

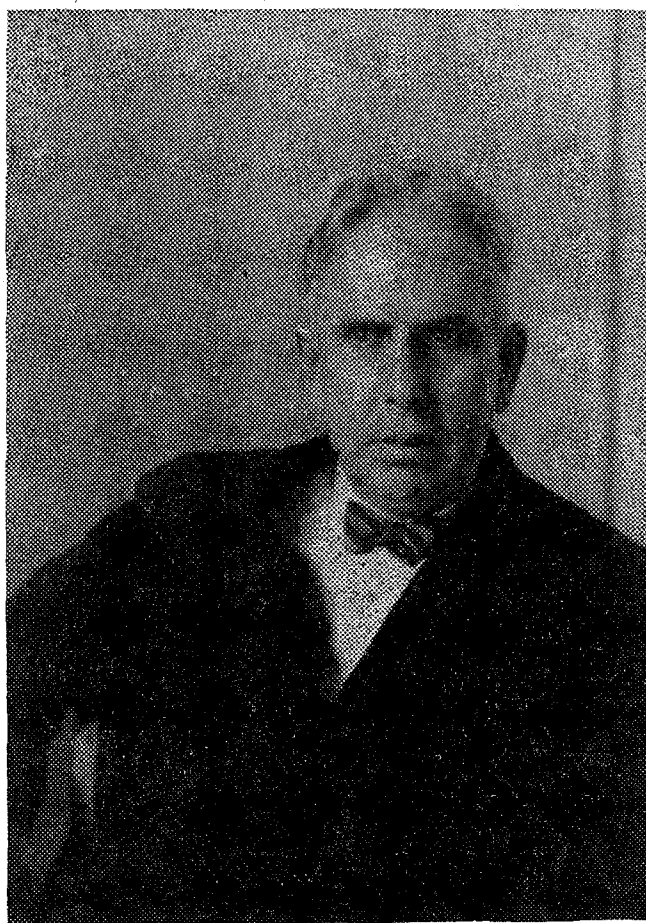
election was the widespread and quite open cooperation and unity in action between the Labor and Communist workers despite certain efforts to prevent it by some remaining reactionaries at Transport House—headquarters of the Trades Union Congress. It is striking how many newly elected members of Parliament have gone on record with public declarations of their debt to the Communist Party and the Communist press for their work during the campaign. It is no exaggeration to say that this work and the resulting unity in action has profoundly changed the whole aspect and the potentialities of local labor movements.

**T**HE swing towards Labor not only produced a huge aggregate majority of Labor over Conservatives but broke into quite new ground. This, if you look at local voting, was hardly less striking in rural areas wherein the Conservative majority often was only reduced, than in the

great cities such as Birmingham and Manchester and Liverpool where the Conservatives were defeated altogether. Indeed the rural constituencies in general offered the most convincing proof of the fact that this victory registers a great, general rise in the political consciousness and political clear-sightedness of the British people. It is one more proof that this really is a step forward into a new political era.

The nature of Tory policies before the election and of their program as they presented it during the election is a sufficient summary of what it is that the British people have decisively rejected. But the vote was not merely a rejection of those policies. It was a demand for a change and rapid strides forward both at home and abroad. The demand has been made, the powers have been given, and throughout Britain there is a vast expectant confidence that the men are there with the will to use the power as the people meant them to do when they went to the polls.

## DREISER JOINS THE VANGUARD



*Theodore Dreiser, one of America's greatest novelists, has joined the Communist Party. His letter to William Z. Foster, the Party's new chairman, requesting membership, was presented to the Communist national convention last weekend, which voted unanimously to admit him. Part of his letter follows:*

**"M**ORE and more it is becoming recognized in our country that the Communists are a vital and constructive part of our nation, and that a nation's unity and a nation's democracy is dangerously weakened if it excludes the Communists. Symbolic of this recognition was the action of the War Department in renouncing discrimination against Communists in granting commissions. . . .

"It seems to me that this ought to discredit completely one of the ideological weapons from the arsenal of fascism that disorients the country's political life and disgraces its intellectual life—Red-baiting. Irrational prejudice against anything that is truly or falsely labeled 'Communism' is absurd and dangerous in politics. Concessions to Red-baiting are even more demoralizing in the field of science, art and culture. If our thinkers and creators are to fulfill their responsibilities to a democratic culture, they must free themselves from the petty fears and illusions that prevent the open discussion of ideas on an adult level. The necessities of our time demand that we explore and use the whole realm of human knowledge.

"I therefore greet with particular satisfaction the information that such leading scientists as the French physicist, Joliot-Curie, and the French mathematician, Langevin, have found in the Communist movement, as did the British scientist Haldane, some years ago, not only the unselfishness and devotion characteristic of the pursuit of science, but also the integration of the scientific approach to their own field of work with the scientific approach to the problems of society.

"I am also deeply stirred to hear that such artists and writers, devoted to the cause of the people, as Pablo Picasso of Spain and Louis Aragon of France, have joined the Communist movement, which also counts among its leading cultural figures the great Danish novelist, Martin Andersen Nexø, and the Irish playwright, Sean O'Casey.

"These historic years have deepened my conviction that widespread membership in the Communist movement will greatly strengthen the American people, together with the anti-fascist forces throughout the world, in completely stamping out fascism and achieving new heights of world democracy, economic progress and free culture. Belief in the greatness and dignity of man has been the guiding principle of my life and work. The logic of my life and work leads me therefore to apply for membership in the Communist Party."

# DO GERMANS HAVE RIGHTS?

By HANS BERGER

GERMANY's internal developments are of concern to everyone and it is only natural that everything the Germans do, everything that happens in Germany, everything that is decided about Germany, everything the armies of occupation in Germany do or don't do, is watched carefully, discussed, argued, and criticized. What happens with big German industry, with the powerful German trusts and cartels, with the Junker estates, with the captured general staff, with the makers of secret weapons, with the war criminals, with the Nazi movement, with reparations—all this will be an index to the real content of Allied policy toward German imperialism.

For the fight against Nazism and German imperialism goes on, of course, by other than military means. This state of affairs creates other problems requiring solution and their democratic solution is dependent on the watchfulness of people everywhere and their readiness to intervene with advice and criticism. After all, the armies of occupation in Germany are not only there as military organs, they are the instruments of policy-makers as well and politics can never be left solely to the military "specialists" of the armies. If the people who have no material interest in this or that German factory, industry or cartel, but have only the broad interest of transforming Germany into a peaceful nation—if they do not care what happens, one can be sure that many wrong, dangerous things will happen in Germany. The little that is already known about events in the American zone proves that certain things are being done that should be corrected as soon as possible. With this in mind, let us look for a moment at Bavaria and at the following words of the American head of the Bavarian AMG:

"Rights? You have no rights! You're conquered! You started this war and you lost. Get it through your heads: you lost. You have no rights." These words of Colonel Keegan, now governor of Bavaria, and in civilian life a Bronx politician, have been quoted again and again during the past few weeks. There are many people who admire the spirit of this tough colleague of Boss Flynn. What a guy! And what insolence on the part of Germans to demand rights only a few weeks after the crushing of Hitler Germany!

Well, I do not share Colonel Keegan's opinion. I am definitely of the opinion that the Germans have rights and that all peoples, especially progressives, should support certain rights of the Germans. *I mean the right of the Germans to change radically, to travel the road that will make them a civilized, peaceful and democratic nation.* This is not a question of pity, of sympathy for Germans, of forgiveness, of forgetting German crimes that no one, non-Germans and especially Germans, should ever forget. From the point of view of the most progressive Germans it is not only a duty to create a new peaceful Germany, but also a right. It is a right for which no German Communist, no genuine German progressive will ever stop working and fighting for. It is a right which every real German anti-fascist can even, now—at a time when hatred against everything German is strong—ask of the occupation authorities, the labor movement and the peoples of the victorious nations.

Let me make this clearer with an example. Not very many active underground groups in Bavaria survived the Hitler regime. But can anyone imagine that those underground forces which did survive will now stop in their work for a democratic Germany? Can they now cease pointing out to the Bavarians the road by which Germany arrived at her present situation, or the particularly shameful role Bavaria played in the development of the Nazi movement? And who would blame these proved German anti-fascists if they tried directly or indirectly to convince Colonel Keegan and his co-workers of the absurdity of his policies which consist in giving administrative posts to the clerico-fascist bureaucrats of the Bavarian People's Party as well as to many Nazis, and at the same time preventing the legalization of the anti-fascist democratic parties, such as those of the Communists and Social Democrats. Dorothy Thompson recently sent to the *New York Post* the following report from Bavaria:

"All military governments have been ordered to oust local *Landraete* and find substitutes, but directives are to keep sub-officials unless there are specific charges against them. Even police commissioners appointed under the Nazis are kept. And how does a military governor find a substitute for a *Landrat*? He calls in fifty local notables and asks

them to pick someone. Now the notables are either Nazis or collaborators, and if they do not pick Nazis they certainly pick someone who will consider their interests, which is an odd way to introduce democracy. The reason given for the suppression of all political activity is the fear that the Communists will get busy. Whoever thought that up has no conception of the political movements of the Nazis. They are a tremendous organization, trained in secret conspiratorial methods, and the Communists also know how to organize under suppression. Priests who are close to the people told me the Nazis are continually holding secret meetings. They will doubtless emerge eventually not under the name of Nazi, but under some other title and banner."

COLONEL KEEGAN's words sound very tough. But in reality his policies help to create and to conserve a new reactionary Bavaria, a Nazi substitute in which progressive thoughts and movements must remain underground or semi-legal. Instead of encouraging and helping the proved anti-fascists to become the new leaders of the Bavarian masses by accepting their services in the remaking of Bavaria, Colonel Keegan uses his AMG to keep Bavaria a hotbed of German reaction, and of dangerous international intrigues—especially those originating in the Vatican, represented in Munich by Cardinal Faulhaber, an old enemy of democracy. There have been several cases in Bavaria in which even the peasants demanded, without success, the dismissal of the Nazi *Kreisbauernfuhrer* (district peasant leader) or the removal of an SS mayor.

Bavaria is an especially complicated case. And if I am not mistaken there will be other such cases. But the policy of the AMG as a whole is permeated with prejudice and the fear of an awakening German democratic movement, of everything that is not of a so-called "respectable" middle class character. AMG suffers from an unholy respect for so-called "specialists" and "translators," and from a complete failure to understand the potential role of Germany's labor movement and labor parties in building a democratic Germany.

In various localities the AMG has met anti-fascist groups made up of former trade unionists, Social Democrats, Communists, students and pro-