

Wisdom may counsel forgetting about our points of division and concentrating upon the great problem of national self-defense. But we must beware of letting ourselves be content with fighting one type of intolerance merely with another one—even though the latter is far more civilized and far less obvious. We can learn even from the enemy. Now that he has challenged us to prove our superiority, we must be superior not merely in physical but also in spiritual armor. We must establish a real democracy, and not merely a camouflaged one, if we are to deserve our ultimate success. Above all, we must realize that our victory will endure only if it is based upon a way of life that is in harmony with the social trend of progress and understanding.

By all means, let us give Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union all the aid we can. They are fighting our battle. But let us not pretend that by extending aid to them and even helping them actively in the war, we have performed our duty and can sit back in peace. Social injustices must be rectified at home, not to speak of political and economic problems. Final victory must be achieved in the legislative chambers rather than on the battlefields.

Walter Pach

Noted American Artist and Writer on Art

Speaking merely as an individual (for my work as an artist does not prepare me to pronounce on issues outside my profession), I am in favor of any measures that look toward removing the curse of Nazism from the world. I therefore hope that, if necessary, the government will declare war and to that extent cooperate with Soviet Russia.

Henry Epstein

Solicitor General, New York State

You ask for my comment on the Nazi-Soviet war and the question of American aid to the Soviet Union in that war. The United States is in greater actual danger from the Nazi military aim to dominate the world than from Russian ideology. Therefore I welcome the military conflict between Russia and Germany in the hope that it may be of aid to England and the United States in the immediate danger in which they stand. Since you use the term "Nazi-Soviet" war, I feel impelled to enlarge upon my conclusion thus stated.

There was a time when I thought the ideologies of the Nazis and Soviets antipathetic. As a result it seemed to me inevitable that military conflict between the Reich and Soviet Russia would follow from that ideological antipathy. Events, however, proved otherwise and I cannot refrain from expressing my regret and indignation that Russia should have so long actively aided this military and ideological enemy of the United States.

As a firm adherent of constitutional democracy in the Anglo-American tradition, as a convinced believer in a capitalist society based on private property and profit motive controlled by democratic political government, I have viewed with hostility Nazism, Fascism, and Communism. My immediate reaction to the invasion of Russia by the Nazis was somewhat akin to that I had experienced when Poland, Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the other countries were invaded. Each fought gallantly to stay the advancing tide of a way of life which destroyed its own.

We now know, if any doubted it heretofore, that the fate of this nation and the

preservation of its principles of constitutional democracy are intimately and inextricably identified with the destruction of Nazism. That defeat, the extermination of its military threat and its ideological counterpart, must be our first consideration. It follows that all aid should be given to any people who stand ready to fight and thus stay the march of the Nazi scourge. Russia played Germany's game until Hitler felt ready to strike Russia down. It is to be hoped that the Russian people will stand firm and continue the fight until the combined efforts of all so resisting will remove the Nazi threat and Hitlerism from the earth.

[The problems raised by Mr. Epstein's letter have been discussed in detail by NEW MASSES in editorial statements during the past few weeks. We can here only summarize our position. We are especially interested in one phrase of Mr. Epstein's letter, in which he says that there was a time when he thought "the ideologies of the Nazis and the Soviets were antipathetic." But the fact that Germany and the Soviet Union did not go to war with each other seems to have convinced him otherwise, and he appears to have jumped to the conclusion that in the nineteen months after the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, the USSR was really aiding Hitler's cause. If we pursue his own logic, it should now be possible for him, and others like him, to acknowledge that today there is no longer any question about the fact that the Nazi and Soviet ideologies are not identical at all. If the absence of war between these two states were proof in Mr. Epstein's mind that their ideologies were no longer antipathetic, then the actuality of war should prove the opposite: namely, that their ideologies are in reality very antipathetic.

But if the Solicitor General grants this, then perhaps he is also ready to reconsider the rest of his position. He may be ready to ask himself whose fault it was that the alliance with Britain was not consummated in 1939 when it could have saved peace. And he may be ready to ask whether the USSR in the past two years was really allied with Germany and "played Germany's game." In our opinion, the evidence shows that the USSR endeavored to maintain neutrality toward both sides in the conflict, a necessary neutrality in view of the well known hostility of Britain, France, and the United States. And the USSR sought to trade with both sides. Mr. Epstein will recall that it was not the USSR which during that period created obstacles to the development of trade with the USA.

There is one other statement of Mr. Epstein's that we would take issue with: his inclusion of Finland among the countries that were the victims of invasion. On this point too events run counter to the Solicitor General's position. It is notable that while there is today no independent Poland, Yugoslavia, or Greece, there is—or was till the Nazis were invited to take over by the Finnish government—an independent Finland. That also indicates that the Soviet-Finnish war belongs in an entirely different category. It is Hitler, Mannerheim, Ryti, and Tanner that have destroyed Finland's independence and converted it into a vassal of Germany. And it was against them and their friends among the British and French appeasers that the Soviet action in 1939-40 was directed.

Despite these differences, we are happy that Mr. Epstein and NEW MASSES agree on the main point: the necessity of giving all aid to every nation fighting Hitlerism. Those who stand together on this question cannot let disagreements about other matters prevent close collaboration.—THE EDITORS.]



"So long, boys, I'm going on another vacation."

Turnbull

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Hopkins' Trip

HARRY HOPKINS' dramatic visit to Moscow was a tribute to what the President has already described as the "magnificent resistance" of the Red Army. If the Soviet armed forces were in as bad a shape as the Nazis had claimed, or as some high-placed Washington observers originally believed, there would not have been much point in Mr. Hopkins' visit. It is because the Soviet peoples' heroic defense amazes and heartens the whole anti-fascist world, that encouraging developments are beginning to take place toward the realization of anti-fascist cooperation among the great powers. The most significant development of the week comes as we go to press, the exchange of notes between the United States and the Soviet Union in which the former pledges "the speedy completion and delivery" of war materials to the fighting fronts. This is clearly an outcome of Hopkins' visit, and his favorable impression of the Soviet Union's optimism and confident resistance. Washington has at last recognized the cardinal fact in the new world situation, namely that the attack on the Soviet Union threatens the security and independence, not only of the Soviet Union but also of other nations, and that "the strengthening of the Soviet Union's resistance," as the note puts it, "is in the interest of the national defense of the United States." The issuance of "unlimited licenses" for Soviet purchases here therefore transcends questions of trade. The United States has in effect underwritten the Anglo-Soviet alliance. Thus a coalition of the three most powerful nations on earth is coming into being, a welcome development for all peoples who want to see Hitler defeated quickly. What the world waits for now is a British Expeditionary Force on the continent.

The British press has been talking about the possibilities of an invasion. Last week, there was a fleeting indication of Anglo-Soviet cooperation in the form of air raids over the Finnish corridor, near Petsamo, and the Arctic town of Kirkenes. Our own Colonel T. this week (page 11) discusses four different routes for such an invasion, through the four peninsulas of Europe: the Scandinavian, the Iberian, the Italian, and the Balkan. Without pretending to have precise military information, it seems to us that the Scandinavian route is obviously the best and most direct. This is the way to shorten the war, to make it less costly for the heroic men and women of na-

tions fighting fascism. Hitler promised the German people that he would avoid a two-front war. The best way to weaken him inside Germany, the quickest way to make the V campaign a reality, is to open the Western Front. Hopkins' trip will appear in retrospect even more audacious and encouraging than it seemed, if it prepared the path, from the American end, for a British invasion of Europe.

IN A MILITARY WAY, the situation does not seem to have changed on the Eastern Front. Around Smolensk the Nazis are still stalled and they are losing heavily in the face of Soviet counter-attacks. The same seems to be true in the Leningrad direction, while, after several air raids on Moscow, the Nazis have admittedly done nothing more than local damage. In the north, the Finns are reporting heavy Soviet pressure; only in the south, in the Kiev direction, does the Nazi war machine seem to make any progress, although heavily contested. As we go to press, it is too early to say how the threat against Kiev is developing: fighting goes on somewhat south of this historic Ukrainian capital. Meanwhile Soviet reports declare that early harvesting is taking the grain off the collective farms so that where the invader does not find the fields burned, he often finds them shorn. And stories keep pouring in of the unprecedented mobilization of the Soviet people in industry. In every field of work, especially in mining, oil drilling, and metal fabrication, wartime patriotism is fulfilling the peacetime plans in record time.

Diplomatically, also, the past week developed favorably for the USSR. First, there was the agreement with the Polish government in exile, guaranteeing an independent Poland and the formation of a Polish army on Soviet soil. And it seems that similar agreements are in the making with Yugoslavia and possibly Greece. The Polish agreement nullifies the Soviet-German border arrangements of the fall of 1939. It definitely buries the canard that the Soviets, like Czarist Russia, were opposed to an independent Polish nation. Of course, many unsolved problems remain, especially the problem of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian minorities who have already rejoined their respective Soviet republics. Many Polish conservatives balk at the idea of losing these minority peoples and the lands on which they live. But the issue has wisely been left to the future, when precise definitions of boundaries will be in order. The job today is to defend the very existence of free peoples in Europe.

The V campaign seems to have produced its first results in the news that Norway has been placed under martial law. The Nazis now admit that their much touted civilian administration, under Vikdun Quisling and the Nazi administrator, Terboven, has failed. This is the only possible interpretation of the declaration of martial law for the entire country, unless it be that Hitler is already preparing for a British invasion from the Norwegian north.

Germany, Too

EVERY day that passes brings new reports of mass discontent in Europe. In Rumania hundreds of people have been shot for assisting the Soviet forces and sabotaging the Rumanian mercenaries; in Serbia, the guerrilla warfare goes on, although savagely repressed, while from Holland there is news of large scale strikes and popular actions against the invader. Within Germany itself signs are also beginning to multiply of popular discontent. The Nazi hope of confining the wounded to Hungarian hospitals has not been realized; troop trains overflowing with wounded soldiers are pouring into East Prussia, so that the German people are learning of the million and a half casualties in the East. From Stockholm come reports that the Nazis are undertaking new persecutions of the Jews, with Gestapo investigations spreading to many non-Jews as well. Even local Nazis, in villages near Koenigsberg, have been reported under arrest because they doubted Hitler's wisdom in attacking the Soviets.

At the same time, reports multiply that various Nazi leaders are increasing their bank balances in foreign countries, as for example, Baldur von Schirach, the Nazi youth leader, was reported to have done only last week in Switzerland. In New York the *Herald Tribune* made public an exclusive story to the effect that Fritz Thyssen, supposedly on the "outs" with the Nazis, has some \$3,000,000 in cash salted away in American bank holdings. The *Herald Tribune* speculates that Thyssen may not really have quarreled with the Nazis at all, and may be building up a reserve against the day when some of his pals will be wanting to leave the Third Reich. There is no way of knowing how many of the stories about Europe are true, and in which particulars. But there is no doubt that the remarkable stand of the Soviet forces, plus the prospect of imminent action in the West, fills all of Europe with the hope of liberation.

Siam

THE crisis in the Far East has not abated; in fact, if the London reports of Japanese pressure on Siam are true, the crisis has intensified. The Siamese government agreed ten days ago to economic negotiations with the Japanese puppet, Manchukuo, and now there are signs that Siam is faced with the Tokyo demand for the use of military and naval bases plus access to the tin, rubber, and rice resources of the kingdom. In return the Japanese are supposed to be promising more Indo-Chinese territory. Most of Indo-China, it should be remembered, originally formed part of a Siamese kingdom, before the imperialists grabbed it away in the nineteenth century. Last January some sections of the rich Mekong River valley were returned to Siam after a brief struggle with the Vichy forces, and it is not improbable that in exchange for more territorial gains, the Siamese Bangkok regime would consider closer relations with Tokyo. The net effect, however, would mean bringing