

JANUARY 1950 • 20¢

Jewish Life

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

ARMISTICE DAY IN CHICAGO ◀ *by Mike Hecht*

IS AMERICAN JEWRY PREPARED? ◀ *by Louis Harap*

STEPNEY LEARNS TO FIGHT ◀ *by Phil Piratin, M.P.*

TEL AVIV DEMONSTRATES ◀ *by S. Lifschitz*

REUNION IN KIEV ◀ *by Ilya Ehrenburg*

BOOK REVIEWS *by Morris U. Schappes, George Morris, Ben Field*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

THE TWO PEEKSKILL RIOTS were "largely fostered by anti-Semitism," says a 43-page report on these affairs issued on December 8 by the American Civil Liberties Union. Among conclusions of the report: there is no evidence whatever of communist provocation; the local press is mainly responsible for inflaming to violence; evidence shows the veterans intended to prevent the concert from being held; effective police protection at the first concert was deliberately withheld; vast preparations to protect the second concert "were largely a sham so far as the Westchester County police were concerned"; there is strong indication that the violence after the second concert was planned in advance. The report was the result of a five-week investigation in which 91 local residents were questioned. Five organizations, in addition to the ACLU, concurred in the report and signed it. Singers were Dr. Henry Atkinson, co-chairman of the Council Against Intolerance; Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples; Roger N. Baldwin, ACLU; Jonathan Bingham, New York Americans for Democratic Action; Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the American Jewish Congress; and Michael Straight, Americans Veterans Committee.

A PRESS HUBBUB greeted the announcement on December 2 by United States Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman that the Federal Housing Administration would not help to finance developments barring tenants because of race, color or religion. However, on the following day Franklin D. Richards, FHA commissioner, stated that the agency's policies would hardly be affected. "It will be an exceptional case where a property cannot receive Federal mortgage help," he said. He pointed out that the ruling was made in conformity with the recent Supreme Court decision that, said he, "although individuals may be free to impose or comply with restrictive racial covenants," the courts cannot enforce such covenants. The ruling will not affect Jimcrow on property before the rules are promulgated, covenants not filed of record (most of them are now "gentleman's agreements"), or the owner's choice of tenants or to whom he will sell his property.

A NEGRO CHILD in St. Louis awoke screaming one night with her lips bleeding from a rat bite. Edwin Richardson, a white Fisher body plant worker then invited the child's parents, Mr. and Mrs. David Sims, and their four children to move into his house. Richardson then received threats from white-supremacist police and neighbors. For handing out leaflets explaining why he had invited the Sims to move into his house, he was arrested (on November 8) and held by police for 20 hours without any charges being preferred against him. The next day, he was fired from his job. He refuses to ask the Sims to move.

THE NATIONAL INTERFRATERNITY Conference on November 26 approved a resolution "recommending" that restrictive membership provisions be eliminated from the rules of member fraternities. Standing vote on the resolution was 38 to three, with 19 of the 58 member fraternities abstaining. Delegates rejected a stronger resolution offered by Alexander Goodman of Baltimore requiring all member fraternities to "repeal and abolish" any by-law or constitutional provision that discriminates against "any college student because of his religion, race, color or creed." ... Twenty-two student organizations at the University of Michigan in November set up a Com-

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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.

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mittee to End Discrimination. The committee's first campaign is a fight to eliminate all discriminatory questions from application blanks to the university Medical School. ... The Jewish Community Relations Council of Philadelphia has called upon all Jewish fraternities and sororities to drop all restrictive clauses in their rules that would ban non-Jews.

DEFENSE BRIEF for William E. Knickerbocker, anti-Semitic City College professor, was not filed with the New York State Department of Education on the due date, October 28, in connection with the department's review of the case following the student strike against Knickerbocker and

American Jewish Congress called upon the state education department to try the case, urging that steps be taken to "remedy the elimination from the Romance Languages Department list of recommendations for promotion of the names of Dr. Pedro Bach-y-Rita and Prof. Ephraim Cross," two of Knickerbocker's early critics.

JEWISH BOOK MONTH was observed all over the country from November 10 to December 10 under the auspices of the Jewish Book Council of America, sponsored by the Jewish Welfare Board in over 500 Jewish communities and by over 2,000 groups. Scheduled were lectures, seminars, (Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

JERUSALEM AND THE UN

An Editorial Article

PASSAGE of the Australian resolution (with Soviet amendments) on internationalization of Jerusalem by the United Nations has caused great turmoil in the Jewish community. Ancient traditions as well as bitter anti-imperialistic struggles by Israel against the Bevin-Abdullah "Arab Legion" had firmly settled the conviction in the minds of the Jews that Jerusalem belongs to Israel. As between internationalization of Jerusalem and incorporation of that city into Israel, most Jews would obviously choose the latter. But, as we shall see, the manner in which the issue was introduced into the General Assembly, left no room for any such choice.

Unfortunately most of the press and of the Jewish leadership did little to clarify and much to add to the confusion about what was really happening at the UN. This was particularly true of the attempt to impress upon the public the notion that alternative plans had been introduced which would actually insure inclusion of Jerusalem into Israel.

Yet an examination of the various resolutions introduced, indicates that every plan called for internationalization of one sort or another. Indeed, as is certainly obvious now, the overwhelming majority of the delegates were determined that some sort of internationalization plan should pass. Any state, therefore, which hoped to influence the situation, would necessarily have to operate within the framework of an internationalization proposal.

The U. S. Internationalization Plan

This becomes even more apparent when one reviews the background of the problem. For some time before the General Assembly convened, the Jewish press warned in many front page editorials that Jerusalem might be internationalized and urged pressure upon President Truman on the issue. Let us recall that at that time there was no Australian resolution, no Soviet amendments, no Swedish plan. Why then these urgent editorials and calls to action? Because there *was* an internationalization plan, made in America and projected through the Palestine Conciliation Commission. This Commission, created by the UN at the insistence of Washington, was the State Department's newest scheme for circumventing the original UN decision. Washington hoped through this Commission to achieve more direct and effective intervention in Palestine by: 1) preventing the creation of an independent Arab state as required by the November 29, 1947 decision; 2) using the Commission to force through some version of the Bernadotte plan, aimed

at robbing Israel of territory and sovereignty; and finally, 3) passage of an internationalization plan that would insure the United States a UN-sanctioned seat of power in Jerusalem as a vantage point from which it could more easily intervene in both Israel and the Arab sector of Palestine.

It would be well to remember that this Commission, controlled lock, stock and barrel by Washington, had been instructed to bring in an internationalization plan at the General Assembly. *Thus, it was Washington that had precipitated the question and had forced the issue of internationalization upon the agenda of the General Assembly.*

What were the proposals offered by the Conciliation Commission, publicly espoused by the United States and viewed with alarm by the entire Jewish press (although this press did not give the public any understanding of the real dangers inherent in the plan)?

- 1) Creation of "a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area."
- 2) Division of Jerusalem into two zones, one Arab and one Jewish.
- 3) Appointment of a Palestine Commission by the General Assembly and responsible to the Assembly.
- 4) Authority granted to responsible authorities of the Jewish and Arab zones for limited municipal matters, subject, of course, to final approval by the commission.
- 5) A commission to supervise permanent demilitarization of the area.
- 6) Creation of a general council composed of 18 members, five selected from the Jewish zone, five from the Arab zone and four selected by the commissioner from each of the respective zones.
- 7) A General Council to be responsible for "a) supervision of the area in all matters pertaining to public service; and b) to study and recommend . . . economic and commercial arrangements or agreements with a view to promoting the economic development of the area of Jerusalem as a whole and facilitating trade both between the two zones and between the area and the world outside."

What did this plan in effect mean?

First, that America would be able, via control of the Commission through an obedient General Assembly, to establish direct control over Jerusalem and thus to intervene more actively in, and influence more directly the development of both the Israeli and Arab sectors. The power of the commissioner to "recommend" courses of economic action not only in the area but also the area's relation to the outside, would inevitably subjugate Israeli policy and econ-

omy even more completely to America. In effect this plan would eventually mean the transformation of Israel into a semi-colony of the United States, as Transjordan already is a virtual colony of Britain.

Secondly, the commission plan would legalize Abdullah's possession of the Arab sector of Palestine and hence nullify that part of the UN decision of November 29 that called for the creation of an independent Arab state. The plan would in effect, therefore, legalize the presence of Britain in Palestine, since Abdullah is universally known to be a paid agent of British imperialism.

The threat to Israel inherent in this plan can hardly be exaggerated. Jewish men and women had only recently given their lives in their heroic struggle to gain freedom and independence, which required expulsion of Britain from Palestine and abolition of the Mandate. And now Britain was to march back into Palestine under the cloak of its puppet Abdullah—and with UN sanction. Further, Israel would be bound to tie itself economically and politically to this British puppet.

More Maneuvering

When it became obvious to the United States that the Commission plan had no chance of passage, the American delegation rushed to insure the introduction of a measure which would be less obvious and at the same time have the appearance of a compromise.

This new device was the Swedish-Dutch plan, heralded as a great compromise and as a sign that the United States was willing to bend in favor of Israel. But what was the essence of this new plan? True, the plan no longer referred to the internationalization of Jerusalem: only the holy places were to be placed under international supervision. Actually the plan was a dressed-up version of the earlier one. According to the later plan, "the commissioner shall be empowered, a) to defer or suspend the application of laws, ordinances, regulations and administrative acts pertaining to the Jerusalem area which in his opinion impair the rights and immunities and privileges to be protected, or prejudice the interests of the international community." Obviously, this is not essentially different from the Palestine Conciliation Commission plan. Furthermore, the Swedish-Dutch plan also divided Jerusalem between Israel and Abdullah, thus also legalizing Abdullah's seizure of the Arab sector in contravention of the UN decision.

The original Australian plan was a rigid internationalization scheme equally disastrous to the freedom and independence of Israel. This plan called for the complete internationalization of the city and placed power of implementation in the hands of the Conciliation Commission. No commitments were made to set up an independent Arab state.

The line-up was clear. America wanted to intervene effectively in Palestine, either through the Commission or through a high commissioner. Britain certainly favored such a plan because it could thereby recapture lost ground through the medium of Abdullah. Australia and other

Catholic countries, like the Latin American republics, wanted internationalization in accord with Vatican views. All the Arab states, except Abdullah, favored the Australian plan. Abdullah preferred to rule Arab Jerusalem himself.

In view of all the considerations outlined above, one can see how distorted is the attempt to portray the American position as pro-Israel and the Soviet position as anti-Israel. Yet this delusion is being assiduously promoted by some Zionist leaders and the Jewish press. On December 11, Mr. Daniel Frisch, president of the Zionist Organization of America, cabled to Israeli Premier Ben Gurion as follows: "Heartened by the stand of our American government, which led at Flushing Meadows the opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem. . . ." Mr. Frisch is no doubt fully aware that Washington was responsible for the introduction of the whole internationalization scheme in the recently concluded session of the General Assembly. Perhaps Mr. Frisch believes that Washington changed its mind in the course of the debate. Let us refresh his memory. A few hours before the final vote on Jerusalem was taken, United States delegate John C. Ross said: "My government reaffirms its continued strong support for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area. But the resolution of the Special Political Committee [the Australian resolution as amended by the Soviet Union] would not, in our opinion, fulfil this purpose. The impractical and illogical course of action recommended in the Committee's draft resolution would not result in the establishment of an internationalization regime. . . . We have, therefore, supported the proposal of the Palestine Conciliation Commission." Statements like that of Mr. Frisch are therefore not of help to Israel, but rather work to prevent the real nature of American policy from being exposed.

The Soviet Position

Throughout the entire discussion the Soviet delegation hammered away at two points: 1) that the Americans and British had been constantly trying to destroy the historic decision of November 29, especially with respect to the creation of an independent Arab state; and 2) that all the maneuvering was intended to destroy the freedom and independence of Israel. The Soviet amendments were based on this fundamental position. And the Soviet amendments were presented to implement this position. These amendments provided that the UN proceed on the basis of the November 29 decision; that the implementation of the decision be carried out by the UN Trusteeship Council, in which the Soviet Union was represented, rather than the Palestine Conciliation Commission; that the Conciliation Commission be abolished; that the Trusteeship Council be instructed to insure the "greatest degree of democratization" for the Jewish and Arab communities within the framework of internationalization; and particularly that Abdullah be allowed no foothold in Palestine by legal sanction from the UN of his conquests there.

These amendments to the Australian resolution basically

altered that resolution. Australia was compelled to incorporate these amendments (except for abolition of the Conciliation Commission) for the sake of insuring passage of its resolution. Likewise all the countries that wanted internationalization were obliged to accept these amendments. Any honest observer must therefore recognize that, by acting to prevent the enactment of either the American or the original Australian plan, the Soviet Union was acting in the best interests of Israel and its security. For the Soviet amendments in fact prevented the imposition of a type of control that would have led to deeper penetration by imperialism into Israel, more severe attacks on its territorial integrity and sovereignty and the legalization of Abdullah as master over Arab Palestine. It is sheer hypocrisy to speak of the Soviet position as an alliance with feudal Arab lords. The Soviet Union was in fact the only great power that opposed Abdullah's attempt to annex Arab Palestine.

It is no secret that there is a justified feeling that the passage of the Australian resolution with Soviet amendments has not finally settled the problem of Jerusalem. For there is more to the problem than implementation of the resolution, which is thorny enough. The security and future of Israel are at stake. For the problem of Jerusalem is tied to that of Israel itself. Israel's future cannot be secure until imperialist intrigues are finally frustrated, until the Abdullahs are ejected and until a free, independent and friendly Arab state neighbors on Israel.

The Ben Gurion government is weakening Israel's struggle for independence by its willingness to accept Abdullah—that is, Bevin—as a next door neighbor. This does not serve the interests of Israel. In fact, according to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch, the masses in Israel have become alarmed at the news that Abdullah is preparing to take over the Arab sector of Palestine and Jerusalem. They have good cause for alarm.

The struggle to prevent imperialist intrigue against Israel has reached a critical stage. Only by struggle against such intrigue and forcing out Abdullah and the Arab feudal puppets, can a basis be laid for a complete, thoroughgoing solution of the Jerusalem question in accord with the principles of self-determination and with the deep sentiments of the Jewish masses.

NEEDED: A DEMOCRATIC UJA

THE recent national conference of the United Jewish Appeal (November 25-27) was the scene of much discussion of a quota for the 1950 drive and also of the reasons for the failure to reach the quota for this year. Many reasons for the failure were advanced: internal squabbles within the UJA, economic contraction, waning of concern for Israel.

No doubt all of these factors had something to do with the failure. But we believe that, unless American Jewry makes a more basic analysis of this problem, it will neither discover the underlying causes nor will it be able to undertake the necessary corrective measures.

Practically the whole of the American Jewish community is concerned with the future of Israel. Jews have contributed financially and by political struggle to advance the freedom, independence and well-being of the Palestinian Jewish community and latterly of the state of Israel. But after the state was established, much of the accumulated tenseness relaxed and the high spirit of mobilization in an emergency atmosphere diminished.

But there is no doubt that American Jewry relaxed also because the Zionist leadership underplayed or failed to acquaint the community with the real perils confronting Israel. On the contrary, every effort was made to enforce the idea that Israel had nothing to fear from either London or Washington and that American policy was in fact directed towards aiding Israel to achieve independence and self-sufficiency. We believe that here is the basic cause for the relaxed mood into which large sections of American Jewry have slipped. Add to this the fact that the United Jewish Appeal has passed more and more into the hands of a small clique representing top Jewish bourgeois circles, whose whole political orientation imposes even greater distortion of the political realities with regard to Israel. Accordingly, one can understand what is happening and will continue to happen in fund raising as in all other activities.

The masses of the American Jewish community will find no opportunity for democratic participation in the preparations of such campaigns and they certainly will not in the distribution of funds. Clearly also, political considerations determined by the political orientation of those who control the distribution of funds will increase discriminatory measures against those groupings in Israel whose political outlook and ideologies differ from those of the UJA leadership or of sections of the Israeli leadership.

If the American Jewish community is to be mobilized to fulfil its responsibilities to the state of Israel, a task which Jews accept as a deep responsibility, urgent and basic changes must be made to insure the democratization of the United Jewish Appeal with respect to mass participation and distribution of funds. Certainly, the continuation of a policy which permits and even encourages discrimination against progressives and the left cannot be tolerated. The struggle for such democratization will help to heighten the consciousness of the American Jewish community about the real political issues that face Israel and will therefore necessarily call forth greater response and greater mobilization of the mass of the American Jewish community, financially and politically.

But while this struggle goes on, the progressive forces in the American Jewish community must recognize their special responsibilities to the progressive and left-wing forces in Israel who are leading the struggle to insure Israel's future as a free and independent state. Hence it is imperative that progressives make every effort to contribute to such agencies as the Relief and Rehabilitation Fund of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, which insures that the progressive forces of Israel will not be deserted by American Jewish progressives.

ARMISTICE DAY IN CHICAGO

By Mike Hecht

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

On Friday evening, November 11, 1949, the chairman of the Progressive Party in my ward phoned me that on the night before the recently purchased home of Aaron Bindman and Bill Sennett at 5643 S. Peoria Street, [Chicago] in an adjoining ward, had been stormed; that rocks, stones and bricks had been hurled through the windows by a howling mob of 500 while the cops stood idly by; that the home had been under a veritable siege since Tuesday night, November 8, because Bindman, secretary-treasurer of Local 208, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, still and tentatively CIO, had dared congregate Negro as well as white shop stewards in his home at a party in honor of a union brother from Hawaii; that on this, the following night, an even more violent attack had been threatened, and since there was no cause to believe the cops would be any less derelict in their duty (strange, is it not, how the maintenance of law and order, the defense of property, the sanctity of the home and the inviolability of real estate become so curiously neglected at times?) tonight, would I take part in a mobilization to protect the Bindman-Sennett home and families?

Naturally, I would. I say naturally, not because Aaron and I went to the same college together; not because Bill and I worked together on the progressive weekly paper, the Chicago Star; not because both were friends; not because we were all Jews and progressives; but because, like Aaron and Bill, it is not my choice to wait for a concentration camp to take my stand.

ABOUT AN HOUR AND A HALF LATER WE were there. What I saw and heard and felt is in the enclosed report. I hope that in your editorials, you will emphasize and re-emphasize that what happened in Englewood was not a "mere incident"; was not due merely to false rumors being circulated; was not merely a bunch of high school and college boys having themselves a time; was not merely gangs of hoodlums spontaneously roving around fabricating terror for its own sake.

As Ruby Cooper's dispatches to the Daily Worker and Carl Hirsch's story in the Illinois edition of the Sunday Worker (November 20) superbly documented: the attacks were well-organized, well-directed, beautifully (if that word may be used to describe such activity) and efficiently, at times in almost military fashion, carried out; real estate interests, acting through the Catholic Church, had the week before organized, block by block, meetings to rid the neigh-

borhood of "undesirable" elements; while hoodlums and high school boys did the dirty work, the general staff and brains were bankers, pillars of the community, appointees of the mayor to city commissions; that hundreds of "decent" American citizens, women as well as men, participated in a pogrom; the police, in the words of a Chicago Daily News editorial, acted as provocateurs, openly aiding and abetting the attackers and arresting the defenders; Mayor Kennelley refused to supply police until the situation almost got out of hand completely; the Chicago press to a paper deliberately suppressed the story altogether at first, with the sole exception of the Daily News, then buried and minimized the wholesale attacks and their significant implications.

MIKE HECHT.

THE night was clear and cloudless, the sky polka-dotted with moon and stars. The calendar said it was November, but late April hung in the air.

On 57th Street, from east and west of Peoria Street, clusters of people in twos and threes, and bunches in fours and fives, moved toward Peoria, semi-circled around the squad car and black maria barricading Peoria, continued on toward Green on the east or Sangamon on the west, passing by clusters of people in twos and threes and bunches in fours and fives talking in undertones, in muffled voices, in a steady hum and drum, in loud voices, in voices with an edge and a bite; stopping to make a bunch of a cluster and a group of a bunch; joining in the: . . . "And I heard they bought just to sell to n - - - - s!" "No!"

"There's six of them living in the attic now."

"You see! It's like I said; let the Jews come in, and the n - - - - s are right behind."

The raggedly dressed urchins, about eight or nine, dart in and out of the cordon of a dozen policemen fanned out in a semi-circle around the squad car and black maria, chasing each other, chasing a will-of-the-wisp, chasing "Where's the communist? Where's the communist? Where's the communist?" . . .

A good-looking lad of 16 or 17 asks of his buddies:

"Say, how can you tell a communist anyhow?"

"What's the matter, stupid, ain't you never seen a Jew?"

"Yeah, but not all communists are Jews. My uncle says . . ."

"Aw, what the hell's the difference anyhow. I'm getting tired of standin' around just jawin'. Let's go get us a Jew."

With the unmatched verve and enthusiasm of youth, they are off to get themselves a Jew.

MIKE HECHT is a Chicago writer.

FROM BETWEEN SANGAMON AND MORGAN STREETS ON 57TH, at the alley, comes a roar and a cheer—from 200, from 300, from 500 voices; one gang has got themselves a Jew, and all the hungry and the starved are going to taste meat. In that fanned-out semi-circle at 57th and Peoria, two of the cops turn their heads towards the cheer, smile at each other; the smile carries over to the crowd; the crowd laughs.

At 57th and Sangamon a young man of 23 or 24, his glasses trembling, approaches one of the policemen standing on the corner.

"Officer, they're going to kill him!"

"Whatsamatter—you from the North Side, too?"

Thus, another Jew spotlighted for the famished who cannot get to the alley feast. A hungrier, more gloating, more satisfied roar and cheer go up; anticipation has whetted, delay sharpened the appetite; the glasses are trampled on, the face hidden in the hands on the sidewalk is contorted in terror. They kick, the cry of pain is drowned out, the body goes limp, no longer writhes; the concrete reddens.

"Hey, come on, don't be a hog; let me get one in!"

The redness flows, spreads, darkens; the cop shoulders his way to the blood.

"O.K. That's enough."

"Just five minutes more!"

"He's had enough."

"Please, Mac—just five more minutes!"

"Whatsamatter—you want a dead Jew on your hands?"

"Better than a live one, ain't it?"

"Clancy! . . ."

"Please, Mac!! . . ."

". . . Hey, Clancy. . ."

"Please!!"

". . . Get the stretcher."

A GAUNTLET FORMS ALONG EACH CURBSTONE ON 57TH; THROUGH the gauntlet to Peoria the stretcher bears the body to the black maria. From 200, from 300, from 500 voices, rises a mighty BOOO.

"Come back and see us sometime!"

"Didja like our souvenir, four eyes?"

"Hey, Jewboy! Does it tickle?"

A mother turns to her mother exclaiming:

"Serves him right, the white Russian!"

The mother of the mother does not reply; she shakes her head, Not in disagreement. She doesn't believe what she has just seen.

A moment—10? 20? 30? seconds—later, a mightier BOOO; a gigantic BOOO explodes from 1,000, from 1,500, from 2,000 voices; steamrollers down 57th Street, bouncing against the walls of the church on the northwest corner of Sangamon, rebounds to the street. Past the church, two burly policemen are dragging along a slight, red-headed, Semitic-nosed youth whose feet are walking but don't know it, whose head is tilting on his right shoulder but doesn't know it, who doesn't know any more that what's left of his nose will be more hooked than it ever was, who

doesn't feel any more his face is a pulp, who doesn't know the teeth he has swallowed are resting comfortably in his stomach—that is, as comfortably as teeth can rest in a stomach between broken ribs—his head is pounding and pounding and pounding so that he doesn't know anything but the pounding, and doesn't feel and doesn't hear the crescendo of a roar from 1,000, from 1,500, from 2,000 peace-minded, law-abiding, church-going, Bible-reading, hymn-singing, God-fearing, 100 per cent Christian, 100 per cent American voices, shouting:

"Kill him!"

HE DOESN'T SEE THAT THE COPS HAVE TIGHTENED THEIR GRIP on him, doesn't realize he's walking even less and that the two policemen are dragging even more; doesn't remember there wasn't time for the thought to muscle in before the pounding began, that when he gets out of the hospital, he's going to be confronted with a charge of disorderly conduct, inciting to riot—and possibly treason—and it may never occur to him, till he's actually facing the judge, that he's going to have a rough time finding a sound, solid, stand-up-in-court, pillar-of-the-community, 100 per cent American answer to the cop who owes his badge to the precinct captain and ward committeeman who "sponsored" the judge and who is expounding:

"Your Honor, here's a known agitator; a subversive with an FBI record that dates way back and stretches this long. He's been a trouble-maker since his first pair of long pants. He was so anxious for a scrap he couldn't wait for Pearl Harbor but had to get mixed up in a war in Spain in 1936 and '37, fighting with them 'commonist' gangsters against the forces of law and order. This trouble-maker, who lives clear over at 13th and Lawndale on the West Side, comes all the way up to 57th and Peoria. Has he got any legitimate business there? No, your Honor, he ain't got no business, no business whatsoever being clear up there at 57th and Peoria; no business except trouble-making. Your Honor, we got enough on our hands trying to quiet down this here disturbance without these agitators and disrupters and professional trouble-makers coming around stirring up more trouble, working up the passions of people just as we get them quieted down, inviting a beating so they can go home and play the martyr and see their names in the *Daily Worker* and hear on the radio that the Moscow papers are lambasting the United States for allowing racial violence. Judge, it's my honest feeling that the citizens of this city deserve a vacation from hoodlums like this. I suggest a good 90 days might cool this firebrand down a little, judge."

The black maria lurches off to the hospital with its cargo. Two urchins dart in and out of the cordon of policemen fanned out in a semi-circle around the squad car at 57th and Peoria, chasing each other, chasing a will-of-the-wisp, chasing a wild will-of-the-wisp, having the time of their lives; chanting the refrain:

"Got a commie, got a commie, got a commie."

Up against the 57th and Sangamon church wall, a curly-

headed, pug-nosed youth of 17 or 18, his left hand twisting the collar of his buddy, his right hand cocked below his buddy, is demonstrating to a group of admirers how:

"... And then I smashed the uppercut into his mouth, and his head goes 'bong' against the wall. . . ."

The rest of the words are lost in the laugh of the admirers as they crowd in; the girls slap him, *ping*, on the back and the fellows buffet him on the arms.

FURTHER EAST ON 57TH STREET, ANOTHER GROUP, THIS ONE a little older, is considering the proposition, a universal proposition, considered so often before, in so many lands; considered even in Russia before the Bolsheviks ruined everything:

"Are there any Jew store-windows we can break to-night?"

In a few minutes the considering will be transmuted into action: "Halstead Street, here we come!"

Meanwhile, not far from the southeast corner of Sangamon and 57th, a tall, somber-faced, Nordic-looking man of about 50 is standing quietly, his insides shrivelling as he listens to a good-looking lad of 16 or 17 eagerly corral his bunch with:

"Hey, fellas, doesn't that look like a Jew standing over there? (The finger points to a chubby, balding man of

about 35, cigar stub in his mouth.) Let's go round up the rest of the guys and go get us another Jew!"

The Nordic-looking man stands, obsessed with helplessness, cursing silently: "Why didn't someone warn us it was like this?" knowing, while he was asking, that nobody knew it was like this.

"I hear we got 14 already," calls out a voice, a friendly voice, to no cop in particular and to any cop in general in the 57th and Peoria cordon. One cop shrugs his shoulders, ho hum, it's getting late, his corns are aching, he's been on duty since seven in the morning, he wants to get home to some hot coffee.

"Stick around here much longer and first thing you know some big-shot Jew politician will jazz the Mayor who'll jazz the commissioner who'll jazz the captain who'll jazz the lieutenant who'll jazz the sergeant who'll jazz us with 'O.K., boys, break it up,' and then how in the hell am I gonna be able to get up in the morning and face the neighbors tomorrow with it travelling all up and down the street that Michael C - - - - is a n - - - - r lover?"

On the newsstand at 55th and Halstead, the *Sun-Times* carries the headline in big, bold type:

CIVIL RIGHTS A MUST — TRUMAN.

The big bell atop the parish church at 55th and Peoria tolls. And Chicago has had its Peekskill.

POSTSCRIPT

THE people of Chicago are rousing themselves to protest the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic riotous outrage in November and to fight against the forces responsible for it. The keynote of the fight was sounded in a call to a Conference to End Mob Violence held on November 26 and sparked by the Chicago Urban League. "There is no room for partisanship of any sort," said the call. "We are gathered to lay plans for solving a common problem."

Also formed was a West Side Citizens Committee Against Violence and Discrimination, among whose participants were members of the American Legion, Civil Rights Congress, American Veterans Committee and the Progressive Party.

Jewish organizations have gone into action. The leading committee of the Conference of Jewish Women's Organization, with representatives from 195 organizations, and the B'nai B'rith Women's Organizations have directed their groups to demand that the mayor investigate to fix responsibility for the attack and to take quick and decisive action against mob violence.

Emergency meetings of religious, civic and other organizations took place all over the city and delegations saw the mayor.

The mayor finally issued a statement on November 16 that follows the Dewey Peekskill pattern of blaming the victims. "Nothing must be allowed to happen," said Mayor Kennelly, "which would disrupt this relationship [of growing friendliness among Chicago's people], particularly anything due to difference of race or religion. . . . Recently, however, some incidents and

disturbances have occurred in our city which caused disorder in the community. Any assembly which tends to create disturbance and disorder can have no place in Chicago. *Wherever there are disturbances of any kind, there will be found the influence of subversive groups and individuals who thrive on disorder.* It is the responsibility and obligation of the police department to preserve the peace." (Italics ours—Eds.)

Competent observers and available evidence point to the fact that the riot was well organized and deliberately executed by Jimcrow realty interests. As the *Chicago Defender* said in a front page editorial on November 19th, "The near riot had its origin in the housing situation, which grows worse by the hour." After the disorder had subsided, Aaron Bindman, the Jewish ex-GI, Spanish civil war veteran and trade union official whose home was the focus of the attack, was visited by a police captain. The police officer strongly proposed that Bindman sell his home at a "very substantial profit" through the Chicago City Bank and Trust Company. President of this bank is Frank C. Rathje, the confirmed Jimcrow housing advocate and one of the most influential men in the city's segregation drive. Bindman declined.

On November 19th the Progressive Party held a rally at which 5,000 Chicagoans voiced their protest. In the course of a passionate speech, Bindman said: "Only now do I fully realize the daily terror under which the Negro people live, the full meaning of Jimcrow, the struggle for Negro rights. Only now do I appreciate fully the fighting spirit of the Negro people, . . . who continue to fight and to live in their homes."

STEPNEY LEARNS TO FIGHT

I: I BECOME AN ANTI-FASCIST

By Phil Piratin, M.P.

MY early life had no associations with the working-class movement. Not that my family was remote from the class struggle. On the contrary, I have heard my father tell how, when I was born (15 May 1907), at the tail end of a large family, he had no money to pay for the midwife's expenses. He had to pawn many of his books—he was a great reader and scholar—in order to pay for the expense of bringing me into the world. But my father was religious, and difficulties and hardships were not put down to the fault of society but to "God's will."

I was born at 2 Coke Street, Stepney. At the age of about two we moved around the corner to 13 Greenfield Street, and here I remember my early childhood. Neither of these places exists now, they were both destroyed by enemy action in 1940. I grew up as other Stepney children did. We played in the streets—and played "rough." I remember battles between Greenfield Street and Settles Street boys with sticks and stones. There was no grass. The nearest tree was at Whitechapel Church. It was an outing to go to Victoria Park. Sometimes there would be trouble between Jewish boys and Gentiles.

The Second World War is still so fresh in my mind that I find it very hard to recall scenes of the First World War. I remember when the first zeppelin was brought down at Potters Bar. From Stepney, about 14 miles away, we could see it coming down in flames, and we cheered. I remember when Armistice Day was announced on November 11, 1918. There was no school. I was then 11 years old and I and a gang of boys went to the West End "to see the fun."

It was about this time that I began to question our "way of life." My mode of life at home was based on religion. My father undoubtedly was very sincere in his belief, and with it a very upright and respected man. I had reached the age, however, when I no longer accepted "God's will" as the answer to awkward questions. And looking back now, I must have asked many awkward questions. I followed by father's belief and religion, and as much as a boy can be sincere, I was sincere in my faith, and in carrying out the various precepts. I remember being shaken, however, when on one occasion I asked my father's friend, Dayan Rabbi Chakin (a "Dayan" is a Jewish judge), how it was possible for the chief rabbi of Germany to call on the Jewish people to fight in the Kaiser's armies, and the chief rabbi of the United Kingdom to

call on the British Jews to fight in the British armies, both chief rabbis knowing quite well that their fellow Jews would be fighting each other. I was quoted all kinds of references, the essence of which was that the Jewish people are strangers in a strange land, should be grateful for their shelter and should conform with the decisions and policy of the reigning government. This, of course, didn't satisfy me, as it was in conflict with the teachings of religion, in which I then believed, regarding international brotherhood. It was abhorrent to me to think of one Jew fighting another. In later years I met Christians who told me that they had similar thoughts at the same time.

I believe it was these conflicting thoughts on the First World War that set me on the path of thinking more seriously about life around me, and in particular, about the merits of my religious faith. Nevertheless, when I was at school—about 13 years old—we had a "Mock Parliament." There was a small group of socialists. Most vocal was a lad named Harris, and he certainly could "rant," but I and my particular set of friends at school looked upon him and others as "freaks." In later years I have looked back and wondered how I could have been so remote from the labor movement, then developing rapidly in East London, as to think such things. I have been told of the existence of socialist Sunday schools in those years, after the First World War, but somehow I never knew of them at the time. I also knew nothing of the Communist Party, which had formed a branch in Stepney during this period.

ABOUT THIS TIME I WAS THINKING SERIOUSLY ON MANY QUESTIONS. When I left school I continued to read a great deal, particularly scientific and philosophical works. I remember in those days being very much impressed by Bertrand Russell. He had a lucid mind. I even bought some of his books, which I still have. (This is a sad reflection on Bertrand Russell, for many worth-while books are no longer on my shelves, having been "borrowed," while Russell remains.) Later, Shaw wrote his book, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*. I read it and thought that it answered everything. I discovered later that it did not, but it stimulated me to read other books. I was a regular borrower from the Whitechapel Library. There was no one to guide me. Over a period of several years I read social and political works covering a very wide field. The first book I attempted to read by Lenin was *Empirio-Criticism*. I remember reading a chapter and then wondering what I had read—I didn't understand a word of it.

PHIL PIRATIN has been the Communist M. P. from Stepney in London's East End since the 1945 general elections. This is the first installment of his autobiography, which was published in London under the title, *The Flag Stays Red*.

At this time I became involved more and more in political discussions. The General Strike had been and gone. The 1931 crisis was looming ahead. In Stepney, more and more conversation turned to politics. But I did not take part in any activity. Had some one asked me, I might, but no one did and I didn't think of it either.

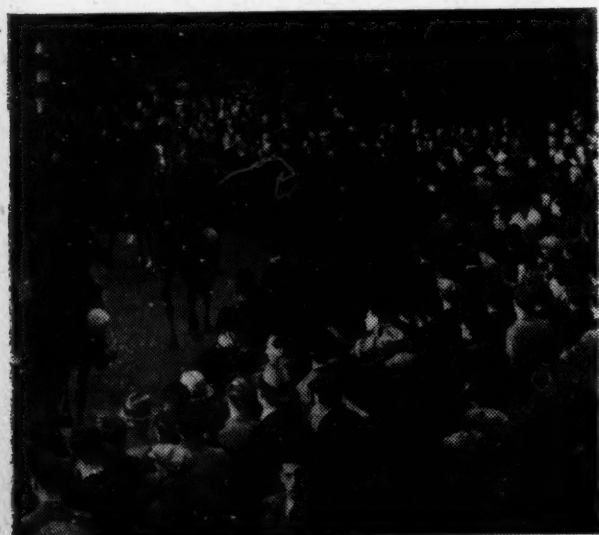
In 1932 I saw activity. The "Hunger Marchers" were in London. One contingent was stationed in Stepney, and I helped with supplies. I was very keen in my support. I would have joined the Communist Party had some one asked me. Some of my best friends were communists, but no one asked me to join. So I didn't join.

Later I was active in the "Anti-War Movement." I cannot remember how I got drawn into it. I might as well have got drawn into the Communist Party, but no one asked me.

About 1934 some of my friends in the Communist Party—in particular, I remember "Shimmy" Silver and Lew Mitchell—asked me to join the Communist Party, but by that time I was such a close supporter of the Communist Party, that I didn't see the need for joining it! I eventually joined that year, a few days after the Mosley Rally at Olympia on June 7.

THIS WAS TO BE HIS GREATEST RALLY. THE FASCISTS HAD already staged meetings in the main provincial centers, and earlier in the year had held a meeting in the Albert Hall. Twenty thousand fascist supporters were expected at Olympia. Many of these were transported by the B.U.F. [British Union of Fascists] from various parts of London and from the provinces. No less than 3,000 of the Fascist Defense Force (the tough core of the B.U.F.) were brought to Olympia on this occasion.

The Communist Party went into action, but before I describe some of the events, I think it is necessary to under-



One of the many militant, spirited anti-nazi demonstrations in London's East End in the thirties.

stand the political situation and developments at that period.

The nation was slowly emerging from the worst economic crisis in living memory—three million unemployed, severe under-nourishment, many middle-class people, professionals and small tradesmen, affected, in some cases bankrupt. The traditional political parties had no solution. The Labor government of 1931 could have taken drastic measures, but the leaders had been sold to capitalism. The National Government placed the burden of the crisis on the working people, which in turn intensified the crisis.

Abroad fascism was dominant in Germany. The disunity of the working class, and in particular the hatred of the right-wing social democrats for the communists, which prevented any possible cooperation, gave the nazis the opportunity they wanted. In February that year the fascists took power in Austria. In the same month the fascists attempted a coup in France, but the Communist Party, at the head of the working class, was too vigilant and the coup failed.

The fascists in Britain, in such circumstances, had made some headway, supported by many capitalists and industrialists and by the Rothermere Press. Fascists, thugs and hooligans were treated benignly in British courts. Openly supported by numbers of Conservative members of parliament and peers, they sought to duplicate the example of the fascists in Germany and Austria.

The Olympia meeting on June 7, 1934 was to be the zenith of a series of rallies throughout the country. Thousands of influential people had been invited; no tickets were on sale, but could only be obtained direct from the B.U.F. and were not available to anybody without some handle. Mosley was out to impress the "people" who mattered. He aimed to display the strength and discipline of his organization, the kind that would "stand no nonsense" from the working class. He wanted to impress others who "comprised the backbone of England" with the same sentiments as those expressed at the time by Sir Thomas Moore, M.P. for Ayr Burghs, who wrote in the *Daily Mail*, on April 25, 1934:

"What is there in a black shirt that gives apparent dignity and intelligence to its wearer? . . . There was little . . . if any, of the policy which could not be accepted by the most loyal followers of our present Conservative leaders. . . . Surely there cannot be any fundamental differences of outlook between Blackshirts and their parents, the Conservatives? For let us make no mistake about the parentage. . . . It (the B.U.F.) is largely derived from the Conservative Party. . . . Surely the relationship can be made closer and more friendly."

Now, if only all Conservatives and other "respectable" citizens would think that way, then Mosley was "a dead cert" for dictator, should some critical political situation develop.

How to expose Mosley and the fascists for what they were? How to bring home to the British people the nature

of this beast? The Communist Party rallied thousands of workers to go to Olympia. Previously, some hundreds of communists and other anti-fascists had been able to obtain tickets for the meeting. The thousands who rallied outside, however, could obtain no access to the meeting, the way being barred by a thousand police. Inside the meeting hundreds of courageous anti-fascists, men and women, exposed Mosley, though they were battered and mauled by the Blackshirt thugs for the slightest interruption or protest.

I was one of the thousands outside the hall charged again and again by the police, mounted and foot. We stood our ground and watched the anti-fascists ejected from the building, many in a state of collapse, bleeding profusely, clothes torn and tattered. From outside we only heard stories of what was going on inside, and could use our imagination when we saw the victims. Mosley's thugs could only get away with this brutality because of their protection by the police who stood by, cynical and indifferent, as the beaten-up victims were thrown out of the building. Any suggestion made to the police that they should prevent this barbarism was at its best met with a "mind your own business." In one mounted police attack when, by pushing their horses sideways, the police were able to pen a number of us against the wall, some one shouted to one of the senior mounted police that his duty would be better served in preventing the dastardly actions taking place inside the Olympia. I heard this senior officer shout back: "Get back to your slums, you communist bastards."

Some of the comments made by impartial observers not only gave an impression of the scene inside, but showed at the same time that the anti-fascists, by their own sacrifices, had won the day in exposing Mosley. Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, Tory M.P. for Ladywood Division of Birmingham, and parliamentary private secretary to Mr. Baldwin, stated:

"I am bound to say that I was appalled by the brutal conduct of the fascists. . . . There seems little doubt that some of the later victims of the Blackshirt stewards were Conservatives and endeavoring to make a protest at the unnecessary violence of the proceedings. . . . I can only say it was a deeply shocking scene for an Englishman to see in London. . . . I could not help shuddering at the thought of this vile bitterness, copied from foreign lands, being brought into the center of London. I came to the conclusion that Mosley was a political maniac, and that all decent English people must combine to kill this movement." (*Yorkshire Post*, June 9, 1934.)

The Very Reverend Dick Sheppard, who went to the meeting on the invitation of Mosley's mother and was not concerned to comment on any of the brutal ejections which took place in the Hall, said:

"I confine myself to one of the instances I witnessed when I got into a corridor leading to the exit. A young man who had been ejected was showing signs of the way in which he had been handled. I was horrified at the monstrously cruel treatment to which he was now subjected

by the fascists in charge of him. He was bleeding on the face and was gasping for breath. He was being chased down the corridor by a horde of Blackshirts. Some collared him by the legs, others by the arms, and held in this way, he was beaten on the head by any fascist who could get near him. There was a large crowd of them." (*Daily Telegraph*, June 11, 1934.)

Workers at Olympia testified to the National Council for Civil Liberties as to the preparations that were made by the Blackshirts prior to the meeting.

THE EVENTS OF THAT NIGHT HAVE BEEN DIMMED BY THE subsequent record of fascism during the Second World War, but the exposure organized by the Communist Party was an eye-opener to millions in the country and a political lesson of great importance to many thousands. People like myself (I was there with two other friends who held very much my own views) understood as clearly as daylight the truth of Lenin's thesis in his *State and Revolution*. Only the deliberately blind could claim the impartiality of the police, and of the courts, on that and the next days.

Yet, on June 9, only two days after Olympia, the *Daily Herald* published a letter from Mr. T. R. West, then Labor M.P. for North Hammersmith:

"The communists, by smashing Blackshirt meetings, are as usual, aiding the fascists, and gaining public sympathy for them. We of the Labor Party do not fear the effect of Mosleys' speeches. In any event, let them be heard, for free speech is still precious today, although the communists are such opponents of it."

There was plenty to learn that night for people like myself, and plenty to do; not all the police "got away with it," and we waited until the meeting was ended, and the fascists began to leave. Some of them paid well for what they had done that night. Mosley later tried to prove that more fascists were taken into hospitals than anti-fascists. This is quite possibly true. The anti-fascists had organized their own first-aid posts in different places near the Olympia, where hundreds were attended to by anti-fascist doctors. The reason? Police persecution and victimization. The police had a pleasant habit of gathering lists of anti-fascists who had found their way into hospital as a result of fascist savagery and later on things began to happen. A policeman would call and tell the wife some hair-raising story about her husband's nefarious doings. Employers were informed by the police and anti-fascists found themselves sacked. Sometimes these lists had a way of getting into the hands of the B.U.F., who then put the names on their "threatening list." This is why the anti-fascists had their own first-aid centers.

That night I was proud of the anti-fascists, the working class, and particularly the Communist Party. I could have kicked myself for not being a member of a party whose lead I was so proud to follow. That night, going back to Stepney, I told "Shimmy" Silver, then a group leader of the Communist Party, that I wanted to join. The next week I attended my first meeting.

LESSONS IN RESISTANCE

II: IS AMERICAN JEWRY PREPARED?

By Louis Harap

IN the first article we showed how organized German Jewry failed to put up any resistance to the nazis. We further showed that, whatever their differences in viewpoint, all German Jewish groups shared in this failure. In the light of this German Jewish experience, American Jewry must assess its own preparedness to meet the fascist threat in the United States today.

At the outset it should be clear that the issues do not present themselves as simply to us as they shaped up in relation to the German Jewish community. The nazi movement was explicitly anti-democratic, anti-Semitic and irrational from the start. However, as Huey Long so acutely observed, if fascism comes to America, it will come in democratic guise. A far more subtle demagoguery is therefore required for a successful American fascism than for nazism. While the anti-communism of the nazis was blatantly and aggressively anti-democratic, in this country anti-communist hysteria pretends to rest on a defense of democratic principles.

There is only too much evidence of this in relation to both domestic and foreign policy. What is behind these policies? To understand the motivation behind the foreign policy of the administration, which is a front for Wall Street, study the holdings that American monopolies have taken over in Germany; the role of the Marshall Plan in helping to subordinate countries like Britain, France and Italy to American economic interests; the inroads made by American capital into colonial countries. But these aims of economic expansion and domination cannot be realized without political domination. This is not, of course, the way this policy is presented to the American people. Obviously the people would hardly consent to risk their security or to shed their blood to line the pockets of Wall Street. Consequently the drive towards world domination is magically changed into a holy crusade to save western civilization and democracy from the "communist hordes."

The same demagoguery is employed in relation to domestic policy. For the success of the foreign policy requires pursuit of a similar demagoguery on home problems. The witch-hunts, the conviction of the 11 communist leaders are executed to the tune of pious refrains about love of democracy. Civil rights programs are proposed with the greatest of ease. But not a single substantial move is made to bring about their realization.

If we honestly evaluate these facts, we can understand why extra-legal outbreaks are occurring with increasing frequency and on a growing scale. The "legal" strategy of suppression is hidden behind a mountain of "democratic" verbiage; extra-legal terrorization of Negroes, Jews,

progressives and communists is most subtly encouraged.

These acts are only eruptions out of a pervasive hysteria. An 11-year-old boy in Lynn, Mass., whose father was killed in the war, is beaten and called a "dirty Jew" and asks why his father had to die. In Peekskill thousands are witness to the ugly reality of the inevitable anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism that follow red-baiting hysteria. In Chicago, a few months later, the pattern reappears in similar anti-communist, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic violence (described elsewhere in this issue). Not the least ominous aspect of these affairs is the clearly expressed collusion of police and public officials with the pro-fascist hoodlums and the attempt of elected officials to condone these affairs, thus encouraging their recurrence.

It must be admitted that American Jewry has not yet as a whole caught on to this overall pattern (the situation is still fluid), does not yet realize the imminent danger of fascism. The Jewish community is, nevertheless, uneasy. American Jews have reacted quite strongly on single issues, such as the failure of denazification and the rebuilding of a neo-nazi Germany, or the brutal anti-Semitism manifested at Peekskill and Chicago, as well as the numerous instances involving one or two victims. But the connection between these occurrences and the hysterical anti-communist agitation is by no means generally grasped.

Leadership Versus Rank and File

In estimating the quality, consistency and thoroughness of the resistance movement among American Jewry, important distinctions must be made. In the first place, the expressed views and policy of the leadership of organized Jewish life must not be taken as necessarily expressing also the views of the rank and file. The latter frequently react more directly and with greater comprehension of the issues. While the leadership at present in many, perhaps most, cases are apologists and appeasers of official reactionary positions of the government, a high proportion of the rank and file tends to see the fascist danger more clearly, since they do not have the vested political and economic interests of the leaders. But most Jews do not yet understand that fascist outbreaks are an inevitable consequence of the cold war policy.

The question of Israel illustrates this connection. The overwhelming majority of American Jews were deeply moved by the great Jewish tragedy and the plight of the DP's and therefore participated in one form or another in the struggle for the creation of the state of Israel. This

plunged the American Jewish community into a head-on collision with our own government on the embargo, the Bernadotte Plan, internationalization of Jerusalem and many other issues. This concern of American Jewry was basically democratic and anti-imperialist, and consequently in effect opposed to the cold war.

However, there were contradictory elements in the situation. Many Zionist leaders, themselves interested in the creation of Israel, were also inclined to the defense of American cold war, imperialistic policy. To lead the American Jewish community into an uncompromising and militant struggle for an independent Israel meant to develop a real struggle against Wall Street's plan to dominate Israel economically and politically. This contradiction accounts for the vacillations, retreats and attempts to whitewash and even praise the American government at the same time that this leadership is forced to lodge protests against government policy.

The left has repeatedly urged that a true struggle for Israeli independence cannot be won without attacking the basic imperialistic drive for domination from which the menace to Israel arises as an inexorable consequence. The left therefore accuses many Zionist leaders of actually hampering the struggle for a secure and independent Israel by their failure to arouse the Jewish masses to an awareness of this fact and by refusing to carry on consistent struggles. Nevertheless, the left by no means underestimates the deep-rooted and healthy concern of the American Jewish masses for the welfare of Israel and its people, nor its essentially anti-imperialist motivation despite nationalistic or other false ideological premises that intrude into the situation. A gap exists between the rank and file concern for the Israeli people and the cold war commitments of the leadership.

Class Composition

Another distinction must be made. It is that the leaderships of the variety of Jewish organizations must not be indiscriminately lumped together. For leaders vary in the degree of their commitment to reactionary forces on the home scene and in foreign policy. Some leaders, such as those in the American Jewish Congress, which is a "liberal" front for the Truman administration in Jewish life, nevertheless are forced by the very nature and traditions of Congress to participate in some measure in the resistance to the police state. In order to retain their hold on the Jewish masses, the leadership of Congress must put up some sort of opposition to the drive against civil liberties, the failure of denazification and the attempt to deprive Israel of independence. They must be active on civil rights issues. At the other extreme are organizations like "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz's American Jewish League Against Communism, which comes as close as an American Jewish organization can to a police state position in this country today. We shall go into these differences later, but it must here be stressed that one cannot make oversimplified generalizations about the leadership of Jewish organizations.

Variations of outlook and degree of resistance among

American Jews are in large part due to their varied class composition. The most cohesive and best organized group of upper middle class Jews is found in the American Jewish Committee, which is mainly controlled by the descendants of the German Jews who came to this country in the wave of immigration following the German Revolution of 1848. Together with some wealthy Jews who stem from the later Eastern European immigration, the Committee is the spokesman of big business in the Jewish community.

But the overwhelming majority of American Jews today are the children of Eastern European immigrants, who came to America in the hundreds of thousands from the 1880's on. The immigrants were themselves desperately poor wage workers in the clothing and distributive trades and were concentrated in ghettos in New York and a few other cities. Many were revolutionary fugitives from tsarist Russia and other Eastern European countries. These Jewish workers played an important role in building the American trade union movement and the socialist and communist movements. They were in the basic sense proletarians.

But in the first few decades of the twentieth century profound changes occurred in the American Jewish community. Jews shared in the economic expansion and the resulting exit from the proletariat of large numbers of the workers and their children. The second and third generations of American Jews entered the professions and white collar work in very large numbers. While thousands of Jews remained in the working class on the East Side of New York and in other places, the majority became petty bourgeois and many became prosperous middle class people. Vocational distribution continued to be unbalanced and distorted by discrimination and anti-Semitism. Jews engaged in the medical, legal and dental professions, in white collar work and in the light industries far out of proportion to their percentage of the population.

Thus the bulk of American Jewry at present are petty bourgeois and middle class in their ideology. As such their attitudes do not differ essentially from those of non-Jews of these classes. Yet there are some very significant differences because of the special pressures to which Jews are subject. Jews are necessarily more international in their outlook because they are sensitive to the persecution and welfare of Jews all over the world. They are plunged into international policy through their deep interest in Israel and other Jewish communities. The impact of fascism on the Jews in the past two decades has sensitized them to anti-democratic trends. They experience in their personal lives the lash of anti-Semitism and discrimination. As the direct and immediate victims of fascist and near-fascist thinking and action, Jews are rendered susceptible to anti-fascist thinking and action.

Influence of Social Democracy

The fact that American Jewry as a whole is not yet fully alerted to the threat of fascism is due in considerable degree to the influence of social democracy in American life, and especially in its Jewish sector. To explain fully the

nature of "social democracy" is beyond the limits of this article. Suffice it to say here that social democrats are petty bourgeois "radicals" who profess to believe in socialism, but who shrink from taking a working class—that is, a socialist—position on issues because they are really attached to capitalism. At this moment of world history, the social democratic fear of "communism" and the Soviet Union has become almost pathological and all policy and activity is dominated by this anti-Soviet obsession. The social democratic leadership seeks to delude whatever followers they can persuade, that they are the true adherents either of socialism or, of the "progressive" reform of capitalism. On most issues the social democrats engage in all sorts of compromises whose effect is to help perpetuate capitalism. The social democrats perform an extremely important function for the capitalists in that they drain off a great part of the discontent of the working class and the lower middle class and divert it from the genuine betterment of social conditions. At a time like the present, because of their obsessive anti-Sovietism, the social democrats function to prevent the broadest unity of all anti-fascists. So critical is their influence that it could be said that fascism would have no conceivable chance of succeeding in America—or in Europe, for that matter—if the social democrats were to unite with all anti-fascist forces, including the communists, against the forces making for fascism.

Large sections of the Jewish people are especially liable to the influence of social democracy. The special sensitivity of the Jews to fascism, as we indicated above, inclines many Jews towards radical solutions of social problems. Many Jews appear to be radical, certainly left of center, but they actually remain isolated from, and in many cases are in opposition to, those progressive movements which transform radical words and concepts into living programs of action. Their petty bourgeois psychology tends to pull them away from thoroughgoing opposition to capitalism, whose values are deeply etched in their petty bourgeois minds. A tension is therefore created between these conflicting tendencies. Many Jews suspend this tension by adopting a social democratic position which virtually permits them to be "left" in words and instruments of reaction in deeds. This condition obtains both among the leadership and the rank and file, though the leadership bears the heavier responsibility for it, since the rank and file could be persuaded to adopt a militant anti-fascist position if they were not so utterly mixed up by the social democratic leadership.

Social democracy has had a tremendous development in the United States in the post-war period. More and more it is providing the Truman administration, as well as a large part of labor leadership, with ideological weapons, with demagoguery for holding the progressive trend of the masses of the American people in check. It is important to note that social democracy has in the past five years or so succeeded in penetrating almost every national Jewish organization, usually among professional workers and, in some cases, in the leadership. Just how social democracy operates in Jewish organized life, we shall see in these articles.

Let us examine concretely the ways in which organizations in the Jewish community have reacted in the recent period to the threat of a police state in America. Although by no means all American Jews belong to such organizations, the trends which appear in organized life also occur among the unorganized. On the one hand, the policies of these organizations exert wide influence on the whole of the Jewish community; and on the other hand, Jews in organized life and those out of it are alike subject to the same ideological influences. Therefore, by examining some of the leading organizations, we shall in effect be surveying the outlooks of the majority of Jews in America.

AJ Committee and Resistance

The closest approach in the United States to the leading German Jewish organization, the Central Jewish Union of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, of which we spoke in the first article, is, interestingly enough, the organization of the wealthy descendants of German Jewish immigrants—the American Jewish Committee. Although the American Council for Judaism, an offshoot of the American Jewish Committee, has the program that most nearly approaches that of the Central Union, we can for our purpose ignore the Council, which makes much noise but exerts little influence on the Jewish masses. The American Jewish Committee, however, because of its widespread control of funds in Jewish communal life, is one of the most powerful Jewish organizations in America and exerts tremendous influence on the policy of many organizations in addition to its own.¹

During the thirties the Committee followed implicitly the appeasement policy of Germany Jewry. From 1933 on, the Committee tried to stifle the enormous swell of protest and the boycott campaign against the Nazi extermination plans against the Jews. The following statement, issued by the Committee in 1933, sufficiently indicates the Committee attitude: "Throughout this period [1933] your Committee received numerous cablegrams and private advices from organizations and responsible individuals in Germany, strongly urging that efforts be made to prevent mass demonstrations and all demonstrations of antagonism. Although some of these may have been sent under duress, others are the unmistakable expressions of the convictions of responsible Jewish leaders of Germany. Knowing that they reflected the sincere views of the Jews of Germany, we were judiciously guided by them."²

But the resentment of the majority of Jews against the approach thus exemplified by the American Jewish Committee, has made it necessary for the Committee to undergo some change in tactics since the early forties. The Committee decided that persistence in these tactics would cause it completely to lose its influence in the American Jewish community. For the years of the anti-fascist war had seen a

¹ This writer has analyzed in some detail the program and policies of the American Jewish Committee in a series of articles in *JEWISH LIFE*, April-July 1948.

² *The Jewish Situation in Germany*, published by the American Jewish Committee, 1934, p. 25.

rise in the level of political understanding among American Jews, who necessarily learned something from the searing years of nazism. The Jewish masses demanded effective resistance to fascist tendencies and were resolved no longer to remain inactive and supine before the assault of anti-Semitism and discrimination.

In 1944, the American Jewish Committee therefore employed social democrats and Trotskyites to refurbish its program and bring it closer to one which the Jewish people would support. But the main function of the Committee, as the organ of the big bourgeoisie in the Jewish community, remained that of trying to contain and control resistance of the Jewish people to the forces that threaten themselves and democracy. The Committee serves to bridle and prevent, if possible, the expression of mass sentiment among the Jewish people. In the new situation the social democrats and Trotskyites, because of their experience with social movements, were invaluable as professional "experts" in promoting the illusion that the Committee was doing something to deal with the threat to Jewry.

In one sphere, where the Committee is forced to compete with other Jewish organizations for the ear of the Jewish people, they perform some service. I refer to their activity in participating in court cases testing discrimination in education and housing and on separation of church and state. These and similar activities of the Committee must be judged as contributions, however indecisive, to the fight against encroaching fascism. But these do not change the fundamental nature of the Committee, whose basic function is to stifle mass action. Furthermore, by its pseudo-scientific doctrine of the "quarantine treatment" (that is, urging that most manifestations of fascism be given the silent treatment), the Committee is perpetuating under a new name the contemptible age-old tactic of the "court Jews," the "hush-hush" approach to anti-Semitism.

Agency of Big Business

The Committee's position as the agency of the big bourgeoisie makes clear that in any movement for unity of the Jewish people on an anti-fascist basis, the Committee cannot be considered a potential component, any more than big business can become a component of the general people's anti-fascist front. The big business interests of most Committee members are too strong to contemplate any such anti-fascist unity. This does not mean that individual members here and there cannot be persuaded or forced through community pressure to speak out on certain issues. Nor does this imply that efforts should not be made to press the Committee itself to act on certain issues or, at the very least, to prevent it from acting negatively.

A few critical instances of Committee activity will be cited here. Typical enough was the disclosure in November 1948 that the then president of the Committee, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, was an attorney for the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco), which is one of the deadly enemies of the Jews and the Arab masses in the Near East. It is

logical enough that the Committee was wedded to the cold war from the start. At the Committee's 41st annual meeting in January 1948, the cold war was fanned by such speakers as General Omar Bradley and labor misleader James B. Carey. The then Attorney General Tom Clark was given a forum there to whitewash the infamous "loyalty" set-up. One of the more obvious contributions of the Committee to the build-up of American fascism occurred in 1946, when three top Committee officers, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, David Sher and Justice Edward Lazansky, helped to clear George A. Timone of charges of having pro-fascist sympathies (Timone at that time reaffirmed his pro-Franco sympathies) when he was being considered for the New York City Board of Education. Timone has since been a driving force on the Board toward pro-fascism, especially in connection with censorship of books and magazines and the Feinberg Law.

"Commentary" Sabotages Resistance

The Committee publishes a sumptuous monthly magazine, *Commentary*, in which trends that inhibit the struggle against fascism get a fulsome hearing. This magazine is edited by a cabal of social democrats, Trotskyites and ex-Trotskyites, who fill the magazine with writings of their fellow-social democrats, Trotskyites and just plain reactionaries.⁸ The Jewish community has from time to time been outraged by the anti-Jewish material, calculated to weaken the fight against anti-Semitism, that has appeared in *Commentary*. We cite only a few examples here from recent issues.

In the August 1949 issue, an article on "The Knickerbocker Case" by City College instructor Morris Freedman distorted the case against the anti-Semitic City College Professor William E. Knickerbocker and ridiculed the impressive student and civic mass movement that had developed around the case and had culminated in the great five-day student strike in April 1949. The caliber of Freedman's thinking can be judged from this statement in the article: "These left-wing organizations, which had their own reasons for wishing to stir up a fuss [about the cases of Knickerbocker and anti-Negro instructor William H. Davis] were joined by certain Jewish groups whose notion of political action in a democracy is apparently that of a mindless, 'militant' anti-anti-Semitism." Freedman's article provoked a wave of anger throughout the entire Jewish community.

Another *Commentary* article in the October 1949 issue dealing with Munich pogrom of August 1949, in which protesting Jewish DP's were fired upon and beaten by German police, applied the soft pedal on the danger of anti-Semitism in Germany. The author, journalist Norbert Muhlen, tries to smooth over this ominous event with pseudo-scientific psychologizing. The event should not be interpreted as a recrudescence of nazism, he said. "What happened in the Moehlstrasse seems to be one of those sud-

⁸ This writer has documented this charge in "X-Ray on *Commentary*," *Jewish Life*, July 1947. Since that article was published, its thesis has been strengthened by the practices of the magazine.

den outbursts of mass hysteria that explode once in a while when there is a state of underground tension between what psychologists call an 'in group' majority [the Germans] and an 'out group' minority [the Jews]. . . . If the attitude of the Germans to these Jews can be called anti-Semitic, it must be added that this present anti-Semitism bears little resemblance, on the whole, to the anti-Semitism of the nazis, nor does it seem to be, as is so often claimed, a recrudescence of it. It is anti-Semitism of a newer—and yet older—breed." It is evident that the whole article is designed, consciously or not, to play down the danger of renazification. And the American Jewish Committee, caught in the toils of its contradiction between its interest as Jews and its more potent interest as supporter of big business foreign policy in support of reaction, is not averse to this obfuscation of the issue of renazification, which constitutes one of the greatest dangers to the Jews and democracy today.

How did the American Jewish Committee respond to the Peekskill riots? The Committee's Community Service Department sent out a reprint of editorial opinion from news-

papers all over the country. The Committee's preface to this material follows Governor Dewey's line, calling the affair a "trap" (Dewey had called it a "comunist beartrap") "laid by communists." While the Committee observes that "on both occasions there was a clear invasion of civil rights," it goes on to say: "What this whole affair illustrates is how easy it is to fall into the trap laid by the communists in their attempt to stir up discord and anti-minority feeling for their own purposes." In other words, the "communists" were to blame for the riots. The preface adds: "Misguided patriots"—the Peekskill fascists—"can create unpardonable havoc." Thus the Committee joins Governor Dewey in condoning a fascist outrage and blaming it on the "communists." That way lies suicide for the Jewish people.

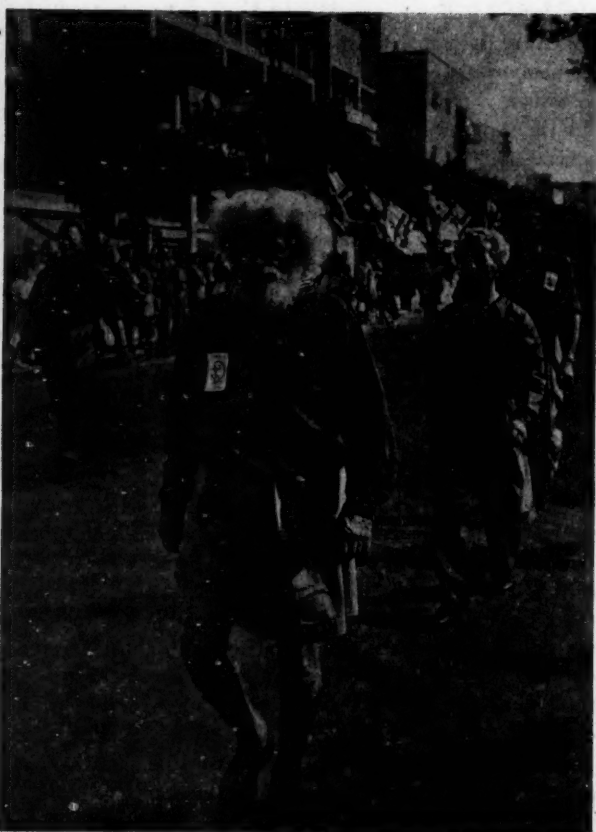
One could go on endlessly recounting instances of Committee conduct that weakens Jewish resistance, but these few cases are sufficient.

In the next article we shall continue to analyze resistance to the threat of fascism by Jewish organized life.

(To be continued.)

TEL AVIV DEMONSTRATES

By S. Lifshitz



Tel Aviv's oldest worker marching in May Day parade.

ON Wednesday, October 26, 1949, thousands of Tel Aviv workers quit their jobs at two P.M. to protest two wage cuts ordered by the Histadrut leadership and the government in the past few months.

The demonstration was called by 34 workers' factory committees, whose leading members belonged to Mapam (United Workers Party) or the Communist Party.

More than 10,000 workers demonstrated despite threats and intimidation by the Histadrut and government leadership. This was the largest working class demonstration in the history of Tel Aviv. Allenby Street, a main thoroughfare, was a seething mass of humanity which stopped traffic. Among those who spoke were committee leaders, who are well-known Mapam and Communist Party personalities. Dr. Moshe Sneh, of the Mapam, and Communist Party secretaries Shmuel Mikunis, Meyer Vilner and Esther Vilenska were among those leading the march.

Histadrut leaders had threatened that if workers quit to demonstrate, they would lose their jobs and suffer other penalties. But the workers ignored this intimidation. Actually the Histadrut threat was heeded in only one building project where only half of the workers left to participate in the demonstration. And when the latter were discharged the next day, all of the workers without exception left their jobs and said that they would not return until this discriminatory decree was revoked. And this factory belongs to the Histadrut. The Mapai (Israel Labor Party) leaders had to retreat. All the workers were reinstated.

S. LIFSCHITZ is the editor of the *Canadian Jewish Weekly*. He recently visited Israel and Europe.

What was the direct cause of this demonstration and militant struggle against the policies of the Histadrut leadership and Premier Ben Gurion? Within three months, workers had received two wage cuts totalling two and a half Israeli pounds a month. Nor was this all. The government and Histadrut leadership have stated their intention of enforcing further wage cuts on the pretext that this will help to bring down prices, strengthen the economic situation and create attractive conditions for foreign capital investment.

Prior to the first wage cut, the government passed a decree which forced down prices of a number of commodities. But the greatest reductions were made on non-necessary goods, while the cut in the price of food and other staples was much less and did not equal the wage cuts.

Every one knows that the big manufacturers and capitalists are making profits as high as, and in some cases even higher than before. At the same time wages are steadily going down. On the basis of the 1939 price index, items of necessity have gone up as much as 800 and 900 per cent while the wage index has risen 300 per cent.

A high school teacher, mother of two children and a teacher in Haifa for 12 years, compared her monthly budget and wages for me. Her monthly wages are 57 pounds and 28 piastres. From this various taxes amounting to nine pounds and 29 piastres must be deducted. Her "take home" pay is therefore 48 pounds. Out of this she must pay city taxes that come to 40 per cent of her rent. In addition, compulsory donations are made to various campaigns. School tuition for her oldest daughter is six pounds a month. The teacher is therefore left with about 40 pounds a month. Extremely high prices make this practically a starvation wage. Her wages are the same as that of a skilled worker. With another cut expected by workers in a few months, it is easy to understand why the working class is dissatisfied and angry and that hostility to the policies of Histadrut leadership and the government is increasing.

A Mapam leader explained the government wage policies to me. They were a reflection of Ben Gurion's foreign policy, he said. And the government is moving more and more to the right. Talk of "neutrality" is changing to increasingly open attacks against the Soviet Union and the new democracies and open assurances to American imperialism of readiness to cooperate. The Ben Gurion government, like the social democrats of France, England and Italy want to create attractive conditions for American investments. But the American capitalists for their part demand guarantees of a cheap market to assure high profits for their investment. The Ben Gurion government is cooperating.

But affairs are not proceeding as the Mapai leaders would like. Hypocritical appeals to the patriotism of the worker while the patriotism of the capitalist is expressed in tremendous profit, is being greeted with skepticism and distrust by ever larger sections of the Israeli working class. Before the demonstration of October 26, Mapai and Histadrut leaders did everything in their power to prevent the workers from participating. *Davar* and *Hadoar*, Histadrut and

Mapai organs, respectively, and the capitalist papers printed pages of statistics to prove that prices had gone down more than wages. Anti-communist hysteria was unleashed. The day before the demonstration, the *Vaad Hapoel* (Council of Labor) of the Histadrut hung thousands of placards over Tel Aviv streets calling on the workers not to demonstrate and not to break Histadrut discipline.

The success of the demonstration threw Mapai leaders into a panic. Just after the demonstration, Pinchas Lubianiker, secretary-general of the Histadrut, called a press conference. He diplomatically instructed the press, particularly foreign correspondents, that only 2,000 participated in the demonstration. As a result, no two papers in Israel gave the same figure for the demonstration. Even *Davar* and *Hadoar* cited different figures. Whoever wished to remain in the good graces of Lubianiker wrote that the demonstrators numbered only 1,200. Compromisers were content with 3,000 or 4,000. Actually the only accurate figures were found in *Kol Haam* and *Al Hamishmar*, Communist and Mapam organs, respectively. Most foreign correspondents named low figures, but one did not act according to instructions and telegraphed his newspaper that between 10,000 and 12,000 attended the demonstration.

Two days later the Histadrut called a conference at which Ben Gurion and Lubianiker spoke. Both were deeply disturbed by the success of the demonstration. Instead of answering the just demands of the workers, Ben Gurion attacked the new democracies, particularly Rumania, and in a cheap and vulgar fashion attacked Anna Pauker, foreign minister of Rumania. In all my years as a journalist I have never heard such a disgraceful statement on international relations by a premier against the foreign minister of a friendly government. The main purpose of Ben Gurion's attack became evident on Sunday, when the *Palestine Post*, the English newspaper in Israel close to the government and read by foreign diplomats and the state department, reported Ben Gurion's attack under tremendous headlines and as the leading news on page one. *Davar*, *Hadoar* and other newspapers included not a single word of this attack in their report of his speech. It is quite obvious for whose benefit Ben Gurion made this attack.

Progress in Birobidjan

FROM the Soviet Union recently came a progress report on Birobidjan by V. Akorokov. After analyzing advances in industry and agriculture, Akorokov continued: "Great progress can also be reported in the cultural field. . . . Approximately 25,000 children attend 144 schools in which Yiddish is the language of instruction. The city of Birobidjan has teachers', medical, cultural workers', graphic arts and railroad institutes. . . . In the cities and villages, there are some 66 cultural and educational institutions. . . . The Birobidjan State Theater is one of the most popular in the area. Six newspapers and a literary journal named *Birobidjan* are published."

REPEAT PERFORMANCE IN WEST GERMANY

By Mary Brown

"IT probably is not yet popular or fashionable to say this bluntly," wrote William Henry Chamberlain in the *Wall Street Journal*, November 23, "but it is unmistakably true that most of our current diplomatic worries are how to escape from the unforeseen and undesirable consequences of total victory." The determination of the Truman administration and its Republican supporters to undo the victory of World War II and resurrect the ghosts of nazism and the Wehrmacht came out in the open last month.

Early in November at the Overseas Writers Club in Washington, General Omar Bradley, chief of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, in an off-the-record talk, called the rearmament of Germany desirable "from the military point of view." When the story leaked, as it was designed to do, it created a sensation in Europe and proved to be the match lighting an intense Arm-Germany campaign. Official denials came thick and fast but they were met with the skepticism they deserved. Inspired United States and British press reports argued that rearmament of Germany was inevitable and necessary to the defense of Western Europe. And that this rearmament had already been decided upon was clear even to the naive.

The most cynical statement of the argument was to be found in *Newsweek*, November 28. *Newsweek*, owned by the Averell Harriman interests and close to the State Department, admitted that "the tide in the cold war has shifted to Russia's advantage. Western strategists felt that they had underestimated Soviet strength, both military and economic." The Soviets, said *Newsweek*, "have also surprised the West by the extent to which they have revitalized their economy and by their technical development of weapons." The magazine then argued in effect that the powerful United States—whose land was untouched by bombs and whose war losses were a fraction of those of the Soviet Union—was so feeble and afraid, that it must appeal to the Germans for help. Without the Germans to protect us, we are lost, was the burden of its reasoning.

The propagandists tried hard to make it appear that the rearmament of Germany was an expedient forced upon the United States by Russian policy. But in fact a rearmed Germany is the inevitable result of the cold war by which the United States has sought to block change and social reform all over the world. Present reliance on nazi Generals Halder and Guderian to defend Western Civilization is the culmination of a policy that was already under way when Admiral Darlan was installed as head of the United States-protected North Africa regime. United States big business, in and out of uniform, was determined from the beginning to preserve the structure of cartel capitalism in Germany and Western Europe. From a powerful but minority posi-

tion, it came forward after Roosevelt's death to make its policy the official one. Rearmament of Germany is merely the capstone in the unfolding of this policy.

The New "Ally"

Significantly, no great effort was made to conceal the nature of the United States' new ally. It was as if Americans were being deliberately conditioned to accept a renazified Germany as an ally. In a series of articles in the *New York Times*, Drew Middleton documented from official sources the fact that Bavaria today is "largely in the hands of those who controlled it under Hitler." And, he said, "Bavaria is not alone. Investigation in the other states of the United States zone reveals a resurgence of nazism." From United States military government sources, Middleton got figures showing the number and percentage of "former" nazis now employed in Bavarian ministries. In the Justice Ministry, 81 per cent of the employees are "former" nazis. In the Finance Ministry, 60 per cent. In the Food, Agriculture and Forestry, 77 per cent, and so forth.

No political parties following National Socialist theories have yet risen to political power, Middleton said. "But the extreme nationalism, the anti-Semitism, the fear and hatred of democracy are all there." August Hacker, a leader of the Deutsche Bloc, a right wing party which "looks very much like the NSDAP (Hitler's party) in the early 1920's," recently stated that "there were only 2,000 Jews killed in concentration camps under Hitler." The extremist parties don't mention anti-Semitism as party policy but "it flourishes through the state and can be called upon at need by the ambitious politician." In Bayreuth, the legend "*Juda verreckt*"—"Drop Dead, Jews"—has appeared on the walls.

Not only in the government but in business, in the press, in education, the nazis are back on top. In Bavaria, Middleton found more than 90 newspapers owned and operated by the same men who owned and operated them under Hitler. These papers have been established since September when United States licensing was dropped. The new papers attack the newspapers licensed by the United States in the early years of the occupation as being controlled by Jews, Middleton said. All published material is "in defense of the Hitlerite past" and aimed at intensifying "already strong anti-Semitism."

In the field of education, the picture is the same. Of 12,000 teachers in Bavaria dismissed from their jobs as nazis in 1946, 11,000 are back today. These are mainly elementary school teachers but, said Middleton, "renazification" is making equal progress in universities and high schools." And Bavaria "is no worse and no better than any other state

in Western Germany." And in all walks of life, Middleton said, non-nazis had trouble getting jobs, while nazis did not.

A few days after publication of Middleton's reports, United States High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, said in Frankfurt that Germany was moving towards democracy. He differentiated between "healthy patriotism" and "sinister nationalism," holding that most West Germans are motivated only by the former.

Suppressed Taylor Report

While diplomats and the top brass were preparing Americans psychologically to welcome a renazified Germany as an ally in arms, the army did its best to keep from public attention the final report of the United States chief counsel at Nuremberg, Brig. General Telford Taylor. In this report, General Taylor warned that "an alarming resurgence of authoritarianism" was sweeping Germany, and that "the prevailing trend and climate of political opinion in Germany makes it quite unlikely that the German authorities will eagerly pursue" the job of trying and punishing nazis. Taylor strongly criticized the United States failure to take action against the industrialists and financiers who supported Hitler. His report revealed a secret memorandum from Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, chief United States prosecutor at the first Nuremberg trial, to President Truman: "I also have some misgivings as to whether a long public attack concentrated on private industry would not tend to discourage industrial cooperation with our government in maintaining its defense in the future, while not at all weakening the Soviet position, since they do not rely upon private enterprise." The report also includes a letter from then Secretary of State Byrnes to Taylor expressing the hope that plans for a second Nuremberg trial—for industrialists—would break down.

Taylor's report documents how the cold war has enabled the nazis to escape punishment for their crimes. It became necessary, he said, to eliminate from the prosecution list certain nazi officials "who were clearly connected with the program for extermination of Jews known as the final solution of the Jewish problem." The present drive to play down the war crimes trials will, he said, "inevitably strengthen the hands of those Germans who do not want a democratic Germany. There has been an unfortunate lack of planned effort to utilize the documents disclosed at the trials so as to advance the purposes of the occupation. The least we can do is to insure that the documents which expose the true nature of the Third Reich are circulated throughout Germany."

The army made only one copy of Taylor's report available to the press. No digests and no selected quotations were made, as usually happens with reports of this kind. Some reporters were told it was unimportant. The *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* ignored it and throughout the United States it got a negligible press. Reason for the virtual suppression of the Taylor Report was

that it recalled original United States war aims in Germany.

Our war aims were to prevent Germany from ever becoming again a menace to peace and civilization and to accomplish this the United States and its allies set out to destroy Germany's war potential and to break up the giant cartels and industrial combines, with ramifications all over the world, which had brought the nazi regime to power. The recent three power agreement with the Bonn State ends dismantling, leaving Western Germany with a steel capacity of over 25 million tons, about equal to that of France and England combined. Untouched are the giant cartels like I. G. Farben.

United States policy in Germany is preparing a gigantic catastrophe for the United States. In the war being prepared, the United States apparently hopes to rely on German manpower and the German soldiers for whom United States military men have an inordinate respect. But as Max Werner reported in the *National Guardian*, December 5: "In the improbable case of war, a West German army would not even be captured in fighting; it would be simply arrested by the Soviet military police." A West Germany with an army would be in such a state of domestic crisis, that its army would be unusable. Even on the military level, the United States plan is unworkable. And on every other level, too. As in China, the Truman administration is backing the wrong horse. The results this time will be even more disastrous.

Stalin Is Seventy

ON December 21 the labor movement all over the world will celebrate the seventieth birthday of Joseph Stalin. We, too, pay our tribute to the man who led in the building of socialism in the USSR and who is the inspirer of the struggle for socialism everywhere, the man who laid down the policy of national and racial equality that has inspired the struggle of persecuted peoples everywhere.

Eighteen years ago Stalin made an important statement in reply to a question by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. We give it here as a reminder to the Jews of America of the position of Stalin and of the Soviet Union on the crucial question of anti-Semitism.

"National and race chauvinism is a survival of the man-hating ethics characteristic of the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is an extreme form of race chauvinism, is the most dangerous survivor of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism benefits the exploiters, for it serves as a lightning conductor to divert from capitalism the blows of the toilers, for it is a false track which diverts them from the proper road and leads them into the jungle.

"Hence, Communists, as consistent internationalists, cannot but be irreconcilable and bitter enemies of anti-Semitism. In the USSR anti-Semitism is strictly prosecuted as a phenomenon profoundly hostile to the Soviet system."

This is the policy of the Soviet Union and of the new democracies, which are marching towards socialism. This is the policy of communists everywhere.

REUNION IN KIEV

Excerpt from "The Storm"

By Ilya Ehrenburg

LEO ALPERT received the telegram in Kiev. Lancier wired: "Critical change in situation following agreement with Roy. Firm's reputation in peril. Speed return." Alpert smiled and proceeded with his toilet. He had not dreamed of visiting Kiev for 20 years to leave it the moment he arrived! The firm's reputation! One would think he was talking about a young woman. Lancier was fond of exaggerating.

It was difficult to discourage Alpert, he believed everything was for the best. One might think him fortune's favorite child; actually his life had been stormy.

A long time ago a tailor named Nahum Alpert lived in Slobodka, near Kiev. He was nicknamed "Loony," because he was found indulging in fantasies; one moment he would say: "If I were the governor-general, I would have a hundred tall houses built in Slobodka," and at another he talked about New York as if he had lived there all his life.

One day Nahum received a letter from Paris, from a distant relative named Khishin, who informed him that he owned a haberdasher's shop, that he was naturalized, and thanked God for the blessings bestowed upon him. Nahum decided to migrate from Slobodka to Paris. His wife protested: "How can I leave Mama here? And what will we do in a strange land with no one to talk to? Some relation that Khishin—ten times removed! I won't say I'm living in clover here, but at least people understand me when I say it's impossible to live with such a lunatic." But 12-year-old Leo thought his father's plan alluring and boasted: "Know where I'm going? To Paris!" Husband and wife argued about the matter for months; and suddenly "Loony" went away, taking Leo with him; while little Osip remained with his mother. Nahum was to come back if Paris did not turn out to be the paradise Khishin had described; otherwise Hannah would leave her mother, sell everything and go to him.

Paris did indeed seem a paradise to the tailor from Slobodka; there were so many lights, so much good English cloth, nobody worrying about residence permits. Yet there was no place for him in this paradise. He rented a dismal shop in a filthy back street and began to patch the clothes of Parisian slum dwellers. He aged and looked like a tree that had been badly transplanted. But Leo learned to speak French, made friends, and when his father expressed a long-

ing for a glass of "good Russian tea," he retorted: "Respectable people drink coffee."

The tailor contemplated returning to Kiev, but the war [of 1914] interfered. He stopped receiving letters from Hannah. As Alpert's neighbors went off to the war their wives began to reproach him for being willing to eat the bread of an alien country but unwilling to defend it. Alpert understood little about world politics but he possessed a sense of pride. When the baker's wife, from whom he had regularly bought his bread, said to him, with tears streaming down her cheeks, "My Jacques has been killed, Charles has lost a leg, only slackers like you remain in Paris," he went to see the Khishins. "They're throwing it up to me that I'm alive and have two legs. I want you to take Leo, while I go to defend your France."

Four months later Private Nahum Alpert of the Foreign Legion was killed in Champagne. When the news was received, old Khishin said to Leo: "Your father died like a hero. We'll not throw his son into the street."

Misfortune came to the Khishins too: their son was killed at Verdun. A year later Mrs. Khishin died.

When the war's over I'll go to Kiev, thought Leo. But days, months, and years passed. The dapper student Leo Alpert studied mathematics and dreamed of fame. After passing his examinations he took it into his head to write lyrical comedies. Khishin had managed to go bankrupt by this time and to die peacefully. For several years Leo lived without a profession, and sometimes without dinner. But his innate gaiety never left him, and in his most difficult moments he sang a song he remembered from childhood:

*When spring returns
Fortune will smile. . . .*

Then he married a pretty milliner who by a caprice of fate was named Leontine, and he decided to settle down. The unsuccessful dramatist proved to be a talented engineer. He sold one of his inventions in America. Chance threw him into contact with Lancier. Because of their happy-go-lucky natures, they struck up a friendship and Leo Alpert became a partner in the old French firm of *Roche aîné*. And now he was fulfilling his old dream of going to Kiev.

AFTER HE HAD SHAVED, LEO ALPERT TELEGRAPHED BACK TO Lancier: "Entirely entrust your settlement all questions. Agree in advance. Don't get excited and take care of your health. Returning August."

He gazed with astonishment at the streets, the houses, and the people. Perhaps Kiev had changed. Or perhaps the

ILYA EHRENBURG is the noted Soviet novelist and journalist. His novel, *The Storm*, was awarded the Stalin Prize for 1947 and is being published here in January by Gaer Associates, who granted us permission to publish the above chapter. The novel is a selection of the Liberty and *Soviet Russia Today* Book Clubs.

scenes of a man's childhood change in his memory and become fantasies: Leo did not recognize the city. Nor did he recognize his mother. He remembered a young woman, but a tiny old woman resembling a bird entered his hotel room. She said "Leo" and burst into tears. He kissed her withered hands, and mixing Russian with French said: "Everything will be all right, Mamal!"

When he met his brother, Leo was embarrassed—he did not know what to say. Osip also remained silent. Looking at them it was difficult to believe they were brothers, so little did they resemble each other. Leo was a chubby, curly-haired blond with the face of a trusting child. Osip had black, stiff hair, and stiff was the expression on his face, his sharp nose and closely pressed lips. Being reserved, he spoke in dry tones and in newspaper phrases.



When the brothers began to talk it was like strangers who had accidentally found themselves in the same room. Is it possible, thought Leo, one cannot have a heart-to-heart talk with his own brother? Several times he tried to take a friendly tone, but Osip was formal, almost hostile, and answered laconically.

"Tell me, Osip, why do you behave toward me as if you were a diplomat? I know you're a communist, but that has nothing to do with me. You're my brother, and don't scowl at me in that way, as if I were a terrible capitalist! We had the same father, and I think Nahum Alpert was neither a Rothschild nor a Deterding. True, I'm now a factory owner, but that was due to a blunder of fate. I shall not eat you, and I shall not hatch a bourgeois plot here."

Osip smiled and for moment his face softened. "I don't think you will; it's simply that I find it hard to talk to you—we're different. I've not been abroad, but I know that it's an entirely different world."

"Well, that's a debatable point! In my opinion all people feel the same. When they feel pain—they cry out, and if they're tickled—they laugh. I came here to see how you live."

Leo wanted to go at once to the house where his mother and brother lived, but Osip said: "It's late. We shall expect you tomorrow."

Hannah Alpert tidied up the two rooms first thing in the morning. She and her granddaughter lived in one, Osip and his wife Raya in the other. Hannah took an old table-

cloth out of the trunk and bewailed the lack of table napkins. She said to Raya: "It's not nice. After all, he's a foreigner," and then wept at call Leo a "foreigner." Raya thought to herself: "I wouldn't have let him come here for anything!"

Raya wanted to help Hannah, but the old lady scolded her for it. Raya was regarded as weak and frail and was spared housework. She was a small, pretty blonde with dark eyes and long eyelashes. She was a clerk at the City Soviet, loved music, and dreamed of a different, a beautiful life. At 25 she preserved much that was childlike. Her husband seemed old to her; she knew he was wiser and more experienced, she believed every word he said, but she thought: he does not understand how much I want to live! Yes, he will build everything up, but I won't be young again.

Once she saw an American film and was sincerely disgusted with it: "What a silly story"; but that night she slept badly—all night long she saw girls, palm trees, and idle lovers. She had been drawn to Osip because he was different, because of his intrinsic honesty, even his harshness. But Osip would have been unable to explain why he had chosen Raya. When they came back from the registry office, Osip said: "Look, mother—the bear and the rose!" Hannah feared this marriage would be short-lived—that Raya would desert Osip. But a daughter was born; Raya flirted, often went visiting, but remained faithful to her husband.

That day Raya was totally unlike herself; usually gay and coquettish, she was reserved, even hostile, with Leo. He had brought her a bottle of Parisian perfume; she glared angrily at the bottle and said: "I prefer our 'Red Poppy'."

Leo had no suspicion of the effort, resourcefulness, and labor that dinner had cost Hannah. Gazing at him, Hannah thought of her girlhood and of her departed husband—he's the spit of Nahum! When Leo told her how his father had longed for strong sweet tea, tears rolled down her cheeks. This was the only minute of that cordial warmth which Leo had dreamed of in Paris.

VALYA STESHENKO BURST INTO THE ROOM AND EXCLAIMED: "Congratulate me, Rayechka! I'm going to Moscow." On catching sight of the stranger she was abashed. Osip introduced him, "Mister Leo Alpert," emphasizing the word "mister," then added, "My elder brother."

Leo felt offended, and the dinner ended rather dismally. Raya went off with Valya. Hannah asked Leo: "Haven't you a photograph of your wife?"

Leo showed her a photograph: it was a beach snapshot of himself with an elegant young woman. Hannah sighed: "I never thought I would have a daughter-in-law like that."

He could not tell whether she was expressing admiration or censure.

A little girl came into the room and looked distrustfully at Leo.

"Say how do you do, Alyenka. What are you afraid of? Foolish child! This is your uncle, Uncle Leo."

Leo picked up the child and laughingly pressed a parcel into her arms. Alya did not look to see what was in the parcel—she was shy: after a little while she slipped into the next room to undo it.

Hannah was tired and lay down to rest. The brothers sat opposite each other. "Tell me Olya, will you have any unpleasantness because of me?"

"No."

"Then I don't understand why you introduced me to that lady as 'Mister Alpert'."

"It just slipped out: I suppose I wanted to emphasize that you're not one of us."

"But if a brother is a stranger, who is your kin? I don't understand. Is it that you don't recognize families?"

"Yes, we do. But we recognize something else besides—our Motherland. And here you're a stranger. You choose . . . no, you didn't choose . . . it was Father, but that's how it happened."

"So according to you, if one brother lives in Paris and another in Brussels they're . . . strangers?"

"You don't want to understand. Paris, Brussels, or New York—they're all the same, but here it's . . . different, and it's not kilometers that separates us. Can I picture to myself how you live?"

"I will tell you how I live, and how I lived before. And then you will tell me about yourself."

Leo's narrative sounded to Osip like an adventure story. He knew his brother was speaking the truth, but the life he described was like a fantasy. And when it came to Osip's turn he limited himself to dry facts; he married on such a date, worked in such a place. His life was similar to the lives of millions. He had gone to school, worked at a factory, went to college, became a planning economist and worked hard. Realizing that his brother was not satisfied, he told him what had happened when Petlyura's gangs came: "Mother and I hid in the haystack for four days."

"And after that?"

Osip remained silent. He could not tell this foreigner about the starvation, the voluntary Sunday work, the fervent enthusiasm and ice-cold rooms, the liquidation of the kulaks, construction, the hourly struggle! A stranger couldn't understand.

"Is that all?" inquired Leo.

"I don't know what to tell you. We're still poor, but I'm content with life."

"You think poverty frightens me? I myself lived like a hobo for three years. Lots of people in Paris would envy you! It's something else that frightens me—you're all so stern. In France even the tramp who sleeps under a bridge can be merry. What's the key to happiness? This ability to forget difficulties, simply to play the fool, that's why they say: 'As happy as a child.' But you're always thinking of the future. You live only for the future."

Osip shrugged his shoulders. "I'm happy now, this very minute. Does happiness lie only in entertainment? The struggle—that is an even greater happiness."

AFTER LEO WENT AWAY, OSIP FELT EXHAUSTED, AS IF HE HAD BEEN lugging half-hundredweight sacks. He was awakened out of his torpor by Alya—hugging a toy camel.

Then Raya returned, looking preoccupied. Osip asked when Valya was leaving; she did not answer. She did not even play with Alya. And when Osip sat down at his desk to work, forgetting all about that painful conversation, Raya began to rail against Leo: "What's he so smug about? 'This is Parisian,' 'In Paris we. . . .' Makes you sick to listen to it! A good thing Valya came." Suddenly, in a different voice, Raya said: "Won't I ever see Paris? It's awful to be able only to read about it!"

Hannah lay on the couch behind the screen sobbing quietly: "Poor Leo, how he has changed!"

Leo walked back in a depressed mood. He had pictured his meeting with his relatives differently. Perhaps Osip was right, but these people were not human, they were stones. . . . He longed for Paris, its lights, its songs, its lightness, yes, lightness—it seemed as though even sorrow was as light as a feather there. On seeing a chestnut tree he smiled: at last I meet a friend! The only friend I have in my native town—that chestnut tree, exactly like those in Paris.

On the eve of his departure Leo spoke to Osip about his father: "They called him 'Loony.' He used to dream aloud, of the village of Slobodka becoming like New York, of wars and pogroms being outlawed. But he was killed in the war. He rushed forward singing a song."

"What a pity he went away almost on the eve of the revolution. He would have understood. Nobody here calls such people lunatics."

"I don't think he would have liked this sort of life. He was a child. You people aren't like that. You're all—prosecuting attorneys. I'm leaving tomorrow; there's one thing I want to ask you. Are there no bonds between us? Why do you try to fence yourself off from me?"

"I'm not fencing myself off, it's automatic. Believe me, it's painful to me too. When you wrote you were coming, I was glad. Isn't it happiness—to find a brother! But when you arrived, I realized you're—a stranger. What's the use of pretending? If you were in need, perhaps it would be different. But you don't need anything."

"Except affection."

"But can you make that to order? You come along, a stranger, and want me to open my heart to you."

"I want to throw down the wall, but you prop it up."

Osip said quietly: "Neither of us can do anything about it—the wall is within us."

In the train from Warsaw, Chaumier, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, questioned Leo about Russia.

"I'm glad to have been there," said Leo. "A wonderful country. They've done more in 20 years than we in a century. If war breaks out they'll beat the Germans; those people are inhuman, they're stones."

Chaumier laughed skeptically. "You can't wreck tanks with stones. I've seen the report of the Military Commission. They can't fight—they have neither the cadres, the discipline, nor the transport facilities."

REVERSAL IN THE "SENTINEL" CASE

An important victory was gained against anti-Semitism and pro-fascism in November in the Chicago Sentinel libel case. Ten of the 26 pro-nazi defendants in the famous 1944 sedition trial had brought suit against the Anglo-Jewish weekly for printing a statement characterizing them as "seditionists" after their case had been dropped by the government. Four of the pro-nazis, Lawrence Dennis, Joseph McWilliams, J. Parker Sage and George Deatherage, were awarded a total of \$24,100, one of the largest judgments ever rendered in a libel suit in Cook County. The trial was crammed with probably the most rabid anti-Semitic filth that ever disgraced an American court. Following the verdict, a defense committee in the Chicago Jewish community carried on an intensive campaign of mass meetings. And now the Appellate Court has thrown out the award and ordered a new trial. Essential portions of Justice Scanlon's opinion follow:

IN OUR consideration of this appeal we found it difficult, at first, to believe that the evidence and the arguments to which we have referred form a part of the transcript of the record of a trial in an American court. The "testimony" of plaintiffs McWilliams and Mrs. Dilling consists practically of wild attacks upon Jews, their religion, and Jewish organizations, although there is not the slightest competent evidence to warrant the attacks. The "arguments" in behalf of plaintiffs to which we have referred are more vicious, rabble-rousing appeals to religious and racial passions and prejudices, and the harm done to defendants by the appeals was greatly aggravated by the fact that the court remained silent while they were made, although the "arguments" constituted a grave affront to justice. . . .

It appeared from the opinion of the court that he thought that "a Jewish and anti-Jewish business" was legally in the case and that if he tried the case again he did not see any different way he could conduct it. He stated that he saw nothing wrong with the trial of the case and, therefore, it is clear that he considered the evidence of plaintiffs McWilliams and Mrs. Dilling competent and the arguments made on behalf of plaintiffs proper. He approved the "conscientious and legal" verdict of the jury. In his opinion and during the trial he followed the false theory advanced by plaintiffs that a fight between Christianity and Jews was involved in the case because of certain evidence introduced by defendants in support of their plea; that because of that evidence a door was opened that warranted the admission of the evidence of plaintiffs McWilliams and Mrs. Dilling and justified the attacks made in the arguments in behalf of plaintiffs. The trial court ignored or failed to note that neither in their plea nor in their evidence did defendants make any attacks against Christianity of Christians; that that phase of the case was deliberately injected into the trial by plaintiffs to prejudice the rights of defendants. . . .

In support of their plea defendants had a perfect right to prove, *inter alia*, that the anti-Semitic technique of plaintiffs was a part of a seditious conspiracy to divide the people of the United States and to break their morals. We repeat that in none of that proof were Christianity or Christians attacked in any way.

As previously stated, plaintiffs had a right to rebut by competent evidence the defense interposed, but that right did not give them a license to turn a trial in an American court into a forum where witnesses and lawyers, in the manner of rabble-rousers, could make wild and outrageous utterances against Jews, their religion and organizations, when there was not the slightest competent evidence in the case to support the charges. In their rebuttal plaintiffs offered not facts but merely the opinions of rabid anti-Semites. The purpose of plaintiffs during the trial is obvious. The real issue in the case was whether plaintiffs were pro-nazi, and whether they had engaged in the conspiracy charged in the indictment. Instead of meeting that grave and embarrassing issue they sought to becloud it and to win the case through wild statements of witnesses and lawyers that the trial involved a contest between Christians and civilization on the one side and dangerous Jews upon the other. . . .

The outrageous record presented resulted from the failure or refusal of the trial judge to hold plaintiffs or their counsel to an orderly trial of the case. He made it clear in several instances that he was not able to remember the evidence, and accordingly acted on the novel theory that he would leave the propriety of the arguments to the jury, and the self-discipline of counsel. . . .

Defendants contended that the anti-Semitic technique practiced by plaintiffs was a part of the conspiracy charged in the indictment against them and that it was used to divide the people of the United States and to affect their morale. Expressions of anti-Semitism and dislike for the Jews if made in furtherance of the conspiracy charged would be, in law, treasonable utterances. That the trial court in this instruction ignored this important principle of law intentionally, appears from the following words in the instruction: "also in connection with the claim of the defendants that anti-Semitism was one of the tenets of nazism and one way of proving a person a pro-nazi." By this instruction the jury was practically told that in determining whether defendants had proved the truth of the charges the jury should disregard the proof offered by defendants as to the anti-Semitic propaganda practiced by plaintiffs. . . .

It is our judgment that when plaintiffs started to becloud the real issues by making violent and outrageous attacks upon Jews, their religion, and their organizations, and injecting into the case the false theory that it was a contest between Christians and Jews, the trial court should have, *sua sponte*, taken drastic steps to protect the rights of defendants (*United States v. Grayson*, 166F. 2d 863, 871) but we regret to state that at no time did he rebuke plaintiffs or their counsel, or even attempt to restrain them. After a careful study of the trial court's opinion and instruction number 55, that he gave of his own volition, we are forced to the conclusion that he saw nothing to disapprove in the testimony of plaintiffs nor in the arguments of their attorneys, and that he considered the verdict of the jury to be a conscientious and legal one. We are satisfied that there was a grave miscarriage of justice in this case. . . .

ORGANIZING AMERICAN JEWISH YOUTH: II

By David Abrams

THE annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference, held in September 1949, was characterized broadly by the democratic temper and potential of a representative body of Jewish youth leaders. At the same time there was an attempt by opportunistic youth leaders to give an aura of pseudo-liberalism to the outlook of big business employers to dominate and direct the masses of organized Jewish youth. All of the previous developments, shown in the first article last month, came to a head at this year's assembly. There Jewish youth representatives in the NJYC did achieve a high degree of unity, at least on the issues of *democratic procedure and freedom of discussion*. This showed that the great majority of the delegates respected differences of viewpoint, accepted them and demanded open discussion of these differences. It was evident that the rank and file delegates were fed up with adult control and machine manipulation. Accordingly, the youth leaders trained by the Jewish Welfare Board had to exert themselves in order to stifle the opposition to this adult control.

The democratic temper of the delegates was too often dissipated by facile phrase-mongering of the leadership. When the trend towards democratic procedure or towards a progressive stand on an issue became clear, it was side-tracked by "liberal" generalizations. The substance of many democratic proposals was finally watered down to a formal, meaningless broth. In spite of this, the position taken by the delegates on such issues as the renazification of Germany, discrimination against minority groups and democratic procedure within the NJYC showed a groping demand among Jewish youth for progressive action and opened avenues for unity between progressives and many Jewish youth leaders. Whenever the progressive delegates had an opportunity to bring their position into the light of day and to debate this position, they won support from a significant sector of delegates. However, in most cases the iron curtain before the progressive position on many issues was clamped down so tightly that the misinterpretations and misrepresentations of these positions by the machine leadership prevailed.

Work of Commissions

The assembly was planned as a series of commission meetings on eight "Concerns of Jewish Youth." The delegates to the assembly were to meet in these commissions, discuss these "concerns" and emerge with findings expressing the consensus of the group. In addition, plenary sessions were held to discuss the business and policy of the NJYC. At no time was it made clear whether the

findings of these commissions were merely a record of discussions or decision-making conclusions for the conference program. A work book prepared for the conference outlining the eight "concerns" to be discussed, was extremely vague in approach. This looseness had been used up to this point to permit the final decisions on policy and program to be made by a well-controlled executive board.

"Concerns" listed were: community responsibilities, Israel, world Jewry, national Jewish youth organizations, intergroup projects, fund raising, Jewish education and Jewish cultural experience. It was gratifying to note that the progress reports of the commissions, which went on for three days, very often showed fresh and healthily opinionated discussion that was often searching and deep. The delegates indirectly criticized the planning committee for having left out such obvious "concerns" of Jewish youth as peace, jobs, unemployment, discrimination in jobs and education, and civil rights. While these basic concerns found their way into almost all the commissions, they were too often dealt with superficially because of the poor orientation projected by the leadership. The key to this poor orientation was the divorce of Jewish youth concerns from those of American youth as a whole.

The dirty word, anti-Semitism, wasn't mentioned once in the outline. But the delegates didn't feel impelled, as did strong elements of the Jewish Welfare Board leadership, to hush-hush the issue. "Inter-group projects" was a euphemistic term to avoid using the terribly blatant words "Negro-Jewish youth unity." The decorum imposed by social work terminology was breath-taking! It would have made even the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith proud. Fortunately, the group of progressives at the conference among the over one hundred delegates militantly introduced questions of the economic needs of Negro-Jewish youth unity, anti-Semitism and world peace so as to stimulate much more fruitful and concrete discussion than the machine leadership had anticipated.

In order to avoid embarrassment among "respectable" people, the leadership "machine" instructed the delegates that the findings of each commission were to be presented in the form of general conclusions, while specific points made in the discussions were to be omitted. The findings were thus watered down.

Militancy Breaks Through

The significant exceptions were: the stand against adult domination of the local young adult councils through control of the purse strings; a resolution urging a congressional investigation of renazification in the American zone

in Germany; a recognition of the fact that Yiddish is an important language for Jewish-American youth (which was a break-through from the "Hebrew-only" orientation prevalent at last year's assembly); a full discussion of East European and Soviet Jewry which was characterized by the objectivity and open-mindedness of the delegates, in spite of attempts made by one JWB staff member to keep the facts and discussion down to the "acceptable" structure of west European Jewry only; the position taken by the commission on Israel on complete Israeli independence from foreign political and economic control; a healthy discussion of Jewish culture leading to an orientation of developing *American* roots for a Jewish-American culture that would reflect the life of Jews on the American scene; proposals by the commission on inter-group projects and cultural and social activities and on united inter-group action on housing, legislation and civil rights; the unity of interest of all groups discriminated against and the concept that discrimination against one means discrimination against all minority groups; a characterization of the basic cause of discrimination as economic insecurity (although this was superficially handled).

These exceptions to the pollyanna approach showed that, in spite of the restrictions imposed by considerations of "respectability," the youth delegates were searching for a more concrete statement of their concerns. Throughout the assembly, many delegates expressed the view that, although some good things were being said at the various commissions, the conclusions did not come to grips with the problems in terms of straightforward stands and proposals for action. Wherever a clear statement or a clear opinion was offered, the delegates appreciated it and showed impatience with the piddling phrase mongering that characterized most of the proceedings.

Despite this democratic potential and desire for concreteness, "respectability" made itself felt and a full, clear program of social and cultural action did not emerge. Even the progressive conclusions noted above were so vaguely worded as to be susceptible of numerous interpretations. For example, a resolution on civil rights pointed up the link between discrimination against all minority political and national groups, took a liberal stand against the current wave of hysteria and called for defense of civil liberties. When the progressives attempted to give teeth to this civil rights position by expressly mentioning the trial of the communist leaders and attacks upon Negroes, these were omitted from the resolution as being too specific.

Relation to World Youth

The debate concerning the National Jewish Youth Conference's ties with the World Assembly of Youth made the sparks fly. For a year, an iron curtain of silence had been drawn before discussion of the dangers involved in splitting the international youth movement. Delegates from the Jewish Young Fraternalists of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order had exerted increasing pressure to have

this fully discussed and to make information on the World Federation of Democratic Youth available to the executive board and the assembly as a whole. This pressure slowed down the galloping pace at which the reactionary youth leadership tried to tie American Jewish youth to the Marshall Plan youth organization.

The chairman of the NJYC reported on the recent conference of the World Assembly of Youth. Interestingly enough, half of the report was an attempt to answer criticisms of WAY that JYF delegates had raised throughout the year. It was even more interesting that the majority of the delegates were aware that questions had been raised only because the chairman's report tried to answer them. When the progressives insisted on full discussion of the report from the floor, every parliamentary stall was tried. The rank and file delegates insisted that the progressives' point of view should be heard. A healthy debate on the issue of international youth unity then followed.

Some Healthy Discussion

After a slight presentation of WFDY's program and criticism of WAY, the assembly had two test votes on this issue. In the first, it was moved that equal information be distributed about both WFDY and WAY so that an informed decision might then be made. Forty-one delegates upheld the chair's position that only WAY materials were to be distributed (after a misrepresentation of the nature of WFDY by the chair), 11 voted for equal distribution, and nine abstained. The votes for equal distribution plus the abstentions made up almost a third of the entire vote and for the first time showed any degree of questioning of the railroading policy on WAY by the chairman and top leadership. The second vote was on a motion to continue participation in WAY through membership in the American WAY affiliate (Young Adult Council of the Social Welfare Assembly) and this vote showed that the great majority of the delegates were not ready to change the NJYC policy on WAY. The vote was 68 for continuing the policy, five against and seven abstentions. Although the vote for change in policy did not equal the vote for equal information, this was the first sign since the NJYC was founded, that any opposition to policy on WAY existed.

Although this policy was formally endorsed, it was clear that more information and discussion would convince many more of the Jewish youth leaders of WAY's program for war and splitting international youth solidarity. The delegates were enthusiastic over these first signs of healthy, open discussion at the assembly. They vigorously applauded the JYF delegate when he congratulated the NJYC for including different points of view during this period of hysteria and forced conformity, without breaking the fundamental unity of the conference. The prestige of the progressive delegates and the JYF particularly was enlarged even among delegates who opposed their viewpoint. What the delegates especially appreciated was the

job that progressives among them had done to break down to some extent the superficial atmosphere.

This was even clearer on the issues of democratic procedure. The demand that the opposition be heard in the WFDY-WAY debate was only one instance. More striking was the discussion on the constitution and on the manner of election of chairman and executive board. The body revised the proposed constitution at several crucial points. Power was taken out of the hands of the ruling executive board clique and assigned instead to the assembly as a whole. For example, nominations to the executive board, it was ruled, shall come from the floor of the annual assembly rather than from the nominating committee controlled by the machine clique; nominations and elections of chairmen shall be made from the floor instead of by the executive board; any issue can be taken to a mail ballot of all members of the executive upon petition by one-fourth of the members in attendance; and on the petition of eight members of the executive any issue previously decided can be considered by mail ballot. All these provisions were adopted in a sort of democratic landslide which gathered momentum as the assembly proceeded. They were wholly unexpected by the top leadership. The character of the voting was a direct rebuke to the autocratic procedures that had obtained previously. Many rank and file delegates had begun to recognize that the clique on top was working to maintain its power and that the conference was being run by a machine under adult domination.

One issue served to make the delegates aware of the hush-hush policy imposed by the JWB-directed clique. While the assembly was in session, the Peekskill riot occurred. The progressives proposed to the steering committee and the assembly itself that the delegates take action as a body in condemning the anti-Semitic, anti-Negro violence. The leadership, motivated by expedient respectability, blocked any action by the body. However, the progressives, with support of a great majority of the delegates, set up a table and got out publicity on the incident and urged that each delegate take individual action. Most of the delegates supported this move. But the failure of the NJYC to meet the issue as a body pointed up the inability of the NJYC under its present leadership to cope with issues demanding social action.

JYF Gains Prestige

Throughout the assembly, red-baiting elements lay in wait for an opportunity to try to expel the JYF. At one point the JYF delegate was told by one of the group to "lay off the agitating or we won't be able to keep the 'boys' from going to town on JYF." Such elements were at a loss when it became clear that witch-hunting was not in style at the assembly and that the delegates would repudiate any attempts at hysteria or red-baiting. This reactionary group had to drop for the present its plans to mimic the American Jewish Congress' expulsion of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (adult sponsor of the JYF).

The Jewish Young Fraternalists established themselves at this assembly as a dynamic, militant part of the NJYC and won the respect of most of the delegates by their fight for democratic procedure. Any attempts to isolate the JYF or slander it were sure to meet with democratic opposition from the rank and file delegates. This was an encouraging contribution to the building of progressive unity within the National Jewish Youth Conference.

In evaluating the 1949 assembly of the NJYC, it becomes clear that the major task of Jewish progressive youth is to bring a militant program for united action to the Jewish youth at the grass roots, in the communities and in the local chapters of national Jewish youth organizations. This is the guarantee for developing the potential for progressive action within the National Jewish Youth Conference itself. What happens at executive meetings or annual assemblies is important as a reflection and test of the forces in the Jewish youth community. Executive decisions and policies will certainly affect the local communities. But the real basis for progressive action and unity is in the daily work of progressive Jewish youth in the communities.

Youth Needs Must Be Met

The assembly showed that Jewish youth are still hemmed in by the limits imposed by adult organizations. But it also showed that if Jewish youth is allowed to be informed on issues, rather than fed with one-sided information, it can break free from the adult ruts. The NJYC decisions still remain on the side of reactionary influences in the JWB. The NJYC is still unofficially tied to the World Assembly of Youth. It has, as yet, not taken any clear stand on vital issues and has remained too much within the confines of State Department-approved "respectability." It has not developed a program to capture the imagination and respect of the masses of organized and unorganized Jewish youth, because it has not yet responded to the basic needs for action on peace, civil rights, unemployment and anti-Semitic discrimination in jobs and education. Its shilly-shallying in such times will cost it the respect of Jewish youth, as was demonstrated at the assembly and appears daily in the loss of membership in the Jewish youth organizations whose programs are based on hush-hush instead of on militant action.

Jewish youth have rallied to a program of militant action and clear-cut stands on their needs even when this militancy may not always have been most wise. But they have fallen away when the dead hand of inaction and adult control has kept the programs of youth organizations from answering the needs of youth. The basic issues that face America, peace or war, democracy or fascism, are reflected in the battle for control of Jewish youth. The progressive potential is great but its realization can be guaranteed only by the efforts of conscious progressives working directly with Jewish youth at the grass roots.

Letters from Abroad

BEHIND IRAQI POGROMS

PARIS

The recent pogroms in Iraq cold-bloodedly perpetrated by the police have revealed the awful terror in which 100,000 Jews find themselves in a country "benefiting" from British protection. Despite strict censorship, reports from Iraq give full details about arrests, torture, murder, concentration camps, confiscation of property and other forms of terrorism which have become the daily fare of Iraqi Jews. From these reports one gets a horrible picture of a tortured mass, which is not only unprotected, but also helpless against its torturers.

It must be noted, however, that terrible as are the facts of the latest pogrom, by themselves they do not give a full picture of Jewish life there. We get a partial picture because the reports present the facts in isolation from the surrounding reality. These facts must be seen in their true political framework and from a background of general events.

To those who follow Iraqi affairs, it is not news that the present attacks on Jews are only a part of a general bloody terror that has prevailed for many months; a terror through which the Iraqi puppet government is striving to destroy the democratic liberation movement of the Iraqi masses.

This movement—which has continued to grow since the ruling clique decided to launch its adventurist attack on Israel in 1948—has a people's democratic, anti-imperialist character and has been friendly to Israel. The dozens of demonstrations and strikes organized by the liberation movement in the past year, raised demands not only for the establishment of democratic liberties and an end to discriminatory laws. Demands have been raised not only for the withdrawal of British troops, who are still illegally occupying the country, but also for an end to the "Palestine conspiracy" and for the establishment of an independent Arab state in Palestine in opposition to the British agent, Abdullah of Transjordan. Even earlier, during the anti-Israel war, this democratic movement of the Iraqi masses had manifested its opposition to the attack on Israel in many ways and many of its leaders paid with their lives for exposing the war and for calling for friendship between Iraq and Israel.

Ten months ago strikes and demonstrations became so widespread that Iraq

found itself in an atmosphere of revolt and the government at that time was unable to cope with the situation. Bevin then ordered the regent of Iraq to name as premier imperialist agent number one, Nuri Said Pasha, and the terror which had previously been intense, became even more bestial.

During these past ten months, Iraq has been converted into a huge concentration camp. Suppression of democratic and patriotic elements reached a new level. Hundreds were murdered and tens of thousands were imprisoned and sent to the camps. During the demonstrations of the ninth, tenth and eleventh of February 1949, in Baghdad, police attacks left 200 dead and over 1,000 wounded. As for arrests, in the month of June alone, the figure reached 7,000, among them hundreds of soldiers.

The same sort of terror was unleashed on the press and mass organizations. Over 200 newspapers and magazines were closed down by the government, among them many literary publications and even former government newspapers which dared to express some small dissatisfaction. At the same time all mass organizations, including bourgeois organizations, were closed down. Unions were abolished and membership in the Communist Party made a capital crime.

As though this were not enough to show the openly fascist character of the ruling clique, Bevin's Iraqi vassals took over Hitler's terminology of racism and anti-communism and tried to "justify" the terror and repression under the slogan "Against Zionism and against communism."

But it appears that neither the mass arrests nor the kangaroo courts nor the hundreds of death sentences nor even the "ideological" campaign, has succeeded in breaking the determination and fighting

spirit of the Iraqi masses. So the Nuri Said clique has now tried another technique, an anti-Jewish pogrom. Together with appropriate anti-Jewish propaganda, this pogrom intended to encourage anti-Semitism and hatred towards Israel among the Iraqi people and therewith to distract their attention from their own enslavement at the hands of imperialism and its vassals. Hence the Iraqi pogroms are an integral part of the pro-imperialist, anti-democratic policies of the ruling clique—a policy deliberately dictated by the imperialists.

This revealing connection between the pogroms in Iraq and the general anti-democratic and anti-communist policy of the Iraqi government is carefully concealed in official Zionist quarters in which there has been much talk about the pogroms. They obscure this connection because it is an indictment of their own anti-communism, of their own pro-imperialist policy, and therefore a coverup for the imperialist bosses of those who murder the Jews. At the same time that these Zionists seek to collaborate with even the bloodiest murderers of Jews, such as the Abdullahs, whose "patriotism" they openly praise (as in a speech by Ben Gurion), Arab democrats in Israel are persecuted and often imprisoned.

This policy has already caused serious damage to the security and independence of Israel. The recent pogroms in Iraq offer new proof, new warnings, of the danger of this policy; they are a new bloody warning that, if anti-communism, which is only a coverup for imperialist enslavement, becomes permanent in the Near East, as Washington and London hope, the Jews in the Arab countries and in Israel itself will be exposed to mortal danger.

It is the duty of the masses in Israel and in the Arab countries to destroy this danger. The ever growing struggle of the Israeli working class against imperialist enslavement and the heroic actions of the Iraqi working class, together with the strengthened anti-imperialist movement in the other Arab countries, are encouraging signs.

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MOSLEY MARCHES ON

LONDON

In my last letter to JEWISH LIFE [December 1949], I quoted a letter published in the *New Statesman* by a journalist alleging anti-Semitism in the London Metropolitan Police Force. The matter was raised in Parliament and the Home Secretary, Mr. Chuter Ede, stated that if the journalist would give chapter and verse about the alleged incidents, Ede would institute a judicial inquiry. The journalist, however, refused to come out of anonymity. Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*, wrote to the home secretary on October 25th:

"I conveyed to him the assurances I have received from you, sir, and from the commissioner of police stating that he would run no risk of losing his police facilities from Scotland Yard by coming forward. I was, however, completely unable to convince him that such assurances—the sincerity and authoritative nature of which he fully accepted—would in fact avail him if his name were divulged. His work and his value as a Fleet Street reporter—indeed his livelihood—depend, in his submission, on his capacity to maintain friendly and close relations with the police, and these he feels he will be completely unable to maintain if he is known to have made these allegations."

The home secretary wrote to Mr. Kings-

ley Martin on October 18th that, "After consultation with the commissioner of police, I can give you a categorical assurance that your correspondent's position as a reporter vis-a-vis Scotland Yard will not be prejudiced." At the same time he added a somber and threatening remark, which could have had no other effect than to intimidate the journalist and influence his decision not to come out of anonymity.

"You will appreciate, however," wrote Mr. Ede, "that neither the commissioner nor I can guarantee immunity from legal process taken by any police officer who believes that his official character has been traduced."

Those who know the risks involved in libel actions in Britain appreciate the reluctance of this journalist to come forward.

This is, however, not the end of the story. According to statements made in Parliament by Mr. Platts-Mills, one of the members of Parliament expelled from the Labor Party because of his critical attitude towards the government's home and foreign policy, the police know the identity of the journalist; the police visited his employers and he has already been discharged. The home secretary denied knowledge of these facts.

The Board of Jewish Deputies, which is supposedly very efficient at collecting information and which boasts of this, has failed to intervene. Though the Board of Deputies was aware of the home secretary's decision to call such a judicial inquiry if the information were forthcoming, the board waited for the journalist to come forward. Failure of the Board of Deputies to press for the judicial inquiry will not pass without criticism at the next meeting of the board, in view of the fact that many deputies have criticized the officers of the board at earlier meetings.

Meanwhile fascist activities continue. The London County Council, under its Labor leadership, continues to grant hospitality to the fascists by offering them the use of the school premises for meetings. During recent weeks, school premises were used for fascist meetings at which the main speaker was Sir Oswald Mosley himself. The fascists in Britain are growing into a serious menace. This is admitted by no other than a *Daily Herald* [Labor Party paper] special investigator. The *Daily Herald* published a series of articles on the fascist movement in Britain

and one would expect this paper to be the last place where admissions about the growth of fascism would be acknowledged. The reporter writes:

"The most obvious result of the revival of fascism in Britain has been the return of violence to the streets, particularly in East London. . . . It is true that as many of these acts of violence have been committed upon fascists as by fascists. But, of course, that is no good answer. The fascists, by going on to the streets with their inflammatory speeches, created the situation and automatically created the opposition. The line of responsibility is clear."

Unfortunately, this exposure of the fascists is toned down, obviously to suit the government's policy, by the conclusion of the series. The authorities' policy ought to be "to ignore them [the fascists] while they remain within the law, and to prosecute them sternly if they break it. Thus treated they could stir up some muddy puddles but not a tidal wave." According to the home secretary, 55 cases of assault upon persons believed to be Jewish have occurred in the year ending October 8, 1949.

Taking their cue from the Labor government and Labor councils, the police and magistrates show no sign of changing their tolerant attitude towards the fascists. Recently a group of fascists attacked a Jewish man in a North London street. They beat him up severely and then broke the window of a Jewish-owned wireless shop. A policeman who tried to arrest one of the culprits found himself pushed over a wall. One of the fascists, however, was apprehended and brought before the magistrate, Mr. Herbert Malone, who has been criticized on several occasions for his favorable attitude to the fascists. The fascist, who admitted calling the Jewish shopkeeper "a Jewish ——" was fined seven pounds. The magistrate told him: "If you had been charged under the Public Order Act, I would have sent you to prison." The obvious question is: why has this fascist, involved in beating a Jew, breaking a shop window and assaulting a policeman not been charged under the Public Order Act?

How long will this go on? The British working class, engaged in a difficult encounter with capitalism and its agents in its own midst, ignores the warning of the existence and tolerance of fascism. The British workers, despite their class experience and loyalties, can also be beguiled into diversionary activities. The British ruling class, like that of any other country, will not be reluctant to use anti-Semitism when it will find it useful to its interests. This may be considered necessary before many of us thought it would.

L. ZAIDMAN

JEWISH LIFE

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Book Reviews

WHO KILLED JESUS?

By Morris U. Schappes

Why Jesus Died, by Pierre van Paassen. Dial Press, New York, 1949. \$3.

The ancient inciting cry that the Jews are "Christ-killers" is to be heard not only from the foaming lips of the hoodlums of the Peekskill breed but also from the intellectuals of the same camp. Thus on March 23, 1949, President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College (of which the majority of students are Jewish and which is located in the largest Jewish community in the world) lectured to the Student Christian Association that "the Jews crucified Jesus."

Therefore, when a volume written by an ordained Unitarian minister is widely advertised by its publisher as "the book that proves the Jews were not responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus," it deserves the attention of all those engaged in the fight against anti-Semitism. For although the "Christ-killer" lie is not, as Pierre van Paassen seems to believe, the cause of anti-Semitism, it is at least one of the hoariest weapons of anti-Semitism.

Mr. Van Paassen has passionate convictions about Jesus, although he candidly records that many scientists "have been led to conclude by their studies that Jesus never existed." The author sets out to present "the Jesus of history" rather than "the Christ of the Church." To Van Paassen, Jesus is a radical, the "precursor" of "the penitential thunder of socialism," Jesus, we are impressed over and over, was "a direct opponent of the established order," he "was crucified for being a subversive person, a dangerous agitator, a messianic rabble-rouser." Jesus was "un-Jewish," Van Paassen declares, only in the sense in which our radicals today are denounced falsely as un-Americans.

Analyzing the responsibility for the sentencing of Jesus, the author makes a frontal attack on the contradictions and impossibilities in the account given in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Van Paassen concludes that Jesus "never was convicted by any Jewish court. The New Testament stories . . . are pure fantasy." He was given a Roman trial and a Roman sentence by Pontius Pilate, who fully understood that this Jesus, self-confessed "King of the Jews," was an un-Roman subversive whose Kingdom of

God on earth could be brought about only over the dead body of the Roman power.

The full Roman responsibility for the execution of Jesus is no longer questioned in scholarly circles. But it was surprising to find Mr. Van Paassen ignoring the thesis and scholarly documentation of Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, whose book, *Who Crucified Jesus?* appeared in 1942, with a second and amplified edition in 1947. Dr. Zeitlin's more persuasive theory is that the Roman occupying power, as part of its tyranny, had turned a section of the Jewish upper ruling class into quislings and betrayers of its own people. These quislings, like the Jewish high priest Caiaphas, afraid of the influence of the radical Jesus on the masses of the Jews, turned him over to the Romans for trial. Thus not the Jewish people but a corrupted collaborationist ruling clique became the tools of Roman reaction.

Now Van Paassen is aware of this thesis; in fact in *Days of Our Years* (1949), he had himself reported it in his brilliant interview with the French Marshal Louis H. G. Lyautey, military governor of Morocco, in which Lyautey explains why it was necessary for Pilate to act as he did in executing Jesus, and how the aristocratic priestly party among the Jews collaborated with Pilate. In the present volume, Van Paassen reprints the entire interview with the single startling omission, to which he fails to call attention, of the page on the Jewish quislings! One would have had more confidence

in Mr. Van Paassen's methods of scholarship if, having changed his mind, he had frankly faced the issue and sought to refute this thesis, as he does so many others.

When he comes to explain why the writers of the Gospels falsely blamed the Jews, Mr. Van Paassen reasons thus: These writers wished to prove the "resurrection" of Jesus, when in fact the mere disappearance of the body of Jesus was easily explained by the fact that his followers had taken the body to give it decent burial in a secret grave. The Jews of Palestine were denying the resurrection story. To discredit the Jews as witnesses in this situation, the authors of the Gospels, particularly John, charged the Jews with responsibility for the execution. Again Dr. Zeitlin's reasoning and evidence in this matter seems more convincing. Dr. Zeitlin explains that, to win over the Roman population, the Christian agitators did not dare tell the truth that the Roman government had crucified Jesus as a rebel for fear of the Roman authorities. Therefore they placated the Roman authorities, and won more safety to conduct their agitation, by blaming the Jews.

Mr. Van Paassen's last chapter contains his challenging image of "The Eternal Gospel" that he believes Jesus is preaching today. This Jesus is actively opposed to "the international cartels and monopolistic trusts and big business" and "the Church" and the "new theology" of the Protestants, all of which would "divorce religion from the social struggle" and "prevent man from coming to grips with the reality." A "genuine Christian theology . . . would recognize that . . . inherent in the reality . . . is . . . a conflict between growing and dying social forces and ideas."

To the expected cry that this is the "Stalin line" Mr. Van Paassen retorts that "Marx came because Jesus was not allowed to come!" Mr. Van Paassen enlists himself and his Jesus in the fight against those who "are trying today to head off the democratic revolution of the peoples of Europe and of the peoples living in the traditional colonial areas." Van Paassen denounces "the acme of hypocrisy and godlessness" in those who are "reducing God to the rank of a flunkey of one particular economic system" by "actively and feverishly" preparing for an atomic war while praying to God to prevent it. No wonder the book has already been roundly abused in the official Catholic press and has been greeted coolly in many Protestant journals as well as in the general press. This Jesus is just too "red" for them.

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THE VATICAN AXIS

By George Morris

The Vatican in World Politics, by Avro Manhattan. Boni & Gaer, New York, 1949. \$3.75.

This book is undoubtedly the most ambitious and best documented study of the subject in recent years. It is certainly a very timely weapon against the growing threat of clericalism over the world.

As the author stresses, he treats Catholicism only as a political force and not as a religion.

Much has been written on the role of the Vatican. Unfortunately most of it has been either by apologists for the hierarchy or religious opponents of the Roman Catholic Church. Even some of the best analyses on the subject have often lacked the punch and full conclusion because writers trod softly for fear they might step into the forbidden realm of a church.

Manhattan organized the vast amount of past and recent history and unfolds it in such a way that the often-heard charge, that the Vatican plots a clerical-fascist world is proven with devastating force. To cap it all, Manhattan drew on the evidence of the Vatican's role that emerged in the 1946 trial of the Nazi bigwigs at Nuremberg.

Manhattan's book in the main covers a half century of Vatican diplomacy and history. The first part of some 80 pages is a clear and extremely valuable description of the form of Vatican State, its numerous departments, their functions and the way its 50-odd diplomatic representatives throughout the world work.

This state adds up to as complete an authoritarian power as any fascist dictator ever dreamed of. Manhattan then sets forth his indictment—that the Vatican state played an important role in promoting World War II, helped the fascist powers to prosecute it and supported or condoned all their bestial methods. This, he notes, has been in line with Vatican encyclicals preceding the Nazi era, calling for the corporate clerical state, and with the historic objective of turning every state into a Catholic-dominated theocracy.

Then, letting facts speak for themselves, Manhattan examines the Vatican's role, with a chapter for each, in Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium, France, Russia, United States, Latin America and Asia.

Each chapter reads like a well-documented journalistic exposure. But the whole fits together into a world-wide pattern with amazing perfection. And almost everywhere you run across the intriguing hand of Cardinal Pacelli, formerly

Vatican secretary of state and now the Pope.

The chapters on Spain, France, Germany and Italy are especially interesting. They exceed the most fantastic of the Rome-inspired intrigues of the middle ages. Perhaps the most significant of Manhattan's contributions are his explanations of what often seem contradictions, like the occasional cross words between Mussolini or Hitler and the Vatican which the latter loves to recall to "prove" its "anti-fascism." Manhattan submits much evidence to show that such contradictions were restricted within the framework of a basic agreement, to the extent of Vatican control of the schools or text books or a clash over jurisdiction in the youth or similar movements.

Manhattan also shows how historically the Vatican adapted its position to suit a changing relation of forces. This was well demonstrated towards the final stages of the war when a shift towards the allies began and main emphasis was on possibly turning the war against the USSR.

Another seeming contradiction is in the professed anti-fascism and "democracy" of the hierarchy in America. Manhattan explains that the Vatican has been forced to "slacken its doctrinal rigidity" in this country because its clerical-fascist approach clashed "too much with the liberalism, independence and general concept of life in America."

"It was therefore decided to allow the authority and doctrines of the Catholic Church to be submitted to a process of transformation which would modify the conservative European Catholicism into a liberal and progressive American Catholicism." But Manhattan warns that this is only a tactic in the drive for power and towards an American clerical-fascist state and that the Vatican will "not alter its fundamental aim by an inch."

Reading of the amazing influence of the Vatican in shaping and furthering the entire course of fascist aggression, one is left with the conviction that the Catho-

lic power could not have been ignorant of or indifferent to the mass Nazi slaughter of the Jewish people. Manhattan does prove that anti-Semitism, the first step towards concentration camps and slaughter, was part of the Vatican's arsenal everywhere.

Pacelli stepped on the throne in 1939 just as Mussolini ordered the expulsion of all the Jews from Italy. "The new Pope kept his silence," writes Manhattan, "and when, a few weeks later, fascist Italy invaded Albania, the Pope protested, not because a country had been wantonly attacked, but because the aggression had been carried out on a Good Friday."

The Vatican remained just as blind to Hitler's pogroms, concentration camps and slaughter of Jews. In 1936 when Hitler conducted a plebiscite to obtain "popular" approval of his program of pogroms and even intrusion in the Catholic field by seizure of control of youth organizations, "the Vatican once more instructed the Catholic hierarchy to support Hitler," writes Manhattan. In later stages and through the war, the understanding with Hitler was even more direct, Vatican's attitude even more callous.

Describing the Vatican's machinations in Austria through the Austrian Catholic Party, Manhattan writes that the party "in order to have a popular appeal began with most rabid anti-Semitism. Karl Lueger, the most outstanding man in Austrian political Catholicism, stated that Catholicism, especially in Vienna, could be made into a political movement only through an intermediary stage of mass anti-Semitism," writes Manhattan. "This might sound surprising to modern ears, used to hearing the Vatican speak in favor of the Jews? Yet this is not the only instance of its kind we shall encounter."

Later, when the Vatican placed its puppet Dollfus in power in Austria, Manhattan writes, "anti-Semitism received official recognition." The story was the same when the Vatican set up the clerical-fascist state in Slovakia under Msgr. Tiso as dictator. Manhattan notes that this priest dictator explained the introduction of Hitler's anti-Jewish program into Slovakia as follows:

"As regards the Jewish question, people ask if what we do is Christian and humane. I ask that too: is it Christian if the Slovaks want to rid themselves of their eternal enemies, the Jews? Love for oneself is God's command and his love makes it imperative for me to remove anything harming me."

Similarly with Petain's clerical fascism in France. After describing the Vatican's hand in developing the full image of the "new France" after its puppets Petain and Weygand took over under Hitler's occupation, Manhattan writes: "Anti-Semitism

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was introduced and history books by Jewish authors were interdicted. In short, French youth was being trained on lines closely akin to National Socialism."

Manhattan, with a tremendous amount of documentary evidence, shows how frantically the Vatican's forces fought to save Hitler and Mussolini from defeat or to bring about a negotiated peace. But when defeat came, the Vatican executed a shift in its traditional skillful manner. Neo-fascist forces blossomed out under cover of resurrected Catholic parties. And the anchor shifted to a new hope—Wall Street-dominated America.

Manhattan leaves us where the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine trimmed with the trappings left by the fascists, first enter the world picture. He has no comment on them. But he says:

"We have just seen how, having lost its mighty secular ally in totalitarian Europe, it has reconstituted its forces. Within a few years it has become the spiritual associate of the United States of America in her crusade against communist ideology, and its embodiment, the USSR. The Church's conquests in the American continent have more than compensated it for what it has lost in the old world, and the alliance it is making there are giving it far wider influence upon the affairs of the globe than it ever had when supported by the ancient dynasties of the dictators of modern Europe."

Manhattan leaves you with the horrifying feeling that the Vatican is an unconquerable force. His book does not deal with a possible alternative development. And yet, since only 1946, the world saw the defeats suffered by the Vatican in Eastern Europe and the rise of new China. And in the United States, too, he could have noted a rising public opinion against the advance of clericalism dressed in a "democratic" garb.

AN ANTI-SEMITIC NOVEL

By Ben Field

A Little Sleep, A Little Slumber, by Norman Katkov, Doubleday, New York, 1949. \$2.75.

This is Katkov's second novel, and like *Eagle At My Eyes*, its characters are American Jews. It, too, is autobiographical, the action taking place in St. Paul, Minnesota. It also draws its title from the Book of Proverbs, and in this biblical bush there flares again hate for the Jews.

In *A Little Sleep, A Little Slumber*, Katkov approaches his subject matter more guardedly, with a piety and a senti-

mentality calculated to disarm his readers. The story is about the Jewish father on his deathbed with his family grouped around him. Lev Simon, an immigrant, honest, hard-working, overcame formidable obstacles to raise up a prosperous business and four fine boys. During his last illness patches of the past float through his mind—the escape from the pogroms in Russia, the illegal crossing of the border from Canada, the difficult years in the new country. These pictures are supplemented by the recollections of his sons.

The story of the immigrants and their folkways have a great magic and fascination for us. We are emotionally tied to them, and when the pressures of life become too intense for us, we would flee and hole up in the past, or we become pious and find it hard not to touch up the portraits of our mothers and fathers, as if to correct time which pales and dwarfs and ravages, and with the same stroke to atone for our neglect and the unresolved conflicts between the generations. For the light of understanding and the development jelly of the imagination we substitute the preservatives of our sentiments. And it must be said that in Katkov's case the preservative is mixed with false coloring matter and compounded with the loathing of a man who attempts unsuccessfully to free himself from his sticky forebears and shake himself loose as a Jew.

Though Katkov's Lev Simon is a soft man, a somewhat frightened and bewildered one, he is "sold" to us as a figure crowned with heroic qualities, a sacrificing and understanding father, a sterling citizen, the single-minded seed of his people. The test of such qualities comes through action, for it is only through motion that a man is shaped and helps shape those who bear the rod after him.

The children of Lev Simon are of a piece with the hero of Katkov's early novel who is also a newspaperman, a Joe, like Lev's oldest son. The first Joe marries a Christian girl, and possessing little courage to solve the problems connected with this marriage, bitterly relates his misery to the bigotry of his people. He is a shallow, wishy-washy, gutless fellow, and one wonders why his girl and her family and his own put up with him. He suffers from a persecution complex, struck by the hallucination that all Jewish mothers of marriageable virgins are after his head, and in the second novel there is an episode which confirms this neurosis. Joe gets a Jewish girl "in trouble," her father, a tailor, hunts him up to inform the boy that his daughter is "three weeks late," cringing and bowing before the boy and waiting for a blow to fall on him as "his ancestors had waited for the Romans and

the Spaniards and the Russians."

Despising the man, terrified of the girl's mother (like she-hawks, Katkov's Jewish mothers are fiercer and bigger than their mates), Joe gets his father to intercede and the happy outcome is an abortion. Later, when he hears about the girl's marriage, he is relieved and at the same time torn by a feeling of guilt which helps to explain the fizz of his hate and contempt. As for his father, when he questions the boy and learns that the girl was a virgin, though he brands his Joe a *schwein*, there is a smile on his lips.

Another episode. The boys are playing ball outside the house where Lev lies dying when two elderly men pass on their way to the synagogue for evening prayers and look at them with "frank and vulgar curiosity." One of the sons expresses himself thus: "If it wasn't for Pa, I'd stand right up and open my fly at them." After this policy statement, the boys recall how one of these elderly men had hit their mother up for a donation and had her serve him on the porch on a separate table where it was kosher and how their mother had fled to her room in tears. Learning of his wife's humiliation, Lev had dashed to the store, bought himself "six slices" of ham and a bottle of milk and returned to shock the elderly man out of his chair. The description of the old man's horror and subsequent flight are done with relish and the boys become hysterical with laughter at the memory.

These then are the sons whom Lev has raised, and the rod he has passed on to them is salami. According to Katkov, the mark of the Jewish clan, the symbol of the Jewish family's warmth, hominess, heartiness, is always delicatessen, the ceremonious partaking together of corned beef or salami. When Lev goes off to a distant town on business he bears with him a salami and when the only Jew there sees it, he is so overcome that all he can say is "Christ Almighty" and "Oh, My Jesus." When the father in the first novel approaches the boy after the estrangement brought on by his marrying a *shiksa*, he brings with him corned beef sandwiches.

The piety of this story, the breathless adoration around the bedside of the dying Lev Simon, cannot cloak Katkov's true feelings. His efforts merely gum up things and dirty and drag down his own "hero." The Jew knocks at the door and cries out to be used honestly and with dignity in the work of American writers, but this reception is a chamberpot in his face. This contempt and petty slander, this vulgarization and mean travesty, this cynicism which often touches his non-Jewish characters as well, this subjectivism soaks Katkov. He cannot fool us. Again he has written a thoroughly vicious novel.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

symposia, essay contests, pageants, book fairs and book exhibits, radio and television programs.

MAY A. QUINN, New York school teacher who was censured by the Board of Education and transferred in 1946 for using anti-Semitic texts in her classes, is now under investigation by the board on charges of making anti-Negro remarks in her classes. When a 14-year-old boy on October 21 quoted a news story about a Negro girl who had been excluded from a Southern college, she asked if the story came from the *New York Post*, which she allegedly said "is a communist paper like the *Daily Worker*." She is alleged to have extended her anti-Negro remarks. Superintendent William Jansen affirmed on November 24, that "If Miss Quinn made those remarks about colored people, then her usefulness with the Board is ended." However, a *Daily Compass* reporter on December 6th could get no information about the progress of the investigation. There are reports that George A. Timone, pro-Franco board member, is trying to shield Miss Quinn, and that intimidation is being used to hush up the case.

THE TEACHERS UNION (UPW-CIO) of New York protested in mid-November to Board of Education President Maximilian Moss against collaboration of the board with the *New York Journal-American* in a prize contest and a series of radio broadcasts connected with the study of history. Charging that the paper's "chief purpose" in sponsoring these alleged civic improvement programs was "to achieve an increase in its circulation among school children by making use of the implied approval given to it by the Board of Education," Union President Abraham Lederman protested because the paper's anti-labor columns and sensational stories of sex and violence and attacks on anti-fascist Americans, including President Franklin D. Roosevelt, did not warrant board collaboration with the paper. Lederman contrasted cooperation with the *Journal-American* with the board's banning of the *Nation*.

EUROPE

RENATIFICATION OF WESTERN GERMANY . . . Dr. Theodor Heuss, president of the Western Germany regime, said in an interview on November 26 that he rejected the idea that the German people were collectively guilty for Nazi atrocities against the Jews, but Germans "do accept the view that the German people should be collectively ashamed." . . . "Four years after her total defeat," said Senator Robert C. Hendrickson (R., N.J.) in November, "there is frightening evidence that Germany 1949 is more like Germany 1939 than Germany 1945." . . . Vandals destroyed 16 of 21 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery at Baumach, near Kassel, in mid-November. . . . Jack Raymond, *New York Times* correspondent in Bonn, reported in November that Dr. Konrad Adenauer, chancellor of the West German state, is suspected of close collaboration with Ruhr industrialists, particularly Robert Pferdmenges, Cologne banker who is a powerful industrial figure. . . . John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner to Germany, "feels strongly that the Germans today are making satisfactory progress toward democracy and that the neo-Nazi groups represent only

a small, ineffective lunatic fringe," says an Overseas News Agency report of November 13.

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT agreed in November to grant exit visas to 3,000 Jews for Israel, including Zionist leaders. . . . After a decree abolishing compulsory religious instruction in Hungary's schools was promulgated in early November, 60 per cent of Jewish parents expressed the desire to have their children receive religious instruction.*

RUMANIAN JEWISH WOMEN whose husbands were killed in wartime pogroms or in concentration camps are being permitted to become members of cooperatives set up to help war casualties to learn an occupation in order to become economically self-sufficient. . . . 525 unemployed Jews in Bucharest and 209 in Arad were provided with jobs in September by government labor offices.*

THE WORK OF ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria is ended, since the governments are taking over all its functions in the latter two states.*

NEWS FROM POLAND . . . *The Joint Distribution Committee will cease its activities in Poland by the end of 1949. This is in line with the Polish policy of taking over the activities of all foreign agencies among the Jewish people, since the Jews have the same rights as other Polish citizens in the government maintenance of homes, schools and hospitals. . . . The central committee of the Mizrahi (Orthodox) organization of Poland decided in November to dissolve the organization because most of its members have departed for Israel and the rest plan to do so. . . . There are 2,700 children in 19 Jewish schools, 2,139 in 35 kindergartens and 326 Jews in homes for the aged.* . . . The governor of Lower Silesia told a conference of Jewish Provincial Committees in November that "Those who do not like the conditions in our country and want to leave it, may do so. But that does not mean at all that we want to get rid of the Jews, of the Jewish workers and peasants, of those Jews who help us in our constructive work."

TWO THOUSAND JEWS at a mass meeting in Vienna in November called for action against the neo-Nazi government. The 12,000 Jews presently residing in Austria are apprehensive because of the rise in anti-Semitic incidents and the governmental gains of neo-Nazi elements.*

MOSLEYITE AIDE Geoffrey Hamm is leading fascist activity in the Manchester area. In mid-October the *North Manchester Observer* printed the first of an announced series of articles by Hamm. Threats of numerous advertisers to withdraw their support from the paper caused a postponement of the second article and probable dropping of the series. . . . Seven Mosleyite fascists were found guilty in a London court in November of disorderly conduct and shouting anti-Semitic slogans like "Down with the Yids." Presiding magistrate Sir Laurence Dunne fined two of them two and five pounds and suspended sentence on the other five, saying that he did not consider the incident serious and that British citizens had the right to express their sentiments within the limits of the law. . . .

According to the British Board of Jewish Deputies, British fascists are trying to recruit among Polish, Baltic and other DP's.*

ISRAEL

NINETY-EIGHT PER CENT of the 200 delegates attending the national council of the United Workers Party (Mapam) at the end of November rejected proposals submitted by Mapai as not offering an adequate basis for Mapam to join the Israel government coalition. Mapam is however ready to consider renewed proposals.*

"KOL HAAM," COMMUNIST DAILY, commented on Premier Ben Gurion's speech at the opening of the Knesset in early November that, "in his attempt to show that everything was proceeding according to plan," he was certainly correct in his assumptions if he referred to the position of the capitalist class, which paid small taxes compared with the size of its profits, and shifted the burden onto the workers. The paper asked why the premier did not mention the need to extend local industry in order to increase employment and why he ignored the problem of foreign concessions, or why he did not touch on the real dangers facing Israel. *Al Hamishmar* asked why the premier in a recent speech spoke only of the need to attract foreign capital and failed to mention the need to mobilize local capital.

PREMIER BEN GURION'S statement of policy at the opening of the Knesset in early November was criticized by Mapam leader Israel Bar Yehuda, who asserted that the premier had failed to submit an overall economic plan for the country. Mr. Bar Yehuda also attacked the government for its "inclination" to accept a suggestion by the Palestine Potash Company that it sell its concession for Dead Sea mineral exploitation, which has 25 years to run, to the Dupont Corporation of the United States. He charged that this "would be detrimental to the country's interests and would be liable to lead to a severe economic crisis."*

UNEMPLOYED IN ISRAEL to the number of almost 23,000 registered in labor exchanges in September, according to the Israel Labor Ministry. About 10,500 obtained work for three weeks and 5,700 for two weeks.

19,750 IMMIGRANTS entered Israel in September. By the end of September the absorptive capacity of the immigrant camps was 84,880.

THE JEWISH POPULATION of Israel passed the 1,000,000 mark on November 20. When the state was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, the Jewish population was 655,000. From then until November 20, 1949, 321,991 immigrants had arrived and the natural increase in population was 22,600.

ISRAEL AND THE SOVIET UNION are discussing a barter arrangement for the exchange of many items of trade, it was reported in November. I. Lapukhin, Soviet trade official, visited Tel Aviv to discuss the plan. It was reported that the Soviet Union is interested in citrus concentrates, citrus by-products, oils and essences, chocolate and cocoa, pharmaceuticals, false teeth, polished diamonds, nylon stockings, shoes and textile wastes. In return, the Soviet Union is prepared to ship to Israel sugar, cement, timber, flax, canned fish, cattle fodder and newsprint.*

(All items marked with an asterisk (*) were drawn from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency news service.)

