What is Dos Passos's political position? The question is not only repeatedly asked, but despite his frank, and sometimes blatant denials of any kind of political allegiance in his novels, is also variously interpreted. An interviewer asked Dos Passos:

Do you find, in retrospect, that your writing reveals any allegiance to any group, class, organization, region, religion or system of thought, or do you conceive of it as mainly the expression of yourself as an individual?

John Dos Passos: Isn't an individual just a variant in a group? The equipment belongs to the society you were brought up by. The individuality lies in how you use it. My sympathies, for some reason, lie with the private in the front line against the brass hat; with the hodcarrier against the strawboss, or the walking delegate for that matter; with the laboratory worker against the stuffed shirt in a mortarboard; with the criminal against the cop. When I try to use my head it's somewhat different. People are you and me. As for allegiance; what I consider the good side of what's been going on among people on this continent since 1620 or thereabouts, has mine. And isn't there one of history's dusty attics called the Republic of Letters?

From the reply it is abundantly clear that Dos Passos's delineation of political themes is not from the standpoint
of a politician or the exposition of political doctrines or ideas. It cannot be denied that politics has come to be an important and integral ingredient of modern life, and for that matter what attracts the attention and excites the imagination of a Dos Passos reader is the position of the individual in the politically vitiated ambience. Without ignoring the ineluctability of politics, Dos Passos holds the individual to be supreme. The spirit of Dos Passos's reply to the interviewer is revivified in Chester E. Eisinger's assessment of Dos Passos's novels of the Forties. Analyzing Number One, Eisinger writes:

Like Whitman, Dos Passos finds and identifies with many different kinds of people, until he discovers that when you try to find the people you find that the people are everybody, the people are the Republic. Dos Passos believes in both the one and the many, in the individual and the mass. It is a transcendental problem in reconciliation that Whitman also had to face. Both writers celebrate the co-equal sovereignty of the self-conscious, self-willed individual and of the mass who make the nation.2

What Dos Passos means by politics is a question which again boggles the mind. The query is posed because Dos Passos's "political compass" was swinging widely during the crucial period of the Twenties and Thirties.3 Norman Mailer, on whom Dos Passos had sufficient influence4 lucidly defines politics as "the art of the possible, and what is always possible is to reduce the amount of real suffering in a bad time, and to enrich the quality of life in a
good time. This is precisely what is not being done in America." Both the expectation and the apprehension expressed by Norman Mailer had in fact been the governing motivation of The Big Money, Adventures of a Young Man, Number One, The Grand Design and The Great Days. Norman Mailer's definition provides a useful matrix for viewing the perspective and depth with which Dos Passos weaves politics into the fabric of his novels. As to the "swing" or "waywardness" in political alliance, the answer is very simple and to this Dos Passos adhered throughout his life. He abandoned a political alliance the moment he found it thwarting individual freedom and sovereignty, and avered that only a self-governing democracy could protect individual dignity and liberty. A typical illustration of the delicate and necessary relationship between an individual and the government can be found in his dismayed reaction to a charge of having broken his earlier ties with the communists. He writes to a "friend who is probably a Party member.

After all, representative majority rule, however far from perfect, is the only political method yet discovered that allows for peaceful changes in the balance of power within a society. Occasionally the democratic state breaks down as it did in this country in sixty one, /1861/; this time, in spite of the tension and growing pains of the New Deal period, it has not broken down, at least not yet. In my opinion the one hope for the future of the type of western civilization which furnishes the frame of our lives is that the system of popular government based on individual liberty be not allowed to break.
Thus, Dos Passos always a liberty loving man, asserts his own declaration of independence against the authoritarian control of fanatical communists or bureaucratic liberalism of the New Dealers; both of which, in a way, dampen the individual initiative and integrity.

It is not surprising that both in communism and the New Deal, in their early stages, Dos Passos perceived a beacon of hope to alleviate human sufferings. He became deeply involved in the Left Wing Politics, and participated in radical demonstrations with enthusiasm. He helped launch The New Masses, a communist paper, working on the Moscow line. He became a member of the executive board and frequently contributed editorials and articles. He took a prominent part in the agitations held to save Sacco and Vanzetti. He was arrested and jailed for a short period for his activities. In 1931 he became the chairman of the National Committee to aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation. Together with Theodore Dreiser and other writers, he went to Harlan County, to report on the bitter struggle in the coal fields. Later, a Kentucky grand jury indicted him and others on charges of violating the State's criminal syndicalism law, but the authorities made no attempt to bring him back for trial. In 1932 he acted as treasurer of a committee collecting funds for the defense of the Scottsboro boys. And later that year he cast his defiant vote for the communist presidential candidate.
Despite Dos Passos's leanings towards communism, it shall be undermining his genius and also fallacious to brand him a communist. His rapprochement with Communism was never a matter of political stance, but an altruistic perspective, an anchorage to his humanitarian views. After World War I American young men felt the American Republic was crumbling and disintegrating and "Socialism seemed a radiant dawn" to them. Dos Passos further explains the circumstances which led him to embrace communism:

It was against this stale murk of massacre and plague and famine that, just as the early Christians had under somewhat similar circumstances painted in the mind's eye a shining City of God above the clouds, the social revolutionists began to project their magic lantern slides of a future of peaceful just brotherhood, if only the bosses of the present could be overthrown. While the bulk of the American population settled back to the wisecracks and the bootlegging and the cheerful moral disintegration of Normalcy and the New Era, angry young men whose careers lay outside the world of buying cheap and selling dear swallowed the millennial gospel of Marx in one great gulp.7

Though a fellow traveller, Dos Passos had always been skeptical of the efficacy of the communist system in America. His doubts were intensified after his visit to Russia. In his memoirs The Best Times and in the story of a Russian sailor in "Cogitations in a Roman Theatre,"8 he points out the suffocating and strangling atmosphere of Russian communism. He records: "I liked and admired the Russian people. I had enjoyed their enormous and varied country but when next morning I crossed the Polish border — Poland was
not Communist then — it was like being let out of jail."\(^9\)

As he went deeper into the American Communist Party, he could well visualize that the socialist ideology of the Russians was simply a cloak for the Russian dictatorship.

Dos Passos's subsequent disenchantment and the later vitriol that he pours over it in his writings, got precipitated after his visit to Spain with Hemingway and Joris Ivens during the Spanish Civil War.\(^10\) In one of the reckless firings in the Spanish Civil War his friend Jose Robles, a Spanish doctor, was killed in 1936. In Spain, he could also observe the Russian tactics and their dictatorial attitude because it was the only country supplying arms and ammunition to the Loyalists and Russians thought it to be their right to dictate policy matters to the Loyalists.

Furthermore, his experiences in the coal mines strikes gave him a first-hand insight into communist activities. In Harlan County, Kentucky, the miners in the bituminous coal fields led a life of abject poverty and suffering. He noticed that the communists were not interested in the welfare of the poverty-stricken miners but in their own Party tactics and in the propagation of communistic ideologies. His earlier revulsion against communism is voiced in *The Big Money*, in the experiences of Ben Compton, and is at length articulated and dramatized in *Adventures of a Young Man*. Finding himself still not purged of his venom for
communism, he wrote *Most Likely to Succeed*. In the New Deal too, once Dos Passos mistakenly discerned hopes which could heal up the trauma caused by industrial capitalism, iniquitous execution of Sacco and Vanzetti and the harrowing effects of the Depression. Dos Passos elucidates his changing reactions to the New Deal in *The Theme is Freedom*:

Return It was somewhere during the years of the early New Deal that I rejoined the United States I had seceded privately the night Sacco and Vanzetti were executed.11

Again he says:

Participation On his first election in 1936, I had voted for him [F.D. Roosevelt] with enthusiasm.... The New Deal in its early days had brought the country back to life... the financial regulators of the economy had been shifted from Wall Street to Washington without anybody's firing a shot.12

But he adds,

Rejection The federal government became a storehouse of power that dwarfed the fabled House of Morgan that had been the bogy of our youth.... The trouble with immense political power of course is that no man is good enough to wield it. It's the fear of the loss of power that lets the evil in.13

The New Deal Administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is the central theme of *The Grand Design*. Dos Passos's hopes in the New Deal to "build a more equable society for the American people" (p. 34) were belied when he found politicians with power indulging in evils like red tapism, and bureaucratic officialdom, thereby thwarting the hopes and integrity of the individual. Granville Hicks sums up Dos Passos's political stance:
To begin with, he feared the power of the military, as he had experienced it in the first World War, and the power of men of wealth. The hatred of war and exploitation grew so acute that he accepted for a time the tempting radical doctrine that only power can destroy power. But what he saw of communism in Russia, in Spain, and at home convinced him that the destroying power could be more dangerous than the power it overcame. The New Deal, whatever its accomplishments, represented a great concentration of power, and he must always have been uneasy about it. 14

No wonder then that the major Dos Passos critics agree that Dos Passos always held the individual to be supreme and looked at politics with humanitarian and egalitarian sympathies. Chester E. Eisinger, for instance, writes, "The theme of all the writing he did between 1939 and 1951...has been the imperative need to guarantee the survival of the individual in the modern state and to protect his personal liberties." 15 No serious reader, therefore, can fail to notice Dos Passos's profound sense of the intimate relationship between culture and politics and his firm faith in self-government which implies the recognition of the individual with all his virtues and vices.

II

It would be interesting to trace in detail Dos Passos's involvement in politics but the obvious want of space limits the scope of this investigation. The following pages will, therefore, point only to the more conspicuous instances
where the totalitarian power of communism or of an aspiring politician or the New Deal operate in the novels of Dos Passos and how an individual pitched against these forces responds. Don Stevens in 1919, Jed Morris in Most Likely to Succeed, Chuck Crawford in Number One succumb to the political power, Ben Compton in The Big Money, Glenn Spotswood in Adventures of a Young Man, Millard Carroll and Paul Graves in The Grand Design rebel against the totalitarianism whether of communism or of the New Deal and refuse to make even an iota of compromise. Herbert Spotswood in Adventures of a Young Man, Tyler Spotswood in Number One, Roland Lancaster and Roger Thurloe in The Great Days, and Jay Pignatelli in Chosen Country give the views of a detached spectator.

THE CLIMBERS

Don Stevens is pragmatic and opportunistic in his radical ideology. He may be called a minor character, because no independent biography has been assigned to him. He makes his brief, unexpected appearances in the sections devoted to Eveline Hutchins and Mary French. He is introduced as "a haggard-looking, bright-eyed young man" pushing his way into New York's Left Wing circles. He has been brought up in South Dakota, where he has been a reporter on small-town newspapers since his school days. He has worked as a harvest
hand and been on several I.W.W. scraps and is proud of his red membership card. He has come to New York to work on the Call, a socialist paper, but has resigned "because they were too damn lilylivered" (p. 145). At his first appearance in New York, Don Stevens is a moral degenerate taking sexual transgressions casually. He meets Eveline Hutchins, who is fearful of being pregnant by Jose O'Rieley, a Spanish artist. Soon after their first meeting, he invites her to make love but she objects as she has known him only for seven hours. He advises her to shun the "stupid bourgeois idea." Again, when she asks him about birth control, he gives her a long harangue on the greatness of Margaret Sanger and "how birthcontrol was the greatest single blessing to mankind since the invention of fire" (p. 146). An impressive conversationalist, Don succeeds in seducing Eveline and when he starts "to make love to her again in a businesslike way, she, laughing and blushing, let him take off her clothes" (p. 146). Nevertheless, in New York he lectures at anti-war meetings and condemns the bankers and industrialists who fan the war furor:

He said that there wasn't a Chinaman's chance that the U.S. would keep out of war; the Germans were winning, the workingclass all over Europe was on the edge of revolt, the revolution in Russia was the beginning of the worldwide social revolution and the bankers knew it and Wilson knew it; the only question was whether the industrial workers in the East and the farmers and casual laborers in the Middle West and West would stand for war. The entire Press was bought and muzzled. The Morgans had to fight or go bankrupt. (p. 145)
Always ostentatious in his declarations, Don Stevens exploits the sentiments of the people, and when America enters War, he signs up with Friends Relief and spends sometime in Europe.

At his second appearance in Paris, Don wears gray uniform of the Quaker outfit and meets Eveline Hutchins, now with the Red Cross in Paris. He is excited about the Bolshevik success in Russia and full of mysterious references to the underground activities of his own. "Eveline, we're on the edge of gigantic events...The working-classes of the world won't stand for this nonsense any longer...damn it, the war will have been almost worth while if we get a new Socialist civilization out of it" (p. 243). Back in Paris again at the end of April 1918, Don Stevens is in a civilian garb. He has resigned from the Friends Relief, the reconstruction unit, and is broke. He scoffs at Eveline's reluctance to accommodate him for fear of rumours from his friends. Hesitatingly she agrees when he promises to keep it a secret. He teases her "about her bourgeois ideas, said those sorts of things wouldn't matter after the revolution, that the first test of strength was coming on the first of May" (p. 344). As a result of his reporting for the radical press, he is arrested in Germany by the Occupation army. Eveline Hutchins makes efforts to get him released. Instead of being grateful to her he takes
credit for his own clever manipulations. After the Armistice, Don Stevens still exhibits the same repulsive and ungrateful nature. At a party in Paris he drinks heavily and keeps "making ugly audible remarks about parasites and the laudedah boys of the bourgeoisie" (p. 503). He almost gets into a fight with an army officer whom he calls a "goddam fairy." Dick Savage and Eleanor are also present in the party. Nauseated by his behaviour, Dick wants to leave Don with Eleanor, and she promptly retorts, "Don't you dare go home and leave me alone with this frost" (p. 503).

Don Stevens's vested interests appear more clearly in The Big Money when he is drawn to Boston in 1927 by the impending execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Making the grim tragedy a vantage point, he seeks the greatest possible advantage for the revolutionary cause even if it means sacrificing the condemned men. The socialist radicals interested in saving Sacco and Vanzetti suggest that further demonstration might weaken the chances of getting a commuted sentence. But he vehemently opposes moderation and argues bitterly with the trade union officials and lawyers. He raves, "After all, they are brave men. It doesn't matter whether they are saved or not any more, it's the power of the workingclass that's got to be saved" (p. 515), and makes an abortive attempt to organize a general strike of all the Boston workers. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case Don Stevens,
however, achieves his moment of revolutionary glory when there are protests in Charlestown against the electrocution verdict. He walks in the front rank of the protest parade, is clubbed by the police, and carried off bleeding to jail:

"Comrades, let's sing," Don's voice shouted.

Mary forgot everything as her voice joined his voice, all their voices, the voices of the crowds being driven back across the bridge in singing:

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation....*" (p. 518)

He meets Mary French at a police station when he is arrested for "inciting to riot instead of sauntering and loitering like the rest" (p. 513). When they are bailed out he provokes Mary French to mobilize the force of all Boston workers:

"We've got to get the entire working class of Boston out on the streets, said Stevens in his deep rattling voice.

"We've gotten out the garment workers, but that's all."

He struck his open palm with his fist. "What about the Italians? What about the North End? Where's your office? Look what we did in New York. Why can't you do it here?" (p. 513)

He shows the same devotion to Party advantage in dealing with a strike of the Pennsylvania coal miners. His selfish motives come to the limelight when he works with a dedicated soul like Mary French. In contrast to her, who wears herself out in lending succour to the destitute and starving families of the strikers, Don is mainly interested in using the communist tactics of mass propaganda in the strike to extend control over the local unions. Don Stevens, the opportunist, is
adequately rewarded for his tactics and is sent to Moscow on "essential party business" and returns highly favoured by the Communist Party in Russia. He brings an English comrade as wife from Russia as a token of his final surrender to and the subsequent rise in the Communist Party. A friend explains to Mary French, "She's an English comrade... she spoke at the big meeting at the Bronx Casino last night...She's got a great shock of red hair...stunning, but some of the girls think it's dyed. Lots of the comrades didn't know you and Comrade Stevens had broken up...isn't it sad things like that have to happen in the movement?"

(p. 608).

In Most Likely to Succeed Dos Passos tells us how the conspiratorial communists and their cohorts were at work in the Twenties and Thirties, thwarting and curtailing individual liberty in the fabric of American life, and making art the scapegoat for Party ideologies. Jed Morris, the hero, appears as a naively radical young playwright, too egocentric to understand Russian activities in Algiers and in New York while working for the Craftsman's Theatre. He neither fully comprehends nor has the courage to resist or reject the Party orders.

On his arrival in New York, Jed is rushed straight to the Craftsman Theatre in a Greenwich village to attend the
organization meeting which has three communists on the board of directors. Jed is bubbling with radical ideas which he conveys to Marlowe, a rich divorcee whom he meets on the ship:

We are living a revolution that destroys and renovates all the forms of man's life on earth. It's not a matter of statistics or economics or better wages here or less profits there. You are either on the side of life breaking out of the cocoon of a dead society or else you are on the side of sterile exploitation and paralysis and death. (p. 13)

The outbursts seem to be sincere, but how far Jed succeeds in upholding his naive notions remains to be seen. He joins the Craftsman Theatre with the same naive notions with which Martin Howe or John Andrews join the army. Jed thinks:

Human society is suffering and drying up for lack of a creed. The churches are played out. For young people growing up, rejecting the husks of their fathers' castoff phrases, the theatre will take the place of the church. The theatre is the ritual of the revolution. That's what I learned working with the Russians last summer. We've got to go further than they went. Abolish the proscenium arch. (p. 64)

These are high ideals but will an egocentric and comfort-loving man like Jed adhere to these? We find gradually that the corrosive pressures of the Communist Party shear off his lofty thoughts. Jed's surrender to the Communist Party becomes apparent while he is at work with the Craftsman Theatre. Before his play *Shall Be the Human Race* is produced,
it is thoroughly scrutinized by the communist directors in the board who suggest drastic alterations to make the play conform to the Party line. Sam Faust suggests, "a more disciplined distribution of ideas" (p. 98) and Lew Golton wants a play that "the movement will stand squarely behind" (p. 98). V.F. Calvert, an important communist leader also goes through the manuscript like "an old-fashioned professor at College" (p. 106), and advises Jed to revise the whole play in the light of the "notes" suggested. Jed's conformity to the ulterior motives of the Party is established when he tells Sam Faust and Lew Golton "I'll try to meet his objections,"..."He's convincing" (p. 106). The play is a flop, which was what Jed had apprehended. Kenneth Magill, another director on the board, rightly blames the communists for the failure of the play. He explains to Felicia Hardestie, Jed's beloved: "And, dearie, they want it to fail...They're doing everything they can to make it fail...Because they hate me and because Jed wouldn't rewrite his second act to suit their ideas. He tried to please them and he fell between two stools. What do we care about ideas? We are artists, Felicia!" (p. 138). After his failure at the Craftsman's Theatre, and without thinking about the causes, Jed shifts to Hollywood; for success, wealth and comfort. In Jed's next involvement, as a reviewer observes, "the author [Dos Passos] sees all the fierce young social spirits who came roaring out of the 20's got soft and successful in
30's, dangled guiltily between big money and little treason and recently between hitting the sawdust trail in congressional committees. At first, in Hollywood, Jed is repelled by the manner in which the writers try to please Milt Michelson, an important and useful man in the movie industry. But soon he is lured into the false world of Hollywood when Milt Michelson compliments him and promises him a bright future. Eventually, he becomes enormously successful at Hollywood and gets more and more involved in the communist-directed activities, and in return, the communists concentrate more on him until he is fully under their control. His complete enslavement to communism is reflected in his equivocal condemnation of his otherwise well-wisher Eli Solitair. Jed votes to keep Eli Solitair out of the communist-dominated screen writers association. He tells Sam Faust and Lew Golton, "Eli's not so much of a clown as he looks. He's a disruptionist" (p. 252). Further, Jed accepts the communists' reversal of policy in the signing of non-aggression pacts with Germany. Communists make the motion picture and the War a vehicle for the propagation of their totalitarian ideology. At a party attended by Jed and other communist political and military leaders, a strategy is chalked out:
Communications are the brains and nervous system of the country...That is the importance of our work out here. Mass communication. Motion pictures are the mind of the masses. Through the war effort we move into radio. We eliminate fascists from the newspaper workers' unions, we install progressives in the writers' organizations and the projected authors' authority. By the time this war is over we shall have captured the brains of the nation. For the first time we can see emerging the outlines of a Soviet America. (p. 295)

Lew draws Jed's attention to the words "authors' authority" and amidst draughts of vodka and the slogan of "A Soviet America" "Meester Morris" is announced as the chairman of the war relief in America.

In Number One, the second novel of the District of Columbia trilogy, Dos Passos shifts from the dictatorial and totalitarian attitude of the Russian Communists in America and Spain to the theme of demagoguery on the American political scene. The novel reveals the political activities of Homer T. (Chuck) Crawford, who calls himself Number One, the demagogue from Texarkola, a fictional town. Probably, based on the career of Huey P. Long, the dictatorial governor of Louisiana (1928-1935), Chuck Crawford reflects the dangers emanating from the corrupting force of unbridled political power. Focusing interest in the demagogue and in demagoguery as a political phenomenon, Dos Passos highlights Chuck's character through the variegated responses he "evokes from idealists like Tyler Spotswood [Chuck's personal aide] who look to him for leadership, from businessmen like Jerry
Evans who want to use him, and from the common people, who vote for him." It is not surprising that for his vested interests he betrays all, especially his "fanatical adherent," Tyler Spotswood.

Chuck's debut as a politician is of a man with dynamic and magnetic personality. He is in the process of elevating himself from the House of Representatives to the United States Senate. Tyler Spotswood boots up his election campaign with full gusto and sincerity, but the idealist in him is unable to see through Chuck's wily nature and hypocritical mask. Chuck succeeds in winning people's support with his scripture laden speeches and the humanitarian ideals he professes. Confuting his election rival, Fatty Galbraith's statements against him, Chuck says, "What I'm tryin' to do with the help of all the decent Godfearin' people is save the home an' the little white church where we gather together on the Lord's day to worship the Lord of all harvests an' blessin's in whatever way our conscience tells us is right" (p. 71). He claims to save people's family life and the church from going to dogs. But he neglects his own devoted, decent and honest wife, Sue Ann, and his children. Of Chuck's indifference to family, Tyler tells Sue Ann, "Wouldn't it be much better for them children to be brought up by plain decent ordinary citizens? He hasn't a thought in the world except for himself. You know that" (pp. 172-173). How much he practises what
he preaches in public is amply exposed when Chuck indulges in drinking bouts, enjoys parties with cabaret girls, and is beaten for creating nuisance, and comes out of the hotel "With his lip bleeding and a puffing eye."

Again in flamboyant speeches Chuck announces his captivating economic schemes:

Why should one million people in this country have all the good things of the world while the other hundred an' nineteen million go naked an' hungry and destitute? It's against common sense an' it's against revealed religion. Don't the Bible lay upon us the injunction, Senator, to spread the good things of the land equally among the people of the land? (p. 11)

Continuing in the same strain, he substantiates his argument from Bible, "The land shall not be sold forever for the land is mine; for ye are strangers an' sojourners with me...an' all the rest of that chapter V (p. 11). The devil quotes the scriptures and Tyler mistakes Chuck for the ideals of a government of the common man. After his election to the United States Senate, Chuck, the shrewd manipulator, exploits all the economic plans for his personal benefit. He organizes the Struck oil Corporation for the purpose of oil leases in the State Park Bottoms. He has around him a group of sycophants -- his political henchmen -- and Chuck calculatedly divides the shares of the Corporation among them. He makes Tyler the dummy officer, and keeps himself "clean as a hound."
First Stauch gits twice the value of the note. Then fiftyfive percent goes in the name of Tyler Spotswood... you won't be sore, will you, Toby, ole boy, if I ask you to execute an assignment for it to Sue Ann in case you git yourself run over by a truck? We'll need that capital for national politics..."
Then Judge Bannin' an' Herb take out seventeen an' a half percent each an' Jackie, 'because he's the youngest, gits what's left...Q.E.D. (pp. 139-140)

And the bond is passed unanimously. The corporation purchases a radio station for ventilating Chuck's political views and pays him a high salary. Chuck misappropriates the funds for his political activities. His malpractices are hinted during the party convention when Tyler talks to Ed James, a journalist:

"Of course ole Chuck's story is," said Ed, "that it's only by sugarcoatin' them with a certain amount of tomfoolery that he can get over the wholesome truth to Mr. and Mrs. John Citizen...isn't that about the size of it, Toby?"

Tyler nodded. "After all somebody's got to explain the possibilities of the modern setup to the people in words of one syllable. Abe Lincoln did the same thing in his day," he rattled on, feeling his words empty as a parrot's. (pp. 152-153)

Chuck weaves an endless web of machinations to vindicate his patriotism and honesty. His political career appears to be secure and stable until he becomes audacious enough to attack F.D. Roosevelt's administration, and his Oil Corporation is investigated into by the Treasury department and the Attorney General. Always unscrupulous in manoeuvrings, he survives the impeachment by putting the blame on Tyler. Deserting Tyler, he broadcasts his diplomatic libelous attack on Tyler, and exploits his loyalty:
Lemme tell you fine honest citizens gathered together tonight in this great city of the reborn South that...although it's always possible that once in a while I have been deceived by the fair faces an' false smiles of some of those I trusted as Caesar did Brutus...ah, there was the unkindest cut of all, the stab in the back from a friend...I tell you-all here in this hall tonight that I have looked into the bottom of my heart an' I have found no guilt. (p. 240)

"Beneath this mask" Eisinger convincingly points out, "Chuck Crawford is a rock-hard manipulator of men and money, an adulterer, a hypocrite, a careful politician whose spontaneity comes out of a card file." Chuck Crawford, the native fascist, is a ruthless manipulator, a venal politician and rises to power with his fake and crooked promises.

III

THE REBELS

Ben is the first socialist radical Dos Passos hero who defies the arbitrary and dictatorial authority of the Communist Party. The defiance begins in The Big Money after his release from the federal prison where he has been kept for making seditious statements. He goes to live with Mary French who finds a hideout for him in her friend's apartment at Madison Avenue. Soon after his return the comrades call him to organize the towns around Passaic.
to launch a strike against the injustices perpetrated on them. There he faces difficulty in co-ordinating his efforts with other organizations in which communists had infiltrated. He refuses to compromise with the members of A.F. of L and due to its unwarranted interference the strike fails. He feels depressed and miserable. The A.F. of L. officials from Washington "in expensive overcoats and silk mufflers who smoked twentyfivecent cigars and spat on the floor of the office" (pp. 505-506), take the strike out of his hands and settle it. He tells Mary French about "the sellout and wrangles between the leftwingers and the oldline Socialists and laborleaders, and how now that it was all over here was his trial for contempt of court coming up" (p. 506). In the end the conspiratorial communists reject him. His stubbornness, outspokenness and refusal to sacrifice his convictions antagonizes the Party leaders. He informs Mary French, "I've been expelled from the party...oppositionist...exceptionalism...a lot of nonsense....Well, that does not matter, I'm still a revolutionist...I'll continue to work outside of the party" (p. 598). Completely disconcerted with the game of Party tactics and strategies in the guise of cooperation, Ben rejects the Party as a protest.

Dos Passos's contemptuous treatment of the Communist Party in the last phase of The Big Money becomes still more belligerent and elaborate in Adventures of a Young Man.
Glenn Spotswood, a courageous and straight-forward young man, takes to Communism with almost a religious dedication. But the political interests and tactics of the Communist Party at the cost of the individual lead to a grim tussle and finally he is defeated and killed. His life, therefore, provides a peep into the overt and covert activities of the Communist Party that subverts the interests of the common man and other unions.

Glenn Spotswood's social activities start when he comes into contact with Boris Spingarn and his wife Gladys, the socialist enthusiasts. The three of them argue for hours about whether the time has come for revolutionary movement in America yet. Gladys points out that the government has grown callous and commits atrocities like the Sacco-Vanzetti case. She thinks that it is an indication enough of the impending decline of capitalism. On the other hand, she believes that Russia's economic development and improvement shall attract the American workers towards communism because the Communists in America had strategically seized upon a time of economic distress to launch their propaganda. Viewing the comparative social conditions in Russia and America, under the influence of the Spingarns, Glenn imagines himself a saviour of the downtrodden. To free the exploited sections of the society from slavery and abject poverty, he dreams, "The new Glenn Spotswood who was addressing this great meeting in this great
hall was going on, without any private life, renouncing the capitalist world and its pomps, the new Glenn Spotswood had come there tonight to offer himself, his brain and his muscle, everything he had in him, to the revolutionary working class. Hands clapped, throats roared out cheers" (p. 135).

To please his father and earn money to pay off college debts, Glenn temporarily accepts a job in his uncle's Coastal National Bank, in a small Texas town. Never craving for material success, he is unable to adjust himself to the bourgeois living and feels uncomfortable under capitalistic environments. He regards himself as "a spy in the camp of the enemy" (p. 169), and remembers "the men Moses sent to spy out the land of Canaan for Israel" (p. 140).

His adherence and loyalty to the socialist movement comes to limelight when the underpaid (four cents an hour) Mexican pecan shellers of the town go on a strike. He sees their miserable plight and gets himself indirectly involved in the strike. The strikers march in a picket line and the chief of police beats them and puts them in jail. A self-seeking, hard-drinking local lawyer, Jed Farrington reluctantly promises to undertake the cases of the "most harmless people," at the same time points out the urgency of more money required to make an appeal to the Supreme Court. Glenn becomes the treasurer of the defense fund. Fearing government's strong action against the strikers, his
brother, Tyler, comes all the way from Austin to take Glenn away from the mess of the strike, but an idealist as he is, Glenn tells his brother, "Tyler, you have your ideas and I have mine" (p. 170), and still more devoutly dedicates his services to the campaign.

The pecan sheller strike provides him with an opportunity to see through two kinds of radicals. On the one hand is Frankie Perez, the local barber who calls himself an anarchist but talks like an "old-fashioned Jeffersonian democrat." But Glenn the devout socialist is not convinced that communism was turning thoroughly pragmatic, and growing arbitrary and unscrupulous. Glenn visits Frankie Perez's dilapidated house and Perez tells him, "they were progresistas but this was how they lived, and that many of their friends were worse off. American people said it was good enough for the greasers to live like pigs, but they were American citizens...they were going to show that they were conscious of their dignity as men" (p. 1959). Perez nevertheless works tirelessly and effectively to get the needed money from the Mexican store-keepers. The other kind of radical is Irving Silverstone, a conspiratorial communist organizer from New York. Insisting on tactics, he proposes to spread the news of the strike country-wide with a deluge of leaflets. His seditious statements endanger the strikers' success. He exhorts the members of the striking committee, "It doesn't matter if we lose one case or a hundred cases as long as
the workers are made to realize the significance of revolutionary Marxism" (p. 164).

Irving Silverstone adds:

What I am telling these comrades is their historic position must be explained to the workers of Horton. They must be made to see the significance of this strike as the awakening of an exploited colonial minority, and as part of the daily struggle of the world proletariat against the encroachments of the exploiting class. We must flood the city with leaflets. Mass pressure.... (p. 164)

Frankie Perez objects that the strikers will not "allow the trial to be made a demonstration for the Marxist interpretation... The committee's work was one thing: to raise money to get the companeros out of jail" (p. 164). The Communist Party's interference turns the public opinion against the strikers, and the Ku klux Klan early one afternoon puts on a threatening demonstration. Consequently, some leaders including Glenn, are forced to leave the town. So far, Glenn the staunch socialist is not ready to be convinced that the Communist Party was turning thoroughly pragmatic and its socialistic ideologies were merely a camouflage.

Despite Silverstone's Party tactics in the pecan sheller's strike, Glenn becomes a "fellow traveller" after his return to New York. At his small street meetings and at bigger meetings in the halls he speaks of his experiences in the South. He appeals to his fellow workers to help the pecan shellers, the "poor and exploited foreign
language group," and stresses that "an injury to one was an injury to all" (p. 183). Silverstone objects to his old I.W.W. slogan which according to him is a bad tactic because "I.W.W. was a thing of the past," and adds, "Anarchosyndicalism was all washed up; and why hadn't he brought in something about John D. Rockefeller?" But Glenn replies, "he couldn't see the connection and he didn't believe in personalities. It was the system that was wrong" (pp. 183-184).

Glenn Spotswood's second experience of the conspiratorial role of the Communist Party is from miners' strike in the Slade County. To spearhead the campaign, the communists send him on a dangerous mission into the lonely mountains. He is to help organize and accentuate the American Miners Union's activities. He joins them and is touched by the prayer of old Napier which unveils the grinding poverty and destitution of the miners:

0 Lawd, we need bread an' meat an' clothin' for our children, that's terrible sick of the flux an' can't sleep because they's so cold an' hongry, an' can't go to school to learn to be good citizens because they's so naked, an' they's likely to grow up the worst trash is ever been seen in these mountains. (p. 202)

Obviously the conditions in the mines were grim. The low coal prices made the mine owners cut wages, which resulted in the miners' rebellion. Pearl Napier, the secretary of the Muddy Fork Local, not yet twenty one is a married man with two children. He was hardly nine when he started to work in
the mines. After twelve years of service he is given starvation wages and his hungry family is kept alive by the hand-outs of local sympathizers. The communist fronts make their most effective move by sending aid for the starving miners. At the sight of the colossal pain around, Glenn establishes an emotional kinship with the suffering miners. He feels "as if he'd known these people in this shack in these mountains all his life...Now he was one of them for keeps, part of them, like a povertystricken kid asleep in bed with his brothers and sisters" (p. 205). He devotes himself whole-heartedly to co-ordinate the various unions to ameliorate the lot of the miners.

Juxtaposed to the pathetic prayer of old Napier is the abominable role of the coal operators. The coal operators association with the power of money controls the local sheriff, like Caleb Blaine, and his deputies and also hires a big bunch of "gunthugs." The hirlings are given fair or foul temptations to perpetrate sufferings on the miners. Glenn has not to wait long to witness the grim tragedy in Slade County. The unarmed strikers attempt a protest march. The hirlings open fire and shoot two miners dead and wound many more. The miners are lost in profound grief mourning the loss of human souls but for the communists, who are ever ready to evolve new strategies, the tragic incident provides
with a favourable opportunity for propaganda. "That's it," said Irving... "A mass funeral for the two classwar victims" (p. 215). The incident evokes justifiable indignation and fury among the miners. After the coffins are lowered into the graves, a tense and quiet crowd of grim miners with their wives and children listen to a wide variety of speakers -- embittered fellow-workers like Pearl Napier, outside organizers like Glenn Spotswood, earnest liberals like the reverend James Brekenridge, interested in social conditions and the criminal syndicalism laws. The sheriff and his underlings allow the meeting to continue but take down a stenographic record of the speeches. Afterwards, the inevitable violence bursts out in which two deputies are killed. Pearl tells Glenn the real cause behind the Bull Creek tragedy and how the matters are being distorted:

The guards at Bull Creek had been drinking that afternoon and started driving their car full speed up and down the road when the boys was going home from the speaking. They'd run a woman down and somebody had gotten so hell fired mad he'd started shooting, at least that was what the deputy said, and some of our boys had been hurt but nobody knowed how may, and now the county prosecutor claimed that the union boys had made a conspiracy to shoot up the gun thugs and they was going to lock up every redneck union agitator in the penitentiary. (pp. 226-27)

As apprehended by the miners, the sheriff's men retaliate with wholesale arrests of the striking miners. Glenn and Pearl Napier, too, are arrested and threatened with charges ranging from criminal syndicalism to murder.
The jailing of the strikers results in a confused situation between the communists and non-communist parties. They denounce and sabotage each other's cause in order to establish their own Party's image. Co-operation among the like-minded parties and forces could help the release of the miners, but the clear-cut polarization makes matters worse. A few of the arrested miners belong to the communist-dominated American Miners Union; more were members of the O.B.U, One Big Union, a rival syndicalist group. Irving Silverstone tries to get all the defendants to accept the services of a communist front, the American Workers Defense, and proposes that all should pool their efforts and thus get better legal advice, and "make the heroic fight of the miners of Slade County tell as part of the class struggle" (p. 229). He wants to utilize the unity as a "mass pressure and to put this struggle in its true light as part of the international movement of the working class" (p. 230). But the O.B.U led by Harve Farrell does not trust the communists' motives, and firmly refuses to join. Silverstone calls Harve Farrell "a provocator", "a stoolpigeon." However, Pearl Napier and another of the American Miners group choose to join them in this independent course. A third group involved in the affair is the Consolidated Mine Workers, the conservative old line union. After the State President Connolly, of the Consolidated Mine Workers bails out some of the arrested men, Harve Farrell
is eager to arrange a compromise of the three organizations but the communists decline to cooperate. "That socialfascist," said Irving, getting to his feet, "If you want to help him sell out the workers you can; that's not what we came down here for" (p. 235). Farrell retorts and bluntly points out the communists' real purpose of involvement in the struggle. He tells that their selfish motive is to "raise a big political stink and git yourselves a new crop of martyrs to raise money for...for your own mealtickets" (p. 235). Meanwhile Glenn has been released from jail by means of a give-and-take compromise. According to the deal, the local authorities will reduce Glenn's bail provided the communists take him out of the State. Always the idealist, Spotswood hates to desert his new friend, Napier and other seven miners being held on a murder charge, but Silverstone convinces Glenn with political injunctions:

'They're all of them politically undeveloped,' said Irving as they were going back up in the elevator.

'I'd rely on Napier anywhere.'

'I know,' said Irving in a doleful tone. 'Real proletarians...lovely people...but they lack marxist preparation. There's too much of the artist in you, Sandy. You are sentimental.' (p. 235)

With a view to buoying up the drooping morale of the American Miners Union, the communists send Glenn on a secret mission back into the mountains. With the connivance of the operators association the thugs physically assault
him and the A.M.U. organizer, Less Minot, while they are on the way back. Like Ben Compton, their radical prototype, they are made to run the gauntlet. They are carried to the hospital and after being given first aid in the local hospital Marice Gullick, his patronness of the college days, takes Glenn home and nurses him well. For her "Glenn was a hero" and she tells him that "he was a satisfactory lover" (p. 249). But Irvingstone has objections to his private life and warns him, "private morals are no affair of the Party's... We're only interested in social morals. In the second place, there is always the danger of being contaminated by the decadence of the liberal bourgeoisie" (p. 251). Glenn feels his liberty being curtailed but still his humane outlook fails to read between the lines of communists' political slogans and their professed ideologies.

Glenn is still trying to help the eight miners imprisoned for the shooting at the Bull Creek. They have been granted a new trial but the ideological feuds continue to hamper the defense. Elmer Weeks, the head of the Communist Party, reminds Glenn to keep one thing in mind, "Our function is to educate the American Workingclass in revolutionary Marxism. We are not interested in the fates of individuals" (p. 253). Whatever weapon becomes handy the communists wield that to achieve their objective and late one night, Elmer Weeks gives Glenn orders on the telephone:
The Central Committee had just thrashed the matter out and decided that the thing to do was to concentrate on getting out the two American Miners' boys; outside of that the trial was an educational demonstration and to be treated as such by the liberal lawyers; and as for cooperating with the O.B.U he had every reason to believe it would be a mistake, after all we knew none of our boys had shot those deputies, no use trying to defend irresponsible elements, no time for Quixotic gestures. (pp. 257-58)

In accordance with these orders, Glenn meets Napier in prison and Napier assures him of his faith in the decision of the union. Glenn is to testify for them in the Court. Outside the court, the "gunthugs" intimidate the witnesses. Glenn is cross-examined and a few minutes of cross examination lays the cards bare. The Prosecutor Prout gives a logically concocted account of the Bull Creek tragedy. Glenn's truthful account fails to convince the jury. He admits that he does not believe in God and what he considers "the Russian system of communism as practiced in red Moscow more conducive to the dignity of man...than belief in the Gospel, the sacredness of the home and private property and the Constitution of the United States" (p. 265). This frank confession of iconoclasticism outrages the local sentiment. Napier and his friend are held guilty and sentenced to twenty years in prison. Glenn and the lawyers hurriedly hustle out of the State for fear of being arrested. Jane Sparling conveys Elmer Weeks message to Glenn, "He pointed out that this was a war. No army can expect to win a battle without losing some effectives. He says we got to get you out of here before they re-arrest you for
something. He wants to save you for speaking" (p. 267).
The Communist Party that hitherto had been a bulwark for Glenn, starts appearing treacherous. They seemed betraying themselves as the arch enemies of people's interests.

Yet, the communists' publicity about Glenn's activities in the strike makes him a hero. The Communist Party deputes him on a cross-country speaking tour to raise funds for workers defense, and he received a rousing welcome everywhere. Glenn receives a stunning blow when the Communist Party untimely switches its stand to the Consolidated Mine Workers and when the communist mine workers had been sentenced:

Gleen found himself yelling into the phone, "Why the hell, if you'd decided to collaborate with the old unions, couldn't you have decided to collaborate with the Mine-workers in time to get them in on the Slade County trials? Don't you know that if you people had gone around to see Conolly and told him you were going to lay off, he might have influenced the prosecutor not to step on the murder charges? Jesus Christ, we might have gotten those boys out of jail. (p. 273)

Glenn feels that the communists' reversal of policy is a grossly miscalculated drive from the humanitarian point of view, and such a move defies all canons of political morality and decency. The unification of all unions and the synchronized operations launched in the beginning could save the condemned miners. But the sudden bargaining at this late juncture when his friend had been sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment,
amounts to a wide-ranging conspiracy against the innocent miners. One day, in Chicago, Glenn is shocked to read the news of Pearl Napier's death. He has been shot down while trying to escape from prison. Shortly, afterwards, Glenn receives a telephone call from Harve Farrell, the O.B.U. organizer:

Had he read the news? yes. Well, did he know who was responsible for that guy's death and the holy mess they made of the defense, well, he was, the sonofabitch, and if he was a man he'd come and get his dirty lying face smashed in...And what was he doing now with all his speeches in defense of the classwar prisoners, the snarling voice went on breathless; who was getting the money? The prisoners or his organization? Who was in jail? The working stiff. Who was riding around the country staying in the best hotels making speeches and passing the plate? The comical commissars. (p. 275)

The death of the innocent miner is a shock strong and deep enough for Glenn and he begins to see through the treacherous game of the communists. The clouds of doubt are dispelled and he defies communistic hegemony and cancels his speaking tour. He demands from the communists an account of the worker's defense fund. In response, he is insidiously arraigned and expelled from the Party. Well aware that the disastrous activities of the Party have reached alarming proportions, he makes an abortive attempt to found a splinter group and wants to give it a firm and determined leadership in his march to ameliorate society. He explains his aim to Paul Graves, "Running a little paper for workingclass unity... and campaigning to get guys out of jail that everybody else has forgotten. Have you heard about the splinter parties?
Well, I'm a splinter" (pp. 297-298). The intransigent radicals, Ben Compton and Glenn Spotswood, are alienated from the idol they worship. In dramatizing such characters, Dos Passos suggests that the individuals play a vital role in moulding the destiny of the nation, particularly those individuals who symbolize the aspirations of the people. Through their political foresight they provide leadership to fulfill the urges and aspirations of the people.

Roosevelt's New Deal Administration is the central theme of The Grand Design, the third volume of the District of Columbia trilogy. Pitched against the Administration are two bright-eyed idealists, Millard Carroll, a successful businessman and Paul Graves, an agronomist. Millard Carroll leaves his lucrative administrative post and accepts a high office in the New Deal programme, just under the rank of cabinet minister. The patriotic response of such devoted souls is further highlighted by McConnell, one of the "wheel horses of the Administration," at a party:

Most of the men here present had been engaged in private enterprise at the time and had no more idea of coming to Washington to work in government than the man in the moon. From purely patriotic motives they had given up lucrative careers to risk their future, their good name, everything that made life worth living for a man, to the hazards of public office. (p. 33)

In the New Deal programme Millard Carroll is joined by Paul Graves, just back from Russia. He is "a man of deeds" and is appointed as a subordinate official in Millard's
agency, in the department of agriculture. They want to uplift the dignity and stature of man from the maddening crowd of large scale organizations. Paul Graves's dreams and the objectives of the New Deal are revealed in his official visit to the South:

The plane he was riding in was merging with the imaginary plane in his head. Looking down on the hazy ruddy contour map below with its roads and hills and watercourses and the vague crosshatching of the towns, he kept telling himself that it was the basic structure of people's lives that counted, the houses they lived in, the way they made their living. It was their daily control over their destinies that counted. The oldtime American farmer had lived a hard life fighting weather and prices but he was the master of his destiny. It was that feeling of being master of your destiny that was frittered away in largescale organizations, in city life, in industrial plants and labour unions. If you could make a man a little more independent at the source of his livelihood he would be able to make over all these organizations into organs for selfgovernment instead of organs for slavery. That was what he meant by stature, that was what he must explain to the people in the agency. America must mean stature for its citizens. It was only if those kids grew up to some extent master of their destiny that they could grow up free men. (pp. 126-127)

The novel chiefly deals with Millard Carroll's and Paul Graves's efforts to protect the local initiative, to give financial help to small farmers and businessmen and keep control over the national administration. But their idealistic attempts are thwarted by the cult of favouritism and the inertia of bureaucracy. Millard Carroll provides a peep into the inside realm of the bureaucrats like Judge Oppenheim and Jerry Evans. Paul Graves transports us into
the open fields and acquaints us with the impact of the New Deal on the farmers and their reactions to it. It is a chiaroscuro change from the suffocating, hectic Washington parties of the self-seekers to the soothing and refreshing green fields of the innocent farmers. Through these two characters, The Grand Design divulges the ins and outs of the New Deal Administration. In the initial stages Millard Carroll seems to be satisfied with the new change. He tells his wife, "I think I've come to the right place" (p. 42). He makes strenuous efforts to realize his dreams and to implement the New Deal programme but soon begins to feel disillusionment and dampening spirits. The main impediment in the progress is the undue interference of politics in the departmental work. The political elite are busy contriving their own strategies, paying little heed to the professed programme. Walker Watson, for instance, is too engrossed in his presidential aspirations to expedite the departmental matters. Millard Carroll goes to see Walker Watson in his office with the "stuff" that "outlines the needs and prospects of the agency for the coming year" (p. 195). But Millard has to listen to the doctor's advice given to Watson to take a fishing trip and see his twisting face while he is munching the sandwich in silence. Inertia prevails in the bureaucratic spheres. When Millard tries to invite Watson's attention,
"Walker wasn't listening. He was looking up with his bright sudden smile at someone who was coming in the door behind Millard's back. 'Howdy George. Howdy Mike,' he said. Telling himself not to lose his temper Millard got to his feet" (p. 196). Walker Watson asks him to leave the papers there with the instruction to see him after the office hours. Watson is unable to give immediate attention to the departmental work because "I'm leaving the office early. I'm taking a young lady to dinner at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue tonight and I'll find an opportunity to put it up to him" (p. 196). Frustrated, Millard returns and meets Paul Graves who had been waiting for him outside for thirty-five minutes. Paul Graves complains against the growing tendency in the government to procrastinate and feels, "We have been hired to do a job." Agreeing with him Millard replies, "Sometimes it looks as if we were here to provide window dressing" (p. 197). Dos Passos regretfully records, "We have to remember, before it is too late, that this nation was founded not to furnish glamorous offices for politicians, or to produce goods and services, or hand outs of easy money, but to produce free men." 19

Millard Carroll's association with Walker Watson reveals the President's enormously effective powers of persuasion. The President in person never figures in the
novel. Ageing, ill, a cripple he has been isolated from
the people but still "could play on a man like a violin"
(p. 364). Walker Watson, an aspirant for the Presidency,
is annoyed and agitated with the President's delaying
tactics for not nominating him. He grumbles:

All these damn reactionaries in Congress they think
they can kill me with their opposition. They think
this is the opportunity to stop the New Deal from
developing into a great progressive movement....They
think they can nominate that pokerplaying,
whiskydrinking, mean old man...I can beat 'em, God
damn it, because I got the people with me, the
underprivileged people. (p. 200)

And he resolves to go to the White House, "I've got to have
the White House. He's got to make up his mind. I won't be
treated like this. He can be the great leader of the
American people without being President" (p. 200). The
President advises him to look after his health so that he
can be physically fit for the next convention. Pacified, he
comes back from the White House and brags, "He wants me to
take better care of myself," and his lady friend, Jo Powers
intervenes, "He's got big plans for him at the convention...
He said he had to have Walker in good health for the
convention" (p. 207). But at the convention his political
stature is reduced as is indicated in a telephonic call from
Judge Oppenheim, the mouthpiece of the President, to Millard
Carroll, "No matter how the events of this evening come out
the man in the White House has got to have an administration
that works together like a welltrained team. Whether a man
is in one position or another doesn't really matter so long as he gives his best" (p. 273). And Walker Watson after his telephonic link with the White House comes back to announce to his friends, "I shall not allow my name to be put before the convention. It is my irrevocable decision" (p. 275). Most probably he has been appeased with an assurance for the Chairmanship of the War Procurement Board. Favouritism thrives in politics and Jerry Evans, the practical profiteering and flourishing businessman is appointed the head of the New War Procurement Board. This new appointment implies the transformation of the idealistic programme of the New Deal into a materialistic one. Foreseeing the incompatibility between his ideals and Jerry Evans's materialism, the only alternative left for Millard Carroll is to resign. The tedium of the big parties and Judge Oppenheim's sabotaging crush the sincere efforts of Millard Carroll. The judge appears only twice throughout the novel — at the Gullicks's and at the Graves's — but he gives five telephonic calls which pull the string of all political activities.

Paul Graves's chief mission is to save the small family-owned farms. He is hired into the New Deal programme because he feels, "The early settlers...had some sort of a plan in their mind, a notion of how a free man ought to live on the earth. Now we'd lost that plan for America, lost
it in the press of business. The New Deal was out to recapture that plan, and effort in that direction, better say, the beginning of an effort" (p. 134). He inspects the different farming communities and gradually learns that the Roosevelt Administration has failed to follow the blueprint. Loans are thrust on them and they do not know how to make use of the money they receive from the government. Moreover, they have the misplaced fear of the electrical appliances with which their huts are being equipped. One farmer shows his ignorance to adjust a cream separator, an elderly couple is afraid that "electricty" might cause cancer, and a Negro family avoids the preserves prepared according to the government specifications because "they are too purty." In this respect, as has been aptly observed by Eisinger, "Paul tries to give flesh to the Jeffersonian dream of agrarian democracy by settling people on the land and making them independent." But from his experiences with the individual farmers Paul realizes the fallacious role of the politicians and planners and the farmers' inability to comprehend the authenticity of the plan. He finds something incommensurable between what goes on in the agency office at the policy level and what goes on in the field. The government's subsidies and contributions have either the effect of a narcotic resulting in sluggishness or rejected outrightly as being gall. He tells his secretary Georgia Washburn:
I know those poor whites like my own kin....They are my kind of people. I feel humiliated for them. For some reason it humiliates people to be helped by a government agency. These damn do-gooders are always sticking their fingers in people's sores. Sometime I think they enjoy it....I went down there to explain to the men in the field what we're planning up here and I came back confused and humiliated. (p. 144)

Finally, his doubts are confirmed and he realizes:

Your relationship with people changes when you try to organize them into doing things. You have to kind of lower their consequence. First thing you know it's your career instead of the work gets to be the important thing. I suppose that's how politicians are made. Oh God don't let me turn into a politician. (pp. 234-235)

Frustrated in his attempts to uplift the downtrodden farmers, Paul Graves adds:

I get to wondering if all this social service work...that's what it is...is just dogooding...isn't just putting up a front for the politicians even if you don't get to be one yourself...I'm out of my depth. I want to be home on a nice experimental farm with a laboratory. Let somebody else save the country...I get so horribly depressed...I wish I could go back fifteen years and start over. (p. 235)

The social regeneration that the two idealists Millard Carroll and Paul Graves envision in New Deal turns out to be a reign of regimentation, red tapism and bureaucracy.

IV

COMMENTATORS

Jay Pignatelli and Herbert Spotswood comment on the dangers of rising communism; Tyler Spotswood reveals
the inside picture of native fascism and Roger Thurloe is the counter-New Deal theorist and the only one in the Roosevelt Administration who understands the futility of World War II. Jay Pignatelli, during the War days, visits Tiflis and learns about the inhuman behaviour of the Russians with their own countrymen in the name of communism. He is invited by his Russian friend Comrade Maximov to a banquet where the communist officers enjoy sumptuous food whereas the farmer working in the field starves. Jay is under the impression that there is a scarcity of food in Tiflis but is surprised to see the waiters serving roasted suckling pigs and asks his friend from where all that food comes. His friend replies, "The grateful peasants...they send us their best" (p. 375). The dainty dinner is followed by the abominable sight of the soldiers with bayonets on their rifles who are pushing together a group of ragged cringing men, bearded, filthy, their feet bound in rags, into a corner of the court. There rose from them the very stench of misery. "Who are they?" asked Jay "Counterrevolutionaries...Les capitalistes reactionnaires." "They don't look like capitalists." (p. 376)

The sight leaves deep imprints on Jay's mind and he leaves Tiflis with a distinct disdain for communism. Entering the Persian border he feels free from, the stench of misery, from the freightcars packed with sick and starving people bound no one knew where; from the bodies of the dead stacked in heaps in the baggage rooms of railroad stations;
from the whimpering of children to weak to cry; from the terror of men's and women's faces when the stubblefaced operatives of the Tcheka with their gimlet eyes and their cocked rifles, came along the stalled train to check papers and weed out ragged trembling creatures they would march off in single file as the train started again. The sight of too much suffering makes you hate human race. (p. 379)

The description discloses the tyranny and treachery of Russian Revolution wearing the cloak of communism.

Herbert Spotswood (The Grand Design) who has sacrificed his son on the altar of communism feels that country will be polluted politically if the menace of the rising communism in America is not checked immediately. He meets his old friend Charley on a train and tells him that National Socialistic madness is "creeping inexorably over Europe."

He believes that it is not a normal political movement, rather a "contagious disease" and "under its sway normally decent people perform acts of bestial brutality" (p. 84). From his experiences at Geneva and the death of his son he has tasted the bitter gall of communism and gives up his earlier pacifistic views and resolves to extricate communism from earth. He is in favour of a war that can eradicate Communism," he tells Charley:

"There must be a war. This cancer can only be cut out with the knife."

"But you were always such a pacifist."

"I am still. I made more sacrifices for that cause than most, but ten years at Geneva have taught me that there are worse things than war, things we never imagined in the old idealistic days of Columbia." (p. 85)
Herbert, therefore, firmly believes that there can be no compromise between civilization and communism, and "to fight a fire you sometimes have to dynamite buildings" (p. 87). In Washington Herbert Spotswood eventually delivers libelous speeches against the communists' encroachment in world affairs and their autocratic Party politics.

Tyler, Chuck Crawford's personal aide, bears similar relation to him that Jack Burden has to Willie Stark in Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*. Tyler is able to see the truth behind Chuck's mask because of his close association with him and his wife Sue Ann, whom he adores. Tyler, the idealist, is drawn to Chuck's alluring ideologies and his professed love for American people and in the latter, he tries to incarnate the image of self-government. Much to the chagrin of Tyler, Chuck turns out to be a pragmatic politician. Gradually his disillusionment with Chuck's demagoguery turns into rejection in one of the Party convention meetings. Disgusted with Chuck's behaviour, he tells Sue Ann, "If you do things too often that make you feel like a skunk, then after a while you get to be a skunk" (p. 125). He has known that Chuck's economic plans and high-sounding promises are actually means to seek personal ends. Finally, Chuck implicates Tyler in his quasi-legal corporations and leaves him alone to be arraigned and indicted by the prosecutor.
Despite Chuck's betrayal, Tyler does not testify against him, probably feeling that his conviction may expiate him from his adherence to a corrupt politician. He has diagnosed the malady of polluted politics and tells Ed James, "We can't sell out on the people, but the trouble is that me, I'm just as much the people as you are or any other son of a bitch. If we want to straighten the people out we've got to start with number one, not that big wind... I got to straighten myself out first" (p. 242). Tyler deliberately avoids exoneration and allows himself to be indicted by the Federal Grand Jury.

Suggestive of Forrestal, Roger Thurloe in The Great Days is a foil to the native fascist Chuck Crawford. Like Chuck, Roger is assisted by Roland Lancaster, a celebrated journalist. Roger is of the opinion that the government is the sum total of the individual view and in return is aware of the government's responsibility to protect the dignity and sovereignty of an individual. He is pained to notice the antihuman activities like War or the rise of communism. He sends Ro Lancaster to the war-hit areas in Europe to feel the pulse of the common masses and give an objective report. He tells Ro that war is "not a baseball game" (p. 208), but a great waste and "an industrial enterprise" (p. 113). He reacts bitterly against America's using atomic bomb in Japan and thus invites the opposition of the Press and the New Deal administration. Clinging to his humanitarian ideals
he tells Ro Lancaster, "What I want you to tell the people of this country, Ro, is that we have the power if we only use it positively and sensibly to give ourselves and the world a hundred years of peace...It will take us a hundred years to control the new technology. We've got to know what we want to do" (p. 280). Finally, failing to convince people of his apprehensions, he jumps from the hospital window and makes an end of himself. His life course can be nearly summed up in Dos Passos's own words, "An unattached individual citizen has no more chance than a man trying to fight a tank with a croquet mallet. We live in the world of machines. Some machines are made of steel, other are made up of men."20

Dos Passos and his contemporaries could hardly evade the direct or implied political themes in their novels. Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* and Norman Mailer's *Barbary Shore* are some prominent examples where the author tries to clarify his own personal political perception. Never oblivious of the problems of society, Dos Passos in Party politics envisions an insurmountable menace to the hopes and liberty of an individual. By politics, Dos Passos implies "the art of inducing people to behave in groups with a minimum of force and blood shed."21 This is precisely what did not happen in America. He finds politics being polluted by self-seekers, power-hungry people and communists' conspiratorial tactics.
Pitted against the political world-order, the individual either bows before it, or revolts against it, or painfully observes the political phenomenon around. Thus, one gets a kaleidoscopic view of the political environments in Dos Passos's times. Depending upon the individual's choice whether he uses party politics as a peg to step up his personal ends or remains insecure and recalcitrant, the next stage of alienation begins.
REFERENCES


3 Dos Passos had been changing his political alliance in the Thirties and Forties. "In the presidential campaign of 1932, he voted for William Z. Foster, the Communist; in 1936 and 1940, he voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democrat; in 1944, he voted for Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican."


4 John M. Muste brings out Mailer's reliance on Dos Passos's U.S.A. and Three Soldiers for technical devices and thematic approach.


8 The Russian sailor escapes to the United States from the stifling repressive Russian life.


Dos Passos, Hemingway and Joris Ivens went to Spain with a view to produce a documentary film about the Spanish Civil War. Earlier, Dos Passos's sympathies were aligned with the Loyalists but later on withdrew because of the Communists' interference. Hemingway dramatizes his Spanish Civil War experiences in For Whom The Bell Tolls. Whereas Hemingway describes the fight between the Loyalists and Fascists directly; in Adventures of a Young Man, Dos Passos confines his scope only to the Communist factionalism in American labour defense cases, and to the Spanish Civil War.

11 John Dos Passos, The Theme in Freedom, p. 103.

12 Ibid., p. 161.

13 Ibid., p. 162.


15 Chester E. Eisinger, op. cit., p. 119.


18 Eisinger, op. cit., p. 122.

