideas propagated by Roosevelt are enough to show us that none of these points of complaint holds good today. If the Twohey Analysis of Newspaper Opinion calculated in April that "the press approval of Administration foreign policy has declined from 80% support to 20%," this indicated less an opposition to Roosevelt's policy than the reverberations of America's disappointment at foreign-political developments and at her allies as well as a feeling of uncertainty in questions of foreign policy. This uncertainty may also be the result of Roosevelt's increased tacturnity. At the time when Roosevelt covered his policy with an altruistic cloak of world liberation, there was nothing to prevent him from expressing himself frequently on this ideal. In the present emphatically imperialistic period, however, he deems it wiser to keep silent, as a presentation of America's foreign-political motives would arouse apprehension in the rest of the world.

"EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT"

Although Roosevelt and many Americans thus agree in principle on the aims of America's foreign policy, it is understandable that Roosevelt should have sought to cover himself for all eventualities. The Senate, i.e., the upper house in Congress, has a voice in America's foreign policy. The American Constitution says: "[The President] shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur."

This paragraph, meant to protect the democracy against too self-willed presidents, is responsible for a well-known paradox within America's foreign policy. On the one hand, the Constitution gives the President and the State Department under him unlimited powers to conduct all negotiations with foreign countries; on the other hand, the treaties concluded by him are not valid without the approval of two thirds of the Senate. This paradox led to Wilson's disaster.

Since a constitutional amendment to remove the demand for a two-thirds' majority of the Senate seems improbable, Roosevelt has endeavored to get his way by other means. Through officials of the State Department and his own publicists, he has had a theory developed according to which the President may also, instead of signing treaties requiring the two-thirds' majority of the Senate, choose the form of an "Executive Agreement," which requires merely a simple majority in the Senate and House of Representatives. The propagators of this doctrine can point to the fact that the annexation of Texas and Hawaii during the last century took place by means of such "Executive Agreements."

The new doctrine has two advantages for Roosevelt. First of all, it enables him to replace the difficult two-thirds' majority by a simple majority, much more easily obtainable. And secondly, it contrives the inclusion of the House of Representatives, which was hitherto without influence upon foreign policy, thus getting it on the side of the President. While Wilson waged his battle exclusivity against the Senate and was defeated, Roosevelt, by means of the Executive Agreement, is in a position to play off the House against the Senate or vice versa in questions of foreign policy, just as he has already frequently done in the sphere of domestic politics.

It goes without saying that the Senate is observing this development with anxiety and displeasure. One of the results has been that, in order not to lose its influence in foreign politics, the Senate has in turn held out its hand toward the President by nominating a Senate Committee for Postwar Questions, which is to keep in touch with the President and the State Department. This gives Roosevelt the chance not only to influence the Senate just now in the way he wants but also to say later on: "I have done everything with your knowledge and your approval," thus cutting the ground from under the feet of any future opposition.

AMERICAN DOUBTS

The quotations mentioned above as well as all other recent information on American views allow one to draw certain conclusions. In the words of Tom, Dick, and Harry, these might at present run something like this:

"Because we Americans were too self-centered in our period of isolation, the rest of the world made a mess of things and allowed the rise of Nazism and Nipponism. The result was war. We could not idly
look on while the democracies collapsed, so we were drawn into the war. We have turned the country’s economy upside down, we have put twelve million of our boys into uniform, we have suffered more than half a million casualties already—all for the sake of victory. When this victory comes, its fruits must be worth the sacrifices. Above all, there must be the certainty that never again will a situation arise like the one in 1938/41. At first we hoped to obtain this by the co-operation of the entire world (minus Germany and Japan). But we’ve been let down too often. We cannot really rely on any of the other United Nations: it is up to America to organize the postwar world and to back up this organizing job with the biggest navy and air force and bases at every strategic point. If we cannot build the millennium of human brotherhood, at least we shall give the world an American Century with some good Yankee horse sense. And the United Nations? Well, where would they be without our Lend-Lease, our Eisenhowers, Kaisers, Nimitzes? They’d better comply—or else!”

These ideas are one-sided and confused. But their chief drawback is that the American himself lacks confidence in his ability to live up to them. At the back of his mind there is doubt. How can America, he thinks, solve the world’s problems when before the war she had over ten million unemployed herself? “Before they try to establish a new world order, the United States should restore order in its own house.”

This statement in Dewey’s campaign speech at St. Louis on October 17 mirrored the opinion of many millions. (How little the Americans feel sure of the superior appeal of the “American Way” and its effect on other nations is shown by their plans for Germany and Japan. Cut Germany up into three or more pieces, destroy her industry, take away her resources, deprive Japan of everything but her islands—those are the suggestions, not one constructive idea among them.)

There are other doubts, too: “What if the USSR should refuse to take orders from America? What if Germany and Japan refuse to give in, if they keep on fighting for every village and every island? Our losses are mounting steadily, and our leaders tell us that the main fight is still to come. We have been at war for three years. How much longer is it supposed to last?”

It is owing to these doubts that American world imperialism and isolationism (which also includes hemispheric imperialism) are linked so closely together, and that the same US Senate which is making plans for the whole world also advocates “a band of steel around the Western Hemisphere.” In the opinion of Walter Lippman, one of America’s leading ideologists, this hemisphere should also include the British Empire, Western and Southern Europe—in all 42 states with over 500 million inhabitants—and be called the “Atlantic Community.”

In other words, the imperialistic designs which they accused Germany and Japan of having toward Europe and East Asia are being harbored by the Americans themselves toward the entire world, or at least its Western Hemisphere.

“‘They’d better comply—or else!’ was how we paraphrased the American attitude toward the rest of the world. This ‘or else’ can mean two things—force or isolation. Roosevelt is more for the first alternative, Dewey was more for the second. The narrow margin of Roosevelt’s victory, counted in individual votes, proves that the second alternative has a strong attraction for millions of Americans.

In considering America’s attitude toward the world, one must always bear in mind the ease with which she can shift the emphasis from one to the other of the three principles of her foreign policy. In the summer of 1941, Fortune’s poll of public opinion, regarded as one of the most reliable in the country, found a bare 13 per cent of Americans in favor of US participation in any kind of international organization. In March 1944, that figure had soared to 68 per cent. In a country where such a complete about-face has taken place in the last three years, another about-face may take place in the next three years too.

**Disgrace**

On the way home from a dinner party she said:

“I don’t think I’ve ever been so ashamed in my life, George. You were the only one among the men this evening who did not have a postwar plan.”
THE FATE OF NEUTRALITY

BY KURT FISCHER

The second World War began with fourteen nations involved. Today there are hardly four nations left which still measure up to the standards of neutrality as defined by International Law. What has happened to neutrality? What are its future prospects?—K.M.

In ancient times and during the Middle Ages we do not find neutrality among the usages applied in the intercourse between states. Only the great commercial communities such as the German Hanse and the Italian maritime republics attempted to bring about some sort of regulations in the usages of war to protect their own neutral interests. With the beginning of modern times, neutrality, i.e., the state of being neutral (from the Latin neuter, neither of two), gradually began to be accepted as an institution of International Law. But not until the eighteenth century did the idea of neutrality approach the present-day definition, viz., that neutral nations, during a war, are those which take no one's part, remaining friends with both parties and favoring neither to the detriment of the other. It was later supplemented by the doctrine that neutrals do not have to sit in judgment on the belligerents or decide whose cause is just. On the other hand, it was considered to be the duty of belligerents to respect neutral territory and, in case of violation, to make reparation.

In 1780, during the American War of Independence, the neutrals for the first time took up arms in defense of their rights on the seas. This First Armed Neutrality, suggested by Russia and joined by many other states, was directed against infringements on the part of England. And although this and the Second Armed Neutrality of 1800—again necessitated by England's attitude—had no immediate success, the postulated principles were eventually recognized in the Paris Declaration of 1856, which abolished privateering; established the rule of "free ships, free goods" except contraband; prohibited the appropriation of neutral goods on enemy ships, again excepting contraband; and stipulated that blockades must be effective in order to be legally binding.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

During the nineteenth century the general principles of neutrality came to be interpreted more strictly, both in theory and practice. It was considered to be within the rights of a state to stay neutral in any armed conflict, the belligerents being obliged to respect neutral territory and territorial waters and to abstain from forcing would-be neutrals into war, the right of self-defense being the only justification for carrying hostilities into neutral territory. On the part of the neutral, neutrality presupposed the renunciation of any action to the benefit or disadvantage of any one of the belligerents, as well as the obligation to rebuke any violation of his territory or territorial waters, to disarm or intern foreign troops entering his territory, and to disarm belligerent warships if these stayed more than twenty-four hours in port for the strictly limited purposes of revictualing and refueling.

According to International Law, the duties of neutrality are chiefly incumbent on the respective states and only to a very minor degree on their citizens. Thus it is possible for part of the press and for private citizens of a state pursuing a policy of neutrality to disregard the official impartiality unless restrained by special legislation as has been introduced in some countries.

MODERN VARIATIONS

A special position is held by neutralized states which, by international agreement, are perpetually bound to abstain from participation in any war. The Swiss Confederation, which has pursued a traditional policy of neutrality since it was recognized by the Westphalian Peace of 1648, was the first state neutralized—in 1815 at the Vienna Congress—and is the only one in existence today. Other cases were those of Belgium.
(neutralized in 1839), of Luxemburg (in 1867), and of the Congo State (in 1885); but the Versailles Treaty of 1919 abrogated the perpetual neutralization of these latter three.

Otherwise neutrality is either voluntary, i.e., without being enforced by any treaty obligation; or it is conventional, i.e., by agreement to remain neutral in a particular war. At present Sweden would offer an instance of the former, and Japan—vis-a-vis the German-Soviet war—of the latter.

"Benevolent neutrality," although the subject of diplomatic negotiations and agreements, has not been recognized by International Law. During the present war the term "nonbelligerence" has therefore been used instead by some nations when not yet at war. It implies that no neutral attitude is being pretended. Italy, being bound by a military alliance to the Reich but not yet in the war then, was the first state during the present struggle to define her position as "nonbelligerence." For some time Spain was wont to apply this term to her status in recognition of the Italian and German aid given during her Civil War and in view of her anti-Bolshevist attitude. Turkey's stand in the early part of the war was likewise called "nonbelligerent," as she had concluded a pact of alliance with England and France early during the war.

International Law countenances the pursuit of self-interest on the part of a state, and neutrality as one of its means. But one fact must be clearly understood: International Law does not protect a neutral against war, for it recognizes the right of any state to wage war against another. International Law is simply meant to protect neutrals against infringements on their rights as neutrals. Thus it would obviously be within International Law if Britain, for example, declared war upon Sweden; but it is not within her rights to trespass upon Swedish rights derived from her neutral status in order to extract benefits to the disadvantage of an opponent.

THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT WAR

The valuation of neutrality as a political principle, if shown in a curve, would indicate a rise throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century up to a time just prior to the outbreak of the Great War. Then begins a marked decline. Germany and Austria-Hungary, of course, being continental powers with virtually no access to the sea, had nothing to gain through the spreading of the war; on the contrary, they had a great deal to lose. Hence their desire to see neutrality upheld by as many states as possible. The Entente, on the other hand, and notably England—then still undisputed mistress of the seven seas—desiring to cut off Germany from outside supplies and give the war the character of a crusade, were bent on involving as many neutrals on their side as they could manage. From the outset they used all the means of military, diplomatic, and economic pressure as well as propaganda and bribery toward this end. They began hostilities in Central Africa, which had been neutralized under the Congo Act, and forced Liberia to join as a belligerent. They violated Greek neutrality. Portugal, China, Siam, Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, and Honduras were cajoled into declaring war, although none of them bordered on the Central Powers or had any immediate, let alone vital, interest in the struggle. Others were made to break off diplomatic relations with the Central Powers as, for instance, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic.

To cover up its antineutral policy, the Entente raised a great cry over Germany's attack on Belgium. Germany expected the French armies, concentrated in northeastern France, to cross into Belgium in accordance with the French war plan XVII. Hence, claiming the right of self-defense, Germany presented Belgium with an ultimatum, demanding passage for her armies through Belgium and promising reparations for any damage done. Belgium rejected the ultimatum.

VERSAILLES AND THE LEAGUE

The Versailles Treaty of 1919, being a child of the Allies, is quite consistent with their negative attitude toward neutrality. By embodying the alleged war guilt of the Central Powers in their entire postwar system, the Allies elevated the maintenance of the status quo to the rank of the just cause. This task was allotted to the League of Nations; and its basic principle of collective responsibility, which was binding for all members including the former neutrals, prejudiced the very foundations of true neutrality. It nullified the traditional right of a sovereign state to keep aloof from a conflict. Article 16 of the League's Covenant states that any member of the League re-
sorting to war in violation of the agreements to arbitrate shall "in fact" be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, and the latter shall forthwith discontinue trade and financial relations with the offending state.

Parallel to the succession of failures which the League had to register since 1932, neutrality appeared to take on a new lease of life. During the Italo-Abyssinian War, Albania, Austria, and Hungary already refused participation in the sanctions against Italy, while Switzerland circumvented the problem by prohibiting exports to both belligerents. After the termination of that conflict, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg declared that they no longer felt themselves bound by Article 16. Switzerland followed suit in 1938.

THE POSITION IN WORLD WAR II

September 3, 1939, marks the commencement of a new Allied war against the Reich as well as against neutrality. The basic position of the two camps was patterned after World War I. Germany, bordering on twelve countries and protected by a natural barrier only in the south, with a navy amounting only to a fraction of what it was in 1914, and still largely dependent on raw materials from abroad, was intent upon a quick military decision against her adversaries and peaceful relations and trade with as large a foreign area as possible. Her enemies, notably Britain, on the other hand, were out to hem in Germany from all sides in order to strangle her politically and economically with a minimum of military effort, an aim applicable only by utilizing the neutrals, i.e., by destroying their neutrality.

One of Britain's first steps was the declaration of a blockade against Reich imports, a measure that hit many neutral states. Moreover, it was not in accordance with International Law, which considers a blockade admissible only if it blocks the entire stretch of coast of the blockaded country. This is not the case now, nor was it during World War I, when it was termed "illegal" and "indefensible" by President Wilson. Other complementary British measures equally disregarded International Law. The "contraband" list comprised virtually every commercial article. Neutral vessels were taken to British ports and kept waiting there for weeks and even months. Mailbags were seized or searched. The issue of navicerts (certificates of the British Navy allowing neutral cargoes to proceed to their destination) was imposed and employed for economic espionage. Neutral firms were black-listed for trading with the enemy. On November 28, 1939, the blockade of German exports was announced over the indignant protests of neutrals who were thereby deprived of urgently needed German goods.

Neutral territory was violated by the Allies from the very beginning. Here is the case record of the first week of war:

Night of Sept. 3/4 British planes having attacked Wilhelmshaven cross Dutch territory.

Sept. 4 British planes drop bombs on the Danish port of Ebeling. British planes returning from the German Bight cross Dutch territory.

Sept. 5 The German vessel Oinda is sunk by the British cruiser Ajax off Rio Grande in Brazilian territorial waters.

Sept. 6 British planes cross Belgian territory. British planes attack the German vessel Franken near Padang (Sumatra) in Dutch territorial waters.

British planes cross Danish territory.

British planes cross Norwegian territory three times.

Sept. 8 British planes cross Danish territory at several places. A British plane crosses Norwegian territory.

Night of Sept. 8/9 British planes cross Dutch territory.

British planes cross Belgian territory, one bomber being forced to land while one Belgian plane is downed over Belgian soil.

Sept. 9 British planes cross Danish territory.

Sept. 10 British planes cross Danish territory.

British planes cross Belgian territory.

Here again, neutral protests were of no avail. Nor could they be, for these violations of neutrality grew from a general hostility toward the very principle of neutrality.

The leitmotiv was sounded on January 20, 1940, when Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, spoke of the duty of neutrals to take a common stand with the British and French Empires. On
January 31, Prime Minister Chamberlain approached the neutrals for their “uninterested indifference.” On February 24 he called the British attack on the German vessel Altmark in Norwegian territorial waters merely a “technical breach of neutrality.” On March 30, Churchill declared it would not be fair for the Western Powers to hold fast to legal agreements in a life-and-death struggle. On April 2 the Marquess of Crewe, member of the Privy Council, said in the House of Lords that Britain was prepared to enter Scandinavian waters to enforce the blockade and pleaded with the neutrals to show understanding for “technical infractions of International Law such as the three-mile limit, which we may have committed or may commit.”

ONE NEUTRAL AFTER ANOTHER

Major action followed on the heels of these pronouncements. After the miscarriage of a planned intervention in the Soviet-Finnish conflict during March 1940 in which Norway and Sweden were to be used as bases, the laying of three British minefields in Norwegian territorial waters early in April 1940 converted that country into a battlefield. Meanwhile, Belgium and the Netherlands had, as proved by subsequent German White Books, departed considerably from the course of strict neutrality, among other things by participating in staff talks with England and France. On May 10 German troops crossed the Dutch and Belgian borders. Next the British turned to the Balkans, whence the Reich obtained large quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials. Britain persuaded Greece to deviate from neutrality by opening her ports and territorial waters to the British Navy, which resulted in the Italo-Greek war. She instigated a Putsch in Yugoslavia, which led that country into the war.

The commencement of virtual belligerency on the part of the USA in spring 1941 increased the threats to neutrality. While Britain and the Soviet Union tackled Iran with the acclamation of the USA and forced Afghanistan off neutrality, America occupied Greenland and Iceland and busied herself in Central and South America. To the tune of Pan-American security and defense, one country after another was made to abandon its neutrality. Outside of Europe there was finally no neutral state left with the exception of Argentina. In Europe, leaving out of account tiny Monaco and Liechtenstein, only Turkey, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, the Vatican, and Eire managed to preserve their neutrality by the end of 1942. Their difficulties began when the military initiative passed into Allied hands.

PRESSURE

The British navicert system and black lists were enforced even where trade could not possibly have had any connection with the war against the Reich as, for example, in the shipment of certain goods between Eire and Portugal or between Spain and Argentina; they offered an excellent means of exerting pressure. The USA, too, has adopted black-listing and, according to the US State Department, no less than 15,000 firms were on the US black list in May 1944 and were to be denied normal trade even after the war merely because they had carried on entirely legal trade with Axis countries. The freezing of neutral funds and the stoppage of supplies to neutrals, the violation of neutral sovereignty in coastal waters as well as in the air: all were employed to exert pressure on the neutrals. The cancellation of diplomatic privileges by Britain in the spring of 1944 likewise trespassed on their rights.

As the war against neutrality progressed toward a climax, it was accompanied by Allied declarations. Jan Smuts, the South African Premier, said on November 25, 1943: “Neutrality is obsolete, is dead.” On May 25, 1944, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated that, in order to shorten the war, the neutral states must give up their rights, thus supporting an earlier utterance of Arthur Greenwood that neutrality was now an antiquated idea and that those who were not for England were against her. To put it in the concise language of the New York Post, all this means: “To Hell with Neutrality.”

ARGENTINA

In comparison to World War I, when the Pan-American Union was not yet effective enough to influence the foreign policy of its members, the upholding of strict neutrality had grown more difficult for the Latin American states during the present conflict. The Havana Agreement of July 1940, which provides for mutual assistance and defensive co-operation on the part of all American countries, caused Argentina, at the outbreak of the Pacific War, to abstain from the customary declaration of neutrality vis-à-vis
the USA-Japanese war, although such a declaration was made with regard to the British-Japanese war. Moreover, a decree was issued according to which the USA was not to be regarded as a belligerent. Beyond that gesture, however, she would not go. Up to January 20, 1943, she was in company with Chile in keeping aloof from the war; but after the latter yielded to the USA and severed relations with the Axis, Argentina found herself exposed to ruthless pressure on the part of the United States, including a drastic American export embargo (August 3, 1943). On January 26, 1944, Argentina yielded by rupturing diplomatic relations with Tokyo and Berlin. But this did not help a great deal.

Washington, supported by the New York and Washington press, more or less openly demanded an Argentine declaration of war on the Axis. No Lend-Lease assistance was forthcoming, nor was Argentina invited to become a member of the UNRRA. The tone of the British press also remained unfriendly. But when President Ramirez wavered and began to play with the idea of declaring war upon the Axis, a new government was formed on February 24, 1944, under the presidency of General Farrell. Although the new administration declared that the country's foreign policy would remain unchanged, Washington broke off relations with Argentina on March 3, and Britain recalled her Ambassador in July. If the threat of economic sanctions has not yet been carried out, it is probably owing to Britain not being prepared to go to such lengths—partly because she has large investments in Argentina but also because she is dependent on Argentine supplies, especially of meat. Viewed retrospectively, it is difficult to see why Argentina should have departed at all from her neutrality.

TURKEY

With the outbreak of the European war, the country in control of the Dardanelles once again became one of the focal points of British and French diplomatic activity. Through the Treaty of Ankara of October 19, 1939, Turkey joined Britain and France as an ally. She did not, however, enter the war, in order not to jeopardize her relations with the USSR, then outwardly on friendly terms with Germany. But she granted Britain and France a monopoly on her chromium production, and it was Molotov who pointed out at the time that Turkey, by signing the treaty, had relinquished her neutrality. Germany reopened the avenue to neutrality for her when, after the Balkan blitz campaign and just prior to the Soviet-German war, the German Government offered and concluded a pact of friendship and nonaggression with Turkey (June 18, 1941). This political readjustment was supplemented in 1941, 1942, and 1943 by a number of trade agreements on a barter basis. The treaty of friendship with the Reich, of which Britain had been notified beforehand, became a valuable instrument in the hands of Turkey to keep out of the war; and the commercial agreements with Germany helped her a great deal in overcoming her economic difficulties, as Britain was unable to take Germany's place in Turkish trade, the latter country accounting for 52 per cent of Turkey's exports and 43 per cent of her imports in 1938.

To strengthen the Allied position, the USA, on December 3, 1941, offered Turkey a Lend-Lease credit. Most of this aid, however, remained on paper. Germany also offered Turkey a credit, and in turn, by the agreement of December 31, 1942, was to receive, among other commodities, 150,000 tons of chrome in 1943/44, the British monopoly having expired on January 3, 1943. In September 1942, President İnonü evaded a meeting with Wendell Willkie in Istanbul by going on an inspection tour to Thrace. At the same time the Turkish Government, answering Allied proposals, made it clear that the passage of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet through the Dardanelles could not be permitted as being contrary to the Treaty of Montreux. The Conference of Adana between Churchill and President İnonü (January 30/31, 1943) brought about no visible change in Turkey's foreign policy. İnonü reaffirmed Turkish neutrality in his speech of June 8, 1943, and turned down the Allied demand not to grant asylum to Axis leaders. During the Cairo Conference (December 4/6, 1943) President İnonü and Foreign Minister Menemencoglu again rejected all Allied demands for Turkey's entry into the war and for bases and facilities for the Allied air force. Now the Allies turned on the third degree. On February 4, 1944, after five weeks of conferences with the Turkish General Staff, a British military mission and 340 British technical experts left the country, abandoning construction jobs in Turkish ports and military establishments; Anglo-American war-material deliveries were stopped; the charter of five
vessels to Turkey was canceled. There followed the joint US and British démarche of mid-April, in the form of a 48-hour ultimatum, demanding the rupture of trade relations with the Reich. While not yielding fully, the Turkish Government for the first time bowed to pressure and, as a first concession, placed an embargo on the exports of chromite to the Reich effective from April 21. The second concession followed in June, when certain types of German vessels were prohibited passage through the Straits and a control instituted for all German merchantmen. The chief upholder of Turkish neutrality, Foreign Minister Memenecoglu, resigned. Far from being satisfied, the Allies continued their pressure until Turkey severed her diplomatic and commercial relations with Germany (August 2, 1944), thereby not only breaking treaty obligations but definitely leaving the camp of the neutrals.

SWEDEN

In Sweden a policy of neutrality has consistently been adhered to since the Napoleonic Wars. But, at the same time, the Swedish nation has always felt itself to be a member of the group of Scandinavian peoples. During the Soviet-Finnish winter war of 1939/40, Sweden, while keeping formal neutrality, supported Finland in various ways, repeating such action after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, when she permitted the transit of one German division through Sweden to northern Finland. Sweden is, of course, interested in the existence of an independent Finland as a buffer between herself and the colossus in the east, through whom she once lost her status as a great power and who is the only real menace to her national existence. This also explains her repeated attempts at mediation between the Finns and the Soviets, resulting from the hope of thereby keeping the Soviets as far away from Sweden as possible.

After the Norwegian campaign, Sweden was almost completely, and after June 22, 1941, completely surrounded by German-controlled territories or waters. Her need for imports of coal, coke, pig iron, rolling-mill products, fertilizer, chemicals, synthetic rubber, and salt, forced her to rely on the good will of the Reich, either for the supply of or for the transit from the rest of Europe; in return for this she shipped iron ore, cellulose, and high-grade finished goods, among them ball bearings, to Germany. For overseas supplies she remained dependent not only on the Reich—for passage into the North Sea—but also on the British, who controlled the oceanic sea lanes. The Swedish Government arrived at an understanding with both, conceding to the British the lease of 600,000 tons of merchant tonnage outside of blockaded zones, and to the Germans the transit traffic through Sweden.

But Sweden did not escape Allied pressure against her neutrality. The Allies tried to prevent Germany’s imports from Sweden, without bothering much about what the loss of the reciprocal imports from Europe meant to Sweden. In their war against German aircraft production, the Allies were particularly interested in stopping Sweden’s export of ball bearings. This was demanded by a British and US démarche in Stockholm, following upon State Secretary Hull’s speech of April 9, 1944. When the Swedish Government refused to comply, a US press campaign threatened with such reprisals as the exclusion of Swedish vessels from convoy protection, the stopping of all exports and food shipments to Sweden, and the confiscation of Swedish property and deposits in the USA, while an American delegation proceeded to Sweden in order to bring pressure and threats to bear directly upon the ball-bearing industry. In September a strong protest was sent to Sweden by the USA, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union in connection with Swedish trade relations with the Reich. Now Sweden yielded: while refusing to suspend her exports to Germany, she banned all commercial shipping in her territorial waters in the Baltic, thereby de facto practically discontinuing trade with the Reich.

SPAIN

The turbulent years of the Spanish Civil War were hardly over when the second World War began. Spain’s internal and economic situation, calling as it did for complete reconstruction, pointed to neutrality as the only possible line to be followed. After its terrible experiences with the Communist menace in its own borders, and as a signatory to the Anti-Comintern Pact, the country was bent on an anti-Communist course. When Italy joined Germany’s side in the war, Spain, in recognition of Italy’s aid in the Civil War, adopted a policy of pro-Axis nonbelligerence, a tendency strengthened after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war when volunteers formed the “Blue Division” to fight with the German armies against the Bolsheviks.
With the beginning of Allied operations in French North Africa, Spain found herself in a changed position and reverted to neutrality, coupled a little later with a joint Spanish-Portuguese declaration to the effect that the two countries would henceforth form a bloc of mutual friendship and external peace. In August 1943 the heat was turned on Spain when Sir Samuel Hoare, British Ambassador to Madrid, met General Franco for a discussion of Allied demands. These discussions continued for some months, reaching a climax early this year after a violent Allied press campaign filled with threats and abuse.

The Anglo-American demands concerned (1) the closure of the German Consulate at Tangier; (2) the handing over of Italian merchantmen which had sought refuge in Spanish waters; (3) the withdrawal of the Blue Division; and (4) the cessation of certain supplies, chiefly tungsten, to the Reich. For many months the Spanish Government resisted the pressure, although it was not allowed to forget Spain’s dependence on the navicerts of the British blockade authorities for vital imports and although Spanish refugees of the Leftist Popular Front, whose leaders (Negrin, Alvarez, etc.) had been allowed to take up domicile in French North Africa, were treated with ostentatious friendliness by the Allied press. Finally, the Allies stopped all oil shipments to Spain. This was a serious blow, as the war-time obstacles to all coastal shipping and the bad condition of the Spanish railways—a legacy of the Civil War—made motor transportation indispensable, unless Spain was to slip back into economic chaos. The Spanish Government yielded on the first three points and cut down the country’s tungsten exports by twenty per cent.

PORTUGAL

The situation in Portugal is characterized by her alliance with Britain on the one hand, and by a strictly anti-Communist attitude and close ties of friendship with anti-Communist Spain on the other. Despite the former, she has proclaimed her neutrality during the present war, well remembering her participation in World War I, which brought her to the brink of bankruptcy and disintegration.

Being dependent upon imports of grain, coal, and fuel from overseas, Portugal was and continues to be exposed to Allied methods of coercion. At first she managed to avoid the consequences. When there was a campaign in the USA advocating seizure of the Azores after the Iceland pattern, President Carmonas paid an ostentatious visit to the islands. The attack on and occupation of Timor in December 1941 by Australian and Dutch troops mark the first major Allied violation of Portuguese neutrality. When the Anglo-American landing in North Africa in November 1942 brought the war closer to Portugal herself, a British declaration assured Portugal that no action affecting her territory at home or abroad was planned. But less than a year later, in contravention of this pledge and by means of the strongest economic pressure, an agreement was extracted by the British whereby they obtained the military use of the Azores in return for their promise to supply Portugal with vital commodities and respect her neutrality.

Anglo-American demands made in the spring of 1944 for a cessation of tungsten shipments to Germany were at first rejected by the Salazar Government. But threats and economic pressure continued so that finally, yielding to a British ultimatum, Portugal declared an embargo on all tungsten exports.

SWITZERLAND

As the only neutralized state in the world, Switzerland occupies a special position among the neutrals. As Germany and Italy completely surrounded her territory for more than three years, going to great lengths to extend Switzerland facilities for her overseas trade, she was less exposed to Allied pressure than the other neutral states. Violations of Swiss neutrality on the part of the Allies mounted in the same degree as their troops approached closer to the Swiss borders. Swiss territory was crossed by Allied planes on many occasions, bombs were dropped on a number of towns and villages, and the town of Schaffhausen was partly destroyed. Since September 1944, Allied armies have been in occupation of territory bordering on Switzerland’s western frontier.

Economic pressure has also been exerted by the Allies on Switzerland at various times by such measures as the blocking of Swiss accounts in the USA and the application of Britain’s navicert system. Switzerland’s concession to this pressure was her recent ban on the export of war materials. However, by making this ban applicable to all belligerents, Switzerland has continued to adhere to her policy of neutrality. Moreover, she generously promoted the work of the International Red Cross.
THE FATE OF NEUTRALITY

THE VATICAN

Since the territory under the sovereignty of the Holy See comprises no more than 110 acres, its military and economic significance is of no account. But the policy of neutrality pursued by the Vatican has been of outstanding moral and political importance. The Vatican being the spiritual center of the Catholic world, its attitude has had a bearing on the policy of a considerable part of the globe, notably in the Americas and Western Europe. With Catholics fighting in both belligerent camps and being represented among neutral countries as well as countries occupied by foreign powers, neutrality is obviously dictated by reasons of practical politics, quite aside from spiritual considerations of the Church pointing in the same direction. These latter have found expression in a number of appeals for peace. Although during 1942, following upon the Japanese occupation of the preponderantly Catholic Philippines, the Vatican exchanged diplomatic representatives with non-Christian Japan, no relations have as yet been taken up with the Kremlin and Bolshevism has frequently been denounced by the Holy See.

All attempts on the part of Washington and London to induce the Vatican to abandon its strict neutrality have failed. Roosevelt started his endeavors to this end in September 1942, when he dispatched Myron Taylor to Rome with a personal message asking the Pope to pronounce the war against National Socialist Germany a "just war." This demand was rejected. Early in 1942 it became known that Churchill had offered to revise the status of the holy sites of Christendom in Palestine in exchange for a rapprochement of the Vatican with the Allies. This proposal was likewise turned down. Indirect attempts to induce a reaction unilaterally favorable to the Anglo-American side failed or were ignored, among them being the endorsement sought for American postwar plans and the suggestion to remove the Vatican to the Western Hemisphere, which was discussed in the USA early in 1944.

EIRE

In 1937, after a struggle lasting for centuries, Eire gained full sovereignty and freedom of action under the Westminster Statute as a republican member of the British Commonwealth. But the oppression which the country had suffered had created so deep a chasm between the Irish and the English that the recognition of full dominion status was not able to wipe out the memories of the past, all the more so as Northern Ireland remained under English rule.

It was, therefore, no surprise when, after the outbreak of the present war, Eire declared her neutrality. It is, however, remarkable how she has succeeded in upholding this neutrality. There was certainly no lack of threats, persuasion, and direct pressure on the part of the Allies, and Eire's position has remained far from easy, inasmuch as she is entirely dependent upon the Anglo-Americans for vital imports. Eire has been enlisting all the support accessible to her—the US citizens of Irish extraction, who carry weight at the polls; legal appeal to the Westminster Statute, which is jealously guarded by all the Dominions; the closer adjusting of her economy to her immediate needs. Thus she has increased her wheat and potato acreage as well as her peat production while curtailing her electric-power output in order to become less dependent upon food and coal imports. On the other hand, the Irish Premier, Eamon de Valera, is well aware of the fact that Britain cannot easily dispense with Eire's agricultural supplies, especially meat, or her labor potential. Being a Catholic and anti-Communist nation, Eire has attempted to cooperate more closely with the Iberian peoples.

Naturally, the Allies are chiefly interested in naval bases on the west and south coasts of Ireland. But Eire has refused to cede, sell, or lease any part of her territory for the establishment of such bases to either Britain, Canada, or the USA. The elections which took place in May 1944, although necessitated by a domestic question, gave De Valera and his policy of neutrality a clear majority.

* * *

Neutrality is deemed if the respect for neutrality vanishes. No medium-sized or small state can in the long run preserve its neutrality if some of the great powers are determined to destroy it.

In a world as it is envisaged by the Allies and as proclaimed in Dumbarton Oaks, there is no place left for neutrality, neither for the opportunistic neutrality exercised by some states, nor for the traditional neutrality of Switzerland. Neutrality cannot be recognized by those who—to quote the title of Wendell Willkie's book—are bent on establishing "One World," be it a Soviet-world, an American world. This is quite
obvious from the various plans for the future of the world emanating from the Allied camp and dealing with world security, world currency, world economy, world traffic, to which all nations are expected to subscribe at the bidding of the big powers. Only in a world which allows problems arising between two or more nations to be dealt with by those directly concerned, a world not controlled by one group of powers only, is there room left for neutrality.

The fact that the Anglo-Americans have been more prominent in our survey of the battle against the neutrals does not mean that the Soviet Union takes a different stand from that of her allies. Moscow's ideology, which transcends the idea of nation and seeks to encompass the whole world, excludes any recognition of neutrality. The lashing out against Spain and Portugal in connection with the air traffic conference in Chicago, the refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Switzerland, the bitter complaints against Turkey's failing to declare war on Germany, the forcing of Rumania and Bulgaria into war with the Axis, all these events occurring during the past few weeks have made the Soviet policy toward neutrality quite clear.

Those nations which made concessions to the antineutral demands of the Allies have found that their position grew worse after every concession. Spain has to look on while armies are being prepared in French North Africa and France to carry the fires of civil war into her borders. Turkey and Argentina find themselves treated with greater hostility after having broken off relations with Germany than they were before; and the Swedes, who worked so hard trying to return Finland to a neutral status, have Soviet troops on their border and Soviet warships lying among the Åland Islands just outside of Stockholm.

A world without neutrals would be a poorer world. Neutrality has redeemed its obligation toward humanity in many ways. We have only to think of the magnificent work of the Red Cross, the granting of asylum, the exchange of prisoners and internees, the representation of belligerents in enemy countries, not to mention the fact that the presence of neutral states, able to see both sides of an issue and living on friendly terms with both warring camps, injects calm and reason into an atmosphere otherwise poisoned by hatred.
THE END OF SOVIET ISOLATION

As a rule, all important changes in the Soviet Union are effected in the form of "campaigns," suddenly and with the aid of all the means of propaganda. Probably one of the most intensive and certainly the most unexpected campaigns of 1944 is the subject of the following article.—K.M.

THE WAVE

The public speakers of the Party Committee of Gorky Province have in the last six months delivered 1,218 lectures, most of them dealing with Stalin's book *The Great Fatherland War*. Within the period of one year the members of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Party made 5,200 speeches. "The Propaganda Departments must sharply increase the number of lectures on the history of the Communist Party, on philosophy, on economics," demands *Bolshevik*, the central organ of the Communist Party in Moscow.

In more than sixty cities throughout the country, "Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism" have been founded during the last year. According to *Pravda*, most of the 3,200 students who enrolled this autumn in this "university" in Leningrad are leading Party members, officials, trade union and Comsomol leaders, factory managers, engineers, teachers, and doctors. Moreover, countless other institutions of political instruction have been created under such names as "House of Party Activists," "Party Cabinet," "Party School," "Seminary for Party Propagandists," "Seminary for Party Activists in Industry," "Travel Lecturers for Party Activists," etc., etc.

This intensive ideological hammering is by no means intended solely for professional politicians. "A profound mastery of Marxism-Leninism must be an organic necessity for the experts of every branch of science and industry," demands *Pravda* (27.9.44). And the magazine *Propagandist* (1944, No. 11/12, pp. 37-40 and No. 13, p. 43) informs us that 14 seminaries for Marxism-Leninism were established at the First Medical Institute in Moscow. Even the learned members of the Moscow Institute for Criminal Psychiatry or, to give a few more examples, the professors and lecturers of the Moscow Institutes for Dectology and for Precise Chemical Technology, "are being ideologically educated." *Propagandist* goes on to say:

In connection with the leading article "On the Inadequacies and Errors in the Treatment of the History of German Philosophy at the End of the 18th and the Beginning of the 19th Century," published in the magazine *Bolshevik*, the doctors at the Institute for Blood Transfusion have decided to study the fourth chapter of the book *Short Course of the History of the Communist Party* once more.

In Ulan-Ude (Buryat-Mongolia), a meeting of propagandists and agitators was recently held at which the flaws contained in the third volume of the *History of Philosophy*, recently published in Moscow, were discussed in detail (*Pravda*, 18.8.44). And in Azerbaidjan the Party organized "lecture courses for doctors, teachers, Party leaders, and officials" on the following subjects: "Dialectic Materialism—the Philosophy of the Bolshevist Party," "Marxist Dialectic Methods," "Marxist Philosophical Materialism," "On Historical Materialism." In August a meeting of professors of Marxism-Leninism, history of the USSR, and philosophy took place in Moscow, chiefly to discuss the best means of acquainting wide circles of Soviet intelligentsia with Marxism-Leninism.

WHY?

In short, a flood of ideological articles, books, lectures, and courses is sweeping the entire Soviet Union. They have nothing to do with the type of agitation dealt with in the article "Behind Soviet Production" (November 1944), which was directed solely at making the Soviet citizens work harder or deliver more grain to the state: what they are concerned with is fundamental philosophical problems. Just as the economic life of the USSR is permeated by a series of "socialist competitions," so is its intellectual life characterized by an unparalleled study and restudy of Marxism-Leninism.
How is it to be explained that, in the twenty-seventh year of Bolshevism and the fourth year of the Soviet Union's participation in the war, the ideological foundations of Bolshevism are being studied with an intensity reminiscent of the years before and during the Revolution; that experts on blood transfusion must suddenly turn to the study of German philosophy of a hundred and fifty years ago? Nowhere else in the world do we meet with a similar phenomenon. In the Soviet Union alone, of whose ideological strength and clarity many people throughout the world have such an exaggerated notion today, a wave of ideological agitation is sweeping into the remotest village. Why?

**MARCH INTO EUROPE**

The answer to this question lies in the advance of the Red Army beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. In Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, East Prussia, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece, there are now millions of Soviet soldiers, railwaymen, officials, members of the secret police, nurses, airfield ground personnel, etc. Their letters are being read by scores of millions at home. This has created an entirely new state of affairs: the hitherto complete isolation of the Soviet population from the rest of the world no longer exists. And this very isolation was one of the principal conditions for the events in the USSR during the last twenty-five years. Just as a mighty pressure can be produced in a hermetically sealed boiler, so the Soviet people had during the period of its isolation been subjected to so great an ideological pressure that, as the result of extreme, undiverted concentration, the Five Year Plans could take shape.

Suddenly this isolation has come to an end. Neither the Party members nor the rest of the population were mentally prepared for this. Indeed, they are less prepared today than they were twenty-six years ago. To the same extent to which Bolshevism was transformed in the Soviet Union from a demand into reality, the practical significance of Marxism dwindled. Although Marx, by his criticism of capitalism, supplied the Bolsheviks with the dynamite to blast the Tsarist Empire out of existence, that which he contributed toward the evolution of the Soviet state was never very much and has long been exhausted. (Incidentally, the emphasis within the team Marx-Engels has shifted during the last few years in the Soviet Union in favor of Engels. This is not surprising, as Engels was more interested in practical issues than Marx.) As far as the USSR alone is concerned, Marx merits a merely historical interest. This became particularly obvious during the war years when Marxism was replaced as the leading ideology by patriotism, which latter proved eminently suitable as long as it was a matter of defending or reconquering Soviet territory.

**IDEOLOGICAL ARMOR**

It was only the crossing of the Soviet borders which created a new situation. Just as it was required in 1917 for the Russian Revolution, Marxism is now needed for the social and economic readjustment of Finland, Poland, Rumania, etc. And while the Red Army is marching to the sounds of the new Soviet national anthem, the political demonstrators in Finland, Southern Italy, and France are still singing the *International*. The Bolsheviks were quick to recognize the serious problem presented by this paradox.

In a long article in serial form written in occupied Rumania, the well-known Soviet author Leonid Sobolyev warns the Red soldiers of the influence of foreign countries and exclaims:

> Many are the foreign countries through which we shall still march. Much superficially glittering finery will dazzle your eyes; O warriors! Believe not the seductive phantoms of pseudocivilization and forget not: the true culture is marching with you! (Pravda, 24.9.44.)

> "The war is taking place today for the greater part on foreign soil. In order to be correctly orientated, a superior Communist ideological equipment and a profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is necessary," declared Radio Moscow on September 27, 1944. And two days later Radio Irkutsk added: "The development of the war has entailed an increasing danger of the infiltration of foreign ideas. Extreme watchfulness in the ideological field is needed to prevent a clouding of the socialist idea."

So Marxism has suddenly risen to great importance in the struggle against the undermining of the Soviet people by the "infiltration of foreign ideas." First of all, it is useful in those countries against whose capitalistic form of economics Marx can still be used as a weapon. The striking increase in the teaching of foreign languages in the Soviet Union during the last few months
offers a clue to the extent to which ideological and other pressure is to be exerted in these countries. Secondly, Marxism is intended as the chief means of keeping the Soviet people abroad well in hand. If they begin to waver at the sight of Bucharest, what will happen if—as the Bolsheviks hope—they see Vienna or Rome? They must constantly be reminded by means of the Marxist ideology that they are fundamentally different from the people they meet across the borders; that all the splendor they may still see abroad is only a sign of the decay of capitalism and inferior to the poverty which they left at home. They are to be filled so completely with the Soviet Weltanschauung that there is no nook or cranny left in them in which a foreign ideology might take root. Geographical isolation is to be replaced by an ideological isolation, produced by utter ideological saturation, an unshakeable feeling of superiority which will make the Red soldier immune to the temptations of foreign ideas.

The task of the cadres of the theoretical front consists of displaying the source of our economic, political, military, moral superiority and the singularities of the Soviet state from all sides. (Bolshevik, 1944, No. 9, p. 7.)

In explaining the events of the day, giving lectures and holding discussions on political themes, the leading Party people and propagandists and agitators must not limit themselves to telling the facts: they must show their inevitability, the great power of Stalin’s foresight and of the laws of social evolution, the tremendous significance of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The men of the Party as well as officials and Comsomol leaders must thoroughly grasp the Marxist-Leninist theory in order to be able to solve all questions correctly and to orientate themselves properly in the domestic and international situation. (Pravda, 25.9.44.)

“Our task consists not of breaking Hitlerism but in uprooting any possibility of its further existence, even in thought,” states Pravda (30.9.44). But while the Bolsheviks say that it is their task to uproot Hitlerism from the thoughts of men, what they really mean is the annihilation of all national feeling as well as of those people who confess to national feeling. For that which Pravda calls “Hitlerism” and wants to see destroyed is only one particular form of national feeling; and to force this out of the thoughts of men is only possible by destroying national feeling as such.

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia is for the present generation of Soviet citizens past history and not a living experience. It is true that at home Stalin has fostered this unrevolutionary attitude, because a revolutionary spirit could only cause harm to the Bolsheviks there. But what if the Russians were automatically also to apply it to conditions abroad?

On September 11, 1944, a speaker of the Party Committee of the Maritime Province declared over Radio Vladivostok:

We recognize that in life there is only struggle and not evolution. For such things as science and superstition, bourgeoisie and proletariat, Soviet worker and capitalist businessman, cannot be reconciled. The transition from capitalism does not take place through evolution but through revolution. This is our fundamental conviction, and in order not to make any mistakes in politics one must know that all kinds of opportunists are trying to hold up the development of the world by the talk of evolution.

“IT IS VERY SAD…”

Even in the antireligious field, Moscow must now unfold new activities. Hardly has the Church in Russia, for reasons of foreign policy and patriotism, been granted a little more scope, than the Party leaders discovered that increasing numbers of Soviet citizens were availing themselves of this enlarged scope. The Party Secretary of Stavropol Province, Comrade Suslov, felt constrained to publish the following declaration in Komsomolskaya Pravda, the central organ of the Communist Youth Organization:

There are persons among the teachers who have recently begun to show great tolerance toward religion. There have even been slightly increasing numbers of cases of teachers participating in religious celebrations. The attitude of our Party toward religion is well known and immutable. Our Party is fighting religious prejudices because the Party is on the side of science, while religious prejudices are against science, as every religion represents a contradiction to science. It is very sad that some of our educators have shown themselves to be under the spell of religious delusions. This is the direct result of insufficient political training of the teaching body. (16. 9. 44.)

Nor is it a coincidence that, the further the Red Army has penetrated into Europe, the more have Lenin’s emphatically revolutionary writings, such as State and Revolution and Imperialism As the Last Stage of Capitalism, gained again in importance and frequency as a subject for discussion. Nor is it a coincidence that suddenly the memory of the struggle against the foreign intervention of the years 1918/20 is being refreshed. Lectures on such subjects as “The Party in the Days of International Intervention” and “How and Why did the Soviets Get Rid of the International Interveners and White Guards?” are being held all over the country. Why? one might ask. Is it not
the Soviet Union itself which is playing the part of an intervenor in Europe today? Undoubtedly; yet the Party desires all its members and followers to be acutely conscious of the difference between themselves and the rest of the world, particularly at the present moment, when they are marching into Europe and when the foreign-political situation demands collaboration with foreign countries, thus making it impossible to prevent a certain influence from abroad.

CONSEQUENCES OF PATRIOTISM

The Soviet patriotism which is being talked about so much today in the USSR is more than a cynical camouflage. As was shown in previous articles in this magazine, it corresponds to Bolshevism's shift of position from the whole world to the USSR. Never has the Party been more clearly aware of the fact that its fate is joined for better or for worse with the existence of the Soviet state. The Kremlin is for the Party leaders no longer a hotel in which they have temporarily taken up quarters: it is the only possible headquarters of Bolshevism. Stalin knows that the rule of Bolshevism is built up, not on the truth of any idea, but on the power of a certain type of man: homo Sovieticus, the Soviet man. This “Soviet man” has grown up on Russian soil. The Bolshevists know that, although the true Bolshevik can feel at home anywhere, his real home is the USSR. Here we discover the true meaning of Bolshevist patriotism. The Communists living scattered over the rest of the world may be comrades, but they are not brothers; for to them the home of Bolshevism, the Soviet Union, is still a foreign country.

There are many people in the USSR and abroad, especially among the Russian émigrés, who approve of the identification of the old Russian imperialism with the idea of the Soviet state and who, although they may not know it, have thereby spiritually taken the path to Bolshevism. There can be no doubt that the identification of Bolshevism and Russian patriotism has served to mobilize all forces in the Soviet Union. But even this trend contains the seed of a danger: if it were to lead only to a revival of the old national feeling, this would not serve the purposes of the Bolsheviks. Consequently, it has to be drummed into the Russians by means of thousands of lectures that their superiority consists not only in the fact that they are Russians but that they possess a different, viz., the Bolshevist ideology; that this ideology is vastly superior to those of other nations, and that it will therefore inevitably triumph over them.

1.8 MILLIONS HAVE VANISHED

Another reason for the present activity on Russia's ideological front is to be sought in the great change in quantity as well as in quality in the Party's membership. According to figures contained in Party publications, the Party had 3.4 million members and candidates for membership in 1940, shortly before the USSR's entry into the war. By January 1, 1944, the figure had risen to 4.6 million members and candidates. Since, according to official statements, almost two thirds of this number had joined during the war, the Party consisted at the beginning of the year of some 3 million new members and candidates and 1.6 million old ones. This means two things. (1) Of the 3.4 million members and candidates of the Party at the beginning of the war only 1.6 million are left. The difference of 1.8 million is to be explained chiefly by the tremendous losses during the war, and secondarily by the constant purging of the Party necessitated by the increased strain of the war. (2) The proportion of two new to each old Party member is not without its dangers in a period placing unusual demands upon the solidarity and spiritual unity of the Party.

The Party finds itself in a dilemma from which there is hardly any escape. The number of old Party members is melting under the external and internal influence of the war. At the same time, the field for Party activities is constantly expanding, which makes it necessary for the Party to accept new members at an unprecedented rate. The result is that every more or less efficient worker and peasant, housewife and peasant woman is recruited for the Party. Party headquarters ceaselessly demand membership statistics from its organs and propagandists and when these contain less than the desired number of new members, the Party functionaries are accused of laxity.

THE CASE OF COMRADE KOBOVIN

When we hear that in 1942 and 1943 five to six times as many new members and candidates were accepted as in prewar years (in August 1943, for instance, the number was 311,171), we realize that the ideological training of such masses must be
extremely difficult. The Soviet press contains ample evidence of this difficulty. On September 23, 1944, Pravda, for example, gave the following details about Comrade Korovin, a county Party secretary. Although three months previously his Party superiors had spoken of him in the "Characteristic" filed of every member as a "good organizer, serious Party member, loyal to its principles," he had to be expelled from the Party and handed over to the legal authorities because of "poor organizing, drinking, and undermining activities."

Education of the Party members, especially political education—that is the order of the day. Hence, for instance, Stalin's new book The Great Fatherlandish War has also been made the subject of innumerable lectures and courses. There is hardly anything less complicated than Stalin's prose, constructed as it is simple enough to be understood even by the most primitive peasant woman. When Stalin made the speeches of which this book is composed, they were published in all the newspapers and periodicals of the country; moreover, they were distributed in 74.5 million copies as pamphlets. Although the book thus contains things long known and thoroughly discussed, it has been made the subject of a new series of courses throughout the country.

Not only the new Party members, even the old ones must undergo an intensive ideological training, as many things have happened and evolved during the last few years for which their minds had not been ready. For although Moscow has been preparing in armaments as well as psychologically for the present war since the beginning of the Bolshevist regime, the war itself has produced many developments which not even the leaders of the Party could foresee. All the more urgent has it become to harmonize the ideology with existing facts and to prevent the Party members growing conscious of discrepancies. The Party must strain every effort to retain the ideological initiative and guide all its members as well as all Soviet citizens safely through the trials and tribulations of this war.

In addition to these difficulties, the Party finds itself in a special position with regard to those territories which were under German occupation. Considering that the people of these territories had been educated in the spirit of Bolshevism throughout their lives up to the coming of the Germans, it seems strange that the Kremlin should regard their ideological attitude after a temporary occupation with so much distrust. But the Soviet literature clearly reveals that the Party is finding it by no means easy to subject the people of these territories to the spiritual influence of Bolshevism. In an editorial, Pravda (7.10.44) urges "the obliteration of sentiments in favor of private property and against collectivism, which have been fostered by the German occupants." And Propagandist (1944, No. 14) also has something interesting to say in this connection:

Successful political work among the masses and the solution of economic-political tasks in these territories is unthinkable without the constant growth of our cadres, without their jealous work to improve themselves, without the widening of their knowledge of history and Party theory . . . . There are many errors to be found in the interpretation of the outstanding questions concerning the military-political and international position of the USSR.

The recent formation of a special Office of Repatriation at the Council of Peoples' Commissars shows that Moscow is also worrying about the problems arising from the return of Russian ex-war prisoners from Finland, Rumania, etc., men who have for years been beyond the influence of Bolshevism.

THE TERRIBLE VOLUME III

To what lengths the ideological campaign is being carried in the USSR today can be realized from the fact that, among the subjects which are being paid much attention in discussions and training courses, there are such as "The Earth and the Solar System," "The Origin of Life," "The Origin of Man," "Was There a Beginning and Will There Be an End of the World?" all of them, of course, presented in a Marxist light. But perhaps the most striking example is the present upheaval on the philosophical front.

At the beginning of this article we mentioned the fact that the members of the Institute for Blood Transfusion as well as the Party functionaries of Buryat-Mongolia are devoting particular attention to classical German philosophy. They are not the only ones to do so. The article in Bolshevik which caused these men to turn to that subject has been played up into a political sensation in the USSR and has led to thousands of lectures and study groups throughout the country. This is what happened.

In 1943 the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR published
the third volume of a comprehensive *History of Philosophy*, and received the Stalin Prize for all three volumes. This third volume, edited by the leading Bolshevist ideologists, among them Comrades M. Mitin and P. Yudin, deals chiefly with the philosophy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The greater part of this volume—which, incidentally, is also available in Shanghai—treats of classical German philosophy. Some six months later, No. 7/8 (1944) of the magazine *Bolshevik* came out with the afore-mentioned leading article which sharply denounces the treatment of classical German philosophy in the third volume as erroneous and dangerous. Moreover, it declares that the committee awarding the Stalin Prize had revised its opinion and explained that the prize did not cover the third volume. *Bolshevik* adds: “Volume III must be basically revised.” In the ensuing weeks this leading article was reprinted in all prominent Bolshevist periodicals and discussed everywhere in the Soviet press and radio. It was claimed that this article was instrumental in saving Bolshevism from spiritual disintegration and in redirecting the ideological education of the Soviet peoples into the only true path.

What's Wrong?

Having read this leading article, one almost trembles before opening that terrible Volume III, expecting to find opinions expressed in it which justify such vehement and extensive countermeasures. All the more surprised is one upon reading the book. The authors of Volume III have dealt with German philosophy, that of Hegel in particular, in the manner hitherto customary among Marxists. Everything Hegel said that fits in with the Marxist system is good; and everything is condemned that does not correspond to orthodox Marxism. If one has only read the article in *Bolshevik* and the book itself, one shakes one's head and asks in bewilderment: What's wrong! And we are willing to bet that even among the millions of Party members, not to mention the ordinary Soviet citizens, there would be very few who could give an answer to this question merely on the basis of the article and the book. They would lose their way hopelessly in the maze of quotations from Hegel, Marx, and Lenin.

As is so often the case in the Soviet Union, the real explanation is not to be found in what is said in so many words. Only when one studies other manifestations of the present ideological campaign as they have appeared during the last few months in the Soviet press and radio does one find the solution to the riddle and comprehend the crime committed by the authors of Volume III. Following the example of all their Marxist predecessors, the authors have shown philosophy to develop via rationalism and classical German philosophy to Hegel, where it split up on the one hand into the trend represented by Marx, Engels, and later by Lenin and Stalin, and on the other into the Hegelian Rightists. This means that classical German philosophy was the ideological forerunner of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Such a view can no longer be tolerated today. Hence the new discussion on the history of philosophy in Soviet publicity informs us that it was not the Germans Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel but entirely different men who were the true giants of philosophical thought.

“Our classical Russian philosophy of the nineteenth century, as personified by Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov, represents the peak of philosophical thought,” states *Bolshevik* (1944, No. 12, p. 27). The materialistic philosophy of Russia “was independent in its evolution and frequently went in advance of Western European philosophical thought . . . . In the field of sociology and politics, the classical Russian philosophers were no less independent, original thinkers than in the field of logic and the theory of perception and knowledge.” (pp.16-27).

Error in Geography

Consequently, the stages of mankind’s modern intellectual evolution are as follows: Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, Marx, Lenin, Stalin. If the first four names should be new to many of our readers, this need not embarrass them. For those men were not philosophers at all. None of them has ever worked out a philosophical system or thought of himself as a philosopher. They were authors, critics, publicists, journalists, or whatever one likes to call them.

The Bolsheviks make no attempt at proving that Marx based his ideas on the work of those four men. (Nor could it be proved.) But they do not have to prove it, as their utterance is enough. *Bolshevik* has spoken, and now it is the duty of Party theoreticians to teach in meetings up and down the
country that even the logical laws of thought, the conditions of the perception of the world by human reason, are closely related to the birth of the Soviet state in Russia and that the correct Weltanschauung is immanent solely in Bolshevism and the type of man representing Bolshevism. Since, however, the rise of Soviet man is the result of specifically Russian conditions and since it is the mission of the Russian people to save the world by means of Soviet man, the spiritual evolution of the Russian people must be represented as having always been permeated and guided by materialism. In this way, modern Soviet man links up with the Russian of the past, who already contained the seeds of materialism. Both are the pillars of mankind's cultural evolution, which is founded in materialism. All other philosophical systems and conceptions of the world and of man are of secondary importance or mendacious.

"Chernyshevsky's chief distinction is that he has exposed the cowardly and vulgar nature of Kant and Hegel," declared a speaker over Radio Irkutsk on October 28, 1944. "No philosophical revolution of the West can compare in significance and force with the ideological revolution which, thanks to the Bolshevist Party and its leaders Lenin and Stalin, has taken place in the consciousness of the Russian people," adds Bolshereik (1944, No. 12, p. 21).

So the fault of the authors of Volume III does not lie in the philosophical or political sphere but rather in the geographical one. They have committed the crime of representing classical German philosophy as the apex of philosophical thought in pre-Marxist times as well as an inseparable part of the spiritual evolution of mankind. It is of minor importance in this connection that it happens to be German philosophy; in principle there would be no difference if it were the French or English philosophy—the main thing is that it is non-Russian. In future it is only Russians who are to be recognized as the ancestors of Marxism. The slight flaw that Marx himself was not a Russian must for the time being be put up with. Fortunately he was not a German but a Jew. Indeed, modern Bolshevism might even get along without him, were it not for the development we dealt with before.

Just as the history of the Russian state is being turned into the history of the world (see "Stalin the Historian," October 1944), so Russian philosophy is to be promoted to the only true philosophy, to the supreme expression of the evolution of human culture. The spreading of this new doctrine among Party functionaries and the ranks of Soviet intelligentsia is nothing but part of the gigantic ideological campaign to prepare the Soviet people for the next phase of world history which began with the crossing of the Soviet borders by the Red Army and its invasion of Europe. Kant and Hegel, the flashy streets of Bucharest, the German orderliness in the reoccupied territories: they must all be rendered innocuous by a surfeit of ideological activity so that the Red soldier, marching out of his quarter century of isolation, may triumphantly raise the Soviet banner over them.

**Pri.e Whopper**

Among the whoppers awarded prizes by the Liars' Club in Burlington, Wisconsin, is the following one:

During summer maneuvers, three soldiers camouflaged themselves as trees and stood guard all day in a field in the hope of luring the "enemy" into an ambush. Their camouflage was so perfect that one of them was attacked by bark beetles; the other found out later that someone had carved two entwined hearts with the words "Tom loves Mary" in his bark; the third was cut down by a lumberjack and is now a telephone pole on the road to Alaska.

**Economy**

To save transportation space the US Army decided to ship toilet paper for the overseas forces baled rather than in rolls. It has been estimated that enough shipping space has been conserved by putting this new method into practice to account for the movement of a cargo ship of 10,000 tons sailing continuously for nine months without ever putting into port.
URS has been called the Century of the Child, not only because children are being treated as "people" and given every opportunity to develop according to their individuality, but also because we wistfully adore the eagerness for life and the straightforwardness of all impulses in a child's nature. Even in judging adults, casual remarks about acquaintances or the description of a character in a novel often bring out some childish trait, some enthusiasm or unspoiled instinct, some childish mannerism unconsciously retained, and praise it as the chief source of that person's charm and attraction.

If we are honest, we must admit this: We did not discover the importance of children (just anybody's children, apart from our own) until we became rather skeptical about our grown-up importance. Primitive people may love their offspring just as dearly as the lioness and the modern mother, yet to them childhood is just a stage, to be left behind as quickly as possible. To be able to protect and feed oneself and to choose a mate, that alone was the full realization of life. But when this became difficult even for many able grownups, when the struggle of life did not exalt man but weary him, then he looked back and remembered that once all life had seemed wonderful to him, and that its mysteries had held no terror, only promise. Man began to envy children their wisdom without knowledge, their character without morals. And he listened eagerly to the revolutionary message: "The Kingdom of God belongs to such as these."

The first artist who ever made the image of a child for its own sake took a step of supreme importance. And it was not in the dim past that this happened. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, in ancient India and China, artists were not given to regarding the child in itself as an attractive model. It might creep in and take its modest place in mass scenes or in illustrations, where iconography demanded its presence to make a certain episode complete. Had not Christianity made so much of the Nativity, thereby giving prominence to an infant, and elevated the Virgin Mother of God to a high place of worship, Western art would have had to wait even longer for the baby to toddle into its berth in art.

It was a slow backward process, that of reducing the full-blown conception of the Savior to the infant who as yet knows nought of good and evil. Medieval Madonnas offer believers precocious little boys who are quite capable of consciously performing the act of blessing. It was the Renaissance which gave Christ the same start in life as all of us enjoy in the blissful self-sufficiency of babyhood, the promise of a great future being expressed solely in the picture of his Mother. As the Madonna takes on the features of a human mother, the child becomes her helpless babe: nothing extraordinary in the eyes of others but the whole world to her. He plays children's games with little St. John and the angels; he is allowed a respite in the safe world of unfledged humanity. His attraction lies not in his mission but in the way he reminds you of all the children you have known and loved. The Savior, apparently unaware of his powers, appeals to us for love and protection. But behind his carefree play and confident slumber looms the specter of his mission, making his helplessness even more appealing to us.

If a child was portrayed because of some outstanding deed, it had acted beyond its years. It was, therefore, natural to depict it as resembling an adult more closely than ordinary children of the same age would. If a boy wore a crown and theoretically held the reins of government, if a little princess was betrothed to a foreign prince for reasons of state, their portraits would reflect their unnatural status in life rather than the childish incompetencies which endear them to their nurse. It was not until the last few centuries that artists realized that the contrast between an exalted position and a representative yet unfitted and unspoiled might give a poignant charm to the picture.
Although this boy painted by Chardin (1699-1779) is a complete gentleman in his appearance, he still finds spinning a top more attractive than his books.

CHILDREN OF ALL AGES

The medieval artist depicted the Christ Child (1330) with all the serenity Jesus showed in later life.

Nine different attitudes toward the serious business of drawing a flower, as seen by a modern Japanese painter.

Howling and struggling does not help naughty Cupid when Saturn clips his wings (18th cent.)
Prince Don Baltasar Carlos, by Velasquez (1636). The combination of a generalissimo’s pose and a soft childish face is not very convincing, but it expresses the hopes of an empire.

Peter Paul Rubens’ portrait of his son Nikolaus (1619). All the artist wished to show here was the child as it appeared in the eyes of his loving parent.

With the aid of modern photography a new element enters into the art of portraying children: the capturing of the elusive fleeting emotion passing over the child’s face and the impulsive movement of the hands (Phot. Emil Mehnert).

In the mountain village of Harenwald, Erzgebirge, poor peasants always keep their Infant Jesus (1673), little brother to their own babies, dressed in the best lace the district produces.
Contrast is one of the means by which artists achieve their effects. The contrast between two generations will be to the advantage of the child, and the family group picture is the place where the child shines. While primitive people are prompted by fertility magic to make only crude likenesses of women who are destined to bear children, civilized citizens proudly show off their offspring as a proof that their family tree is blessed. We are fond of photographs uniting three generations; grandparents and parents are the background for the child, the latest link in the chain, guaranteeing continuity.

Once the artists had "discovered" the child, they held on to such a valuable model; for there is no doubt that everybody loves to look at children for what they are, quite aside from sentimental or sensational circumstances. They can always evoke a smile; they cannot possibly be grim or offensive; and, while they may not have highly dramatic moments, they also avoid the tragic. They are sure to be charming both as individuals and as types.

It is no wonder that photography has developed a highly specialized field: portraits of children. Early photographic portraits were posed just as stiffly as the painted likenesses of royalty not yet in their teens, but today the photographer realizes that he has a great advantage over the artist: he can catch the fleeting playful gesture, never to be consciously repeated. The portrait painter can endow his picture with the sum total of personality impressions gained in personal talks or long sittings. His picture will then seem to be more completely the likeness of a finished individual than any set of snapshots in different moods. But to treat the child as a compound product of its moods is to emphasize the incompleteness of its person; while the impish smile tossed over its shoulder, or the grave preoccupation with which a new aspect of life is taken in, reveals the whole of the child's nature.

We know that environment molds the character; it also brings out the character in a portrait. Chinese artists place their children in the surroundings in which they feel most at home. They put them into the garden, where the little tots are as completely one with nature as kittens and butterflies, who play with the same abandon. We like to bring out the sweet gravity of the little personage who has outgrown babyhood and finds life a serious game in which one must behave with decorum. The child-angel knows this too, as soon as it has passed beyond the romping stage and takes part in heavenly music.

Yet there is one favorite of Western art who is entirely without any sense of responsibility or family ties: the cherub. He is the personification of soft plumpness, endless pranks, and freedom from "good behavior." Cherubs are children of all the elements, citizens of heaven and earth alike. Theirs is a wider scope of life, even though civilization has not illumined their earthly domain.

**Revenge**

An American marine in the Pacific was known among his comrades for his great faithfulness to his fiancée. But one day he received a letter in which his fiancée briefly informed him that she was marrying someone else and asked him to return her photograph. This was such a blow to the poor fellow that his comrades decided to avenge him. They organized a collection of all kinds of photos of girls, packed them into a big cardboard box, and sent them to the faithless one. On top lay a letter: "Please pick out your own photo and send me back the rest. I hate to say so, but I can't remember which is you."
BAKUNIN, FATHER OF ANARCHISM

By WALTER GÖRLITZ

Born on April 18, 1814, at Pryamukhino, an estate in the Province of Tver, Bakunin was the scion of an old, distinguished family of the nobility. His father, Alexander Bakunin, was master over several thousand serfs and marshal of the nobility of his native district. One of his ancestors had distinguished himself in the diplomatic service under Catherine II, and one of his relatives was a general in the Tsarist Army. The revolutionary heritage which was later to unfold to such an extent in the son was already apparent in the father: he was a member of one of the two secret conspiracies formed by officers and members of the aristocracy which led to the Decembrist rising, and after the failure of this rising he had to go to Siberia for a certain length of time. In his mother's family, that of the Counts Muravyov, we also find a revolutionary tradition, as several of her relatives were among the leaders of the Decembrists, one of them, Colonel Sergius Muravyov-Apostol, having been hanged at the Tsar's orders in St. Petersburg in 1826.

In view of the reactionary character of Russian absolutism and the scanty hopes for liberal reforms, many progressive minds in Russia were convinced that there could be no other way but revolution. On the other hand, since an urban middle class and industrial proletariat did not evolve until late in the nineteenth century and the peasant masses continued in their traditional passivity, these ideas of revolution were maintained for a long time almost exclusively by the nobility, as this was the only class to have all the means of education at its disposal. Almost all the standard-bearers of revolt, from the Decembrists (named after the December uprising of 1825) to Lenin (whose real name was Ulyanov) were descendants of the nobility.

The youth of Mikhail Bakunin provides no inkling of the thorny path which fate had destined him to tread one day. He grew up in a comfortable, wealthy, and secure environment. Following the tradition of his family, Michael attended the Artillery School in St. Peters burg to become an officer, if possible of the Guards, and graduated after having done fairly well in his final examinations. He was disappointed when, instead of being ordered to the Guards, he was posted with an artillery detachment stationed in the provinces. His duties did not offer him any satisfaction whatever. Soon he neglected them entirely, spending days on end lying on his bed in a dressing gown, idling away his time with daydreams. Finally, after less than a year, filled with loathing at so much emptiness and boredom, he resigned his commission. After that he lived either on his father's estate or in Moscow, a young aristocrat who, like so many of his peers, did not have to work for a living.

Outwardly, Bakunin was of a striking appearance. With his tall, athletic figure, his wide shoulders, and his big, impressive head with its shock of waving brown hair, he seemed like a bogatyri, one of those mythical heroes of old Russian legends. His features pointed to frankness and good nature. A likeable fellow, one might have thought, with such unusual intellectual gifts that he would seem to be born for more than whiling away his life with the vanities of aristocratic salons. His talents were obviously far above the average. He possessed a lively imagination, a brilliant intellectual grasp, wrote in an exquisite style, and was a fluent, even inspiring speaker. But his stock of actual knowledge was fragmentary.

Thus equipped, or rather unequipped, he entered the circle of Moscow's intellectual jeunesse dorée, which was at that time greedily absorbing the philosophy of the Occident. It was, so to speak, a period of intellectual spring awakening. Russia was opening her eyes after a long hibernation and, full of thirst for knowledge, seeking to catch up with the culture and sciences of Europe. An enthusiastic feeling of being called upon to create new and better forms
of life permeated all these easily inflammable minds. The first ideas of Pan-Slavism, the mission of the Slavic nations under Russia’s leadership, mingled chaotically with this youthful storm and stress. Men who were led by the traditions of the ancient Moscow period in their desire to see the Pan-Slavic idea materialize, united in this national urge for power with the “Westerners,” who deemed a new liberal and democratic Russia to be an essential condition for the realization of this great aim. Their chief representatives were the poet Alexander Herzen, the illegitimate son of a rich Moscow aristocrat and a German woman, a brilliant, sensitive, and romantically inclined man, and his friend Ogarev, the scion of a rich family of the nobility.

These young people were now joined by Bakunin, whose active mind was thirsting for occupation and fulfillment. All of them were under the influence of a new spiritual revelation, the philosophy of Hegel. The life of the world as the eternal rational process of pure intellect, to be apprehended by perception: that was the new gospel filling all these brains with ecstasy. Side by side with the old, torpid world of the state Church with its uneducated priests, the cult of reason affected the minds of the young people like fermenting wine. All that ever was, is, or will be is, according to Hegel, only divine reason in its unfolding. “Whatever is, is rational: and only that which is rational is,” that is the quintessence of his philosophy. It seemed to give the reply to all the questions of life, and so these young Russians hungrily seized upon it. Their night-long passionate debates over tea and cigarettes on every single paragraph of the master’s doctrine were the forerunners of the later nihilistic discussions with their pale, feverishly excited, unkempt participants who, forgetting everything around them, in endless loquacity tore everything to pieces and misinterpreted it all.

The state in which Bakunin and his friends were living was the Russia of Tsar Nicholas I who, after the December revolt, ruthlessly suppressed any liberal thought. Hence it was not long before doubt made its appearance in these nightly discussions as to how this reality, which could not be rational, was to be reconciled to Hegel’s doctrine. Bakunin went to Berlin to study the master’s wisdom on the spot. Herzen and his friends loaned him the money for the journey. For Bakunin this was the decisive step of his life. His stay abroad uprooted him from his accustomed environment and, as he lacked true moral backbone, he soon lost all stability.

In the winter of 1840-41, when Bakunin began his studies, the “Hegelian Leftists” held sway over the lecture halls in the Berlin University. Bakunin learned to his delight that there was a truth which went even beyond the master’s truth, a truth able to solve those contradictions over which he had almost despaired. Lacking any inherent creative power, he could only appropriate the ideas of others—which, moreover, he misinterpreted—and carry them to boundless extremes. The ideological system which he built up in this way, although full of bold conclusions, was devoid of any reality. Outwardly, too, his studies showed little in the way of results. He reported to Herzen on his attendance at lectures, and took part in new, night-long debates over tea and cigarettes on the riddles of the world, at which Turgenev, who was later to gain such fame as an author, was also present; but with that restlessness which formed Bakunin’s most outstanding characteristic he suddenly broke all this off.

He gave up his studies and in 1842, with a publication on Schelling and the Revelation, Critique of the Latest Attempt at Reaction in Philosophy, he appeared on the scene as a reformer of German philosophy. His work captivates the reader by its brilliant style; thanks to his quick grasp he had mastered the German language in a surprisingly short time. But through the tangle of more or less misunderstood Hegelian theses, the complete anarchist is already discernible between the lines. He places the idea in juxtaposition to reality and demands that the idea be burned at the stake so that, like the phoenix of legend, it may arise purified from the ashes. This means no less than the annihilation of the existing world in favor of a phantom. For the idea, he proclaims, everything must be sacrificed, even one’s life. The first strains of the marching song of that all-embracing revolution, whose apostle he was soon to become, are already audible in this work: “The day of the great decision of the battle of nations is approaching, and victory must be ours.”

The Tsar ordered him to return to Russia. He disregarded the order, and as a result he
was expelled from the nobility and banished for life from his country. The 5,000 rubles Herzen and Ogarev had given him were soon spent, and Bakunin got into financial difficulties. His family could not support him, since he was banished; so he recklessly made debts everywhere, unable to make an honest living by working.

From Berlin he moved to Dresden, where he became acquainted with a number of German democratic revolutionaries. Here, under the pseudonym of Jules Elyzard, he published an article on the reactionary movement in Germany which openly revealed his revolutionary bent. In it, as a violent opponent of any idea supporting the state, he espoused the literal interpretation of the motto of the French Revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity. What he demanded was the ruthless destruction of existing society and its political forms of expression. "The air is sultry, it is pregnant with storms" we read. He ended with the words:

Open your spiritual eyes, let the dead bury their dead, and let yourselves be convinced finally that the spirit, the eternally young, new-born spirit, is not to be sought in ruined halls... Let us put our faith in the eternal spirit, which only destroys and annihilates because it is the bottomless, creative source of all life. The lust for destruction is also a creative lust.

That was the first fanfare of nihilism. But as to what was to come after the destruction of all existing things, Bakunin was completely in the dark. He was led solely by the vague hope that something would arise from chaos which would be better than the present. In his Principles of Revolution he later proclaimed:

By revolution we mean a radical change, a replacement of all forms of contemporary European life, without exception, by new, entirely opposed forms. If all existing forms are bad, new ones can only arise when no single old one has been spared destruction, i.e., entirely new forms of life can only arise from complete amorphism.

Here we see revealed a monstrous paralogism; for, side by side with the demand for destruction, there is no program pointing into the future. It was the lowest type of slum proletariat that became the shock troops of Bakunin's revolution. Himself a man of no profession, he instinctively took up the cause of the professionless elements.

The state of financial embarrassment never released the apostle of anarchism for the rest of his life. To escape the clutches of his creditors in Dresden, he went to Zürich. But he could not stay there for long either, as the police soon took an interest in him. Leaving considerable debts behind, he fled to Geneva, and from there to Paris, the rendezvous of all political emigrants. Here he met Alexander Herzen again, who had meanwhile also left Russia and was furthering the cause of the liberalization of the Russian form of government with his periodical The Bell in London. "I met him at a street corner," Herzen narrates. "He was walking with three friends and, just as in Moscow, he was preaching something to them, constantly stopping and waving his cigarette around."

As always, he was living off his debts. He hardly did any work at all, the literary production of the years from 1840 to 1847 consisting of five newspaper articles. What occupied him with an almost religious exclusiveness was now the "Revolution" as such. To a friend he wrote: "I am waiting for my, or—if you prefer—for our common wife, the Revolution. Only then shall we be happy, that is to say ourselves, when the entire surface of the earth is in flames." He believed in some immediate catastrophe which would entail a general upheaval, either by an explosion from below or by a coup d'état, a revolutionary dictatorship from above. But his sanguine nature always caused him grotesquely to overestimate all realistic possibilities. Herzen once said of him that he always took the second month of pregnancy for the ninth.

When the year 1848 came with its revolutions in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, Bakunin was filled with the most fantastic hopes. Over the democratic intoxication of the middle classes during these months of spring, his figure fluttered like that of a demon filled with a mad lust for destruction. In Paris he fought on the barricades with such wild passion that even his close friends shrank from him. "What a man!" the revolutionary Cossidière exclaimed in consternation. "On the first day of revolution he is a real treasure, on the second he should simply be shot." The Provisional Government soon began to feel uneasy about Bakunin's lack of restraint and his influence on the labor class. So they got rid of him by persuading him that he should be closer to the Russian border to call up his Slavic brothers to join the fight against reaction in Europe.

Bakunin enthusiastically seized upon this idea. He hurried via Cologne, Leipzig, and Breslau to Prague, where a congress of all
Slavic peoples met. Here, too, his feverish revolutionary impetuosity immediately attracted attention. When the Hapsburg powers brought up cannons against the discontented Czechs, he was one of the first to mount the barricades. However, the rebels were no match for the troops; the uprising collapsed in streams of blood; and Bakunin fled under cover of darkness to Germany.

He found little to his taste in the German revolution: he did not care for the German love of order. Although the revolutionary waves were gradually calming down everywhere, he was carried along by new fantastic hopes in which national and revolutionary dreams were merged. He addressed a bombastic appeal to the Slavs, calling upon them to join in brotherhood with all revolutionary peoples and to destroy the Hapsburg Empire as the stronghold of reaction. The Slavs, so he proclaimed, being young peoples, are destined to pour their inner wealth like the fresh sap of spring into the veins of the dried-up life of the European peoples. For Bohemia he drew up a plan for a rebellion which included the dictatorship of the proletarian and the general distribution of all possessions.

In 1849 we find him again in Dresden where, as a sort of Red dictator, he took over the leadership in the May revolt against the King and the Government of Saxony. The wildest plans raced through his brain; he trembled with lust for destruction, ordered fuel and pitch rings to be piled up in the town hall, and wanted the opera house and the beautiful buildings of the Zwinger to be set on fire. He would have liked nothing better than to have all Dresden go up in flames.

But the end was only defeat again. Bakunin was taken prisoner. The Government of Saxony condemned him to death but then, upon the request of the Vienna Cabinet, extradited him to Austria, where he was again condemned to death. Only a request by the Tsar for his extradition saved him from being executed.

As a prisoner of the state he was held captive in the ill-famed Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in St. Petersburg. Here he composed a confession to the Tsar by the "repentant sinner Mikhail Bakunin," in the hope of thereby achieving his pardon. In it he confessed to having harbored criminal plans against the Tsar, against Russia, and "all divine and human laws"; for the rest, however, he represented himself as a sincere Pan-Slavist and national Russian and hinted at his abhorrence of Western Europe with its skepticism and moral decay. This was spoken to suit the Russian Slavophiles, whose ideology was closely related to his own Pan-Slavism. There is no doubt that at that time this idea was actually predominating for the moment in his inconstant mind. Since the revolt from below had failed, he now placed his hopes in a powerful revolutionary dictatorship, in the coup d'etat from above. At times he was seriously considering a people's Tsar who might bring about the Revolution.

However, if he was counting on such ideas making an impression on Nicholas I, the man who looked like a field marshal and had the brains of a drill sergeant, he was grossly mistaken. Some of his Pan-Slavistic ideas did, it is true, appeal to the Tsar, but the latter still spoke of Bakunin as an extremely dangerous person who should be kept in custody under all circumstances. So he spent altogether seven years in prison, first in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, and after 1854 in near-by Schlüsselburg.

It was only after the death of Tsar Nicholas I that his mother and his relatives succeeded in persuading Tsar Alexander II to banish Bakunin to Siberia. For Bakunin, banishment meant salvation. For the political convict in Siberia did not by any means lose his personal honor; and, moreover, the famous and almighty Governor General of Eastern Siberia, General Count Muravyov-Amursky, was his uncle. A new life began, or rather, the old life began again. For the years of imprisonment did not chaste him. Although he was outwardly given a job in the gold mines which paid him an annual salary of 2,000 rubles, in reality he did nothing, spending his days in empty brooding, with shallow books and endless prattle about the destruction of the world and insipid philosophantasias.

On the other hand, however, Bakunin discovered someone in Irkulsk who let his revolutionary and Pan-Slavistic hopes rise boundlessly: no less a personage than his uncle, Count Muravyov-Amursky, the representative of His Imperial Majesty in Eastern Siberia. Here in Irkulsk, "Red Pan-Slavism" found its first abode. Bakunin's ideas, in which revolutionary lust for destruction mingled with mad national dreams of power, expressed in concrete form
that of which Count Muravyov and his circle had long had a dim, vague notion. Nowhere else had he been listened to more enthusiastically and attentively than here. Not in vain was Count Muravyov known in St. Petersburg as the “Red General.” All these servants of the Tsar were living in that strange confusion of the spirit so characteristic of the old Russia, reeling from one new idea to the next.

Bakunin was enthusiastic. Now he had found the revolutionary dictator of his dreams. “Muravyov is ours in his feelings, thoughts, all his former actions, his endeavors, his desires and firm intentions,” he wrote to Alexander Herzen. Muravyov was to become the head of an iron dictatorship. Originally a liberal, an admirer of Western civilization and culture, he had followed his Russian bent for extremes and long ago drifted into the current of the Revolution. Bakunin saw in him the savior of Russia, a second Peter the Great. He already visualized the Russian Revolution taking place under his own and Muravyov’s leadership.

Besides this, he was occupied with an entirely different matter: he had begun a courtship. Here, too, his political utopias played a certain role. He had always looked upon Poland as being the destined tool for destroying the existing form of government in Russia and had sought contact with Polish emigrant circles. Now he met the family of a Polish exile employed like himself at the gold mines. Soon he was giving French lessons to the two daughters of this family, fell in love with one of them, Emma, and married her. His young wife brought him a modest property as her dowry. It was his last chance to follow the example of so many of his fellow-sufferers and begin a settled life in exile. However, the Revolution, which was merely a camouflage for his morbid restlessness, would not let him go. He could not stay put.

In 1861, without any apparent reason, he left Siberia to flee via Japan and the United States to London. Before he left, he remembered that he had been drawing his salary from the mines for three years without having done a stroke of work; so he decided generously to pay back the money. To do so, he needed 6,000 rubles which, of course, he did not have. He finally succeeded in borrowing this sum in Irkutsck. But hardly had he laid hands on the money when his noble intention melted away like butter in the sun: he used the money to pay for his flight to London.

Back in London, he took it for granted that his old friends Herzen and Ogarev would take care of his expenses. The fame and influence of Alexander Herzen and his The Bell were at that time at their peak. His magazine was even read at court in St. Petersburg; his ardent endeavors to reshape the Russian state by way of peaceful reforms had not failed to impress Tsar Alexander II. But it would seem as if Bakunin were the demoniacal embodiment of the spirit of destruction. Wherever he appeared he sowed the seeds of destruction. Hardly had he gained a footing in London when he began to devote himself to revolutionizing The Bell, thereby dealing a deathblow to Herzen’s life’s work. The peasant riots following upon the abolishment of serfdom in Russia in 1862, the knowledge of the existence of a man like Count Muravyov, and the discontent of the Poles with the Russian rule in Warsaw, served to confirm the conviction he had brought with him from Siberia that the Revolution was about to break out in Russia. When in 1863 the Poles actually rose in open revolt, he lost his last remnant of prudence.

“Bakunin strode with seven-league boots across mountains and seas, across years and generations,” is how Alexander Herzen describes him during these months. “He already saw the red banner waving on the Urals and on the Volga, in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus, indeed, perhaps even from the Winter Palace and the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.” But although he obviously saw through the fantastic delusions in Bakunin’s character, Herzen was weak enough to give way to his promptings and openly support the Polish revolt in The Bell.

Bakunin’s brain was in a whirl again with the craziest plans: an appeal to the Russian Army, to the nobility, to the officers’ corps, the hope for a peasant rising, for a large-scale mutiny in the Army. He hurried off to Stockholm to organize an expeditionary corps made up of Polish and Russian emigrants which was to come to the aid of the Poles and, as the standard-bearer of the great Red and Slavic Revolution, be instrumental in kindling an upheaval in Russia. However, he failed disastrously at the very beginning. In Russia the Red Pan-Slavism gave way to an absolutistic, orthodox one; the influence of The Bell...
waned among the leading Russians since it had supported the Polish revolt; the revolt of the Poles was crushed in rivers of blood. On his return to London, Bakunin himself appeared like a shipwrecked man cast upon a desolate beach denuded of all hope.

Once again he began a restless, roving life full of fickle plans. He went to Florence, Naples, Locarno, overflowing with new designs which became more and more formless. Although he was always occupied with all kinds of literary plans and made many enthusiastic beginnings, he dropped them again after a short time. Often we meet with a strange lack of mental discipline in his manuscripts: he could no longer stick to the main ideas of his theme, deviating into arguments which had nothing to do with the original subject.

Most of his best ideas are to be found in his voluminous correspondence. Here there are some flashes of perception which reveal an astonishing farsightedness, for instance when he predicts a duration of fifty years for Bismarck’s Empire and declares that it will collapse in a world war. But all this was only piecework. His world grew more and more nebulous and unreal. To this came the increasing misery of his constant pecuniary embarrassment, which became even worse when he had his wife join him and became the father of two sons. “I beg you, Herzen, lend me, of course if you can, 600 francs or even only 500.” Desperate appeals of that kind became more common every year. There were days when five centimes were all he had in cash, while the butcher and baker, landlord and cobbler, were threatening to attach his few sticks of furniture.

But the less the existing world had to offer him, the more fervent became his hatred, the more fanatically did he pursue the plans for its destruction. He made tireless efforts to found new international workers’ associations. In 1865 he founded the “International Brotherhood,” whose object was the destruction of all existing state and social organizations. In 1867 he joined the general council of the League for Peace and Liberty in Geneva. In 1868 he appeared in the central committee of the Second International; but as he met with little appreciation there, he founded the “International Alliance of Social Democracy” with thirty political partisans. When even this group did not seem radical enough for him, he undermined his own foundation by a secret society of which he made himself the dictatorial head.

Bakunin envisioned a kind of renewal of the old Cossack constitution of the wild, lawless days of the frontier. On the old Slavic communistic basic cell of the Mir, the primitive village community, he wanted to build up a new society composed of free groups of free individuals with complete freedom of action. As the first step he suggested following the example of the Russian bandit Stenka Rasin (seventeenth century) and setting fire to all official buildings in order to destroy the documents upon which the privileges and property of the old governing class were based. He demanded organized terror by declaring in Principles of the Revolution that the destruction of the high personages embodying the old order must be begun by individual actions so that, in accordance with the spreading panic in the old ruling class, it may gradually be increased to the actions of collective masses.

This doctrine and his appeal of 1868 to the Russian students not to waste their time with study and the sciences but to go among the people penetrated like a sweet poison into the minds of the discontented in Russia. Strange threads ran from the stuffy, badly furnished, dark rooms in which Bakunin led his miserable existence over papers, cigarette butts, and dirty tea cups to the highest circles of the old Russian society which, with the blindness of a suicide, was plotting its own death. A man like the world-famous author Turgenev, the descendant of an old family of the nobility and the owner of rich estates, supported him with money and was convinced that he was serving the progress of mankind in this way. Princess Obolenskaya, the daughter of the Inspector General of Artillery, became an unconditional adherent of his teachings when she met him in Italy. It is as if a frenzy of self-abandonment had seized liberal society. The slogan of “v narod,” of “going into the people,” came up. In St. Petersburg, Moscow, Samara, Saratov, Kiev, Odessa, groups were formed to work for his ideas. His spirit permeates that striking appeal “Young Russia” of 1862, thousands of copies of which were secretly distributed all over the country: “To the axes! Strike out at the Imperial party without pity, wherever you meet it, in the streets and squares, in the towns and villages!”

Aristocratic girls, the daughters of some of the best families, families regarded as the
pillars of the throne, became Bakunin’s willing disciples. Under his influence, noblemen made attempts at assassinating the representatives of the state. Nihilism was celebrating orgies, and shadowy figures emerged from this atmosphere. Prince Peter Kropotkin, the son of one of the oldest and noblest houses of Russia, a pupil of the imperial corps of pages and a famous explorer and geographer, turned to anarchism under Bakunin’s influence. During the day he continued his life of an aristocrat, appearing in court society and having meals at the Winter Palace. At night he would hire a cab and go to a poor student district, put on a fur jacket and high boots and, as “Comrade Borodin,” preach to factory workers about the overthrow of the existing order.

THE most terrible of all the figures that grew from this soil of disintegration and confusion of minds was that of Sergei Nechayev. All that Bakunin taught in theory only came to horrible life in this student, the son of a priest. He became, so to speak, the reflection of Bakunin in which his satirical core was openly revealed. Finally the master himself was terrified by his own creation. Nechayev’s principle of applying the negation of all existing things to civil morality, too, made him stop at nothing and at nobody. He deceived and cheated even Bakunin; he arranged the murder of a comrade, in order to weld his followers more closely to himself; and he finally ended as a common criminal upon whom even Bakunin turned his back in horror.

The result of their days of collaboration, however, was the notorious Catechism of Revolution, the organic statute of anarchism. In it we read:

The revolutionary is a consecrated man. He has neither personal interests nor affairs, feelings, attachments, property, indeed not even a name. Everything in him is absorbed by one exclusive idea, one single passion: the revolution.

And further on:

In the depth of his being he has torn asunder, not only in words but in actual fact, every bond linking him with the laws, behavior, morality, and existing customs of this world. He is their implacable enemy, and if he continues to live on in their world, he only does so to destroy it all the more certainly.

The revolutionary, so the catechism demands, must penetrate everywhere, into the palace of the aristocrat as well as into the peasant’s hut, into the barracks of the Army as well as into the guardroom of the police, indeed, even into the palace of the Tsar. He must study physics and chemistry as sciences of destruction. The society to be attacked is divided into six categories: (1) people to be killed at the outset; (2) those whose lives are spared only temporarily; (3) “animals in high positions” who can be exploited; (4) liberals who can be compromised and thus made to serve the Revolution; (5) revolutionary talkers who must be transformed into revolutionaries of action; (6) women who, if they are of a revolutionary bent, represent the most valuable treasure of the movement. At the end of this program we find the sentence: “We must join the world of adventurers and brigands, who are the true and the only revolutionaries in Russia.”

Bakunin’s own life was swallowed up by the bog of misery, burned out by his own senseless hatred. Once more the fire of revolutionary hope flickered up when the rising of the Commune broke out in Paris in 1871: once more he appealed for a fight with poison, dagger, and noose and tried himself in Lyon to arouse the devil in masses, as he put it. But this last flame also died away.

There was nothing about this bloated, obese body to remind one of the bogatyry of old; now he was just an aging man with bags under his eyes, who breathed with difficulty, living in abject poverty. In 1874 his Italian disciples called him to Bologna, where an anarchist rising was to be staged. He came, a broken man, sick unto death, whose last hope was to find his death in street-fighting. But even this hope proved in vain: the revolt was nipped in the bud, and Bakunin had to flee the city hidden in a hay wagon.

Two years later, on July 6, 1876, he succumbed to his illness in the Workers’ Hospital in Bern in Switzerland. The only person at his side during his death hour was a young Italian laborer who could not even read or write, one of the great army of the disinherited.
LATIN AMERICA, 1944

By WALThER SCHMIDT

THE GREAT STUMBLING BLOCK

When at the end of January of this year Argentina ceded to the pressure of the USA and broke off relations with Germany and Japan, Washington felt confident that Argentina’s declaration of war on the Axis powers would merely be a question of time. But where the US Government had succeeded in other Latin American states as soon as it held the leading men in its hands, it failed in Argentina, not having counted upon so great a resistance arising from within the country. President Ramirez, who was willing to yield to Washington’s pressure, was forced to resign and was replaced by General Edelmiro Farrell. To make matters worse, the new President was immediately recognized by Argentina’s neighbors Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia, and on March 13, 1944, Time wrote: “The US had suffered a severe diplomatic defeat. The Argentine Government had shown real strength. Never had the US Pan-American policy been in sorer straits.”

The United States immediately started applying diplomatic and economic sanctions. England, although later recalling her Ambassador from Buenos Aires, showed great reluctance in following suit, never applying economic sanctions to the same extent as the USA. The reasons for this are fairly obvious. First of all, England has always been Argentina’s best customer for agricultural supplies and needs them today more than ever. And secondly, England wielded considerable influence in most South American countries before the present war, having large investments especially in Argentina. Now she is seeing herself ousted by the USA from one country after another and wishes at least to retain a foothold in Argentina in order to safeguard an opening for her postwar trade to South America. Naturally she is at cross-purposes in this with the USA, who wishes to eliminate all European influence, including that of England and the Soviet Union, from Latin America.

For the United States, Argentina represents the key to the final settling of her Latin American policy. Not until this fortress of resistance, to which the eyes of all the other South American states are turned, has fallen, can Washington speak of a victory of its Latin American policy. At a moment when American forces are fighting fierce battles thousands of kilometers away, Washington must do everything in its power to keep South America in line with its plans, economic as well as political. If, nevertheless, it has not taken recourse to the last resort of direct military intervention in Argentina, this is probably to be explained by the fact that such a step would jeopardize its thesis of Pan-American solidarity which it has been preaching for years in support of its Latin American policy.

HULL VS. WELLES

The former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles is generally regarded as a great expert on Latin America, especially on the psychology of its peoples. Since he was forced out of office, he has not ceased to raise his voice in warning and to point to the example of Argentina to show how dangerous it is to try and force a policy or a government upon another American nation. Sumner Welles is the real creator of

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Argentina’s Brigadier General Luis César Perlinger, eagle-beaked, supernationalist Minister of the Interior, swung a haymaker at able US Ambassador Norman Armour. Said Perlinger: “It is not possible to smile at an Ambassador of a country which does not maintain relations with the owner of the house. I am the first to assume an angry face toward such a man, and every Argentine must do the same.”

This was a diplomatic insult to which the US State Department had no ready reply. In all its implications, it was also a chilly lesson in the nature of the hostilities and problems which now are facing the US in much of Latin America.

The cold fact is that a great many Argentines applauded General Perlinger. His slap at the Yankee Ambassador was good politics.

(Time, April 10, 1944.)
The Argentine policy of the last few years, whether actually influenced by military cliques or not, has demonstrated clearly enough that its aggressive nationalism has two aims: leadership in South America and independence from North America. At the moment, for various reasons, nationalists of undeniable pro-Axis inclination have the upper hand in Buenos Aires. Although they may well be ousted one day, they will only be replaced by men professing an equally expansive and hence aggressive nationalism. The supporters of an uncompromising Pan-American collaboration will probably always be in the minority. . . . It is not difficult to predict that in the near future and in the period following immediately upon the war Latin America will not be spared political and especially social upheavals and that the struggle for political leadership in the Western Hemisphere will flare up again among the various Latin American states themselves as well as between Latin America and the USA.

( Neue Zürcher Zeitung, July 29, 1944.)

the “Good Neighbor” policy, which he propagated on several trips to South America and at the Pan-American congresses. Many leading men south of the Rio Grande are his personal friends. Although the “Good Neighbor” slogan also only served to cover up the attempt to bring the Latin American states under the hegemony of the USA, Sumner Welles at least did not employ the brutal methods Cordell Hull uses. And it is Hull who has prevailed.

Sumner Welles can point to the fact that developments in South America have not taken the turn expected in Washington from the application of means of diplomatic pressure. Indeed, the opposite has been the result, a kind of solidarity among the South American states. One can almost speak of a secret defensive bloc becoming discernable under the leadership of Argentina, especially in the southern part of the continent, including Bolivia. Common race, common historical traditions, common culture and religion, and finally common economic interests, form the basis of this solidarity. Washington may have been strong enough to force one South American state after another to break off relations with the Axis. But Washington’s power did not suffice to persuade Chileans, Bolivians, Paraguayans, or even such countries as Uruguay and Brazil, to turn upon their Argentine brothers. Quite recently, Gonzales, a member of the Chilean Parliament, declared: “All Latin America must stand together to maintain itself against the imperialistic powers.” Similar voices have also been heard from other parts of South America. For, by its treatment of Argentina, Washington has shown that it lacks the ability to lead the Western Hemisphere in any other way than by force.

VOICES AT HOME

In the United States, too, the misunderstandings and disharmony between the USA and her southern neighbors have been pointed out. Time wrote:

“The quarrel with Argentina is one of the saddest failures of US diplomacy. Argentina is more like the US than is any other Latin American nation. It is rich, developed, modern . . . . There is no good reason why the two countries should not be friends.

There are many bad reasons, most of them stemming from the tendency of US diplomacy to jump all Latin American nations together, treat them alike as backward children who have to be bribed with financial candy or ruled with an iron (though palied and clumsy) hand. This policy works with some of the weakest and smallest, though it never works very well and ill becomes the great Good Neighbor. With Argentina it does not work at all.

The Argentines expect to be treated as equals. Failing to receive such treatment, many have turned to defiance. Their wounded national pride has soured to hostile nationalism . . . Argentina is too big, too rich, too proud to yield to loans, Lend-Lease, trade favors or other forms of collective bribery.

More recently, the well-known American columnist Marquis Childs openly accused the Government of having, by its loan policy, undermined the economic structure

The US lost another Good Neighbor, Argentina gained another satellite.

Paraguay had followed Bolivia into totalitarian, anti-US Argentina’s growing bloc. The change in Foreign Minister signaled a complete and picturesque alteration. Stocky President Higinio Miongino (about whom his mother is to have remarked: “If I had known he was going to be President, I would have sent him to school”) had long teetered on the fence between Argentina and the US. Short time ago the Frente de Guerra (War Front), a pro-Argentine group of Army officers, decided that he had perched there long enough. Led by hatchet-faced Colonel Benitez Vera, the 3,000-man garrison of Campo Grande set out for the center of Asuncion, a few miles away, riding in Lend-Lease jeeps and trucks, guarded by Lend-Lease airplanes. President Miongino met them, yielded to their demands.

Immediate result was Paraguay’s recognition of Argentina’s President Edelmuro Farrell. Foreign Minister Luis Argaña and two other pro-US Ministers in Miongino’s Cabinet were allowed to stay a short time, but last week they were fired. Miongino became an army-possessed puppet.

(Time, April 3, 1944.)
of the Latin American countries. The result, he said, was inflation, economic difficulties, and consequently general discontent among the masses.

ECONOMICS AND A NEW INFLUENCE

The economic chaos ruling throughout Latin America is to be traced to the fact that all the states are more or less cut off from the outside world, i.e., chiefly from Europe. The European markets supplied machinery, manufactured goods, and all that was lacking in Latin America owing to the absence of industry. On the other hand, Europe was Central and South America's best customer for native products. Today, all Latin America is dependent almost exclusively on the USA as a trade partner. Even England has had greatly to reduce her important prewar trade, which went most of all to the southern parts of the continent. Consequently, the Latin American states are becoming more and more dependent on their great neighbor in the north, a fact which the latter has not failed to exploit for his political purposes.

Nevertheless, the USA is not alone in dominating the political situation in Latin America; for in political respects the United States must reckon on her own continent with the Soviet Union, although the latter has practically no economic interests in the Central and South American countries. There can be no doubt that some of the events occurring sporadically in the Latin American countries during the last year or so are to be traced to Communist machinations. Washington is looking on with anxiety while unrest, revolts, strikes, are breaking out under influences beyond its control in countries urgently required as war-essential centers of supply. But there are two reasons forcing the US Government to close its eyes to these machinations: first, its relations with Moscow, and secondly its belief that some of these machinations can be made to serve its own purposes. Thus, for instance, the subversive activities of the Communists in Argentina were welcomed by Washington in its fight against the Parrell Government, without quite realizing how dangerous this playing with fire was.

The tendency to interpret a Putsch or change of regime in South America solely from the point of view of whether the instigators are for or against the Allies has caused a lot of harm; for the political structure of the Latin American states is far too complicated and too varied for such events to be judged by so simple a standard. Brazil offers a good example. As a belligerent power, Brazil is fighting against Fascism and National Socialism and is supporting the ideas of the Atlantic Charter and of Pan-American co-operation. In domestic politics, however, the regime of President Vargas is pronouncedly "Fascist," for the theories of the Estado Novo are inseparable from the totalitarian patterns in Europe. Vargas went even further than Salazar in Portugal by destroying the federal structure of the United States of Brazil and creating a centralized state. The methods of government are dictatorial, and it is obvious that the propaganda apparatus, which completely dominates, is finding it difficult to explain the double face of Brazil's policy.

(Streitfeier Zeitung, July 28, 1944.)

An indication of Moscow's growing influence in Latin America is given by the declaration of the President of the Latin American Workers' Union, Lombardo Toledano, last October at the International Workers' Conference in Canada to the effect that many Latin American countries had fallen or were still falling victim to US imperialism. Hitherto, Toledano had been an enthusiastic champion of the policy of the United States.

TRADITIONAL POLITICAL TURBULENCE

The events in Bolivia which were introduced by the overthrow of pro-Washington President Peñaranda in December 1943 also point to the influence of Communist elements. Peñaranda was replaced by Gualberto Villaroel, but several attempts were made by Leftist circles to oust him again. Finally, Washington, which is vitally interested in Bolivia's tin production, recognized Villaroel, and last August the latter had himself confirmed by legal election.

Apart from Argentina and Bolivia, there have hardly been any events of far-reaching

Gregori Fedorovitch Rezanov, the Soviet Union's first Minister to Colombia, got an unhappy welcome when he arrived at the Bogotá airport. Because of a Foreign Office bungle, no Colombian dignitaries met him. Uninvited local Communists infested the airport, carried his baggage, muscled into his news pictures, acutely embarrassed Mr. Rezanov. The Bogotá press was generally cordial. Privately, Colombians wondered why the new Russian Legation had a staff of 34 while Colombia was represented at Moscow by a single, lonely Minister. Probable reason: the Soviet Union wants to train diplomats for use in other Latin American countries which may recognize it eventually. (The USSR is recognized by Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Uruguay. Friendly gestures have been made by Brazil and Chile.) As yet, Minister Rezanov and most of his staff speak no Spanish.

(Time, February 8, 1944.)
political significance in the other South American countries during the course of this year. Unrest in Ecuador in May; a coup d'état in Peru in January; a military revolt and an attempt to depose President Lopez in Colombia; political conflicts in Chile; border disputes between Ecuador and Peru—all these are part and parcel of customary Latin American politics. But the resignation of the Brazilian Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha deserves attention. Aranha was an obedient follower of the USA and smoothed the path for Washington in Brazil; in summer, however, there were grave differences of opinion between him and the American Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro. The reason for these differences has not yet become known. Possibly Aranha refused to participate in the anti-Argentine policy of the USA.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Central America suffered from violent revolutionary unrest during the last few months.

GESAROL—NEOCID—DDT

By R. WIESMANN

UNTIL recently, the most popular insecticides were arsenic compounds—lead arsenate and calcium arsenate—which, however, are poisonous to all living creatures. Hence there have long been endeavors to replace lead arsenate—which, although effective, has many hygienic drawbacks—by nonpoisonous substances. Nicotine derris and pyrethrum were unsuited wherever prolonged effectiveness was required. Moreover, no insecticides of lasting effectiveness against mosquitoes, lice, and especially flies were known until recently. Just after the outbreak of war, however, a Swiss firm succeeded in producing an insecticide known as “Gesarol” which, although extremely toxic to insects, is harmless to human beings and domestic animals. This quickly led to the production of other insecticides known under the collective name of “Neocid” or “DDT,” which have acquired tremendous importance.

It cannot be said as yet that order has been finally restored in those countries. Of the so-called dictators ruling for years with Washington’s permission and with a firm hand in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, only Somoz in Nicaragua and Carias in Honduras have been able to maintain themselves, while Ubico in Guatemala and Martinez in El Salvador have had to leave the field in the course of the year. However, according to the latest reports, the days of power of Carias and Somoz, who are also confronted with great difficulties just now, seem to be numbered too.

Washington can hardly be interested at present in such unstable conditions unless it is aiming at a reunion of all of Central America into a federation. There are several indications that the Soviet Minister Umansky in Mexico has had a hand in these events, but whether with or without Washington’s approval cannot yet be ascertained.

The war being waged at present among men all over the world has not put a stop to another struggle: man’s war with the insects. The curious title to this article stands for a new weapon that has been developed within the last few years for the latter war. Perhaps the author, a Swiss, is a little too enthusiastic in his description, for “Time” in its issue of June 12, 1944, writes under the heading “Beetle Blaster”: “DDT is not a kill-all. Against two of the most common US crop destroyers, the Mexican bean beetle and the cotton boll weevil, DDT has proved a disappointment.” Yet the new discovery undoubtedly merits attention.

It took many years to achieve this result. Some ten years ago, after a few vague initial experiments, a small group of chemists began a systematic study of the problem. After four years of hard work, the practical solution to the first task they had set themselves was found: a new moth-proofing compound called “Mitin.” Mitin is a product not only of toxological work but of dyestuff chemistry as well, and it may be regarded as a colorless, water-soluble dye with a toxic effect upon moths. Wool impregnated with it is mothproof for ever, as Mitin is impervious to light, to washing, and to hard rubbing. The next step was to isolate the nonwater-soluble toxic component from the chemical structure of the new product and examine it for its utility as a plant insecticide. What the chemists wanted to find was an insecticide similar to those produced by nature herself (pyrethrine, rotenone, etc.) but impervious to light.
and chemical action. After having followed several false tracks, they finally managed to find a solution: an insecticide which was effective when eaten by the insects. Further studies produced a whole series of such insecticides.

However, this still left all those insects unaccounted for which suck their food as, for instance, lice, mosquitoes, flies. By combining other chemical groups with the insecticides already found in additional years of painstaking work, the first lasting synthetic contact insecticide was finally discovered. The new product did not have to be eaten by the insects: the creatures died from merely touching it. It belonged to the diaryltrichlormethylmethane group. The chemists working upon it believed themselves to be the first ever to have produced this group by synthesis. But a close check on all the literature on chemistry revealed the fact that more than seventy years ago a German student synthesized several representatives of this group but dismissed his discovery in six lines in a chemical journal. One of the most effective of these compounds, easily to be produced on a technical scale, was dichlorphenyltrichlormethylmethane (DDT), one of the active principles of the Gesarol and Neocid group. Its chief ingredients are chlorine, alcohol, and sulphuric acid.

**HOW IT WORKS**

According to thorough toxological examinations, DDT exerts its effect upon the nerves of insects by mere contact. If, for example, weevils or flies are placed in glass bowls previously sprayed with a solution containing one per cent of Gesarol and allowed to walk around on the dried film, being afterwards placed in untreated bowls, the following can be observed. After 10 minutes of contact with the Gesarol film in the case of the weevils, and after no more than 30 seconds in the case of the flies, the insects soon show signs of paralysis of the legs, then of the wings, with ensuing total paralysis leading to their death. Once the first symptoms of paralysis have become apparent the insects are sure to perish. Hence the poisoning is not reversible.

The working of this poisoning can be explained as follows. The outer covering of the insect body, called chitin, is in turn covered by a lipoid, i.e., waxlike, film which is water-repellent. Since the dry contact insecticide is soluble in this lipoid substance, its penetration to the nerves is aided, indeed, made possible by this close-fitting "raincoat." It may also be assumed that the poison is very soluble in the nerve substance and is conducted by the nerves to the abdominal nerve center. This explains the progressive paralysis of the insects. Moreover, the effective components of the Gesarol-Neocid group are extremely toxic to insects even in infinitesimal quantities. Exact experiments have shown that, in the case of the ordinary fly and the moth caterpillar, one ten-thousandth of one millionth of a gram per square centimeter is sufficient to ensure death.

**NO MORE ARSENATES**

The plant insecticides of the Gesarol group have solved the arsenic problem in agriculture and fruit-growing. Experiments made since 1941 have proved that Gesarol combines the valuable properties of the arsenates—lasting effect and high toxicity—with the contact effect of the old, permissible contact insecticides. We have already stressed its harmlessness to man and beast. This has made it possible to combat pests which could formerly not be got at with the ordinary insecticides. The latest reports on the results achieved in experiments made in tropical and subtropical countries are enthusiastic.

Fruit growers are already widely using the new product. Thanks to the non-poisonous nature of the insecticide, no regard need be paid in treating the trees to the state of ripeness of the fruit or to products grown under the trees. In wine-growing, the new insecticide has replaced arsenate as well as nicotine. Neither the ripening of the grapes nor fermentation nor the aroma or taste of the wine is affected by it. In vegetable raising, arsenates cannot be employed at all for reasons of hygiene, while the well-known contact insecticides (dusting with derris) are very limited in duration and effect. Here the new product with its continuous contact effect often provides the advantage of a single treatment.

In farming, there were quite a number of beetles doing great damage to the crops against which the only weapon used to be arsenic. Instead of having to shoot with cannons at sparrows as hitherto, the farmers can now lay the tiny chemical "contact mines," which silently kill the nervous system of the insects. Thousands of tons of potatoes, turnips, rapeseed, etc., have al-
ready been saved in a single season in Europe with the aid of Gesarol. In view of the widespread storing of grain in silos nowadays, it was an obvious step to try to attack corn pests with this new chemical group of contact insecticides. The result is a product being marketed now of which no more than 100 grams need be admixed to every 100 kilograms of grain in order to destroy these pests within a few days. Since the effective agent in these products is in some cases not even affected by soil bacteria, it was possible to put out an emulsion, called “Gesapon,” which destroys insect pests living underground.

All in all it can be said that the discovery has opened up new paths in protecting plants from insect pests. Not only has the difficult problem of arsenates been largely done away with: new plant insecticides have been produced which offer undreamed-of possibilities in their employment. They represent new chemical weapons in mankind’s struggle with nature.

**FLY-PROOFING A STABLE**

One particular use for Gesarol was already discovered in the course of the first experiments: in 1942 it was possible for the first time to put an end to the plague of flies in stables by spraying the ceilings and walls with a one-per-cent solution of Gesarol. Quite apart from their unhygienic aspects, flies in stables reduce, according to recent investigation, the cows’ production of milk by as much as 14 per cent. A single treatment was enough to keep stables practically free of flies for five to six weeks.

As a result of these initial successes in the combating of flies, Neocid and its derivatives were produced for combating various insects which carry disease. Today the fight against lice has been greatly simplified through the proofing of underwear against lice. Underwear can now be impregnated very easily with a special preparation. As body lice are very sensitive to the toxic agent—they quickly cease to bite, stop laying eggs, and die within 24 to 48 hours—this impregnating of the underwear is the most efficient and enduring protection against lice known so far. Since lice are the carriers of typhus germs, the military authorities of all countries have shown great interest in the new insecticide, and the impregnating of soldiers’ underwear with Neocid TX has been carried out successfully on various fronts during recent years. The method affords full protection against lice without in any way harming the wearer. While Professor Rose of the Robert Koch Institute in Berlin gave a lecture last spring to the Medical Society of Basel on successful typhus prophylaxis by the impregnating of underwear with Neocid, there have been more recent reports on the checking of a typhus epidemic in Naples with the new insecticide—known for short in the USA as DDT.

Of equal importance is the progress made in the prophylaxis of tropical diseases carried by mosquitoes as a result of the lasting effect of the new insecticide. Take malaria, for instance. It is spread by the anopheles mosquito which, by sucking the blood of a malaria sufferer, infects itself with the germ of this disease. In the stomach of the mosquito the malaria plasmodia undergo a development which finally brings them into the saliva glands of the mosquito. Not until this development of the plasmodia has been completed (according to the surrounding temperature it takes from one to four weeks) is the bite of the mosquito infectious. If in malaria-infested regions the ceilings and walls of living quarters are sprayed with a suitable solution of the new insecticide, there is a safe prospect of the mosquitoes coming into contact with the sprayed surface and quickly dying before the plasmodia have had time to develop to the infectious stage. None of the sprays such as Flit, etc., hitherto used for combating the mosquito plague possesses a lasting effect covering many weeks and, moreover, killing flies as well as mosquitoes in a like manner. In addition to this method, there is also another possibility of waging the hitherto hopeless fight against the malaria carriers far more successfully: when lightly dusted on the surfaces of water in which the anophels breeds, the new insecticide is able in a concentration of one to three grams per square meter to destroy all mosquito larvae within a very short time. In contrast to the old method of covering ponds with kerosene or Paris green, the new method does not harm the fish and other living creatures in such waters.

Indeed, a new epoch in the combating of plant diseases, of epidemics and diseases of man and beast, has dawned.
THE MARCH OF WAR

WAR IN THE PACIFIC

(August 7, 1942, to October 13, 1944)

There is a certain resemblance between the Pacific War and the war in Europe. In both cases there was at first a rapid, gigantic expansion of the sphere of power of the Axis, coupled with comparatively small losses; this was followed by a slow retrogressive development extremely costly for the Allies. We have reported on the early Japanese victories in the Pacific in former issues of this magazine. The following article deals with the Allied counteroffensive, which began on August 7, 1942, and has reached its climax in the battle for the Philippines.—K.M.

THE SOLOMONS

On August 7, 1942, American marines landed on the Solomon island of Guadalcanal—which the Japanese had occupied in May—and on the neighboring, unoccupied island of Tulagi. This thrust at the Japanese position in the Solomons was quite logical, for this was the southeasternmost point reached by the Japanese, which placed them in the immediate vicinity of the most important American sea lane in the Pacific, leading from California via Hawaii to Australia.

Although violent and sanguinary fighting broke out on Guadalcanal itself at the moment of landing, the real battle for the Solomons took place at sea and in the air. Both opponents had to feed the battle on the island with troops, weapons, and provisions, and the fleets of transports required for this purpose needed strong protection. The Americans especially, being the invaders, had to bring up all their material across the sea, while the Japanese had been able to lay in supplies during the months they had spent on the island. But the Japanese, too, sent additional troops to Guadalcanal during the autumn.

The following battles, a mighty accompaniment to the land battles on Guadalcanal, took place at sea and in the air:

In these battles the Allies suffered far greater losses than the Japanese. It seems that the Japanese held two trump cards during these encounters: first of all, their air arm, against which the American Fleet was at that time not yet protected to the same extent as was later to be the case; and secondly, the long and careful training of the Japanese Fleet for night fighting.

On February 9, 1943, Guadalcanal was evacuated by the Japanese although, as was later revealed, not entirely. A few small Japanese forces remained on the island and are still carrying on guerrilla warfare.

With the conquest of Guadalcanal began the American process of island-hopping, which was to last for one year. Island after island, from south to north, the Solomon chain was conquered with heavy losses. The landings took place as follows:

The accompaniment to this island-hopping were the air and naval battles:

1st Solomon Battle .................................. Aug. 8, 1942
2nd .................................. Oct. 10
Wasp Battle .................................. Sept. 15
Savo .................................. Oct. 10
Santa Cruz Battle (“Battle of the South Pacific”) .................................. Nov. 26
3rd Solomon Battle .................................. Nov. 12-14
Night battle off Lunga Point .................................. Nov. 30
Battle off Rennell .................................. Jan. 29, 1943

Russell .................................. Feb. 21, 1943
Rendova .................................. June 30
New Georgia .................................. July 7
Robiana .................................. Oct. 24
Yangumu .................................. Nov. 28
Bau .................................. Aug. 1
Gizo .................................. Dec. 12
Vella Lavella .................................. Oct. 15
Kolombangara .................................. Dec. 23
Arundel .................................. Sept. 11, 1943
Ysabel .................................. Oct. 5
Mono .................................. Dec. 31
Bougainville (at Torokina Point) .................................. Nov. 1
(at Hamon) .................................. Nov. 2
Mori .................................. Dec. 6
Choiseul .................................. Dec. 8
Green Islands .................................. Feb. 14, 1944

Battle of San Cristobal .................................. Feb. 17, 1943
Air battle over Russell .................................. Apr. 1
Battle off Florida .................................. Jan. 7
The heavy broken line shows the approximate "front line" — as far as such an expression is applicable to ocean warfare — as per October 20, 1944. The dates indicate the beginning of the Allied invasion of each given locality.
The battle of Bougainville occurred during October 31-November 4, 1943, and was characterized by a long and grueling struggle for the island. The battle was part of the larger campaign in the Solomons, which began in 1942 and was aimed at gaining airfields in the area to support the Allied war effort. The battle for Bougainville, however, proved to be one of the bloodiest and most costly conflicts of the war in the Pacific.

The battle for Bougainville was fought on land, in the air, and at sea. The Japanese had established a strong base on the island, and they were well-prepared to defend it. The Allies, on the other hand, were forced to conduct a slow and methodical advance, with little room for error. The battle was a testament to the determination and bravery of both sides, and it left a lasting impact on the course of the war in the Pacific.
of the Tor River; and on May 27 on Biak, an island off the north coast of New Guinea. In the carrying out of these landings, the Allies—for the most part American troops—encountered stiff Japanese resistance and in some cases suffered very considerable losses in men and ships. The Americans had to bring up and supply every single soldier by sea, with the result that they lost numerous transports and warships.

The Allies have still not succeeded in breaking the Japanese resistance. The fighting in New Guinea is continuing and, according to US estimates, the Japanese forces are still some 95,000 strong. In that vast and difficult territory—the island is about two and a half times bigger than Italy—the Japanese will continue, in spite of being cut off from fresh supplies and material, to give trouble to the Americans, thereby preventing the Allies from consolidating their position on New Guinea. This will not be without a certain influence on the fighting in other theaters, the island having now gained particular significance as a supply base in the battle for the Philippines.

On the southwest coast of New Guinea the Allies—in this case a combined Australian-Dutch force—have, as far as has become known, made only a single large landing attempt: at the mouths of the Lawrence and Eilanden Rivers in January 1944, probably with the intention of starting a guerrilla war in the interior of the island. However, the Japanese succeeded in annihilating this force within a month.

**Bismarck Archipelago: Admiralty Is.**

During 1943 there were frequent American utterances to the effect that the goal of their Solomons as well as New Guinea campaigns was the capture of the principal Japanese base in this part of the Pacific, Rabaul on New Britain; and the Solomons and New Guinea campaigns were called the two jaws of the pincer closing in upon Rabaul. Hence, when the Americans had achieved their purpose in that part of New Guinea which lies closest to New Britain by the late autumn of 1943, they crossed over to New Britain. On December 15 they landed at Cape Merkus and on December 26 at Cape Gloucester. At first the Japanese resistance limited the landed troops to comparatively small beachheads. Not until February 1944 did they succeed in effecting a junction of the two forces. Nevertheless, the Japanese resistance remained so effective that the Americans have refrained from an overland attack on Rabaul and contented themselves with heavy bombardments of that town from the air as well as now and again from the sea.

The second most important Japanese base in the Bismarck Archipelago, Kavieng on the northern tip of New Ireland, has hitherto also been exposed to American attacks from the air or from the sea. Finally, the Americans decided to pass by Rabaul and Kavieng and to attack the islands further north and northwest. On February 29, 1944, they began to occupy the Admiralty Islands, and on March 22 the St. Matthias group. The Japanese troops in the Bismarck Archipelago are estimated by the Americans to number 50,000. All in all, the Americans reckon on some 167,000 Japanese soldiers continuing to fight bravely in the Solomons, New Guinea, and the Bismarck Archipelago.

**Gilbert Islands**

During their rapid advance in the first half of 1942, the Japanese had also seized the Gilbert Islands. As this brought them into dangerous proximity to the sea lane between Hawaii and Australia, the Americans were desirous of forcing them out of these islands again. On August 17, 1942, the Americans attempted a landing on Makin Island which, however, ended with the annihilation of all landing troops. Thereafter they contented themselves with frequent bombardments of the Japanese positions on the Gilbert Islands, at first probably from the Phoenix Islands and later from their newly acquired airfields on the Solomons. Not until late in the autumn of 1943 did they stage a large-scale offensive.

On November 19 a powerful American naval unit began to bombard the islands of Tarawa and Makin. After an intensive preparatory barrage, and supported by numerous carrier-based planes, American marines landed and were immediately involved in heavy fighting with the numerically weak Japanese garrison. On November 25 the remnants of the Japanese defenders made their last attack and, after having inflicted severe losses on the enemy, were wiped out to the last man, like the men on Attu. As in the case of the Solomons, the battle for the Gilbert Islands was accompanied by air battles (November 22, 26, 27, 29). According to Japanese figures, the capture of the Gilberts cost the Americans 20,000 men and 145 planes, as well as:
WAR IN THE PACIFIC

Sunk Damaged
8 aircraft carriers 7 aircraft carriers
4 cruisers 1 battleship
1 destroyer 1 cruiser

MARIANAS

Two months later the Americans got set for the blow against the Marshall Islands. Before that, they had carried out numerous heavy air attacks on the largest islands of the group, and in this way prepared the ground for the landings which began on February 1, 1944. In pursuance of their new leapfrog tactics, the Americans did not land on the eastern but on the westernmost islands of the group, viz., first on Kwajalein and ten days later on Eniwetok, passing by the other Japanese island positions, in particular Jaluit and Wotje. The small number of Japanese defenders on both the former islands offered heroic resistance until they were wiped out after one week's fighting. In the ensuing eleven months there were frequent bombardments but no further landings in the Marshalls, so that here, too, there are considerable numbers of Japanese still fighting in the rear of the Americans.

THE MARIANAS

Immediately after the conclusion of fighting on Kwajalein and Eniwetok, the Americans started large-scale bombardments of the Japanese island positions adjoining to the west and northwest, especially of Ponape and Truk in the Carolines, of Saipan in the Marianas, of Marcus (Minamitori) and the Bonin group (Ogasawara). The actual attack on the Marianas began on June 11, 1944. This marked the first appearance of Task Force 58, an American naval unit commanded by Vice-Admiral Mitcher and belonging to the Fifth Fleet under Admiral Spruance. According to the US Navy Department, Task Force 58 is "the mightiest and most destructive naval unit in the history of naval warfare, capable of carrying its own fuel, provisions, and plane replacements everywhere." It began its operations with air attacks on Saipan, Guam, and Tinian, lasting for three days. On June 15 the first landing attempt was made on Saipan. This as well as the second one were frustrated; the third one was successful and led to a series of heavy battles. The airfield of Orea was the main battle center.

While Task Force 58 was occupied with landing American troops on Saipan, with supplying them and supporting them by planes and naval guns, part of the Japanese Fleet under the command of Admiral Soemu Toyoda made the first large-scale thrust against the American fleet after a long interval. On June 19, planes based on Japanese aircraft carriers attacked American fleet units stationed in the waters between the Philippines and the Marianas to cover the landing on Saipan. According to Japanese statements, five American aircraft carriers were sunk or damaged, one battleship sunk, and 100 planes shot down, while Japanese losses amounted to one carrier, two tankers, and 50 planes. During the next five days the Americans lost many more units, but no actual naval battle took place.

Meanwhile, the Japanese garrison of Saipan fought on undaunted. On July 7 it carried out a large-scale attack on the American positions. Not until July 16, when the last Japanese defenders had fallen, did the fighting come to an end.

Five days later, on July 21, the Americans landed on Guam (Omiya), which island had been subjected to frequent bombardments in the preceding weeks. On July 23 followed a landing on Tinian, from whose airfields the Japanese had successfully interfered in the fighting for Saipan. On both islands the Americans met with stiff resistance on the part of the Japanese garrison troops. There are no exact data on the final battles on both islands; the last Japanese defenders probably fell on September 27.

PALAU ISLANDS

Before the battle for the Marianas was ended, fighting started for possession of the Palau Islands, located on the route to the Philippines. On September 15, 1944, the Americans landed on Peleliu; on the 17th on Angaur; and a little later on Koror. As we go to press, the fighting on the Palau Islands is still going on.

THE TWO WINGS

Compared to the fighting on the main Pacific war theater, that at the extreme wings in the far north and in the south was of much smaller proportions. In the North Pacific the Japanese had, during the first period of the Pacific War, extended their sway to the American islands of Attu and Kiska. The Americans prepared their counterattack by building air bases step by step from Alaska westward through the Aleutian Islands, and in January 1943 they
included the island of Amchitka, 200 kilometers southeast of Kiska, in their chain of air bases. As a result, the military activities in this area up to the spring of 1943 were mainly confined to fighting in the air with occasional engagements at sea. Finally, on May 11, 1943, the Americans landed on Attu, and the ensuing battle has gone down in history as the first of a number of to-the-last-man-defenses of Japanese island garrisons in the Pacific. Descriptions of the Attu battle published by American eyewitnesses show the deep impression the behavior of the Japanese defenders made on the American troops.

On August 14, 1943, an American landing took place on Kiska. However, unnoticed by the Americans, this island had been quietly evacuated by the Japanese.

Since then, no large engagements have taken place in the stormy and fog-bound North Pacific. However, the American Air Force has carried out frequent attacks on the chain of the Chishima Islands (Kurils), particularly on the island of Paramushiro.

In the extreme southwest of the Pacific war theater, in the labyrinth of the Indonesian islands to the west of New Guinea, developments took a similar turn. Here, too, the fighting was confined primarily to the air, characterized at first by frequent Japanese attacks on northern Australia and later by increasing Allied air raids on Indonesia, designed partly to tie up Japanese forces at a considerable distance from the main war theater and partly to prevent Japanese reconstruction work in these areas. The Moluccas, including Halmahera (Gilolo) and Morotai, Ceram, Celebes, Flores, Java, and Borneo (Balikpapan), have been favorite targets. The first landing operation in this area occurred on September 15, 1944, on Morotai, where fighting is still going on.

**BATTLE OFF TAIWAN**

Whatever the American plans in the Pacific may have been, there can be no doubt that the strategical considerations in Washington and Pearl Harbor were decisively influenced by Japan's victories in China, i.e., the great successes in South China with their destruction of numerous American air bases, their advance on Kweilin and occupation of Foochow. The anxiety of losing Chungking as an ally as the result of further neglect contributed toward a conference of American naval commanders being held in San Francisco on October 4. Among those taking part were Admiral King, Commander in Chief of the entire US Fleet; Admiral Nimitz, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet; Admiral Spruance, Commander of the Fifth (Central Pacific) Fleet; and Admiral Halsey, in command of the Third (Southwest Pacific) Fleet.

To judge by the events that have taken place since then, an advance toward the west was decided upon at this conference. It was to be preceded by attacks on points further north in order to divert the Japanese and interrupt their routes of communication. (This is the same strategy employed in the attack on the Marianas, which was preceded by attacks on the Marcus and Bonin Islands further north.) Consequently, on October 9 a brief attack was made on Marcus Island; on October 10 an air attack from carriers on the Ryukyu Islands; and on October 12 on Taiwan (Formosa).

Of the three attacks preceding the landing on the Philippines, that on Taiwan was the most important. Apparently it was intended to decoy the greater part of the Japanese forces to Taiwan in order to free the way to the Philippines. On October 12, 1,000 planes from Task Force 58 appeared over Taiwan. Further heavy attacks took place on October 13 and 14. These were synchronized with attacks of American heavy bombers stationed in China; on October 14 there were a hundred "Super Fortresses" B 29 among the attacking planes. From the evening of October 12, the Japanese replied with ceaseless counterattacks against the Task Force. Their aircraft stationed on Taiwan, the Ryukyu Islands, and the Philippines, among them many torpedo planes of the Army which were employed for the first time, hurled themselves against the carriers, regardless of the violent American defense.

Up to this point, the reports from Tokyo and Washington agree. But then they part company. While Admiral Nimitz only admits damage to two medium-sized American vessels and claims fantastic figures of Japanese planes and ships destroyed at Taiwan, Tokyo reports the following US losses in what has been termed the "Air Battle off Taiwan":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunk</th>
<th>Damaged</th>
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<tr>
<td>11 aircraft carriers</td>
<td>8 aircraft carriers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 battleships</td>
<td>2 battleships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 cruisers</td>
<td>5 cruisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 other vessels</td>
<td>while Japanese losses amounted to only 312 planes and an undefined number of small ships.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Out of consideration for popular opinion, Washington has already on several occasions either not admitted US losses at all or only admitted them bit by bit many months later. Hence one may assume that, in view of the proximity of the presidential election, Washington could not make up its mind to announce gigantic losses, preferring instead to ignore the battle entirely.

There can be no doubt that Japanese planes had the lion's share in the battle off Taiwan, among them especially the torpedo planes. The estimation of the role of the Japanese Air Force in naval warfare has undergone great fluctuations. After the sinking of the Repulse and Prince of Wales, there were people who predicted the end of the battlehip. During the last year, on the other hand, there were opinions to the effect that the American antiaircraft defense had been perfected to such a degree that the Japanese air arm was done for. The Taiwan battle has rehabilitated the Japanese Air Force. To judge by its latest successes, it spent the last year training to conquer the American antiaircraft defense and has produced new tactics which came as a surprise to the Americans. While the Americans were capturing one island after another last year, political and military observers were wondering what would happen when the US Fleet came close enough to large Japanese air units operating from land bases. The battle off Taiwan has supplied the answer.

THE PROSPECTS—AMERICAN VERSION

How the Americans themselves judge the future prospects in the war against Japan was strikingly formulated by a report issued prior to the battle off Taiwan by the Office of War Information in Washington. It is based on official data of the US Navy, War, and State Departments. This report, designed to counteract American overoptimism and published throughout the USA, enumerates the main difficulties facing the Americans in their war against Japan. The following is the condensation:

(1) Japan is capable of increasing her production of almost every kind of war equipment.

(2) Before the Allies can strike against Japan, they must have bases close to Japan proper. In the Marianas they are still 1,500 miles from Japan.

(3) The present course of the war in China is all in Japan's favor, and the Allies have lost valuable air bases there.

(4) Japan's army has not yet been mustered to full strength.

(5) Japan has stored large strategic supplies in Japan proper, Korea, and Manchuria.

(6) Japan has been conserving air power which she can now use in greater concentration on the narrowing theater of action, and her planes have an increased firing power, range, and speed.

(7) Japan has a powerful fleet.

(8) Japan operates on interior lines of supply, while the Allied supply lines are becoming increasingly extended. It took more than two years to accumulate the quantities of war material now based in Britain. The distances involved in the Pacific are three times as great.

(9) Japan's full production is sufficient to maintain the population.

(10) Japan still holds her major conquests, and the Allies still cannot attack her supply routes along the China coast except with long-range submarines.

(11) Logistics, viz., the system of bringing the right number of men to the right place with the right equipment at the right time, is the chief problem of the Allies in Pacific warfare. The invasion of Northern France, the plans for which were completely laid out ten months in advance of actual operations, only involved a crossing of less than 100 miles. In the Pacific, thousands of miles must be crossed. For this, problems concerning transports, convoys, and loading capacity of American ports must be solved. Landings must be made in the face of stiff enemy opposition, often on shallow beaches across coral reefs, where there are no ports of any kind, where supplies must be carried by hand, and where bad weather proves very destructive to military supplies.

While the US Government is warning its people that the war ahead is long and costly, the leaders of the Japanese nation are also appealing to the people to gird themselves for the great battles of the immediate future. Japan has been preparing for these battles with years of moral and material armament and, during the last two years particularly, by a vast expansion of her air force. Both sides realize that the decisive period of the war is approaching. The battle for the Philippines which began on October 17 may prove to be a curtain raiser for the decision.
TOMORROW'S PROBLEMS DISCUSSED TODAY

By J. WINSCHUH

Among the outstanding economic and social problems unsolved at the outbreak of the present war were that of the relationship between town and country and that of the relationship between man and property. With regard to these problems, the war has furnished added experience, particularly in Germany where, in expectation of the air war, the diffusion of industry and consequentially the intermingling of city and country have been carried out on an unprecedented scale, and where the bombing of many cities has raised anew the old problem of property.

The following article does not offer definite solutions for these two problems, but it shows how these problems are being discussed in Germany. The author is the Economics Editor of one of Germany's leading newspapers.—K.M.

I. THE FUTURE RELATIONS OF TOWN AND COUNTRY

It is impossible to bring the town and the country together as friendly neighbors by resettling industry. The present relocation of industry and settlement of workers in rural districts is an essential war measure, but it is not an ideal. In former years, many people in Germany dreamed of the reciprocal penetration of town and country and pointed to the example of Württemberg. After 1933, attempts were made in East Prussia to follow this example. Today our ideas have changed. The rural combination of industry and agriculture has turned out to be a cancerous growth in the body of the farm population. In the close interlacing of agriculture and industry in Württemberg, it is only industry which has profited. The advantages for industry consisted of a more healthy distribution, of cheap land leases and housing for its workers, of an extended source of labor supply opened up by commuting facilities. Moreover, industry did not suffer from labor migration, the worker settled in the country being attached to his house, garden, and village and being better able to withstand periods of economic crisis. But the farm population was sucked dry and enfeebled.

We quote the following interesting letter addressed to us by a Bavarian farmer, who criticizes the relocation of industry in rural districts and writes:

"I must protest against the intention of extending that which has resulted—rightly or wrongly—from the war to times of peace. The pumping of hitherto centralized industry into small rural communities, and the scattering of hitherto concentrated plants over the countryside, may look very nice on paper. In practice, however, its sole effect is, apart from the incomparably more difficult technique of administration, a total destruction of rural conditions of production, especially of agricultural labor conditions, all of which must necessarily be founded on stability. With this relocation, by which heavy industry would like in future to unburden its old social sins onto the countryside, it will not be possible to deflate the cities and make up for the depopulation of the countryside. The only result would be a condition by which the unstable ideas of the industrial world and the hectic urban mentality are transplanted into the villages. The rural population has always underestimated the value of the food products, etc., it obtained as a return for its work, and overestimated the urban standard of living. Even before the present war, wherever the omnibuses with organized urban visitors made their appearance in the country, the farmers had a hard time finding stable maids, because all the girls wished to join the doubtlessly very honorable guild of silk-stockinged typists. The rural resettlement of industry will enhance this effect."

This letter does not direct its criticism against the war-time relocation of industry, even where it harms the rural population; but for the future its warning deserves full attention. Whether we like it or not, we are bound to arrive at the conclusion that the resettlement of industry in rural districts is healthy, indeed often necessary, for in-
industry, but that—provided conditions, especially the differences in prices and wages between industry and agriculture, remain as they are—it intensifies the crisis obtaining in rural districts. The farm population is helpless in the face of this infiltration.

The objection might be raised: Although the trends to be observed in Württemberg may have a grave effect on the rural population from a socio-biological point of view, the question remains to be examined whether these ill effects are not made up for or perhaps even outweighed by the socio-biological advantages accruing to the industrial population. This objection is well founded, and indeed the biological advantages for the industrial population involved in the resettlement are great. Some sociologists are even of the opinion that the worker can in the long run only stand the entirely mechanized automatic mass production without suffering harm if, after his work, he is compensated by a semirural organic life.

But is it a satisfactory condition that this improvement is bought at the cost of agriculture, of the valuable farm population which has anyway already been strongly reduced? Hardly. We must therefore try to find other means; we must re-examine the fashionable conceptions about the adjustment between town and country. Might the right path be the following: on the one hand, the true town, on the other the true village; maintenance of pronounced agricultural zones; no mingling, above all no mixing up of factory and farm? Can, however, this mingling still be avoided in an age of increasing communications and of an industrial decentralization which can no longer be separated from a further expansion of industry? Regional planning is faced here with problems of the greatest social and national significance, unless a radical solution is sought in a leveling of prices and wages in industry and agriculture and in handing over agriculture to technology.

II. PRIVATE PROPERTY

Large-scale evacuations are a necessary evil; however, they may also be regarded as a great social experiment. The evacuations have been supplying concrete experience which is far more comprehensive than any scientific study or political questionnaire could provide. There is one result which stands out above all others: love of one's home is not restricted to the village, the small town, or the lovely countryside—it applies just as much to big cities and industrial centers, down to the street and even the tenement. In this respect, the experience provided by the evacuations equals a plebiscite. The German, even the poorest German, has given a clear vote in favor of private property.

One of the most essential things that separate us from Bolshevism is private property. Beside religion and national feeling, it is also one of the things most feared as a reality and for its propaganda value by the Bolsheviks. Hence the secular fight against the Bolshevist threat must rely to a large extent on the endeavor to create more property among the people. This does not mean, however, accumulating it in the hands of a few or replacing it largely by impersonal social property, even in the form of "national property."

Before the Great War, the somewhat eccentric English author Hilaire Belloc published a remarkable book called The Slave State. Its main idea was: "Unless we restore the institution of property we cannot but restore the institution of slavery: there is no other alternative." Although this is putting it too strongly, Belloc is right in principle. If one studies the decline of Rome one will discover one of its reasons to have been the agglomeration (ergo destruction) of property.

According to Occidental ideas, private property is one of the essentials and chief aids to personality and culture. The rural population with its regenerating power is especially bound to property, but so is the entire aristocratic and urban culture. The Occidental feels a deep spiritual bond with his property. When he cares for something particularly, he makes it part of that which is "his own," he feels a duty toward it and treats it as if it were part of himself. This is enough to indicate that, in a true conception of property, rights are balanced by duties. When we meet with property that is employed with a sense of social and cultural responsibility giving rise to new life and benefiting others, we feel pleasure and the desire to act similarly. On the other hand, an antisocial exploitation of property—as, for instance, in capitalism but also in bygone centuries—does not speak against property; it merely indicates that the times were socially diseased.

The feeling of the Occidental for property has always been so pronounced that excuses
have been made even for the shady origin of some property or the circumstance that private property is more the result of social conditions than of the individual's having earned it. Indeed, a lot of abuse of property must have accumulated to give rise to that bitter and explosive sentence: property is theft.

Marxism made the property of the means of production the hinge of its doctrine. The only way out of the agglomeration of capital, which separated the people from property and created on the one side proletarians and on the other monopoly powers, seemed to be a state economy in which the property belonged to everybody and nobody. But by doing away with the abuse of property in this manner, the advantageous forces of property, its inherent ethical power, were also killed off. The free property of capitalism which lacked all restrictions was replaced by the equally one-sided and inhuman propertylessness of Communism.

The beneficial forces of property are to be found between the two extremes of its arbitrariness and oppression. The following conception of property is eternally valid, and mankind will always have to return to it: property must be personal, not anonymous. Its employment must be ethical. Aristotle once formulated it in this way: property must be divided, but a common ethical attitude must make its employment a common one.

It will be our task to create more private property. Large property will remain essential to modern economics. Its private possession no longer forms a social threat, as it has been placed in the service of the community and is supervised by it, especially as a means of production. What is most valuable is the small and medium property. Germany must not only maintain but even increase the middle classes, and the working classes, too, must form property and be able to enjoy its privileges and responsibility.

WORLD PRESS DIGEST

US LANDING VESSELS
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

Up till now the US Navy has produced 11 basic designs of landing vessels. They are:

LSD (Landing Ship, Dock), a 450-ft. floating dock for use after assault;

LST (Landing Ship, Tank), a 328-ft., ocean-going ship with a tank ramp in the bow;

LCI (Landing Craft, Infantry), 157 ft. long, 200-troop capacity, with multiple ramps for fast debarkation;

LCT (Landing Craft, Tank), 100 ft. long, transportable, for tanks, trucks, or troops;

LCM (Landing Craft, Medium), in 50- and 56-ft. lengths, for a bulldozer or medium tank;

LCP (Landing Craft, Personnel), 36 ft. long, with or without ramp, for 30 to 36 assault troops;

LCV (Landing Craft, Vehicle), like LCP with exclusive landing facilities for vehicles, or for vehicles and troops;

LCS (Landing Craft, Support), 36 1/4 ft. long, armed and armored, for fire support in landing areas;

LVT (Landing Vehicle, Tracked), amphibious "Water Buffalo" 21 ft. long, 20-troop capacity, for storming swamps, coral reefs, otherwise inaccessible places;

LCR (Landing Craft, Rubber), in 12- and 16-ft. sizes, to land patrols of seven to ten men;

LSM (Landing Ship, Medium), between LST and LCT.

ALEXIS CARREL AND THE NEW MAN

(On October 8, 1944, the De Gaulle authorities arrested Dr. Alexis Carrel on the charge of collaboration with the Germans. The shock was more than the aged French scientist could stand: he died on November 4. With him, the world lost one of its most progressive scientific minds, a winner of the Nobel Prize and the author of the best-seller "Man the Unknown." The following interview, condensed from an article by Dr. Heinz Graupner in "Signal," Berlin, occurred shortly before the evacuation of Paris by the Germans.)

The unassuming plaque bearing the inscription "La Fondation Française pour l'étude des problèmes humains" (The French Foundation for the Study of Human Prob-
lem) on a house in a quiet street in the center of Paris does not reveal the nature of the tremendous constructive work being done here for civilized humanity. Alexis Carrel, the spiritual creator of this foundation, was instructed by Marshal Pétain to establish the science of man in order thus to develop the whole wealth of human nature.

Dr. Carrel is seventy-one years old, but he came forward to meet us with the brisk step and alert bearing of an officer. He is not a dreamer of Utopian fancies: on the contrary, his brain is extremely clear and cool, and he is always within the realm of hard facts. Would not the world have thought it a Utopian idea if he had said thirty years ago that theoretically the heart which he had taken from a chicken and placed in a nutrient medium was immortal? It was— theoretically—immortal. It remained alive for nearly thirty years, while the chicken would have reached an age of ten years at most; and it died only because of the mistake of a laboratory assistant who was supposed to look after the "immortal heart."

Would not everyone have thought it a Utopian idea if Carrel had said ten years ago that he intended to construct an apparatus to grow complete organs outside the body? Collaborating with the trans-Atlantic flier Lindbergh, he constructed this apparatus, thereby transforming an apparently Utopian idea into reality. All his life, Carrel has been achieving the seemingly impossible, and his desire is to crown his life's work by initiating the "creation of the new man."

The past century has been characterized by material progress, to which man, however, has not adapted himself. Those people who, thanks to serum therapy, do not die of infectious diseases, fall victim to the diseases of degeneracy. Nervous breakdowns, imbecility, moral corruption, and lunacy are dangerous threats to our civilization. "At least 45 per cent of the adult population of the USA," says Carrel, who lived in America for about thirty years, "have the mentality of children of 13 or less. On the other hand, crime is increasing. The number of criminals there exceeds four millions."

Neither science nor machinery is responsible for this state of affairs, says Carrel. The fundamental problem is rather that the science of living is lagging behind technical progress. Man must be recreated, he must be given surroundings to which he can adapt himself in accordance with the laws of nature without degenerating, for we have built a world for ourselves which is unsuitable to man. In Germany, where the attempt has been made to express biological laws in political principles, Carrel's ideas—although conceived from a different national point of view—have met with much sympathy and understanding.

What is the path leading from Carrel's apparently Utopian "new man" to his practical realization? The first essential is that we obtain for ourselves a far deeper knowledge of man and his environment. What we have known so far is only patchwork. It does not suffice, says Carrel, to mix hydrogen and oxygen in order to produce water: energy must also be added to the mixture. What he means is that the synthesis of human problems cannot be effected by a committee of experts meeting around a table. The fusion of the facts we know about man requires a tremendous spiritual effort, the energy of a universal mind.

Concretely, the relations between man and his environment must be studied, not one-sidedly, but from many points of view. The problem of his "home" calls for a physiologist to examine the reactions of the human body, an architect, an expert on heating, a light specialist, a psychologist, and a hygienist. The situation is similar with regard to other problems—food, propagation, sleep, and work. The solving of these questions, which is to be done by specialists, will have to be supervised from a central office.

The living organism is extremely susceptible to habit. In spite of the universal laws of heredity, it is accessible to the many influences of its environment. In order to study these, Carrel calls for experiments on human beings, too, whom he subjects to various conditions after isolating them completely. In this way he hopes to collect the necessary knowledge for the improvement of living conditions in general. But the problems should never be studied through the eyes of a specialist alone. Though the specialist is a necessary link in the chain of work, everything must be directed by that energy which is capable of welding the newly won knowledge into a really fertile "science of man."

Work on Carrel's program has already been started in his institute. With an
astonishing youthfulness, elasticity, and an inexhaustible fund of new ideas he is tenaciously pursuing his great plan. The ultimate goal of science must be, not the domination of the material world, but the building up of truly civilized human beings.

MARY AND THE WARSHIP
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

The new stained glass window for the Chapel at the US Naval Operating Base at Norfolk, Virginia, showed the Virgin Mary surrounded by tanks, antiaircraft guns, planes and holding instead of the Infant Jesus a destroyer-escort vessel. Only after stormy protests from the American public did the Navy order the warship removed and substituted by the Infant Jesus.

TUNGSTEN SUBSTITUTE
(Condensed from "Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm)

Long before London and Washington succeeded in having the export of tungsten from the Iberian Peninsula to Germany stopped, German laboratories were busy trying to find a substitute for this ore. This substitute is now available. Although it is not possible completely to replace tungsten by it, the substitute enables that part of the metal and armament industry which was hitherto dependent on tungsten to continue production without interruption.

NEW ISM
(Condensed from "The Times," London)

There is growing alarm in the United States over "sinarquism," a movement sponsored by a secret organization of Fascist character which is rapidly spreading in Mexico and takes its name from the Spanish words for "without" and "authority." It is said that the organization has a million members, but it may be even larger. The Catholic weekly Commonwealth writes that, if the movement continues to spread, a real threat of civil war may develop.

Although the Archbishop of Mexico and the movement's own paper El Sinarquista have declared that the Catholic Church has nothing to do with the movement, there can be no doubt that its leaders are ardent Catholics. The sinarquists play upon the country's fear of Communism and US imperialism and support the Latin American policy of the Spanish Falange.

NEW BRIDGE
(Condensed from "Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm)

During their rapid evacuation of France, the German troops used new types of pontoon bridges, constructed in such a way that it is very hard to make them out from the air during the day. One end of the bridge is fastened by a long chain to the opposite bank. During the day the chain is let out, allowing the bridge to swing downstream, so that it lies parallel and close to the other bank. Skillfully camouflaged, it is then almost impossible to discover it from the air. At night the chain is hauled in, bringing the bridge into its normal position and enabling it to serve traffic during the dark hours of the night.

RADAR
(Condensed from "Time," New York)

A radio beam follows the earth's curvature, instead of sailing into space, because it bounces along a reflecting roof of electrically charged particles, called the Kennelly-Heaviside layer, which blankets the earth's outer atmosphere. Physicists have measured the height of this layer, varying from 60 to 1,200 mi., by bouncing radio waves off it and catching their echo on a receiver. The first hint of radio's possible usefulness as a ground-level detector came when experimenters noticed that a ship moving between a transmitter and receiver interfered with radio waves. The basic radar instrument had three main elements: (1) a short-wave sender-receiver which could bounce back a beam, through clouds, smoke or rain, from a small object (e.g., a plane or ship) as much as 130 mi. away, (2) a vane to determine the object's direction, (3) sensitive electronic tubes to measure the object's distance by timing the echoed beam, which travels with the speed of light—186,000 mi. a second.
These basic radar principles are by now well known to all the belligerents. One new application which has already been revealed is the use of radar with antiaircraft guns to direct fire. But in hunting submerged submarines, sound waves, rather than radar, must be used. Ordinary sound waves do not help, however, because they radiate in all directions, like ripples from a stone dropped in a pool. What is needed is a sound beam that will travel in a straight line and bounce straight back. Such a beam was found during World War I by a French physicist, Paul Langevin, in the very high frequency range of inaudible impulses: supersonics. But not until World War II was the supersonic detector developed into a reliable instrument.

Not to be confused with the well-known sound detector which picks up a submarine by the noise of its screws, the supersonic locator uses a beam and its echo, just like radar. It became a practical device when a method of interpreting the supersonic signal was developed. Recently it has helped make submarine-chasing more sure.

That by being included in the score the cannon had become a musical instrument and could hence only be "played" by a member of the union. In order to avoid trouble, the organizer of the concert had accepted this viewpoint on condition that the union should supply him with a musician fully conversant with the instrument in question. Since the Union did not include among its members an artist capable of playing on the cannon, the organizer finally had an artilleryman fire the shot, and now both musicians and artillerymen are looking forward to the Union's decision whether the organizer is to be fined or not, in other words, whether the cannon is to be regarded as a musical instrument or not.

"Wait a moment, ladies! I see there are two steaks left!"
(Saturday Evening Post)

THE RISE IN PRICES
(Condensed from the Statistical Monthly of the League of Nations)

In comparison to the time before the outbreak of the war in 1939, prices have risen in various countries as follows:

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<th>Cost of Living</th>
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FLOWERS ON FRIDAY

By TOMOJI ABE

It is almost a year now since Professor Takeo, Ph.D., who lectures on philosophy at two universities, began bringing back a bunch of flowers almost regularly once a week to his home in the suburbs.

The first time it was on a winter's day when he brought home some scarlet salvias. His wife and his maid, who had gone out to welcome him on the verandah, were indeed much surprised when he silently produced the scarlet flowers from underneath his long black overcoat. It was not until the flowers had been placed on the big table in the dining room that they were able to talk to each other about them. His daughter, a graduate of a girls' high school and now a member of the Y.W.C.A., had a mania for sports, spending all her time swimming in summer, skating in winter, etc., and had hardly ever been tempted to buy flowers. "Amazing, isn't it?" she repeated, moving her round eyes in her sunburned face shining with health above a white, hand-knitted sweater.

"It is almost like a story: an old professor of philosophy bringing home some red flowers on such a gray evening with the threat of snow in the air—isn't it?" said his niece, who was a student at a women's college and who happened to be staying with them overnight.

"Whatever made you buy flowers?" asked his daughter.

"Ha, ha . . . ." Dr. Takeo only laughed deprecatingly.

"In your younger days, didn't you prefer either white or blue flowers?" asked his genteel wife, who wore her hair tied in a tiny knot.

"But then you haven't brought home any flowers for ages. I must say, I am surprised. And now that you have finally brought home some flowers, they are gaudy crimson ones like these. What are they called? When we were young there weren't any such flowers as these. I suppose they were imported into our country since then."

"Really, Auntie, you are telling us all the secrets of your youth. Thank you!" teased his niece.

"Why, they are called salvias," interrupted the sports-crazy daughter; at least she knew the name of the flowers.

"When he was a romantic youth, he loved tiny flowers that were either blue or white; but twenty or thirty years later he has turned into a serious old professor who brings home crimson flowers. What could have caused such a change of heart? Why, it's getting to be more and more like a story, isn't it?" added his niece.

"Ha, ha, why, it's just like putting on the red jacket an old man should wear according to our ancient custom. But then I suppose you modern girls wouldn't know that." Dr. Takeo laughed good-naturedly.

It was then that Dr. Takeo noticed his younger son (preparing to enter high school), who was munching a hamburger steak across the table, starting to smile, look his way, and then quickly avert his eyes.

COME winter, come spring, come summer, Dr. Takeo, usually attired all in black, left his home in the suburbs four times a week to lecture at two of the city's universities, carrying under his arm a huge brief case he had bought in London. Descending a gentle slope and walking through a tiny business section, it usually took him eight and a half minutes to reach the suburban railway station. A young person might perhaps have covered this distance in six minutes.
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That is to say, this is not only due to the fact that Dr. Takeo was old, but that he walked leisurely, as if at every step he took he were thinking about something. The professor had long ago lost the habit of his younger days of pondering as he walked, but his body had retained the mechanical form. At any rate, the old professor was the most dignified and self-possessed person among all the office workers, students, professors, military men, and government officials the station gobbled up and spewed out day and night, upright in his posture, walking at a steady gait, and always looking straight ahead.

We cannot recall the exact date at which a new flower shop appeared along that road. The shop could boast only of a small frontage next door to a drugstore, but it made a charming spot of color that seemed to brighten up the roadway. Yet, just as people are not conscious of the exact time that the street lights have gone on or not aware of the exact time that the stars begin to brighten up the evening sky, so Dr. Takeo only knew that the flower shop was suddenly there; and the first time he was actually aware of the existence of this flower shop was when he had bought the salvias.

Inside the shop there was a small, fair-skinned woman of about thirty-three or thirty-four. She was directing a docile young boy to trim the branches of a plum tree while she was untying a bunch of narcissus. At first the professor thought of taking a pot of hyacinths, but quickly changed his mind and decided on those red flowers. The woman owner of the shop was apparently rather surprised at seeing a solemn old gentleman in a black overcoat appear in the doorway. She blushed prettily as she asked: "Is it these salvias you want?" Still surprised and even forgetting to give her orders to the boy, she merely stood facing Dr. Takeo for a while. Then the boy brought out the flowers. Dr. Takeo hurriedly left the shop as soon as he had paid, hardly listening to the "Thank you" of the owner.

After that it became a habit of the professor to buy flowers at this shop every week or two. Really, you could hardly call it more than a "habit." Besides this one, Dr. Takeo also had other habits which he followed almost unconsciously. Thus, for instance, he had one, which lasted for several years, of never failing to stop for a few moments on a bridge over a little stream half-way to the station to look down at the running water. Another habit which lasted for two or three years: on reaching the station he always walked slowly to the end of the platform whenever the train had not come in yet, to admire the view of Mount Fuji and the mountains in the west. Perhaps it is true that the brains of a philosopher tend to acquire some mechanical habits like Kant's habit of walking.

Since then he brought home tulips, calceolarias that look like bags, amaryllis, fuchsias, and azaleas. But strangely enough he seemed always to select bright red flowers. Not that he was conscious of it, but that was how it always turned out to be. "You have developed a fancy for gay colors since you've grown old, haven't you? Why don't you try wearing knickerbockers made of bright homespun or something like that?" his wife once teased him.

The pretty owner would always be standing modestly in a corner of the shop, and whenever Dr. Takeo came in silently in the evening she bowed respectfully. In a small voice, almost timidly, she would ask: "What would you like?" Dr. Takeo would point out "This," or "That." Then, after carefully handing over the flowers to Dr. Takeo as if she were presenting them to him, the owner would say: "Thank you." "How much are they?" Dr. Takeo would ask. "So and so much." And silently Dr. Takeo would place the amount in the small white palm of the woman.

Never once did their conversation develop beyond this. There was no indication that the flower-shop owner knew his name or profession; nor did Dr. Takeo know anything about the woman's life. They never even exchanged remarks about the day's weather. It became practically a set rule that he bought flowers on Friday. Friday was the day on which he lectured on epistemology at both universities; it was the day that tired him most and saw him return home the latest. Whether or not the woman knew of this day and waited for him with an arrangement of flowers to his liking—that, too, we do not know.

A home is brightened up with flowers. Without exception the family's conversation at the dining table seemed to be more lively on Friday nights than on any other night. Only Dr. Takeo's son, always silent and with almost cynical eyes, seemed to assume the attitude of an onlooker on these conversations on flowers between his parents and his sister.
Once Dr. Takeo's niece, back at her woman's college, sent him a letter:

I have read your article, "On Culture," which appeared in one of the women's magazines. "A gentle heart; a rich heart; a heart which can appreciate the taste of even a piece of bread while chewing it; a heart which loves nature; a heart which loves the classics; a heart which loves children, flowers, music, art—such must be the possession of culture as one of its phases." At the point where you mention flowers, I happened to remember the salvias you brought home one night. Do you still bring home flowers now and again? But, dear Uncle, don't you think it would have been better to include another phrase: a heart which is capable of making love? With this inserted, I felt it would be natural to think of you, Uncle, as the elegant embodiment of the "man of culture" of the Meiji era, nay, of the period preceding the Meiji era; that although this type is gone, a thing of the past, it is lovable, that it is in itself a perfect image of a human being and, indeed, beautiful as a philosophy.

"Did I really write 'a heart which loves flowers'?" Dr. Takeo tried to recall the essay he had written a month ago; and, knowing not why, he had a rather bashful expression as he placed his niece's letter in a drawer of his desk.

But in early summer Dr. Takeo began to return home on Friday nights without bringing any flowers with him.

"What has happened?" his daughter asked him after three consecutive such Fridays.

"I thought it didn't look proper," answered Dr. Takeo.

"Perhaps you are right," said his wife.

His son let out a short, cynical laugh and averted his eyes as usual. "I know everything," was what those eyes seemed to express.

It so happened that at this time every evening saw a man perhaps a little younger than the owner of the flower shop, a stranger to the district and dressed in a well-cut suit, sitting for hours in the shop, fingering some flowers or helping with the work in the shop. That he was a man of leisure was revealed by his appearance and manner. Dr. Takeo, too, when passing the display window of the shop, frequently saw this man beyond the window pane or behind some flowers, talking to the woman owner. Walking past the shop, Dr. Takeo would direct a fleeting glance toward it, but quickly return to his customary steady gait and, without another look to either right or left, would pass through the business section and ascend the gentle slope toward the residential district.

We do not know whether the pretty owner of the flower shop felt any concern over the fact that the gentleman in the black suit who used always to come on Friday evenings went past without taking any notice of her shop.

When summer came, Dr. Takeo's family moved to a little seaside villa. Here Dr. Takeo read books and his daughter was tanned really black bathing in the sea. His son was busy memorizing English vocabularies and working out algebra problems. Autumn saw the whole family return to their home in the suburbs.

At the flower shop there were beautiful autumn arrangements. The owner, though a little thinner and looking more frail than before, seemed as usual to be carrying on her business modestly but diligently.

Dr. Takeo again walked to and from the station at his steady pace, carrying with him his big brief case. When passing by the show window, his habit of glancing at the shop seemed not to have changed, in spite of the summer interruption. Unconscious as he was of looking into the shop piled high with autumn flowers, he did become aware of the fact that he saw nothing more of that leisurely-looking young man who used to spend his evenings in the shop before Dr. Takeo went to the seashore.

One Friday evening some time in October the figure of Dr. Takeo entered the shop. "What would you like?" the owner asked him in exactly the same voice and the same shy, timid manner as before. "That," said Dr. Takeo, and she handed him a big bunch of red dahlias as if she were presenting them to him. It almost looked as if the flowers had been prepared for him, as if the owner knew he would come for them that day. Asking the price, placing the money in the small white palm of the woman, and going out of the shop—all this was done in the same, stereotyped manner as on that first occasion in winter when he had bought the salvias.

At the foot of the slope a group of five or six grammar-school pupils stopped short,
looking surprised and amused at the sight of a dignified gentleman attired in black silently walking along the road with a bunch of flowers. After having let him pass by, they noisily chattered and laughed about the strange scene.

Red flowers once again appeared on the dining table after a long period of absence.

"My! This is unusual," exclaimed his daughter.

"The room looks gay again, doesn't it?" smiled his wife.

"Really, it seemed as if there were something missing with-

out them, didn't it? The Friday attraction—a bunch of red flowers—that was the feature of our family!" his daughter joked.

However, in contrast to former occasions, Dr. Takeo did not reply with a jest; instead, he seemed to look a little sullen.

His face mechanically turned toward his son. With an expression more ironical than when Dr. Takeo had first started bringing home flowers, or than when he had ceased bringing them home, his son glanced at him but quickly averted his eyes again.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WORLD

1. An Open Letter from the Editors of Life to the People of England (Excerpts)

We want to know frankly what you are prepared to do to help us. You may not think that we have any right to ask for help. But you must be realistic. Of course we aren't asking for men or tanks or warships. It's our business to supply those tangible things. What we need is something that we have never in all our history—with but few exceptions—received from the English people, namely, concessions in policy. . . .

So here is one concrete concession that we demand of you, as partners in battle. Quit fighting a war to hold the Empire together and join with us and Russia and your other allies to fight a war to win by whatever strategy is best for all of us. After victory has been won, then the British people can decide what to do about the Empire (for you may be sure we don't want it). But if you cling to the Empire at the expense of a United Nations victory you will lose the war. Because you will lose us. . . .

We Americans are a strange people, may be. You think of us as rather practical—the dollar-lovers, the makers of automobiles, the engineers. Well, we are practical. But you can't understand us at all unless you realize how much principles mean to us. We fought you on principles in the first place. Once in our history we killed 500,000 of our own sons to establish the principles of freedom for the black man. And there's no use pretending that America is going all-out in this war unless it becomes clear to us that this is a war to establish certain principles that we believe in, and to make them stronger than they were when the war started.

Maybe you will object that we haven't defined these principles very well, as yet. That's a fair objection. But let us remind you that one reason we haven't defined them, and one reason that at least half our people are pretty dubious about their existence, is that we are not convinced that you would fight for them, even if they were defined. For instance, we realize that you have a difficult problem in India but we don't see that your "solution" to date provides any evidence of principles of any kind. In the light of what you are doing in India, how do you expect us to talk about "principles" and look our soldiers in the eye! . . .

If you want to keep us on Your Side you must move part way over to Our Side. If you will do so, then you will find that Our Side is plenty big. . . . It is much bigger than the British Empire. . . . Our Side is as big as all outdoors.


1. The Security Council. The United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and later France, will have the main power and responsibility for keeping the peace of the world. They will have permanent seats on the Security Council of the new league which is to be called "United Nations." Six other states will be elected to the Security Council for two-year periods. The Security Council of eleven will have full powers to put down aggressions without reference to the view of the other nations. The question of voting in the Security Council is still under consideration.

2. Settlement of Disputes. Disputing states should try to come to an agreement through nego-
tiation, mediation, or any other peaceful means on their own account. But if the dispute goes on, the Security Council will take over, the decision to do so coming from the Council itself. The Security Council may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice; otherwise the Security Council will decide what nonviolent methods—such as diplomatic and economic pressure, complete interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communications, and severance of diplomatic and economic relations—the parties might settle the quarrel. All members of the General Assembly must take the actions recommended to them by the Security Council. If these methods fail to settle the dispute the Security Council will have power to take such action by air, naval, and land forces as it might think necessary, using for this purpose the armed forces of the organization's members.

3. Military Action. National air force contingents will be held available for combined international action to enable urgent military matters to be taken. The Security Council will determine the strength and degree of readiness of these contingents. A military staff committee, consisting of representatives of the chiefs of staff of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France or their representatives will advise the Security Council on any matter pertaining to regulations of armaments and possible disarmament. Until the Security Council comes into force, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China will consult with the view of taking joint action to keep peace.

4. The General Assembly. The General Assembly will consist of all members of the organization. It will have the right to consider general principles of co-operation for keeping peace including those governing disarmament and regulations of armaments. Members should act according to the principle of the organization which is based on the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states. Any question on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council. The General Assembly will elect the six nonpermanent members of the Security Council, it is suggested that for the first election three states be chosen for one year and three for two years. Each member state will have one vote. Important decisions of the General Assembly will be made by a two-thirds' majority, others by simple majority of those present and voting. The General Assembly will meet regularly once a year. Each member state should be permanently represented at the headquarters.

5. The International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice will have either a modified statute of the present Permanent Court of International Justice or a new statute prepared with the present one as basis.

6. The Secretary General will be the chief administrative officer, with the right to bring to the Security Council's attention any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace. (Reuters, 9.10.44.)

3. Commentary of Station KWID (San Francisco) on the Question of Voting in the Security Council, which was left open in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference

The right of the permanent members [i.e. the Big Four and later France] of the Security Council to vote on issues to which they are party is a major problem. This right would amount to their opposing action against themselves. The issue then is whether a big power should have the right to vote against league action against itself or, to put it in another way, whether a nation should be permitted to be one of the judges of its own case.

The Russians have objected to the refusal of the right to vote to a big power should this power be a party to dispute. The Russians argued that it was not always easy to define aggression....

In the United States, too, we can imagine a case in which, for example, some South American countries, through their agents, create a revolt in Panama. In that case the United States may in its own interest feel called upon to put down such a revolt. In this example the actual aggressor would be the South American countries but the first open act of aggression may be made by the United States.

The New York Times says it should be left to the Security Council as a whole to decide whether one of the powers or permanent members should have the right to vote in its own case. The Christian Science Monitor, on the other hand, suggests that it should be left to the permanent members. This is a big difference. If the matter is left to the Security Council and the Council can decide only by a majority vote, the six nonpermanent members could be sure of receiving a majority vote if the smaller nations could outvote the five big permanent members. The six smaller nations then could refuse a great power involved in a dispute the right to vote against league action. That would make the smaller countries just as powerful as the Big Four.

The problem of voting in the Security Council should be recognized as a very real problem. It is not a problem to be solved by mere organization. For if one of the powers is guilty of aggression—not technical aggression as in the case in our Panama metaphor, but genuine aggression—then the peace organization has already collapsed (And there is no way to build it up so that it would not collapse.) The peace organization would become simply a grand world alliance against the aggressor.

One might say, "Well, why not? What is wrong with the peace organization becoming a world alliance against the aggressor?" There are even people who argue that it may be highly desirable to prepare in this way the ultimate defense of the world against a threatening Soviet Union. But if the Soviet Union should come to believe that this is the purpose of the organization, then she might decline to become a member and feel justified in not joining. We must realize that the position of the Soviet Union is different in this matter from that of the United States. If the United States were involved in a dispute and would not have the right to vote, she could still count on being protected in the Council by Great Britain or France; but the Soviet Union cannot be sure of receiving protection from one of her fellow great powers. Therefore the new organization will have a different character for America or Great Britain on the one hand and for Russia on the other. In the case of America or Britain it could not become a world alliance against either of these. In the case of Russia, the organization might develop into a world alliance against her.