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Anti-Defamation League, 1941-1951.

AMERICAN - HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

July 15th, 1941.

Honorable Rabbi
A.H. Silver,
c/o Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

Honorable Rabbi:

Presuming you might be interested, we
enclose a copy of information on Mr. Tibor Eckhardt's
mission in the United States.

WRHS



Sincerely yours,

John Terebessy

Dr. John Terebessy
Secretary,
1720 Second Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

1 encl.

Mooney, Hahn, Loeser, Keough & Freedheim

Attorneys - at - Law
National City Bank Building
Cleveland

M. P. MOONEY 1920-1936
EDGAR A. HAHN
NATHAN LOESER
IRWIN N. LOESER
WILLIAM C. KEOUGH
MONROE A. LOESER
EUGENE H. FREEDHEIM
RAY L. ALEXANDER
JOHN LADD DEAN
EARL R. HOOVER
DANIEL W. LOESER
SAMUEL G. WELLMAN
C. CRAIG SPANGENBERG
DANIEL J. GLUCK

July 23rd, 1941

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

Enclosed is the statement which has been given
some circulation by parties who, of course, do not disclose
their names.

vicious and
It is so untrue as to make its contents ridiculous
to any discerning person.

It is suspected that this is being distributed
under the auspices of the so-called "United Mothers", or one
of the other anti-Semitic groups operating in this vicinity.

The matter has been taken up with the headquarters
of the Anti-Defamation League in Chicago to determine what, if
any, counter-publicity should be given at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

Nate

NL-K

Sept. 5-1941

Rev. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland,

①

Dear Sir;

Having been advised that, although a rabbi, you have more than a perfunctory, ex officio interest in the welfare and future of American Jews, I take the liberty of calling your attention to the following.

In the "Contemporary Jewish Record" of the American-Jewish Committee of May-June and July-Aug. 1939, appeared a series of articles "Problems of Anti-Semitism in the U.S.A." by Mrs. Norton Belth of the Committee's research staff. In these the names of nearly every important Jew-baiting organization is mentioned but the most pernicious one of them all, the Anglo-Saxon Federation appears nowhere. This is the organization which has been circulating the "Protocols of Zion" ever since Ford gave his famous letter of June 30, 1927 to Louis Marshall. It was started by H.M. J. Cameron, Ford's public relations man. You can find details regarding it in Ray Toyer's "America's Little Hitlers."

In an article by Mr. Goodrich, also of the Committee's research staff, on "Nazi Interference in American Affairs" in the July-Aug. 1940 number, not a syllable is to be found about Ford or Cameron or the Anglo-Saxon Federation. There appeared, within the past year

a book of nearly 200 pages "Organized Anti-Semitism in the U.S." by Dr. Donald S. Strong, who as I have been informed, got nearly all his data from the A. J. Com. and the Anti-Defamation League. Ford's name is mentioned only once, in connection with the Dearborn Independent articles. Not a word about the continuance of his anti-Semitic activities since 1927 about the Anglo-Saxon Federation, highly conspicuous by its absence from Dr. Strong's list of such organizations.

Dr. L. M. Burkhead has repeatedly said that the Committee moved Heaven and Earth to suppress the pamphlet "Henry Ford Must Choose". Walter Hinchell claims that a delegation from the Committee called on him to ~~also~~ demand an apology to Ford for some things he had said derogatory to Cameron and Ford.

In short, there is a mounting pile of evidence that the A. J. C. and the Anti-Defamation, or at least key men in it, have been little more than "Lulubos" in Ford's public relations department and have been doing its work among Jews.

Are there business interests in explanation of this ignominious phenomenon? Is there a cash nexus between Ford and a powerful element in the A. J. C., an element that uses the organization for its own purposes, the vast majority of the membership being kept in total ignorance of what is going on?

September 8, 1941

Mr. Richard E. Gutstadt, Director
Anti-Defamation League
130 North Wells St.
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dick:

More and more I have been getting this type of letter and more and more people have written to me saying that the Anti-Defamation League and the B'nai B'rith, which are now joined up with the American Jewish Committee in a money-raising effort, have deliberately muted the Ford-Cameron anti-Semitism because of the pressure of Mr. Ittelson whose business organization does financing for Ford cars. This may be nothing more than malicious rumor. If so, something should be done to counteract it, for it is putting the work of the Anti-Defamation League very much under a cloud. I should like to hear from you about this.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Enc.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
B'NAI B'RITH
130 NORTH WELLS STREET, CHICAGO • FRANKLIN 2221

September 10, 1941

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I hasten to reply to yours of September 8th and to convey information with respect to the content of the letter attached.

This is the second copy of an anonymous communication of this character that has been brought to our attention. The author of the letter to you is guilty of certain mistakes which I think have colored his judgment.

It is not my purpose to defend Norton Belth who wrote the article in the Contemporary Jewish Record of May-June and July-August, 1939. This is going pretty far back for the basis of criticism.

The Anglo-Saxon Federation was not started by Cameron though he was its "literary director" for several years. We have followed the movements of the Anglo-Saxon Federation very closely. We were able, back in 1937, or thereabouts, to purchase a copy of the Protocols from the office of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. (I find now the exact date of the purchase was September 23rd, 1936.) Many efforts have been made since then with the unvarying response from different offices that they have none of them for sale or distribution.

At the moment I don't recall the content of Mr. Goodrich's article on "Nazi Interference in American Affairs" which appeared in the July-August, 1940, number. We do know that the Anglo-Saxon Federation has been very inactive in the field of anti-Semitism though Mr. Cameron, with or without sincerity, has addressed innumerable Chambers of Commerce pleading for tolerance, good will and understanding. We are not deluded by this, but it certainly negates the wisdom of attack if there be no current evidence of hostility.

We are quite familiar with the book ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES by Dr. Donald S. Strong, a non-Jew. Dr. Strong spent about four or five months of afternoons in the office of the Anti-Defamation League. He prepared his material as a thesis for his Doctor of Philosophy degree. It was so well done that it was somewhat enlarged upon and published as a book. No one interfered in any way with Dr. Strong. We were requested by certain very

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

9/10/41

close non-Jewish associates of the University of Chicago faculty to let him have access to the material we had. He found it valuable and he wrote his book entirely without suggestion or restraint.

I may say to you, with respect to the comment that the A.J.C. moved heaven and earth to suppress the pamphlet "Henry Ford Must Choose": I am unaware of the A.J.C.'s activities in this respect. I do know that community councils from different parts of the country urged the Friends of Democracy, prior to the actual printing, not to publish this form of an attack. Galley proofs had been sent out to a number of people, all of whom believed that this attack was most unwise. Some efforts have been made by people close to Henry Ford to persuade him once and for all to make his position clear and he had been advised to make an unqualified public statement and a gift, in very substantial figures, to the refugee fund. Progress was apparently being made just at the time that Dr. Birkhead issued this blast.

I sat down with Birkhead in New York and I gave him some facts such as I had as to the approach to Ford. Dr. Birkhead felt that this was an admirable plan. He promised me that this publication would not issue until further time had been given to the people who were working on Ford, amongst whom was his son Edsel. Within two days thereafter, without a word to me, Dr. Birkhead began circulating the brochure. I am not now passing upon the wisdom or the unwisdom of his action but I do want to say that the anonymous writer's epithet of Quislings as ascribed to the A.J.C. and the A.D.L. is certainly intemperate and unjustified.

Now I should like to clarify the one statement which I presume troubles you, namely the implied effort of Messrs. Ittelson and Haberman to influence the defense agencies to soft-pedal any attacks upon Ford. I do not meet frequently with Mr. Ittelson. I know that he attends no meetings of the Survey Committee. I am in constant touch with Phillip Haberman, first vice-president and general counsel of the Commercial Investment Trust and the chairman of the executive committee of the A.D.L. eastern regional office. On every occasion when he has received requests for information and documentary evidences with respect to Henry Ford, Mr. Haberman has not only refrained from voicing any objection but he has counseled permission for the use of our material to such requesting agencies as are bona fide. He has frankly stated that while C.I.T. has large interests in a certain corporation handling Ford paper, under no circumstances would he permit any element of self-interest to sway him in connection with the larger problem with which we are dealing. Frankly, I have admired his attitude which has been eminently fair. This makes the implications of the letter received by you the more distressing to me.

Should there be any other information, Rabbi, that you think I am in a position to give you, please do not hesitate to ask for it.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

9/10/41

With personal regards, and my sincerest good wishes for the new year to you and yours, I am

Very cordially yours,

R. E. Gutstadt

Richard E. Gutstadt
Director

REG:RD



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

B'Nai B'Rith

Executive Offices - 130 North Wells Street - Chicago
Telephone Franklin 2221.

September 16, 1941.

Mr. Philmore J. Haber
1090 Union Trust Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Phil:-

Because of heavy correspondence on the subject of Mr. Lindbergh's address I am writing this answer with a view to transmitting copies to other friends who are concerned. It may, therefore, incorporate some elements not directly discussed in your letter, but will, I believe, adequately cover the whole subject.

First of all, you submit the suggestion that Mr. Willkie would be an effective person to answer Mr. Lindbergh. Our Christian and Jewish colleagues unanimously agree that this would be bad strategy. Mr. Willkie has been engaged by Jewish interests in the motion picture inquiry by the Senate sub-committee. The unfortunate announcement that Mr. Willkie has been added to the directorate of Lehman Brothers Investment Corporation occurred simultaneously, almost, with his selection as counsel for the motion picture people. Mr. Willkie's answer will be discounted by the fact that he has been so strongly identified with interventionism, and so closely allied with Jewish financial interests.

We have given consideration to the subject matter of a nation-wide broadcast, and we have been considering such names as Thomas Dewey, Dr. McCracken, Bishop McConnell of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and Alfred E. Smith, representing the Catholics. Such people cannot be accused of leadership in interventionist work, they have national reputations, and they have a very definite influence upon large elements of the American population.

With respect to any program to meet the situation precipitated by Lindbergh, it is advisable to await fully the country-wide reaction. It happens that we are getting the clippings from all over the country. These are uniformly denunciatory of Lindbergh. The press has seen the danger, and it has rallied to strongly avow the fundamental Americanism which is imperative in this crisis. From one end of the country to the other, there has been acastigation of Mr. Lindbergh.

I have before me this afternoon's copy of the "Chicago Herald-American", one of the Hearst papers. A magnificent editorial follows up the two pages recently published containing the condemnatory phrases of leaders of American life and thought. Two striking sentences appear in this item:

"He (Lindbergh) most fortunately represents no American who resents the injection of racial and religious prejudice into any controversy. He most certainly represents no organization worthy of having loyal Americans affiliated with its activities".

These are strong terms, and what is most interesting is that there appears to be an increase in the condemnation, even though almost a week has passed since Lindbergh's address, and under the momentum which we hope will still further increase, we believe the revulsion of feeling of true Americans will become even more marked.

The Executive Committee of America First meets on Thursday to discuss its position and policy with respect to Lindbergh. Surely it is wise to await the action of that Committee. If it repudiates Lindbergh, it has done our job in a large degree. If it fails to do so, then we have a proper perspective on the real job before us. I am sure you will agree with this.

We believe that each one of the influential national Jewish organizations should issue carefully prepared statements. Our Executive Committee has spent two days in the most arduous drafting of a concise statement which, in our judgment, answers effectively every direct and implied charge of Lindbergh. Acting upon the plea of New York Jewish leaders, we are withholding publication until we have had a chance to compare a statement drawn by Dr. Wise and Mr. Wertheim of the American Jewish Committee. We were somewhat impatient at the delay, but we are compelled, of course, to defer to those leaders who likewise have a profound interest in the defense.

In the meantime, non-Jewish leaders are wiring and airmailing their protests to the Executive Committee members of America First. This is being done as individuals, and will undoubtedly impress some of the sincere citizens with the fact that America First has been dealt a deadly blow by the Nazi tendencies of Mr. Lindbergh.

You may be sure that we will continue to work intensively on this situation, and will keep you advised.

We are anxious, despite the effective clipping service which we have, to get every editorial and article bearing directly upon this subject which may appear in the press of your community. This is said for the benefit of all who will receive copies of this letter.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Dick

Richard E. Gutstadt,
Director.

REG:EF

Copy of splendid editorial in New York Herald-Tribune enclosed.

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Mooney, Hahn, Loeser, Keough & Freedheim

Attorneys - at - Law
National City Bank Building
Cleveland

M. P. MOONEY 1920-1936
EDGAR A. HAHN
NATHAN LOESER
IRWIN N. LOESER
WILLIAM C. KEOUGH
MONROE A. LOESER
EUGENE H. FREEDHEIM
RAY L. ALEXANDER
JOHN LADD DEAN
EARL R. HOOVER
DANIEL W. LOESER
SAMUEL G. WELLMAN
C. CRAIG SPANGENBERG
DANIEL J. GLUCK

September 27th, 1941

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

Acknowledging your letter just received:

I am in accord with your view up to a certain point, and at your convenience I would like to discuss the matter with you.

The strongest denunciation of Lindbergh I have yet seen appears in the resolutions adopted by the United Automobile Workers, and I did not see anything more than passing mention of it in our local newspapers.

If you have not seen it, I thought you might be interested in a copy of the complete resolution.

Sincerely yours,

Kate

NL-K

Liberty

OCTOBER 18, 1941 VOL. 10, NO. 42



LINDBERGH— THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN AMERICA

☆ THE most dangerous man in the United States of America today is Charles Augustus Lindbergh.

This tragic conclusion must be reached by any citizen who looks at the facts not with passion or prejudice but in the calm light of reason.

On this page Liberty has defended Lindbergh's right to speak his mind. We have expressed our confidence in his honesty of purpose; in his patriotism. While we could not agree with his platform, we have believed he was a true American.

The time has come when we must revise our attitude. If Lindbergh is sincere, then his is the sincerity of the witch burner.

Until Lindbergh made his Des Moines speech, racial and religious intolerance in the United States was a back-alley business. The leaders of anti-Semitism were shoddy little crooks and fanatics sending scurrilous circulars through the mails. There were many of them, it is true, but none was important. Not one of them had the advantage of a great name or a great career. None had ever stood for anything glorious, as Lindbergh once did.

But now all that is changed. Lindbergh in his tarnished glory has changed it. He, the

famous one, he who was once illustrious, has stood up in public and given brazen tongue to what obscure malcontents have only whispered behind the hand.

The danger from Lindbergh's folly is incalculable. In the midst of national agitation he has spoken words that are incitement to riot. Religious and racial hatreds lie like rubbish underfoot in the jungle of human nature. Lindbergh has poured oil on that undergrowth; he has hurled a lighted torch down into its midst. One shudders at his act.

No one who believes that this country should stay out of war can any longer afford to be associated with the name of this man—nor with the America First Committee which sponsored his utterances. For his was the voice that called out to the lowest instincts in humanity, to the cruelty and savagery of intolerance. His was a cry to whip up hatred, a summons to the pogrom.

It no longer matters whether Lindbergh is sincere or not. He is America's number one Nazi. Whether he means to be that or not, he is the forerunner of Hitler, ambassador of the Antichrist, Fuehrer of the forces of hell.

Charles Augustus Lindbergh is the most dangerous man in America.

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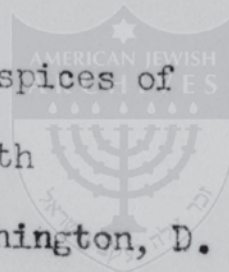
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SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CONFERENCE
ON DISCRIMINATION IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

Held under the Auspices of
B'nai B'rith
Lee-Sheraton Hotel, Washington, D. C.,
November 12, 1941



CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Martin F. Carpenter, Chief, United States Employment Service.
Lawrence W. Cramer, Executive Secretary, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.
Leonard Outhwaite, Consultant, Minority Groups Branch, Labor Division, Office of Production Management.

Morris J. Appelman, Director, Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, St. Louis.
Max F. Baer, Director, B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau.
Harry I. Barron, Executive Director, Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems, Chicago.
Claude A. Benjamin, President, Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems, Chicago.
Abel E. Berland, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.
Maurice Bisgyer, Secretary, B'nai B'rith
Eli E. Cohen, Executive Director, Jewish Occupational Council
Rabbi J. X. Cohen, Chairman, Commission on Economic Problems, American Jewish Congress.
David Coleman, Director, Los Angeles Office, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.
Harold Cowan, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, New York City
Samuel H. Flowerman, Executive Director, Community Employment Service, Newark.
Michael M. Galazan, Director, Jewish Vocational Service, Milwaukee.
Joseph Getzow, Executive Director, Employment and Vocational Bureau, Phila.
Robert K. Golden, Director, United Employment Service, Pittsburgh.
Anna Himmelfarb, Executive Director, Associated Placement and Guidance Bureau, Baltimore, Maryland
Alexander A. Liveright, Executive Director, Jewish Vocational Service and Employment Center, Chicago.
Mrs. Nell Mann, Director, Department of Economic Adjustment, National Refugee Service, New York City
Horace M. Marston, Executive Director, Joint Public Relations Committee, Pittsburgh.
Isaiah Minkoff, Executive Secretary, General Jewish Council
George Newburger, Executive Secretary, Jewish Vocational Service, Cincinnati.
Leon Sachs, Executive Director, Baltimore Jewish Council
George J. Segal, Director, Bureau on Employment Problems, Cleveland
Louis H. Sobel, Director, Federation Employment Service, New York City
Mrs. Lenore D. Underwood, Federation of Women's Clubs, San Francisco.

FIRST SESSION

Chairman: Eli E. Cohen, Executive Director, Jewish Occupational Council.

Summary of opening remarks by Maurice Bisgyer, Secretary, B'nai B'rith:

B'nai B'rith, which has for many years been engaged in anti-discrimination work through its Anti-Defamation League, has called this Conference in order to facilitate an exchange of information on the extent of discrimination in defense industries, on current efforts of Government agencies to cope with the problem and on patterns of community organization in relation to it. It is also our hope that we can achieve a coordination of Jewish organizational contacts with Government officials relative to the problem.

Complaints, especially from the West Coast, poured into the Office of Production Management and caused the establishment first of the Minority Groups Branch of the Labor Division of O.P.M. and later of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. From time to time throughout the year, complaints from many B'nai B'rith units were channeled through our Washington office for submission to the proper Government officials.

The necessity for representatives of Jewish agencies interested in the work of combating discrimination in defense industries to get together is apparent. If the Government pursues its intention of having public hearings in various cities, does it not appear that Jewish agencies should prepare their cases with care and have ample time for such preparation, rather than have the hit or miss method of Jewish individuals offering their own separate grievances which may or may not be justified. We are not raising the question of the desirability of public hearings at this Conference. The public hearings were originated and planned by Government officials. The hearings are upon us--one such hearing has already been held in Los Angeles with what seem to be effective results--and according to Mr. Cramer, the matter was not confined to any one group, but to Negroes, Mexicans and other groups, as well as Jews.

The suggested agenda of this Conference is tentative only, and the first order of business should be a final determination of the agenda. Whether or not there should be publicity following this meeting should also be discussed. B'nai B'rith has called this Conference, but from this point on it is your own.

After agreement was reached on the agenda, Eli E. Cohen asked for reports on conditions in the various communities represented at the conference. These are summarized as follows:

RABBI J. X. COHEN: There does not exist in New York City any central body representative of the agencies concerned with discrimination. There is a chaotic individualistic approach. One organization will deal with a problem and discover that another organization is in the field working in the same direction or on a contrary approach. What we need in New York is an indication of what we need in the United States, a confederation of interests that are laboring with this fundamentally important problem, and out of that confederation would come, I think, a more effective crystallization of the confederation of all Jewish forces to deal with all basic Jewish problems in American life. I have come prepared to urge with as much enthusiasm as I possess the advisability of creating a central force in Jewish life which will deal with this major problem of discrimination now that the country and all of its highest authorities are concerned with it, and which will also deal with other problems of grievous consequence to the Jewish people.

HORACE M. MARSTON: Not to state our program but rather the lack of program, one of our difficulties, I believe, is symptomatic of many of the cities of the country, and that is that we have an office in Pittsburgh and yet we do not realize that the largest industrial concentration, not only of our area, but perhaps of the entire country, lies outside of Pittsburgh within a range of about 50 or 60 miles. And while we are concerned with the immediate problems of Pittsburgh, we very often overlook and have not the facilities to reach into the other communities lying around us, which in terms of employment discrimination, because of the large industrial concentration, are much more important than the local problems in that field. Locally, we have done nothing except track down situations which have been brought to our attention. We have from time to time consulted with the local Jewish employment agency, but we definitely lack the coordinated effort of Jewish thinking and Jewish agencies to deal with the problem in a way that would really be effective for the entire industrial region.

HARRY I. BARRON: In Chicago there are two agencies closely related to the problem: the Jewish Vocational Service and the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems. I can speak only for the latter. Our experience thus far has been along several distinct lines: one, in response to specific complaints that have come to our attention regarding alleged discrimination by specific firms; secondly, canvassing firms that have been known to us in the past, which we now know to have defense orders, and making a sample check of some of those firms. In the main, our work with local firms having defense orders has been along the same lines that we have pursued prior to the defense program. We have found that in a number of those situations we have been able to achieve some degree of amelioration through the usual channels. In some situations, we have found a greater resistance to an approach such as ours. In such cases, we have not adopted any standardized approach, and in a few instances, we have discussed them with local representatives of the O.P.M.'s Minorities Division and have even gone to Washington through those channels. In some of the firms that are national in character and whose home offices are not in Chicago, we have found that there is a desirability of making a direct contact, insofar as possible, with the national office, and that of course entails a number of problems.

There have also been problems involving training within industry and training programs set up by the Office of Education, and discrimination within those spheres has been brought to our attention. There is a movement at the present time in Chicago to organize an all-embracing citizens' group which would be a front organization for the stimulation of interest in the community in the problem, for presentation of reports to Government officials, and perhaps for collecting data in preparation for Government hearings.

When the defense orders began to come through in large numbers in the Chicago area, we checked through them weekly to see how many of the firms receiving defense orders were known to us previously, and we found some 200 such firms. A few weeks ago we took a sampling of 30 of those firms that we had previously visited and re-visited them to see what changes or improvements may have taken place in the interim, what reception we received, and what attitudes the responsible officials of those firms are now taking. In the main, we have found little difference today from that which we discovered when we originally visited the firms, that is to say, there are no startling differences in their attitude toward us or in their effective handling of the discrimination problem.

ROBERT GOLDEN: I think Mr. Marston has covered the situation in Pittsburgh, but I would like to express an opinion. I can't see that we have such a tremendous amount of discrimination against Jews. It might be that it is my ignorance. I can see that there is, insofar as it relates to the Negro group. I know of several getting jobs at this time with the larger corporations which normally discriminate against Jewish people. If it is a question of corporations, I don't think we have such a problem from that angle. However, from the standpoint of the local employment office, it seems to me that this might be the opportune time to find those few qualified people and try to place them in those places that have few Jews. We might use this as an entering wedge to some of those places that have relatively few employed, just trying to reallocate the load of Jewish employment.

GEORGE NEWBURGER: In Cincinnati we have had to deal with three groups; the state employment service representatives who are doing the selecting, the school officials who are doing the training and the personnel men who are doing the hiring. We found initially that there were the usual prejudices among the employment service interviewers, some of whom, for example, told me confidentially, that Jews were not mechanically inclined. But we indicated to these people that Jews would be available for training and that we would be interested in seeing the extent to which they would be referred for such training. We made it clear to the school officials conducting the training courses, that we were concerned about the progress being made by Jews through the courses. Then, of course, we met with the personnel men in industry. For example, the Wright Aeronautical Company established one of the largest plants in Cincinnati, which will have a maximum employment capacity of nearly 10,000, and they indicated that they were interested in seeing Jews find employment. But I have observed that there is a definite lag between the time that a Jewish student completes a course, for example, a Wright training course, and the time that he is assigned for a job. On the basis of evidence of about a dozen or fifteen trainees, I think that although the Jewish student may conclude the course with a very satisfactory rating, he may actually be assigned to a job at a later date than, say, someone in the same class who had a lower rating. But these assignments are made, and many Jewish trainees are working. Apropos of the original reluctance to accept Jewish workers, I think you can understand the situation in Cincinnati, when I tell you that last week the state employment service advertised for 300 trainees. I think that established a real precedent there, for heretofore, they have advertised for workers in specific jobs. Now they are advertising for trainees. I am sure they are not going to turn away Jewish applicants.

LOUIS H. SOBEL: Very recently, there has been a development in New York which I think has some real significance. About three months ago, the representatives of O.P.M., Dr. Weaver's office, and Dr. Alexander's office, came to New York. Just prior to that the Governor had appointed a committee on discrimination in employment in defense industries, and we had the picture of three Government agencies actively interested in the program. In addition to that, as you probably know, there are dozens of large organizations in New York City representing the great minority groups in the metropolitan area, who, if added together, constitute the majority of the community, that have been actively concerned with this problem. When the Government representatives came into the community, the Labor Supply Division of the Social Security Board called a meeting at which all of these organizations were represented. It was recommended that a central clearing organization of some kind be set up. We have finally managed to project a metropolitan council on fair employment practices, which will be made up of representatives of all minority groups with an interest in and program for combating discrimination. We are going to get a full-time executive director, who will be supplied, to begin with, by the

Government. But there is a definite feeling on the part of all groups that an effort be made to secure funds for an executive director through other funds, which will make the group independent of Government auspices, though including Government representation.

The organizations are agreeing to clear with the metropolitan council before projecting any program, although they will not be bound by any decision of the council and will preserve their autonomy. The council will be broken up into functional committees--a committee on placement, a committee on education, a committee on employer contacts, and a committee on clearance of information. There is a feeling in the group that the council has fair prospects for success.

DAVID COLEMAN: In Los Angeles we have a Jewish Community Council, including representatives of most of the national organizations as well as local institutions. It has a community committee handling matters of discrimination. As the representative of the Anti-Defamation League, I have my office in the same suite as that occupied by that committee, and there is very close coordination and cooperation between us. There has been no intensified work in the field of employment discrimination. We have some 27 B'nai B'rith lodges in southern California, and it was mostly from that source that complaints of discrimination in defense industries came to me. We have some very large airplane factories in southern California, Lockheed alone employing, I think, 50,000 now. Douglas has about 35,000 and Vultee 6,000. Then there are other large factories like North American and Consolidated. It is extremely difficult to tell whether there is a great deal of discrimination against Jewish applicants. We have had a number of reports which seem well substantiated, but I don't know of any case where there has been anything in the way of an admission on the part of the employers that such discrimination is practiced.

We are just now setting up a Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems, which will be part of the Jewish Community Council set-up, and its activities will be either directed by or closely coordinated with the work of the anti-discrimination agencies. We have gotten along very well, and I think that as we go along clearance will be established so that there will be no conflicts.

I have discovered that there have been discriminatory requests from various plants--not many, perhaps. Vultee, in particular, to cite an example, made a request of the state employment service for women to work in their factories, and the request was that no Jews, Mexicans, Negroes or Orientals be sent out in quest of those jobs. That information came to a Jewish girl who works in the state employment office, and, of course, it was immediately denied by the personnel manager of Vultee and also by the manager of that state employment office. I am confident, however, that it is true.

HAROLD COWAN: I think the metropolitan council in New York will be a step forward. I might cite an isolated situation which may be of interest. On the bulletin board at City College, there was a piece of stationery received from Princeton University, signed by Prof. Elgin, of the Department of Engineering at Princeton University, written to the professor of engineering at City College, in which Prof. Elgin requested an engineering graduate for defense work, one preferably not Jewish. We turned the matter over to Washington and also had a radio commentator and one of the newspaper editors go on the air with an editorial against Prof. Elgin. We also brought the matter to his attention and received the stock answer that his best friends are Jews and that it wouldn't happen again.

JOSEPH A. GETZOW: Contrary to the statement made about Pittsburgh, we in Philadelphia feel that discrimination is just as strong as it has ever been. The problem has been mitigated somewhat by the abundance of jobs now available. We still find that it is difficult to get our people who have no specific skill but perhaps some mechanical training and a high school education into the large defense industries in Philadelphia. The only result of my contacts with some of the personnel men in the large new industries has been that they have been sending to our agency Jewish persons who apply to them for jobs. We haven't been able to get them to reciprocate. We find that where a Jewish person has a skill, such as machinist, lathe operator, and so on, he has no difficulty in getting a job. I suppose that with the terrific shortages of certain kinds of labor these industries will be cutting off their own noses to spite their faces. But where we have a youngster who has recently obtained an engineering degree, who has definite mechanical aptitude and who has had a good deal of mechanical training, he has difficulty getting into the in-service training courses in these industries.

About three or four months ago a boy who had had about a year of graduate work after securing his engineering degree came to see me. He is the type of person that an employer would snap up for a training course--clean cut, out-going personality, etc. Although I gave him a list of places to apply for employment, he was unsuccessful. After changing his name from Morris Cohen to Mark Owen, he was offered employment with one of the large industries. When he was asked for a birth certificate, he revealed all of his difficulties, and was then told to report for work. I think in this specific instance the employer was estopped from denying a Jewish boy employment.

Recently there was a wholesale firing of some 40 persons in the Department of Public Assistance, because of alleged communistic leanings. Of the 40 persons, 39 were Jewish. This has created a problem in Philadelphia. Those employers who were receptive to employment of some Jews have now definitely indicated that they cannot hire them, since they appear to be union organizers, trouble-makers, etc. The other employees in the Department of Public Assistance, sympathetic to those laid off, stopped work for two or three hours. The evening papers flashed pictures of the work stoppage, and the appearance and names of the individuals concerned seemed Jewish. I don't know what the result will be, but as the appeals are made, they will receive front-page publicity and certainly make it more difficult for us to place Jews in private industry.

All complaints about discrimination that come to my office are referred to the Anti-Defamation Council. There is no central group handling all minority problems.

MRS. NELL MANN: Since the problem looms so large for citizens and naturalized citizens, I don't know that it would be advisable to take the time of this meeting to discuss the peculiar problems of aliens predominantly from Axis countries, which are the responsibility of the National Refugee Service. The assumption is very general on the part of Jewish employers that there is wide statutory discrimination against the employment of aliens, and we have directed our efforts to educating them that these restrictions occur only in the aeronautical industry and certain departments of other industries. It is astonishing that this ignorance is so widespread, particularly among Jewish employers.

I also want to raise the question of some type of national organization of the right kind, and here I am referring specifically to an organization of Jewish interests. One of our Cleveland contacts was with a public relations man for a national organization wherein a rather acute situation had arisen in another city. It was clear that the fact that the Negroes were well organized and coordinated their efforts had a much greater effect upon the attention which they received than the public relations discussions on the part of company representatives in the Jewish problem.

We have filed complaints with O.P.M. on a few specific cases. We picked the most outrageous things we could so that there would be no likelihood of backfire. The O.P.M. acknowledged receipt of the complaints, but almost two months have gone by and we have not heard further. I think it is important to have a national representative who can bear down on these cases.

What about our own community, the city of Cleveland? I think it is important that we, too, try to set up a community interest in overcoming discrimination, but we have to be realistic. It is no longer any secret that the last school board campaign in Cleveland, which was the most hotly contested issue this last November in the elections, was openly run on religious grounds. Also, the colored groups are suspicious of the rest of the community. And we have a specific problem with them because of the discrimination of Jewish employers against colored employees in certain areas. So I do not hold out too much hope for successful cooperation.

MICHAEL M. GALAZAN: The Milwaukee community has no organized program of anti-discrimination work. There is a community council which was functioning for a while, but it stopped functioning in that area to a great extent. The Jewish Vocational Service has been active in this field only in connection with our general employment contacts. We have visited defense industries, and we find many of them are not hiring Jews. Some of our people who have been placed through the state employment service have received jobs in non-defense and non-mechanical industries. For example, a boy is trained in a machine shop and then placed as a grocery clerk.

ALEXANDER A. LIVERIGHT: I think Mr. Barron covered the Chicago situation completely, with the exception of one fact, that a committee on minority groups is being set up in the state. I think the feeling of the community about the appointment of this committee is somewhat mixed. On the other hand, I believe that after the committee gets organized, it will be an effective channel down to the state employment service staff members, who will be on this committee, on the broad policies which are laid down by the Social Security Board and the local office of Labor Supply.

I question whether our decision as to need should be based upon the number of Jewish mechanics in our active files at the present time. The problem is very definitely one of whether we are going to be able to use this changing labor market as a means for integrating young Jewish workers into heavy industries and the semi-skilled and skilled jobs. I would say that even if we didn't have a single person in our files equipped at the moment for a skilled job. We have learned this as a result of the Buick situation in Chicago, where a number of young Jewish men had a ten-week government training course and are not employed at Buick now, and we are running into real difficulties trying to place them in other defense industries. We have received fine cooperation from some of our Jewish employers, but we know that

there is a very definite resistance toward putting our young people into mechanical jobs.

I feel that we can do a great deal on a local basis, and I think that much is being done in Chicago. But, on the other hand, much has to be done on a national basis through O.P.M., through the Office of Education, through the Bureau of Employment Security, and with large industries before trying to get the work training programs started. Actually, we have lost over a year now in the whole defense training program. We should have been holding this meeting when the training program started a year ago, and we might have gotten some place. Because of that, I think we need a continuing committee on the scene in Washington, with good government contacts, so we can get in on the ground floor of these things.

MISS ANNA HIMMELFARB: Since our Bureau does not handle problems of discrimination, I cannot speak with authority on that. However, Mr. Sachs, a member of the Baltimore Jewish Council, can do so. I do not question the fact that discrimination against Jews does exist in defense industries. In the first class graduated in the defense training school, on small radio parts, one girl was Jewish out of fifteen. She was fourth in her class in terms of grade. Fourteen were hired, and she was the only one who was not. We have had any number of such cases come to our attention. In an armament manufacturing concern in Baltimore, I am told that there are about five Jews employed, none of whom is known as a Jew. That is multiplied in any number of instances.

MORRIS J. APPELMAN: The Jewish boys in St. Louis are going into defense training courses in great numbers. A rough check with the state employment service indicates 10 to 15 percent of their trainees in recent months have been Jewish, which means two or three times the normal percentage of the population. The schools and the state employment service are apparently not discriminatory. As a matter of fact, we feel that we have been favored, because they have taken our boys for specific training ahead of large lists. There is, however, a definite lag in employment. There are quite a number of them unemployed today. That is largely due to the fact that the plants are not quite ready.

The white-collar workers, the office workers, are very definitely not getting on. We have two or three instances that seem to indicate discrimination. Unskilled workers are certainly not getting on, and they are not being employed. Our problem would seem to be getting a more direct access to the large concerns.

Our Local Jewish Coordinating Council has been rather hesitant in setting up an anti-discrimination bureau, primarily because of cross-currents in the community. It would seem to me that our board **is** going to have **to force this issue**, because we feel a very definite need for work of this kind.

ABEL E. BERLAND: In Chicago the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League has surrendered the activity that it formerly did in the area of employment discrimination to the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems, and that Bureau has done a good job. The A.D.L. concerns itself with the problem in those areas where it maintains branch offices or where it has key-men. It is true, perhaps, that we haven't organized it on the same basis as the Cleveland and Chicago bureaus, which are doing employment discrimination only, but

individual cases, reported to our branch offices, key-men and A.D.L. committees of B'nai B'rith lodges, have been and are being handled. As a matter of fact, the forerunner of the Bureau in Chicago was the Committee on Unjust Discrimination, which existed during 1931 and 1932, and which was sponsored by the local B'nai B'rith. At the present time, of course, we are participating in the Bureau's program to the extent that we provide one-third of its annual budget.

Mr. Liveright's point, that this would be an opportune time for Jews to be integrated into the semi-skilled and skilled trades, is worth noting, because if we are going to be content with having Jews trained for mechanical trades and placed as grocery clerks, as Mr. Galazan mentioned is happening in Milwaukee, then after this emergency is over, we are going to be no further ahead on the objectives of broadening Jewish occupational interests or re-educating of employers who have discriminated than we have been to date.

LEON SACHS: My impression of the set-up in Baltimore is this: I know of no defense industry that categorically and **avowedly will not employ any Jews**. My feeling is that practically everyone does, and I think that is a problem which is not peculiar to Baltimore, but which you will find in most communities. There will be a sort of window dressing. If you go to any of these firms, they will tell you, "Why, we employ Jews!" and will mention four, five or six names out of possibly thousands. So that the real problem is the number of Jews that they employ. This makes our job extremely difficult, that is, are we in the position to approach a concern and tell them, "You are not employing enough Jews—you ought to employ more"? There we run into the danger of establishing numerous *clausus*, and so forth, all of which I am sure we want to avoid.

One of the most flagrant violators, as far as rumor was concerned, was Bendix, and only the other week I had an opportunity to sit down with the personnel manager of Bendix and to discuss their employment practices. Unwittingly, he showed me an application blank on which I noticed the item of religion. I very timorously suggested that perhaps that was inconsistent with the Government's policy with respect to defense industries. He sweated for awhile and begged off with a few lame excuses. I came to the conclusion, and he himself said, that all defense industries ask this question. I may be wrong, but my very definite feeling in the matter is that the question of religion has no place in the application blank whatsoever, and if it were removed, it would not solve our problem by a long shot, but I think it is a step in the right direction.

In Baltimore, I have been toying with the notion of establishing some sort of seminar among employment agencies and personnel managers of a number of large concerns to discuss this problem. Thus far, having talked to three, four or five individuals in the community, I have met with a favorable response. A lot of these fellows are interested in sitting down and, realizing that this is now a community problem, are willing to discuss it as such. How large a response I will get later, I don't know. It may be that the whole thing will flop. I think that if we could get some such discussion group, without any resolutions being passed, without any pressures, it would probably be of educational value and probably ought to be followed up with other seminars.

Before the first session was adjourned the following action was taken:

1. It was resolved that there is a problem of discrimination against Jews in defense industries and that its importance warrants action on the part of local and national Jewish agencies. It was further resolved that the present emergency, generating as it does a new spirit of national unity and resulting in government intercession on behalf of minority groups, offers an unusual opportunity for a greater integration of Jewish workers into the heavy industries and for a more effective attack on the problem of job bias.

2. Two committees were selected, one to prepare a series of questions to be submitted to government officials at the afternoon session, and the other to prepare a formula for clearance of the work of Jewish agencies relative to discrimination in defense industries through a central agency.

SECOND SESSION

Chairman: Rabbi J. X. Cohen, Chairman, Commission on Economic Problems,
American Jewish Congress

Summary of address of Leonard Outhwaite, Consultant, Minority Groups
Branch, Labor Division, Office of Production Management:

Two divisions were set up in O.P.M. almost as soon as O.P.M. was organized: One was Dr. Robert Weaver's Division on Negro Training and Employment. The other division, headed by Dr. Will Alexander and me, was charged with dealing with so-called minority problems in defense employment. In reality, these two departments work closely together.

This problem of discrimination, as it is actually found in any given industry, town or situation, concerns all groups. That seems to be the way that discrimination works. A discriminatory policy or process set up with respect to one group or element in a population can very soon be translated into an attack on some other activity or group. If Mr. Hitler has taught us anything, he has taught us that this is a very flexible social process by which you influence people's conduct. So I think you will find it to your own advantage as a Jewish group to keep in mind that there are other groups in the community that are being or may be discriminated against, and that your particular interests are not separable from theirs. I say that not in a disinterested spirit, because I hope your organizations will be working with us on your side of the fence and will be helping us, and that in that process we will be helping to keep a somewhat long-term point of view to this whole business in mind.

The problems that we deal with fall into many classes. In the first place, there is the specific difficulty created by a particular piece of legislation. It was first enacted in 1926. So far as I have been able to find, it is the first time that discrimination in employment was sanctioned by legislation in the United States--I mean apart from social prejudices and, in the South, the Negroes. This enabling legislation set up the funds to create a certain class of airplanes in 1926, and had certain clauses in it that said in effect that no aliens employed in companies working on these contracts should have access to secret plans, specifications, etc. That was the original intent of the legislation. It has been greatly extended since then. I have the feeling that the fact that aliens are prevented by law

from working in certain industrial plants on defense orders under certain conditions is a prohibition which, as written into the law, is limited, but as applied is very broad indeed. This may be important for you to know, because one of the problems you are sure to encounter, if you have not already encountered it, is that very often Jewish people will be barred from employment on the grounds that they are aliens or that they haven't their birth certificates, or for some other reason, their status as a United States citizen can be called into question.

Starting with the law that I have mentioned, we have found in practice that a great many American citizens of foreign origin are discriminated against on the ground that they are only naturalized citizens or that they have come from Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia or somewhere else that Mr. Hitler has been; and some of these people who have been excluded from employment in American defense industries are Americans of old standing. We have had cases of discrimination against old New York Dutch families that happen to have names that sound as though they might be German. There are old German families in Pennsylvania that have run into the same problem. I also think of considerable groups of Canadians and English people that are not allowed to work in American defense industries. Some of these people fought in the last war and some in the present war, and still we treat them exactly as though they were Hitler advocates. In the last war we distinguished between so-called friendly and enemy aliens, but not being technically at war, we haven't found any way of doing that in the present conflict.

We have all kinds of groups in various parts of the country with which our Minorities Groups section deals--Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, Filipinos, Indians. We also have had a large volume of complaints coming from people whose situation is complicated by the fact that they are physically handicapped. Many of them are very anxious to participate in our defense efforts, and they don't get a chance. We have found certain situations where colored people, Jewish people, foreign nationals, or people of foreign origin have been rejected by company physicians on the ground that they were right-handed when they should have been left-handed, or that they had a hernia, or that their eyes weren't quite right. There are all kinds of ways of beating the devil around the bush.

Our methods of dealing with these cases have been worked out through trial and error and very much conditioned by the fact that this defense program is not a single thing but a dozen different things which change from one day to another. At the beginning we handled in Washington the individual cases that came in. We tried later to segregate them into cases and problems that fell within particular communities and regions; and we have done a great deal of traveling around the country to see what the problems within particular areas are.

Then came a time in the growth of O.P.M. when Regional Committees on Labor Supply were set up in twelve different regions in the country. As soon as that was done, it was possible for our office, Dr. Weaver's office and others to appoint representatives, in any region where there were significant problems, to the Labor Supply Committees. We have tried to have our local men handle local problems and also to work in more general policy and administrative approaches through and with the Labor Supply Committees. Among such problems, we have tried to cut down the number of discriminatory applications which came into the employment service, a number of discriminatory requests for clearance,

transfer of workers from one region to another. In some cases, I am happy to report, the Regional Labor Supply Committee, meeting on the problem, has recommended that no clearances be issued until there was proof that the local labor resources of that particular area were being properly utilized. There is, of course, as you know, a natural tendency not to do anything about the minority groups against which there is discrimination until the employment resources are run dry of every other possible approach, and sometimes the resources of the surrounding regions as well, and we have tried to watch that as best as we can.

We in the Minorities Office, of course, have been greatly strengthened by the President's executive order on policies of discrimination, which set up the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, of which Mr. Cramer is the representative. We find ourselves somewhat in the position now of being the bark and letting Mr. Cramer be the bite for us when we come to deal with these tough industrial situations. You can see that our work is, and must be, largely official, to try to represent the Government in some of the negotiations. There are certain things that we cannot do that you can do. Your individual organizations and the people that you represent are scattered throughout the nation. Despite the great number of cases that reaches us, we believe that there are countless others that do not reach us because people are afraid of dealing with the Government, or don't know how to deal with it, or are in some other way intimidated. I think ignorance is a great part of it. We are trying to correct that. But a part of it also is the whole lack of approach by the individual citizen to the Government. I think one of your functions would be to mediate between the individuals and ourselves. We can't go out and assess this situation statistically. We are so busy with the matter that I have already outlined. We get the best judgment we can on the scope of our problem, but perhaps you can help us to understand the variety, the scope or size of the problem. One of the most difficult results to achieve in government is a personal sense of what government policy means to the individual. Some of that we get in our complaints, and some of that perhaps you can interpret not only to us but to the public at large.

Summary of address of Lawrence W. Cramer, Executive Secretary, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice:

I think the Chairman has stated very well the importance of the President's executive order on this subject. I have found that the mere fact that the President has issued this executive order has had a tremendous effect in industry as well as in government. The Committee on Fair Employment Practice which was created by this executive order, has certain duties and responsibilities and certain powers, not all of which it has as yet exerted to the fullest extent. As you know, the executive order says that there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin in employment in Government and defense industries. Mr. Outhwaite's office and Dr. Weaver's office are confined in their activities to the **defense** industries. My committee has to worry about all of the things that they have to worry about, plus the discrimination as it shows itself in the government service.

One of the first things that the Committee felt that it had to do was to do everything in its power to clean up the Government's house first. We found almost immediately when we began to talk with employers that they replied by saying, "We would be glad to clean up our situation if you can get the Government to do it for itself first." And there is no doubt about it. Discrimination in the Government services has existed and it still persists. The

Committee, among its first activities, recommended to the President that he sign a letter which had previously been sent to him with a recommendation that he sign it from the Council of Personnel Administration, which for six or eight months had concerned itself with the problem of discrimination in government service. The Committee recommended that the President issue a directive to all Department heads in the Federal Government service that they take positive steps at once to eliminate discrimination within their own departments. The Committee succeeded in moving that recommendation to the President, and the President signed the directive, which has now gone out to all Department heads.

That raises the question of what the Committee can do in the way of bite. If discrimination nevertheless persists in a Government Department and can be proved to exist, I can say that the Committee is following up every case.

In the case of defense contracts, the President's Committee acts as a board of review. After Mr. Outhwaite's office and Dr. Weaver's office find that they have exhausted all remedies and they cannot succeed in persuading a recalcitrant employer to change his employment practice to conform with the President's order, the Committee is then in the position of taking up the case on its own merits, and it may inaugurate its own investigation or it may simply take the file as presented by Dr. Weaver's office or Dr. Alexander's office. The Committee has several possible approaches to cases of the sort. The decision made so far by the Committee is that it will hold public hearings where a recalcitrant employer simply refuses to change his practice, in that way attempting to swing public opinion against the employer and possibly, either during the hearing or before the hearing, persuading him to change his practice.

The Committee has had one hearing of this sort, and that is our hearing in Los Angeles, where a good many employers were represented, but none of them had been certified by either Dr. Alexander's office or by Dr. Weaver's office. Fortunately, every one of the persons representing the big aircraft companies in the Los Angeles area who appeared--and all of them, I may say, appeared at the request of the Committee--admitted himself publicly and categorically to a policy in conformity with the President's order. The Committee made rather particular inquiries in several cases where it appeared that the representatives of the companies were merely giving us the words and not the decision, and found that each one of the representatives felt, or seemed to feel, that this was a policy that they had to conform with.

One thing the Committee did, which I think has a great deal of bearing on the attitude of large defense contractors, was to recommend to the major agencies of the Government--the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Maritime Commission, which are contracting for various defense activities--that they directly communicate with their substantial contract holders, call their attention to the President's executive order, and request that these companies all conform with it in their employment practice. The War and Navy departments and the Maritime Commission each sent out such letters, and I had occasion to see the effect of the letter at least in one case with a major **airplane** company. That company had taken a fairly strong position that it did not wish to employ Negroes or non-Caucasians, and when the directive came from the War Department, it changed its policy immediately. My Committee has asked each of the contracting agencies of the Government to extend the wording of the order somewhat to include not only prime contractors, but subcontractors also. That has been done by the three departments mentioned.

On the side of defense industries, I believe the problem is going to be reduced in volume, although I think, on the other hand, that it is going to be made more difficult because of the subtleties that will have to be employed in order to continue any discrimination that any of the private employers decide they want to carry on with.

In the Government service the same thing will hold true. We don't feel that by simply announcing the policy and then saying that we are going to swing a big club around, all of our problem is going to be solved. It is a matter of getting into the technics, the procedures, of the personnel offices in all Government agencies, to get them to see the need for changing their procedures, which up to now have allowed discrimination to be practiced rather openly. Under the Civil Service regulations, three names are to be certified by the Civil Service Commission to an appointing officer, who decides from among those three which one he will take. There is one job to be filled, three persons certified, and in many cases we have a situation where a person has been certified ten, twelve, fourteen or eighteen times to different Government offices. His rating is high, but he is always passed over. Naturally that leaves with him the idea that he is being discriminated against, and it leaves, I think, in the mind of any fair-minded person the suspicion that possibly he is. But there is no way of getting at it to prove that discrimination actually was practiced, because the appointing officer has this authority to make the selection of one person out of three. Our approach, therefore, has been and will be to work out with the Council of Personnel Administration as many procedures as we can which will close the loopholes through which discrimination may be practiced.

I would like to say that my Committee is not a placement office nor a penal board. Its only authority is to investigate cases of discrimination which exist now, which are charged now, and, where possible to redress those specific complaints that prove to be valid. I don't think "redress" incorporates any idea of penal action by the Committee. At best, I think the Committee might recommend to the contracting agency of the Government that a particular recalcitrant employer who refuses to change his policy be not granted any further contracts until he does change that policy. I believe that would be the extent of the Committee's bite. I believe personally that we shall be able to make a report in some few months to indicate that **there** has been an enormous improvement in the situation.

Summary of address of Martin F. Carpenter, Chief, United States Employment Service:

One of the most difficult problems we have in employment work, whether it is in private industry or in public work (and, of course, it is exaggerated much more in public than in private work) is not only the problem of discrimination but the problem of favoritism or the pressure from preference groups. Sometimes I think that people in general don't realize the defense mechanism we have to put up toward those whom special groups would like to have us give preference. In the beginning we had the problem of adjusting ourselves to preferences due to political considerations. But I think the employment service in general is outstanding in its whole approach in resisting that kind of pressure. Then we also have the preference from special groups such as the Veterans, who, after all, have preference in Government work under Civil Service to a certain extent. We have always had a nice problem to distinguish between what is special attention and what is preference.

We find today, too, that we are facing a very definite problem of preference to employers. It is very hard to draw a line in one-two-three order of preference to particular occupations in the defense field and also the shutting off of skilled workers from civilian production. That will have to be defined more and more as the labor market becomes increasingly restricted, and we will give preference to particular occupations in critical industries in order to get out the airplanes, tanks, etc. We find there is a great tendency to give preference to pressure groups from the relief standpoint. Of course, a man with a large family of six or seven children should be given consideration over the fellow who has less economic responsibility. Then we come to the communities, where in the past we have had to give preference to citizens of one particular town, no matter if there is another town across the river.

With all due respect toward our idealism and toward the fact that this country was founded on the basis of equal opportunities, we are all realists enough to know that people live by their emotions rather than by their logic and that people's feelings control their actions to too great extent in this civilization. I am interested in the objectives of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and in Mr. Outhwaite's division, but I can't help but feel that I am on the spot somewhat. After all, the U. S. Employment Service is not autonomous, tied up as we are with the Bureau of Employment Security, the Social Security Board and the Federal Security Agency, and tied up as we are with regional directors who have more than employment services on their hands, tied up as we are with the states that have unemployment compensation, and then getting down to the fact that we are, after all, nothing but a Federal-State organization.

If any of you have worked in the personnel departments in industry, you know that every foreman and every auditing department and every works manager has had a say in what you were going to do and usually put pressure on you in such a way that you had to be tremendously realistic and to consider their particular feelings. You are going to find that your relationship to the employment service on discrimination must be tempered greatly. I can say that the Employment Service does not discriminate in practices of hiring. I can't say that 15,000 people (and there are 15,000 that are dealing daily with the problem) don't discriminate as individuals sometimes, consciously and unconsciously. I think much of it is primarily not conscious at the moment, but a combination of circumstances and environment. To continue as an employment service, we have to realize that we are a part of the community. Although we can keep one step ahead of the community pattern in terms of human relationships, we are not crusaders for their social problems and not necessarily the leaders who should take more than one step ahead of what the pattern will permit. We are perfectly willing to stick our necks out occasionally. I am going to continue to be pushed around as a social reformer by certain groups, and I am going to be damned by other groups because I am not enough of a social reformer. I am not asking for controls at the present time whereby, with those controls, all your employment in defense industries is channeled through one public agency; until you do that you cannot tie the full responsibility of the control on the Employment Service.

We are doing all we can and will continue to do all we can to have employers relax their specifications. We have tested out in one situation an absolute stoppage of service to an organization on the basis that we thought they were not stepping forward fast enough to adjust their so-called facilities within the plant to take on Negro people. We fought that battle and we

found that they were getting just as many people by the back door as we could furnish them by the front door under the other system. Finally, they did relax their qualifications, but I realize how they relaxed it. If you are employing 18,000 or 20,000 people and you hire twenty Negroes and put them down in a location ten or fifteen miles away from your main plant, I don't call that necessarily hiring a minority group, and yet it might be considered as a step forward in relaxing the situation. We have definitely gone on record in the Employment Service, and have sent out information to each one of our state organizations and their local managers that they are, first of all, supposed to carry out the instructions we have in terms of taking orders and referring people, but to go further and report back to us any defense employers who, after reasonable consultation, do not feel that they can relax their specifications so that certain minorities or all minorities can be employed. There we are also the barking agency. And we report discriminatory orders and processes directly to Dr. Weaver, and in turn we expect them to report to the Fair Employment Practice Committee. We don't expect them, however, to police the whole situation.

It is hard to get our local managers reporting their long-time customers, and we have to be realistic on that too. It is healthy for us to report these total conditions because only by ferreting out and knowing in general what the practices actually are can we approach a solution. If we cracked down on every organization in this country that is discriminating, we would not have Government forces in the Civil Service large enough to take care of the individual cases. There is an everyday practice of definite discrimination going on in all agencies, Government agencies included, and I am not going to be optimistic enough to claim that there is not. There is still a process of evolution in this emergency, and I think that we are doing the best that we can now. We must plan ahead on what can be done when there is a definite channel through which all this can go, when there will be a definite stoppage of practices that are not considered good by this group.

THIRD SESSION

Chairman: Alexander A. Liveright, Executive Director, Chicago Jewish Vocational Service.

The session consisted of questions directed to and answered by the three Government officials who participated in the conference. The following summary was prepared by George J. Segal, Director, Bureau on Employment Problems, Cleveland:

Question: Is the Bureau of Employment Security in favor of the appointment of community and or official committees.

Answer: Mr. Carpenter stated that his feeling was that the best manner of approach was by committee and that it should be done on the state level. He indicated that it was desirable to have sub-regional committees and that we were coming to that. Mr. Outhwaite agreed with Mr. Carpenter that there should be a special set-up for minorities in the placement service. Stating that government people are administrators only, he said that local volunteer groups can do much that government representatives cannot do. Mr. Cramer stated that the President's Committee feels that state and local committees would be very desirable.

Q: Can other communities expect from the Bureau of Employment Security the same kind of implementation given to the council in New York City?

A: Mr. Carpenter suggested that in New York such organization was directly related to the state law. Mr. Cramer emphasized that such committees must include all minority groups and that they must clear with one another. He cited cases of employers who have become very much irritated by approaches from several different groups. Mr. Carpenter added that local groups should work with the local committee before going to the top channel. On the matter of the Bureau of Employment Security providing secretaries for local committees, he stated that if the secretary would be a facilitator, his answer would be yes; if a follow-up man, definitely no.

Q: How should complaints be handled by local committees?

A: Mr. Outhwaite stated that his office would be helped if cases were referred to Regional Labor Supply Offices. If, however, no satisfaction is received locally, complaints may be sent to Washington.

Q: Are local offices adequately staffed to handle complaints?

A: Mr. Outhwaite replied that the best way to secure such staffing is for each community to show its need.

Q: Should local committees avoid contact with industry?

A: Mr. Outhwaite suggested that this is the way that the local organization actively ties up with recruitment of labor. According to Mr. Cramer, individual cases should be syphoned through Regional Labor Supply Offices.

Q: Will the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice issue a summary of its findings?

A: Mr. Cramer replied that no transcript will be issued, but a summary will be available.

Q: Will O.P.M. stimulate the appointment of state governors' committees similar to that in New York?

A: According to Mr. Cramer, his office is sending a man out to do this job, but he will begin his work in the South. He added that his staff will include six assistants when all the appointments are made.

Q: Are there sufficient numbers of people in the Office of Labor Supply to handle the work?

A: Mr. Outhwaite indicated that no government appointments are made unless volunteer groups first make the effort or that so much work is to be done that a Government man is needed.

Q: How can communities prepare for public hearings?

A: Mr. Cramer stated that a man is sent to the community in advance of the hearings. In Los Angeles 21 organizations submitted statements. Next time, however, the President's Committee would entertain only three to five

and only their strongest cases. He added that groups like that represented at this conference could present definite evidence and give a picture of the climate in the community. Mr. Outhwaite said that when the President's Committee plans to hold a hearing, his office assigns a man to the region for the purpose of attempting a settlement before the hearing.

Q: Would the Government prefer to deal with a single Jewish organization in connection with the public hearings?

A: Mr. Cramer said that the experience in Los Angeles indicated the advisability of having one person represent a minority group, and each group should determine for itself who that representative should be.

Q: Would it be advisable to have one person represent all the Jewish groups in Washington?

A: Mr. Cramer remarked that it would be useful as a goad.

Q: Why has the President's Committee issued a press release inviting individual complaints, when it is at the same time urging volunteer community efforts?

A: His Committee, answered Mr. Cramer, had been set up under executive order to receive individual complaints. These are now being referred to Dr. Weaver and Dr. Alexander, although the President's Committee must handle all cases in the Government service.

Q: What happened to two cases referred to the O. P. M. from Cleveland?

A: Mr. Cramer replied that there was no objection to having referred these cases to Washington, but they would be sent back to the Regional Labor Supply Office. This is a desirable procedure, owing to the difficulty of obtaining affidavit evidence. Most complaints pertain to continued application without getting a job, and the regional offices have representatives from local agencies who know the company, the local labor market, etc. The President's Committee is primarily interested in approaching communities where there is a tight labor market, for this offers the best opportunity of showing that discrimination is impeding the defense effort.

Q: Why does the Government want Jewish agencies to send data to Washington?

A: The Government wants the data, said Mr. Cramer, as an indicator of what the public wants.

Q: Is there any reason why an individual state employment service cannot go further than the Bureau of Employment Security on discriminatory specifications?

A: Mr. Carpenter's response was that the Regional Labor Supply Committee represents the O.P.M. If the individual state is willing to go further, the Bureau of Employment Security has no objections.

Q: What is the Government doing with respect to discrimination against aliens?

A: Mr. Cramer stated that his Committee has been discussing the matter with the War, Navy and Justice departments, and it has made partial gains. The War and Navy departments are sending directives to all contractors, advising that there is nothing in the 1926 law to prevent alien employment in defense industries other than in specific situations. No public statement will be made in this regard, since this might open the door to agents of foreign governments. But the directive will be sent to the Employment Service with the request that it be relayed to the local employment offices. The basic problem is that the contract requires the contractor "to take responsibility for the virtue of every man employed."

Mr. Carpenter said that in some states the employment services have tried to have non-defense employers hire aliens. Some companies are going back to the second and third generations in investigating the national origin of applicants. The problem of placing Italians is tremendous. All local public employment offices get copies of the directives of the U. S. Employment Service. If any of the managers is super-secretive about their release, the local communal agency may communicate with Mr. Carpenter.

WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
FOURTH SESSION

Chairman: Isaiah Minkoff, Executive Secretary, General Jewish Council.

Eli E. Cohen presented the report of the special committee appointed at the first session to formulate plans for clearance of Jewish agency activities regarding discrimination in defense industries. The committee recommended that, pending the establishment of permanent machinery for such clearance, the Jewish Occupational Council be requested to assume this function for an interim period of six months; that the Jewish Occupational Council be further requested to organize a committee with due local representation for the purpose of formulating a plan for a permanent organization to be concerned with clearance of Jewish agency work in combating discrimination in defense industries.

It was moved that the report of the committee be adopted and the motion carried.

It was also moved and carried that in the event that the Jewish Occupational Council finds it necessary to decline the offer made by the Conference, the special Conference committee be reconvened as soon as possible for the purpose of devising some other means for translating the will of the conferees into action.

During a brief discussion, in which it was suggested that it is possible for a Jewish agency to participate in anti-discrimination work and be opposed to Jewish participation in public hearings, Maurice Bisgyer stated that B'nai B'rith wishes to go on record as favoring such hearings and considers such cooperation with the Government as an indispensable part of the program projected by the Conference.

It was decided that no publicity be given to the Conference until such time as the Jewish Occupational Council or some other designated agency assumes the work of clearance of Jewish agency activities pertaining to discrimination in defense industries.

Claude A. Benjamin, President of the Chicago Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems, offered the following resolution: "I think that I am only expressing the sense of the meeting when I say that we would all like to thank those who were responsible for calling this very fine conference into being. I think it is most unusual for any organization to call a group of people together and then to drop entirely into the background and leave that group of people to conduct its own deliberations and its own plans in its own way without any pre-conceived plan, without any pressure of any sort whatsoever, and especially when the purpose of that conference is general cooperation in the fine way that this was conceived. I am sure that all of us feel that we would like to express our thanks for such an action."

Louis H. Sobel, Director, Federation Employment Service, made the following motion: "I offer a specific motion to be passed upon by this group, that we express our thanks to B'nai B'rith for their hospitality in calling this meeting and for the manner in which the proceedings were conducted." The motion carried and the chairman directed that it be recorded in the minutes as having been unanimously adopted.



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
B'NAI B'RITH

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

25TH FLOOR • 100 NORTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO

TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 2221

August 4, 1943.

*answered
Aug. 5-*

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
c/o The Temple,
East 105th Street and Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:-

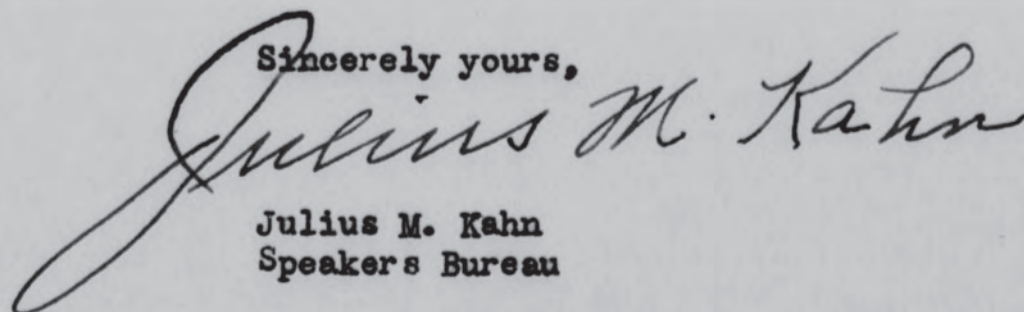
I have read your address on "Fascist Techniques in American Life" which you delivered at the Conference on Status of Minority Groups last November.

As you probably know, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith maintains a rather extensive Speakers Bureau, and we are anxious to have the speakers sponsored by the Bureau deliver as effective message as is possible, to attain our purpose of demonstrating the danger in America of fascistic and communistic propaganda. For this purpose, we have decided that it is best to furnish our speakers with the type of addresses which we consider most effective and not leave it entirely to them to formulate their addresses. I consider your address above referred to so ideal for this purpose, that I am emboldened to request permission from you to use it as a pattern for our speakers.

If there is no objection on your part, we will be thankful to have your permission to do this.

With kindest personal regards, and awaiting a reply at your early convenience, I am

Sincerely yours,



Julius M. Kahn
Speakers Bureau

JMK/lb

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
B'NAI B'RITH**

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

25TH FLOOR • 100 NORTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO

TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 2221

August 18, 1943.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street and Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio

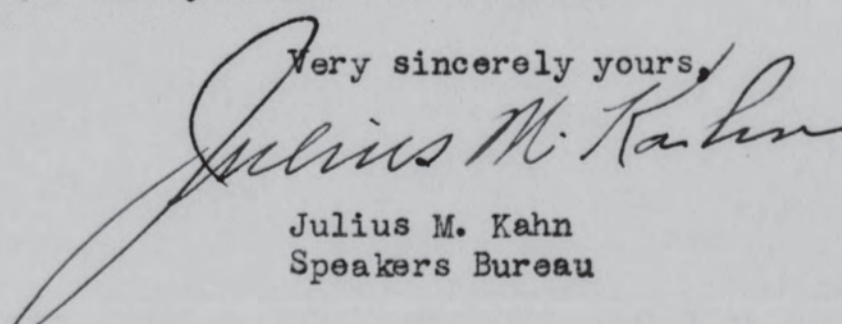
Dear Rabbi Silver:-

Thanks for your recent letter giving us permission to use your address "Fascist Techniques in American Life" in connection with the work of our Speakers Bureau. We are indeed appreciative of this cooperation on your part.

Rabbi Silver, we would very much appreciate receiving at any time in the future scripts of your sermons and addresses which you think might be useful to us in connection with our work. We have a speech material file and are very anxious to have in that file material such as your sermons and addresses would furnish us.

I am addressing this letter to your Cleveland address, knowing that it will be forwarded to you, in the event that you have not returned.

Very sincerely yours,



Julius M. Kahn
Speakers Bureau

JMK/lb

April 11, 1944

Richard E. Gutstadt, Director
Anti-Defamation League
130 N. Wells St.
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Gutstadt:

Rabbi Silver asked me to forward to
you the enclosed letter which he received from
Mr. Daniel Goldstein. Will you kindly acknowledge
the letter to Mr. Goldstein?

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

BJK

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
B'NAI B'RITH**

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

25TH FLOOR • 100 NORTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO
TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 2221April 17, 1944
(Dict. 4/13/44)Miss Bessie Kline
C/o The Temple
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

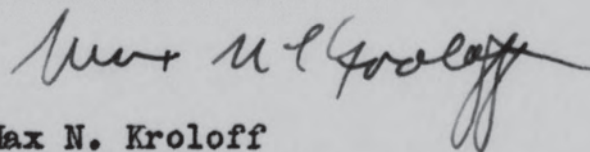
Dear Miss Kline:

In the absence of Mr. Gutstadt, who is in the West, we acknowledge receipt today of your letter of April 11th with which you enclosed Mr. Daniel I. Goldstein's letter of April 6th to Rabbi Silver. We note your request that we acknowledge the letter to Mr. Goldstein.

We are checking into the matter of the Campana Balm program of April 5th -- referred to by him as "The Little Theatre Off Times Square". I believe the name of the program is "The First Nighter" but I have not seen any prior complaints about this particular program.

As soon as we have obtained a report, which will be shortly, we shall write to Mr. Goldstein.

Cordially yours,

Max N. Kroloff
Assistant Director

MNK:RD

June 30, 1944

Mr. Richard E. Gutstadt, Dir.
Anti-Defamation League
130 N. Wells St.
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Gutstadt:

I don't know whether the book, "Bible, Church and God," by William McCarthy has been brought to your attention. It was published by The Truth Seekers Company, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. It is a voluminous attack on religion, Christianity, the Bible, etc. and is particularly vicious in its attack on Jews and Judaism. You may wish to look into the matter.

I am also enclosing herewith a postcard by an anonymous person from Harvey, Ill. He has been writing to me frequently and I am wondering whether he has been doing so to others and whether his identity cannot be traced down.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE B'NAI B'RITH

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

25TH FLOOR • 100 NORTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO
TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 2221

July 11, 1944

A. D. L.

REGIONAL OFFICES

NEW ENGLAND

73 TREMONT STREET
BOSTON 8, MASS.

EASTERN

212 FIFTH AVE.
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SUITE 705 — 1003 K. STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

FLORIDA

330 SEYBOLD BLDG.
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

ATLANTA

ROOM 1020 — FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

CLEVELAND B'NAI B'RITH

1520 N.B.C. BLDG.
CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

COLUMBUS

SEVENTH FLOOR, BEGGS BLDG.
21 EAST STATE STREET
COLUMBUS 15, OHIO

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OREGON

502 PACIFIC BLDG.
PORTLAND 4, OREGON

SAN FRANCISCO BAY

(NORTHERN CALIFORNIA)
110 SUTTER STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

415 ROOSEVELT BLDG.
LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In the absence of Mr. Gutstadt who is in the East, we wish to advise that we have given attention to your recent letter to him with which you enclosed a postcard anonymously written by some person who mailed this card and previous similar cards to you from Harvey, Illinois. We have now compared this card with other writings of similar kind which have been mailed anonymously from time to time to various persons who have forwarded them to us. In this instance, however, we are unable to establish the identity of the individual nor a similarity to other writings. We assume that we are permitted to keep this card and accordingly shall see what we can do about locating the writer. It might tie up with something in the future.

We are indeed interested in looking into the book "Bible, Church and God" by William McCarthy which you state carries a vicious attack on Jews and Judaism in addition to attacks on religion, Christianity, etc. We are unable to locate a copy in Chicago and are obtaining one from New York.

We know that Mr. Gutstadt would want to reciprocate your good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Max N. Kroloff
Max N. Kroloff
Assistant National Director

MNK:RD

September 6, 1944

Mr. Richard E. Gutstadt, Nat'l Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
130 N. Wells St.
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Gutstadt:

I have received the enclosed letter from
Dr. Hecht who was a very noted specialist in
Prague before the Nazis took over. Is there
anything being done about the case of Homer Maerts?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

212 FIFTH AVENUE - SUITE 601

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Telephone MUrray Hill 3-0920

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON,
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT,
National Director

September 11, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I have for acknowledgment yours of September 6th to which was attached the letter from Dr. Hugo Hecht. Dr. Hecht's letter expressed his grave concern over a clipping which he had apparently sent to you, and which reported the attempt of Homer Maerts to secure action at the Gerald L. K. Smith - America First Party Convention on a resolution calling for the deportation or sterilization of all Jews.

Dr. Hecht indicates that the mistake he alleges was made by Jews in Europe in 1932 may be in the making here; namely, that smug assurance and contempt for such propaganda may lead to its disregard.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Hecht so that he may know that Homer Maerts has already served time in the penitentiary because of his anti-Semitic activities. He was a leader of the Silver Shirts in Chicago and active in Bund meetings. He was one of those found guilty of smashing the windows of Goldblatt's Department Store in Chicago, of which fortunately we had prior advice, so that proper government men were waiting, and Maerts and his group were caught redhanded.

Every effort is being made to keep in close touch with all of the situations developing around the Gerald L. K. Smith movement and all of the personalities involved in it.

It will do us no good, of course, to become hysterical. On the other hand, Dr. Hecht should know that we do not view this movement contemptuously, but are giving it every possible attention.

With personal regards to your good self, and my sincere good wishes for a New Year of increasing peace and contentment for our people everywhere, I am

Very cordially yours,

Richard E. Gutstadt

Richard E. Gutstadt
National Director

REG:FG

The Sinister Alliance Between McCarthy and Taft

Taft Yearns to Be President—Technique of the 'Big Lie' Is a Threat to American Liberties

By GEORGE H. HALL

A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.

THE new alliance between Republican Senators McCarthy of Wisconsin and Taft of Ohio, the dominant representatives of their party in the upper chamber, means without qualification that American liberties and traditions are in for a brutal time in the next 20 months.

Gloomy Washington prophets are forecasting a period of "the big lie," of the furtive informer, of the character assassin, of insinuation, of eavesdropping, of smear and distrust. They lump the whole under the term McCarthyism, a common noun derived as in the past other expressions have been taken from personalities such as Judge Lynch, Captain Boycott and Vidkun Quisling.

A hint of what may be in store for the nation will emerge from a Senate investigation, scheduled to start Tuesday, of methods used in Maryland last year to defeat Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat. Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (Dem.), St. Louis, is a member of this investigating committee, which is an unusually capable group. It has already been revealed that Tydings's opponent employed a faked photograph to link him with Earl Browder, former Communist party head.

The period ahead will lead up to the November 1952 elections. Taft wants to be President. McCarthy does too, but, being a younger man, can perhaps afford to wait. It may be that history will have to decide whether Taft is using McCarthy for his own purposes, or whether McCarthy is using Taft. The important fact today is that they are pulling in harness.

The proof of this is circumstantial and not documentary, and partly derives from the obvious fact that McCarthy, in his present stage of development, could not progress in the Senate as he has without at least the tacit approval of Taft.

In 1950, when McCarthy was making his unsubstantiated accusations against State Department employees, Senator Taft was quoted by the Associated Press as stating that Republican Senators were going to "help McCarthy in his fight."

The Associated Press reported Taft said he had told McCarthy to keep on making charges, that "if one case didn't work to bring up others."

The McCarthy-Taft axis is not as strange as it may seem at first glance. The highly publicized campaign in which Taft won reelection last fall by a majority of 430,000 was not everything it was reported to be. It was a dirty campaign, just as were those in Maryland, Illinois, Utah, Florida, North Carolina and California.

Taft made the fear of Communism an issue in Ohio. He told the voters the Tydings Committee report on McCarthy's charges of subversion in the State Department was a "whitewash." The investigating committee headed by Tydings labeled McCarthy's charges "a fraud and a hoax," a truth which was crystal clear to right-thinking persons and which Tydings proved on the Senate floor.

The American Federation of Labor has published figures which show, it claims, that more than \$2,000,000 was spent in Ohio to re-elect Taft. Even the religious issue was raised by Taft supporters (perhaps without the Senator's knowledge), who spread the word that Taft's extremely weak labor-backed opponent, Joseph Ferguson, was a Roman Catholic while Taft was the brother of Charles P. Taft, former president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and a noted Protestant layman.

These facts seem to have escaped the notice of the Senate Republicans, who have permitted Taft to become their boss and McCarthy to become his chief lieutenant. This represents, of course, a far greater triumph for McCarthy than for Taft, since McCarthy, only 41 years old, is a first-term, while Taft now is in his third term and has been the Senate's acknowledged leader in domestic matters for years.

McCarthyism New in U.S., But Old on European Scene.

McCarthyism is just about a year old in the United States, though its totalitarian principles are nothing new to Europe. It came to public notice here Feb. 9, 1950, when McCarthy, in a broadcast from Wheeling, W. Va., charged that the State Department harbored 205 known Communists, sympathizers, fellow-travelers and spies.

Subsequently in 1950, McCarthy, aided and abetted, if not actually inspired by the Chicago Tribune, created an atmosphere of suspicion and disquiet. Numerous individuals were smeared. Ammunition was gathered for the November elections and fired with deadly effect.

Probably the most glaring example of genuine disservice to the vital interests of the United States was the defeat of Tydings. He was licked by a false slogan (whitewash of Communism) and the employment of techniques reminiscent of Adolf Hitler and the present Soviet Russian dictatorship.

The charge that Tydings was soft on the Communists was so absurd that only the technique of Hitler's "Big Lie" could have made it stick. By instinct, training, background and every other standard, Tydings is a conservative. He is not even a New Dealer. Yet the country has been deprived of his know-how and guidance as the experienced chairman of the Armed Services Committee and the Senate has been deprived of his brains at a time when brains are at a premium.

Other men also went down to defeat, still others were pilloried, the McCarran anti-subversive bill was passed over President Truman's veto, executives refused Government jobs in fear of being smeared,

corporations and private individuals began to take into their hands the decision as to whether an individual was or was not loyal. But that, say the pessimists, is nothing to what is coming in this "year of the big lie."

Here are some straws in the wind: 1. McCarthy has been appointed to a Senate Appropriations subcommittee handling State Department appropriations. This appointment by the Republicans was attacked in a blistering Senate speech by Senator Benton (Dem.), Connecticut, a former Assistant Secretary of State, who said, at the risk of violating sacrosanct Senate traditions, that McCarthy now is to be "the judge, jury and prosecutor of the State Department" he becomes his own kangaroo court.

Benton said McCarthy's past performances could be summed up by the slogan, "If you can't make one libel stick—try, try another." Benton demanded that the Republicans reconsider the appointment, but there were no indications that any Republican would make such a move.

Now the Top Republican On Investigating Committee.

2. McCarthy has been named the top Republican on the main Senate investigating committee, headed by Senator Hoyer (Dem.), North Carolina. His Republican colleagues are Senators Nixon of California and Mundt of South Dakota. It is no coincidence that the trio has a vested interest in attacking real and fancied subversion for political ends.

Nixon and Mundt, both former members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, were co-authors of the House anti-subversive bill which later was incorporated in the McCarran bill. Nixon pitched his campaign last year on McCarthyism.

The investigating committee, a branch of the Expenditures Committee, also has as members Democratic Senators O'Donnor of Maryland, McClellan of Arkansas and Humphrey of Minnesota. McClellan is likely to side with the Republicans on many occasions.

This is the committee from which Senator Margaret Chase Smith (Rep.), Maine, was unceremoniously "bumped," against her wishes, by McCarthy. Mrs. Smith incurred McCarthy's ire last June 1 when, in a "declaration of conscience," signed by her and six other Republicans, she repudiated McCarthyism.

Hoyer, a soft-spoken courtly old-school politician, has made an enviable record of fairness and discretion in conducting hearings, and this may help the situation somewhat. The picture seen by the pessimists here, however, is that of McCarthy wringing information from State Department officers behind closed doors at the secret appropriations hearings and using it for propaganda purposes as ranking Republican on the investigating group.

3. Senator McCarran (Dem.), Nevada, who incidentally is chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on the State Department, has been working ideologically along with McCarthy. He has set up a Judiciary subcommittee on security which will investigate the execution of his anti-subversive act and will also investigate subversives in and out of Government. He has just been voted \$75,000 as a starter.

The Senate has refused to discipline McCarthy and has been criticized for its inaction. Many Republicans, privately disgusted at McCarthy's tactics, realize that for good or evil he has hit on a formula that might bring them back to power after 20 years. Democratic defeats and defensive reactions are more difficult to analyze.

One factor unquestionably is that the Senate doesn't know just how to deal with McCarthy.

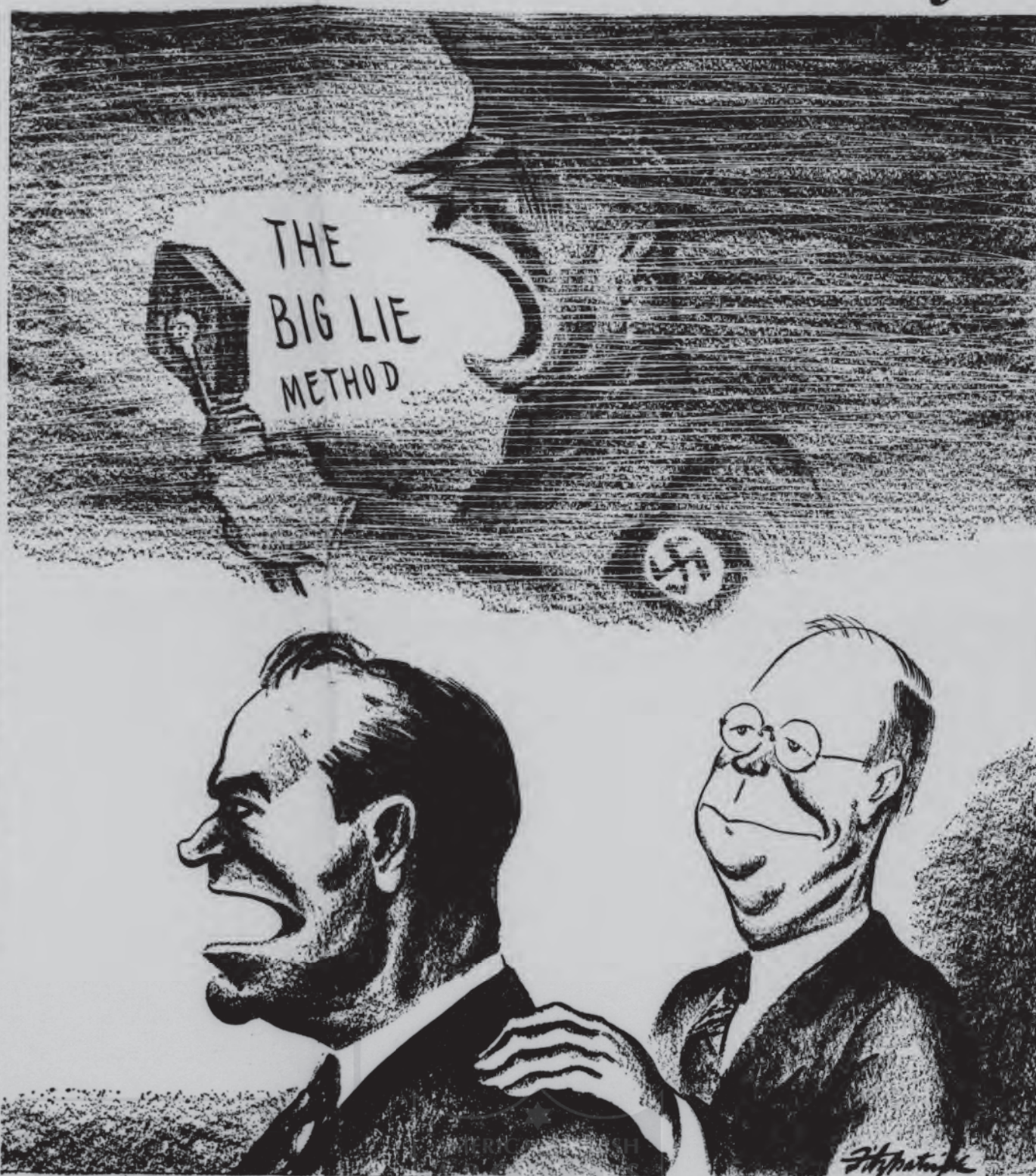
There is nothing secret about McCarthy's operation. He follows a simple totalitarian formula simple to imitate. How to do it was best expressed by Hitler, whose doctrine is followed daily by Communist propagandists and often by McCarthy. Since, as Benton told the Senate, it seems likely that "a new and worse stage of irresponsibility lies ahead of us," it may be useful to recall what Hitler said in his book, "Mein Kampf":

"... The greatness of the lie is always a certain factor in being believed; at the bottom of their hearts the great masses of a people are more likely to be misled than to be consciously and deliberately bad, and in the primitive simplicity of their minds they are more easily victimized by a large than by a small lie... some part of even the boldest lie is sure to stick..."

McCarthy has been calling Secretary of State Dean Acheson the "Red Dean of Fashion," which is, of course, nonsensical. But Hitler also said:

"The receptive ability of the masses is very limited, their understanding small; on the other hand, they have a great power of forgetting. This being so, all effective propaganda must be brought out in the form of slogans until the very last man is enabled to comprehend what is meant by any slogan."

McCarthy has also frequently employed another technique. It goes like this: "It appears that (name of person) never actually signed up as a member of the Communist party, and never paid dues..." That is the same as saying McCarthy does not eat human flesh. Yet it may ruin a man's reputation.



THE MCCARTHY-TAFT AXIS

McCarthy's Wild Charges vs. the Fact

By a Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.

IN the last year Senator McCarthy (Rep.), Wisconsin, has uttered many wild, unsupported and false charges relating to Communists and subversion. So far as is known, there is no complete list of these McCarthyisms. The Post-Dispatch has at hand, however, more than 70 taken from the public record. A sampling of this collection follows. The charges and facts are given in alternate paragraphs.

McCarthy: At Wheeling, Feb. 9, 1950, McCarthy said: "I have here in my hand a list of 205... names made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless were still working and shaping policy in the State Department." Next day at Salt Lake City he said he had 57 names. In successive speeches he said there were 206, then 81, then 106 Communists or security risks in the department.

Fact: McCarthy eventually stabilized his figure at 81. Largely through the efforts of Representative Frank M. Karsten (Dem.), Missouri, it was shown that charges in these cases were considered and rejected three years before by a committee of the Republican Eightieth Congress. No charge was proved. Pressed for proof, McCarthy said it was in the "files." The files were produced but the "proof" was not in them.

McCarthy: Feb. 20 McCarthy told the Senate that "there are three big Communists involved and I cannot possibly conceive of any Secretary of State allowing these big Communists who are tremendously important and of great value to Russia to remain in the State Department." He added the three should be discharged and immediately prosecuted, and that there was a fourth case which concerned an individual "in my opinion one of the most dangerous Communists in the State Department."

Fact: One of the three left the department two years before McCarthy demanded his discharge; the fourth left 14 months before.

McCarthy: On March 27, McCarthy said of Owen Lattimore, head of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University: "Owen Lattimore, the top Soviet espionage agent."

Fact: No evidence ever was produced to support this charge.

McCarthy: Lattimore was described March 13 by McCarthy as "a consultant in the State Department." April 20 on a radio program McCarthy added, "whether you call him technically an employee or not." April 9 in a telegram to Acheson McCarthy said, "regardless of whether Mr. Lattimore is a Russian agent." April 8 in Passaic, N.J., speech: "I will leave it to you whether he is a Communist." March 20 in the Senate: "I fear in the case of Lattimore I may have placed too much stress on the question of whether or not he has been an espionage agent." On the radio April 21: "I am not going to charge Lattimore with anything."

Fact: McCarthy's utterances on the Senate floor, where he is immune from libel or slander suits, have often been much stronger than his expression elsewhere.

McCarthy: Feb. 20 McCarthy said, "I will not say anything on the floor that I wouldn't say off of it." He promised to resign if that

time ever came.

Fact: He would not repeat his charges against Lattimore to reporters off the floor. He has not resigned.

McCarthy: On a question-and-answer radio program April 21 McCarthy was told: "Senator, you have said that Owen Lattimore was the chief architect of our disastrous (Far Eastern) policy..." Interrupting, McCarthy said, "Just a minute, I haven't said that." In Chicago May 6 McCarthy stated: "Mr. Lattimore, as the nation knows, has long been the architect of the State Department's Far Eastern policy..." He repeated this assertion at Milwaukee, Rochester and Atlantic City and tried to prove it by citing four of Lattimore's ideas on the subject.

Fact: American policy on the four points proceeded in a manner different from the views McCarthy attributed to Lattimore.

McCarthy: In Rochester May 25 McCarthy charged that Lattimore told Joseph Barnes in a letter "to get rid of all Chinese employees in the Office of War Information who were loyal to Chiang Kai-shek and replace them with Chinese Communists."

Fact: The letter actually read: "In the circumstances, we have to be extremely careful about our Chinese personnel. While we need to avoid recruiting any Chinese Communists, we must be careful not to be frightened out of hiring people who have been loosely accused of being Communists. For our purposes, it is wise to recruit as many unaffiliated Chinese as we can, to pick people whose loyalty will be reasonably assured by the salaries we pay them."

McCarthy: May 6 McCarthy, speaking of John Stewart Service, a State Department official who was mentioned in the Amerasia case, said: "Former Under Secretary of State (Joseph) Grew, who had insisted on Service's prosecution..."

Fact: Grew replied he did not "insist on Service's prosecution." He authorized his arrest without knowing his identity.

McCarthy: "Two days after Dean Acheson took over as Under Secretary of State, John S. Service was reinstated and promoted."

Fact: After Service was cleared by a Federal grand jury, Secretary Byrnes and Under Secretary Grew reinstated him and congratulated him. Acheson took over after the reinstatement.

McCarthy: Feb. 9 McCarthy said that Service "under Acheson... was... placed in charge of all placements and promotions..."

Fact: He was not.

McCarthy: On March 14 McCarthy asserted that Dr. Harlow Shapley was an employee of the State Department.

Fact: Dr. Shapley is employed full time as professor of astronomy at Harvard.

McCarthy: At Milwaukee June 9 McCarthy said: "I have here a limited number of photostats showing that the FBI gave the State Department a detailed chart three years ago showing that there were a total of 124 Soviet agents, Communists, Communist sympathizers and suspects in the State Department..."

Fact: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Assistant Attorney General Peyton Ford stated in writing no such chart ever was given the State Department.

McCarthy: "... and in my book when the Federal Bureau of Investigation says these men are Communist agents..."

Fact: The FBI passed no such judgment.

McCarthy: On June 6 McCarthy said, "The FBI wisely refused to submit top-secret information to the State Department on these dangerous individuals."

Fact: The FBI did not refuse.

McCarthy: On April 20 McCarthy said the following was a quotation from a House report: "Almost anyone and everyone in the State Department had access to the files," by which he meant loyalty files.

Fact: The report actually said: "... most everyone and anyone in the Division has access to the files." The Division was the Division of Security, whose staff necessarily had access to its own files.

McCarthy: On May 6 McCarthy alleged that the loyalty files then being examined by a Senate subcommittee were "purged" and "phony."

Fact: Attorney General J. Howard McGrath had an examination of the files made by the FBI and was informed that the files were complete in all details.

McCarthy: Ambassador-at-Large Philip Jessup, like Acheson and Lattimore, has been a favorite target of McCarthy. On March 30 McCarthy said that Jessup "has an unusual affinity for Communist causes..."

Fact: Jessup refused this under oath and in detail.

McCarthy: May 15 McCarthy said he had presented to the Tydings subcommittee investigating his charges photostats showing Jessup was affiliated with "not one, but with five Communist-front organizations and was a director of one of the worst of the lot."

Fact: The committee never was able to find a record that the material was turned over to it by McCarthy. The subcommittee chief counsel subsequently asked McCarthy personally for the photostats but never received them.

McCarthy: "(Jessup) was a director of one of the worst of such organizations named by the Attorney General, namely the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

Fact: Jessup never was either a director or member.

McCarthy: April 20 McCarthy asked: "Why does he (Jessup) always join Communist fronts? Why not anti-Communist organizations?"

Fact: Jessup is active in many anti-Communist organizations, including one of the most vociferous, the American Legion. The Utica Legion post of which he formerly was commander passed a long resolution thanking Jessup for his "patriotic devotion" and deprecating "the unprincipled, unjustified, unsportsmanlike, un-American and intolerable conduct of Senator McCarthy in this wanton attempt without proof or reason to smear and destroy the good reputation and high standing of so devoted and patriotic a citizen."

McCarthy: June 9 at Milwaukee McCarthy stated: "From October 1945 to March 1947 Acheson's law firm was retained by the Communist Government of Poland to obtain a 90-million-dollar loan from the United States."

Fact: Acheson severed all connections with his former law firm five years before the conditional approval of the loan. When the loan was granted, the Polish Government was not Russian-dominated and one of the objectives of the loan was to prevent a Communist coup.

McCarthy's Losses On Stock Deals Are \$51,000 in 4 Years

By a Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

MADISON, Wis., Feb. 17.

HOW can a Senator lose money year after year, lose more than he makes from his Government salary, his lecture fees, his literary efforts and other sources of revenue—and still manage to eat as well and entertain lavishly, as Senator Joseph R. McCarthy does?

More than one resident of McCarthy's home state, Wisconsin, would like to know the answer to that question, none more eagerly than William T. Evjue, editor and publisher of the Madison Capital Times. Evjue has been asking that question in pretty specific terms.

In 1946, 1947, 1948 and 1949, as Evjue computes it, McCarthy had reported a total gross income of \$66,938—and claimed total deductions of \$51,238 for stock market losses and \$18,575 for interest payments. This represents a net loss of nearly \$3,000. Despite this loss, McCarthy, a gay bachelor and a gourmet, manages to live very well indeed. But how does he do it?

Only Joe McCarthy knows the answer—and the Wisconsin tax collectors still have not announced his final answer to their plea for more information. Wisconsin is one of the few states which still hold income tax returns open to public inspection. Wisconsin tax authorities, Republicans like Senator McCarthy, have been more than indulgent. But they have been spurred by indignant letters demanding to know why just about everyone else in the state has to pay income taxes—except Senator McCarthy.

The McCarthy tax-reporting skill for the four years beginning in 1946 has been set out in some detail by the Madison Capital Times:

In 1946 McCarthy claims losses in stock speculations of \$8080 and interest payments of \$312—and pays no tax for that year.

In 1947 McCarthy claims losses in stock speculations of \$15,046 and pays no tax.

In 1948, when his income jumps into the upper brackets, McCarthy claims losses in stock speculations of \$25,281, plus interest payments of \$3,000—and again he pays no

tax. McCarthy claims losses in stock speculations of only \$2,200, but turns his interest payments of \$15,172, and once more avoids paying taxes.

At the request of the tax collector, McCarthy submitted a breakdown of interest payments listed in his 1949 return.

These payments indicated he had borrowed more than \$300,000 that year. McCarthy's break-down purported to show he had borrowed about \$60,000 from his brother, Howard; about \$40,000 from his brother, William, and more than \$100,000 from the Appleton (Wis.) State Bank. The bank refused to explain. No satisfactory explanation of the ability of his brothers to lend McCarthy money has been made. Evjue asserted the whole picture was "astounding."

A sidelight on McCarthy's brother Howard's part in the McCarthy financial picture is furnished by the 1944 campaign. The committee formed to elect McCarthy to the Senate reported receipt of \$10,600 from Howard McCarthy. That year, Howard McCarthy, an auctioneer, reported income of less than \$4,000, on state tax returns.

McCarthy's demonstration of his opinion of public morality is not confined to his income tax returns or his campaign expense reports, however.

In 1941, when McCarthy was sitting as a Wisconsin Circuit Judge, he refused to enforce a state milk regulation against important dairy companies. His excuse was that the law was due to expire in six months.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court found McCarthy's conduct in this case "highly improper" and an "abuse of judicial power." McCarthy's "improper" conduct included destroying court records in the milk case.

Judge McCarthy also was charged with granting quick divorces to political friends.

The Wisconsin state constitution forbids a judge from remaining on the bench while running for a non-judicial office, a circumstance which might give rise to the temptation to trade campaign contributions for justice.

Despite the constitution, Judge McCarthy ran first against Senator Wiley and then against Senator La Follette without resigning from the bench.

In 1949 a disbarment proceeding was taken against McCarthy before the Wisconsin Supreme Court. The court ruled:

"Under the facts of this case we can reach no other conclusion than that the defendant by accepting and holding the office of United States Senator during the term for which he was elected circuit judge, did so in violation of the constitution and laws of the State of Wisconsin and in so doing violated his oath as circuit judge and as an attorney at law."

The Supreme Court did not disbar McCarthy, however. McCarthy went on to the Senate. While head of a congressional group exploring housing problems, he accepted a \$10,000 fee for a manuscript on housing, from the Lustron Corp., manufacturers of prefabricated houses—which borrowed \$37,000,000 from the Federal Government, and then applied for more millions, before it went into bankruptcy.

By then, however, McCarthy had his \$10,000 safely pocketed.

At a time when it seemed the Democrats were going to carry Wisconsin, in 1936, he began his political career as a Democratic candidate for Shawano County District Attorney—and got beat. Since then he has found it more to his advantage to be a Republican.

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April 5, 1951

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Am herewith enclosing a clip sheet I received from the A. D. L.,
which I think should be called to your attention.

It seems to me that this is no time for such releases, even if
true, which I doubt.

Should you care to issue a statement, we shall be more than happy
to publish it.

Very sincerely yours,

JEWISH LEDGER PUBLICATIONS

Samuel Neusner
Samuel Neusner, Publisher

sn/csg
Enclosure

April 10, 1951

Judge Meier Steinbrink, Chairman
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

My dear Judge Steinbrink:

I received the enclosed letter from the publisher of the Jewish Ledger with the attached clip sheet which he received from the Anti-Defamation League. I wonder whether you can tell me anything about this. Was it sent out from the national ADL or from some local office? I cannot imagine that the ADL would be interested in attacking Senator Taft who has been consistently friendly and who has but recently sponsored a bill in the Senate for \$150,000,000 grant-in-aid to Israel.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

212 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 6-8010

April 13, 1951

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor Silver:

Immediately upon receipt of your April 10 letter with respect to an apparent mailing by one of the many Anti-Defamation League offices of a reprint from the St. Louis Post Dispatch, I looked into the matter. The national office was totally unfamiliar with the matter; had never, of course, engaged in such a mailing, nor directed any of its regional offices to so do. I did find, however, that one of the men on our field staff sent a personal mailing of the reprint in question, to several of his friends. He obtained the reprints himself by writing to the newspaper in question.

He did this in a purely personal capacity. However, as a member of the League staff he should have been especially careful to emphasize in his communication that the correspondence in question was purely personal and in no way involved his capacity as a representative of our agency. I assume that he exercised such care; he assured us he did.

I might add, as a sidelight and for your own information, that the man's explanation for the mailing was his interest, not in Senator Taft at all, but in the background of the main target of attack in the reprint in question.

Like you, we regard Senator Taft as an outstanding American, and we see no reason for any ADL concern about him; we deal with the problems of prejudice, only, and have no interest in political affairs as such.

Cordially yours,

MEIER STEINBRINK

S/h

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April 16, 1951

Judge Meier Steinbrink
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Judge Steinbrink:

Will you be good enough to return to us the enclosures contained in Dr. Silver's letter to you of April 10th so that we may answer the letter.

WRIS
Sincerely yours,



Secretary to Dr. Silver

ADL
50-51

April 20, 1951

Mr. Samuel Neusner
Jewish Ledger
50 Trumbull Street
Hartford, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Neusner:

Upon receipt of your letter of April 5th enclosing a tear sheet from the St. Louis Dispatch, I wrote to Judge Meier Steinbrink, Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I am enclosing a copy of his letter of reply.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

[undated]

INFORMATION ON TIBOR ECKHARDT

Tibor Eckhardt is the son of a Magyarized German. Before World War I, he was sheriff deputy in Transylvania. After the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy he joined the counter-revolutionary government in Szeged. He became the leader and chairman of the "Awakening Magyars" an anti-semitic, fascist organization which in 1920 organized street riots and protested against submission to the Allies.

In May, 1920, an English commission composed of delegates from the Trade Union Council and the labor party was in Budapest. This commission investigated Eckhardt and found the following:

"Awakening Magyars" are ruthlessly anti-semitic. By chance we were once present at a meeting of "Awakening Magyars" where attempts were made to convince us that there was no reign of terror in Hungary, and that written proof of this would be sent to us. This document which we really received, did not even mention terror but did contain a savage attack on Jewry which is obvious from this extract:

"The unalterable will of the "Awakening Magyars" is to renew throughout the entire country, clean Christian morals and a government of national tendencies and to extirpate those destructive teachings disseminated by Jews with which the Christian inhabitants are flooded.... We call for the help of all Christianity.... During a period of fifty years, liberalism has driven Christian inhabitants from their property....".

By chance one of the leaders of the delegates of the Trade Union Council and labor party, Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P. is now in the United States at the Hotel Sulgrave, Park Avenue, New York. You may verify the correctness of the above quotations by contacting this delegate.

Eckhardt was appointed Chief of the Press Department in the office of the Prime Minister and in this capacity successfully "organized" the elections in which Count Bethlen succeeded in crushing the democratic Peasant Party. Bethlen, however, aiming at the restoration of the pre-war rule of the feudal classes, slowly got rid of all extremist elements. Recognizing the pushing ambitions of Eckhardt, Bethlen refused his request for Cabinet membership. Eckhardt resigned as Chief of the Press Department and became an embittered member, and later the leader, of the Opposition.

Eckhardt was also Vice-Chairman of the League for the Defense of Territorial Integrity, which under the pressure of the Little Entente, changed into the Revisionist League. After Count Bethlen's resignation in 1931, Eckhardt became more friendly with the Government and was its representative in Geneva when the League of Nations discussed the alleged responsibility of Hungary in the Marseille murder.

Tibor Eckhardt is now enroute to the United States, supposedly against the wishes of the Hungarian Government, for the purpose of obtaining assurances that, in the event of an Allied victory, the Hungarian ruling classes will retain their feudal privileges over Hungary and those provinces added to Hungary by Hitler as payment for assistance now rendered by Hungary in Hitler's war against the Allies. To facilitate his task, Hungarian propaganda has spread the rumor that the Nazis protested because the Government allowed him to leave the country.

Tibor Eckhardt, according to all indications, intends to appear here as an exalted member of the democratic opposition. His recent activities, however, do not substantiate a possibility that he has altered the beliefs he has held since 1920. In 1940 he voted for the Nazi anti-semitic law passed in Hungary although he had the opportunity of voting against its passage as did the liberal Karol Rassay and the conservative Count Istvan Bethlen. In 1938, before Munich, Eckhardt advised the Magyars to come to terms with Germany. He said revisionist claims would be fulfilled within a year. [see N.Y. Times, March 28, 1938]. It is obvious he connected the revisionist policy of Hungary with the Nazi attack on all other Central European States

A LOATHSOME WEAPON

Who? When?

Anti-Semitism was the most contemptible, as it was also the most dangerous, of all the weapons in the armory with which Hitler subverted Germany and set out to enslave the world. And from time immemorial the meanest, most contemptible, as well as the safest and easiest, excuse of those who have spread this poison -- whether Nazis or their sympathizers or their counterparts in other times and places -- has been the pretense that the poisoner was really only a great-hearted friend of the Jews, trying to save them from the prejudices which their "unwisdom" or their "excesses" would otherwise arouse. One encountered it, ad nauseam, in the early days of the Hitler movement in Germany; one has met it over and over again elsewhere. Its viciousness is apparent; it is an obvious and despicable device for spreading the bigotry it pretends to combat. Yet this is the precise defense which Senator Nye has raised against the plain inference that the isolationists' precious "investigation" into the motion-picture industry is primarily an attempt to light the fires of Nazi anti-Semitism in aid of a cause already desperate.

Senator Nye, America First and the other isolationist leaders alone know their own inner motives. Others, endeavoring to assess them, can only look at the evidence. They can only infer that the increasing persistence with which the anti-Semitic poison has appeared in isolationist pronouncements is not an accident. It was hardly an accidental choice of names when Senator Wheeler, in an isolationist speech as long ago as last February, was denouncing "political control by a financial oligarchy, whether it be the Thyssens and Krupps in Germany, the Rothschilds in England and France, the Sassoons in India and China, or the Morgans, the Warburgs, the Kuhn-Loeb and other international bankers in the United States". One cannot forget Senator Nye's speech on Aug. 1 in St. Louis:

Who is pushing and hauling America to plunge us into this war? Who are the men? Who is putting up the money for all this propaganda? . . . I haven't the time to name all those contributing to our march to war, but I will tonight name some of them.

Out of thousands he might have selected, he actually gave seventeen names of men prominent in the motion-picture industry, all Jewish sounding (that at least two are actually non-Jews was not explained) and carefully omitting the names of non-Jewish executives of equal importance in some of the very companies to which he referred. The fact that the present "investigation" has been hastily broadened to bring in the names of a few non-Jewish motion-picture people does not remove the impression made by this speech.

One remembers America First's statement, appearing in "The Daily News" here on Sept. 6, citing those who were attacking it. Among the thousands or hundreds of thousands of non-Jews who might have been used as examples, America First selected, in addition to "British-born" Dr. Frank Kingdon, three Jews and a speaker before the Jewish War Veterans. After this, Mr. Lindbergh's virtually unconcealed appeal to anti-Semitism five days later could not be regarded as an isolated episode; and the motion-picture "investigation" beginning with Senator Nye's pronouncement that "four names, each that of one of the Jewish faith, each foreign born" are "primarily responsible for propaganda in the motion-picture

field" could take on, despite all the Senator's protestations, but one interpretation.

Many isolationists are not anti-Semitic, we are glad to concede. But the evidence that their leaders are deliberately taking up this despicable, disruptive and profoundly inhuman and un-American weapon to bolster a lost cause is too strong to be disregarded; and there is no non-Jewish American deserving the name who will not turn from that business with loathing.



[undated]

LOOK

What Lindbergh Really Wants

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

Famous Women Columnist and Authority on National and International Politics

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Lindbergh hates mobs but accepts applause. Here he leaves an America First meeting in New York City.

What does Lindbergh plan for 1944?
Would he destroy civil liberties?
Does he plan a purge for America?
Would he invade Canada?

What Lindbergh Really Wants

His record is cited to show he wishes to Nazify America

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What does Lindbergh really want? The answer to this is a great big question mark in the mind of a public that follows his career with bafflement. Perhaps one reason why Lindbergh attracts so much attention is just because nobody can quite understand him.

Is he a fascist? The public answers yes and no. Is he a pacifist? His speeches can lead one to answer yes or no. Is he a lover of democracy? One could deduce evidence for the answer yes or no. Is he really an isolationist? Yes and no. Does he have personal political ambitions? He says no but acts yes.

So equivocal a character has a fascination for the public. He is greeted by mobs, acting in a mob manner, and he accepts their applause. Yet he despises the crowds. He hates the press, and has been at war with it since he first emerged into fame with his transatlantic flight. Yet he speaks as the champion of a free press and free speech against its would-be oppressors, who, he darkly hints, are the Roosevelt Administration.

He counsels timidity in our foreign relations but is the personal champion of the dangerous life. He is a "100-per cent" American who once seriously considered giving up his American

citizenship. He has fled from publicity—and he has courted it in the most sensational manner.

Is this behavior of Lindbergh confusing? Certainly it is, for the public at large. But is it *really* confusing? No.

Lindbergh's behavior is confusing only if one fails to remember that it can be a political tactic to confuse. If one assumes that Lindbergh confuses *consciously*, then his behavior fits a pattern. Lindbergh's behavior does fit a pattern—a thoroughly familiar pattern. It is the pattern of revolutionary politics designed by Adolf Hitler.

This is how he follows Hitler's pattern

I am absolutely certain that Lindbergh intends to emerge as America's savior

Lindbergh's technique, his whole campaign, is singularly without inventiveness. It has all happened before. To anyone who has studied the rise of popular demagogues bent on making New Orders of Society, Lindbergh is old stuff.

I am absolutely certain in my mind that Lindbergh is pro-Nazi; that Lindbergh hates the present democratic system; that Lindbergh intends to remake that system and emerge as America's savior and that Lindbergh intends to be President of the United States, with a new party along Nazi lines behind him.

Lindbergh believes that his hour will come about 1944, when he thinks Britain will have lost the war, confusion will reign in America, and collaboration with Hitler will have become highly desirable to certain American interests.

This is the hour he is preparing for, first by leading the antiwar fight in this country. In all probability he will try next year to put himself nearer the White House by entering the Senate. Then he will wait.

I am absolutely certain that Lindbergh intends to be President of the United States

Lindbergh thinks that America will enter the war, and he thinks that America will lose it. He will then emerge as the one who said, "I told you so." He will demand punishment of the "guilty warmongers"—the New Dealers, Rooseveltites, pro-British and Jews—and indulge in stern suppressions on the ground that "tolerance cannot survive a war," especially a lost war.

Now, you will say, "How do you know these things? Can you prove them?"

If a letter comes in the mail and you recognize the handwriting on the envelope, can you prove it? If you sit down in a bus and see a face that you recall having seen the night before, can you prove it?

The Man Fits the Description

I cannot prove that what I say of Lindbergh is true. I have no "inside dope." But I know what I say of Lindbergh is true because I recognize something familiar. I recognize the manner, the attitude, the behavior of the crowds, the nature of Lindbergh's following, the equivocal speech, the sentiments that are played to, the line of reasoning that is no reasoning.

I knew from his very first speech, a speech that on the face of it was harmless, that in a few

months he would come out openly against the Jews. I recognized the face; I knew the handwriting. This man has a notion to be our Fuehrer.

Hitlerism Is Contagious—Lindbergh Caught It

I'd been expecting him to come along; for the Fuehrer complex is contagious, and in every country some people catch it. I didn't know what his name would be; I didn't know what his background would be. But I knew what he would say.

He would be a "100-per-cent" American. He would be an anti-New Dealer. He would be free of the "taint" of politics. He would be anti-British and pro-German but in a veiled manner.

He would be a calamity howler, whose chief stock in trade would be popular fear—not fear of Hitler but fear of other Americans. And, of



Klansmen are among Lindbergh's violent followers.

course, he would warn of a Jewish plot against Americanism and Western civilization. And he would certainly talk about the American "race."

I am absolutely certain that Lindbergh hates the present democratic system

The followers of this hypothetical personality would be, I knew, rabidly disgruntled Republicans—especially industrialists—neglected politicians, frustrated socialists, Ku Klux Klanners—whether they call themselves Christian Mobilizers or what—and a number of neurotic women. He would preach the purification of American life and he would have a slight martyr com-

plex. Most of his followers would be completely ignorant of his real program.

But he would certainly have, in his own mind, a modified picture of Naziism. He would want an "American" brand of it, purged of its more obnoxious elements. (Collaborationist Naziism always differs from Hitler's own variety. After all, there can be only one Nazi No. 1.)

Other Marks of a Potential Fuehrer

So, I knew, our would-be Fuehrer, when he came along, would be not aggressive but defeatist. Defeatist, that is to say, in regard to Hitler. He would be aggressive toward Hitler's enemies and toward neighboring small nations.

This was all clear in my mind before Lindbergh ever became a public figure. When he put in an appearance, with all the trappings I had expected, I simply said: "Well, he's here."

The evidence that this is Lindbergh's program is not in the form of secret documents or confidential information. The evidence is in his own words and in his own behavior—and in the behavior of his followers.

This Is What He Has Said

I have read all Lindbergh's printed speeches—and most of his speeches have been printed verbatim in that "Jewish controlled" press that he has always despised. This is what I learn from what Lindbergh has said:

America needs a big army. We must defend our own shores and the whole Western Hemisphere. We must establish a dominant role in our natural (American) sphere of influence.

Britain cannot win this war.

America cannot be invaded, so we have nothing to fear from Europe.

America is riding to ruin under the Roosevelt Administration, which is bound on dragging us into war against the overwhelming sentiments of the American people. He, Lindbergh, then will no longer be able to enjoy free speech, and indeed all civil liberties will be suppressed.

But the real America, the America which is not pro-British or Jewish or pro-Roosevelt, will remember his words.

Eventually, when Germany has won, we must make a treaty with her, because without such a treaty there can be no peace.

The Pacifist-Supported Militarist

All these things are in Lindbergh's speeches. Lindbergh, who is supported by pacifists, has never opposed the building of a huge standing army in this country. He has only opposed its being used to aid the British against Hitler.

Now, why this inconsistent pacifist-militarist attitude on Lindbergh's part?

His words and his followers' acts convict him

I am absolutely certain that Lindbergh intends to remake the democratic system

If we cannot be invaded why do we need a huge standing army? If German planes cannot reach our shores, why do we need a huge air force? Against whom would we ever use this army?

For two reasons, logically growing out of the Lindbergh view of the world.

We must coerce the Western Hemisphere into our sphere of influence. We must abandon the Good Neighbor policy and see to it that every South American government is a puppet of the United States.

Lindbergh has been outspoken. He has said Canada must leave the British Empire. Who knows—maybe the Latin Americans and the Canadians will make trouble. Then we must be prepared to treat them—this is a perfectly logical conclusion—as Czecho-Slovakias and Polands. For that we need a large army.

There'll Be a Job for the Army at Home

But there's another reason, that never has been hinted at. Potential fuehrers need large armies to prevent the wrath of the people from rising at home. Nobody, even if he were president, would dare try to Nazify America without a lot of armed men under his command.

I don't say that Lindbergh wants to have a big army for this purpose but I do say that his avowed purpose of collaborating with a triumphant Hitler would probably require a big army to enforce it. Because the people of this country don't like Hitler. And they don't want to collaborate with him.

I am absolutely certain that Lindbergh is pro-Nazi

Lindbergh is convinced that Britain cannot win the war and that American collaboration with Britain will bring catastrophe. His speeches are themselves designed to contribute to a British defeat. They are the greatest propaganda that Hitler has in the world today. They are quoted abroad by the Nazis in order to make the occupied countries defeatist.

The Lindbergh campaign at home certainly embarrasses the Administration, and hampers really grandiose aid to Britain. His views are taken very seriously in many airplane factories and contribute to making the morale in those factories, amongst both workers and management, bad. Why send airplanes to a lost cause?

Lindbergh has been a hero to American youth. What effect has his consistent campaign

against the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy had upon the youth in the Army camps? Many of the men in our new Army listen to his speeches and discuss them. Some certainly say, "Lindbergh is right."

Lindbergh Is for Free Speech for Lindbergh

Lindbergh's supporters say, "Lindbergh is for freedom. He champions free speech; he is warning us against the possible loss of our civil liberties. That's why he's against war."

Good heavens, of course he champions free speech! Free speech is the instrument by which fuehrers get into power. Hitler—while he was agitating on the platforms of the Republican Germany he aimed to destroy—was a vivid champion of free speech and free assemblage. When



Lindbergh in the Nazified atmosphere of Germany.

attempts were made to suppress him, he invoked all the civil liberties in the Weimar Constitution! That did not prevent him from doing away with civil liberties when he came into power.

The Prophecy Reflects the Wish

What would Lindbergh do with civil liberties if he became head of the United States? He has made no promises. But he has made prophecies. He has prophesied, first, that we would go to war, "be led into war," by the Roosevelt Administration and, secondly, that "tolerance cannot survive this war." Not "might not," but "cannot."

Why can't it? It's survived all of America's wars to date. We did not lose tolerance as the result of the Revolution or the War of 1812 or

the Spanish-American War or the World War. Why must we lose it as a result of this war?

It's quite clear: The losing is in the Lindbergh program.

I am absolutely certain that Lindbergh foresees a new party along Nazi lines

Lindbergh's followers reveal the real nature of his movement quite as much as Lindbergh's own words do. He has attracted to himself every outright fascist sympathizer and agitator in the country. He was suggested for President of the United States by the German press as long ago as September, 1937.

The Pelleyists, Winrodists, Van Horn Moseleys and the whole crowd of native Ku Kluxers are for Lindbergh. So are the "Christian Mobilizers," who aren't Christians but Jew baiters.

The whole crowd of them consider Lindbergh their leader. They are his shock troops, and he has never made an unequivocal break with their ideas. On the contrary, he adds the prestige of his name to their continual innuendo that America is in the grip of a conspiracy of the Elders of Zion.

This Is American Hitlerism

The whole setup is Hitlerian. These boys are violent. They use free speech to stir up violence. They would, if they could, use it to stir up revolt. They openly agitate for the persecution of the Jews and the "reds," among whom they include everybody who tries to oppose them.

If Hitler wins, we may find our Good Neighbor policy in the ash can, relations with Canada bitter and strained, the major part of our isolationists turned into collaborationists. Our liberal ideal, which is the very breath of life in the American tradition, will be assaulted by the counter ideal of Discipline, Order, Mastery and the Armed Fist.

Lindbergh Stands or Falls with Hitler

This is *my* prophecy—made not because I want it to happen but because public awareness can prevent it from happening; made not as a justification for any suppressive policy toward Lindbergh but as a warning against suppressive policies being brewed in the Lindbergh ranks.

If Hitler and his regime are defeated or collapse, with or without active American participation in that defeat, Lindbergh may disappear from public life or change his line. But, should Hitler win or force a negotiated peace with Britain, we may learn then that only the British fleet has stood between us and Lindbergh.