

LETTER TO

DEAR Russian Comrades-in-arms:

In every part of our country we Americans are saying happy birthday to you, to the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In England, China, India, Australia, in the countries of Latin America, on the deserts of Africa, in the darkness of conquered Europe, hundreds of millions are saying—out loud or in their hearts—happy birthday to the heroic men and women and the government of Russia. This is your Fourth of July. And this twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of your republic is a bond among peoples and a shining weapon in the fight of the free world against the slave world.

On this occasion the American people are joining in a great Congress of American-Soviet Friendship that is being held this weekend in New York. At this congress citizens from all walks of life are demonstrating our national determination to march side by side with you in war and in peace. The United States and the USSR, the two greatest powers in the world, must together bear the major responsibility for leading mankind to a new future. And it is fortunate that between our two peoples, separated in space by so many thousands of miles, there should be so many old and new ties of friendship. The fact is that though in recent years efforts were made to turn us against each other, our own fundamental interests have always—and today more than ever—moved us toward cooperation rather than conflict. The long history of American-Russian relations, from 1809, when John Quincy Adams journeyed to St. Petersburg as our first ambassador, down to 1918, shows that our country had fewer clashes with Russia than with any other great power. And in our Civil War Russia gave us positive aid when she sent her fleet into New York and San Francisco harbors as a warning to reactionary interests in Britain who sought to intervene actively in behalf of the Confederacy. It was a sober estimate of the true interests of both our countries that caused a conservative commentator, Walter Lippmann, to write in his column on June 6: "Russia—be it czarist or Soviet—is and always has been the natural ally of the United States."

Then, too, many things have happened in the life and culture of your country in the past twenty-five years that have made us feel close to you. We like your fresh, unhackneyed pioneer spirit, so much like our own. We like your toughness and youth, your new young leaders like Lieutenant Pavlichenko. We like your surge toward industrialization, and in that respect you have learned many things from us. (Wasn't it your great leader, Stalin, who once wrote in an essay on style in public work that it consists of "revolutionary zeal, inspired by the Russian spirit, and businesslike practicality, inspired by the American spirit"?)

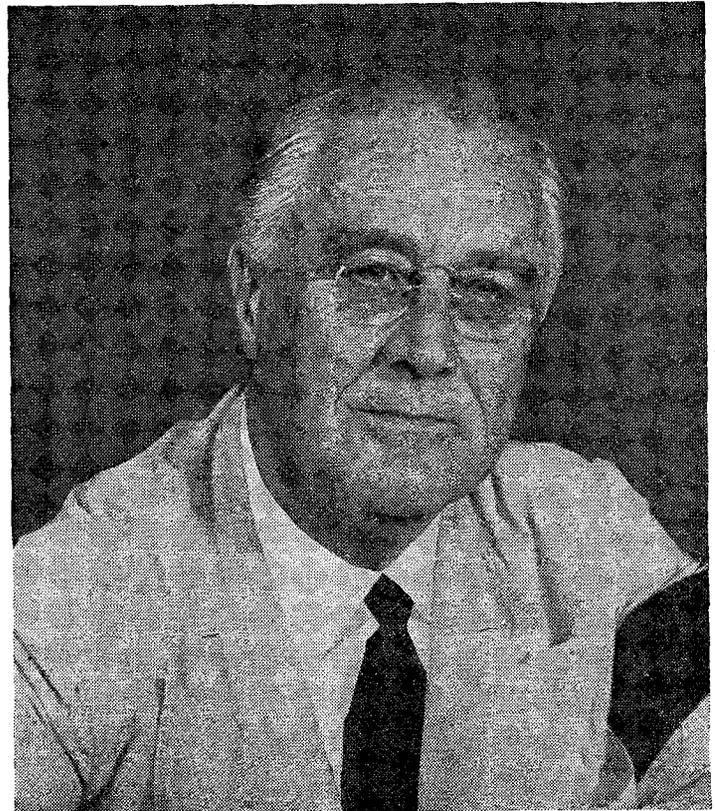
IT IS true that our government and our molders of public opinion have in these twenty-five years not always understood where our true interests lie with respect to Russia. It was precisely when your country freed itself from a barbarous autocracy and for the first time established a people's government that our own government broke off relations with it. The long period of non-recognition and hostility was fortunately ended when President Roosevelt came into office. The years that followed, though outwardly friendly, failed to achieve that close collaboration which could have halted fascist aggression before it really got started. Then with the outbreak of war came a strange interlude, a diplomatic nightmare in which the Soviet Union was once more treated like a pariah, and articles and books flooded the market with all sorts of fabrications about the Soviet system—from all of which only Hitler and the Japanese profited.

But why dwell on the mistakes of the past? Today we are allies, our two peoples and governments closer than they have ever been. The fact is that in greeting you on this anni-

versary many Americans feel a certain sense of shame—not so much because of the past, but because of the present. For almost a year and a half we of the free world have lived on the blood of Russia. For almost a year and a half your sons have fought and died in defense not only of your own soil, but of ours and of England's—in defense of the soil and liberties of every country that still stands unbowed and unconquered. It is thanks to 5,000,000 Russian dead and wounded and thanks to 5,000,000 Chinese dead and wounded that 130,000,000 Americans are able to live and work in freedom.

But most of us are beginning to understand that we cannot borrow blood from you and from the Chinese forever, that in this world of raging fascism no nation can buy its security at bargain prices. We are beginning to understand that we too must fight as you are fighting—we and our British allies in the west of Europe and you in the east—if America is to be something more than the name of a once-great land that succumbed to the fascist onslaught.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago you marched into the future and only a handful of advanced spirits in other countries understood you and believed in you. Today your friends are numberless, millions in all countries acclaim you and give you their support. This and the emergence of the alliance of the United States, Russia, Britain, and China, drawing round them all other anti-Axis nations, constitute the greatest political and moral defeat that Hitler and Hitlerism have suffered since they first came into power nearly ten years ago. For Hitler's whole strategy was based on exploiting the fears and prejudices of the capitalist countries in order to isolate you from them and so destroy you both. Today that strategy is playing its last desperate card; if Hitler, working through his agents and dupes in the democratic countries, counting on defensive-mindedness and conflict among the Allies, is able to prevent the realization of the full military implications of the American-Russian-British-Chinese alliance by blocking—



President Franklin D. Roosevelt

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or postponing until too late—the opening of a second front in western Europe, he can yet turn defeat into victory. The question which is still undecided is whether we of America and Britain, even at this late hour, even with our lives and future at stake, will stand by while the greatest catastrophe of all descends upon us. It is a moment of terrible decision; every consideration of patriotism and self-interest, every hope of durable peace and a decent world urge us on to strike now.

Why, then, you ask, is it still so quiet in the west, why after a year and a half do America and Britain still hesitate to hurl themselves at the Nazi beast? For you who live with death daily, life has only one meaning now: to destroy your enemy and ours. That unity and singleness of purpose which your socialist society has forged in you sweeps aside all casuistry and makes the logic of this war simple and clear. A promise to open a Western Front in 1942 is a promise to open a Western Front in 1942. A war of coalition is a war waged by all partners together, not a war waged singly till each is exhausted. This is common sense, and it appeals to the plain people everywhere even if it doesn't to certain military experts.

Perhaps, remembering the past, you are inclined to grow suspicious. It is true that there are people in our country and in Britain who are against the second front because they are for Hitler and Japan. Or at any rate, they would rather be vassals of Hitler and Tojo than allies of Russia. You had such people in your own country at one time, men like Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev—the fascist fifth column. Your government was wiser than ours: it dealt with those traitors as our own founding fathers would have dealt with Benedict Arnold had they been able to lay hands on him. Yet in our country, as well as in Britain, fifth columnists and appeasers, the Coughlins, Hearsts, McCormicks, Pattersons, Fishes, and Dies', still enjoy positions of influence.

Only the other day one of that breed spoke up with unaccustomed frankness. On the very night that an outstanding



Premier Joseph Stalin

American patriot, Wendell Willkie, was again urging a second front, Hugh Gibson, former ambassador to Belgium, told an audience that a second front was not necessary for the defeat of Germany. He declared that such factors as "attrition and the various stresses and strains" within the Reich would do the job and obviate the necessity of a land invasion. He went on to make clear what he had in mind when he pointed to the German generals as the real opposition to Hitlerism. "When victory becomes sufficiently remote," he said, "the army leaders will take Hitler into protective custody." It is clear that Gibson is opposed to the total defeat of Germany, opposed to the destruction of the German military machine and the Nazi regime. At best he wants to do business with a fascist military clique that will represent only a minor shifting of the personalities in control. And he advocates these policies even though they are certain to mean the doom not only of your country and Britain, but of the United States.

Now Gibson may be of no great consequence. But he is closely associated with a person of very great consequence, Herbert Hoover, with whom he collaborated in writing a widely publicized book, *The Problems of Lasting Peace*. You will no doubt remember Hoover as the man who organized aid to Mannerheim Finland, but opposed aid to Nazi-invaded Russia. Though this ex-President of the United States has held no public office for nearly ten years, he is today the dominant force in the Republican Party. It is the influence, direct and indirect, of such people as Hoover and his counterparts in Britain that is the primary factor in preventing the opening of a second front and the unfolding of a true coalition strategy in accordance with the agreements made with your Foreign Commissar Molotov.

BUT despite the machinations of the defeatists, despite the confusion spread by such newspapers as the *New York Times*, whose anti-Soviet prejudices frequently warp its outlook, despite the efforts of certain "experts" to discover a second front in Africa, in the Pacific, in every part of the globe but the one place where it must be established, our people are learning, they are gathering around President Roosevelt, the forces of victory are growing stronger each day. The American people have never been accustomed to letting others fight their battles for them. We have never been afflicted with weakness or lack of self-confidence. In our War of Independence and in the Civil War the poison of fifth columnism and appeasement sought to paralyze us, but we threw them off and became masters of our own destiny. And in this war our boys have proved their mettle in Bataan and in the Solomons.

Your fighting spirit is something we understand, something that is part of ourselves. Increasingly our people are impatient to get at the enemy, to cross the Channel and end this bloody business as quickly as possible. And the trade unions especially are beginning to take leadership in the fight for a second front. President Roosevelt speaks for the American people when he says: "The power of Germany must be broken on the battlefields of Europe." Wendell Willkie speaks for them when he calls for a second front, for action to relieve China, and for a new deal for India and other colonial nations. Earl Browder, who was the first of our political leaders to urge collaboration with the Soviet Union, speaks for the people when he warns against delay in breaking into western Europe while the bulk of Hitler's forces are engaged in the East.

So hold the fort, dear brothers and sisters of Soviet Russia, for we are coming. Stalin rightly called for the fulfillment of obligations. But they are obligations not only to you, but to ourselves, to our own country, our own future. We pledge you and pledge ourselves that we shall not rest till the West thunders with deeds that shall join with yours to wipe the fascist wild beast from the earth and bring a new birth of freedom to mankind.

"TOGETHER IN WAR AND IN PEACE"

Answers to six questions on Soviet-American relations.

We are happy to publish, on this special occasion, the answers to a series of six questions concerning American-Soviet relations, which we asked three typical leaders in various fields whose names are known to millions in this country. Although we do not agree with all they say, we believe their desire to strengthen American-Soviet relations is representative of the overwhelming will of our people.

What measures would you suggest to assure maximum collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union?

MR. CHAPLIN: To assure maximum collaboration between America and Russia, I would make one suggestion, among others which might help, and that is that those British and American politicians and journalists who are anti-Communists refrain from anti-Communist propaganda, for at least the duration of the war; that they cease calling American liberals who wish to benefit the working classes American Communists for at least the duration of the war. As there is no difference between the principles of American and Russian Communism, an attack on American Communism confuses the mind of the American public and is a reflection on the Russian people, who are Communists and who are fighting and dying more than any other people for the American way of life.

SEN. PEPPER: That is essentially a technical problem, which has to be decided by the technical heads of the two governments. I favor everything possible being done to add strength to the heroic resistance of the Russians, because I believe the issue of the war depends upon the campaign in Russia. Surely there should be the most intimate collaboration between the civil and military heads of the two governments and there should be no possible doubt of our determination to give until it hurts to Russia. They deserve it. It is our own best defense.

MR. POPE: Continued effort to enlighten public opinion; specific identification of those forces and personalities in the government that are hostile or indifferent to Russia's interests and Russia's contribution.



Sen. Claude Pepper, member of Senate Foreign Relations Committee

What in your opinion is the best immediate aid we can give Russia and what is the best immediate aid Russia can give us?

MR. CHAPLIN: The best aid we can give Russia and at the same time give ourselves is to open a second front, now, while Russia is so desperately in need of it—and that we fulfill our obligations to her at all costs. To help her now would create in the minds of every Russian confidence in the integrity of her allies and would lay a moral foundation for the peace to come.

The best aid Russia can give us is to continue her fighting against the Nazis and continue to hold Stalingrad.

SEN. PEPPER: This, too, is a technical question which must be answered by the technical authorities. Air assistance, I would say, is the most effective immediate aid we can give Russia. The best aid they can give us is their continued gallant resistance.

MR. POPE: Increase allotment of supplies; more contribution to war relief; the opening of the kind of diversion on the Western Front that will distract German forces and put a new strain on the Germans' transportation system. . . . The best immediate aid Russia can give us is to continue to hold out and to be ready to cooperate in an offensive against Japan as soon as the Germans are thoroughly repelled.

What do you think we can learn from Russia in our war against the Axis?

SEN. PEPPER: A great deal. Russia's unity and the fervor of her fight and the clear-headed view which is always indicated about the vital issues