

The
Jewish People
and the War

By EARL BROWDER

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I

ON MAY 10, the imperialist war was again extended to drag into its bloody shambles the peoples of Holland and Belgium. If the peoples do not quickly find a way to stop the war, over the heads of their governments, it will tomorrow drag other lands into the slaughter. And with every new extension of the war, the danger grows that the rulers of the United States, our economic royalists and their political agents, will drive our own country into this senseless mass murder to help decide which gang of imperialist bandits shall be the boss. Already President Roosevelt has reduced American neutrality to the level of Mussolini's "non-belligerency," and tied America to the Allies by political and economic chains which become heavier each day.

On May 10, the President warned the country to prepare for more active involvement in this imperialist war. The British, French and American Governments are appealing to the American people for support to the war against Germany, on the grounds of "defense of democracy," "sanctity of agreements," "independence of small nations," and so on. But these governments destroyed their own moral case by irrevocable involvement in the whole dirty imperialist game before the outbreak of the war, and have deepened their involvement up to the present moment. They themselves built up the Nazi power, betrayed democracy in Spain, violated their own most sacred agreements, sold out the independence of weaker peoples—Ethiopia, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania—and openly boasted of their

vile deeds, as purchasing "peace in our time." All this they did, because they thought they were buying a Nazi war against the Soviet Union. But when Hitler, shrinking back before the mighty Soviet Union, decided it was less difficult to challenge those who had built him up and who had entangled themselves so deeply in his crimes and condoned them all, when Hitler double-crossed the double-crossers, only then did London, Paris and Washington suddenly put on again the garments of virtue, proclaim a war for those very things they had sold out, but only after the only concrete aims of war remaining were their own imperialist bases of power and their accumulated loot.

Examine these self-styled democracies today. In France, Fritz Thyssen, the German magnate whose money put Hitler into power, is a welcomed and honored guest—but tens of thousands of anti-Nazi refugees, and families of men who gave their lives in the struggle against Hitler, are dying in concentration camps worse than Hitler's. In France, the trade unions have been crushed as effectively as in Germany. In France, the Communist elected Deputies and local administrations have been illegally ousted, their Party outlawed, their leaders imprisoned, and the death penalty instituted for exercise of free speech, à la Hitler. In France, 200,000 refugees from Franco Spain, with 20,000 International Brigade veterans who offered their lives to stop fascism, are being returned to Franco's firing squads or transported to forced labor in African mines. In France, a fascist terror equal in all respects to the Nazis, reigns supreme.

Great Britain, which is ruling 300,000,000 inhabitants of India by martial law, pretends to be fighting for democracy. This Britain has fully and completely demonstrated that her ruling class has not changed one iota since Thomas Jefferson described her early in the nineteenth century. Allow me to read to you Thomas Jefferson's characterization of the British rulers. Answering those who argued that America must come to the rescue of Great Britain, locked in combat with the conqueror, Napoleon Bonaparte, because otherwise Napoleon, once victor, would come over and conquer America, Jefferson said:

"The fear that Bonaparte will come over to us and conquer us also is too chimerical to be genuine."

That was the argument of the Federalist Party at that time, corresponding to the Democratic Party, the war party today.

Jefferson goes on to say:

"And what is to be our security, that when embarked for her in the war, she will not make a separate peace, and leave us in the lurch? Her good faith! The faith of a nation of merchants! The Punic fides of modern Carthage! Of the friend and protectress of Copenhagen! Of the nation who never admitted a chapter of morality into her political code! And is now boldly avowing that whatever power can make hers, is hers of right. Money, and not morality, is the principle of commerce and commercial nations. But, in addition to this, the nature of the English Government forbids, of itself, reliance on her engagements; and it is well known she has been the least faithful to her alliances of any nation of Europe."

Jefferson further describes this Great Britain as follows:

"The parliament is, by corruption, the mere instrument of the will of the administration. The real power and property in the government is in the great aristocratical families of the nation. The nest of office being too small for all of them to cuddle into at once, the contest is eternal, which shall crowd the other out. For this purpose, they are divided into two parties, the Ins and the Outs, so equal in weight that a small matter turns the balance. To keep themselves in, when they are in, every strategem must be practiced, every artifice used which may flatter the pride, the passions or power of the nation. Justice, honor, faith must yield to the necessity of keeping themselves in place. The question whether a measure is moral, is never asked; but whether it will nourish the avarice of their merchants or the piratical spirit of their navy, or produce any other effect which may strengthen them in their places. This is the true character of the English Government in practice, however different its theory; and it presents the singular phenomenon of a

nation, the individuals of which are as faithful to their private engagements and duties, as honorable, as worthy, as those of any nation on earth, and whose government is yet the most unprincipled at this day known."

What was true in Thomas Jefferson's time is equally true today about the Government of Great Britain.

Today, unlike Jefferson's time, however, the United States shares in the guilt for this war into which our people are asked to plunge more fully. The Roosevelt Administration involved itself in this guilt when it broke its treaty relations with the Spanish Republic, and placed a criminal embargo against it when it was fighting a life and death struggle against Hitler and Mussolini. It stepped deeper into the mess when it rushed to recognize Franco, just thirteen months ago, even ahead of other governments, without even a pretense of intervening to halt the massacre of Spanish Republicans going on ever since. It began to slide down the greased way to war when, after sabotaging all efforts to prevent the war, it rushed to repeal the arms embargo, after war had broken out, and make a mockery of neutrality by openly siding with the Allies. It plunged up to its neck, when it intervened in Finnish-Soviet relations, exerting itself to realize the British scheme for "switching the war" to one against the Soviet Union. It is today preparing to involve itself in "protecting" the Dutch overseas possessions, in the Carribean and the Far East. Soon we will be faced with accomplished facts in new warlike measures, discussions of which already include naval and air force participation, while the plans are fully worked out for a great expeditionary force of American boys to Europe.

The working class and the great majority of the American people are overwhelmingly opposed to this course of events. But step by step we are being presented with accomplished facts. The fight against American involvement in the war must begin to find new channels of expression, more effective than previously, or soon, very soon, there will no more be a question of how to keep out, but, finding ourselves in, it will be a problem of how

to withdraw. And let us not console ourselves that this issue is being postponed because 1940 is an election year. No. Signs multiply, especially in these last days, that the Republicans are already reaching agreement behind the scenes that the contest will be purely formal, and they have already conceded the third term for Roosevelt. Undoubtedly, there are preparations to involve America into the war before the elections, so you will never even have the chance to vote for the question in the form that the Republicans and Democrats put it before us.*

II

THE second imperialist war is a great calamity for the Jewish people. The very lives of the Jewish masses in Europe are at stake; the Jewish communities there are threatened with destruction. Only in the U.S.S.R., inhabited by 5,000,000 Jews, nearly one-third of the Jewish people of the world, are the Jewish masses able to pursue a peaceful existence, permanently freed from the fear of persecution and oppression, while building a happy and prosperous life in the new socialist society. In war-torn Europe and in the rest of the capitalist world, the Jewish masses are faced with the greatest tragedy in their all-too-tragic history. Even the most ardent supporters of Allied imperialism in the United States are compelled to admit this. And yet there are forces in Jewish life, and outside it, that are brutally and callously trading on the tragedy of a people, taking cynical advantage of the Jewish people's profound hatred for Nazi barbarism in order to bring them into the war on the side of Allied imperialism which is equally destructive. In face of the deep-going suspicion among the Jewish masses of any cause associated with Chamberlain and the British Tories, these people have done everything to encourage the illusion that the Allies represent a *lesser evil* for the Jewish masses; and they are leaving no stone

* It would be well for everyone to give a little serious discussion and study to the rapidly crystallizing imperialist war aims of the American bourgeoisie. I recommend especially for that purpose William Z. Foster's article in the April issue of *The Communist*.

untuned to use the sufferings of the Jewish people to strengthen the efforts of the war party in America for a speedy American involvement in the war.

Today, with the exception of the *Freiheit*, practically the whole Jewish press is clamoring for support to the Allies up to the point of American entry into the war at the side of the Allies. The big Jewish bourgeoisie, through the channels of the American Jewish Committee; the Zionist middle class leaders, through the American Jewish Congress; the B'nai B'rith, which follows the policy of the American Jewish Committee, and the Jewish Labor Committee which controls a number of Jewish trade unions headed by Social-Democrats, are united in this common purpose for which any crime is to be condoned.

Chamberlain's betrayal of the Jews in Palestine is thus accepted by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist organization, who declares for the Jewish bourgeoisie:

"We Jews would be deeply reluctant to cause difficulties for the British Government at a time like this. Whatever the provocation, I and those whom I represent will not deviate from the position enunciated in my letter to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain at the outbreak of the war. Our loyalty to the Allied cause remains steadfast."

Vladimir Jabotinsky, whose Revisionist group even the Labor Zionists characterize as Jewish fascists, calls now for a Jewish army to fight for Anglo-French imperialism in the war under the Jewish flag.

But this is not only the language of the European Jewish "leaders." Their American counterparts speak the same language in this country. Their self-styled "Socialist" servants are even more shameless.

On May 5, in Madison Square Garden, at a meeting organized by the Workmen's Circle and the Jewish Social-Democrats, Abe Cahan categorically declared that it is impermissible to talk of peace until Hitler and the Soviet Union are crushed.

Such a position can only lead the Jewish people to catastrophe.

It can only feed the forces of anti-Semitism on a gigantic scale. It can only mean lending support to the promoters of fascism and the backers of anti-Semitism, to those who condoned and made possible savage pogroms against innocent Jewish people, who helped to build up Hitler and were ready to excuse his brutal persecution of the Jews.

Let the facts speak for themselves.

In the last few months, the American public has been given the opportunity to read "the British case" first hand in the writings of its authoritative spokesmen. Sir Neville Henderson, Britain's last Ambassador to Germany, exposed his Government's attitude toward Hitler in a book entitled *Failure of a Mission*, the first part of which appeared in the March 25 issue of *Life* magazine. In this book he declares:

"One cannot, just because he is a dictator, refuse to admit the great services which Signor Mussolini has rendered to Italy; nor would the world have failed to acclaim Hitler as a great German if he had known when and where to stop; even, for instance, after Munich and the Nuremberg decrees for the Jews."

This position was expressed to Hitler at the time of the Jewish persecutions. It is repeated in an even more recent publication, entitled, *The British Case*, by Lord Lloyd, just published in America by the Macmillan Company. This little book, which oozes with morality and an appeal to the sanction of Christianity, contains an introduction by the Right Honorable Viscount Halifax, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, approving Lord Lloyd's essay and recommending that it "be read as a supplement to purely diplomatic history." Let Robert Dell, an avowed supporter of the Allies in this war, supply the comment. Writing on Lloyd's book in the *New York Nation* of May 4, he said:

"It is impossible to believe that Lord Halifax could have done this [that is, endorsed Lloyd's book] without the consent and approval of the British Cabinet, or at least the Prime Minister. Thus, unless, and until Lord Halifax and Lord Lloyd are repudiated by the British Government, this British case must be accepted

as official. . . . Lord Lloyd's position does not differ substantially from that of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front." *

No wonder *The Week*, an English confidential bulletin, wrote:

"As one Tory member of Parliament remarked this week: 'If we arrested all the people in London who admired and supported fascism, we would disrupt the government and banking system entirely.'" (April 24.)

It is the British imperialist ruling class, the billionaires and bankers of England, the notorious Cliveden set, which, together with the 200 ruling families of France, built up Hitler and fascism in Germany, encouraged his rape of small nations and exonerated his terror against the working class and the Jews, his persecution of the Catholics and Protestants, all for the purpose of preparing a spearhead for war against the Soviet Union, the Land of Socialism. What did they care about the Jews, as long as they hoped to realize their twenty-year-old dream, which they elaborated asleep and awake, of smashing the Soviet Union, the only country where the Jewish people had found complete freedom and equality and for the first time in two centuries have been able to achieve complete nationhood!

It is this imperialist ruling class in England and France which connived with Hitler in the destruction of the small nations for the sake of an anti-Soviet war, which built up Poland, that prison of small nations, and Finland as a base for attack against the Soviet Union. Today, the so-called Polish Government is harbored in France, that same Polish Government which is responsible for the persecution and murder of Jewish people, the Government which under Colonel Beck sought the expulsion of two million Jews, while robbing the Jews in Poland of any chance of earning a living, restricting the number of Jewish students in the universities and endeavoring to drive them out altogether, and taking all concessions away from the Jewish artisans. That Poland which was emerging as a smaller edition of Hitler's

* Since this was written, Lord Lloyd was appointed Colonial Secretary in the Churchill government.

Reich, and which was encouraged by British and French imperialism, was a partner in the conspiracy to drag the world into an anti-Soviet war.

We have the testimony for this from the so-called Polish Government in France in the person of General Haller who has just left the United States after striving to involve America in the imperialist war on the side of the Allies. He has even been received by the President of the United States. Before he saw the President, he stated to the press in Washington:

"Poland was ready for war with the Soviet Union but not with Nazi Germany. We had confidence in Hitler but had no confidence in the Soviets. . . . We were naive. The Polish Government was misled by Hitler in whom it had confidence."

The *Jewish Daily Forward* honored the return of General Haller to New York in an editorial on April 30, explaining that this pogromist and recruiting sergeant for Allied imperialism now regretted his past misdeeds against the Jewish people. The *Forward* wrote:

"General Haller does not speak now in his own name but in the name of all Polish parties fighting Hitler and dedicated to building a free democratic Poland, in which the Jews will have the same democratic civil liberties as the Poles. . . . The Jews are just as interested as the Poles in the rebirth of an independent, democratic Poland."

This wretched apology for the arch-reactionary, barbarous anti-Semites who, as the so-called Polish Government in exile, are serving as pawns of Allied imperialism for an anti-Soviet war, comes at a moment when its members are spreading anti-Semitic propaganda and are dreaming of a reconstructed Poland *without Jews*. A pamphlet in Polish has just been published in New York written by K. Gluchowski, head of the Polish Information Bureau and Secretary of the Polish National Council in the United States, which declares that in a post-war Poland "superfluous Jews" will have to "emigrate."

But let there be no mistake about it. This is not only the outlook of the puppet Polish Government in exile. Their Allied and American supporters are in full accord with them on this. None of these people who ask the Jews to lay down their lives in the cause of Allied and American imperialism even dream of equality for the Jews or envisage a place for the Jewish people in a post-war Europe. Herbert Hoover, William Randolph Hearst and Dorothy Thompson have openly proclaimed this.

Writing in the *Herald Tribune* of March 1, in a column on the recent land decrees against Jews in Palestine entitled "Blood and Soil Under the Union Jack," Dorothy Thompson stated:

"For overcrowded Europe, not only the Jews will need colonization projects when this war is over."

In an address before the Jewish Welfare Fund in Chicago last February, Herbert Hoover declared:

"It has been felt that somewhere there must be opened a place in a temperate climate where 10,000,000 white men, women and children can build a civilization. The tentative hope seems to be in the highlands of central Africa."

Hoover, the aggressive spokesman of American imperialism, has nothing more to offer the Jewish people than wholesale exile to Africa, a proposal which reveals only too clearly the imperialist mentality and ambitions of American capital to use the Jewish people for purposes of colonial exploitation. Hearst, it will be recalled, advanced a similar plan in 1938.

In commenting on Hoover's address, Hearst's *New York Journal and American* stated on February 15, 1940:

"Mr. Hoover, after pointing out that religious persecution has not been limited to Jews alone, said that there is no guarantee that such persecution would not continue after the war is over. . . ."

Let the Jewish people ponder deeply on the meaning of all this. It is the same imperialist enemies of the Jewish people who, during the Finnish episode, sought to incite the Jews against the

Soviet Union, the only country where anti-Semitism is branded and prosecuted as a crime against the state.

Who can forget the hysteria and pogrom-incitement of the *Forward* and the reactionary Jewish press against the Communists and the Soviet Union during the Finnish-Soviet hostilities and their anger against the Peace Treaty of March 12? Their pages burst with frantic appeals to the "guardians of civilization" and "protectors" of small nations and the Jews, to Allied and American imperialism, to "switch" the war with all speed into an anti-Soviet war. But they did not tell the Jewish people that these new-found "friends" of the Jews, the Finnish White Guard Government, were anti-Semites of long standing, enemies of the Jews from days of the tsars. They held Mannerheim up as a hero of the world's oppressed, but they conveniently forgot to mention that this hero hated the Jewish people and oppressed them as only a tsarist butcher can. Mannerheim's "love" for the Jewish people was so great that when a misguided Jew, under the influence of imperialist propaganda, offered to fight in the Finnish White Guard army, he was told that Jews have no place in such a "holy cause." You will recall that on April 18, the *Freiheit* reproduced a photostatic copy of this reply which was originally published in the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* of March 22 appearing in Zurich, Switzerland.

This letter, which was sent by the Finnish Consul in Basle, Switzerland, stated:

"In answer to your communication of the 27th instant and your questionnaire, may I inform you that according to instructions Jewish refugees from the Central European countries are not accepted in the Finnish Army."

If there are those who will say that this is only an accidental, fugitive case, and not of the very essence of the Finnish Mannerheims who were set up "in business" by British imperialism to prepare for the long-planned war against the Soviet Union, let them go back with me into the files of the *Jewish Daily Forward* publications. In the *Yiddish Zukunft* of June, 1918, pub-

lished by the *Forward*, we find an exceptionally revealing article entitled "The Jews and the Finnish Socialists." We read:

" . . . Until the Russian Revolution, not a single land anywhere, not excepting tsarist Russia, treated the Jews with greater inhuman-

CONSULAT DE FINLANDE
SUOMEN KONSULIN VIRASTO
BÄLE
GERBERGASSE 14

BÄLE LE 28. Februar 1940

/1.

In Beantwortung Ihres Schreibens vom 27. ds. nebst Fragebogen teile ich Ihnen mit, dass laut erhaltenen Instruktionen jüdische Flüchtlinge aus den zentral-europäischen Staaten nicht in die finnische Armee aufgenommen werden.

Ich bitte Sie um gefl. Kenntnisnahme und zeichne

hochachtungsvoll:

finnischer Konsul.

Ein merkwürdiges Dokument

Wie aus diesem Brief des finnischen Konsuls in Basel an einen Emigranten, der sich für das finnische Heer gemeldet hatte, ersichtlich ist, waren die Finnen trotz ihres offensichtlichen Leutemangels nicht gewillt, jüdische Emigranten in ihr Heer aufzunehmen. Die

From the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt*, Zurich, Switzerland,
March 22, 1940.

ity than did the Finnish bourgeoisie, which now boasts about its Western civilization. The basic law of Finland derived from ancient constitution laws simply deprived *all* Jews of *all* rights of existence in the land. One law of the Swedish Constitution, orig-

inating in the eighteenth century, and maintained in the statutes of Finland up to 1917, says explicitly that no Jew has the right of existence in the country. . . .

"Only in 1917, when the Socialists had a majority in Parliament, was a law passed which gave the Jews full equal rights. And the Socialists carried this law into practice upon the declaration of Finnish independence.

"But . . . the bourgeoisie did not recognize this declaration of independence. Kerensky dissolved Parliament and the Jews were again deprived of their rights. In the Revolution [in Finland] of January, 1918, the Socialists again proclaimed the equal rights of all inhabitants of Finland. But now the bourgeoisie is again in power, and the reader who follows events in Finland will soon see how freedom will be restricted in this characteristic respect as in all other relationships."

The *Forward* itself carried the following news items on July 11 and 12, 1918:

"Stockholm, July 10.—According to reports to the local Jewish bureau, the Finnish Government has decided that all Jews not holding citizenship must leave the country by September 30, and local government administrations are forbidden to sell food to Jews after that date. The Finnish Jews have appealed to the world in the emergency."

"London, July 12.—The Finnish Senate has decided to expel all Jews from Finland, according to advices from Copenhagen to the Exchange Telegraph. More than 800 Jewish families will be forced to leave the country."

Allied and American finance capital, in supporting the Polish and Finnish White Guardists, were not interested in democracy, equality or the independence of small nations; they were not concerned about the fate of the Jews.

Even the military censorship has been unable to prevent the news from leaking out regarding the brutal treatment of the Jews in Palestine. Palestine was supposed to be the living proof that British imperialism is a champion of Jewish rights. But even

the Zionists are today torn by inner dissensions because life itself has demonstrated the bankruptcy of a policy based upon British promises in Palestine. Ever since the former Colonial Secretary MacDonald issued the British White Paper on Palestine, that country has witnessed a veritable reign of terror. British soldiers have murdered Jews for daring to protest against the establishment of a ghetto in the land which English imperialism cynically promised as a Jewish national homeland. Not only have the British decreed the restriction of Jewish land purchases in some parts of Palestine, but Jews have been entirely prohibited in other zones. Free speech has been banned, a rigid censorship has been clamped down, issues of Jewish newspapers protesting against the British decrees have been confiscated and the offending papers indefinitely suspended. Jewish demonstrators were treated with extreme brutality by the police and soldiers and a number have been killed. Even the pro-Allied *Jewish Frontier* of May is compelled to give some of the horrible details. "For an entire week," it says, "Jewish cities and villages were in a state approximating siege. . . ." Let those who cling to the illusion that British imperialism is "a lesser evil" for the Jewish people, or that British imperialism is essentially different from Nazi barbarism, read the harrowing account for further identification of the betrayers of the Jews.

What can the Jewish people hope for from such people—except to be used as pawns in the bloody game of rival imperialist conflicts? The present war is not a war for the independence of small nations, for democracy or against Hitlerism. This war is an imperialist war, and the Jewish people, like the toiling masses as a whole, have nothing to gain from taking sides; they have nothing to gain from an Allied victory, just as they have nothing to gain from a victory by Hitler. This is not the Jewish people's war. There is no lesser evil in this war for the Jewish people. It is all evil. The alternative is not a victory for one or the other side, but a victory for the people over all the imperialists, a victory for laboring humanity. *For, only those that toil and suffer and are themselves exploited and oppressed are capable*

of bringing freedom to the suffering and oppressed Jewish masses. It is in the united struggle of the exploited and oppressed for peace and for a free, happy and prosperous life that the Jewish people will find the road to real lasting and permanent emancipation.

The Jewish people in the United States are a great and vital part of the American people. They have it in their power to play an outstanding part in the struggle to keep America out of war. The Jewish masses want no part of this war. Their place is in the ranks of a mighty peace front of the American people that will put a stop to all plans to drag America into the war.

III

THERE is one spot on the earth where the Jewish people are not under increasing pressure, one spot where the Jews have full equality, and that happens to be the one spot where there are no longer forces making for war and where the standards of living and culture of the people are going ever higher. That is the socialist Soviet Union.

The 1939 census of the Soviet Union revealed that there are 3,020,141 Jews in the Land of Socialism, exclusive of the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. The Jewish people comprise 1.78 per cent of the total population of the U.S.S.R. and occupy seventh place among forty-nine nationalities of no less than 20,000 population each.

Commenting on the census, the *Izvestia* of April 30 wrote:

"National oppression, this shameful product of class society, an age-old concomitant of capitalism, has been uprooted in the U.S.S.R. and wiped out forever.

"There is not and there cannot be any division of nations into those who rule and those who are oppressed, or into primary ones and those who are secondary.

"In this friendly and fraternal family the free peoples of the Soviet land build their happy life."

It is significant that the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of April 30 reported that the *Izvestia* editorial, which attacked racism and anti-Semitism, was broadcast over the Moscow radio in both Russian and German.

The liberation of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia opened up a great and happy future to close to two million Jews who had been the tortured victims of the anti-Semitic overlords of Poland. You recall how last year *The Day* attacked the Soviet Union, charging that it was indifferent to the plight of the Jewish refugees, and how it took sharp issue with me on this question? *The Day* made a big campaign against me on the grounds that I had lied when I said the Soviet Union had done more for Jewish refugees than any other country in the world; and they said there was not a single Jewish refugee in the Soviet Union; and they said that was a terrible thing. They were wrong then. But what shall we say now, when close to three million Jewish refugees in that territory are full and equal citizens of the Soviet Union? And these people continue to denounce the Soviet Union! They incited war against the Soviet Union for its act of liberating the Jews. And yet these same papers can no longer exclude all the evidence of what is going on there.

Well, we must admit that *The Day* has finally seen a little light, even though it has not been ready to admit it in its editorial columns. On April 24 and April 29 it published two letters from Jews who had been liberated by the Red Army, which undoubtedly indicates that *The Day* must have received hundreds of similar letters. And what do these two letters say? The letter printed on April 24 states that the Red Army saved the Jews of Grodno, that they were glad to be rid of the "decayed Polish Government," and lists 29 Jews who were killed in a pogrom by Polish anti-Semitic bands just before the Red Army marched in. The letter sent in by a reader and printed on April 29 states that two brothers and their families escaped to the Soviet side and that "they were provided not only with work but with a home."

Where else in the world are the persecuted Jews being re-

ceived and given homes? They are not even allowed to enter the United States, except the bourgeois refugees.

And let us add the testimony of the United Jewish Appeal, representing a campaign for \$23,000,000 by the Zionists, the Jewish Joint Distribution Agency and the National Refugee Service. One of its recent campaign folders declares: "It is estimated that more than 500,000 Jews fled across the border from the German-controlled area into the part of Poland occupied by Russia." And this in addition to the million and more Jews who had been liberated by the Red Army.

Is this not the best answer to the rabid slanders of the reactionary, pro-Allied Jewish press unleashed against the Soviet Union at the time the Red Army marched into Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia?

Today there are over five million Jews in the Soviet Union, where they enjoy absolute equality. This fact is of tremendous significance for the Jewish people all over the world. Is it not plain that if world imperialism could realize its aim to destroy the Soviet Union, this would mean disaster for the Jews everywhere else, including the United States?

IV

THE war has had a very significant effect on the political situation of the Jewish people in the United States. The Jewish people have displayed a great sympathy for President Roosevelt and gave their whole-hearted support to the New Deal. At present, Jewish columnists are advancing the argument that since Hitler has condemned President Roosevelt, the Jews should give full support to the President, including his foreign policy. The Jewish press is playing up the "tolerance" speeches of Roosevelt, Murphy and other Administration members as evidence of New Deal "friendship" for Jews. But with the second imperialist war, Roosevelt abandoned the New Deal and took over leadership of the war party, including all the forces of anti-Semitism and reaction in the country. Anti-Semitism has been growing in the United States since the outbreak of the war, and

the Administration is now allied with the forces that are promoting it.

This growth of anti-Semitism is shown very strikingly in a document prepared by the American Jewish Congress and published in March, 1940, under the title "Anti-Semitic Activities and Propaganda in the United States." But what is important is that this report does not point out that a change has taken place in which the Nazi Bund has given way to native American groups as the main carrier of anti-Semitism here, with the Bund elements merging into the latter. In the past few days a so-called "Unity Party" was formed in New York of the Bund and Christian Fronters, to run in the elections on an anti-Semitic and apparently anti-New Deal platform.

But the distinction between the Administration and anti-New Deal forces has been wiped out, except as inner-family differences. If, before the war, Administration spokesmen in Congress took the floor against the anti-Semitic rantings of a Thorkelson, today they are completely silent. The Jewish people cannot forget that since the outbreak of the war, there has been established the "national unity" of all the bourgeois and reactionary circles in the country on an imperialist war program. Roosevelt and Dies have been reconciled, the same Dies who is seeking to destroy the labor movement of America, plotting subversion against the Mexican Government, and who has called for the expulsion of eight million so-called aliens, which includes a considerable number of Jewish non-citizens. Pelley has dissolved his Silver Shirts in deference to the Dies Committee, which he feels is doing the job he set out to do. Coughlin has recommended Dies for President, while also speaking kindly for Norman Thomas, and the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan has lauded the "good work" of Dies. No investigation has been undertaken by the Administration of Coughlin; no investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, which is reviving.

National unity with such forces means national unity with anti-Semitism and the worst enemies of the Jewish people. But this is exactly what the Jewish upper bourgeoisie, the *Forward*,

NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

How About Mr. Dies?

SOCIAL JUSTICE, while not "in politics," has frequently canvassed possibilities for the successor to Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal. It has seemed to us that the country at the moment has a wider range of worthy young aspirants than has been the case in many a campaign year, as well as its roster of seasoned older statesmen whose record and years of service qualify them for consideration.

In recent days there has come forward into prominence a vigorous young American whose name, so far as we know has not entered the lists. So far as we know, also, the idea may not even have occurred to himself.

In the event that Mr. Roosevelt will not be a candidate to succeed himself for an unprecedented third term—and there is more and more emphatic assurances from his close friends that he will not—we believe that many Americans are quietly talking about what a fine President the country would have in Mr. Martin Dies, the Congressman from Texas.

From *Social Justice*, Dec. 11, 1939

and the other warmongers seek to lead the Jewish people into. This is the meaning of the declaration by the chairman of the influential Survey Committee of the American Jewish Committee, in the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, January-February, 1940:

"Under the pressure of war psychology, the American people, thrown back on themselves and forced to appraise their institutions in the light of what is happening abroad, are already developing a strong and wholesome spirit of national unity. This is something which should be fostered from every high-minded motive. The world is now in a period of transition, and such a period always means the coming of divisive forces which set group against group, class against class. Protecting America in such a period means offsetting the animosities that the revolutionaries in our midst, whether Nazis or Communists, are trying to promote. We must stop all discord and all put our shoulders to the wheel of liberty and humanity."

Behind these glittering phrases about liberty and humanity, the upper Jewish bourgeoisie is seeking to win the Jewish masses for support of Allied and American imperialism. For this purpose, they have even changed their analysis of anti-Semitism. This is the reason for their support of Roosevelt and his foreign policy of war involvement.

The Republican Party is also playing for Jewish votes. The Republican Party in New York is trying hard to wipe out the stigma of anti-Semitism which it acquired in the last gubernatorial elections. A few days ago Dewey made a statement apparently condemning anti-Semitism. This statement was solicited by the Revisionist paper in New York, and the whole Jewish bourgeois press has played it up. Dr. Margoshes in *The Day*, of May 6, declared that with this statement, "No one can charge the leadership of the Republican Party with anti-Semitism." But the good doctor failed to add that, until Roosevelt abandoned the New Deal, the Republican Party shared the monopoly with the tory Democrats of the political allegiance of all the reactionary anti-Semitic forces of the country.

The extent to which the Socialist Party is joined up with the war party in America is strikingly revealed by its position in relation to anti-Semitism. The Socialist Party resolution on Hitlerism speaks of the need of combating anti-Semitism in Germany and the Soviet Union (where they know very well no anti-Semitism exists or can exist), but does not have a word to say on the menace of anti-Semitism in England or in the United States (Coughlin). It is significant and indicative that Coughlin's *Social Justice*, like the rest of the bourgeois press in America, found it desirable to praise Norman Thomas.

* * *

The Jewish people in America must learn how to break away from the misleadership that speaks in their name. We are in a crucial time. Great decisions are going to be made. Blackest reactionary forces dominate the ruling class, the bourgeoisie and their hired agents in the labor movement. The Jewish people, above all, have everything to lose and nothing to gain by following this degenerate, discredited, rotten and corrupt leadership. The Jewish masses must break with the detestable leadership of their so-called upper class which has sold out completely to the war party. The Jewish masses are against the imperialist war, even more than the rest of the American people.

This war has nothing to offer them but oppression, misery, starvation and death. The Jewish masses can and will be won to the active struggle against the war party in America, of both the Democratic and Republican Parties in the 1940 elections. The Jewish masses will join hands with labor and all broad anti-war forces in the fight for a better life and for peace.

May 11, 1940

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