

# NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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## The President Speaks

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's magnificent Washington's Birthday speech gives clarity and strength to simple men and women throughout our country and to the millions in far-off lands who hunger and fight for freedom. In that utterance and in Stalin's, coming within a day of each other, will be found the measure of that great struggle which twenty-six united nations are waging on all the continents and seas of the globe. In this speech the President was, above all, teacher and guide of the people. This is as it should be. Nothing could so well emphasize the gulf that lies between us and the degenerate gangs in Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo who maintain their power by terror, threats, and brazen deception of the people.

By calmly explaining the strategy this country must pursue in the Far East and in Europe, by refuting the false counsels of the appeasers who seek to sow panic and dissension, by his linking of our struggle with the efforts of the other nations united with us, and by his emphasis on our tasks and responsibilities, particularly on the production front, the President has provided the man in the street and the man on the farm with a compass of victory. And in the spirit of Valley Forge he made this challenging pledge:

"We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon we, and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace."

## This Is the Year

THE most memorable passage in the President's press conference a week ago Tuesday concerned the Cliveden set, which is by now a national issue. But there was one other item in Mr. Roosevelt's remarks that oughtn't go unnoticed. We refer to the news that shipments of war materials to the Soviet Union will be up to schedule by the first of March.

The President did not comment directly on the reports that were current a month ago to the effect that shipments were being sabotaged by the Clivedeneers; he attributed the interruption of shipments to the attack on Pearl Harbor. But he added that another large loan to the USSR is being contemplated, and said that soon after the first of March the lag in shipments would be overcome. And that is, of course, reassuring.

But the problem of maintaining our supply schedule to the Russians is only one phase of our responsibility in forestalling Hitler's big spring offensive. The other is the organization of a British and American offensive on the continent of Europe. As our editorial "After Singapore" emphasized last week, an Allied offensive this spring is the surest way of stopping Japan in her tracks, and making possible the break-up of Hitler's power this year. It was good to read that Secretary of State Stimson opposes the dispersal of our armed forces as defensive units but insists that "the only way to end the war is to take the offensive, and take it as vigorously as possible." "We are building an offensive force on land, on the sea, and in the air," Stimson continued, "and we shall seize every opportunity for attack, and utilize every opportunity for surprise."

The only remaining issue, therefore, is one of timing. And in this connection we came across an interesting paragraph in one of Ralph Parker's dispatches from Moscow last week to the *New York Times*. "It is generally held," says the correspondent, "that Germany will do everything possible to shorten the war, and that unless the Allies come around to the Russian way of thinking and forestall that massive German endeavor, they will have to face troubles that might have been avoided."

This is the essence of the problem of a "second front," but we can hardly agree that foresight of future troubles must represent an exclusively Russian way of thinking. It is in our own interest as Americans that everything be done to defeat Hitler this year. That is why the offensive and surprise actions of which Secretary Stimson speaks are so urgent.

## Stalin's Speech

IT WAS only a brief "order of the day" that Stalin issued on the twenty-fourth birthday of the Red Army, but it rang round the world with its characteristic conciseness, its sober confidence, and pithy emphasis on the central issues of the war. The twenty-fourth birthday of the Red Army was itself a world holiday this year. From China came Chiang Kai-shek's congratulations; from Winston Churchill, amid the many other toasts in London, came the stress on Anglo-Soviet co-operation through the war and into the peace. General MacArthur, embattled in Bataan, issued perhaps the most meaningful greeting of

all: the "scale and grandeur" of the Red Army's defense and its offensive, said the general "marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history." And in the President's powerful fireside address last Monday night came the "salute" in the name of all the United Nations for the "superb Russian Army."

Two ideas in Stalin's speech are particularly noteworthy. One was the serious way in which he reminded the Soviet people that the "enemy is not yet beaten, and a stern struggle is ahead of us." This was addressed not only to the Red Army, but by implication, to the whole world. Too many have indulged in the idea that the Russians themselves would finish off the foe: not only an unmoral idea, but unreal. For the year 1942 projects great dangers for the United Nations and requires their maximum unity and coordination of offensive power.

And the second noteworthy passage was the way Stalin addressed the German people. He distinguished between the people and their Nazi marauders; he put it up to the German people themselves, if they wished to avoid annihilation, to step forward and do their share to destroy their misrulers. Thus Stalin undermines one of Goebbels' favorite propaganda devices, and thus Stalin gives a line, which as the *New York Times* editorial observes, is one that Great Britain and the United States may well follow. Only a policy which distinguishes between the German people and the Nazis, but at the same time calls upon the German people to fulfill their own obligation in defeating Hitler, will make possible a shorter war and a really lasting peace.

## Obscenity in Riom

A WEIRD "trial" opened in the tapestried castle of the Duke of Auvergne last week, in the little town of Riom, France; a "trial" to determine responsibility for France's defeat. It's a weird affair, first, because the accused have already been sentenced by Marshal Petain to life-long imprisonment, and second, because the accusers are really the ones who ought to be in the dock.

Not that Leon Blum, Edouard Daladier, Marshal Gamelin, and the other defendants are blameless in France's catastrophe; but to dwell on that would be to overlook the motivation and historical circumstance of this particular trial. It is obviously an attempt on Vichy's part to please its German masters. In his diabolical cunning, Hitler endeavors to rake up all the old issues and controversies of the past for the purpose of paralyzing the French people at a moment when they are recovering their energies in the struggle against both Vichy and Germany.

The defendants have already done much to expose the real character of the trial. Ex-

cept for Gamelin, who refuses to participate, perhaps by prior arrangement with Vichy, the other defendants like Blum, Daladier, and Pierre Cot (from his Washington exile) have lashed out at the constitutionality of the court. They have challenged the Justices as already instructed on the verdict, and Daladier openly declared that Hitler was behind the whole thing. Riom can thus become another Leipzig; it can serve to expose the alliance of French and German fascists which brought France to her doom.

### Viereck Et Al.

**B**EFORE the trial of George Sylvester Viereck is over, we may have the picture of Nazi propaganda activities which Martin Dies won't reveal. Dies is part of the picture. So are Representatives Fish of New York, Day of Illinois, Sweeney of Ohio. So are the German Embassy in Washington and a once obscure publishing house called Flanders Hall. Viereck connects them all. The Nazi propagandist, who is charged with holding back information when he registered as an employee of a foreign agency, arranged with Ham Fish to frank out 125,000 copies of an appeasement speech which Viereck himself wrote for the late Senator Lundeen of Minnesota. Fish's secretary, George Hill, who was recently convicted of perjury, was "only a poor dupe of a clerk," says Prosecuting Attorney Maloney; he acted entirely on Fish's directions—and Fish acted pretty much on Viereck's. Viereck secured material from the German Embassy for a manuscript by Lundeen which was inserted in the Congressional Record and later published by Flanders Hall, which was controlled by Viereck. It was Viereck's lawyers who drew up the contract under which Flanders Hall published Representative Day's appeasement book—which Viereck helped "revise" in manuscript. It was Viereck's agent, Prescott Dennett, who got Representative Sweeney to plug a Flanders Hall publication (written by Viereck's boss, Dr. Giseler Wirsing) in a nationwide radio broadcast.

But it wasn't all Viereck. He is not so important as the men he used, the men who were so willing to be used. Hamilton Fish, for example, had as much regard for George Sylvester Viereck as Viereck had for him. About two and a half years ago when the Dies committee, in one of its feeble anti-fascist gestures, subpoenaed Viereck, Congressman Fish easily persuaded Dies to release him so the propagandist could make a trip to Germany. Fish also went to Germany—to offer his services in Hitler's "peace offensive"!

Notice that practically all the leading figures so far named in the Viereck trial are supporters of Dies—including Elizabeth "Red Network" Dilling, whose "Patriotic Research Bureau" helped spread Viereck's propaganda.



Small wonder that Dies refused to investigate this caboodle. And no wonder at all that patriotic people everywhere are now firing at Dies. His committee should be abolished along with Viereck's "front" organizations. America needs a real investigation of real subversion. How does a man like George Deatherage become superintendent of a \$25,000,000 Naval construction job—Deatherage, who organized anti-Semitic groups, believes America should be ruled by "military courts," and dislikes Winston Churchill on the ground that the Prime Minister is "part Jewish." How did a White Guard speaker for the America First Committee, Baron Charles Rokassowski von Wrangel, get to be a guard on the *Normandie*? The New York newspaper *PM* has recently exposed the facts about these two men and their jobs—they should have been discovered, and ousted, long ago. Some swift, energetic action is needed all along the anti-Quisling front.

### Bad Habit

**P**RESIDENT ROOSEVELT's attack on those who "are now trying to destroy our confidence in our allies" applies unfortunately not only to out-and-out Axis propagandists and appeasers, but to certain others who, having formerly indulged in Soviet-baiting, seem to be unable to break themselves of bad habits. In a recent issue of the *Nation*, for example, appears an article which declares: "Russia has built up over the years an international force of gangsters to deal with real and imagined enemies"—a canard which will be much appreciated in Berlin.

The article attributes to the Soviet Union a "plot" against five shady characters whose fifth column activities have been exposed by progressives in Mexico. These five are Victor Serge, described as a "French author," but actually a Russian Trotskyite of long standing; Julian Gorkin, leader of the Trotskyite POUM in Spain which worked with Franco in the effort to overthrow the loyalist government; Grandiso Muniz, another POUMist; Marceau Pivert, Trotskyite, who was thrown out of the French Socialist Party; and Gustav Regler, novelist, who while interned in a French concentration camp collaborated with the collaborators of Hitler against the anti-Nazi prisoners and thereby speedily secured his own release.

In its eagerness to defend these enemies

of democracy the *Nation* is not too finicky about means. A resolution against the five impostors introduced in the Mexican Congress by a group of deputies representing various political parties becomes for the *Nation* a resolution "sponsored by a Communist deputy"—though it will be news to the Mexican Communist Party that it has any deputies in Congress. And the magazine even stoops to disgusting libelous attacks on veteran anti-Nazis who have found asylum in Mexico, describing the well known writer, Andre Simone as "an OGPU agent."

The *Nation* article is a major blunder. It is a Trotskyite time bomb planted in that magazine in order to disrupt anti-fascist unity. We do not think the editors of the *Nation* deliberately wish to be the dupes in that kind of game.

### Wasting Manpower

**S**URELY \$300,000,000 isn't very much to pay for preserving the health and morale of workers who have lost their jobs because of priorities and industrial conversion to war production. The CIO has estimated that the number of men so displaced will reach at least 3,225,000. Unless federal relief is forthcoming, a great deal of civilian manpower will be wasted and not only through impaired health and skill, through unemployment itself, but because the jobless won't be able to train for other work or to travel around for jobs. Yet sixteen members of the House Ways and Means Committee—opposed by eight—have rejected the administration's measure to provide this \$300,000,000. They are the perennial "anti" boys; anti-WPA, anti-Roosevelt, anti-labor, and anti-"socialization." By "socialization" they usually mean anything opposed by the very type of big industrialist who is most responsible for the dislocations that increase unemployment. Evidently it doesn't even strike them as unfair that their industrialist friends should get billions in war contracts, at pretty profits, while the victims of war dislocations get nothing even to sustain life. Representatives of the CIO and AFL presented them with all the arguments, but it made no difference. This is the same sort of congressmen who can forget all about the war to make speeches against Donald Duck and "fan dancers." They were attacking morale then and they attacked it again in voting down the unemployed compensation fund. However, they are not getting away with this one so smoothly. Already plans are under way to provide the \$300,000,000 through another measure—perhaps as an addition to the WPA appropriations. Or the administration's original bill may be reintroduced and fought for again. It's up to the public to start fighting now to clear the way in Congress for speedy passage.



## Browder and the Abolitionists

**TO NEW MASSES:** Boston has ever been among the foremost communities to defend victims of any miscarriage of justice. That is why Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's championing of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns, whom reactionary judges sought to return to slavery in 1853, provides such a glorious episode in American history. The episode eternally reminds the Negro people of the heroic, self-sacrificing assistance which the Abolitionists of the nineteenth century gave to their own effort to achieve freedom from the oppressive bonds of chattel slavery and to win the status of American citizenship which they now enjoy. The entire record of Earl Russell Browder, his devotion to the struggle to save Angelo Herndon from a cruel and unusually severe sentence and to save the lives of the Scottsboro boys, as well as his persistent and outspoken condemnation of all abuses of the democratic rights of the Negro people guaranteed by our federal Constitution and the Bill of Rights, have won for him the respect of all defenders of the liberties of the common people, Negro and white. His democratic spirit was manifested by the fact that a Negro, James W. Ford, was his running mate when he was the candidate of his party for President of the United States in the 1940 campaign.

By reason of singleness of aim and fidelity to what he believes, Mr. Browder has earned the indisputable right to be considered as a twentieth-century Abolitionist, a relentless foe of Hitler slavery, a tireless champion of the rights of the Negro people to enjoy equal opportunities for development to meet the highest demands of American citizenship. I, therefore, as a Negro citizen of the Bay State, urge the immediate release of Earl Russell Browder.

WILLIAM HARRISON,  
Associate Editor, *Boston Chronicle*.

Boston.

## Education-as-usual

**TO NEW MASSES:** The article by Morris U. Schappes on education and the war (*NEW MASSES*, Feb. 24, 1942) was a timely and incisive comment on a subject that needs clarification these days. I would like to add a few of my own observations as a college instructor.

I have noted one unfortunate tendency in my own school, which I prefer to leave unnamed. Despite the strong desire of the faculty to participate in the war effort up to the hilt, the problem of inter-departmental rivalry has become more acute in the past few weeks. Let me explain what I mean. In the twenties there was a great expansion of the university population. Colleges added to their staffs every year. Existing departments expanded and new ones were created. With the onset of the depression and consequent shrinkage of enrollment, each department tried to maintain its peak strength. This could be done at the time only if students were attracted to a particular department at the expense of some other department. The result: a competitive struggle, sometimes politely concealed, sometimes flaring up in the open.

This situation was bad for university morale. Instead of all the divisions getting together to seek ways and means of increasing enrollment as a whole, energy was expended in internal strife.

To a certain extent this situation obtains today. Only now the seriousness of the matter is all the greater. The problem today, as I see it, is to pool the resources of the university as a whole. Just as

## Readers Forum

different firms in the auto industry must learn to pool their respective resources, so the different branches and departments of a large university must adopt a unified plan in which the capacities of the entire institution may be best allocated.

For example, isn't it ridiculous that the language departments should find themselves pitted against the science departments in this crisis? This is a global war, and we need all the language-equipped students we can get. This is a war of motors, and we need all the science-equipped students we can get. And each type of specialist can well use the knowledge, even if only limited, of the other field. The question of proper proportion must be answered not in terms of a narrow departmental interest, but in terms of: (1) the calculable needs of the war effort, (2) the resources of the university studied as a whole.

Only through such a cooperative spirit will the universities be able to carry through the big job that they now have. Only in such a spirit will they be able to achieve federal subsidies necessary to keep our institutions of higher learning from shrinking at a time when we must develop all the brainpower and all the skill that we have in this country.

C. B.

Chicago.

## Literary Stormtrooper

**TO NEW MASSES:** I have seen quite a number of glowing reviews of a book just published under the title of *Time Was: Death of a Junker*, by Heinrich Hauser. The author poses as the representative of a conservative "lost generation" of Germans who was thoroughly repelled by the Hitler regime even in its early years. Apparently no reviewer has taken the trouble to look up Mr. Hauser's record in literature and politics. The truth is that he was the first German author with a liberal reputation to dedicate his books "to the second greatest German, Hermann Goering," with a hearty "Sieg Heil." He also published Nazi trash in the brown-shirted *Safari-Verlag*. I do not know



Giacomo Patri

why he finally got a kick from the foot he was kissing but it's certain that until then he never opened his mouth against Hitler. Now Herr Hauser follows the path of Rauschning and Tibor von Eckhard, looking quite honorable in his anti-Hitler dress. But the reviewers and the public should know that he was once pleased to be one of "the fuhrer's literary stormtroopers," to use a phrase of Hauser's comrade in shame, Hanns Johst, president of the Nazi Reichskulturkammer.

O. T. RING.

Cleveland.

## Bouquets to Minton

**TO NEW MASSES:** Bruce Minton's scoop—expose of the Washington Cliveden set (*NEW MASSES*, February 24) is the best thing to come out of Washington, in the way of political journalism, that I have seen for many months. I knew a bit about Evalyn Walsh McLean, the sort of thing I suppose most people know—about the Hope Diamond, her silly extravagances, her son-in-law—but it was news that this lady was in the appeasement set and in a fashion that has to be taken very seriously. I thought that Minton presented her and the rest of the Cliveden crowd with an effect of great accuracy combined with some vivid description. Let us have more of this kind of stuff from Washington—the "personality" writing used in the service of enormously important facts. Your correspondent has done a great job.

JAMES BROOK WARRENTON.

Detroit.

**TO NEW MASSES:** I've read that article on Washington appeasers over twice, carefully noting names and facts, and I hope that millions of American citizens do likewise. We've been accustomed to laughing at some of these people, but they are definitely not amusing these days. It's up to good Americans to keep a sharp eye on them, and I'm grateful to Mr. Minton for pointing out exactly who they are and how they operate. The illustrations were superb.

LYDIA FREEMAN.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

**TO NEW MASSES:** Congratulations to Bruce Minton and *NEW MASSES*! We've heard rather vaguely for some time of "appeasers" and "Lady Astors" in Washington, but it took your correspondent to give us the lowdown. I hope that some sort of action will follow this expose. It's insufferable to think of these people doing business at the same old stand when the rest of America is straining in a united effort to win this war against the Cliveden set's Berlin master.

BELLE LEBLANC.

Boston.

**TO NEW MASSES:** I looked at that photograph you published of Mrs. Evalyn Walsh McLean and thought of her own words: "I'm the only person in the last ten years who gave poor, dreary Russia a thrill." What a laugh! And what nerve! The important thing, though, about Bruce Minton's expose isn't Mrs. McLean. It's the whole set of appeasers and the way they work, which is the way they work in all countries. Gossip, insinuation, rumor, malice, and all in a pattern of disruption and treachery. Mr. Minton has shown us the pattern as it looks in the national capital. Let us never forget it.

AIR RAID WARDEN.

New York City.