

HITLER'S UPRISINGS IN AMERICA

Earl Browder exposes the Axis' military weapon of racism as it operates in this country. The "hidden mines" of racial prejudice — and of "tolerance" toward prejudice.

ALONG with Hitler's "secret weapon," the Anti-Comintern, goes the twin doctrine of racial superiority, expressed in anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, and similar cults.

A short time ago in Detroit savage pogroms against Negroes had resulted in thirty-six dead, many hundreds injured, untold destruction of property, and the straining of all social relations. In the Harlem district of New York City, rioting on the streets resulted in six dead, hundreds injured, millions of dollars in property damage, and the disruption of the daily life of a great community. In Los Angeles street fighting went on for days, directed against the Mexican population, derisively identified as "zoot-suiters." In a hundred localities minor outbreaks are reported against the Jews. These are the highlights that disclose Hitler at work in the United States, on our own soil, dealing us blows heavier than those he has inflicted against us on the battlefield, because here he is striking at the heart of American democratic life.

Detroit is the clearest and most outstanding example of Hitler's invasion of America to date.

Shortsighted—or worse—officials in Detroit and Washington rushed into print to deny any Hitlerite origin or significance to these events. They insist that these disturbances are all of domestic manufacture, one hundred percent American, without relation to Hitlerism or the war.

Wherever these explosives may have been manufactured, they are being fired today, in the middle of 1943, on orders from Berlin, at a moment chosen by Hitler, for objects that benefit Hitler. That is the cold truth that must be faced and understood as part of the price of victory in the war.

Hitler's war machine long ago searched out all the forces in the United States which could be used in his march to world rule. He counted on them, in the event most favorable to him, to dominate the United States and bring this country into alliance with him; he expected, at the most unfavorable turn, to disrupt the United States by means of these forces, and prevent our country from exerting its full force in the war against him.

The identifying sign for all such disruptive forces which work for Hitler, are the ideas of the Anti-Comintern—anti-Communism, anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, and also anti-Catholicism except in the Catholic communities.

The Nazi war machine was not content merely to depend upon the automatic operation of these political forces in their favor. *It entered into organized relations with them, and established its own machinery of leadership over them, and made bargains with them. It left nothing to chance.*

Therefore, the series of events we now witness in the United States is not the simple working out of race prejudice; it is race prejudice enlisted in Hitler's fifth column war machine, working under military discipline on a war calendar. We will ignore this fact, or refuse to recognize its true meaning, at our peril as a nation.

THE doctrine of racial superiority, in all its forms and consequences, is definitely enlisted in this war on the side of Hitler. In all its manifestations it works for Hitler. If we want victory in this war, then we must fight against and destroy this agency of the enemy within our ranks. This is a war question, a matter of life-or-death for our nation. All easy-going and tolerant approaches to it are contributions to Hitler.

The face of this Hitler agency is most

clearly revealed in examples such as that of Gerald L. K. Smith and his "America First" Party in Detroit and vicinity (and being spread to other centers). This Nazi-imitator and follower rallied over 100,000 votes in the Michigan Republican Party primaries. He maintains close relations with the notorious Father Coughlin, and all other native fascists, and with Harry Bennett, chief executive of the Henry Ford organization. He has gathered into his party all the remnants of the old Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion. He spreads the most virulent forms of race prejudice along with anti-Communism, in an open and flagrant defeatist agitation against the war. As an interesting sidelight on the far-flung ramifications of the anti-victory conspiracy, it should be noted that Gerald Smith has found one of his most effective instruments in a book written by a leading light in the so-called "right wing" of the American Labor Party of New York, *The Red Decade* by Eugene Lyons, a book highly praised also by Radio Berlin at the time it was published.

Unquestionably it is the concentration in Detroit of such forces as Gerald L. K. Smith, which is responsible for the vicious



William Baldwin (right), the first Negro to be inducted into the Navy after its Jim Crow ban on Negro enlistment in general service was finally relaxed. Discrimination against Negroes in our armed forces, however, is still an aid to the enemy.



He fights Hitler. Don't fight him, by failing to combat racism.

and damaging anti-Negro outbreak in that city. And that concentration upon Detroit is, in turn, because it is the city of highest concentration of war production!

The doctrine and practice of Negro segregation, based upon the idea of "white superiority" and the "inferiority of the colored races" as "facts of nature," cannot be reconciled with the role and tasks of the United States in this war. It is incompatible with a victorious outcome of the war. It puts an explosive contradiction in the heart of every phase of our war effort, to be exploited at will by every enemy of our country, internal and external. The explosion of these hidden mines in our society are more damaging than two-ton bombs dropped from the sky by Hitler's Luftwaffe. To wage war under such doctrine is possible only by copying the Hitler type of social and political organization, by a terroristic police-state, carried out to the end, and by a Hitler-like relationship with our Allies, on the style of the German-Italian "alliance."

The simplest first steps of war mobilization have demonstrated how profoundly irreconcilable is Jim Crow with effective conduct of the war.

Our General Staff began to build our ten-million army with an uncritical acceptance of the practice of Negro segregation. It quickly found this was the greatest single difficulty in the building of an effective army. Segregation violated the first principle of military organization; it created two armies instead of one, and the basis of the division had nothing whatever to do with military practice or theory. Our ten percent Negro population, instead of adding that proportion to our military strength, was thus turned into a multiplication of our difficulties. The Negro was inducted into the status of "problem" instead of the status of soldier.

Efforts to give a functional basis to

segregation, by assigning to Negro units the status of "labor battalions" in keeping with their assumed inferiority, merely intensified the difficulties and brought them to a boiling point.

In the specialized services and officers' corps the system of Jim Crowism was immediately so unworkable that it began to break down at once, and a process of modification began which quickly led to the complete abolition of segregation in the field of officers' training. The complete imbecility of a duplicate system of training officer cadres knocked out Jim Crow from this phase of the military effort quite early in the war. The most hardened champion of white superiority could not successfully defend this obvious military stupidity, with its disruptive results. Thus the basic problem of Jim Crow in the army was placed early in its stark outlines: Either abolish Jim Crow or bar Negroes from the army entirely.

It is a military impossibility to build an effective army on the basis of two categories, first and second class, of citizenship. An army can be built only on the foundation of equal citizenship.

Political principles and morality, denied in their own proper sphere, thus gain their revenge by reappearing as military necessity.

Meanwhile, a penalty has been imposed upon our country for the original violation of principles. The patriotic Negro population, ten percent of the country, has been aroused to a high pitch of indignation by the treatment of its men in the armed forces. National unity has been undermined. The development of our military power has been delayed. The price of victory has been enormously increased.

Perhaps the most serious penalty resulting from fumbling with the status of Negro citizens, and the attempts to enforce a Hitler-like policy, is the moral stigma attached to our country in the eyes of our allies, the decline in confidence in the United Nations—a majority composed of the so-called "colored races." The moral authority of the United States among the other nations of the world is seriously damaged, at a cost that is beyond computation.

The damage resulting from equivocal handling of the country's Negro citizens is multiplied by the rise of a virulent anti-Semitism in the country.

IF THE anti-Negro cult has its special American origins in the slavery incompletely abolished in our Civil War, there is no such historical explanation for the current rise of anti-Semitism in the United States. This is an arrogant importation from Hitler Germany of its most characteristic poison.

A number of surveys have recently been made of the rise of anti-Semitism in this country. They agree approximately in the

startling conclusions that the political opinions of the majority of Americans have been molded in some degree by the anti-Semitic propaganda, and that some ten percent of the population have become active carriers of anti-Semitic ideas. There has been a mounting series of violent attacks against the Jews, their persons, their religious institutions, their businesses, their homes, all stemming directly from this active propaganda. Its influence is being shown also in the armed forces.

What is most dangerous in this situation is the toleration shown to these divisive and obscurantist cults by the government, by the newspapers, by the church, by the broad circles of influential persons who set the tone of public life. It is assumed that the proper way to combat these menaces is by belittling or ignoring them. The active propagation of these poisonous ideas is not combated with any seriousness by counter-education or other effective measures.

Whence does this tolerance arise? Why do the most vulgar and open exponents of Hitlerism find such freedom for their activities? Why is it so difficult to arouse government and public to decisive action against them?

The answer to these questions must be found in the fact that our government and our most respectable organs of public opinion are themselves infected with the same poison in more subtle and insidious form. They are unable to move decisively against the Gerald L. K. Smiths and Father Coughlins because they are infected with a degree of the same prejudices upon which those gentry play.

An example of this "meeting of minds" between open Nazi agitators and the most respectable circles of American society comes to my hand as I write this, almost as if made to order to illustrate my point. It is in the *New York Times* of Aug. 3, 1943, in the signed column of Mr. Arthur Krock, chief editorial writer of that paper and head of its Washington Bureau. Mr. Krock, in the midst of many sober and correct observations in relation to the Harlem riots, puts the odious worm of race prejudice in the core of his apple, when he comes out with an unconditional support of Negro segregation, Jim Crowism, as a recognition of "the facts of nature," denounces opposition to segregation as the work of "political demagogues of both colors," calling it "poisonous and explosive doctrine." He declares that "the majority is unalterably opposed" to the abolition of Jim-Crowism. He limits any changes of this system to making sure it is administered "in the light of the lamps of justice."

(Just to keep the record straight, and in fairness to the *New York Times* as an institution, it must be noted that Mr. Krock's doctrine does not seem to have the unanimous support of the editorial staff, since the same issue says, in an unsigned editorial:

"If there is discrimination against any one on account of race or religion, then no one is secure.")

Mr. Krock's position is the exact American equivalent of the "moderate" Nazi attitude toward anti-Semitism in Germany. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, for example, has been reported to "deplore" the "excesses" of the Nazi pogroms against the Jews, in words almost like a German translation of Arthur Krock as quoted above. He also explained the "deplorable excesses" as the inevitable result of the "poisonous and explosive doctrine" that the Jews should have the same rights as other citizens; he also saw in the ghettos merely a recognition of "the facts of nature"; he also wanted Nazi doctrines to be administered "in the light of the lamps of justice."

Just as Dr. Schacht's "moderate" version of anti-Semitism served in life merely to give more of a free hand to the pogrom-makers all over Germany, so also does Mr. Krock's "moderate" version of the specific American form of the Nazi "Aryan" doctrine result in freedom of action for Gerald L. K. Smith and his kind to decide what actually happens on the streets of Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, Beaumont, and all over the country where men, women, and children are killed in cold blood with no one called to account.

Mr. Krock will doubtless feel outraged at the hint that he shares in any degree the responsibility for these mass murders. Just so, also, Dr. Schacht was outraged by the opinion that he, the impeccable gentleman, could in any way be associated with the "excesses" of Hitler's storm troopers. But just as Schacht was a necessary part of Hitler's system and shared fully in the responsibility for its crimes, so does Arthur Krock, by the endorsement of the basic ideas of "racial superiority," share in the denial of democratic rights which culminates in mass killings on the streets of Detroit.

It is impossible to isolate and defeat the Gerald L. K. Smith type of leadership if we tolerate as "respectable" the Arthur Krock version of Nazi doctrine.

For just as Arthur Krock felt no constraint in expressing ideas in fundamental agreement with Hitler's racism in regard to the Negroes, because he doubtless was unconscious of the direct political connotation, so unquestionably there are wide circles who do not actively propagate these cults but who automatically and uncritically agree with them when they are expressed, or at least do not protest against them, because they have become "acclimated" to the presence of such ideas in their social and political environment as "normal."

We cannot escape the conclusion that toleration or passivity in the presence of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism marks a definite degree to which the ideology of

Hitlerism has conquered the American mind.

WE ARE not here dealing with abstract ideas; we are dealing with forms of social and political relationships, which are decisive factors in national unity for the war, in our military power, in our relation with our Allies, in our role in the postwar reorganization of the world. Failure to understand this reflects a shallow understanding of the meaning of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism. Such a shallow understanding is smugly satisfied with itself as "humanitarianism," it rejects these cults as "unjust" and "unscientific," but completely fails to see their operation as political weapons in the life-and-death struggle of nations; completely fails to understand that they must be fought against and destroyed now, as a part of the war, with the same intransigence with which we fight against and destroy the armed forces of the enemy. Therefore it is even proposed that we "postpone" the fight against anti-Negroism and anti-Semitism until the war has been won, because, forsooth, this fight might "interfere with the prosecution of the war!"

Defeat and abolition of these doctrines of racial superiority, the complete removal of their influence from the social and political relationships within the nation, are a necessary part of achieving victory in the war. Without this there can be no clear and complete victory. Without this all our efforts and sacrifices for the war will have been to that degree in vain, for the richest

rewards of victory will have been lost while its cost will have been enormously raised.

How silly it is, in the grim light of war, to dismiss these problems as merely the concern of the minorities involved—the Communists, the Jews, the Negroes—in which the main body of the population has at most only a humanitarian interest!

These are the common problems of the entire nation. The nation as a whole must be educated and mobilized to solve them.

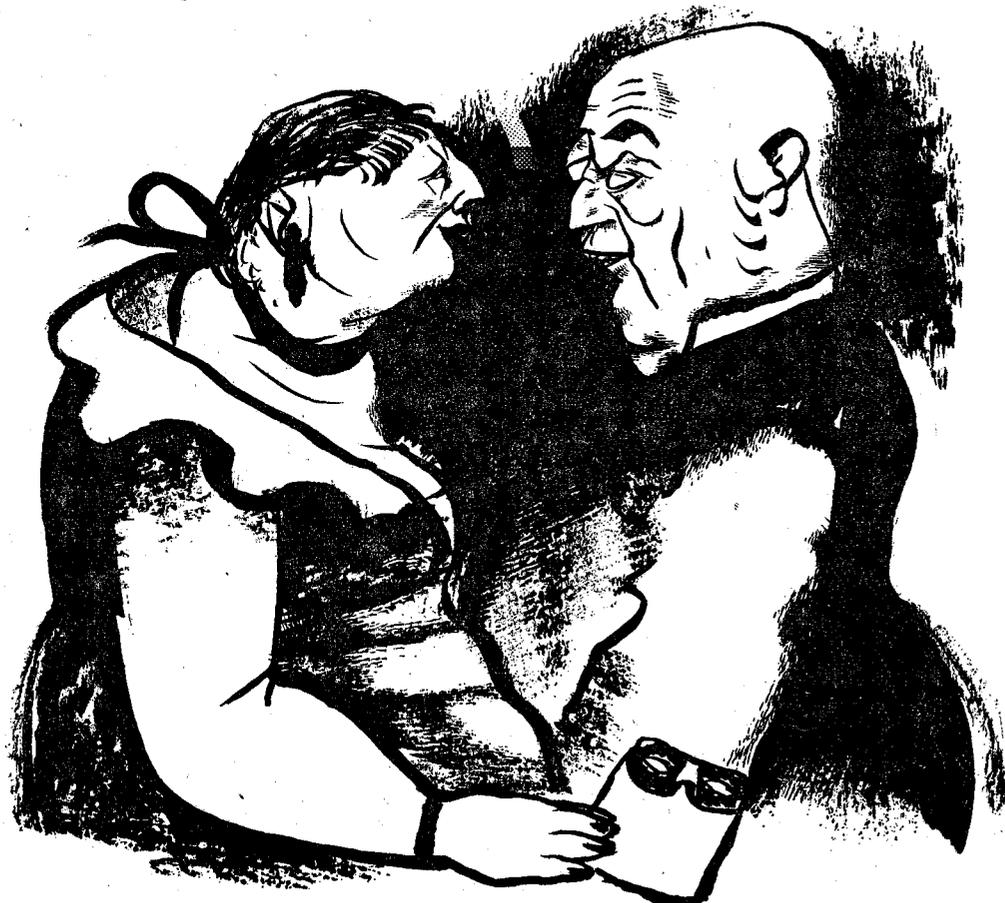
The practical insurance of equal democratic rights of citizenship to all, without discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or political opinion, can remain no longer in the realm of pious aspiration; it must be realized in life, in the everyday life of the millions, or else we must suffer the penalty that the United States will not be able to meet and conquer the world-crisis in which we are involved.

Anti-Semitism must be made a crime, an offense against common decency, which brings down penalties upon it that will effectively drive it out of all public expression.

Anti-Negroism in all its manifestations of Jim Crow segregation, poll-tax laws, and all their consequences, must be rooted out of American social and political practice by laws, by energetic administration, and by public education, so that even its slightest manifestation will become as impossible as public declarations of belief in witchcraft have become.

Only thus can Hitlerism be defeated. This is included in the price of victory.

EARL BROWDER.



"Senator Julep has such fine sensibilities. He says he would like lynching better if it were made part of the written law."