

People's Guards at Peekskill *by Joseph Green and Nat Shapiro*

20¢

Jewish Life

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

October 1949

VICTORY AND OMEN ◀ *by Moses Miller*

HIERARCHY OVER THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ◀ *by Lester Levy*

CONGRESS LEADERS DOUBLE-TALK ◀ *by Louis Harap*

ISRAEL AT THE CROSSROADS ◀ *by A. B. Magil*

CREDO OF A COMMUNIST ◀ *by Alexander Bittelman*

"From the Four Corners,"

which has been omitted from this issue owing to lack of space, will be resumed next month.

RABBIS PROTEST PEEKSKILL

Rabbi Emanuel Rackman of Far Rockaway, New York, president of the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Army and Navy of the United States, sent the following letter to Gov. Dewey:

September 7, 1949

Hon. Thomas E. Dewey
Executive Mansion
Albany, N. Y.

Honorable Sir:

In the name of the Executive of our Association—which is representative of the more than 300 Rabbis who served their country in World Wars I and II—I write to urge you to investigate not only the first riot at Peekskill a week ago, but more particularly the palpable misfeasance of the State Police on Sunday last.

We are chagrined that men who fought to preserve freedom and establish international law and order should so disgrace their fallen comrades as to make a mockery of freedom in our own country and resort to violence in defiance of the requirements of law and order. They have proven that the fascism which they were to destroy abroad has conquered their own souls at home.

But we are even more ashamed that our State Police proved itself so impotent in the matter, and that though the police outnumbered the offenders, they could not protect the limbs and property of citizens who, no matter what their political persuasion, were entitled to such protection.

The situation calls for drastic action on your part and unless such drastic action is forthcoming, what minority group can again feel safe, and what minority opinion can ever be expressed without fear?

This is not a racial issue or a religious issue, though the vandals gave expression to racial and religious prejudices. This is an American issue—and nothing less. All that America stands for is at stake. And in no less important a state than the Empire State of the Union!

We pray that you will make manifest that fearlessness which not so long ago made you famous as a Prosecutor in the Empire City, and that you will personally assume responsibility for the apprehension and punishment of the offending public officials and private citizens.

Very respectfully, yours,

(signed) RABBI EMANUEL RACKMAN

The Sixth Installment

of Moses Miller's series, "Zionism and the State of Israel," has been omitted from this issue owing to lack of space. It will be published in the next issue.

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. III, No. 12 (36)

OCTOBER, 1949

EDITORIAL BOARD

SAMUEL BARRON

PAUL NOVICK

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

SAM PEVZNER

MOSES MILLER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, Managing Editor

JEWISH LIFE is devoted to the scientific study of the political, economic, cultural and social development of the Jewish people, and to the militant struggle for equality and democracy. It carries on a consistent struggle against anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination in the United States. It fights for the building up of a progressive Jewish life in our country and throughout the world. It gives maximum support to the development of Jewish communities where they exist. It recognizes that the chief strength of the Jewish people lies in an alliance with the progressive forces of the world, particularly labor, and with the masses of the oppressed peoples.

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
VICTORY AND OMEN, an editorial article by Moses Miller	3
PEOPLE'S GUARDS AT PEEKSKILL by Joseph Green and Nat Shapiro	5
CONGRESS LEADERS DOUBLE-TALK by Louis Harap	9
HIERARCHY OVER THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS by Lester Levy	12
CREDO OF A COMMUNIST by Alexander Bittelman	15
"FOR THESE RIGHTS . . ." a lithograph by Ben Shahn	19
BEREL-ISAAC, a short story by Sholem Aleichem, translated by Julius and Frances Butwin	23
ISRAEL AT THE CROSSROADS by A. B. Magil	24
BOOK REVIEW	
THREAT TO FREEDOM by George Morris	28
DOCUMENT	
WHICH WAY FOR WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS? by Dr. Moshe Sneh	30
INDEX TO VOLUME III	31
LETTERS FROM READERS	29

JEWISH LIFE, October, 1949, Vol. III, No. 12 (36). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1949 by the Morning Freiheit Association.

Letter from Jail

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

My husband, Emil Freed, is in jail for one year. He and four other men were given jail sentences after they were arrested while on a picket line with more than 1,000 other men and women at the Columbia Studios in 1946. It took two years to fight the case and my husband has served eight months now. On September

17, he wrote for a subscription to your magazine. His letter follows:

"Please enter our subscription for a year and use the additional \$2.00 for a subscription to some organization or individual who you think could use this splendid magazine to advantage.

"While I am unable to get the magazine here, I do get occasional clippings from it."

Los Angeles

MRS. EMIL FREED

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

VICTORY AND OMEN

An Editorial Article

By Moses Miller

IT was the summer of 1937. The train from Paris to Zurich had halted on the outskirts of the Swiss town of Basle, at the border line of France, Switzerland and Germany. All of us left the train to walk over the border to the customs house on the Swiss side. From the German town nearby we could hear the beat of marching feet and the strains of singing. Soon a group of *Hitlerjugend* hove into sight and came to a halt a few hundred yards from us. Their arms raised in the Hitler salute, they concluded their song with the cry *Deutschland, erwache!*—"Germany, awake!" Then they spotted a bearded Jew in our midst. They rushed forward to the border posts, venom and hate exuding from their faces, shouting obscenities, spitting in our direction and filling the air with their cries of *Verfluchte Jude*.

That scene came back to me on Sunday, September 4, 1949, in Peekskill, U.S.A., on my way to the Robeson concert. On the road leading to the concert grounds stood groups of people, some dressed in soldier or Legion uniforms, preparing to parade. Every so often a car or truck would speed by bearing stickers, *America Awake—Peekskill Did*. As I walked along, I spotted a Jewish War Veterans banner and about 20 or 30 men wearing JWV caps. I had read how this JWV post had helped break up the Robeson concert on August 27. But I had also read that, as the mob grew more violent and unrestrained, the mobsters had turned on their Jewish confreres and had beaten up a number of them. But here was the JWV again. They had not even yet learned that there was no room for Jews, not even for "good" ones, in the America which these people wanted to "awaken." No more than there was in Germany for those Jews who heiled Hitler as loud as anyone else.

Not far from the concert grove, a section of the parade had already formed and was on the march. Local police stood by, swinging their clubs and smiling, as a group marching by shouted that they would get the dirty Jews and N - - - s before the day was out. And they broke out into loud guffaws as a woman nearby screamed, "Send them all back to Russia!"

The hate-distorted faces of the *Hitlerjugend*, that I had seen in the Germany of 1937, I saw again that Sunday in Peekskill in this hysteria-ridden and lynch-bent "America, awake" mob. In Peekskill we saw the heralds of the American "new order"—the Jew-haters, the Negro-baiters, the communist-baiters.

But I saw much more on that day. I had wondered, as I walked along that hate-ridden road, how many people would turn out for the concert. How many would stand up against the intimidation of those who sought to silence the voice of Robeson? The answer came as I rounded the last bend and beheld, off to my left, the mass of people sitting or walking about in the concert grove. Stretched out over the vast field were row upon row of automobiles, trucks and buses which had brought over 25,000 people, Negro and white, Jew and Gentile, people of all creeds and nationalities, to this great people's demonstration. Not far from the gate and spread in what seemed to be an unending line, were the people's guards, trade unionists, workers, veterans, determined to insure a peaceful concert. As Howard Fast, noted American writer, spoke and as the mighty voice of Paul Robeson came surging across the field, I knew that the people had scored a victory: these 25,000 had set an inspiring and magnificent example. This was a promise of what the people could do, of the future victories they could win, provided they closed their ranks, gathered their resources and allowed nothing to destroy their determination.

It would be sheer folly to overlook the harm done that day, the stoning and the brutal assaults. But it would be equally disastrous for the future of our country if we failed to understand that, despite the hysteria that had been whipped up, despite the collusion and overt aid of state and local authorities and police, Paul Robeson did sing. And 25,000 people exhibiting courage, resourcefulness and superb discipline had come to make that concert possible.

Responsibility for Riots

The attempt to silence Robeson and the inhuman assault upon the concert-goers as they rode home have been ascribed by officialdom and by much of the press to overwrought "teen-agers," to a gang of hoodlums who got out of hand. This lie is as dastardly and as vicious as the attack itself. The attempt to silence Robeson, like the attempt to silence everyone who dares to speak out today for peace, civil liberties, and the rights of all minorities, was not hatched in Peekskill. Without the hysteria engendered in our country by the rulers of America, by the Republican and Democratic parties alike; without the wave of anti-labor, anti-communist, anti-foreign-born legislation and propaganda; without the witch-hunts, loyalty oaths, Foley Square trials and atom bomb mania, the Peekskill Amer-

ica, awake mob would never have dared to show its face. And what is more, without the direct and overt aid of Governor Thomas E. Dewey's police and local "law enforcement" officials, these hoodlums would never have had the guts to face, let alone attack, this peaceful audience attending a concert. This was no "spontaneous" attack. This was the result of a conscious deliberate plan, part and parcel of American ruling class efforts to isolate the Robesons and all those who stand for peace and democratic rights, from the mass of the American people; to raise the cry of "un-American" and "undesirable" against those who dare to oppose the present course of American policy. And coupled with this is the attempt to silence, not only the Robesons, but also those who, although they disagree with Robeson's views, see the menace of fascism in the attempt to prevent him from speaking.

The threat of fascism which faces the American people does not arise from the acts of hoodlums. It arises, as it did in those fateful years when Hitler was marshalling his stormtroops in Germany, from the acquiescence and participation of state and federal officials in intimidation and lynch-terror; in the free-hand and then whitewash provided by officialdom in each instance of attack on civil liberties.

Jewish Press on Peekskill

Except for the Jewish daily *Forward*, which exhibited the same glee over this hoodlum attack as did Goebbels in his hey-day, the Jewish press unequivocally condemned the attackers of the Robeson concert. Some placed the blame where it belonged, at the doorstep of Governor Dewey and his administration. Others sought to distinguish between the organizers of the parade and the hoodlums who had personally engaged in the assault. What the latter papers failed to realize was the fact that the basic issue is not whether those who organized the parade consciously intended the violent anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attacks. What is important and what they should have learned by this time is, that the whole atmosphere of hysteria and lynch spirit that had been created by government red-baiting and the cold war, had opened the door wide for the latent anti-Semitic and anti-Negro forces; that the "sordid aspects" upon which they frowned were an inevitable by-

product that has always followed close upon the heels of every attempt to outlaw or deny freedom to any minority.

The issue of force and violence, of terror and of intimidation is real. But Peekskill has demonstrated that the threat of force and violence comes not from communists or the workers or the common people of America, but from the ruling class. The threat of force and violence comes from those who organize anti-Semitism, Jimcrow and Foley Square trials. If America is really to awake, it must learn this lesson before it is too late. And certainly the Jewish people who saw Maidaneks and Treblinkas arise in the wake of the cry, "Germany, awake!" would do well to take heed and to join with the democratic and progressive forces of America in halting the fascist offensive.

A number of Jewish organizations and leaders have spoken up. But many more have remained silent. Not a word has been heard from the American Jewish Committee or the Anti-Defamation League, who claim to be spokesmen and "defenders" of the Jewish people. Not a word of condemnation, not a demand for the removal of those responsible for the outrageous and dastardly attack has come from the man purporting to be a great liberal and "socialist"—David Dubinsky. The American Jewish community dares not tolerate such silence, dares not allow those who claim to speak on their behalf to acquiesce to this onerous of fascism and anti-Semitism.

Twenty-five thousand who joined to make it possible for Robeson to sing are the advance guard of the democratic army that can be formed, of the Negro-Jewish unity that can be achieved, of the people's forces that can be mobilized in the great crusade for peace and democratic rights. No stone must be left unturned, no battle must be refused for there is no safety for the Jew except in an America rid of war hysteria and red-baiting, an America where there is no encroachment upon the rights of *any* group of people.

Irrespective of political belief, American Jewry must unite to bring to justice those responsible for the crimes committed in Peekskill, to bring about the removal of those "law enforcement" officials who were partner to and inspirers of this crime. Only by this kind of resistance to fascism lies hope for an America that is awakened to a democratic future, rather than to fascism.

A thin line of encircling people's guards protected the concert-goers.



PEOPLE'S GUARDS AT PEEKSKILL

By Joseph Green and Nat Shapiro

Below is an eye-witness account of the Robeson concert at Hollowbrook near Peekskill on September 4th by two men of the guard force. The two men were stationed at different points in the field and together their experiences give the story of the guards. Their narrative contains nothing of the stoning and fascist attack on the mass of the audience on the ride home, since the guards were confined to the field and could not know what was happening outside. The second guard's narrative is in italics.—Eds.

WE left home long before dawn and boarded the buses bound for Peekskill. We were going to a concert. We were going to hear Paul Robeson sing. And more than that, we were going to defend the right of all people to meet in peace and enjoy the cultural gifts that great artists like Paul Robeson have the power to give.

It was early morning when we rode through Peekskill. The town was just waking up. By 9 A.M. we had entered the grounds of the Hollowbrook Country Club, an abandoned golf course some three miles beyond the town itself, received our instructions and had taken up our positions. We were there to make sure that no fascist hoodlums disrupted the concert. And none of them did. The entire area guarded by us was peaceful, orderly and secure against disorders. The attacks against women and children, against cars and buses and their drivers, as we later learned, took place on the roads supposedly guarded by the state police and the policemen working with them. Our mission was to prevent anyone from entering, to localize any attacks that might occur, and, above all, not to permit the hoodlums and the police to provoke us in any manner whatsoever.

I was stationed about a third of the way round from the entrance. We stood only a few feet from the road when we took up our stations, but orders came to move back to about 75 feet from the road. From our vantage point we could see buses and cars streaming into the grounds and rolling down the roadway to the parking area at the foot of the hill below us. They were parked in neat, orderly rows in a huge semi-circle, much in the way pioneers of the old west deployed their covered wagons against attack. People were gathering for the concert in the flat meadow beyond the parked cars. Reserve groups, we knew, were ready to come to our support in case of attack.

My squad was assigned to the reserve. We took up our positions on a hill at the far end of the field. The Hollowbrook grounds resembled the inside of a cup, with the concert area in the level bottom. To my left I could see the

JOSEPH GREEN is a New York writer. NAT SHAPIRO is a graduate student at a New York college and a graduate of the JPFO's School for Higher Jewish Education.

long line of guards facing the road along which the fascist parade was to march. The guard line seemed endless, reaching to the entrance of the Hollowbrook grounds. A few hundred yards from the space reserved for the concert was a brook, shallow enough to be crossed, and beyond it was a very steep, densely wooded hill. Men standing about twenty feet apart guarded the approach.

Standing opposite the road, we could see scattered groups of men and women walking along the road where the fascist-inspired parade was to form. Now and then a truckload of shouting hoodlums rode by, hooting and jeering. A woman in a dark dress about 40 years old, stopped at the fence and glared at us. "Traitors! Why don't you go back to Russia where you belong!" she shouted, waving her fist. "Dirty kikes! You don't appreciate the country that gives you your bread and butter!" The policeman stationed on the road thought her remarks funny.

We stood in our line, ignoring the hoodlums.

At about 1:30, I heard the first distant sounds of a brass band. Through the trees, I saw the gold-painted helmets of a unit of veterans. It was a Legion band, moving from left to right in the direction of the Hollowbrook entrance. Below us in the concert grounds our loudspeakers began to play recordings. Our guards facing the road straightened out their lines.

Facing the road, we could not see the starting point of the parade. At 1:30, we were alerted and soon I heard the parade approach from our left. We watched in amused amazement. The marchers were walking in single file, spaced out to create the impression of a large group. Actually they looked ridiculous. As they passed by, I counted up to 885. Before we quite realized it, their parade had passed. We asked each other, "Where are the 30,000 legionnaires they were boasting about?"

Groups of stragglers took up positions on the road facing us, shouted and jeered, shook their fists at us. None of us on the line replied, none of us paid the least attention.

Epithets and Rocks

About half an hour later the parade came back, this time led by two motorcycles, which deliberately kept back-firing to make as much noise as possible. As they came by, groups of hoodlums would rush up to the fence as though they intended to charge into us. But they always stopped short and waved their fists and shouted at us.

"Hitler started it, we'll finish you!"

"Hitler killed only half the Jews, we'll kill all the rest!"

"You got in, but you'll never get out!" And someone on the road shouted, "Oh, yes they will—on stretchers!"

The policeman laughed at the huge joke. They made no

effort to keep the hoodlums away from the fence. But not a single hoodlum facing us dared to step into the grounds, though they shouted for us to come out and fight.

Soon the fascist-inspired parade began to circle about on the road. The shouting and the noise increased. We could not hear Paul Robeson sing except in snatches now and then. Occasionally rocks thudded in the earth 10 or 15 feet in front of us. As a truck with a large sign reading "Buchanan Vets" passed, a barrage of rocks came at us. Most of them never reached us. Some went over our heads. The rocks were thrown either by hoodlums in the truck or those walking alongside and hiding behind it. The policemen watched the rocks fall in front of us, grinning.

When Paul Robeson began the second half of his program, the parade broke up and the vigilantes lined up along the road facing us.

Directly in front of me were men from one of the Legion bands. They wore World War I helmets, painted white. They shook their fists, shouted curses. The police turned and faced us, too. And behind the screen of these bandsmen and policemen, others threw rocks at us. Not a single policeman so much as turned to see who was throwing the rocks. They kept their backs to the rock-throwers and stared at us, waiting to see what we would do. We ignored the shouts and the curses and the rocks. Our silence and discipline infuriated the hoodlums.

On the hill with the reserves, I could not see the rock throwing from the road. But we heard reports of someone being hit here, another there. The concert ended at about 3:30 and the audience was instructed through a loud speaker on the procedure for leaving the place. From our hill position, we could see the orderly movement of cars as they began to move up toward the single exit. The cars were stopped at the road. Later we learned that the police had halted traffic out of the Hollowbrook grounds.

While the cars and loaded buses were waiting for police permission to move out of the place, I noticed several men walking down the road, sending the men in the groups lined up in front of us to the entrance of the Hollowbrook grounds. Many were dressed in Legion uniforms. Soon the road in front of us was practically cleared except for some kids and women.

One of the last to leave the road was an elderly man in an American Legion uniform. He appeared to be about 60. "We'll get you when you come out!" he shouted, coming right up to the fence. "We'll be back!" I had previously noticed him marching with the group that headed the fascist-inspired parade.

Mission Completed

About half an hour later, after the fascists had left the road in front of us, we saw the first of our cars begin to move out. We remained at our posts until every one was out. Not until then did the order come through to move down the hill to the buses waiting to take us home.

At about 6:30 our squad leaders ordered us to leave our

reserve posts and go down to the flat plain where the concert had taken place. At the same time, we saw the long line of guards facing the road begin to move downhill in perfect order. First the guards standing at the furthest point from the concert area began to walk in toward the center. After them, moving in like a closing fan, came the other guards, meeting on the dirt road about midway between the highway above and the concert plain below.

Then we discovered that the bus drivers had disappeared. Several of our men who were truck drivers volunteered to take the wheel. They were told to report to the committee in charge. The rest of us stood about, waiting for instructions. I and the others in my 20-man reserve squad were in high spirits. Whatever happened now, we knew that we had struck a stunning blow against the fascists.

Our assignment to guard the grounds during the concert and until everyone left the place had ended successfully. Now we waited for our buses to come and pick us up, meeting friends who had been on other parts of the line, sharing cigarettes and cans of beer and soda.

Soon orders came for us to crowd into the buses. Since some of the guards had given up their places in the cars that brought them, we piled in three to a seat and into the aisles. There were about three buses ahead of us, another two behind us, all filled with our men.

But as the first bus began to move up the roadway, we saw that some 500 of our men were left without any means of transportation.

"If those guys have to walk out of here, we're going with them," someone in my bus shouted. Immediately, everyone took up the slogan. Someone opened the rear emergency door of my bus. Within seconds we were out and back on the roadway. Behind and ahead of us our men were spilling out of the buses and joining the ranks of those who intended to march out of Hollowbrook. Even the first buses, which had already started, now stopped and our men came out to join in the line of march.

Quickly we formed lines of six and seven abreast and prepared to walk up the roadway and out of Hollowbrook. I was among the men in the first few rows. Behind us, the guard was forming into line, reaching far back, almost to the concert area itself.

There was no transportation for us and soon the word came down that we were to march out on foot. Mohegan Colony was about five miles away and we were to go there until transportation home could be arranged. We expected to be attacked by hoodlums along the road. None of us had any illusions about the police. If the state-troopers protected anyone, it would not be us. Many of us hurriedly picked up soda bottles, sticks, pieces of rope, anything we could find on the ground that could be used for defense. We were almost at the rear of the line. We did not know what was happening ahead of us.

At the head of the line where we stood, we could see the police massing at the top of the roadway. Then we realized that we were in a trap. Behind us was the concert area and beyond that the steep, densely wooded hill. Facing

the road, we in the front were bounded on the right by the almost vertical face of the cut around which the roadway turned into the grove. To our left was the long steep hill paralleling the road, where I had been posted all day.

Discipline Holds

Everyone of us knew that the victory was already ours. In spite of threats and the memory of the beating some of us took the previous Saturday, more than 25,000 had come to hear Paul Robeson sing. Now the concert was over, the concert-goers were on their way home. Only we remained. We knew that we had won, that the people had won. Nothing could efface that fact. And we knew that the police would try to provoke trouble.

Our main task now was not to fall for any provocation. If the fascists in and out of uniforms could start a "riot," our victory would be in danger. The papers could point to this riot and use it to cover up the attack on the concert the previous week. They could point to us and claim that we had come there to start trouble; that the actions of the hoodlums and the police terror were justified. At all costs, we had to prevent any incident that would obscure the profound significance of the concert. And we understood this, standing there at the foot of the hill, watching the police fan out in a semi-circle around us and begin to advance down the hill and the roadway toward us.

From the rear of the line, I could see the police start to come down toward us. They were spread out, moving cautiously and slowly. I had lost contact with the other members of my squad. I was standing in a line of four men, watching the police stop before our formation.

In the front, we watched the row of policemen come down the roadway and stop about 50 feet above us. All the police directly in front of us had their hands on their gun butts. To my left I saw two policemen almost at the end of their line draw their guns out of their holsters.

The police were standing about five or six feet apart. More police came behind them. They filtered through, coming toward us in threes and fours, taking up positions on our left. One policeman moved across to the other side, to the base of the cut on our right. He saw that he was alone. He raised his club and signalled up the road, shouting, "Send some men over here!" Three policemen joined him quickly. One of them said, "Let's get the N-----s out of there!" Instinctively we shifted about in our ranks, placing the Negro guards in the center of our line as quickly as possible.

More and more policemen came down, gradually surrounding us. We waited, tense and alert against attempts to provoke a fight. When the police had taken up their positions, they ordered us to drop baseball bats, pepper, beer cans, bottle openers or any kind of weapons that we might have. We obeyed the order and dropped everything we might have used for defense. We were prepared to take a beating, if necessary, but we were determined that they would not provoke us into actions that would in any

way detract from the great demonstration staged by the people at the concert.

"Protecting" Police

As we dropped our things, the police formed a line on the roadway just ahead of us, standing in two's. An order was shouted down to the police to start sending us up in groups. About 20 of us started up the roadway. But as we separated from the main body of our men, a line of policemen cut through us and broke us up into two groups, sending about ten ahead. I was in the group that was held up, completely surrounded by the police. They searched us thoroughly. Then they pushed us ahead, ordering us to go in fours.

We placed a Negro in the middle. I stood beside him and another guard flanked him on the other side. We had gone only a few feet when another group of policemen crowded into us and began to search us again. This time they forced us to advance in two's. The Negro guard was beside me, as they pushed us ahead again. After another few steps, more police closed in on us, forcing us into single file. The Negro we were trying to protect was now in front of me. I had a chance to look ahead. He wore a checked jacket and brown trousers. Past him I saw a long row of policemen. The police formation resembled a funnel, and we were to pass through the funnel's mouth.

As we moved ahead, the policeman on my left suddenly grabbed me by the shoulder and pushed. A second policeman pulled me by my right shoulder, spinning me almost around. The next instant, the one on the right pushed me and the policeman on my left pulled, spinning me in the opposite direction. They repeated this several times. As I turned, I saw one policeman hit the Negro in front of me across the back with his club. Another, the one on the right, turned him around and hit him across the stomach. At the same time, he shouted at the Negro, "Open your jacket!" The policeman on the left started hitting the Negro across his calves, "Roll up your pants, damn you!" he was saying, "Roll up your pants!" Just then, I heard a shout from the hill above me.

"Look what they're doing to that Negro!"

The cops stopped pulling and pushing me. The one on my right looked up quickly. "Who let those bastards up there!" I looked up and saw two men holding press cameras looking almost straight down at us. I don't know who they were or which one of them had shouted. The next moment the policeman pushed me forward.

"Come on! come on! Keep moving!" he shouted.

I was then handed from one pair of cops to another, each pushing me around or frisking me quickly. The Negro just ahead of me was hit and jabbed by their clubs. I was not hit by a club once while going through the gauntlet.

Even as we came out of the gauntlet, one of the group of ten men who were the first to go through, whispered to us, "Don't let them separate us! Slow down!" Slipping and sliding on the rutted roadway, we obeyed his command. By the time we reached the top of the roadway,

we were walking two and three abreast, slowing down to give the men coming after us a chance to get into the formation. At the top, we lined up on the level ground near the entrance.

The police had failed again in their provocation.

The line ahead of us was moving. As soon as the police finished frisking us, we were sent up the road. As we came up, we saw that the police had formed a gauntlet. They were standing in a double row, about three feet apart. We were forced to run through this gauntlet one at a time. I was not hit by the cops, but I saw them swing their clubs and knock off "Local 65" caps from the heads of several of the union men in front of me.

Buses at Last

One of the men took over leadership of the guards here. He ordered us to form into lines, four abreast. As our men came up the roadway, they formed into a line behind us. One man went down the line to count the rows, and when he finally came back, I heard him report that there were 1,200 men in our group.

While we stood waiting for orders from our committee, the truck of television station WPIX moved up close to us. Several policemen and state troopers came up the road carrying armfuls of baseball bats. They crossed the road and as they approached the crowd of hoodlums lined up on the other side of the road, I heard boys shouting: "Give me a bat!" "Me, too!" "Me, too!" A state trooper, one of those carrying the bats across the road, came back a few minutes later. He was swinging a bat in his hands, and as he passed by us, a policeman asked him, "Why didn't you give them that one, too?" "I want this for myself," the state trooper replied. "It was the only number one there."

After we had been standing there perhaps half an hour, two buses pulled up from the bottom of the hill. They were filled up with our men. They stopped near the exit and announced that they could make room for about 20 more.

The leader of our column asked for 20 men to go into the buses, giving preference to our Negro guards. Several older men went in, but all the Negro guards standing near me refused to go, insisting that they would remain with the rest. These buses left and soon two more came up the hill. The police ordered us into the buses. But we refused to move until all of us could go together.

Finally the police had about six or seven buses ready. Our committee explained to us that we were to be taken to Mohegan and we were assured that the buses would return from Mohegan to pick up the rest of our men. We crowded into the buses, jamming in as many men as we could. The buses then pulled out with two policemen in each bus. They drove us around for almost three-quarters of an hour, claiming that they had lost the way.

At Mohegan, we emptied out of the buses, which then went back to Hollowbrook for the small group of men who had been left behind.

I was one of the men left at Hollowbrook when the bulk of our men went to Mohegan. There were some 200 of us. We watched the buses pull out as we remained standing in our ranks of four abreast. Three of our men, who had assumed leadership, walked up and down the lines. One gave us tiny sips of water from a water can and whispered instructions and encouragement between sips. We had all been in the sun since nine that morning. We had had nothing to drink for the last five or six hours. I felt ill and dizzy. But the troopers refused to allow us to sit down on the ground. A police van rode up and down the road, its red light flashing in the darkness. A fire truck was brought up and its floodlights turned on us. Policemen went up and down the line trying to provoke trouble. None of us lost control.

Whenever troopers heard any whispering in our ranks, they would come up close and sneer: "What? Did you say anything?" They were hoping that one of us would break and give them the pretext for an attack. But as it had been throughout the long day, not a single one of us broke. After about an hour's wait, about 9:30 or 10 P.M., the buses finally arrived. We went in on the double, smacked on the shins and back by the police. We arrived at Mohegan Colony ten minutes later.

At Mohegan, many of us crowded around the entrance, anxiously waiting for the buses to return with the rest of our men. People came out of the houses carrying pots of water and coffee cups. Each of us took a sip and passed the cup around because there would not have been enough water if each of us drank his fill. People gave us fruit, sandwiches, boiled eggs, bread. It seemed that they had emptied their refrigerators of every bit of food and were giving it to us. A girl was distributing packs of cigarettes which we immediately passed around. People invited us into their homes to wash up, to make phone calls home, for coffee.

Our committee called us together and informed us that cars were coming up from New York to take us home. We would have to wait an hour or so before they arrived. In the meantime, those who wanted to go by train would be taken to Harmon.

I was put into a detail of 20 men under a squad leader. Our job was to guard the entrance to the Mohegan Colony, to direct traffic and to remain until every one of our men was on his way home. I had a chance, standing in the road just outside Mohegan, to see the marvelous response to our call for transportation. For hours, cars kept coming in a steady stream. Some of the men in these cars had been at the concert and arrived home. There they had heard that we were trapped by the police without any means of transportation. They came back from New York.

A little after 2 A.M., all of our men had left for home. Our detail of 20 men were the last of the guard left. We piled into waiting cars which took us back to New York.

CONGRESS LEADERS DOUBLE-TALK

By Louis Harap

THE top leadership of the American Jewish Congress has finally deigned to take public notice of opposition to their attempt to destroy the mass character of the organization. *Congress Weekly* for July 25 contains an editorial, "Thunder on the Left," which followed by about a month our first article on the problem. Nowhere in this editorial or elsewhere is JEWISH LIFE referred to by name. The tactic is rather to refer to "the *Morning Freiheit* and its allied organs." (JEWISH LIFE is published by the Morning Freiheit Association.) We allude to this silent treatment of our documented charges not because our vanity is piqued, but because the omission is prompted by the fear that specific references to our articles may lead people to read them and therewith inform themselves in detail on the case against the leadership.

"It is quite clear," says the editorial, "that questions such as Israel, anti-Semitism and democracy, while of primary importance to a Jewish organization seeking to serve the interests of the Jewish people and the American democracy, are employed merely as strategic and tactical weapons by those who have other masters to serve." Thinking people will recognize this argument on its face as specious nonsense designed to confuse people and to divert their attention from a judicious study of the facts.

The issues become clear enough if one gets down to cases. For example, the problem of Germany. On August 11 a pogrom took place in Munich. A number of Jews were fired upon and beaten up by German police. But this pogrom cannot be understood as an isolated incident: it was a direct result of the failure of the American government to carry out the Potsdam agreement on denazification. The outbreak was a product of the failure to destroy German cartels, of the re-emergence, under American auspices, of nazis in high office. This was how the Jewish Committee of Munich judged the affair in its statement issued the day after it happened. The Jewish press in this country and over the world headlined the outbreak and editorialized on it for days. Yet the Congress leadership, which unctuously intones its devotion to "Jewish interests," did *absolutely nothing* to arouse the Jewish community to protest. Was this passivity dictated by "Jewish interests?"

But the matter goes much deeper than protests at single outbreaks. Action against the Munich pogrom is urgent and important. But protest alone cannot have any effect nor can it guarantee that there will not be a recurrence, unless an uncompromising struggle is conducted against the policy of our government, which is responsible for the *renazification* of Germany. The Congress program clearly calls for such a struggle on denazification.

On August 29, 1949, a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report from Paris stated: "The necessity of arousing worldwide public opinion against a revival of nazism and anti-Semitism

in Germany was stressed by Dr. David Petegorsky, of the American Jewish Congress, at this week's session of the World Jewish Congress meeting." Yet Petegorsky and his clique have consistently tried to sabotage every effort of the divisions and chapters to arouse public opinion against the failure of denazification, as we have abundantly shown in our articles in the last few issues. The Congress leadership refused to participate in the picketing of the Nazi industrial fair in New York in the spring of 1949 and even threatened to denounce divisions which picketed. When several divisions and chapters in New York printed postcards early in 1949 to be sent to President Truman protesting the commutation of Ilse Koch's sentence, the top leadership forbade use of the postcards.

This, then is the crux of the struggle within Congress: Dr. Petegorsky and his clique have made fine speeches about denazification, but in practice have given up the struggle against nazism. What is more, they have actually tried to prevent chapters and divisions from carrying on a militant fight. The opposition, on the other hand, insists on the most militant action against the failure to denazify. In effect the Petegorsky-Miller-Poliers policy leads inevitably to the strengthening of anti-Semitism and to the resurgence of nazism in Germany. What then becomes of the Congress leaders' assertion that the opposition is serving "other masters" while they serve "Jewish interests"?

Mass Pressure in Word and Deed

Congress has often in the past condemned the American Jewish Committee oligarchy for the hush-hush policy and for the suppression of mass action to combat anti-Semitism. In line with this Congress viewpoint, Dr. David Petegorsky spoke on March 16, 1947, on techniques of Jewish defense. "Democracy," he said, "has never been won anywhere unless there has been a mass movement behind the fight. There must be mass organizations and mass pressure if these rights are to be won. . . . This approach . . . demands mass participation, particularly by the Jewish community. You cannot draw up a mass petition for presentation to the city council, or organize a legislative hearing, or bring pressure to bear for the passage of a state law or a municipal ordinance, or press for the ouster of an appointed official unless masses of people are organized for the effort. People must be given a real sense of democratic participation, the feeling that they are a vital part of a dynamic fight for democratic rights."

But Petegorsky and his clique of 1949 have declared war on the very elements in Congress who believe in—and are trying to execute—the methods outlined by Petegorsky in 1947. The Jewish People's Fraternal Order, the American Jewish Labor Council and the Detroit Metropolitan Chap-

ter were expelled from Congress for following just these principles in implementation of the Congress program. Who then are fighting in the "Jewish interests" and who are serving "other masters"?

But the ruling clique does not attempt to refute the documented charges that they are trying to paralyze or expel the most militant elements of Congress. How can the *Congress Weekly* editorial dismiss these charges as "absurd" without even pretending to refute them? Because the leadership believe they possess the magic weapon of reactionaries in our day—red-baiting. Call your opponent "red," and you can misrepresent him as furiously as you please. Yet any person familiar with the conflict within Congress knows that *the program of the opposition is the program adopted at the 1948 convention.*

Nevertheless the *Congress Weekly* editorial smears the opposition with the assertion, "one need only examine the 'party line' with regard to Israel to see the utter hypocrisy of communists" on this issue. Then follow several sentences of compressed misrepresentation and distortion of the communist position on Israel. What profound concern have the Congress leadership exhibited with respect to Israel's struggle? How far have they gone beyond sonorous declarations? Does devotion to Israel consist of an uncritical acceptance of every statement by Zionist leaders, of every measure of the Israeli government as if it were a papal bull? No, real concern for Israel demands a fight against those who are trying to rob the Israeli people of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Not the Soviet Union nor the new democracies have been doing this, but the American and British governments. The most recent manifestation is the pressure being put on the Israeli government by the United States, as Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett admitted in the Knesset recently.

The Record on Israel

But what is the record of the Congress ruling clique on Israel—that is, in terms of action, not words? The fact is that every action for mass pressure on Israel's behalf undertaken by Congress was made over the protest of the leadership and in the face of their sabotage. The 1948 convention resolved to set up an action committee on Israel. The leadership sabotaged the resolution. Only after mounting indignant protest from the membership and individual actions by divisions and chapters was anything achieved. The present leaders of the opposition Committee for a Democratic AJ Congress led the fight for action. In the winter of 1948 this protest finally bore fruit in a decision forced through the administrative committee over the opposition of the leadership to set up the action committee, headed by Rabbi Shepherd Z. Baum, who is chairman of the Committee for a Democratic AJ Congress. Nevertheless the top Congress leadership succeeded in sabotaging the work even of this action committee. Was the ruling clique prompted by "Jewish interests" in this matter, or "other masters"—American imperialism?

The spurious nature of the *Congress Weekly* editorial is

especially apparent in its last paragraph. "The American Jewish Congress," says the editorial, "will pursue its defined objectives strictly from the viewpoint of Jewish and American interests. It will refuse to become involved in the political conflict now raging over a large part of the world." This is in fact a cover up for the masters the Congress leadership really serves. For in every case, whether it is denazification, anti-Semitism or Israel, one *must* take sides. How can one challenge anti-Semitism at home or abroad without becoming involved in the struggle against the fascist and "cold war" ideology from which it springs today? What does the fight against the failure of denazification mean unless one combats the pro-fascist policies pursued by our government in Germany in the name of "containing communism"? How can one fight for the independence of Israel without exposing and struggling against our government's domination by oil interests and against the strategy which aims to make Israel an anti-Soviet base?

Is not the ruling clique's campaign of expulsions and throttling of militant Congress elements being executed on one side of this very conflict? And the tragedy is that the side on which the ruling clique is fighting is that of the red-baiters, who use the same technique as Hitler and all enemies of the Jews today, the technique which facilitated the murder of six million Jews. Although the Congress leadership scrupulously avoided any mention of "communism" during the involved proceedings in which they wrapped their expulsions, the red-baiting editorial brought this dominant motive into the open. This was confirmed in another way that is proving extremely embarrassing to the "liberal" leadership of Congress.

Red-Baiting Technique

On August 19 the *Jewish National Post* of Indianapolis published a statement by the American Jewish League Against Communism, which specializes in red-baiting of everything progressive in Jewish life. This outfit is headed by the notorious "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz, who was characterized as a *moser* (informer) in a resolution passed unanimously by the New York Board of Rabbis on October 22, 1947, after he had published a scurrilous article in the New York *World-Telegram* making red-baiting accusations against noted Jewish figures. The League statement calls attention to the fact that some Congress leaders held meetings with Schultz on several occasions as far back as March 1948 "at which plans were formulated" to expel the JPFO and AJLC. The League claims credit for helping plan the expulsions that actually took place.

What would Rabbi Wise have said to this bit of information? In 1947 he said: "I brand him [Schultz] as a professional and probably profiteering communist-baiter, as unworthy to be a member, not to say a rabbi, of a Jewish congregation." And now it appears that Schultz is a consultant on democracy for Congress. The League statement chides the Congress leadership. "We cannot hide our profound disappointment," says the League, "that the Congress leadership should hedge on the real issue, the real reasons

for the expulsions. . . . The Congress carefully avoids the use of the word communist or any reference to communists." The League was slightly in error, for the editorial above had already thrown off the procedural mask. Congress leadership was stung by the publication of the League statement. In the August 26 issue of the *National Jewish Post*, Rabbi Irving Miller flatly denied that any top Congress leaders at any time consulted with Schultz. But Rabbi Miller cannot talk away the objective fact that, whether or not the ruling clique consulted with Schultz, their aims and his coincided—the expulsion or silencing of every progressive voice in Congress.

Degeneration of Leadership

How far the Congress leadership has degenerated was painfully demonstrated in Rabbi Miller's response to the profoundly shameful, un-American riot at the Robeson concert in Peekskill on August 27. It is common knowledge that the mob which attacked the peaceful concert-goers shouted anti-Semitic and anti-Negro epithets. It was later reported in the press that the rioters even attacked Jewish War Veterans who had participated in the "picketing." It was obvious to everyone that when Governor Thomas E. Dewey ordered the two Westchester County law enforcement officers most directly responsible for the riot to make an investigation, he was laying the ground for a whitewash of the guilty. Yet Rabbi Miller issued a statement on August 30 in which he "commended" Dewey for ordering the investigation.

With every passing day the role of the present leadership is rapidly becoming evident to more and more Congress members. But the mere replacement of the present officers is not in itself enough to set Congress once more on the road to militancy and effectiveness in performing its mission for the Jewish people and American democracy. For this is no struggle of personalities. It is a struggle for a program. In this critical period for democracy and the Jewish people, a grave responsibility falls upon Jewish organizational life, particularly on those organizations whose stated purpose is Jewish defense. Congress was founded to prosecute a policy of defense substantially at variance with that of the "defense" organizations dominated by the wealthiest American Jews, like the American Jewish Committee. Despite its often unclear perspectives, Congress has many times acted in defiance of the hush-hush methods of fearsome Jews and of those whose primary object is to keep in check the democratic surge in Jewish life. The challenge facing Congress today is more serious than ever. It is because the present bureaucratic leadership of Congress has failed so miserably to meet this challenge and has tried to prevent the energetic and militant groups in Congress from acting effectively on great issues affecting the Jewish people, that the Congress membership is gathering its forces.

As the opposition to the Congress leadership has developed within the past year or so, a number of people, some of them progressives, have argued as follows: we agree with your characterization of the leadership. But will not a fight

against them disrupt whatever program is being carried on, limited though it is? And is there not a danger of destroying Congress itself by this fight? This argument has been offered on occasion by well-meaning people who have Congress interests at heart.

Issue is Program, not Personalities

The fact is, however, that those who argue thus do not realize that this struggle against the ruling clique is the only way to halt the disintegration of Congress as a militant, alert, vital organization. Unity is always of basic importance. But "unity" has no meaning unless coupled with the question, "Unity for what?" Unity with Petegorsky, Miller, the Poliers to prevent effective mass action on denazification, Israel, anti-Semitism? Unity with this clique to expel anyone who acts on the Congress program? Such unity is unity to destroy Congress. And this type of unity has already been too frequent in the past. What cause did unity with the misleadership serve in the past? Was the ruling clique moved to take any action by absence of criticism in the interests of "unity"? Such unity endangers the life of Congress because it creates illusions that appeasement of reactionaries or silence in the face of a reactionary policy will turn a reactionary from his course. The opposite is true. Silence demobilizes the membership and robs it of leadership and keeps it ignorant of affairs.

It must be clear, also, that the renewal of Congress requires more than a replacement of the present leadership. It is essential to form a unity on the basis of an *effective program*, not of personalities who may supplant the present leadership. Any other basis for action would nullify the present struggle to create once more a militant, mass Congress. There are undoubtedly certain forces in Congress who perceive that rank and file resentment against the ruling clique is growing and may try to raise to leadership new people whose policy does not differ in essentials from that of the ruling clique.

This contingency thus requires above all that the primary emphasis in the present struggle be placed on *program and unity on a program*. One cannot reiterate too often that the issue is *program, not personalities*. The issue is whether there will be a democratic American Jewish Congress in which Jews of all political, religious and social beliefs can join in a common program of action for Jewish rights. What is decisive is articulation of a program, reaching the membership with this program and stimulating the membership to act on this program.

The American people, and the Jews among them, are at the crossroads: are we going forward to increased democracy and freedom for all minorities, or shall we fall in with the current hysteria and move towards fascism and war? For Congress the answer is unequivocal. That is why the growing movement of opposition to the bureaucratic leadership must unite on a progressive program and a determination to execute it. This means a close cooperation of all those who agree with this program, regardless of political differences outside of this program.

HIERARCHY OVER THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Lester Levy

THE recent exchange of statements between Francis Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt has served to highlight one of the most crucial problems facing American democracy in general and education in particular—the question of the separation of church and state.

Observers in many cities could testify to the rapidity with which the Catholic hierarchy is attempting to move in on the schools of this country. They could reveal the effort that has been made to expand the parochial school system and to secure public funds for its support. They could also reveal how well organized, and in many cases successful, have been the attempts to influence and control educational policy in the public schools. Perhaps nowhere has this been seen more clearly than in New York City. We shall confine ourselves primarily to developments in the post-war period.

Perhaps the first ominous indication of what was at work came at the time of the May Quinn case. This teacher has been accused by 14 of her fellow teachers of anti-Semitic attitudes and acts in her classroom. The evidence against her was overwhelming. So great was public resentment that a broad united front developed involving leading Jewish and Protestant organizations, parent groups and trade unions, as well as many prominent individuals, including Catholics. As a result, the Board of Education was compelled to try May Quinn in the winter of 1945.

Under ordinary circumstances, considering the evidence and the weight of public opinion, this teacher would have been quickly dismissed. However, support for her soon developed from sources close to the Catholic hierarchy. Articles favorable to her appeared in *Catholic News*, organ of the New York Archdiocese of the Catholic Church, and in the *Tablet*, organ of the Brooklyn Archdiocese. Organizations with predominantly Catholic leadership such as the Queens County American Legion came out on her behalf. A letter in the *Gaelic-American* for November 17, 1945 from Rev. Edward Brophy (author of *The Christian Front—Its Justification and Need*) called upon its "clerical and lay readers" to come to May Quinn's defense. The Coughlinite Rev. Edward Lodge Curran was one of the leaders in her campaign. If such was the source of the public support for May Quinn, it is not difficult to surmise what must have taken place behind the scenes. The result became evident on February 27, 1946, when the Board of Education virtually exonerated her and restored her to the classroom.

On March 7, 1946, Mayor William O'Dwyer filled a vacancy to the Board of Education by appointing George A. Timone. There were two things unusual about this appointment. The first was the startling fact, which ap-

peared in the press, that Timone's name was selected by Mayor O'Dwyer from a list submitted to him by the then Archbishop Francis Spellman. It was always common knowledge that members of the board were chosen, in part, on the basis of their religious background so as to maintain a "balance" of the three faiths. However, this was one of the few occasions when the direct intervention of church authorities in the field of education (in cooperation with city officials) was exposed to public view.

The second unusual thing was the background of the man selected to help guide the destinies of some 800,000 children. It was revealed that Timone had been an ardent supporter of the fascist dictator Franco, and that he had been associated with notorious Christian Fronters in rallies on behalf of Franco and also in support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its then chairman Martin Dies. The public outcry forced the mayor to take note of the opposition his appointment had aroused. The Mayor's Committee on Unity was directed to conduct an "investigation," the purpose of which was to whitewash Timone of charges of bigotry. But significantly, Timone is quoted as having told the Mayor's Committee: "In February 1939, as between what we might call Franco, and his opponents, rightly or wrongly, I believe to this day rightly, my sympathies were with Franco."

That Spellman's listing of Timone was not accidental soon became clear from the latter's action as a member of the Board of Education. He spearheaded efforts to censor teaching materials of their progressive content and was in the leadership of the witch-hunt against teachers.

Pressure from the "Tablet"

The best indication of the aims which the Catholic hierarchy is pursuing with reference to the New York schools is given by two successful campaigns pursued by the *Tablet*, official Catholic paper of the Brooklyn Diocese.

The first was an offensive which it launched against efforts by the schools to combat bigotry. For a number of years an in-service course for teachers called "Background and Techniques in Teaching Intercultural Education" had been given under the sponsorship of four teacher associations comprising teachers of social studies, general science, biology and English. Most of the teachers of these subjects in the New York school system belonged to one of these associations. The purpose of the course was to help teachers in methods of using the classroom to promote brotherhood and understanding among pupils.

In October 1947, the *Tablet* launched a campaign against the course. An article headlined "City Sponsors

Course by Reds for Teachers," stated in part: "The word intercultural has now generally come to be associated with propaganda of the Communist Party line. . . . One lecture on the means of combatting prejudice might be expected in such a course—but six? The overemphasis on prejudice is part of the party line technique which seeks to divide and conquer by stirring up hate among minority groups by making them feel more discriminated against than they really are."

The *Tablet* was joined by the New York *World-Telegram* which, in a series of articles by Frederick Woltman, condemned the course by red-baiting a nationally famous sociologist, Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, who was one of the instructors. Far from resisting the pressure of the *Tablet*, the school authorities fell right in line. Superintendent of Schools William Jansen, using as a pretext an article on religion written by Dr. Stern some 15 years previously, demanded that he be dropped as an instructor. The leaders of the four teacher associations took a poll of their members. In each of the groups the teachers supported their leaders in opposition to the position of Dr. Jansen and the *Tablet*. In spite of this expression of opinion the course was ordered discontinued. The stand of the *Tablet* that "fighting prejudice" was "communist," won the day. What was particularly noteworthy was the alacrity with which school officials responded when the *Tablet* called the tune.

Youthbuilders Is Destroyed

Flushed with its easily-won victory, the *Tablet* next directed its guns against an organization known as the Youthbuilders, Inc. This citizens' group, guided by a mildly liberal program, had sponsored clubs in various schools under the direction of trained teachers. Their purpose was to organize projects, trips, etc., that would help promote better citizenship. Among social problems that were considered was the question of discrimination and it was on this point that the *Tablet* argued most strongly, despite the fact that Youthbuilders itself engaged in red-baiting. An article in the *Tablet* of May 29, 1948, described a typical Youthbuilder forum thus:

"Most of the views expressed by the children during the discussion were centered around prejudice. Displaying familiarity with the common prejudices upon which communists and the professional promoters of 'tolerance' continually harp, the youngsters drew . . . pessimistic conclusions. . . . The pattern is to stress national, racial and religious differences and to perpetuate them; it is to focus public attention on selected minorities."

This was an echo of the line which the *Tablet* had used in its fight against the intercultural course. Here too it was successful. Youthbuilders was decentralized and its program watered down. By May 1949, after a year's campaign by the *Tablet*, it had virtually been disbanded.

A fitting climax to the affair was the resignation from the New York public school system of a teacher with 23 years of service, Miss Ethel Dammrich. This teacher had

been on the supervisory staff of Youthbuilders for three years. According to the *New York Times* of May 13, 1949, which headlined the story: "Teacher Charges Catholic Pressure," Miss Dammrich, a member of the Protestant Evangelical Church, resigned in protest over the success of the *Tablet* in driving Youthbuilders out of the schools. She said: "My resignation was not hasty or ill-advised. . . . The reason I continued teaching as long as I did was that I was ever hopeful that democracy in the schools would become more than just words. . . . I feel that it is hopeless until we can remove the pressures that are being exerted on the school system."

It is significant that in both these instances the pressures of the *Tablet* and the forces it represents were powerful enough to carry the day against the wishes of large numbers of teachers and of a very broad section of the public. As a result the schools have veered away from any forthright approach to the problems of bigotry and intolerance. Whatever work is carried on in the field of "intercultural education" has been reduced to the innocuous, ineffective (and at times harmful) level of the program of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Thus the policies of the Catholic hierarchy with regard to the public schools have resulted not only in the protection of anti-Semitic teachers, but also in curbing efforts to eliminate anti-Semitic and anti-Negro prejudices from children's minds.

So bad has this situation become that on June 26, 1949, the Commission on Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York released a bulletin which accused the New York City educational authorities, among other things, of "subservience" to the *Tablet*.

Book Censorship

These same policies have had their reflection in persistent efforts to censor textbooks, films, and other teaching materials. One of the earliest acts of George Timone as a member of the Board of Education was to secure the banning of Howard Fast's *Citizen Tom Paine* on the specious grounds that it allegedly contained undesirable ribald passages. Then followed the banning of Laura Z. Hobson's *Gentleman's Agreement*, the novel dealing with anti-Semitism which was turned into a prize-winning film. The ban was removed much later, only after strong protests. Actually, the ban was removed only in order to overcome the extremely bad impression made by the banning of the film in Franco Spain, where a high church dignitary declared that feelings of universal brotherly love did not necessarily extend to Jews. Embarrassment of the Catholic hierarchy in this country led them to try to efface the bad effect by lifting the ban here. Arthur Miller's novel *Focus* was also banned because it was charged that its depiction of a priest resembling Father Coughlin was offensive to the Catholic Church. One of the latest textbooks to be removed from the approved list is Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee*, which contains criticisms of Catholic Church practices in pre-feudal times.

The sensitivity of school officials to pressure from the Catholic Church contrasts sharply with their failure to respond when evidences of bias in textbooks has been presented to them by the Negro or Jewish community or from other sources.

"Nation" Banning

Despite many protests about a number of such passages in school texts, no steps have been taken by school officials to have them revised or removed. However, when the magazine *Nation* last year published a series of articles discussing the stand of the Catholic Church on various social and political issues, Superintendent Jansen saw fit to ban it permanently from school libraries. In defense he quoted 21 sentences which he found objectionable.

An "Ad Hoc Committee," established for the purpose of opposing the ban, charged in its brief that Superintendent Jansen had deliberately distorted the issue by entitling his statement "Should Religious Beliefs Be Studied and Criticized in an American Public School." No one of course had ever suggested that the *Nation* articles be used for classroom study by pupils. But the very fact that the superintendent saw fit to becloud the matter in this way was itself indicative of the inexcusable character of his action. Further proof of this, if any were needed, was given at a meeting of the Board of Education held in June 1949, a year after the original ban. At that meeting, speakers on behalf of the *Nation* pointed out that even if school authorities were convinced that they were correct, they could not justifiably continue their ban and make it permanent. It was at that point that Dr. Jansen intervened to state that there were other items which had appeared in the magazine since then to which he took exception, but which he refused to specify. Thus the *Nation*, and thereby every other publication, was put on notice that a rigid system of censorship has now been imposed, with the Catholic hierarchy apparently having a significant voice in deciding what students shall be permitted to read.

And Now—Thought Control

In the final analysis, the most effective kind of censorship that can be imposed is that which is exercised over the thoughts and the classroom work of teachers. This indeed has been the objective of the growing heresy hunts against teachers. The prime mover here has, of course, been big business. Through its representatives in government and its controlled press, it has sought to wipe out democracy in the schools and make the teachers propaganda tools in the cold war. The Catholic hierarchy, fired as it is with zeal for a "holy crusade" against "communism," has actively participated in these efforts to repress and intimidate the teaching staff. In New York City its aims have been reflected in the actions of George Timone. He was recently appointed by Board of Education President Maximilian Moss as chairman of its law committee and has been in

the forefront of the attacks on progressive teachers. A brief, presented to the State Commissioner of Education in the summer of 1948, foreshadowed the infamous Feinberg Law by calling for the dismissal of teachers who were "communists," "fellow travelers" or who did not lend themselves actively toward justifying the "cold war." This brief was submitted by the Board of Education at the initiative of Timone. The Feinberg Law, which embodied the principles of the brief, unquestionably had the full support of the Catholic hierarchy. Now Timone leads the committee which is to administer the Feinberg Law in the New York City schools.

One aspect of the witch hunt in the New York schools which was already under way even before the passage of the Feinberg Law is worthy of special mention. That is the fact that almost all of the teachers already questioned by the superintendent of schools about their political beliefs, including the president and the secretary of the Teachers Union, have been Jewish. The same pattern of anti-Semitism witnessed in the application of the federal loyalty order seems to be developing in New York as well.

That this is not unrelated to the growing influence of the hierarchy on the school system will be evident from a news item in the *Brooklyn Eagle* of April 23, 1948. Under the headline "More Catholics Should Become Teachers, City School Aide Says," the article reported a speech of Assistant Superintendent Frank W. Whalen before an audience of 100 students at the teachers college connected with St. John's University. Whalen was reported as saying that more Catholics should become public school teachers in order to "restore the balance" of faiths among the teachers in the city's school system. It quoted him further as saying: "As far as I am concerned, public school teaching is a vocation in the definitely spiritual sense. Since our American way of life is based on the tenets of Western Civilization, how can children be taught by those who do not think in terms of Western Civilization? I believe one of the values of a teacher is that he be a carrier of Western culture. Teaching is a missionary job."

It is not a big step from this to call for a quota system in order to cut down on the number of Jewish teachers in the schools. Indeed it was just this cry that was raised by Charles E. Coughlin in the past and echoed by his followers in the New York school system.

Much more could be added to this story, including the account of how the Jewish People's Fraternal Order was denied the use of school buildings, largely through the pressure of Catholic or Catholic-led groups, which expressed their opposition to the JPFO at a public hearing of the Board of Education. But the facts already given reveal a trend which must give every citizen who believes in the principle of separation of church and state real cause for alarm. Undoubtedly a study of other school systems in many large cities would reveal a pattern basically similar to the one here described.

CREDO OF A COMMUNIST

By Alexander Bittelman

Below are excerpts from notes prepared by Mr. Bittelman for his appearance as a witness in his own defense before a commissioner of the United States Immigration Service. The government is attempting to deport Alexander Bittelman as a non-citizen who advocates "overthrow of the government by force and violence." These notes correspond closely with the actual defense examination at the hearing on August 17-18. Lack of space prevents inclusion of Mr. Bittelman's extended remarks on Marxism-Leninism.—Editors.

Question. What is your name?

Answer. Alexander Bittelman.

Q. What is your occupation?

A. I am a journalist.

Q. How long have you been a journalist?

A. I began to write very early in my life, but not professionally. My first writings date back to the years, 1905, 1906 or 1907.

Q. What was the nature of these writings?

A. They were articles on the economic conditions and trade union problems of my own trade—the printing trade. I worked as a compositor before I came to the United States, in the city of my birth, Berdichev, the province of Kiev.

Q. Where were your articles published?

A. I was a volunteer local correspondent on general labor and trade union questions, and wrote articles on these issues for the central organ of my union, the Printers' Union, called *Pechatnik*, meaning "The Printer," published in St. Petersburg, now Leningrad.

***Q.** You came to America in 1912?

A. To the best of my recollection, yes.

Q. Did you immediately begin to write for American publications?

A. No. My first articles for an American publication were written and published during the first world war, around 1916-1918.

Q. What was the publication?

A. It was the organ of the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party of America, the *Neie Welt*, the "New World."

Q. What did you write about?

A. I wrote on the conditions and problems of the Jewish workers in America, on general labor and socialist questions, on the issues of the first world war and similar topics.

Q. You were a member of the Socialist Party of America?

A. Yes. I joined that party in 1914, I believe, and became a member of the Harlem Branch of the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party—Harlem at that time was a center of the Jewish community of New York.

Q. Did you become a socialist in the United States?

A. No. I became a socialist in the land of my birth, in old Russia.

Q. Did you belong to any political party there?

A. Yes. I was a member of The General Jewish Labor



Alliance, called the "Bund" for short.

Q. When did you join it and how long did you belong to that organization?

A. My father affiliated me to the youth section of that organization around 1904 when I was 14 years old. Later I became a regular member of the organization and continued in it until I left for America in 1912.

Q. What kind of an organization was it?

A. It was a social-democratic organization of Jewish workers and middle class people. It had a nationalistic ideology. And in the great fight between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks the "Bund" generally pulled with the Mensheviks.

Q. So, when you came to the United States, you were not a Marxist-Leninist?

A. No. I was not.

Q. While in Russia, were you acquainted with the nature of the fight between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks?

A. In a very general way and almost exclusively through the literature of the "Bund" and the ideological training I received in the "Bund."

Q. You had no direct relations with the Bolsheviks and no means of learning their philosophy and position directly from them?

A. No. Only on some few occasions did I manage to see Lenin's own writings.

Q. Upon joining the Socialist Party of America, what activities did you engage in as a member?

A. I advocated and propagated the ideal of socialism in meetings, lecture rooms and classes. I participated in the political activities of the Socialist Party, rendering all sorts of assistance to labor struggles for better conditions and trade union recognition. I took part in developing various progressive and working class cultural activities among the Jewish masses. I took part in many movements against anti-Semitism and for equal rights for the Jewish people.

Throwing Off Illusions

Q. Is it correct that soon after joining the Socialist Party of America you became associated with the left tendencies and wings of that organization?

A. Yes, that is correct. I began to be attracted very strongly by the political struggles of such socialist and labor leaders as Debs, Haywood, Ruthenberg and Foster.

Q. What was it that attracted you to them?

A. I was attracted to them because they effectively expressed the ideas and feelings which were growing within myself as a result of my experiences in the labor and socialist movement in the United States.

Q. Could you tell us something about these ideas and feelings?

A. I was beginning to throw off some of my illusions about democracy as it existed in the United States. I was beginning to see that it was not at all as I conceived it; when I fought for a similar kind of democracy, a democratic Republic, in tsarist Russia.

Q. Can you tell us more specifically how you came to these new conclusions?

A. Yes. I found out that such elementary liberties as freedom of speech, assembly and organization were in actual practice denied to the bulk of the American workers. I found that none of these rights could be enjoyed at that time by the workers in America's basic industries, especially in the so-called company towns. Trade unionism was a crime in those towns. Strikes for higher wages and better working conditions were crushed mercilessly by the companies and the government. Striking workers on picket lines were beaten and many times murdered. Trade union organizers were lynched. This was an eye opener to me. And I began to understand more clearly what Marx and Lenin meant by saying that, in the final analysis, the bourgeois state is a dictatorship of the capitalist class and that the democracy of a bourgeois state is democracy mainly for the ruling capitalist class and not for the masses.

Q. Have you in mind any particular strikes and trade union struggles?

A. Yes. In 1912, when I came to the United States, there was the famous Lawrence Textile Strike, involving about 26,000 people. They fought against a wage reduction, led by Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others. Police and state troopers were spreading terror among the strikers. A number of them were killed and wounded.

In the same year, I found that workers have to fight for the right of free speech, and when they do so they were

arrested, beaten up and sometimes killed. In 1912, there were such free speech fights in many parts of the country, especially in the Pacific northwest, in California, in New England and in other places. Pittsburgh had a big free speech fight in August 1912, concerning a mass meeting of about 15,000 workers at which there were beatings and arrests.

I recall, during 1912, a miner's strike in West Virginia, where troops and police guards tried to force the miners with violence to go back to work.

In 1913, about 12,000 miners struck the Rockefeller mines in Colorado. When the strikers built their own tent colony, company-imported gangs of private detectives attacked the tents with armored cars and machine guns. The government looked sympathetically upon this violence of the company against the workers.

The strike of the Colorado miners continued into 1914. In April of that year, the Rockefeller company organized another attack upon the striking miners. Company gunmen set fire to the tent colony of the miners, resulting in 42 dead and hundreds of wounded. Mother Jones, one of the strike leaders, was jailed.

In 1917, on August 1st, Frank Little, a trade union organizer in Montana, was kidnapped and murdered.

Then there was the famous strike in Centralia, Washington. The reactionary leaders of the American Legion attacked the union local of the strikers, killing 14 workers. The police then arrested many other strikers, who were later given long prison sentences.

Finally, there was the great steel strike in 1919, led by the present national chairman of the Communist Party of America, William Z. Foster. Martial law was proclaimed in every steel town. The police and the company gunmen terrorized and attacked women and children, invading and robbing workers' homes. Five steel workers were killed in Hammond, Indiana. And all the strikers demanded was an eight hour day instead of the prevailing 12 hour day, wage increases and union recognition.

Q. What other outstanding experiences influenced your political and ideological development in the United States?

A. The conditions of the Jewish workers and of the Jewish masses in general.

Q. Could you explain it?

A. Yes, the condition of the Jewish masses helped me to get rid of another illusion about democracy in the United States. Many of us in old Russia had heard and believed the tales about the unlimited opportunities in America and the prosperous economic state of everybody. Then I saw the sweatshop and the Jewish workers in them. And the Jewish peddlers on the streets. And the actual miserable economic conditions of the American Jewish masses in New York. It was enough to make me understand fully, perhaps for the first time, that only the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism will do away with the existing social ills.

Q. Did the question of anti-Semitism in the United States play any part in your ideological development?

A. It played a very important part. Before I came to this country, I knew very well what anti-Semitism does to the Jewish masses. I came from tsarist Russia, which was known as the prison of nations and peoples, where the Jewish masses had no rights, were segregated in ghettos, Jimcrowed almost like the Negro people in the United States. I also knew what pogroms were and had taken part many times in struggles against pogrom bands and in defense of the lives of my people. But I had an idea that in the United States things were altogether and completely different. But upon coming to America I found this was not the case.

American Anti-Semitism

Q. What have you in mind?

A. I have in mind the fact that not all Americans enjoyed equal rights. I found widespread discrimination against Jews in employment, in government, in social position. I found widespread anti-Semitism underlying these discriminations. There were no pogroms, that is true, but the Jewish masses, like the masses of Slavic and Italian origin, were in a position of second or third class citizenship, economically, politically and socially. Only the most formal equality existed and not always even that.

Q. Will you deal more specifically with the manifestation of anti-Semitism?

A. Yes. Jews were rarely employed, if at all, by the railroads, steamship companies, gas, electric and telephone companies. Everywhere I found that socially Jews were treated as third or fourth rate people by the ruling classes of the United States, the so-called "superior" white Anglo-Saxon "race."

I discovered the existence of a movement called the Ku Klux Klan persecuting and attacking Negroes, Catholics and also Jews. This K.K.K. thing looked to me like the tsar's pogrom bands known as the Black Hundreds. That was under tsarism. But here I was in a democratic republic. How could a thing like this exist here?

I read in the papers that in such states as Georgia, Indiana and Colorado the K.K.K. was waging regular economic warfare against Jewish business and against employment of Jewish workers. That was, I believe, in 1915.

I was also shocked that the friendly way U.S. government officials received the White Russian emigres who came here when they were driven out of Russia by the victorious revolution—the same emigres that organized pogroms against Jews when they were in power in Russia. Some of these people were even given jobs in the State Department.

Then followed the dastardly anti-Semitic conspiracy led by Henry Ford in 1920 and later. I have in mind the reckless campaign of anti-Jewish slander and incitement carried on by the *Dearborn Independent*, a Ford enterprise. And this was no accident or isolated thing. Later on we had Father Coughlin, the Christian Front, etc. Anti-Jewish discrimination in colleges, universities, laboratories

and research institutions were a common thing as they still are. This widespread and virulent anti-Semitism was proof conclusive to me that equality in the bourgeois democracy of the United States is only a formal thing, mostly on paper, and many times not even on paper.

Q. How did you find the position of the Negroes?

A. This was the greatest shock to me when I came to America. I had known in a general way that Negroes were mistreated in the United States. But I had not the least idea of the whole brutal system of the national oppression under which the Negro people live in the United States. This had a most profound effect upon my thoughts and feelings about American democracy. And this moved me along mighty fast towards Marxism-Leninism.

Influence of World War I

Q. Did the first world war have any influence upon your ideological and political development?

A. Yes, a very considerable influence.

Q. In what way?

A. In several respects. First, I was hit in the eye by the fact that, although a majority of the American people were against joining the war and President Wilson won reelection in 1916 on the issue that he kept America out of the war, yet as soon as the House of Morgan, then purchasing agent of the Allies, decided that it was time for the U.S. to join, the government under Wilson took the U.S. promptly into the world war, a war which benefitted no one in the U.S. except the monopolies. This confirmed me finally and irrevocably in the conviction that, in the final analysis, American democracy is in substance the dictatorship of the capitalist class, in which the monopolies dictate the policies of the government, even though the progressive struggles of the masses of the people can and do compel economic and political concessions from the monopolies and their governments. And this is a fundamental proposition of Marxism-Leninism.

Q. In what other respects did the experiences of the first world war influence your ideological development to Marxism-Leninism?

A. It opened my eyes to the treacheries of the right-wing socialist leaders and the reactionary labor bureaucrats, who sold out to Wall Street and supported the imperialist war, such as Morris Hillquit and Samuel Gompers, leaders of the Socialist Party and of the American Federation of Labor, respectively. It was then that I began to realize most fully that I belonged ideologically to that group of American socialists who, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, Bill Haywood, Charles E. Rutherford and William Z. Foster, were fighting the imperialist war and the treacheries of the opportunist and reformist leaders. It was then also that I began to understand fully that in the international labor and socialist movement Lenin and Stalin were the true exponents of Marxian socialism and the leaders of the world struggle against imperialism, imperialist war and for a just and democratic peace.

Revolution in Russia

Q. Were there any other factors that influenced decisively your ideological development towards Marxism-Leninism?

A. Yes. The most important single event was the socialist revolution in Russia.

Q. In what way did this influence your development towards Marxism-Leninism?

A. First, the victory of the socialist revolution on one-sixth of the earth, which laid the basis for the realization of my dreams for a just social system, which I began to dream of from my boyhood, was the result of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, which was guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. It was therefore a world-shaking victory of Marxism-Leninism, demonstrating conclusively its correctness as the working class science of social change, and compelling its acceptance as the universal theory of social and national liberation. Secondly, I began a most intensive study of Marxism-Leninism, particularly the writings of Lenin and Stalin, which gave me an understanding of the theory and hence a more rapid development towards acceptance and mastery of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Thirdly, I was beginning to form the conviction that in order for the American working class to get ready to become the leader of the nation and the builder of a socialist society in the United States, it was necessary to form a party built upon the principles and theory of Marxism-Leninism. At the time, my ideas were as yet very unclear as to how this should be done. But I knew this question had to be thought through and solved by the left forces in the American labor movement and that it was necessary to find and determine how the general principles of Marxism-Leninism were to be applied concretely and specifically to the problems facing the American people and its working class.

Q. Did you think the Marxist-Leninist theory gave you a blueprint for the socialist revolution in the United States?

A. No. The Marxist-Leninist theory was viewed by the first American communists as a guide to action—a guide precisely to the discovery of the concrete way of applying Marxism-Leninism to the liberation struggles of the American working class. The fact that we were not always able to discover that concrete way did not change our attitude to Marxist-Leninist theory as a guide to action.

Q. In what other respects did the socialist revolution in Russia influence your ideological development?

A. It was the liberation of the Jewish masses. I knew only too well the system of oppression, degradation, poverty, isolation, pogroms and extra exploitation which the tsarist regime maintained for the masses of my people. Therefore, I was fully able to appreciate what this liberation from tsarism meant for them and for myself as one of them. I saw the victorious socialist revolution making anti-Semitism a crime and realizing full equality in all spheres. Socialism gave the masses of the Jewish people the real opportunity to become free and active participants

in the building of a classless communist society.

Q. You became a charter member of the Communist Party in September, 1919?

A. Yes. Together with the left wing of the Socialist Party, headed by Charles E. Ruthenberg and other left labor forces, the left wing element of the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party, to which I belonged, joined in forming the Communist Party of America in September, 1919.

Q. Were you a member of the national committee of the party?

A. I was elected to the first national committee. I was also a member of the national committee at other periods but not continuously.

Communist Work Among Jewish Masses

Q. What was the main field of your work as a member of the Communist Party?

A. My main work was among the Jewish working masses of the country. I was writing, speaking and lecturing on various questions and was also doing organizing work.

Q. In any official capacity?

A. For a time I served as secretary of the Jewish Section of the party.

Q. Did you have nationality sections at that time?

A. Yes. But these sections were abolished in later years because the membership grew more homogeneous and more highly trained in the principle of working class internationalism.

Q. But the Communist Party continues to work among the masses of the nationality groups?

A. Yes. To meet the special needs of the nationality groups the party has set up special bureaus or commissions, which work under the guidance of the party's leading committees. There is a National Jewish Commission of which I am the chairman.

Q. What publications did you write for?

A. They were American left wing and communist publications in the Yiddish language and communist publications in English. I can recall some of them: the left wing periodical *Der Kampf* (The Struggle), which later became the organ of the Jewish Communist Federation of America; *Die Funken* (Sparks), a Jewish communist periodical; since 1922 I frequently wrote for the *Freiheit*, a non-party daily paper in which left wing socialists as well as communists participated. In English I wrote for *The Communist*, *Political Affairs*, occasionally for the *Daily and Sunday Worker*, for *Jewish Life* and other publications.

Q. Is there any relation between the *Freiheit* you mentioned and the *Morning Freiheit*?

A. The *Freiheit* was a Jewish daily paper of a progressive and left character. It was a labor paper as well as a general people's organ, which reflected the struggles of the American Jewish workers and progressive trade union-

ists, and was looked upon generally as the spokesman of the left and progressive forces in American Jewish life. American Jewish communist journalists took an active part in the *Freiheit*. In later years it was reorganized and became the *Morning Freiheit* with substantially the same program and policies. Then during the second World War, the *Morning Freiheit* was reorganized to meet the needs of anti-fascist people's unity in the war against the fascist Axis.

Q. What is your relation to the *Morning Freiheit*?

A. As the general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association I carry out the decisions of the Association regarding the editorial policies of the *Morning Freiheit*. I also contribute articles to it.

Q. During the second World War and since, you have written extensively on the sufferings, problems and struggles of the masses of the Jewish people, have you not?

A. Yes, I have.

Towards Complete Jewish Equality

Q. What did these articles deal with?

A. These articles dealt with the problems and struggles of the American Jewish masses as an inseparable part of the whole of the American people. They dealt with the struggle to win the war against the fascist Axis. They advocated post-war collaboration of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in accord with the policies of the late President Roosevelt, for the establishment and maintenance of a just and durable peace. They advocated a democratic peace which would uproot fascism and anti-Semitism and make impossible a repetition of Hitlerism and the annihilation of six million Jewish lives. They dealt with the struggle for equal rights for the Jewish masses, for equal rights for the Negro people and for all Americans regardless of race, color, religion and national origin. They dealt with the struggle for a progressive American Jewish culture as an integral part of the progressive cultural movements of the whole of the American people. They dealt with aid to the Jewish masses abroad. They dealt with the struggle for a free and independent Jewish state in Palestine in fraternal collaboration with an equally free and independent state in the Arab part of Palestine, and related questions.

Q. Did you advocate in any of these articles or pamphlets violent overthrow of the American government?

A. No, I did not. I was combatting the violence of government agencies against the working people and the labor movement. I was combatting the violence of the K.K.K., of anti-Semites and Negro lynchers, of the infamous Palmer raids and deportation attacks.

Q. Is there any general document incorporating the Communist Party policy on Jewish questions?

A. Yes, there is. It is the "Resolution on Work Among the Jewish Masses," published in October 1946.

Q. This resolution guided your writings and your communist work in general, did it not? *A.* It did.

No Advocacy of Violent Overthrow

Q. Did you advocate in any of these writings or in your other communist work the violent overthrow of the American government?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you advocate or teach the violent overthrow of the American government at any time in any of your writings?

A. No, I did not.

Q. You are familiar with the fact that the government has been using portions of one of your pamphlets to show that you did so advocate?

A. Yes, I am familiar with the efforts of the government to distort the meaning of those portions of my pamphlet, as well as of some of my other writings.

Q. Will you explain the true meaning of those portions of your pamphlet called *The Communist Party in Action*?

A. Yes. This I can do best on the basis of the document of the National Chairman of the Communist Party, William Z. Foster, called *In Defense of the Communist Party and the Indicted Leaders*, and the book of the same author, *The Twilight of Capitalism*. . . .

Q. Would it be correct to say then that the Communist Party of America at no time advocated the violent overthrow of the American government?

A. Absolutely correct. . . .

Q. Is it true that in many of your writings since 1936 you have been developing the Marxist-Leninist idea that the struggle for socialist is a struggle for democracy?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Is it true that the answer of the American communists to the present war danger and the developing crisis is the socialist revolution?

A. No, it is false. I refer again to the Foster document.

Q. In your writings you have criticized and attacked many of the policies of the American government, have you not?

A. Yes, I have.



Courtesy of Modern Museum of Art

"For all these rights. . . ."

Lithograph by Ben Shahn

Q. Tell us about it, especially since the end of World War II.

A. I have criticized and opposed the general political course of the American government—the Truman Administration—because this course is driving the United States to a new world war and to the establishment of a fascist regime in this country.

Q. How do you explain this government course towards war and fascism?

A. I explain it by the fact that the policies of the government are dictated by the capitalist monopolies, the big corporations, Wall Street, and that these monopolies wish the United States to follow a course towards war and fascism.

Q. Why do the monopolies want war and fascism?

A. The monopolies want world domination. They want the markets, resources, profits and power that go with it. They are forcing the United States to prepare to wage another world war to give Wall Street world domination. And in order to break the resistance of the American people to these mad war plans, the monopolies seek to establish fascism in the United States.

Q. What kind of a war are the monopolies driving towards?

A. A war against the Soviet Union, against the new European democracies, against new China, the people's China, and the independence of all nations.

Q. How are the monopolies able to dictate these policies to the government?

A. Because the monopolies and big corporations dominate the economic and political life of the United States. They are the economic royalists whom the late President Roosevelt criticized very often.

Communists Fight for the People

Q. And you oppose these policies of the government?

A. Yes, I criticized and opposed the general political course of the American government because this course towards war and fascism, which has hastened the beginnings of the present economic crisis and is spreading the miseries of growing mass unemployment, is arousing the criminal activities of all fascist, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-foreign born elements in the United States.

Q. What proof is there for your statement that the monopolies dominate the economic and political life of the United States?

A. On the economic domination of the monopolies there is conclusive statistical proof. It is found in official government documents. I will name only two: *Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power*, Document No. 95, Senate, 76th Congress, 1st session; and *Economic Concentration and World War II*, Document No. 206, Senate, 79th Congress, 2nd session.

Q. What are the outstanding findings of these documents?

A. Document No. 95 contains a message from the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to the Congress of the United States, dated April 29, 1938, in which message the president declares: "Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing." The investigation embodied in Document No. 95 more than confirms the late president's declaration.

Since the conclusion of the war, concentration of economic power in the United States has proceeded apace. This began to arouse so much resentment even in circles of small and non-trustified business that President Truman felt compelled to make a few gestures in criticism of Big Business. I am commenting now on the demagoguery and futility of these gestures. I should add that these documents offer fresh proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

Q. You say the monopolies also dominate the political life of the country. What is your proof?

A. The monopolies control the press, the radio, the movies. They control the two major political parties. They control the government. They dictate the policies of the government and the best proof is that the government follows a course toward war and fascism which the monopolies desire. The monopolies, which are reactionary and pro-fascist, seek the destruction of the Bill of Rights and the establishment of a fascist regime and both major parties pursue policies leading in that direction.

Q. Is there any other evidence?

A. Yes. The monopolies, in search of greater profits and power, want to tighten the national oppression of the Negro people and both major parties frame their anti-Negro policies accordingly. These two parties are therefore responsible for the growing lynch terror and fascist police brutality against the Negro masses. The monopolies need disunity among the American people; the monopolies want discrimination against foreign born, against the Jewish masses, and against Americans of Slav, Italian and Asiatic origin, and both major parties follow this line even though in different ways. The monopolies want more oppression of the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in the United States and both major parties seek to effectuate these reactionary objectives of Wall Street.

Q. Did you carry on a campaign against the government's persecution of Americans of foreign birth and of non-citizens?

A. Yes, I did. Not only because these persecutions affected me personally. This played an important part. But more important was my realization that these persecutions against Americans of foreign birth and against non-citizens are the opening guns of a general reactionary attack upon the civil liberties and rights of the whole of the American people. I was naturally very much concerned with the deportation frenzy of the Department of Justice, the arbitrary denials and cancellations of bail, the introduction of Hitlerite concentration camp practices against the victims of the deportation assault, directed by the

devotee of lynch justice, cheap politician and messenger boy of the Texas oil corporations, Attorney General Tom Clark, whom the president had the temerity to recommend for the Supreme Court. I am naturally very much concerned with the fascist threats contained in the Hobbs Bill, better known as the Hitler Concentration Camp Bill. But all this concern arises not alone from my position as a non-citizen and an American of foreign birth. It arises also and mainly from my realization that these are measures directed to the destruction of the Bill of Rights and the establishment of a police and of a fascist state in this country. The continued existence of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, the threat against civil liberties contained in the Mundt-Ferguson Bill, the threat to outlaw the Communist Party, and the frame-up trial of the communist leaders, indicate clearly that the attacks on the non-citizens are only a part of the general reactionary attack upon the liberties of the American people.

Q. Did you advocate in these writings the violent overthrow of the American government?

A. No. I did not.

Opposition to Truman Policies

Q. Did you indicate in what way these policies of the government which you criticized could be changed?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What did you say?

A. In accord with the policies of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., I advocated the formation of a people's front against war and fascism. I advocated the building up of a people's coalition for peace, democracy, economic security and equal rights—a coalition to combat the reactionary and war policies of Wall Street, to compel a change in government policy along the lines of the people's desires for peace and democracy. I advocated Communist Party policies, as formulated in the Foster document, which aimed at bringing into office a government which will represent the people's anti-monopoly peace coalition and which will defeat the war and fascist objectives of the monopolies.

Q. Did you criticize and oppose any specific governmental policies on issues affecting particularly the Jewish people?

A. I did.

Q. What were those issues?

A. I charged the government with main responsibility for the growth of anti-Jewish discrimination and of anti-Semitism in the United States.

Q. Is it true that you have accused the government of building up the power of the nazis in Germany, of supporting fascists and anti-Semites in Greece, Turkey and wherever the government's cold war is having an effect?

A. Yes, it is completely true. The government's foreign policy of waging a cold war against the Soviet Union instead of collaborating with it for peace, is arousing anti-Semitic and fascist elements also in the United States and is creating the danger of anti-Semitic outbreaks.

Q. You have criticized the government's policies towards Israel, have you not?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. What was your criticism?

A. I accused the American government of following a hostile policy towards Israel. I maintain that this hostile policy is dictated by the American oil monopolies and the strategic theories of the warmongers who see in Israel a base of military operations against the Soviet Union. I charged the American government with trying to make Israel a puppet of Wall Street.

Q. What were the policies towards Israel that you advocated?

A. I am fighting for the right of Israel to live and develop as a truly free and independent state, able to collaborate with the peace forces of the world and with the progressive forces of the Arab peoples for peace, progress and democracy.

Q. And you advocated a change of policy?

A. Yes, I advocated a change of policy, not the violent overthrow of the American government. I called upon the American Jewish masses to unite in a democratic coalition and to join the labor and democratic forces of the whole American people in the common fight for peace, democracy, equal rights and economic security.

Government the Agent of Force and Violence

Q. Is it your contention then that the government seeks to deport you because you have opposed its hostile policies to the Jewish people and also because of your opposition to its general course of war and fascism?

A. That is correct.

Q. Is it correct also that the question of force and violence does figure as an important issue in the present situation?

A. Absolutely correct. The question of force and violence figures as a major issue in the present day struggles between the camp of peace and democracy and the camp of war, imperialism and fascism.

Q. Exactly in what way?

A. In this way: the camp of war, imperialism and fascism, that is, the forces of monopoly capitalism led by Wall Street, are driving to attain world domination. For this purpose they are preparing a new world war and are seeking to establish a fascist regime in the United States. This means that the American monopolies seek now to solve the insoluble contradictions of imperialism by the most unrestrained application of force and violence—an atomic and bacteriological war abroad and fascism at home. This is the most extreme expression of force and violence in the realization of Wall Street's imperialist policies. It is the force and violence of Hitler imperialism and fascism which cost my people—the Jewish people—six million lives, which cost all people tens of millions of lives and rivers of blood.

BEREL-ISAAC

A Short Story by Sholem Aleichem

Translated by Julius and Frances Butwin

"AMERICA is a land of bluff. . . ." "American bluffers. . . ." That is what our people like to say after they have been in America a short time. Ignorant fools—they don't know what they are talking about. When it comes to bluff, Americans may have coined the word, but they can still take a lesson from Kasrilevka. One Kasrilevker like Berel-Isaac can outbluff any American bluffer that ever was born.

You will understand the sort of person Berel-Isaac is when I tell you this: whenever it happens in Kasrilevka that someone lets his tongue run away with him—starts *hakken a chainik*, as they say in America—he is interrupted with these words: "Berel-Isaac sends you his regards." That's all you have to say. He knows at once what you mean and hushes up.

They tell a story in Kasrilevka which illustrates the reputation that Berel-Isaac has come to have among us. At Easter time it is the custom among the peasants to greet each other with the words, "Christ has arisen." The person thus greeted always replies, "Indeed—he has arisen." One Easter morning it happened that a peasant met a Jewish acquaintance and said to him, "Christ has arisen." The Jew was in a quandary. What could he do? To answer, "Indeed, he has arisen," was against his belief. And to say, "No, he has not arisen," would offend the peasant, who might even beat him up for it. So tactfully he answered, "Oh, yes. That's what Berel-Isaac told me a while ago."

Now imagine what happened when this same Berel-Isaac went to America, spent a number of years there, and then came back to Kasrilevka. Imagine the stories he had to tell of the wonders he had seen in that golden land. . . .

"LET'S START WITH THE COUNTRY ITSELF," HE WOULD SAY. "A land flowing with milk and honey. The money people make! They scoop it up with both hands, they pick it right off the streets. Of *gesheften*—'business' they call it—there are so many kinds that your head whirls when you think of them. No matter what you want, you can go and do it. Do you want to run a factory? You can run a factory! You want to open a store? You can open a store. You want to wheel a pushcart? If not, you can start peddling, or go to work in a shop. It's a free country. You can do anything you want. You can even swell up with hunger, lie down in the street and die, and no one will stop you. No one will say a word. . . ."

"And the cities they have! The width of the streets! The height of the buildings! There is a shack there that is

JULIUS and FRANCES BUTWIN are the translators of the best-selling collection of Sholem Aleichem's short stories, *The Old Country*. Julius Butwin died a few years ago. This year Mrs. Butwin's translation, *Tevye's Daughters*, appeared.

called 'Woolworth'; the tip of its chimney reaches right up into the clouds and even beyond them. It is said that this building has several hundred floors. How do you get to the top? By a ladder that's called the 'elevator.' If you have to see someone on the top floor you get into the 'elevator' down below early in the morning and you arrive on top around sunset, in time for the evening prayers.

"One day I decided to take a ride all the way up just to see what it was like up there. And I have never been sorry. What I saw there I shall never see again as long as I live. And the way I felt words cannot describe. Imagine it! There I stood looking down; suddenly on my left cheek I felt something cold and smooth like ice, or rather like a frozen jelly, terribly cold and slippery. . . . I turned my head slowly to the left and looked. . . . It was the moon.

"As for the life itself—it is one mad rush. You run, you push, you shove. 'Orryhup' they call it. Everything is done in haste. They even eat standing on one foot. A man runs into a tavern and calls for drink. In the meanwhile food is handed to him on a plate. Before he can cut it—one-half disappears one way, the other half the other way, and the man is through eating.

"And yet you should see how strong they are. They are made of iron. Giants. They have a custom of beating each other up right in the street. Not that they are mean to you—maim you, give you a black eye or knock a few teeth out, as we do. God forbid! They do it for fun. They roll up their sleeves and start swinging to see who will land more blows. In their language they call it 'fightling.' One time I happened to be walking in the Bronx—with some merchandise under my arm—and two boys came up to me—bums, loafers—and wouldn't let me alone. They wanted to fight with me. Said I, 'No sir, I don't fight!' It didn't help. They wouldn't let me go on. So I think to myself, if that's what you want, I'll show you who's boss. I put down my bundle, pulled off my coat—and did I catch it! I barely escaped with my life. After all, they were two and I was one. From that time on I don't fight with anyone, no matter what you'd pay me.

"And how they talk! Everything is upside down, just to spite you. Where we say *kich* they say *kitchen*, where everybody says *katzev* they say *butcher*. A neighbor they call a *nexdoriger*. The owner your house is a *lendlore*. Before *Yom Kippur* I tried to buy a rooster, but I couldn't make the woman understand that it wasn't a hen I wanted. Till finally I had to say, 'Get me a gentleman chicken!' This she understood, and with great joy exclaimed, 'All right!' That word—*all right* is used everywhere, for everything: *that's good, why not, with pleasure, God be thanked*.

"And the esteem in which we Jews are held! No one is

treated as well as a Jew. They have the greatest respect for us. We can do whatever we like. Why, on *Succos* you can see a Jew walking on Fifth Avenue carrying a *lulov* and *esrig*—a citron and palm—without any fear of being



arrested. The only thing they dislike is a long beard. *Viskeh's* they call them in their language. If they see a Jew with *viskeh's* they don't bother the man at all. All they do is pull at the beard until he has to shave it off. For that reason most of the Jews there have no beard or mustache, but go around with their faces as bare as a platter. It is hard to tell who is a Jew and who isn't. Without any beards, and with all of them speaking the American language, you can't tell a Jew except by his hurried gait, and the way he uses his hands. In every other way those American Jews are just as we are, with all the trimmings. They observe all the Jewish customs, love all the Jewish dishes, celebrate all the holidays. Passover is the real Passover we know. *Matzos* they bake all year round, and they have a special factory just for *charoses*. Thousands upon thousands of workers sit in this factory and grind the nuts and spices. Others even make a living out of grating horse radish. You can't trifle with America."

"YES, BEREL-ISAAC, ALL THIS IS VERY FINE INDEED. BUT TELL us one thing. Do people die in America as they do here? Or do they live forever?"

"Of course they die. Why shouldn't they die? But in America when people die, they die by the thousands, tens of thousands. . . . Whole rows of buildings cave in. Cities sink into the earth. Are you trifling in America?"

"Well, if that's the case, how are they better off than we are? They die just as we do."

"Of course they die, but how do they die? That's the thing! And not so much how they died—people die everywhere. But the way they're buried; that's the important thing. And in America, first of all, there is a custom that everybody knows beforehand where he will be buried. While he is still alive he goes to the cemetery and chooses the spot he wants. Then he bargains until a deal is made. Later he takes his wife out there and says to her, 'See, my love, this is where you'll be buried. Next to you is my place, and there are our children's.' Then he goes to the

funeral office and arranges for the kind of funeral he wants. There are three classes of funerals—first, second, and third.

"A first class funeral is for very rich people, millionaires, and costs a thousand dollars. And what a funeral that is! The sun shines, the weather is perfect. The coffin stands on a black catafalque lined with silver. The horses wear black pompons and white feathers. The rabbis, cantors, and attendants are dressed in black frock coats with silver buttons. And carriages! You can't even count the carriages! And all the children from all the *Talmud Torahs* walk in front and chant at the tops of their voices. The street resounds with their song. After all—\$1,000!

"The second class funeral is also a fine one, but costs only five hundred dollars and is not quite as fancy. The day is not so perfect. The coffin is set on a black catafalque like for the thousand dollar funeral, but there is no silver trimming. The horses and rabbis and attendants are dressed in black but without feathers and without buttons. There are carriages, but not so many. Children from only a few *Talmud Torahs* walk ahead of the hearse and sing. But their song is less melodious; it is sad and more reserved. After all, it cost only five hundred dollars.

"The third class funeral is very plain—it costs a hundred dollars in all. The weather is cool and cloudy. There is no catafalque. There are only two horses and two attendants. No carriages at all. At the head, a few children from only one *Talmud Torah* rush through their song in a low monotone, so low you can hardly make out the words. What can you expect for a mere hundred?"

"Yes, but what do you do when you don't have even a hundred dollars?"

"Then you're in a tough spot. It's bad anywhere without money. Poor people don't have to go ahead and die—they're always at least six feet underground. Still, don't despair. In America even the poorest man doesn't go unburied. They give him a funeral and it doesn't cost him a penny. Naturally it's a pretty dreary funeral, without any ceremony, with no sign of a horse or a rabbi. It rains pitchforks. Only two attendants are on hand, one on each side of the corpse. And they make their way together on foot



right to the cemetery. If you have no money, you might just as well never have been born. It's a cruel world.

"By the way, does any of you gentlemen have a cigarette to spare?"

ISRAEL AT THE CROSSROADS

By A. B. Magil

THE nub of the issue in regard to Israel is this: will formal independence mask a new colonial enslavement, or will the bones of freedom be given flesh and blood? In other words, will Israel be an imperialist or an anti-imperialist base? All other problems must be judged in relation to this central problem.

The war of liberation weakened the position of British imperialism in the Middle East and temporarily upset the predatory calculations of the United States. But this war marked the beginning, not the end of the fight for independence. It could not finally decide this question because politically it was led by class forces which even before the conclusion of hostilities had begun the betrayal of the struggle—a betrayal that the forces of the left were in 1948-49 strong enough to retard, but not prevent. With the establishment of the first elected government, a new phase in the liberation struggle opened. For Americans, whose understanding of Palestine has in the past been befogged by illusions and sentimentalities, it is essential to recognize that this government, in which the social-democratic Mapai (Israeli Labor Party) provided the mass base for the bourgeoisie, marked the re-entrance of Israel into the world colonial system of imperialism. The "mandate" is held this time by the United States—a "mandate" backed by billions of dollars—though British influence in Israel and in the rest of Palestine remains strong. This relationship of Israel to the imperialistic bloc is not altered by occasional differences that may arise between its government and the government of the United States or Britain—any more than such differences have altered similar relationships in the case of monarchist Greece, Kuomintang China, and the "independent" Philippines.

If the war against the Arab states was for the people of Israel and the peoples of the world a war for independence from all alien oppression, for the capitalists of Israel and for those in control of its government this war had a different meaning. The aim of a Jewish state as a buttress of imperialism—that aim which from Herzl to Weizmann, Jabotinsky and Ben Gurion had been the lodestar of Zionist policy¹—had not been abandoned even if the methods of achieving it had changed. This aim expressed not so much the crassness of individuals as the outlook of a class, the Jewish bourgeoisie, which had developed too late in history to play an independent role and was bound umbilically to foreign imperialism. For these elements the objective of the war was to defeat the British policy of reckoning exclusively with the Arab ruling classes and to win for capi-

talist Israel a place in the Anglo-American design for the Middle East. If in the past the Zionist leaders had proposed that Jewish Palestine become a dominion within the British empire, they now sought in practice to make it an unofficial dominion within the American empire.

Toward Semi-Colonial Status

Israel's semi-colonial status rests not only on Anglo-American dominance in its economic life, but also on its excessive dependence on contributions, investments and loans from abroad—chiefly from the United States. No country which exists on foreign doles can be truly independent. Yet with the establishment of the Jewish state, the *Yishuv's* dependence on foreign aid, instead of declining, increased substantially. And the policy of Israel's government in 1949 was to increase it still further.

The economic justification for this policy is that in view of Israel's own limited resources, it represents the principal way to develop industry, agriculture, commerce and transportation, and make possible the absorption of a large immigration. The public has been led to believe that even if some of the political consequences are a little unpalatable, there is no alternative. No one can deny that Israel for some time to come will be unable to dispense with the voluntary contributions of world Jewry, and will also need additional foreign capital. Nevertheless, the argument for leaning on American financial power, to the extent that it is not a specious apology for subservience to imperialism, is based on a complete illusion. Far from furthering healthful economic development, the conditions under which this aid is being given and utilized are tending to colonialize Israel and to reproduce there the evils of the Jewish social structure in other capitalist countries.

An industrially undeveloped country must under capitalist conditions inevitably become a colony, regardless of

¹ "Now there is a means of regulating Turkish finances, and with it of maintaining the *status quo* for some time longer, and simultaneously creating for England a new road, and the shortest one to India. . . . This means is the erection of an autonomous Jewish subject state in Palestine, similar to Egypt, under the sovereignty of the Sultan."—Theodor Herzl, letter to Reverend William H. Hechler, chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna, December 1, 1896. (Theodor Herzl: *Excerpts From His Diaries*, New York, pp. 37-38.)

"Considering the strategic and economic importance of Palestine, the inclusion of the Jewish state within the British Commonwealth of Nations would be to the interest of both."—Chaim Weizmann, "Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem," *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1942.

"... we should like this country to be attached to a greater unit, a unit that is called the British Commonwealth of Nations. For the solution of the Jewish problem, for our free national future, it is not necessary that Palestine shall constitute a separate state. . . ."—David Ben Gurion, testimony before the Peel Commission, 1936. (Quoted in Esco Foundation for Palestine, *Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies*, New Haven, Conn., 1947, Vol. II, p. 802.)

A. B. MAGIL spent six months in Israel as *Daily Worker* correspondent. The above article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book on Israel, to be issued by International Publishers.

whether it enjoys formal political independence. And it is a fact that all imperialist countries seek to prevent the industrialization of the colonies and semi-colonies except to such limited degree as suits their own purposes. The struggle for industrialization and for national independence are therefore inseparable. In Israel's case industrial expansion is essential for another reason: it can provide the largest number of jobs for immigrants. But industrialization means more than the manufacture of textiles, food products, drugs, plumbing fixtures and other consumers' goods that are characteristic of Israel's economy. It means, above all, heavy industry, especially machine building. There is a prevalent notion that because Israel is poor in industrial raw materials it is incapable of developing its own heavy industry and must always meet the greater part of its steel and machinery requirements through imports. The beginnings that have already been made in steel and machinery manufacture indicate, however, that with proper policies and controls, a heavy industry can be developed in Israel to supply the home market and the Middle East.

This year, when the influx of foreign capital in the form of gifts, loans and investments has reached the highest point in the history of Jewish Palestine, only a negligible proportion has been flowing into industrialization. *The relative level of industrial development, in view of the large increase in population, has actually declined.* As a result, those immigrants who are finding employment have been streaming preponderantly into trade, handicrafts and such elementary industries as baking. Few are getting jobs in industry, and only about eight percent have been going into agriculture, though the development of agriculture ranks second to industry for Israel's future.

Of the voluntary contributions, the bulk has had to be used to maintain immigrants and provide homes for them. Essential as this is, it does not contribute directly to the country's economic development except temporarily in the building industry. In the case of the \$100,000,000 American loan (actually a credit), the conditions attached to it provided only 20 per cent for industrialization. Perhaps the greatest mirage of all has been foreign private investments. The government staked so much on these investments, pleaded for them, and offered typically colonial inducements, not the least of which was wage-cutting. But profit-hungry foreign capitalists evidently found greener pastures elsewhere.

Moreover, most of the foreign investments that are being made are going into housing, hotels, commercial establishments and peripheral light industries. Of the foreign capitalists who visited the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency in May 1949, some 119 expressed a desire to transfer factories to Israel. Forty-four of these factories—nearly 40 per cent—were textile plants. Textiles, let it be remembered, is the typical industry of colonial and undeveloped capitalist countries. Furthermore, this industry could hardly be considered famished for foreign capital. Even before these foreign capitalists announced their intention of bestowing 44 new textile plants on Israel, representatives of

the Israeli government in the United States had been discouraging further investments in this industry on the grounds that it was saturated.

Anti-Imperialist Alternative

The idea that Israel is so small and weak that it has no alternative, but must take sides with its enemies while pretending to be neutral between them and its friends, is vicious nonsense. No less vicious and nonsensical is the idea that precisely such a policy will in time enable Israel to stand on its own feet.

The real alternative is not untried and unproved. It is in fact the only policy that proved a resounding success as against the dismal failure of years of collaboration with imperialism. This alternative was inherent in the liberation war. It was the policy of resisting imperialism and looking for support to the anti-imperialist forces of the world—a policy that the Jewish people of Palestine imposed for a time on reluctant and vacillating leaders—which led to the creation of the state and the defeat of the Anglo-American aggressors and their Arab mercenaries. But the *Yishuv's* leadership, pursuing other aims, blocked the full unfolding of that policy and the full gathering of its fruits. With the end of hostilities, they returned completely to the pro-imperialist course.

Naturally, the methods of peace are not the methods of war, but the essence of the alternative policy remains the same. It may be summed up as consisting of two complementary elements: full mobilization of all internal resources behind an integrated program designed to achieve rapid industrialization and absorption of immigrants, and at the same time reduce dependence on financial aid from abroad; and alliance with the anti-imperialist factors in the Middle East and in the world.

The full mobilization of Israel's internal resources cannot be achieved on the theory that if only the capitalists, local and foreign, had sufficiently succulent "inducements" dangled before them, they would be filled with a consuming passion to promote the national welfare. Nor can it be achieved by reducing purchasing power that is already far too low, or by a tax program that soaks the poor and wrist-slaps the rich.

Measures for Economic Independence

A first step in a program for economic independence should be nationalization of all foreign-owned concessions, such as the Palestine Electric Corporation, Palestine Potash, and the Haifa refineries, and their operation by the government in the interests of the people. This would not only weaken the positions of foreign imperialism, but would place in the hands of the government important levers for advancing the country's economic development. In addition, it would make possible the lowering of the cost of electricity and oil for industry, agriculture and home use.

A second step is the nationalization of imports. This will halt the practice of importing manufactured goods

that could be produced in Israel. Instead, Israel's limited supply of hard currency should be used to import machinery—until its own machinery industry is able to supply most of its needs—and necessary raw materials and food.

A third step—once the immediate needs of the immigrants are met and more favorable conditions for their economic absorption created—is the utilization of financial aid from the Jews of other countries, as well as increased revenue from the wealthier elements in the *Yishuv*, to establish state-owned industrial enterprises and expand Histadrut enterprises and cooperative agriculture.

The success of this internal program, which will, of course, require many additional measures, is closely related to Israel's external program—to changing its lopsided foreign trade and lopsided foreign policy. The concentration of Israel's foreign trade in the Anglo-American sphere is unhealthy economically and politically. It also means a highly unfavorable trade balance for Israel. Closer economic and political relations with countries that will treat Israel as an equal, will be willing to buy from her as well as sell to her, and will not attempt to dictate to her are imperative to further her economic development and independence. This means, in the first place, close economic and political cooperation with those that stood by Israel's side in her hour of greatest need, that seek no bases, no domination, no advantage at Israel's expense: the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Even those limited commercial relations which the Israeli government has developed with the USSR and its allies have revealed the vast difference between trading with imperialist and with anti-imperialist countries. In this connection an editorial in the June 26, 1949 issue of *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam daily, pointed out:

"At a time when it is becoming increasingly well known that the United States is threatening Israel with economic sanctions if it does not yield to her political demands, yet another example of Soviet friendship and aid was witnessed by the Jewish public: the large transport of Russian grain which has arrived in Israel. . . .

"The large transport of Russian grain was only one example of Soviet friendship. In this connection it must be stressed that the Russian grain was far cheaper than that we have been buying from the Anglo-Saxon countries; that it was paid for in pounds and not in dollars; and that it is but an example of the immense possibilities of firm economic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Such relations will undoubtedly free us from our economic dependence on capitalist countries, dependence which only entails political extortion."

Equality in Trade Relations

Israel's first trade agreement was with Hungary and the terms were so favorable that they evoked praise even from the reactionary Revisionist *Hamashkif*, which described them as "based on the principle of equality and full reciprocity," in contrast to "the one-sided trade policy im-

posed by the former mandatory regime." (*Hamashkif*, January 14, 1949.) A similar pact was signed in May 1949 with Poland. On the other hand, the agreement negotiated with Holland was of the one-sided type, with only about 40 per cent of Israeli imports to be covered by exports. The agreements with Hungary and Poland were only small tokens of the truly "immense possibilities" of trade with Eastern Europe.

This kind of economic program, internal and external, and Israel's liberation from all encroachments on its independence cannot be achieved so long as its government pursues a foreign policy of *de jure* neutrality and *de facto* support of the architects of the Marshall Plan and the Bernadotte Plan. To defend its future, Israel must develop in peace in a much more consistent way the political pattern that won it victory in war: resistance to imperialism and its satellites, and alignment with the anti-imperialist forces of the world headed by the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. To urge this is not to urge Israel's involvement in a potential war conflict; it is already involved in that conflict—on the war-provoking side. It is to urge its involvement in the world fight for peace. This does not mean severing relations with the West. Nor does it mean that the form of Israel's alignment with the peace bloc should be identical with that of the people's democracies. But let not questions of form obscure content. What we are discussing is the replacement of a pro-imperialist with an anti-imperialist policy, a change from a course that undermines Israel's economic development and independence to one that will strengthen them. That is the issue.

New Problems for Israel

What are the perspectives for achieving this kind of program? Obviously, the Anglo-American trusts and their political servitors oppose such a program, though many ordinary Americans and Britons, Jews and non-Jews, would support it. Hardly less obviously, this program is opposed by the Israeli bankers and industrialists and their social democratic-clerical coalition government. However, a program along these lines already has the support of a substantial and influential section of the Israeli public: the workers, farmers and small business and professional people around the Communist Party and Mapam. No doubt, as the struggle develops, these will not stand alone. Such a program could also be counted on to enlist the cooperation of those who in the international arena actively aided Israel's battle for independence. Let us try to evaluate the opposing forces and the dynamics of the unfolding conflict over Israel's future.

Though Israel is moving in the Anglo-American orbit, it would be a mistake to oversimplify relationships and to equate its status in all aspects with its status under the Mandate. The Palestine Jewish nation today is far different from the colonization project of the years after the Balfour Declaration. Its class and national structure are much more highly developed, as are its class and national

consciousness. It has gone through an independence struggle which has cost blood. The context of world relationships, of which Israel is a part, is also vastly different from that of the earlier period. World imperialism has been greatly weakened, socialism and the anti-imperialist forces correspondingly strengthened.

The United States rules in Israel not directly, but indirectly. This is for it both an advantage and a disadvantage. An advantage because the true anatomy of power is concealed from the people of Israel and their anger is largely directed at the old master, Britain, rather than at the new. It is an advantage too in giving Washington greater maneuverability in its relations with the reactionary Arab regimes. But it is a disadvantage in that the United States must rule through a state apparatus not its own, with an army and police that it does not directly control, through a government which is susceptible to popular pressure and must permit for the present wide democratic liberties.

Changing Alignment of Forces

Within the limitations imposed by foreign imperialism, the government of Israel rules directly rather than simply influencing and organizing the *Yishuv* to accept alien rule, as did the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi (National Council) under the Mandate. This too is both an advantage and a disadvantage. An advantage because the state apparatus, taken over so largely from the British, gives the government more effective instruments for the control of the people than the leading bodies formerly had. It is an advantage too because Zionist nationalism and social democratic reformism and the borrowed glory of the liberation war serve to conceal the government's class and pro-imperialist role and to give it greater authority and prestige than its precursors had. But direct governmental power is also a growing disadvantage for Mapai and its partners. Formerly they stood apart from the government and at times even appeared to be in opposition to it. The evils that befell the *Yishuv* were blamed almost entirely on the British and the fire was directed against them. But now that Mapai has identified itself completely with the capitalist state and is attempting to convert the Histadrut into a virtual state agency, it has become more vulnerable. The class struggle brings the workers more and more into conflict with that state and its defenders, and increasingly class and national issues become intertwined. The nationalist-reformist fog is not so thick that it can forever prevent the working people from seeing who it is that is chiefly responsible for appeasing the capitalists at their expense and leading the nation into the Anglo-American morass.

This new situation has also been reflected in the changed relations between Mapai and Mapam. The latter, under the impact of the developing class struggle, has found it no longer possible to play the role of "loyal opposition" to Mapai, with which in the past it was bound by nationalist affinities that overrode all differences. Mapai for its part,

since it now bears the responsibility of state power in behalf of the capitalists and of those in Washington and New York who hold the purse-strings, cannot tolerate a partner that is at the same time an opponent, feeding popular discontent with government policy. There has come a parting of the ways and a turning of Mapam toward joint action with the Communists, even though neither the break with Mapai nor the approach to the Communists has been cleant, and Mapam's leaders have sought to evade their full implications. Yet despite all shortcomings, this is no passing phenomenon, but the beginnings of a fundamental realignment which expresses the growing class polarization of the *Yishuv*.

The Achilles' heel of the government is the relative weakness of the bourgeoisie. This is characteristic of most colonial and semi-colonial countries. The relative weakness of the Israeli capitalists has been accentuated by a number of other factors. This is a singularly lusterless business class, which stands outside the nation's deepest traditions: the pioneering that built the country has been virtually a monopoly of the workers and farmers, and it was predominantly their blood, sweat and devotion that launched the liberation war and created the state. The small vote of the openly capitalist parties such as the General Zionists and the Progressive Party is a measure of the lack of prestige and popular support of the bourgeoisie. To achieve a semblance of a mass base, the capitalists were compelled to masquerade behind the false patriotism of the Irgun.

This relative weakness is further indicated by the extent to which the business men have had to permit the *Yishuv's* life to be dominated by Mapai. But at the same time in the leadership of Mapai they found their would-be savior. Through the Histadrut, Mapai has provided that substantial popular base required to support the policies of the bourgeoisie. But this is obviously an unstable foundation, for it consists of workers whose interests clash with those of the capitalists and who will not forever walk the treadmill of their policies, however liberally daubed with "socialist" paint.

The political realignment signaled in the growing cooperation between Mapam and the Communists is destined to bring into being a force capable of achieving an alternative program through the creation of an alternative government. The left bloc cannot as yet place such a government as an immediate goal. That would be to overestimate their strength. The immediate task is to widen cooperation between Mapam and the Communists in defense of the people's living standards, in battling for the welfare of the immigrants, in opposing further surrenders to the imperialists, in advancing the fight for peace and for a democratic, anti-imperialist foreign policy. It is a task of organizing and educating the people—above all, the workers—to wrest whatever concessions are possible from the capitalists and the government, and to forge in struggle the prerequisites for a truly national people's government, with Mapam and the Communists as its core.

Book Reviews

THREAT TO FREEDOM

by George Morris

American Freedom and Catholic Power, by Paul Blanshard. The Beacon Press, Boston. \$3.50.

The controversy between Francis Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt over the traditional denial of government funds for parochial schools provided an outlet for an explosive popular feeling against the growing pressure of the Vatican upon the lives of Americans. That feeling isn't an anti-religious sentiment. It is resentment against a political and social influence of a foreign power that has been crawling up under the guise of religion.

Expressive of this long-smouldering feeling is the recently published book by Paul Blanshard, which has gained considerable circulation and aroused much discussion despite an hysterical campaign by the hierarchy to kill it.

There isn't much new in Blanshard's book as his own listed extensive bibliography for source materials indicates. The 342-page book is a well-documented popular summary and exposure of Catholic dogma and practices in culture, medicine, education, sex-life, marriage, science and other fields. Most people have bits of knowledge of one or another phase of the Catholic hierarchy's code. But when the whole pattern is put together, as Blanshard does, and when the horrible effects of these directives and dogmas on the lives of the people is described, and when the Vatican's kinship to fascism is developed, we get what the author calls "the Catholic Plan for America." The result is a new *Mein Kampf*, horrifying as the first, which draws its inspiration from the inquisitions of the middle ages.

Mr. Blanshard packs quite a wallop in chapters devoted to showing up the structure and methods of the hierarchy as a world totalitarian power; the Vatican's antipathy to democracy throughout its history; the stress of the parochial school system to develop a denominational narrow-mindedness in Catholic children; the struggle against the traditional democratic principle of separation of church and state; the unbelievable rules in medicine requiring Catholic physicians to violate some of the most elementary modern practices, even if they kill the patient; the authority the church has over sex, marriage and divorce; the power of the church

to censor and boycott books, films, stage plays and the precedence church superstitions and dogmas have over scientific discoveries.

Blanshard concludes with a picture of the "Catholic Plan" that would turn America into something patterned after Franco Spain or Salazar's Portugal. He calls for a struggle against this conspiracy and adds that "it is already too late to solve the problem by passive measures" because the "Catholic hierarchy is not passive."

Blanshard's serious weaknesses, however, destroy his objectives. Himself a former right wing socialist, Blanshard joins with cold war champions "against the Russian communist aggressor." He fully supports the theses of Wall Street and its government tools, that everything must be mobilized to defeat the "red menace." He realizes the contradiction in his position. In his prologue he polemizes with those who agree with him but advise that he "keep silent about the anti-democratic program of the Vatican until the present crisis is resolved," because the Catholic Church is an important force against the Soviet Union.

He answers this with the opinion that it is possible to fight against both clericalism and communism, and he adds the fantastic view that the Vatican, having entered into a concordat with Hitler, may do the same with Moscow because he sees a "kinship" between the views of the Vatican and the Soviet Union. Blanshard's inability to find any more plausible

nonsense than this to answer his own friends who need the Vatican's alliance for the cold war shows how untenable his position is.

The truth is that Blanshard's circle, the social democrats and the so-called "anti-communist liberals," are today in a united front with the Vatican against the USSR and the new democracies. Anti-communism is their basic position. This was well dramatized, for example, in the audience the Pope gave to David Dubinsky to receive the latter's high praise for doing a "good job in the Italian elections." Blanshard's call for a struggle against clerical fascism will have little meaning as long as he and his friends depend on clerical fascism as an ally for war upon the USSR.

This explains why Blanshard touched so gingerly on the political role of the Vatican's forces in America. Digging in that direction would lead him to the

GOETHE MEMORIAL CELEBRATION

Featuring:

Uta Hagen, Prof. Lyman B. Bradley, Prof. Frederic Ewen, Alfred Kravmberg
SUNDAY, SEPT. 25, 1949 — 8:00 P.M.

The Fraternal Clubhouse,
110 West 48 St., N. Y. C.

Auspices: The German-American, Inc.

Tickets: \$1.20, \$1.80, \$2.40, tax incl.
For additional information, tickets, call
CO 7-0499 or write: THE GERMAN
AMERICAN, INC., 305 Broadway, Room
207, New York 7.

For a scientific study
of the Jewish people

REGISTER—

Morris U. Schappes Edith Segal
Aaron Kramer Ber Green

and others

On Jewish history, politics, literature,
language and folk dancing

School of Jewish Studies

575 Sixth Avenue (at 16th Street)
New York 11, N. Y.
WA 4-2210

Register Now!

Classes Begin October 4th

Now Playing "THE TRAIN GOES EAST"

A new Russian color film
Next Attraction—All Jewish Program
"The Vilna Legend" &
"Long Is The Road"

Seventh Avenue, between
41st and 42nd Streets,
New York City

STANLEY
THEATER

RIDGEFIELD RESORT

HOME OF THE JPFO, AT RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT
(50 miles from New York City)

A RESORT OF BEAUTY AND DISTINCTION

• FOR YOUR VACATION

Open All Year 'Round

Rates: \$40 and up for JPFO members; \$50 and up for non-members

Make your reservations by calling directly Ridgefield 1180, New York Office: 80 Fifth Avenue, 18th floor, Tel: ORegon 5-1161. Four Flying Eagle buses leave daily from Dixie Terminal, 241 West 42nd St., and stop at gate of the resort.

Do not come without first making your reservation



Truman administration's close relations with the hierarchy because the administration leans so heavily on Vatican support of the Marshall Plan. Also, it is the Catholic parties in Europe that make up the principal support for the Marshall Plan and Wall Street influence abroad. To retain their support Truman has been yielding much to the Catholic hierarchy on domestic affairs.

For the same reason Blanshard touched only lightly on the Vatican's international role. He readily admitted its blessings, or passivity, to the doings of Hitler and Mussolini and its strong favor for Petainism in France, Franco in Spain and clericalism of Portugal and Argentina. But there is hardly anything in the book on present-day parties of the Vatican dominant in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Germany. Those parties live on the Marshall Plan. Placing them in their true light would hardly add luster to Blanshard's "democratic" forces against "communist totalitarianism."

Blanshard's anti-communism also explains his disposal with a couple of paragraphs of the Vatican's role in the unions. Obviously the hierarchy's anti-communist program in the unions is more important to him than its already significant success in a drive to foist clerical influence upon the labor movement. The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists

is to him "relatively unimportant" and he makes the preposterous claim that American labor leaders shun Catholic Church support. Blanshard must know that leaders like Philip Murray and Walter Reuther have welcomed the hierarchy's intrusion in labor affairs.

With respect to anti-Semitism, Blanshard cites much of Catholic dogma and practices holding that the Roman Catholic Church must have a spiritual supremacy, with the Jewish faith on the lowest level. It is the assertion of that supremacy as a religion that provides the excuse for anti-Semitism in the clerical fascist countries. Blanshard might have easily pointed to the inevitable prospect of anti-Semitism as an official policy in the kind of clerical domination over the American government the Vatican wants to establish. Jews have never had a free life, equal citizenship and opportunity in a land where, state and church—any church—are fused.

Blanshard's contradictory position is especially evident in a section where he calls for measures to preserve separation of church and state and especially to protect the schools from church influence. But in the same breath he directs his fire upon the new democracies in Europe for doing just that and refusing to yield to the Vatican's agents. When the new democracies take such steps, this is "totalitarianism" to Blanshard.

Letters From Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Your splendid editorial in the June issue, "Soviet Anti-Semitism: The Big Lie," with its accompanying reproduction of the cartoon from *Crocodile*, as well as other material presented in *JEWISH LIFE*, reflect the pressing issues of the day concerning Jewish life so clearly and forcefully, that they are a real antidote to the poison spread on the pages of the daily press.

It seems to me that if subscribers to *JEWISH LIFE* would undertake to distribute a specific number of free samples of the magazine to the public, many new subscribers would eventually be added to your list.

I, for one, am undertaking to do so, and I feel confident of good results.

New York City

Mrs. S. K.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Your magazine is always excellent and worth reading in its entirety.

May you have an ever widening circulation.

San Francisco

B. L.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed my two dollars for renewed subscription to *JEWISH LIFE*. I would like you to know that this magazine is a source of real education to me as a Jew and a progressive. When I get through reading it, I always pass it on to my friends and they too agree with my opinion of *JEWISH LIFE*.

In these days of constant attacks on anything even remotely progressive, *JEWISH LIFE* is a real voice crying in the wilderness of reaction, jailings, discrimination, etc.

My friends and I wish you strength and an ever growing circulation.

Bronx

B. B.

AUTUMN AT ALLABEN



Napanoch, N. Y.
Ellenville 625

Special

September

Rates:

\$40.00 and

\$50.00 per week

Includes GALA PROGRAMS for the weekends of

ROSH HASHONAH, September 23

and YOM KIPPUR, September 30

Enjoy the most luxurious hotel accommodations in a setting of glorious fall foliage • unexcelled cuisine • all sports • and the warmth and hospitality of a progressive Jewish cultural atmosphere.

Make your reservation at the

SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES

575 Sixth Avenue

Watkins 4-2211

Documents

WHICH WAY FOR WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS?

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

A year has passed since the Plenary Session of the World Jewish Congress in Montreux, when, for the first time after the Jewish catastrophe in Europe, Jewish representatives from all parts of the world, from five continents and nearly 70 lands met together in conference. All those attending the conference felt that the establishment of the State of Israel rejuvenated our ancient people and gave it a faith to believe in, a future to fight for.

The existence of a united national organization has not blurred the class differences within the nation; on the contrary, it has sharpened them. Naturally, they also expressed themselves at Montreux. The conference was united in its enthusiasm for the State of Israel, and in its solidarity with the Defense Army of Israel, then engaged in its bitter fight with the invading forces; it was divided when it came to seeing the imperialist inspiration behind Arab aggression and the direction of our political struggle. The conference was united in its recognition that the fate of Jews was everywhere bound up with the progressive and peace-loving forces; it was divided when it came to distinguishing progress from reaction.

Certainly the general resolutions, accepted unanimously, were progressive in a general way, but they lacked exactness and definition. The detailed practical proposals of the left were not accepted. The composition of last year's executive was also open to criticism. The majority of the American delegation was adamant that there should not be even one representative of the left—neither from Mapam nor from the non-Zionist left—on the section of the executive resident in New York. Although the possibility of co-optation was left open and a promise given that this would be made use of, delegations from Eastern Europe and communists from other countries refused to accept the places allotted to them on the European and Israeli sections of the executive so long as representatives of the left were not included on the American section as well. Thus, Montreux ended with an incomplete executive.

The activities of the World Jewish Congress must of necessity fall into three categories:

(a) Political representations in Jewish matters in the United Nations and with governments concerned;

(b) Activisation of the Jewish masses in the struggle for their rights and against any manifestation of anti-Semitism or fascism;

(c) Co-operation with non-Jewish progressive forces and international democratic institutions—to prevent the outbreak of another war, against war propaganda, to secure peace, national freedom, human rights, etc.

The Congress executive has limited its functions to the first category; to diplomatic representations to various governments, and to the presentation of memoranda. In this field, the Congress executive has shown continuous activity. Without denying the value of these activities—some of them, notably those during the U.N. discussions on Human Rights or in connection with the position of Jews in the Moslem countries, are most praise-worthy—they do not justify the existence of Congress if they are not accompanied by a mass movement within the Jewish communities based on close co-operation with those fighting for progress and peace and against anti-Semitism and national discrimination.

One or two examples are worth noting. The U.S. government organised an exhibition of reviving German industry and gave great publicity to known nazi industrialists. What did the New York branch of the W.J.C. executive do? It had conversations with a number of officials and asked certain changes in the exhibition, but it refrained from conducting a public campaign against this pro-nazi propaganda in New York. Such a campaign, had it been initiated by Congress, would undoubtedly have gained the support of many progressives in America. The executive of the Congress, however, preferred to deal with the matter behind locked doors.

Another example. There was no evidence of Congress participation in the protest campaign against the release of Ilse Koch, the notorious concentration camp murderess. A mass campaign could have been organized in America among Jews and non-Jews against this gross miscarriage of justice in freeing this human beast. A strong personal statement of the late Stephen Wise was published, but the public was not called to action by the Congress executive. No information has reached us of any public protest against the acquittal of the eleven nazis responsible for the organization of the

pogrom in Germany in November 1938, yet Munich—the “seat of justice” is in the U.S. zone of Germany. The executive composed a fairly adequate memorandum on the subject of American lenience towards the nazis in Germany, but who will read this memorandum? What can be its effect if no mass movement is organized against this revival of the Nazi danger in Europe.

There is no need to enlarge on the negative decision of the Congress executive on participation in the Congress for World Peace in Paris. The executive received requests to participate in the Congress from three sides—from the Bulgarian Consistory of Jewish Communities, from the Polish Central Committee, and from Mapam representatives in the various institutions of Congress. The majority of the executive rejected this demand, thereby acting contrary to the Montreux resolution binding the Congress to participate in any international effort to strengthen peace. The executive gave way to reactionary pressure and joined in the boycott of the Paris Congress. This fatal decision, which shocked all progressive Jewish circles in Israel and elsewhere, has already resulted in serious organizational consequences and led to the severance of relations between the Polish Central Committee and the Congress Executive.

Recently there has been another act which shocks the conscience of every progressive Jew. The American Jewish Congress, a branch of the W.J.C., has decided to expel from its ranks two progressive workers' organizations, the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. The official reason given is that these two organizations, in addition to their affiliation to the W.J.C., also participated in the “United Committee against Anti-Semitism” and thereby allegedly violated the constitution of the Congress. It is clear, however, that this step is only an indicative of the anti-communist hysteria which is sweeping America. This craze has apparently caught hold of the Jewish public as well. The action of the American J.C. casts a shadow over the entire Congress; the executive cannot remain silent over this act.

The crisis demands deep heart searchings. Which way is the Congress turning? Towards an all-embracing framework of world Jewry, including Jews of the popular democracies and progressive Jews elsewhere, or towards concentration only on the right wing?

Dr. Sneh was chief of the Haganah during World War II and a former member of the Jewish Agency executive. He is now a leader of the Mapam (United Workers Party).

INDEX TO *Jewish Life* VOLUME III

Authors

Adam, B. World Jewry and Peace—July, 29
 Aleichem, Sholem. The Trial of Shomer—March 21;
 Berel-Isaac (story)—Oct., 22
 Alexander, S. Aden Pogrom Inquiry—Dec., 30
 Allan, Lewis. Shmulik, Gavriluk (poem)—Apr., 18
 American Jewish Labor Council. Resolutions of June
 Meeting—Aug. 29
 Aptheker, Herbert. The Road to Negro Liberation—
 Feb., 29
 Bailio, I. B. New History of the Jews—Sept., 29
 Bergelson, David. The Witness (story)—Nov. supp.,
 12; Neighbors (story)—May, 14
 Bialik, Hayyim Nahman. Out of the Depth (poem)—
 Nov. supp., 29
 Bilander, Leo. Pop's "Best Friend" (story)—July, 17
 Biron, David. The Case of the Academic Bigots—
 Nov., 11
 Bittelman, Alexander. Credo of a Communist—Oct.,
 15
 Blankfort, Henry. Cousin Samuel Wouldn't Under-
 stand (story)—Feb., 20
 Blau, Milton. Lajos of Koscord (poem)—Aug., 21
 Botkin, B. A Jewish Salt on Jewish Wounds—Nov.
 supp., 27
 Burgum, Edwin Berry. Heinrich Heine and the Jewish
 Tradition—Apr., 30
 Burwin, Julius and Frances. Translation of Berel-Isaac,
 by Sholem Aleichem—Oct., 22
 Carlebach, Emil N. The Buchenwald Story—Dec., 6
 Chagall, Mark. Crucifixion 1948 (painting)—Jan.,
 22
 Chapman, Abraham. Subversion in New York's
 Schools—March, 5
 Communist Party of Israel. Israel C.P. Calls for Unity
 —Dec., 31; Statement on Unity—Jan., 15; Left
 Unity in Israel?—March, 30
 Cohen, Jack. Students Strike at Racism—June, 22
 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace.
 Resolutions—May, 30
 David, J. P. The Cold Facts About American Empire
 —Nov., 25
 Doré, Gustave. Mattathias Calls Jewish Mountain
 Refugees to Arms (painting)—Dec., 23
 DuBois, W. E. B. No More War!—May, 23
 Eisinger, M. What Really Goes on in Rumania?—
 March, 30
 Ehrenburg, Ilya. Answer to a Letter—June, 25
 Eisler, Gerhart. Light on the Soviet Zone of Germany
 —Dec., 29
 Elias, H. Ben. Teyve Speaks English—June, 29; The
 Yiddish Don Quixote—Aug., 28
 Epstein, Jacob. Morris Rosenfeld (drawing) and Moon
 of the East Side (drawing)—Nov. supp., 18, 19
 Fadayev, A. A. In the Name of Peace—May, 29
 Feder, B. "Birth of Maidanek"—Apr., 28
 Feffer, Itzik. Fact and Fancy on Birobidjan—Jan., 9;
 Birobidjan March (poem)—May, 16
 Field, Ben. Work (story)—Nov. supp., 4; Streets of
 Williamsburg—July, 28
 Feldman, Reginald V. Translation of Out of the
 Depth, by Hayyim Bialik—Nov. supp., 29
 Fogel, Robert. Students Strike at Racism—June, 22
 Friedman, H. Joseph (poem)—Nov. supp., 16
 Golding, Louis. Never Again!—May, 28
 Goldway, David. Book for Our Time—Aug., 27
 Goodelman, Aaron. Man and Machine (sculpture)—
 Nov. supp., 6
 Gorki, Maxim. The Little Boy (story)—Apr., 23
 Green, Abner. Deportation Drive—Sept., 20
 Gropper, William. Drawn from My Life (drawings)—
 Nov. supp., 17
 Gurdus, Luba. Night Club in the Warsaw Ghetto
 (drawing)—Nov. supp., 25
 Harap, Louis. Is Sammy Levenson Funny?—Jan., 17;
 Satire on Anti-Semitism—March, 26; Mindszenty
 Madness—Apr., 6; Jewish Character in Search of
 a Novel—June, 12; American Jewish Congress
 Veers Right—July, 9; Case of the Detroit Con-
 gress Chapter—Aug., 9; Tale of Two Congress
 Elections—Sept., 9; Congress Leaders Double-Talk
 —Oct., 9
 Hayett, Will. The Two Zaydas (story)—June, 19
 Hirsch, Joseph. Cover drawing—April, 1
 Jewish Democratic Committee (Rumania). Jewish Re-
 vival in Rumania—Nov., 24; Equality Comes to
 Rumania—Sept., 31
 Kahn, Arthur D. Unfinished Business—Apr., 30
 Koenig, G. Toward Friendship of Peoples—June, 8;
 "Serving" Jews from Socialism—Aug., 16
 Kramer, Aaron. Translation of Song of the Palmach—
 Aug., 18

Lampell, Millard. The Jew in Celluloid—Feb., 14
 Lawson, John Howard. The Real America Lives—
 May, 26
 Lazarus, Emma. Little Essays—July, 14
 League for National Liberation. Jewish and Arab
 Communists Unite—Jan., 13
 Levine, Jack. The Building of the Temple (painting)
 —Nov. supp., 21
 Lever, Henrietta. Germany Revisited (story)—Jan.,
 20
 Levy, Lester. Fascism Invades the Schools—Sept., 6;
 Hierarchy over Public Schools—Oct., 12
 Lipkis, Rita. A Radical in the Family (story)—
 March, 14
 McWilliams, Carey. A Hyacinth for Your Soul—
 July, 27
 Magil, A. B. I meet the Arab Progressives—Jan., 11;
 How Israel Voted—March, 10; Immigration Crisis
 in Israel—July, 16; The Kibbutz and Socialism
 —Sept., 13; Israel at the Crossroads—Oct., 24
 Malz, Albert. Trial of the Books—Aug., 13
 Mann, Thomas. Message to Cultural and Scientific
 Conference for World Peace—May, 28
 Mark, Ber. Voice of the Oppressed at Wroclaw—Dec.,
 11; The Unvanquished—Apr., 8
 Marmor, Kalman. The First Jewish Trade Union—
 July, 25
 Mapis, David. Palmach Under Fire—Feb., 17
 Merriam, Eve. The Wall (poem)—Nov. supp., 11
 Mikunis, Samuel. Israeli Communists and Immigration
 —Sept., 8
 Miller, Moses. Revolt at Modin—Dec., 22; United
 Palestine Appeal; Where Does Your Money Go?
 —Jan., 6; Feb., 6; Can We Outlaw Anti-Semitism?
 —Apr., 26; Zionism and the State of Israel—
 May, 6; June, 15; July, 21; Aug., 22; Sept., 25
 Morgenstern, Sam. Quest for Jewish Music—Nov.
 supp., 20
 Morris, George. Threat to Freedom—Oct., 28
 Neue Presse. World Jewish Congress or Jewish Agency
 of the State Department?—Aug., 12
 Newman, Louis I. No Place to Hide—May, 24
 Nover, Joseph. Reply to Slander—Feb., 27
 Olgin, Moissaye J. Great Fur Strike of 1926—Sept.,
 16
 Patterson, William L. The "Legal" Assault on Free-
 dom—Nov., 3
 Pevzner, Sam. Birth Pains of a Nation—Apr., 31
 Podair, Simon. No Longer Tears (poem)—Nov.
 supp., 7
 Reuben, William. Case of the Trenton Six—May, 17
 Rosenblatt, Sidney. Mendele Mocher Seferim—Feb.,
 10
 Rosenfeld, Morris. In the Factory; Pen and Shears;
 My Boy (three poems)—Nov. supp., 18
 Rubinstein, Annette. Twenty-Five Years of the Jewish
 American Novel—Nov. supp., 8
 Salimjanov, H. Anglo-American Rivalry in the Middle
 East—July, 30
 Saxe, Anne. Sometimes You Gotta (story)—Nov.
 supp., 50
 Schappes, Morris U. Judah P. Benjamin: Statesman
 of an Evil Cause—Nov., 15; City College Returns
 to Militancy—Dec., 19; Contributions to Ameri-
 can Jewish History—Dec., 28; Labor Leaders
 Against Labor—Jan., 27; America's Prejudiced
 Historians—Feb., 30; Ernestine Rose, Queen of
 the Platform—March, 7; East Side, West Side—
 March, 27; Translation of Birobidjan March, by
 Itzik Feffer—May, 16; Scholarship Versus Poli-
 tics in YIVO—May, 20; Emma Lazarus Cen-
 tenary—July, 15
 Schneider, Isidor. Bialik in English—Jan., 29
 Segall, Lasar. The Survivors (painting)—Nov. supp.,
 14
 Shahn, Ben. Cover drawing—Nov. supp., 1; Oct., 19
 Shipler, Guy Emery. The Churches Speak—May, 25
 Shore, Viola Brothers. Hear, O Israel (play)—Nov.
 supp., 22
 Singer, I. Jews of the U.S.S.R.—Nov., 20; Dec., 25;
 Jan., 23; Feb., 24; March, 24
 Sneh, Moshe. The New Phase in Israel—Aug., 31;
 Which Way for World Jewish Congress?—Oct.,
 30
 Stewart, George. No Peace of Mind—March, 17;
 Apr., 19
 Stokes, Rose Pastor. Translations of three poems by
 Morris Rosenfeld—Nov. supp., 18
 Stuart, Carol. Travail of Polish Jewry—Sept., 27
 Stuart, John. Progress and Poverty in the Middle
 East—June, 30
 Suhl, Yuri. Letter from Silesia—Dec., 14; Out of the
 Ashes—Apr., 12; The Horse Was Always With
 Us (story)—Aug., 19
 Tamin, Samuel. Lullaby (poem)—Apr., 24

United Workers Party. Left Unity in Israel?—March,
 28; Mapam Protests—Sept., 12

Vilenska, Esther. The Truth About the Irgun—Nov.,
 7; Dec., 15

Wilson, Catherine—The Story of Local 65—May, 11
 Wilson, "Chips." Drawings—March, April, May,
 June, July

Yaari, Meyer. We Are Not Alone—June, 10

Zaidman, I. Do-Nothing Report on Anti-Semitism—
 Jan., 30; British Jews Convene—Apr., 28; Crisis
 in the British Friendly Societies—June, 28; Oc-
 cupational Trends in British Jewry—Sept., 30

Subjects

Abramovich, Sholem—Feb., 10
 Aden, pogrom inquiry in—Dec., 30
 Aleichem, Sholem. Teyve's Daughters (review)—
 June, 29
 Aliens. See Deportation cases.
 American imperialism. See U.S. imperialism.
 American Jewish Committee—Apr., 4; July, 5
 American Jewish Congress—Apr., 27; Detroit Chapter
 case—Aug., 9; Concourse chapter election—Sept.,
 9; veers right—July, 9; leaders double-talk—
 Oct., 9
 American Jewish Historical Society. Publications (re-
 view)—Dec., 28
 American Jewish History Week (proposed)—Apr., 5
 American Jewish Labor Council, resolution of—
 Aug., 29
 Anti-Semitism. American Jewish Labor Council resolu-
 tion on—Aug., 29; at City College—June, 22;
 and anti-Soviet "big lie"—June, 3; campaign
 against Poland—Apr., 15; case of Richard Morgan
 —Jan., 5; Emma Lazarus on—July, 14; Feinberg
 Law and—Sept., 7; in Great Britain—Jan., 30;
 Outlawing of—Jan., 4; Apr., 25; May, 5; July,
 12; in U.S.—Oct., 17
 Arab League of National Liberation—Jan., 11, 13
 Arab liberation movement—Nov., 5
 Art work: Aaron Goodelman—Nov. supp., 6; Lasar
 Segall—Nov. supp., 14; William Gropper—Nov.
 supp., 17; Jacob Epstein—Nov. supp., 18, 19;
 Jack Levine—Nov. supp., 21; Luba Gurdus—
 Nov. supp., 25; Marc Chagall—Jan., 22; Yusuf
 Chaikof—Feb., 26; Ben Shahn, Nov. supp., 1;
 Oct., 19; Gustav Doré—Dec., 23; Joseph Hirsch
 —April, 1; "Chips" Wilson—March, April, May,
 June, July
 Ausubel, Nathan. A Treasury of Jewish Folklore
 (review)—Nov. supp., 27
 Barron, Samuel—Nov., 7
 Baxter, Charles—Sept., 21
 Beigin, Menachem—Jan., 4
 Benjamin, Judah P.—Nov., 15
 Bernadotte plan—Nov., 15
 Bialik, Hayyim Nahman. Complete Poetic Works
 (review)—Jan., 29
 "Big lie." See U.S.S.R. anti-Soviet activities
 Birobidjan—Jan., 9, 25; May, 3
 Bittelman, Alexander—Sept., 4; Oct., 15
 Blanshard, Paul. Amer. Freedom and Catholic Power
 (review)—Oct., 28
 Book reviews: listed under author of book
 Borich, Frank—Sept., 20
 Braun, Kurt. Union-Management Cooperation (re-
 view)—Jan., 27
 Buchenwald Concentration Camp—Dec., 6
 Burke, Robert J.—Feb., 5
 Bush, Isidor—March, 13
 Catholic Church, and education—Oct., 12, 28
 Central Conference of American Rabbis, resolutions
 of—Nov., 27
 Chauvinism in literature—Jan., 17
 City College (New York)—Nov., 11; Dec., 19;
 June, 22; Aug., 5
 Civil rights, attack on—Nov., 3; Feb., 24; March, 3;
 Terminiello decision—July, 4; trial of books—
 Aug., 13
 Clark, Tom—Aug., 5; Sept., 3
 Class struggle, in Israel—Feb., 8
 Communist Party of Israel—Dec., 31; Jan., 3; March,
 28; Sept., 8
 Communist party, U.S.A., national board trial—Nov.,
 3; March, 3; May, 4; July, 3; Sept., 5; program
 —Oct., 9
 Concentration camps—Dec., 6
 Cooperative farms, in Israel—Sept., 13
 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace,
 excerpts from speeches—May, 23; resolutions of
 —May, 30
 Davis, William C.—Nov., 11; Dec., 19; June, 22
 DeLeon, David—Sept., 21
 Deportation cases—Aug., 5; Sept., 4, 20; Oct., 15
 Dubinsky, David—Feb., 4
 England. See Great Britain
 Farms, in Israel—Sept., 13
 Fascism, in New York schools—Sept., 6; Oct., 12

Past, Howard, *My Glorious Brothers* (review)—Dec., 22
 Feinberg law—Sept., 6
 Feudalism, Aug., 23
 Foreign-born workers. See Deportation cases
 Foley Square trial. See Communist Party, U.S.A., Nat'l Board trial
 Foster, William Z., *The Twilight of World Capitalism* (review)—Aug., 27
 Freud, Sigmund—March, 18; April, 19
 Furriers strike (1926)—Sept., 16

General Zionists—Feb., 7
 Germany, New York industrial fair—May, 4; Soviet zone—Dec., 29
 Gold, Ben—Sept., 16
 Goldberg, B. Z.—July, 6
 Goldstein, Bernard, *The Stars Bear Witness* (review)—Sept., 27
 Great Britain, and Middle East—July, 30; anti-Semitism in—Jan., 30; Jews in—Apr., 28; Sept., 30

Haywood, Harry, *The Road to Negro Liberation* (review)—Feb., 29
 Haar, Shimen—Feb., 27
 Heine, Heinrich, *Poetry and Prose* (review)—Apr., 30
 Heym, Stefan—June, 12
 Hillel Foundation—June, 24
 Hindus, Maurice, *In Search of a Future* (review)—June, 30
 Hirschmann, Ira A., *The Embers Still Burn* (review)—Apr., 30
 Hungary, Jews in—Aug., 8; Mindszenty's treason—Apr., 6

International Fur and Leather Workers Union—Sept., 16
 Irgun Zvai Leumi—Nov., 5; Dec., 15
 Israel, agriculture in—Sept., 13; anniversary greetings to—May, 3; Bernadotte plan condemned—Nov., 15; class struggle in—Feb., 8; cold war against—Nov., 5; danger confronting—Feb., 3; deepening crisis in—Sept., 4; immigration crisis in—July, 15; Sept., 8; new phase in—Aug., 31; left forces in—March, 28; results of elections in—March, 10; U.S.S.R.—June, 25; U.S. policy toward—Dec., 5; Jan., 3; Feb., 3; Aug., 3; Zionism and—May, 6; June, 15; July, 21; Aug., 22; Sept., 23; international position of—Oct., 24; industry in—Oct., 24; See also Irgun Zvai Leumi; Palmach

Jewish culture—Nov. supp., 3; March, 21
 Jewish daily *Forward*—July, 6
 Jewish fiction—Nov. supp., 8
 Jewish History Week (proposed)—Apr., 5
 Jewish Labor Committee—Apr., 4
 Jewish music—Nov. supp., 20
 Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order—Feb., 4; March, 5
 Jewish Socialist Society—July, 25
 Jewish trade union (1876)—July, 25
 Jewish youth, in U.S.S.R.—Dec., 26
 Jews, in fiction—June, 12; in Great Britain—Apr., 28; June, 28; Sept., 30; in Hungary—Aug., 8; in moving pictures—Feb., 14; in People's Democracies—Apr., 5; in Rumania—Nov., 24; March, 30; Sept., 31; in U.S.S.R.—Nov., 20; Dec., 25; Jan., 23; Feb., 24, 27; March, 24; July, 6; Aug., 16; relations with Negroes—Aug., 30
 Jews, not a nation—May, 9; rescued by U.S.S.R. during war—Nov., 19; See also Anti-Semitism; Zionism; names of organizations
 Johnson, Beatrice Siskind—Sept., 20
 Jury service, discrimination in—March, 4

Kibbutz (cooperative farm)—Sept., 13
 Knickerbocker, William E.—Nov., 11; Dec., 19; June, 22

Landman, Solomon, *Story without End* (review)—Sept., 29
 Last Stop (movie)—June, 31
 Lazarus, Emma—July, 13
 Le Clair, John C.—Dec., 20
 Lenin, on national question—Sept., 23
 Levenson, Sammy, *Meet the Folks* (review)—Jan., 17
 Liebman, Joshua Loth, *Peace of Mind* (review)—March, 17; Apr., 19
 Look Magazine, *New York City* (review)—March, 27
 Lorch, Lee—June, 23

McCollum, Vashti—Nov., 6
 MacIver, R. M., *Discrimination and the National Welfare* (review)—July, 27
 Mailer, Norman—June, 12
 "Male superiority" doctrine—Jan., 18
 Mapam. See United Workers Party
 Marion, George, *Bases and Empire* (review)—Nov., 23
 May Day—May, 5
 Mende, Robert, *Spit and the Stars* (review)—July, 28
 Middle East, U.S.-British rivalry in—July 30
 Mindszenty, Joseph Cardinal—Apr., 6
 Mississippi, anti-Negro laws—Feb., 5
 Monopolies, dominate U.S.—Oct., 20
 Morgan, Richard G.—Jan., 5

Moving pictures, Jews in—Feb., 14
 Music, Jewish—Nov. supp., 20
 Nation, defined—May, 9
 National question—Sept., 23
 Negro-Jewish unity—Aug., 30
 Negroes. See Trenton "six" case
 New York City, Board of Education—March, 5
 New York Post—June, 3
 New York State, public schools—Sept., 6
 New York Times—June, 3
 New York World-Telegram—July, 6
 Newspapers, distortion in—May, 5
 Newsweek magazine—June, 3; July, 6
 1948 election—Nov., 4; Dec., 3
 North Atlantic Military Alliance—June, 6
 Novor, Joseph—Feb., 27

Palmach—Feb., 17, 20
 Paris Peace Congress—See World Congress for Peace
 Peace, struggle for—Dec., 11; June, 8
 Peekskill fascist riots—Oct., 3, 5
 Pirinsky, George—Sept., 20
 Play, Hear, O Israel, by Viola Brothers Shore—Nov. supp., 22
 Poems: Birobidjan march, by Itzik Feffer—May 16; In the Factory, Pen and Shears; My Boy, by Morris Rosenfeld—Nov. supp., 18; Joseph, by H. Friedman—Nov. supp., 16; Lajos of Kocsord, by Milton Blau—Aug., 21; Lullaby, by Samuel Tumin—Apr., 24; No Longer Tears, by Simon Podair—Nov. supp., 7; Out of the Depth, by Hayyim Nahman Bialik—Nov. supp., 29; Schmulik, Gavriluk, Lewis Allan—Apr., 18; Song of the Palmach—Aug., 18; The Wall, by Eve Merriam—Nov. supp., 11
 Poland—Dec., 14; campaign against anti-Semitism—Apr., 15
 Presidential election—Nov., 4; Dec., 3
 Proskauer, Joseph M.—Jan., 5
 Psychoanalysis—March 18; Apr., 19

Public schools, Catholic Church and—Oct., 12
 Rabinowitz, Sholom. See Aleichem, Sholem
 Rankin, Rebecca B. *New York: the World's Capital* (review)—March, 27
 Religion, and psychoanalysis—March, 18
 Religious education—Nov., 6
 Revisionism (Zionism)—Nov., 8
 Robinson, Donald B. *Spotlights on a Union* (review)—Jan., 27

Rodgers, Cleveland, *New York: the World's Capital* (review)—March, 27
 Rose, Ernestine—March, 7
 Rumania, Jews in—Nov., 24; March, 30; Sept., 31
 Russia. See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Sartre, Jean-Paul, *Anti-Semitism and Jew* (review)—March, 26
 Saveth, Edward N. *American Historians and European Immigrants* (review)—Feb., 30
 Schaffer, Gordon, *Russian Zone of Germany* (review)—Dec., 29
 Schultz, Benjamin—March, 5; Oct., 10
 Schwartz, Solomon—Aug., 6
 Seforim, Mendele Mocher—Feb., 10; *Travels of Benjamin III* (review)—Aug., 28
 Shaikowitch, Reb Mayer—March, 21
 Shaw, Irwin—June, 12
 Shimanska, Johanna—Apr., 2
 Shomer (pseudonym)—March, 21
 Short stories: Cousin Samuel Wouldn't Understand, by Henry Blankfort—Feb., 20; Germany re-

visited, by Henrietta Levner—Jan., 20; The Horse was always with Us, by Yuri Suhl—Aug., 19; The Little Boy, by Maxim Gorki—Apr., 23; Neighbors, by David Bergelson—May, 14; Pop's "Best Friend," by Leo Bilsander—July, 17; A Radical in the Family, by Rita Lipkin—March, 14; Sometimes You Gotta, by Anne Saxe—Nov. supp., 30; The Two Zaydas, by Will Hayett—June, 19; The Witness, by David Bergelson—Nov. supp., 12; Work, by Ben Field—Nov. supp., 4; Berel Isaac, by Sholem Aleichem—Oct., 22
 Silesia, Poland—Dec., 14
 Smith, Ferdinand C.—Sept., 20
 Social Democracy, dangers of—Dec., 4
 Soviet Union. See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 Spaulding, Francis T.—Sept., 6
 Spellman, Francis Cardinal—Sept., 4; Oct., 12, 30
 Stone, I. F., *This is Israel* (review)—Apr., 31
 Strike-breaking, by the Irgun—Dec., 18
 Student movement, at City College—Nov., 11; June, 22

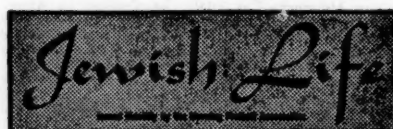
Tablitz (periodical)—Oct., 12
 Tenenbaum, Joseph, *In Search of a Lost People* (review)—Sept., 27
 Terminiello, Arthur W.—July, 4
 Third Party, need for—Dec., 4
 Timone, George A.—Oct., 12, 14
 Trade unions, first Jewish—July, 25
 Trenton "six" case—May, 17; Aug., 4

Un-American Activities Committee—Feb., 14
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Israel—June, 25; anti-Soviet activities—June, 3; July, 5; Aug., 6; greeting to—Nov., 6; Jews in—Nov., 20; Dec., 25; Jan., 23; Feb., 24, 27; March, 24; July, 6; Aug., 16; rescue of Jews by during war—Nov., 19; See also Birobidjan
 United Jewish Appeal—Jan., 6; Apr., 4
 United Palestine Appeal—Jan., 6; Feb., 6; Apr., 4
 United States, and Israel—Dec., 5; Jan., 3; Feb., 3; Aug., 3; and Irgun—Nov., 9; and Middle East—July, 30; Congress—Jan., 4; foreign policy—Sept., 3; Justice Department—Sept., 20; See also 1948 election; North Atlantic Military Alliance
 United Wholesale and Warehouse Workers, local 65—May, 11
 United Workers Party of Israel—Dec., 31; relations with Communist Party—March, 28

Wallace, Henry A., condemns Bernadotte plan—Nov., 15
 Warsaw Ghetto uprising, anniversary of—Apr., 3, 8
 Weintraub, Ruth C., *How Secure their Rights* (review)—July, 27
 Wise, Stephen S.—June, 7
 World Congress for Peace—June, 8
 World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace—Dec., 11
 World Jewish Congress—July, 11; 29; Aug., 12; Oct., 30
 Wrocław Congress. See World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace

Yessin, Dir—Dec., 17
 Yiddish language—Nov., 29
 Yiddish Scientific Institute—May, 20
 Youth, Jewish—Dec., 26

Zionism, and State of Israel—May, 6; June, 15; July, 21; Aug., 22; Sept., 23. See also General Zionists
 Zionist Organization of America—July, 4



"The Indispensable Magazine
 for the Progressive Jew"

YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO BE WITHOUT IT!

TO GUARANTEE
 YOUR COPY
 MONTHLY
Subscribe Now!

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
 \$2.00 a year in United States
 and Possessions;
 \$2.50 a year elsewhere

JEWISH LIFE
 35 East 12th St.
 New York 3, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription for one year.
 Enclosed is check (money order) for the full
 amount of my sub.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ Zone _____ State _____

