

NM SPOTLIGHT

Those Polish "Borders"



THE New York *Times*, in its pose as public defender of the Polish government-in-exile, last week published another one of those wily editorials in which the innocent are peremptorily convicted while the culprits are not even brought to account. That newspaper is crafty enough to acknowledge in its brief that the Soviet Union has a case in the matter of "territorial changes." But having made that admission, the *Times* tacitly insists that the Russians withdraw their just claims and assume sole responsibility for Polish violations of agreements with Moscow. Furthermore, the *Times* writes, the Kremlin must improve its attitude towards the Poles, now that the Red Army is rapidly moving westward, or Soviet prestige in this country will decline, jeopardizing relations with our Russian friends.

The *Times* contends that the USSR must immediately define its policy towards Poland lest Poles take up arms against Soviet military forces approaching Polish "borders"—a threat made not only by *Times* statesmen but by those who dominate the Polish government in London. One would assume from the *Times* that the Soviet position on Poland is an enigma—the customary riddle which the *Times* thinks exists about all matters Soviet. But if Mr. Sulzberger's foreign secretariat will consult the back files of his newspaper, that supposed mystery will solve itself in exactly thirty minutes of reading time.

First, there are the former Polish-Soviet agreements of July and December 1941—agreements violated by the Polish government when it withdrew its army from Soviet soil and when its representatives conducted espionage through relief agencies in the USSR; there is, in addition, a definition of Soviet policy towards Poland in the Czechoslovak-Soviet pact. But the best statement of Russian policy was the one solicited from Premier Stalin by the *Times*' own correspondent in Moscow, Ralph Parker. In reply to Parker's questions in May 1943, Stalin stated that his government desired to see a strong and independent Poland and that neighborly relations between both countries after the war should be based on mutual respect or, "should the Polish people so desire, upon the fundament of an alliance providing for mutual assistance against the Germans

as the chief enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland."

The *Times* is more artful than the crude *Chicago Tribune*. But both would make the Polish situation a source of conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. That development would have the warmest support of reactionary Polish emigre circles as well as of Polish officialdom. It is only through such discord that the Polish politicians, the vestiges of the Beck and Smigly-Rydz regimes, can return to Warsaw. There is no other avenue leading to their self-restoration to power. And it is, therefore, hardly a surprise that many Polish language newspapers published here under the intellectual supervision of the Polish government called the Moscow agreements another "Munich betrayal," a "sell-out" to the Russians. The Polish "issue," then, has quite naturally become the center of collusion and collaboration between anti-Soviet Poles and their American counterparts—from Hearst to McCormick to Senators Wheeler, Reynolds, Brewster, and Representative Sumner.

Interestingly enough this ugly fraternity would like to see Mr. Roosevelt defeated should he choose to run for the presidency again. And they are trying to make the Polish government a campaign issue. The *Times* also warns that the Polish-American community will not support the present occupant of the White House or his policies unless he bends completely to Polish tory will. This is a fresh form of blackmail to get the President to renounce what he achieved at Teheran, and his foreign secretary at Moscow. The fact is that many Americans of Polish descent support presidential policy and are organizing themselves to thwart the schemes of those Poles who are on a "destroy Roosevelt" rampage. These progressive Polish Americans, under the leadership of Rev. Stanislaw Orlemanski, have been forming branches of the newly founded Kosciuszko League to help the Kosciuszko Division fighting alongside the Red Army.

The *Times* is playing a reckless game which can only hurt the Polish people in a moment when they are facing their greatest trials.

Who Represents Bolivia?

THE costly error of hastily recognizing and thereby stabilizing the fascist coup of General Ramirez in Argentina last spring has fortunately not been repeated in the case of Bolivia. Secretary of

State Hull is to be congratulated on his prompt acceptance of the suggestion made by Uruguay's able foreign minister, Alberto Guani, for consultation among all the anti-Axis American republics before any one of them recognizes an American regime which comes to power by force during the present war. But the period for thought and consultation which is thus provided can be used by both sides in making an appeal for public support. And in this country, at least, the most vigorous propaganda effort is unfortunately being conducted by Enrique de Lozada, the official agent in Washington of the Bolivian junta which seized power on December 20. He is engaged in pulling every known rabbit out of the hat to convince Washington officialdom and the public of the democratic composition and intentions of his principals in La Paz. He is a skillful prestidigitator; there is considerable evidence that his tricks are fooling certain liberal elements in this country.

Let us examine his technique. He officially accepts his appointment as Washington agent, telling us that the Bolivian junta is not fascist and is not inspired by the Argentine Nazis. He announces that he has received instructions to seek diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union through the intermediary of the United States government. If you turn that coin over you see it's a fake. How can any foreign government unrecognized by the United States seriously believe that its Washington agent, also without official status as far as we are concerned, can call upon the good services of our government to pave the way for recognition by our ally the Soviet Union? It would simply be fantastic, were it not obvious that this is nothing but a phony maneuver to win public support. Here is a perfect example of the well known tactic of leading with the left to throw your opponent off balance for a blow from the right.

"THE AMERICAS," published by the Council for Pan-American Democracy, charges this week that "de Lozada's profession of radicalism is and has been a protective coloration for some very dubious activity." It reports widely circulated stories of his complicity with those Bolivian fascists who have consorted with the Ramirez clique in Argentina. It reports, further, the opinion of Latin American labor and liberal leaders that de Lozada has been a chief conspirator in Washington against

the Confederation of Latin American Workers and its president, Lombardo Toledano, and that he has "quietly supported Matthew Woll and William Hutcheson in their slanderous attacks on the CTAL and its president."

The evidence of the connection between the Estensorro putsch in Bolivia and the Argentine fascists is convincing. Any official agent of the Bolivian clique in Washington is therefore suspect. De Lozada's career, including his current protestations of liberalism, augments rather than diminishes our belief that the new Bolivian government must be ostracized. We support Mr. Sumner Welles' remark that the Estensorro group bears careful watching because of the grave suspicion that it is part of the Argentine plot to set up other Latin governments friendly to its Nazi pretensions.

Mr. Willkie Fears . . .



NOR even the talented Mr. Willkie can talk through both corners of his mouth simultaneously and make sense. In an article in the

magazine section of the *Sunday Times*, January 2, he pleads with genuine conviction for a commonsense attitude towards the Soviet Union and rebuffs those in both parties who adopt a policy of suspicion towards Moscow in order to corral the votes of backward citizenry. Mr. Willkie, of course, also supports Moscow and Teheran as "having opened up new hopes on all continents." But after having chastised prejudiced politicians for attempting to sow dissension, he discards his statesmanlike position for one that echoes individuals with whom he is at sword's points.

For example, he is critical of the President for not having gone far enough at Cairo and Teheran. "While the conferences have successfully stated joint intentions among the great powers, they have not succeeded in establishing a concrete political base upon which all the United Nations can agree and rely." Now this strikes us as really picayune talk from a big man. Teheran brought us to a new and different stage in international relations, with the major allies guaranteeing the independence and freedom of all peoples. Yet Mr. Willkie estimates this extraordinary development—after years of bloodshed because there was no agreement among these allies—as limited in significance because it is not "firmly established upon a body of definite political principles." If Moscow and Teheran did not embrace the key principles without which we cannot foresee an orderly world, we beg to know what did? We have in the Moscow declarations the foundations of a European structure that will not topple at the first

strong wind. In the Cairo statement we have the essential beginnings of an Asia without Tokyo's "co-prosperity sphere." And in the Teheran accord there is an expression of unity, of will, and of purpose which the freedom-loving peoples have sought and died for from the moment Hitler mounted his reign of *Schrecklichkeit*. And if Mr. Willkie wants to know how far-reaching these conferences were, let him glance through Hitler's New Year's speech and see what choice adjectives Adolf uses in describing them.

Mr. Willkie is also fearful of the fate of small nations. This fear is the new weapon which Willkie's bitterest enemies in his party are employing and we are dismayed to see him in such parlous company. To be sure, there are votes to be garnered from those who would like to see Europe again as of the day of Munich; who would like to throttle the forces of liberation beginning to cleanse the Continent's despots. And to that end the Polish hierarchy in London would like to play Britain against the United States and both against the Soviet Union. They also find soulmates in the repudiated officialdom of the Balkans and Baltics—and all of them are now merged to undo the grand alliance.

Mr. Willkie is too astute to fall for the game of "small states" politics; he can serve his country best by stepping over the quagmire of partisanship into a more productive arena. That service will consist of crossing lances in a determined battle to eliminate from public influence those Republicans—and Democrats—who oppose the international unity which he has championed. The small states are properly protected in the Moscow-Cairo-Teheran agreements. It is the small politician, Mr. Willkie, against whom we now need protection.

Dr. Win-the-War



THE teapot tempest over President Roosevelt's statement that the "New Deal" slogan as applied to his administration was

out of date and should be replaced by something like "win-the-war" must seem curious to those of our allies who are too close to the fury of the war to be able to enjoy the luxury of such controversies. It must seem curious that more than two years after Pearl Harbor it should be necessary for the President to state the obvious and for the obvious to be so violently challenged.

To readers of *NEW MASSES*, of course, what the President said was old stuff. This magazine, in contradistinction to both reactionary and certain liberal publications, has long maintained that the major emphasis in administration policy, as in American life as a whole, must be not the pre-war

program of social reform identified with the term *New Deal*, but the winning of the war as paramount to all other considerations. When the President says two plus two equals four, and Harrison E. Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, with his infallible talent for putting his foot in his mouth, bellows: "Can the leopard change his spots?" it is quite clear who is making a fool of himself. And it is no less clear that under the guise of opposing the New Deal, the Spanglers of both major parties are only too eager to do what they can to obstruct the winning of the war.

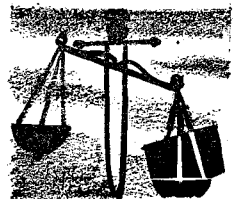
At a press conference last week Mr. Roosevelt made an eloquent defense of the New Deal program, listing some thirty specific measures and challenging his critics to indicate which of them should now be scrapped. He pointed out that the remedies of "Dr. New Deal" were necessary for the internal disorder that afflicted the country when he took office in 1933, and that when the country got into a smashup at Pearl Harbor, it became necessary to call in "Dr. New Deal's" partner, "Dr. Win-the-War." And significantly the President said that when victory is won, the program of the past will have to be carried on in the light of new conditions in this country and in other countries.

It would be well if every member of Congress, on returning for the new session opening January 10, received a copy of the President's allegorical talk on the past, the present, and the future. Certainly Congress—which has tried to rob the soldiers of their vote and the people of their livelihood through a ban on subsidies, which has sought to enrich the rich with its tax program and to play politics with the war—badly needs to be reminded what the score is.

From a Dark Era

IT is fantastic to think that the United States government, the government which is waging this people's war against fascism, which at Moscow, Cairo, Teheran made far-reaching commitments for the war and the peace—that this government is going to separate Mrs. Raissa Browder from her citizen husband, Earl Browder, and her three citizen children and deport her. Yet if the Board of Immigration Appeals, operating under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, has its way, this is what will happen.

It is good to know that in this case Americans are speaking up in behalf of Americanism. In recent days letters and resolutions to President Roosevelt urging him to reverse the board have been sent by Paul Robeson, Dr. Mary E. Woolley,



William Jay Schieffelin, Katherine G. Hoffman, secretary of the Newark CIO Industrial Union Council, William L. Standard, attorney for the National Maritime Union, the New York Women's Auxiliary of the NMU, a group of 300 wives and sweethearts of servicemen, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, the Book and Magazine Union, Local 18, UOPWA, and others.

In speaking up for Mrs. Browder these Americans are defending the honor of their country and elementary human decencies. The deportation order against Raissa Browder was originally issued as a by-product of a sad and confused period in American life when witch-hunting was much more in favor than it is today. Mrs. Browder was ordered deported on the grounds that she had lived in the USSR as a citizen, that she was married to the general secretary of the Communist Party, and that she had denounced neither her husband nor her native land. In ignoring the fact that history has knocked the bottom out of the case against Mrs. Browder the Board of Immigration Appeals not merely commits an act of inhumanity against an American family, which is bad enough, but lays itself open to the charge that it is making an oblique attack on President Roosevelt's foreign policy and on American unity.

We urge our readers to write the President and ask him to right this injustice and vindicate American democratic tradition by suspending the deportation order against Raissa Browder and permitting her to become a citizen.

Honors and Awards

ANYONE who saw *Watch on the Rhine*, saw Paul Lukas transform the shadow of Kurt Mueller into a figure of heroic proportions, will quickly agree with the New York Film Critics choice of that picture as the year's best. When our movie critic reviewed it last September he was impressed with the film's shrewd characterization and its extraordinary persuasiveness. When it arrived at our local playhouse we sat through two showings just to see once more the grandeur of the whole anti-fascist struggle wrapped in the mood and words and movements of Mueller. It was a breathtaking experience, in some respects richer than the stage play itself, for which we are indebted to Lillian Hellman's perception and craftsmanship.

There were other great cinema events this past year. And it is one of the limitations of prize awards that not all these splendid films could be acknowledged as such with the same laurel wreath that went to *Watch on the Rhine*. We have had brilliant screen stories of both our fighting men and those of our allies, our merchant

Pattern of a Swastika

IT WAS to be expected: the Christian Fronters considered the whitewashing of James LeRoy Drew, the homegrown fascist patrolman, a go-ahead signal. And they have gone ahead on the double-quick. So now New York is suffering from that brown malaise which hit Boston, Hartford, Detroit, and many other American cities—violence against Jews. Every thinking person impatiently brushes aside the official apology that "juvenile delinquency" is to blame. There was no adolescents' convention that agreed to assault simultaneously, across the country, Jewish children, smear Jewish homes and synagogues, loose a wave of terrorism. Here is the issue: who is behind these outbursts and why are they not apprehended? We have no doubt Patrolman Drew could reveal some interesting data: did not that literature he stored in his home strive for precisely such turbulence?

We agree completely with Max Perlow of the Jewish People's Committee that if "Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine does not immediately take severe measures to wipe out this growing menace, this may soon develop into strife on the dimensions of the Detroit riots of last summer."

Most disturbing is the lackadaisical attitude of the police authorities. They have, on the whole, done a good job until this latest series of outbursts; they worked, hitherto, under difficult circumstances to stem the racism affecting Negroes, Jews, and other national minorities in the city. But at this juncture, their alertness has declined alarmingly. Commissioner Valentine cannot calm an outraged citizenry with the bland statement that "Anti-Semitism is always a problem in a large heterogeneous city such as New York." Nor can he with justice conclude "If and when it becomes necessary special measures will be taken." At what point does the Commissioner believe "special measures" become necessary? When well-drilled gangs roam the streets? When Jews are actually killed? When Jewish homes and synagogues are burned to the ground? Why the cautious, cool qualifications, "If—and when. . . ." Have we not had enough experience since 1933? Have we forgotten Berlin and Vienna? What's happening here?

Obviously quick, decisive action is on the agenda. And action by the city as a whole, not by Jews alone. For this is a blight which creeps into every category of our citizenry; labor, the Negroes, all national minorities, progressives generally, stand to suffer if this peril goes unchecked.

We are glad to see that inter-community action is being taken. Citizens of every calling and religion are banding together to act. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise' plea must be heeded that "a group of leading citizens of different faiths should be brought together to consider what can be done to bring an end to this shameful blot upon the honor of our city." Meetings have been called to get action on the Lynch-Dickstein bills that would prevent the mailing of anti-Semitic literature, which is a strong underlying factor. The City Council must be moved to decision, as must the state legislature when it convenes. The Mayor, too, must shoulder his share of responsibility. If all these factors are taken into prompt consideration, acted upon, we can rescue the city from the threat of another Detroit. If we continue the hush-hush policy, or look upon the terrorism as the regrettable pranks of juvenile delinquents, then we are beaten. Above all, we must remember that Hitler's only trump card is the creation of dissension within the homelands of his enemies. There is, behind all this, the pattern of a swastika, made in Berlin.

mariners—screen stories that depicted with tenderness and understanding their day-by-day ordeals, thereby giving those of us at home a deeper sense of the stakes of the battle and elevating morale to high levels. Among these were *Air Force*, *Action in the North Atlantic*, *The City That Stopped Hitler*, *The Battle of Russia*, *Desert Victory*, *Sahara*, *Destination Tokio*. Then there were those films which communicated the power of Europe's resistance forces, the life of the partisans, the courageous underground. Here the films which had great beauty and effectiveness were *Hangmen Also Die*, *The North Star*, *This Land Is Mine*, *The Cross of Lorraine*. And in *Mission to Moscow* we had a political document whose importance was not only in its destruction of imbedded

prejudices, but represented our Soviet ally with honesty and conscientiousness—a refreshing change from the nonsense to which Hollywood had been addicted heretofore.

Unlike years past when one was thankful for the occasional American film with some sense of the world we live in, 1943 saw an array of distinguished pictures in step with the time and marching forward. Hollywood is at long last moving away from the bromide and the aphrodisiac into the realm of reality.

The Real Violation

WE ARE not among the fans of *Esquire* magazine. We can take our *Esquire* or leave it—most of the time the latter. But Postmaster General Frank C. Walker's

order revoking the magazine's second-class mailing privileges concerns *Esquire* only incidentally. It concerns above all the First Amendment of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of the press. It concerns one of the great principles for which this war is being fought.

In October and November, the Post Office Department held hearings at which an attempt was made to prove that *Esquire*, which is admittedly not patterned after Godey's *Lady's Book*, was not only obscene, but lewd and lascivious. The department merely succeeded in making itself ridiculous. So weak was its case that a special three-man board of Post Office officials voted two to one against revocation of mailing privileges. Walker has now taken it upon himself to overrule his

Herr Ganzenmueller's Troubles

HERR GANZENMUELLER is not among those Nazi generals or party leaders known beyond the borders of Fortress Europe. Yet he is among the Third Reich's most important war leaders. Thirty-eight years old, Obergruppenfuehrer Albert Ganzenmueller comes from one of the oldest German fascist organizations—the Reichskriegsflagge, a group of adventurers and cutthroats who were brought together by General von Epp, one of the leaders of the Bavarian reactionaries who joined Hitler years ago. When the Nazis took power in 1933, Ganzenmueller was in the Elite Guard. He had specialized in terrorizing railroad workers and in organizing the Guard's railroad detachments. So he was the natural choice for undersecretary in the ministry of transportation.

In 1938 Ganzenmueller drew up the plans for the transportation of troops and materiel when the Wehrmacht occupied Austria. His plans also prepared the way for the invasions of Poland and France. But his masterpiece of organization was the mass deportation of Jews, Poles, Croats, and Slovenes—one of the bloodiest and most ruthless chapters in the history of this war. In cruelty and terror, Ganzenmueller is matched only by his old friend and superior, Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler, who laid down the rules for the deportation of "inferior races." Ganzenmueller's special contribution to these migrations was his invention of the railroad-car gas chamber to exterminate Jews.

Another big task which Ganzenmueller undertook, and by no means

as pleasant as his previous ones, was the mass evacuation of citizens of Hamburg, Cologne, the Rhineland cities, and Berlin after the tremendous Allied air raids. To cope with the situation Ganzenmueller set up an emergency railroad evacuation corps. The loss of thousands of pieces of rolling stock on the Eastern Front made Ganzenmueller's troubles even greater. Special Elite Guard units and Gestapo detachments were incorporated into the railroad detachments to speed up railroad personnel and prevent sabotage. For sabotage also developed into one of Ganzenmueller's biggest headaches. Judging from Nazi officialdom's rare statements on the matter, railroad sabotage is especially fierce in Austria (especially in Styria and Carinthia where railroad men frequently collaborate with Yugoslav Partisans just across the border) and in France, Belgium, and Poland.

For example, German railroad workers in Poland petitioned the Nazi government to place them on the same footing as soldiers with regard to rent privileges for those incapacitated in service. They based their requests on the fact that during July 1943, alone, 385 of them were killed in Poland while "performing their duty"—which is only a small sample of the accidents caused by sabotage. In certain parts of Poland, as well as in Yugoslavia, the Nazis no longer disclose their train schedules, in order to prevent attacks by saboteurs and Partisan bands.

But apparently Herr Ganzenmueller's troubles have only begun. He and his staff expect head-

aches such as they have never had before. Recently the Nazi press boastfully told its readers that Ganzenmueller invented a mobile railroad station with all facilities for loading and unloading as well as a rapidly convertible freight car. These mobile stations are said to be of tremendous value for the quick evacuation of bombed areas where railroad stations were destroyed. But as the London anti-fascist paper *Zeitung* reveals, this mobile station has more uses than readily meet the eye. The Gestapo is already preparing for civil war in Germany. The Elite Guard is beginning to reckon with the possibility that insurgents will occupy railroad stations. They are also beginning to reckon with that possibility in connection with the forthcoming invasion by Allied forces. The mobile railroad stations will then come in handy. The freight cars will be converted into coaches to transport Elite Guard shock troops in emergencies.

One of Ganzenmueller's recent orders proves that the specter of insurrection is haunting the minds of Nazi leaders. This order gave new directives for the operations of the Railroad Police and the Bahnschutz—a special railroad guard corps. Qualifications for membership in both these organizations have become more rigorous and every member is thoroughly investigated as to his reliability. Old members are being dismissed and replaced by Elite Guards. And a special emergency division of railroad Elite Guards has been established to deal with "sudden dangers for the Reich transport system."

O. T. RING.