

NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors

BARBARA GILES, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY,
BRUCE MINTON, JOSEPH NORTH, JOSEPH STAROBIN,
JOHN STUART.

Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL

Prophet with Honor

LISTEN to this man:

"The treason trials just finished in Moscow, in which Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Rakovsky, and their seventeen co-defendants revealed at last the full scope and extent of the international fascist conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government, are not to be considered the domestic affair of the land of socialism. . . . There is no part of the world whose fate was not involved in the network of treason, murder, and war-provocation revealed in the Moscow trials."

That was said on March 18, 1938, by Earl Browder. The newspapers and the radio were crying "frameup," "fake," "murder" about the trials. Millions of Americans believed them. Now, nearly four years later, the man who at that time was the American ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, declares in the December *American Magazine* his firm belief that those trials cleaned out Hitler's and Japan's fifth column. "If these original Fifth Columnists had succeeded in their plans," he writes, "Germany would be poised today for the final attack upon Great Britain—with the natural wealth of the Russian territory behind her."

Listen to Browder again:

"A clear-sighted and long-range foreign policy for the United States can only be developed upon the solid foundation of friendship and collaboration between our country, China, and the Soviet Union. That is now blocked by our shameful betrayal of China through our supply to Japan over the years of the materials for her war of conquest, and by Washington's studied and artificial hostility toward the Soviet Union. Only when these features of our present foreign policy are wiped out can we begin to move toward a foreign policy which can guarantee peace and security to America."

That was said on Oct. 6, 1940. "Moscow agent," yelled the press and radio, "subversive," "put him in jail." Today, one year later, collaboration of our government with the USSR and China is a fact, steadily growing in strength. Most Americans now understand how essential this is for America's defense.

But the man who spoke those wise and patriotic words, who rallied America against the Hitler menace when others slept, who urged American-Soviet collaboration when it could have averted so much of disaster and agony—he can no longer speak. Earl Browder is in jail on a nonsensical passport tech-

nicality, sentenced to stay there for four years. He has served over seven months—more than enough even if one believes that he offended against the law. Won't you sign and circulate petitions to President Roosevelt asking that he exercise executive clemency—and, incidentally, greatly strengthen the fight against Hitlerism—and free Earl Browder?

Lindbergh's "Kampf"

NOBODY who has the least affection for America or any understanding of its people could do what Charles A. Lindbergh did the other night at the New York "America First" rally. With nearly the entire nation cheering Russia's stupendous frontline resistance to the Nazis, this man boasts of a fact he has never before admitted openly: that in 1938 he urged Britain and France to "permit Germany to expand eastward into Russia without declaring war." According to Lindbergh this plan—which is a page from *Mein Kampf*—was rejected by the British and French rulers. But it was *not* rejected: Chamberlain and Daladier, as the world now recognizes, attempted to follow it, and with disastrous consequences. They were stopped only by the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. Lindbergh, however, has a more ardent faith than ever in his plan. Today, while Hitler's "eastern expansion" directly threatens Britain, America, all democracy, the ex-colonel is loudest for appeasement. His speech in New York completely betrays his real motivation. It contains not even the most perfunctory rebuke of Hitler or a word of blame for the Nazi sinking of American ships. On the contrary, it questions the "integrity" of those who oppose the fuhrer. It echoes his racism in a subtle little crack about the "mixed races, mixed religions, mixed creeds" of America. It concedes his claim to the sea lanes of the Atlantic and his boast of a military might that none can oppose successfully. This is more than isolationism, more than appeasement—it is open surrender to and alliance with Hitler.

Other America Firsters and their friends are less candid than Lindbergh. At the same rally in New York former Ambassador Cudahy based his isolationism on the professed belief that Hitler is "only a passing phase" and the Nazi leaders are yearning for peace. Senator Wheeler ushers out of Limbo the "Communazi" bogey, in a somewhat different presentation: since both Nazism and Communism are "monsters," he argues, why not just let them destroy each other? Senator La Follette opposes revision of the Neutrality Act on the old "pure pacifist" grounds. And in an extraordinary feat of illogic, Senator Wiley of Wisconsin insists that the administration is playing into Hitler's hands by resisting him—because, it seems, the fuhrer *wants* us to fight him so Japan can attack us! Much of this may sound like madness but let us not overlook its method. It is the method of deceit and intentional confusion that stems from—and leads straight to—Nazi Berlin.

Memo from Hitler

THE sinking of the United States destroyer *Reuben James* and the probable loss of a majority of the crew of 120 underlines the nature of the war that Hitler is waging. Every strategic consideration would seem to dictate to Germany that it refrain from any act which would more deeply involve the United States, with its enormous resources. Yet the *unlimited* character of the Nazi aims, the world scope of the war of conquest that Hitler is waging breaks through these strategic considerations and results in ever more aggressive acts against this country. The official statement from Hitler's headquarters attempts to place the burden of aggression on the United States and to depict the torpedoing of American naval vessels as acts of self-defense. It is difficult to say whether Hitler is here echoing the America First Committee, Senators Nye, Wheeler *et al.*, or vice versa, but no one should fail to recognize these "acts of self-defense" as similar to those which destroyed Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece, and other countries the Nazis have attacked. The sinking of the *Reuben James* is just a memo from Hitler that after he finishes with the Soviet Union and Britain (provided we stand by and permit him to finish with those nations), America will be next.

The question of who fires the first shot in these naval engagements is of no importance. The fact is that the invasion of the United States has begun—via the USSR and the Atlantic Ocean, and via the fifth column work of Lindbergh, Wheeler, Wood, Hoover, Nye, and their kind. And the fact is, too, that in face of Hitler's unlimited war against America, we are as yet fighting a highly *limited* war. "The forward march of Hitler and of Hitlerism can be stopped, and it will be stopped," said President Roosevelt in his Navy Day address. "Very simply and very bluntly—we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism." Yet the steps thus far taken hardly measure up to these words. The President's own statement that the sinking of the *Reuben James* will produce no change in relations with Germany is considerable of a letdown.

It is time we faced the fact that Hitlerism cannot be stopped without the all-out participation of the United States. As William Z. Foster put it at a rally in Madison Square Garden closing the Communist election campaign and celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Soviet Union: "The American people face the alternative of either fighting Hitler with everything we've got—our great industries, our armed manpower, our national unity—or else running the grave risk of falling victim to a fate such as that which befell France and the other countries conquered by Hitler."

Repeal of all the hampering provisions of the Neutrality Act is not enough. "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!" should mean just that on all fronts, military, production, and diplomatic.

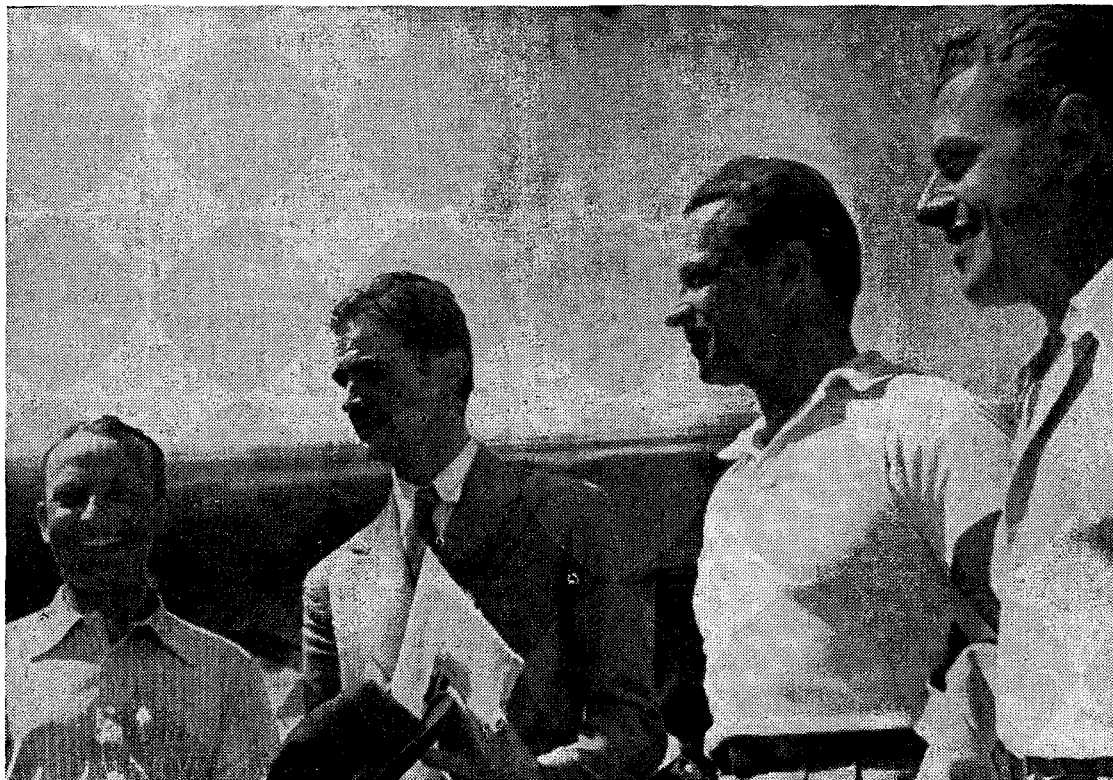
USA—USSR: OUR COMMON HERITAGE

Samuel Sillen writes of little-known but significant aspects of America's cultural relations with Russia before and after 1917. From Pushkin to Sholokhov. When Gorky came here.

IN HIS monumental study of Lincoln during the war years, Carl Sandburg recalls the virulent pro-slavery attacks on the administration's policy of Russo-American friendship. Hostile newspapers ran cartoons depicting Lincoln as a country bumpkin in the embrace of an enormous bear. A sarcastic editorial writer sounded the alarm, so familiar to a later generation: "By and by we will doubtless all wear Russian beards, Russian overcoats, and Russian pants; our wives will wear Russian petticoats and hoops. . . ." In 1863 the presence of friendly Russian ships in American waters caused an outburst of hypocritical denunciation by those who, while continuing to oppose emancipation at home, would have no alliance with a land ruled by the czar. Seventy years later, under radically altered circumstances, the apostles of reaction attacked the Roosevelt administration for recognizing belatedly a government which had overthrown the czar.

In the face of his critics, Lincoln urged Bayard Taylor, who had been secretary of our legation at St. Petersburg, to give several public lectures on serfdom and emancipation in Russia. The President himself, though burdened with a thousand and one other duties, went one evening to hear Taylor talk on "Russia and the Russians." For Lincoln appreciated the need for mutual understanding and respect of two peoples whose interests had become linked in this earlier crisis of our democracy. In asking Bayard Taylor, poet, novelist, author of a famous translation of *Faust*, to inform his countrymen about Russia, Lincoln set a precedent which has an obvious significance for us today. It was wholly in keeping with the spirit of this precedent that President Roosevelt should exchange friendly greetings with Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Supreme Soviet, on the July 4 anniversary this year. For as Mr. Roosevelt said on this occasion, and as he indicated in a more recent message to Joseph Stalin, the American people "are bound with strong ties of historic friendship to the Russian people."

The cementing of that friendship is the urgent need of the hour, and, as the example of Bayard Taylor shows, American writers may perform an important function in making us aware of the ties between the two peoples. The history of our cultural relations with Russia both before and after the October Revolution is scarcely appreciated in this country. It is nevertheless a rich and colorful history that illuminates the ambitions which the two great peoples have in common. Too many Americans are still victims of the illusion that our cultural contacts have been confined to western Europe. It is with unconcealed sur-



AMBASSADORS ON WINGS. When Howard Hughes landed in Moscow in his round-the-world flight in 1938, he was welcomed by the above trio of Soviet aviators, who had come the other way in their flight to the US. They are M. Gromov, G. Baidukov, and A. Yumashov.

prise that we learn, for example, that our distinguished historian John Lothrop Motley was secretary of our Russian legation in 1841, and that his first historical essay, appearing in the *North American Review* in 1845, was on Peter the Great. Or that Tolstoy clubs, organized in New England some decades later, exercised a deep influence on a number of American writers. Or that, despite many myths, a group of representative critics polled by *Harper's* magazine choose a son of the Soviets, Mikhail Sholokhov, as the author of the best work of recent fiction. We visit a Soviet movie celebrating the eighteenth-century General Suvorov, learning for the first time about this progressive figure whom the Confederate lady, Mrs. Chesnut, compared with Grant in 1864: "Grant . . . is their right man," she wrote disparagingly, "a bull-headed Suwarrow."

The fact is that we in America must frankly admit a certain provincialism in this respect. How many of our universities at present teach the language of Pushkin and Tolstoy and Gorky? Only a handful. And when we do make a dent in the traditional academic armor, how evasive we are. A large midwestern university where I taught some years ago at last introduced a radical innovation, a course in—

Old Church Slavonic! "Study, without question—study on our side—is the first of all requirements if we wish to make the best use of our present alliances with Russia for the creation of cultural ties." That is what Sir Bernard Pares, himself a Russian scholar, advised his fellow Englishmen recently in the *London Times*, and we may well take the words to heart in this country. Study on our part. For, as we shall see in a moment, Soviet schools have long been doing their part in exploring the history of Russian-American cultural relations.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that Lincoln should ask for a discussion of "serfdom and emancipation" in Russia. The truth is that the Americans and Russians are bound by the progressive and revolutionary traditions in their respective cultures. Emancipation of the serfs coincided chronologically with emancipation of the slaves, and writers in both countries learned from one another. The Russian critic Chernyshevsky wrote that "the day that brought victory to the party whose candidate was Lincoln was a great day—the beginning of a new era in the history of the United States—a day which marked a turning point in the history of the great North American people." *Uncle*