

Jewish Life

JUNE 1950 • 20¢

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE ▶ *by Albert E. Kahn*

THE MENACE OF WHITE CHAUVINISM ▶ *by Carl Vědro*

INSIDE PERLMAN'S POLAND ▶ *by Ted Tinsley*

ADL REPORTS ON ANTI-SEMITISM ▶ *by Louis Harap*

LOCKOUT IN THE UPA ▶ *by Samuel Cohen*

JEWISH LABOR IN THE NINETIES ▶ *by Morris U. Schappes*

Review of A. B. Magil's ISRAEL IN CRISIS ▶ *by Joseph Clark*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

OVER 100 RABBIS from New York to San Francisco, from New Orleans to Racine, Wis., were among the over 400 religious leaders who agreed to emphasize in their religious activities during May the necessity of strengthening United States participation in world peace efforts. The move was made under the auspices of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace to be held in Chicago on May 29-30. The request for special peace sermons was sent by Dr. Halford E. Luccock, of the Yale Divinity School, and Rabbi Edward E. Klein, of the Stephen S. Wise Free Synagogue in New York.

JEWISH UNITY UNPRECEDENTED in post-war Philadelphia arose during April in the fight against the resurgence of nazism and anti-Semitism in Western Germany. A giant citywide protest demonstration to protest renazification is planned for early June at Rayburn Plaza. Neighborhood committees are being formed to fight against the rearming of Germany and renazification. Committees in Strawberry Mansion and Wynnefield-Overbrook areas include representatives from the American Jewish Congress, Jewish War Veterans, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, Zionist Organization of America, Jewish People's Fraternal Order and other community groups. Every major Jewish organization in Philadelphia is also on record against the Mundt bill.

A SERIES OF MEETINGS to commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising were held in Brooklyn in April under the auspices of the American Labor Party. Hundreds were turned away. The Polish ambassador and official representatives were among the speakers.

THOMAS MANN sent a message in April to a west coast Emergency Conference on Renazification in Germany called by the American Jewish Congress in San Francisco, in which he said: "The Jewish people here and elsewhere are only too justified when viewing with deep alarm the present situation in Germany, the resurgence of nazism, the rise of anti-Semitism and the shocking failure of the denazification proceedings to democratize the area or properly punish the criminally guilty."

A SPOKESMAN of United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy stated in Frankfurt on May 7 that McCloy opposed an investigation of renazification which, said the spokesman, "would serve no useful purpose at present."

FITNESS OF DR. GEORGE N. SHUSTER to serve as United States State Commissioner for Bavaria, to which he was appointed by John J. McCloy on April 17, was brought into question in many quarters. In a series of articles in April the New York *Daily Compass* revealed that Shuster had written with sympathy of Hitler and had attacked German Jews in his books. Shuster revealed on April 25 that he had received a message of congratulations from the American Jewish Committee on his appointment.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE in May presented its annual award for 1949 for "distinguished contributions toward the enrichment of America's democratic legacy" to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. A long picket line protested the award at the ADL award dinner on May 14.

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. IV, No. 8 (44)

JUNE, 1950

EDITORIAL BOARD

SAMUEL BARRON

PAUL NOVICK

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

SAM PEVNER

MOSES MILLER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

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

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

PEACE CAMPAIGN; FIGHT THE MUNDT BILL; FACTS AND ACTION; KEEP SCHOOLS FREE	3
DANGER IN ISRAEL; JPFO ANNIVERSARY	4
THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE by <i>Albert E. Kahn</i>	5
PETITION FOR PEACE	7
THE MENACE OF WHITE CHAUVINISM by <i>Carl Vedro</i>	8
INSIDE PERLMAN'S POLAND by <i>Ted Tinsley</i>	11
JEWISH LABOR IN THE NINETIES by <i>Morris U. Schappes</i>	14
FOUR YIDDISH PROLETARIAN POETS, II: POEMS OF MORRIS ROSENFELD, translated with an introduction by <i>Aaron Kramer</i>	16
ADL REPORTS ON ANTI-SEMITISM by <i>Louis Harap</i>	20
WHO THREATENS ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE? by <i>Moshe Sneh</i>	23
LOCKOUT IN THE UPA by <i>Samuel Cohen</i>	24
BOOK REVIEW	
REQUIRED READING ON ISRAEL by <i>Joseph Clark</i>	26
DOCUMENT	
NAZI COMEBACK IN WESTERN GERMANY by <i>the World Jewish Congress</i>	28
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS, edited by <i>Louis Harap</i>	2, 31
DRAWING OF MORRIS ROSENFELD by <i>George Orban</i>	17

JEWISH LIFE, June, 1950, Vol. IV, No. 8(44). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1950 by the Morning Freiheit Association.

ISSA SABAGH, ex-right-hand man of the pro-nazi Mufti of Jerusalem, is now in charge of the daily Arab program broadcast by the State Department over the Voice of America station.

"YES, SIR, EVERYTHING is going my way!" exclaimed fascist Gerald L. K. Smith at a meeting in Tulsa on April 30, after citing the convictions of the communist leaders, the Hollywood writers and Harry Bridges—"and brave Senator McCarthy carries on to eventual triumph."

THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS of New York State urged the immigration authorities to bar from entry to the country Hungarian newsmen

Lajos Marschalko, whom they accused of being a nazi and responsible for the killing of downed American flyers: The JWV offered to produce three witnesses, one a former Hungarian cabinet minister, to prove these charges.

HOOLIGANISM AGAINST a group of Jewish girls in April in a Jewish section of Philadelphia resulted in the conviction of four boys and four girls and sentencing of the 16-year-old ringleader of the hooligans to the reformatory. . . . Beatings of a number of Jewish boys in Detroit following high school basketball games in April brought protests by the Detroit Jewish Community Council

(Continued on page 31)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

PEACE CAMPAIGN

THERE is one thing upon which the overwhelming majority of the people of the world agree, no matter what their politics. *They don't want war.* Yet an atomic war threatens. The people must therefore compel their governments to outlaw the atom bomb—and on this again, the ordinary people of the world are agreed. The great peace movement which is centered in the Partisans for Peace has accepted its responsibility to organize this sentiment everywhere and to make this demand irresistible. The Permanent Committee of the Partisans of Peace meeting at Stockholm in March passed a resolution that petitions be circulated in every corner of this earth embodying these minimum demands of the people: outlawing of the atomic bomb and branding any country which first uses the bomb as a war criminal. We print this resolution on page 7 of this issue. Every last reader can undertake no more urgent task at this time than to sign and get shop-mates, neighbors and friends to sign the peace petitions being circulated in this country by the Mid-Century Conference for Peace and by the Labor Peace Conference.

FIGHT THE MUNDT BILL

OPPPOSITION to the Mundt bill continues to mount. Individuals and organizations of every sort and of every political complexion are making known that they regard the Mundt bill as the opening wedge to the destruction of the Bill of Rights and the end of democracy in America. But the danger of the Mundt bill remains extremely grave. The pressure on the Senate and the House to kill the bill before it even gets to the floor, should be unrelenting and should increase. Certainly Jewish organizations should not only protest officially, but should hold conferences and mass meetings and mobilize letter writing campaigns and delegations to Washington. Nothing less than democracy is at stake. The people can save the Bill of Rights and democracy if they all stand up on their hind legs and tell Congress and the president that the Mundt bill must be killed!

FACTS AND ACTION

THE statement of the World Jewish Congress (reprinted in part on pages 28-30 in this issue) reveals, despite many weaknesses and incorrect orientation, how far the rebirth of nazism has advanced in Germany.

Characteristically, the statement does not place the responsibility for the revival of nazism where it belongs. The statement does not show that the revival of nazism in Western Germany results from the cold war policies of American imperialism. It fails to indicate that Western

Germany is today a colony of Wall Street and that the return to power of the industrialists who brought Hitler to power, of the storm troopers who murdered six million Jews, of the militarists who devastated so many cities and villages, is a result of calculated policy to turn Germany into a base of operations for World War III. Nor does the statement reveal the struggles of many democratic forces in Germany, who are forced to fight not only against German fascists and reactionaries but also against the American occupation powers which coddle ex-nazis.

The publication of this statement by the World Jewish Congress indicates how deeply concerned the Jewish masses are with the resurgence of nazism. It shows their fear of the implications of a renazified Germany for the Jewish people. The World Jewish Congress and its leadership could have been a force to help weld together Jewish communities throughout the world in an alliance with progressive forces everywhere for a mighty struggle to defeat the plans for a resurgent fascism and for a new world war. Unfortunately, the leaders of the World Jewish Congress have already given clear indication time and again, and particularly at the last gathering it held in Montreux, that they have no intention of leading such a struggle. Their attitude towards the Jewish communities of the new democracies, their discriminatory practices against progressives and communists, their refusal to participate in the world peace movement, are clear proof of bankruptcy and of an inability to break with imperialism.

Now that the World Jewish Congress has published these revealing and startling facts, what will it do? The answer lies with the masses of the Jewish people. Already protest movements in Jewish communities everywhere are rising. They are certainly far from enough. But they point to the growing and organized opposition to American policy in Germany. What any Jewish leadership do today depends upon the pressure that the Jewish masses will put upon them, the degree of anger that the Jewish masses exhibit and the amount of organization that they engage in.

The facts revealed in this document should stimulate a nation-wide movement to halt the coming to power once again of those who brought great tragedy upon the Jewish people and the world.

KEEP SCHOOLS FREE

NAZI-LIKE *Gleichschaltung* of the New York City school system took a long step forward on May 3, when Superintendent of Schools William Jansen notified eight members and officers of the Teachers Union that they were suspended. Why were they suspended? Because they were poor teachers? No, their competence was not even questioned by Jansen. On the contrary, all reports indicated that the eight were excellent teachers and did honor to the

school system. The charge was "insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher," because they refused to answer questions about their private beliefs without the presence of counsel. The inquiry itself into beliefs is a violation of elementary democratic rights. But, coming as it did on the heels of book censorship, harassment of the Teachers Union, exoneration of anti-Semites and anti-Negro elements in the school system, refusal to give long overdue pay increases to the teachers and finally, the great student strike in which the school children struck in solidarity with the wage demands of their teachers, the suspensions spell great danger for the educational system. The teaching staff is demoralized by intimidation and the callous ignoring of their legitimate wage demands.

All this adds up to a pattern of repression and regimentation that looks uncomfortably like Germany, 1932. What is more, it is most significant that all the suspended teachers are Jewish. When, therefore, the Teachers Union charges that anti-Semitism is at work in the school system of a great city in which about one-third of the population is Jewish, it would be well to weigh the charge seriously. It is well known that among the banned books are several novels against anti-Semitism. But when one compares the treatment of these suspended Jewish teachers, all of whom had exemplary teaching records, with the treatment of non-Jewish teachers charged with anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-foreign born remarks *in the classroom*, the pattern of discrimination becomes clear.

Together with the attempt to smash the teachers union which is spearheaded by the pro-Franco board member George Timone, and the basis of the whole drive against the teachers in line with the cold war, the situation in the New York school system is not only a profound menace to education. It is also a front of the cold war, since the Teachers Union has fought for peace, as well as the welfare of the teachers. The people cannot allow the Board of Education to demoralize the school system and suppress the drive for peace among the teachers. An aroused New York can stop this cold war in the schools by protesting to O'Dwyer and Jansen.

DANGER IN ISRAEL

ABDULLAH recently pronounced himself "legal" master of the Arab sector of Palestine, thereby planting himself and his British masters at the gates of Israel. At the same time the intrigues in the trusteeship council aimed at using the recent UN Jerusalem decision to impose a direct imperialist seat of power in Jerusalem, highlight the growing danger to the freedom and independence of Israel, as well as to the Arab people.

Neither of these two dangers should come as a surprise. Abdullah's (read Bevin's) intentions have long been clear. Many Jews in Israel and throughout the world are troubled by this move, for they realize that the proximity of Abdullah and his British-officered and financed army constitute a permanent menace to Israel. Unfortunately, the Ben Gurion government and reactionary Zionist leadership not only failed to mobilize the people against Abdul-

lah's "legal" occupation of the Arab sector or to promote creation of an independent Arab state, but actually negotiated with Abdullah, thus facilitating seizure of Arab Palestine. The consequences are full of menace for Israel.

The UN discussion on internationalization brought out various proposals made in order to exploit the Jerusalem issue to subordinate Israel and all of Palestine to imperialist ends. At that time Soviet delegate Semyon Tsarapkin thoughtfully indicated that the Soviet Union was concerned with three basic problems: 1) the independence of Israel; 2) the creation of an independent Arab state as set forth in the UN decision of November 29, 1947; and 3) elimination of Anglo-American attempts to turn the Middle East into a war base, thereby undermining the security and freedom of both Jewish and Arab peoples.

The Soviet Union's amendments on the internationalization question were directed toward achieving these results by removing Abdullah and his master Bevin and their cannons from the borders of Israel and by creating the basis for the final solution of the issue in accord with the interests and aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples.

It soon became evident that the basic aims inherent in the Soviet proposals would not be realized by the internationalization decision. The Soviet Union recognized that, far from leading to growing unity of Jewish and Arab peoples and towards fulfilling the aspirations of both peoples, the proposal, as distorted by the trusteeship council, would actually heighten the dangers to both peoples. The Soviet Union therefore withdrew its recognition of this proposal, stating that it could no longer support it because it did not meet with the approval of either the Arab or the Jewish peoples. Certainly no legal status should be granted to the seizure of Palestine territory by Abdullah.

Those truly concerned with advancing the interests of the freedom, security and independence of Israel would do well to heed the simple declaration issued by the Soviet UN delegate. Only a determined and consistent struggle for Arab-Jewish unity and against imperialist intrigues can achieve full freedom and independence for Israel.

JPFO ANNIVERSARY

TWENTY years ago a group of progressive Jewish workers broke away from the Workmen's Circle and formed a new Jewish fraternal order. For the Circle had become a reactionary force in Jewish life. This new organization, which was to become the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, then carried on the progressive traditions of the Jewish people and of the working class from which they sprang and in which they saw the only hope for a world free from insecurity and war, free from minority oppression and anti-Semitism. In May the JPFO celebrated its 20th birthday, as an organization growing in strength, maturity and understanding, protecting the welfare of its members and contributing to the defense of the Jewish people and to the promotion of democracy in America. We greet the JPFO on its birthday and wish it long life and strength in its endeavors for a progressive America.

THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE

By Albert E. Kahn

FROM a painstaking survey of the American press during the second week of March of this year, you could have learned exactly nothing about an extraordinary event then transpiring in Paris, France. As one who witnessed this event, I can attest that it was of far greater import for the American people than the hair-raising accounts of flying saucers, "Kremlin agents" in the State Department and kindred topics which filled our newspapers at the time. The event to which I refer was the Second Congress of the Fighters for Peace and Freedom.

Present at the Congress were 10,000 men and women who had poured into Paris from every district, town and village in France. Had they come only as individuals, their number would have been impressive enough. They happened, however, to be 10,000 *delegates*. They were attending the congress as the elected representatives of organizations with a total membership of 7,000,000 French citizens.

Among the delegates were dock workers and professors, scientists and clergymen, artists and peasants, soldiers, sailors, doctors, writers, small businessmen. And all of them, men and women, young and old, communists and non-communists were alike fervently united in the determination to prevent the havoc and agony of another war.

For two and a half days these delegates conferred at the Park of Exhibitions, drawing up plans for the intensification of their peace work. On the afternoon of the third day, 20,000 people massed at the hangar-like auditorium in an immense public meeting. Seats were far too few, and at least half of the huge audience remained standing throughout the four hours of the meeting. Outside the building thousands more were gathered, listening to the speeches over a loudspeaker system. Hanging from steel girders in the hall, men flourished banners bearing slogans of peace. Again and again the speakers—who came from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, Viet-Nam and other lands—were interrupted by thunderous applause and the prolonged chanting of *Unité! Unité! Unité!*

And as I sat in that hall 4,000 miles away from the place where I live, I knew that here too was my home, and I felt ineffably proud to be a member of this splendid family of men and women fighting to maintain peace in the world and to bring a richer life to all mankind.

Europe Mobilizes for Peace

Extraordinary as was the Congress of the Fighters for

ALBERT E. KAHN is the author of several books and president of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. His latest book, *High Treason: The Plot Against the People*, will be published by Lear Publishers on May 25.

Peace and Freedom, it was not exceptional. Rather, it was typical. During the preceding months, similar great demonstrations had taken place in almost every European capital. The word peace, not war, is on the lips of Europe's millions.

At a recent press conference in Rome, his Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman declared: "Certainly signs of the abomination of desolation are increasing. The faithful must always be prepared for death." But the people of Europe have experienced enough of gas chambers, children buried alive and the "abomination of desolation." They choose to prepare not for death but for life, not for war but for peace. Even as Cardinal Spellman spoke in Rome, 30,000 peace committees were busily at work in Italy alone.

In Sweden too, a country which chanced to escape the devastation of the last two world wars, the people long for lasting peace. Arriving at the Stockholm airport on March 15 to attend the third session of the Permanent Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, members of the committee were greeted—while passing through customs inspection—by a group of girls singing songs of welcome. As we left the air terminal, these girls handed us bouquets of flowers. The streets through which we drove into the city were hung with hundreds of posters displaying Pablo Picasso's dove of peace and carrying announcements of the peace conference. During the three days of the conference, frequent peace demonstrations took place in Stockholm—trade union meetings, student rallies, a reception at the city hall for members of the Permanent Committee, a torchlight parade, a large mass meeting. In contrast to the United States, there does not exist in Sweden a government-sponsored Un-Swedish Activities Committee which brands peace efforts as dangerously subversive.

Millions of "Conspirators"

The Stockholm conference was so widely publicized that news of it could not be kept entirely from the American people. The press in the United States therefore depicted the conference as "communist-inspired," "Moscow-dominated" and an integral part of some strangely ominous "Soviet peace offensive." According to *The New Leader*, official organ of the Social Democratic Federation, the World Congress was a conspiratorial apparatus controlled by "top secret orders from Moscow . . . transmitted by courier to Bucharest . . . and sent to Paris," and the Stockholm meeting of its Permanent Committee had been organized under the supervision of Soviet "secret police." Having participated in this "conspiracy" from its inception, I can say that it is unique in one respect: the word

"conspiracy" ordinarily signifies the secret and sinister operations of a small cabal, whereas this particular "conspiracy" has the pledged support of more than 800,000,000 human beings. That is total membership of organizations now affiliated with the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

At the risk of betraying vital secrets, I will mention the names of some of the "conspirators" for peace who were present at the Stockholm conference. Among the 150 delegates from 40-odd countries were Frederic Joliot-Curie, world-renowned scientist and president of the World Congress; Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party; Abbé Jean Boulier, outstanding French Catholic priest; John Platts-Mills, former member of the Parliament of Great Britain; Anna Seghers, the great German novelist; Louis Saillant, secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions; Zvi Breitshtein, editor of the Israel communist daily, *Kol Haam*; Professor John Bernal, eminent British scientist; Jiri Hronek, Czechoslovakian author and secretary-general of the International Society of Journalists; and, from the Soviet Union, the famous novelists Alexander Fadeyev, Ilya Ehrenburg and Wanda Wasilewska, and the celebrated playwright and president of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, Alexander Korneichuk.

Delegation from the United States

The American delegation at Stockholm was composed of four persons; the former Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge; the distinguished writer and artist, Rockwell Kent; the well-known journalist, Johannes Steel; and myself. Rogge, Kent and Steel had just returned from Moscow, where they had gone as members of an international peace delegation. Regarding their trip to the Soviet Union, Kent had this to say; "It should be heartening to the American people, who have been taught to fear the East, that the farther eastward we travelled, the warmer became the welcome to spokesmen for peace. . . . We were received

by the leaders of the peace movement of Moscow, the greatest of its scientists and artists. And, as spokesmen for peace, we were accorded the extraordinary honor of presenting our peace proposals to the Supreme Soviet in special session at the Kremlin." (In keeping with their cold war policies, United States government authorities had denied a similar peace delegation, headed by Pablo Picasso, the right to enter the United States.)

There was not complete agreement among the members of the American delegation at Stockholm concerning the reasons for the mounting war danger. The opinion expressed by Rogge in his address before the Permanent Committee was that the American and Soviet governments were equally to blame for the cold war. The former assistant attorney general—who, as one of the early casualties of the cold war, had been dismissed from his post in 1946 for seeking to reveal past ties between American industrialists and nazi cartelists—declared that "mountains of fear" in both the United States and the Soviet Union were obstructing peace negotiations. In reply, I mentioned the fact that in the Soviet Union atomic energy was being used to remove mountains and suggested that if the American government were to announce a program of using atomic energy for similar peaceful purposes, there would doubtless be less fear in the world. Like myself, Rockwell Kent and Johannes Steel held the view that the policies being pursued by the Truman administration were to blame for the increasing threat of war. But this difference of opinion within the American delegation was not the important thing. Far more important was the fact that, together with all the other delegates at Stockholm, we were in complete agreement that war had to be averted, and that the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist systems was not only possible, but that it was imperative for the welfare of all mankind.

At the conclusion of its deliberations in Stockholm, the Permanent Committee of the World Congress issued a declaration demanding the banning of the atomic weapon, stating that the first government to use the atomic weapon in the future against any other country must be branded as a war criminal and calling upon all people of good will in every land to sign this appeal.

The People Demand Peace

Already in the brief time that has elapsed since the issuance of that appeal, millions of persons throughout the world have signed the appeal. In Bombay and Tel Aviv, Mexico City and Detroit, London and Warsaw, in Leningrad, Marseilles, Canton, Naples and hundreds of other cities and towns on every continent, the peace petition is now being circulated by countless men and women who are determined that their children shall not die in a third world war. With the exception of a handful of progressive publications, not a word of all this ferment of activity for peace, for an end to the cold war and the banning of the atom bomb has appeared in the American press.



Reception for peace delegates at the Stockholm city hall.

The reason for this strict censorship was succinctly expressed on January 14, 1949 in an editorial in the *U. S. News* in these words: "The biggest economic danger faced by America is the danger of a sudden turn to peace by Russia." The editorial was entitled: "Our Unpreparedness For Sudden Peace."

Those who profit from the manufacture of armaments are haunted by a fear that peace might suddenly break out.

But while the threat of peace is profoundly disturbing to the DuPonts, who divided earnings with the nazi trust I. G. Farben, and to the directors of General Motors, whose firm accumulated \$650,000,000 in profits in 1949, I cannot share their anxiety. Mine is a different concern. I recall the fate of the Jewish people in the last war. I have three sons.

Nothing is more important today than that the American nation should be informed about the vast peace movement throughout the world and the mounting demand for peace in their own land. Within the last few weeks an organiza-

tion has been formed in the United States which has as its chief function the dissemination of this vital news. It is called the Peace Information Center and its chairman is the noted historian and scholar, W. E. B. DuBois. (I strongly urge that every reader of this article send a contribution, no matter how modest, to the Peace Information Center. Its address is Box 349, Grand Central, New York City.)

It was just one year ago at a peace rally in Marseilles, France, that a young girl gave me a bouquet of roses and with them this message: "Dear friend of France, we offer you these roses. Take them to the United States. They will be testimony of our love for the mothers, the children and the workers of your great country. And tell them that we will do everything we can to keep the peace. The children of France do not want ever again to know war."

This message must reach ever growing millions of Americans.

PETITION FOR PEACE

Following is the text of a peace petition adopted by the World Peace Committee in March at Stockholm. Delegates from 52 nations approved it and millions of plain people all over the world are signing it. The petition is being circulated throughout the United States and we urge all our readers to become participants in the great world-wide movement of the Partisans for Peace.—Editors.

WE DEMAND the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon as an instrument of aggression and mass extermination of people, and the establishment of strict international control over the fulfillment of this decision.

We will regard as a war criminal that government which first uses the atomic weapon against any country.

We call upon all people of good will all over the world to sign this call.

We address ourselves to all social, religious groups and workers in culture, all honest people who, irrespective of their views concerning the reasons for the strained international situation, are alarmed because of this and seriously desire to see peaceful relations restored between the peoples.

As a basis for agreement we suggest the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the condemnation of the government which first uses the atomic weapon.

THE MENACE OF WHITE CHAUVINISM

By Carl Vedro

The following is an abbreviated version of a report delivered by Carl Vedro, chairman of the Communist Party of Brooklyn, at a "Conference on Aid to the South and the Struggle for Negro Rights," held on January 27-28. We regret that limitations of space prevent publication of the report in its entirety. It has been necessary to omit several basic sections dealing with the crucial issue of the building of the Negro-labor alliance and the role of the Communist Party in the Bedford-Stuyvesant community.—Eds.

OUR Party has made great headway in formulating the theoretical foundations of the Negro question. But on such a crucial issue and front of struggle as white chauvinism, we must record that, despite our recognition of the gravity of the question, we are far from having achieved a really effective and consistent struggle against it.

The roots of white chauvinism lie in the national oppression of the Negro people in the Black Belt. Today, white chauvinism has become a major ideological weapon of big business as it moves on ever more ruthlessly toward fascism and war. White chauvinism is one of the cornerstones of fascist ideology. White chauvinist expressions and acts, ranging from subtle to obvious and brutal forms, surround American workers and middle classes every minute of the day even as the very air we breathe.

Comrades who fall prey to white chauvinism, in word or deed, even though unconsciously, fall prey to fascist ideology. Fascism cannot be defeated without an unceasing and merciless struggle against white chauvinism. That is why the struggle must be all-inclusive and unending, permeating every phase of our thinking and activity.

I should like to illustrate my point with reference to the question of anti-Semitism. As a result of the fascist-Hitler terror, six million Jews were murdered. Together with millions of others of various nationalities, Jews met death in gas ovens, crematories and concentration camps. Fascism respected no nationality, religion or color, but consumed the living, democratic body.

Or take the case of tsarist Russia. Not without reason was it called the "prison house of nations." Oppression of non-Russian peoples and pogroms against the Jewish people were official state policy.

Does it not stand to reason that we Jews, kin and descendants of millions of victims of fascist terror and anti-Semitism, should be doubly conscious and alert to all manifestations of oppression? *Yet it is a fact that there are many among us who fall prey to this deadly poison and become the bearers of white chauvinism.*

Brooklyn is a borough with a population of one million Jews. Our borough is rich in working class struggles and

democratic traditions. Yet within the Jewish community, as in other communities in Brooklyn, there exists a slave market for domestic workers. Negro women, because they desperately need to supplement the family income, are forced to work under conditions that are economically and physically degrading. Part of the problem is the absence of a strong trade union movement. But in addition to this, Negro women are confronted 24 hours a day and throughout their lives with the cheap, rotten atmosphere and practices of white chauvinism.

Negro-Jewish Relations in Brooklyn

Or take the case of Sea Gate, where Negroes are searched on city buses as they enter or leave that "private" community. In the slave market and Sea Gate we find many Jews falling victim to Wall Street's program of oppression of the Negro people.

One would imagine that, because of our history of oppression and suffering, Jewish people would know better. But capitalism is that way. It is corrupting. Imperialism bribes people, creates illusions. And Wall Street will continue to corrupt, stultify and degrade all those who surrender to its ideology and fail to struggle against it.

Our job as Jewish Communists is to take the lead in educating the Jewish masses on the meaning of white chauvinism and to enroll the Jewish community in an all-out fight against chauvinism. This is paramount in our work in the struggle for Negro rights. This is vital to the struggle of the Jewish people for their own security and future.

Those familiar with the history of our Party know that it stands second to none in the struggles that it has led for the full equality of the Negro people. But there is certainly no room for complacency. We cannot record, as we should certainly like to, that the efforts of our Party in the recent period had been stepped up to such a degree that we were able to counteract the increased wave of chauvinism which American imperialists have unleashed. A self-critical and honest examination will show that we have been unable fully to meet this insidious influence because our Party itself has not been immune from it.

I would like to list some of the numerous expressions and acts of white chauvinism that have come to our attention.

1. They don't struggle, why should I?
2. They are difficult to work with.
3. Inter-marriage.
4. It's white of you.
5. My girl (domestic worker).
6. There are also white Communists I wouldn't associate with.

7. Negro problem.
8. I treat them like anyone else.
9. We don't have Negroes in the community.
10. I don't have white chauvinism within me.

These remarks reflect crass, open acceptance of all the libels and slanders levelled against the Negro people. But more than that, they show how many of our Party members absorb and reflect this fascist ideology in thought, speech and activities.

Is this any different from what others say about the Jewish people?

1. Some of my best friends are Jews.
2. He's a pretty *decent* Jew.
3. There's nothing *cheap* about him.
4. She's very *loud*.

What do such expressions reflect but the fact that anti-Semitism prevails among many sections of the population?

Negroes and Jews are in the front line bearing the brunt of the attacks of fascism. It is no accident that all Negro-haters are Jew-haters—Rankin, Bilbo, May Quinn. The Jewish people, on the basis of their own experiences and struggles against racism and anti-Semitism, can and must be won for the struggle against white chauvinism and for Negro-Jewish unity.

Struggle in White Community

Our job—as white Communists—must be to struggle against white chauvinism in the *white community*. The FEPC fight and the campaign against police brutality in which the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish War Veterans participated are steps in the right direction. The fight in Coney Island against the bus searches in Sea Gate is a step in the right direction.

We face similar problems in other parts of the white community. In Red Hook, Bay Ridge, Williamsburg, Ridgewood, etc., the struggle against white chauvinism must be prosecuted among the Italian, Irish, Polish and all other peoples. Have not these people, whether in the past or present, suffered from discrimination in New York? Discrimination in jobs, in educational opportunities, in the professions? Have they not suffered from stereotyped characterizations in Hollywood films and Broadway shows? Isn't it possible, as with the Jewish people, to link their experiences of discrimination and religious prejudices with the infinitely greater experience of oppression of the Negro people?

An example of a proper approach can be seen in the support given in the recent period by the Italian longshoremen to the struggle for jobs by the Negro stevedores in Local 968, International Longshoremen's Association.

We must endeavor to create the kind of atmosphere in the ranks of our Party which will help us advance more quickly, more effectively and more surely to root out every last drop of white chauvinism that exists in our midst. The struggle we are engaged in will not be advanced if we carry it on in such a way as to drive underground weaknesses or mistakes of our Party members and organizations. We must

create an atmosphere of confidence, thereby guaranteeing recognition by all that the Party is concerned with correcting mistakes, with aiding comrades in ridding themselves of a poisonous ideology which corrodes and corrupts their minds and inevitably weakens their ability to live up to the great responsibilities and tasks that they must assume. We wish to drive out the poison, not the comrades. We want to take each expression, each act of white chauvinism, expose it to the light of day, analyze it critically and take the proper steps to correct it *in deeds*. We will allow nothing, however, to stand in the way of accomplishing this task.

We know that some attempts have been made in recent months to tackle the question of Negro rights in white communities. An examination of some of these efforts reveals two weaknesses which are fairly widespread. First of all, we find that the issue (for instance, police brutality) is raised without taking account of the level of understanding of the community, without serious consideration of the best means of introducing the issue into a given neighborhood. Such an approach will obviously not guarantee the best results. Secondly, and all too often, some branches and sections plan their work on the Negro question as though it were an issue of *doing something for Negroes*—a social worker, paternalistic approach—instead of raising the issue within the white community for white people to act upon.

Both approaches are harmful and should be eliminated.

A constructive approach is indicated in the way some progressives in the American Jewish Congress raised the issues of police brutality and FEPC in the Jewish community. They initiated the action by appealing to the Jewish community on the basis of that community's own experiences. They related the issue to those experiences and thus succeeded in laying a firm foundation for the struggle. Thereby they insured—on condition that the struggle was carried forward with consistency—the development of ever stronger bonds and unity of the Jewish and Negro peoples.

Problems of Negro-White Coalition

I would like now to deal with some problems of coalition in the field of struggle for Negro rights.

Since the war the American people have been faced with a bitter struggle to maintain their civil liberties and democratic rights. One need only mention the Foley Square trial of the leaders of the Communist Party, the Hiss case, the loyalty purges hitting mainly Negroes and Jews, the attorney general's subversive list to recognize the very serious attacks against and infringements of the rights of the people which are growing in intensity. In the case of the Negro people, the intensification of oppressive measures is all too evident. Whereas the denial of civil rights to the Negro people before the war was expressed in lynching mobs, something new has been added today—the role of the police and the state. We need but mention the Isaac Newton case, the Trenton Six, the Ingram case. In all of these

instances the police and the government directly assumed the role of oppressors.

We developed campaigns on these issues. We fought hard but not consistently enough. The same holds true as regards the developing police brutality in our own borough as in the Milton case, the Waddell case, etc. Parallel with our efforts were those of broader organizations vitally concerned with these struggles. Thus, a year ago, the Brooklyn NAACP leadership became more militantly involved in this struggle together with a number of other organizations such as the American Jewish Congress, Jewish War Veterans, churches, etc. They developed many activities directed towards exposing those responsible for these numerous outrages. At the meeting of several thousand in a church at which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt spoke, a well-known Negro attorney of the NAACP turned the meeting into an indictment against Brooklyn's district attorney, Miles McDonald, and the brutalities perpetrated by policemen. This struggle culminated in a broad conference against police brutality last June.

* This united movement against police brutality which began with street action and grew into a mass struggle with thousands of people participating in one degree or another developed this issue into a central feature of the 1949 election campaign. Mayor O'Dwyer, ducking this issue, was forced in the midst of his campaign to appoint a committee to investigate the facts. As if he needed any more facts! This committee is still to report.

Tactics in Election Campaign

The American Labor Party made this issue a central feature of its campaign. The fight was led on a city-wide basis by Congressman Vito Marcantonio and in Brooklyn by Mrs. Ada B. Jackson. The NAACP, a non-political organization, appealed to the Negro citizens to get out and vote—and not for Miles McDonald. The American Labor Party announced publicly and candidly that they would join with anyone and any party ready to defend civil liberties. ALP leaders indicated that they would be willing to withdraw their own candidate for district attorney in favor of a joint candidate. A delegation of interested citizens approached the candidate of the Republican Party, Caddy, whose past record indicated a sincere concern for civil liberties. He expressed his willingness to unite with all on the issue of police brutality. The ALP thereupon withdrew its own candidate and substituted the Republican candidate. When this was announced, all hell broke loose.

What had begun as a united movement as a result of action and demonstrations against police brutality, was transformed into a struggle that went beyond the single issue. Out of struggle on this basic issue arose new problems and issues, which directly exposed the role of the state, both major parties, the social democratic Liberal Party and the courts. The state chairman of the Democratic Party, Fitzpatrick, sent a telegram to Governor Thomas E. Dewey and accused the Republican Party of communist connec-

tions. John Foster Dulles, the Republican senatorial candidate, responded by disowning Caddy and in turn threw some counter-charges against the Democrats. Herbert H. Lehman entered the fray and red-baited this political united front, whose purpose was to safeguard the civil liberties of the people. Statements were made on both sides attacking this united front against police brutality. And before the fray was over, everything from Russia to the Potsdam agreement had become part of their blasts.

The social democratic Liberal Party operated in its typical way by attacking the alliance and by running its own candidate, thereby splitting the united front against police brutality and for civil liberties.

The lessons inherent in this case are quite obvious. The entire power of the state was brought to bear to prevent the people from exercising their democratic rights to elect a candidate committed to civil liberties. And the Court of Appeals, the highest in the state, issued the final verdict by simply decreeing—no coalition.

While this electoral struggle was taking place, an outstanding, lifelong Republican lawyer and a leader of the NAACP, Mr. Flagg, took up the cudgels against police brutality and entered the Republican primary as a candidate for judge. Again the ALP endorsed the aims of his candidacy and volunteered to designate Mr. Flagg on its line and to withdraw the previous designation it had made.

Can you picture how some of these murderers of Negroes would have fared under the watchful eyes of a Negro judge? One need but to ask this question to understand why the two major parties used intimidation and threats to prevent such a coalition. And again the courts did their bit by ruling him off the Republican ballot.

Year Round Struggle

Though McDonald and O'Dwyer won on election day, the fight which had been waged made a lasting impression on the masses. Many thousands of people had gained new insights and new understanding as a result of participation in these activities. Many leaders in this campaign against police brutality in the election took an active part and played a leading role in the struggle for FEPC.

It is obvious that in the coming 1950 election campaign for the state legislature and Congress, the question of Negro rights must become a central part of the campaign. The fight for Negro representation in the city and state legislature, successfully begun in 1948 with the election of Bertram Baker to the Assembly from Bedford-Stuyvesant, must be followed up in 1950 with the election of a Negro to the State Senate (which up until now has been an all-white body) and to Congress.

Secondly, we must give greater consideration and wage more earnest battles on such problems as health, child care centers, housing, jobs, etc., and project these issues into the 1950 election as integral to the fight for Negro rights.

The fight for Negro equality has in the main been led

by the Negro people themselves in their 300-year-long history in the United States. This fight has at times merged with the struggles of the rest of the American people. The history of the struggles of the working class in the United States was one of searching and groping for this alliance with the Negro people. This has been true from the early history of our country, from the War of Independence, through the abolitionist movement into the Civil War, from the beginnings of the labor movement to this very day.

It was with the founding of our Party that a historic leap was made in the fight for the alliance and unity of the Negro people and labor and for Negro-white unity against the common oppressors of the Negro people and the American working class. From the inception of our Party, we searched for a fuller understanding of the Negro question as a national question, as a special question. We based this search on teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The understanding which emerged gave us deeper insight into the fundamental issues involved and laid the groundwork for the historic struggles of our Party in the Scottsboro case, the Herndon case and in the great CIO organiz-

ing drive of the thirties in which hundreds of thousands of Negro workers and sharecroppers were organized.

We can therefore understand now why such a great, intense ideological discussion on white chauvinism could take place within our Party in a public, merciless, critical and self-critical manner. Can you picture the Republican, Democratic, or the social democratic Liberal Party holding this kind of a discussion? We have no fear of public discussion of our Party's problems, achievements and shortcomings. For we know that only through such honest, sincere and thoroughgoing critical and self-critical analysis can we grow and advance, can we win the confidence of ever-larger numbers of the common people of America.

The heart of the problem for our Party and for the progressive movement as a whole to grasp with regard to the issue of white chauvinism is the imperative need of struggle for Negro rights as the basis on which the alliance of the Negro people and labor, of the Negro people and white people, of the Negro people and the Jewish people, will be built into a solid fortress against those who seek to deprive the people of their democratic liberties and rights.

INSIDE PERLMAN'S POLAND

JIMMY WECHSLER, *enfant terrible* of journalism who has given the world the deathless series on *Sin Street* and the true confessions of Joy Davidman, ex-girl, ex-Communist, is a firm believer in a combination of biology and red-baiting. Under the motherly eye of Dorothy Schiff, he dedicates his *New York Post* to the sexual escapades of teen-agers.

The formidable title, "Inside Stalin's Europe," recently introduced a series by correspondent David Perlman, billed as an "expose." Snuggling cozily between stories of adolescent dope peddlers and the saloon gossip of Earl Wilson, this series described horrendous events in the new Poland.

Since this stuff is as stylized as a "True Confession" and only slightly more lurid, the first installment is enough to provide comment. This installment appeared, behind much front page ballyhoo, under the headline: "Post Reporter Escapes Warsaw 'Kontrol' Arrest." Those who were anxious to read the saga of two-gun David Perlman in his struggle against Dead-Eye Stanislaw, were rather disappointed. Mr. Perlman's "escape" was something less than heroic. It seems that police knocked on the door of his hotel room at 2 A.M., asked for his passport, okayed it, said good night, and left. In this manner did *Post* reporter David Perlman Escape Warsaw 'Kontrol' Arrest.

David Perlman says it happened, and we should all do him the justice of believing him. He says it happened at 2 A.M., and we may as well believe this, too, although he fails to say what time he reached his hotel. Perhaps he ar-

TED TINSLEY is a *Daily Worker* columnist.

By Ted Tinsley

rived there at 1:55 A.M. Who can tell? Mr. Perlman's Iron Curtain conceals the truth.

I have been in a hotel room in Italy, and in a hotel room in Syria, and elsewhere, when police have knocked upon my door and asked to check my passport. Never did I realize that I had just escaped "kontrol" arrest, but that is doubtless due to the pristine innocence which afflicts all who do not benefit from personal contact with the cosmopolitan Jimmy Wechsler, chronicler of the adolescent libido.

That Kurious "K"

The story which Perlman tells to support the headline has intriguing elements. Mr. Perlman wrote that he heard voices saying, "Kontrol, police Kontrol."

Mr. Perlman must be a man of astounding perception to know from the pronunciation of the police officers that they spell control with a "K." Or is it a Wechsler hangover from the good old days when every red-baiter worth his salt spelled Comintern with a "K" to make it more foreign sounding? To be consistent, I should think that Mr. Perlman and Jimmy Wechsler should refer to "Kommunists." This type of journalism stems from the fine old tradition of Krazy-Kat and the shopkeeper's semantics which always find expression in a Kiddie Korner. The intellectual content of Mr. Perlman's article springs from the same source.

The *Post* makes special efforts to win and hold a Jewish readership in New York City. Consequently, one of Jimmy



The new Polish Jewish generation looks toward a happy future.

Wechsler's purposes in running the Perlman series is undoubtedly to undermine the confidence that so many Jews place in modern Poland and the other new democracies of eastern Europe because these countries are actively eliminating anti-Semitism.

Mr. Wechsler (or is it Perlman himself?) begins by calling the series, "Inside Stalin's European Empire." This is a cute title. It cashes in on the popularity of John Gunther's "Inside" books. And the second part of the title supports the thesis that the Soviet Union is imperialistic, that Stalin is "boss" of eastern Europe, and that no nation would follow the path of socialism without "orders from the Kremlin." The *Post* supports this thesis, not by fact, but by prejudice. But the article, strangely enough, belies its own title by talking of the resurgence of Polish nationalism!

The "Terror"

Mr. Perlman starts out with attempts to document charges of "terror" in Poland. He speaks, for instance, of Bronislaw Gomulka, former general secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, as a "ruined man." Now Perlman admits quite freely that this "ruined man" lives in a modern apartment house, and that no one molests him. But Gomulka has offered an "abject" recantation of his political errors. He is free, claims Perlman, because he learned from the Rajk trial in Hungary and confessed his crimes.

Here, I am afraid, Mr. Perlman firmly establishes himself as an incompetent reporter. No journalist should do this in his opening paragraphs. Contrary to the implication of what Perlman wrote, Rajk also confessed. Or is our journalist ignorant of this fact, which is common knowledge? Rajk, however, confessed to treasonable activities and counter-revolutionary intrigues with Titotist and imperialist agents against his own country. Gomulka was never accused of such crimes. He did not, in truth, confess at all. He did acknowledge political errors of a drastic nature. Perhaps, in the pages of the *Post*, an acknowledgment of political error is more serious than a confession of national crime, but everyone cannot be expected to share such strange ethics.

The passage on Gomulka is a curious and open revelation of the mind of the man who wrote those articles, and

of the editor who printed them. Had Gomulka proved himself a Rajk—and no matter what his errors, it is a slander against the man to suggest this—and received a comparable punishment, the *Post* would have shouted "Terror!" But Gomulka lives free and unmolested in a modern apartment. Therefore the *Post* shouts "Terror!"

What alternative is left? Only that a man whom Polish Marxists rejected should have been retained at the hand of the Polish United Workers Party! The *Post* and Mr. Perlman are staunch supporters of the right of all communists to deviate from Marxism without losing their posts in the party organization! They are the great champions of non-communist communists! Is it not strange that in the name of "personal freedom" communists are told they may not remove leaders who mislead? Such removal becomes "Terror!"

Embarrassing Facts

But facts embarrassed Mr. Perlman. Some facts were too clear to be ignored. Following is an extended quotation from his first installment:

"No honest reporter visiting Poland today can ignore the tremendous strides the country has taken economically—strides that have given many Polish workers a better standard of living than they ever had before the war.

"Nor can one ignore the vivid testimony of loyalty implicit in the wholehearted surge of Warsaw residents out into the streets to rebuild their devastated city on the Vistula River.

"It wouldn't even be fair to say that the country as a whole is gripped by terror. Terror is real for those Poles who have tried to maintain contact with Western ideas, for the middle class which is being nationalized out of existence, for the church hierarchy which has often been outspoken in its opposition to communism.

"But for the average worker whose main concerns are porkchop issues of food, housing, recreation, and job security, there is no terror.

"He is eating better than ever before. If he's a 'shock worker'—a Polish Stakhanovite—he's living in a brand new apartment house at a rental of 1,500 zlotys (\$4) monthly, while he earns up to 28,000 zlotys (\$74) monthly.

"Vacations for himself and his family cost him less than 75 cents a day at expropriated upper class resorts. 'Popular' lunches at any restaurant (I ate one, and the food was really good) cost 17 cents. And the Polish worker will never be out of a job.

"But the frightening thing to a Westerner is the rigidity of pattern in which he and his children are being moulded, the press is tightly controlled, his schools decry 'false objectivity,' there is no truth for him except in communism."

The English language contains no word as convenient to David Perlman and Jimmy Wechsler as the word "terror." If a man goes to prison in the U.S.A. for a crime, it is called "justice." If he goes to prison in Poland for a crime, it is called "terror."

Truly enough, the Polish government has views on crime

which differ from the views of District Attorney Howard McGrath or FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. Anti-Semitism, for instance, is a crime in Poland, and those who are jailed for it taste justice, not terror. Attempts to restore industries to private hands is common theft in a socialist state, and theft in Poland, as here, is a criminal act. Those who would steal the people's heritage are not the victims of terror, but again the proper objects of judicial action.

David Perlman is not above using a little double-talk. What does it mean, for instance, when he complains that "Terror is real for those Poles who have tried to maintain contact with western ideas . . . ?" To what curiously "western" ideas does he refer? To "western religion," the imperialist variant of which now defends the Mohammedan god of Bai Dai, and the Buddhist god of the Dalai Lama?

Nonsense! One basic idea divides east from west, an idea from which other differences in thinking flow. This is the "western" idea—rejected by millions upon millions of westerners—that capitalism must be maintained even at the expense of a hideous war to destroy the socialist states of Europe and Asia. This is the "western" idea to which David Perlman truly refers. And when he talks of Poles who "have tried to maintain contact with western ideas," he is again failing as a journalist. Anyone in Poland who wants contact with that mythical thing called "western ideas" can maintain such contact right in his living room.

No Freedom to Commit Crimes

Does Mr. Perlman refer, perhaps, to those Polish "leaders" in exile? Get off it, Mr. Perlman. They did not maintain contact with "ideas." They constituted a secret terroristic group in Poland that murdered anti-fascists by the score after the war. They did and do maintain contact with imperialists, with warmongers, with spies, with saboteurs, with pogrom makers. They are the diseased crew who have inherited the whip and the knout from the Becks and Pilsudskis, the turnkeys of the Polish ghettos, the murderers of the Jewish heroes of Warsaw. Even the bitterly anti-Soviet Stanislaw Mikolajczyk said on April 20 (*New York Times*) that this council is working for revival of a Poland "based on the totalitarian (Pilsudski) Constitution of 1935." And Mikolajczyk himself was adjudged a traitor in November 1947 by the democratically-elected government of Poland after he fled from Poland when his backing dwindled and after he had been connected with the anti-democratic terrorists. Are these the Poles that you want to have back in power, Mr. Perlman? Are these your "western" heroes, Jimmy?

David Perlman admits that the Polish workers now have a standard of living better than they ever had in their lives. It is absolutely true that no one has free rein to lower the Polish standard of living. Is this "terror"?

Mr. Perlman admits that the Polish people are enthusiastically loyal in support of their government. Translated, this means that the Polish people are enthusiastic supporters of the socialist transformation of their country—a fact

which Jimmy Wechsler will have to digest even during lunch. Is it "terror" to smash plots to revive capitalism against the will of the people? Is this "western democracy"?

Mr. Perlman admits that the Polish people now have food, housing, recreation, job security, leisure and a new dignity as human beings. Here's a lesson for Jimmy Wechsler and David Perlman to remember for all time: *it is true, absolutely and unconditionally true, that Poland grants no one the "freedom" to steal that which the Polish people bought with the precious coin of their blood.*

Let us stop this thoughtless chatter about abstract "freedom." There can be freedom in Poland—as David Perlman admits there is—for the worker, the farmer, the "man in the street." Or there can be freedom for the Mikolajczyks, the Project-X spies, the pogrom makers, the Pilsudski feudalists and hand-kissers. *There cannot be freedom for both.* This is so elementary a political fact that even Jimmy Wechsler must be aware of it.

Now if David Perlman, Jimmy Wechsler and Dorothy Schiff want to overthrow the government of Poland, they will find willing recruits in the army of General Anders, who has been so generous in supplying high-ranking bums to plot against Poland. This is an efficient gang of hoodlums, bolstered by long years of experience in fighting with Glubb Pasha against the Jews of Israel, and in creating anti-Semitic crises in Poland's Army-in-Exile during the recent war. The *lumpen* officers of the Anders army who dream of commanding some new Buchenwald in Warsaw, may soon enter the United States under the new Displaced Persons bill. Mr. Perlman will find them eminently available for the good fight.

"Inside Stalin's European Empire" was a shameful series of articles which proved only that some people who profess concern over the fate of the Jewish people are incapable of putting that people above political prejudices. No one can demand that David Perlman or Jimmy Wechsler declare himself in favor of socialism. But everyone can insist that both these young gentlemen put the alternative squarely—and honestly—before their readers. For the truth is that the only alternative to the new Poland is the alternative supplied by a Beck or an Anders, by the judges who freed Ilse Koch, by the occupation officials who "assimilated" Heinz Guderian and Hjalmar Schacht in the new ersatz democracy of western Germany, by the bi-partisan policy makers who beamed when Chancellor Adenauer led the singing of *Deutschland Ueber Alles*.

Today the people of Poland sing the Polish national anthem and the *Internationale*. Do David Perlman and Jimmy Wechsler prefer the *Horst Wessel* song? After all, there is no third song, no Polish variant of *If I Knew You Were Coming, I'd Of Baked a Cake*.

Come now, Mr. Perlman, surely you wouldn't feel more comfortable with General Anders than with Polish socialism. After all, you were a guest of the Polish socialist government. Anders, to put it bluntly, would have hanged you from the nearest tree. And neither Jimmy Wechsler nor Dorothy Schiff would have cut you down.

JEWISH LABOR IN THE NINETIES

By Morris U. Schappes

TO this day it is not known who blew up the battleship "Maine" in the harbor of Havana that February 15, 1898. But the families of the 260 enlisted men and officers who died in that explosion were making a dreadful sacrifice on the altar of the American imperialists who had sent the "Maine" to Cuba to "protect" the \$50,000,000 investment of American big business and the \$100,000,000 trade that went with it. Fifteen of these families were Jewish.

The trusts and monopolies needed a war and their press howled for it. They wanted to grab some territory (they came out of the Spanish-American War with outright possession of Puerto Rico, a clutch on the Philippines and a strangle-hold on Cuba) and to expand their capital investments for the sake of super-profits. But the imperialists wanted more: to quell and divert the discontent and unrest seething at home.

Not that the American capitalists came out frankly and told the American people that it was their patriotic duty to attack a foreign power so that socialism in America could be knocked on the head and so that the young and still unfledged American imperialism could get off to a good start. No, the American masses have always been too democratic to fight a reactionary, aggressive war unless they were fooled into believing that it was a just war, a progressive and democratic one. So the imperialists had to put on the false-face of anti-imperialism. Cuba was then prostrate under Spanish oppression, and "Cuba Libre" (Free Cuba) was the slogan of the insurgents. The American capitalist press snatched the slogan, abused it and fed it to the masses like the intoxicating drink that a "cuba libre" soon became.

Jewish Bourgeoisie Clamors for War

The top Jewish bourgeoisie joined the general bourgeois clamor for war, seeking particularly to rally the Jewish population, then almost a million, for the attack. But about one-half of this million had only within the last 25 years fled from tsarist imperialism and Austro-Hungarian imperialism to what they hoped would be a democratic America. How could you arouse such Jews to enthusiasm for an imperialist war? "Remember the 'Maine'!" was not enough of a slogan. To it was added a Jewish wrinkle: remember the Spanish Inquisition! Remember the expulsion of the Jews in 1492! Free Cuba? Yes, but remember that in freeing Cuba you will be settling a 400-year-old score with Spain. So the organ of B'nai B'rith, *The Menorah*, published an editorial in May 1898, entitled, "Cuba Libre," declaring that "The United States . . . desire no territorial aggrandizement, they propose to sacrifice blood and treas-

ure at the altar of humanity. . . . Spain suffers for the iniquities born and committed centuries ago . . . but there is an eternal justice which cannot be disregarded with impunity." Thus it went in the Jewish bourgeois press: eternal justice, and remember 1492. Few indeed were the Jewish bourgeois liberals like Solomon Solis-Cohen in Philadelphia and Felix Adler in New York who joined the valiant band of middle class anti-imperialists that denounced the war.

But what of the Jewish workers, the militant strikers and trade unionists, the fighters for socialism? Did they fall for the demagoguery of imperialism, with its "Cuba Libre," the "Maine," and 1492? To understand the division in the ranks of even the most advanced workers, and how a section of them was misled into supporting the imperialist war, is to get an insight into an opportunist trend that has been plaguing Jewish workers ever since then.

Jewish Workers Divided

It will be remembered that the United Hebrew Trades had been founded in 1888 on the initiative of a Yiddish-speaking branch of the Socialist Labor Party on the East Side of New York. In 1892, there were more than 40 unions affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades in New York City alone, and organizations of the U. H. T. had been established in other cities too. But by 1897, there were only five or six New York unions left in the United Hebrew Trades!¹ This decline is only partly due to the economic crisis of 1893, which produced mass misery and led to the march of Coxey's army of unemployed on Washington. A decisive factor in the disintegration of the United Hebrew Trades lay in its pursuit of the sectarian trade union policy of Daniel De Leon, the leader of the Socialist Labor Party. For a time De Leon had tried to win over first the American Federation of Labor and then the Knights of Labor to the program of socialism. Defeated in this aim, De Leon took the disastrous step of persuading the small minority of socialist-minded unions to secede from these movements. On December 10, 1895, with the United Hebrew Trades participating, De Leon established the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

William Z. Foster, in *Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement*, has correctly noted that "The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was still-born. It never amounted to more than a handful of militants, the masses refusing to rally to its standard." In its still-birth, however, the S.T.L.A.

¹ *Di Tzeit Shrift* (Yiddish), published by the United Hebrew Trades, November 1907, p. 5.

helped to wreck existing unions, among them scores of locals of the United Hebrew Trades.

Of course a struggle against this sectarianism began in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and also in its Jewish section. In April 1897, a split took place, when the Jewish daily *Forward* was correctly issued as a challenge to *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* and *Die Abend Blatt*, the official organs of the S.L.P. and De Leon. Simultaneously, in the west, another movement was born, the Social Democracy of America, which at a Chicago convention on June 18 elected Debs as chairman. In New York, Jewish socialists promptly established Local No. 1 of the Social Democracy. Then came, from July 31 to August 2, 1897, the convention of New York Jewish socialists, with 58 delegates representing 1200 members of the Socialist Labor Party, and some trade unionists. I. A. Hourwich and Meyer London, in behalf of Local No. 1 of the Social Democracy, persuaded the convention, by a vote of 40 to 10, to pass a resolution condemning sectarianism and favoring Debs' movement. The Yiddish spokesman for this movement was the *Forward*, and some of its most prominent Jewish leaders, in addition to Hourwich and London, were Louis Miller, Abraham Cahan and Morris Winchevsky.

The "Forward" Supports Imperialists

Thus the *Forward* was born partially out of a struggle against left-sectarianism, a policy that weakens the working class by isolating its vanguard from the masses, thus helping the ruling class. This policy is also known to Marxists as left-opportunism. But before the *Forward* was one year old, it demonstrated that, not being a Marxist newspaper, its struggle against left-opportunism was to lead it into the no less disastrous course of right-opportunism. This brand of opportunism has two intertwined characteristics: first, it does organize masses of workers, presumably for purposes of struggle against the ruling class. But, secondly, in a pinch, when there is a showdown, this opportunism diverts the organized mass from the struggle, or even leads it into support of the ruling class. Thus the *Forward*, for instance, undoubtedly helped organize masses of workers under the vision of some kind of socialism (by 1907, the United Hebrew Trades had been rebuilt to include 74 unions with more than 50,000 members), but in a showdown it tied the workers it influenced to the program of the ruling class.

When the "Maine" sank on February 15, it sucked down with it into the Caribbean the socialist principles of the *Forward*. William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, who had been whooping it up for war, became shriller extra by extra, and the Jewish bourgeois press in English and Yiddish added their hosannas and memories of 1492 to the war cry. All this was to be expected, and certainly the class conscious workers were not to be taken in by such propaganda from such hated sources. Therefore the *Forward*, as it began gradually to beat the war-drum in a mounting rhythm, had to persuade its readers that it was



Anti-war cartoon in *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, February 27, 1898.

neither big business interests nor the capitalist press that wanted war. Then who did want it?

Flying in the face of Debs and other national leaders of the Social Democracy of America who opposed the war, the *Forward* gave its answer in an editorial—so important that it was published in two instalments, February 23 and March 1, 1898. The title was "War." The writer was probably the editor, Louis Miller. First he assures the readers that "the interests of Wall Street do not require a war." Then he goes on to explain "the role which the great mass of the working classes plays in this" unprecedentedly "tangled situation." The press? "Is it really true," he asks, "that the newspapers 'incite' the people to war"? Beating his "socialist" breast, he replies: "with all the contempt that we have for the capitalist press, we must say that it is *not true*."

What about Hearst and the *Journal*? The *Forward* admits that the *Journal* was crying for war, but then, "this newspaper is much more *incited* than *inciting*. The masses, the people, arouse the sensationalism of that newspaper much more than the newspaper arouses the people with its sensationalism." Emboldened by this lie, the editor tries a bigger one: "It is stupid and *dishonest* to hide the fact that, with reference to Cuba, the people, the *real people*, want a war with Spain much more than do the capitalists and the politicians." In the second section, on March 1, the editorial proceeds to argue that it is "the nation, as nation" that wants war, and not "the capitalist class as a class," although he concedes that some individual capitalists may profit from it. And is not the nation, is not the people, sovereign? "Ask yourself the question," the editor coyly suggests, "does not the people have a right to want war?"

In the news columns of the same issue, there are reports that in St. Louis, at a mass meeting, 465 Jews volunteered for the army, and in Yonkers, New York, the B'nai B'rith pledged support of a war with Spain. Thus, two months before Congress was to declare war, the Jewish bourgeoisie

and petty-bourgeoisie were "proving" their "Americanism" to the ruling class for its first imperialist war. Although the war was short, more than 4,000 Jews enlisted for it. In Chicago, a company of Zionists began to drill, "eager to be represented in their country's cause by a distinctly Zionist group" but "the company was never called for service..."²

Left Workers Oppose the War

Although the *Forward* had betrayed them, the Jewish workers were not without an anti-imperialist voice to express their true interests, even though that voice, because of its sectarian policy, did not reach as large an audience as it should have. The two Yiddish organs of the Socialist Labor Party, the weekly, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, and the daily *Die Abend Blatt*, continually exposed the character of the war and opposed it. As if in response, for instance, to the *Forward* editorial on "War," *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* on February 27 had a large half-page cartoon on the front page (reproduced on page 15), with the sub-heading, "Cool Off, Uncle Sam!" Below the cartoon were Yiddish verses by N. Lempert, to be sung to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," lampooning the jingoism of the American imperialists. So vigorous was the opposition to the war on the part of De Leon, the Socialist Labor Party and all its organs,

² Hyman L. Meites, *History of the Jews of Chicago*, Chicago, 1924, p. 198.

including the Yiddish, that, after war was declared on April 25, the authorities banned the May Day anti-war parade called by the Socialist Labor Party.

But the pro-war May Day parade called by the *Forward* was blessed by the war-makers. The chauvinism of the *Forward* became more and more blatant. De Leon was denounced in its columns virtually as a "Spanish agent," since his name suggested Spanish descent (he was a Jew born in Curaçao, off the coast of Venezuela). At the pro-war parade, a circular was distributed, printed in red-white-and-blue, calling for attendance at a patriotic rally that same evening, where the speakers were to be Abraham Cahan, Louis Miller, Michael Zametkin, Meyer London, Morris Winchevsky, and others. Here the workers were to hear their own "leaders" urge them to support the war.

On May 2, however, the *Forward* had a front-page announcement of a meeting at the Hebrew Institute at which Jews were to be encouraged to enlist in the army. The chief speaker was to be Judge Henry Goldfogle. The *Forward* promoted a "united front"—with the bourgeoisie in favor of the war.

Thus the right-opportunism of the *Forward* revealed itself in the first year of its life, and repeatedly ever since. In every showdown, the *Forward* has supported American imperialism instead of the American working class.

For a consistent fight against both left-opportunism and right-opportunism, the American working class, including the Jewish workers, had to develop the tool of Marxism.

FOUR YIDDISH PROLETARIAN POETS:

II: POEMS OF MORRIS ROSENFELD

Translated by Aaron Kramer

OF all Yiddish poets Morris Rosenfeld alone—and while yet a young man—was acknowledged by the non-Jewish literary world as a notable singer. Yet fame did not save him from a life even more tragic than that of his brother workers.

He was born on the 28th of December, 1862, in Souvalk Province, Poland. His grandfather had been a fishery worker—and this was the trade of his father and uncles as well. A promising and serious-minded lad, he was sent to study the Talmud instead of finding a job. He had a special love for poetry. As a child he had memorized countless songs by the nineteenth century Yiddish bard Elyakum Zunzer as well as others. At the age of 15 he wrote his first Yiddish poem.

By 1882 he had married his childhood sweetheart and started a family. Whether to avoid the Polish Army, as

AARON KRAMER is a poet and translator of poetry. A new volume of his poetry will appear soon.

Hutchins Hapgood once claimed, or to follow the poet's wanderlust, as Alexander Harkavy more graciously suggested, Rosenfeld left his family behind in 1882, a cheerful, ruddy-faced youth, to "try his fortune" in the West. He spent three months in Amsterdam trying to become an apprentice diamond cutter. Then he sailed for America but soon returned home. In 1883 he endured London for six months, and again came back to Poland. Later in the same year he left Poland permanently and settled in London, where he became a sweatshop worker. By the time he had earned enough to send for his wife and child, his appearance had changed so completely that it was difficult for her to recognize him. Gone were the ruddiness and cheer. Sixteen hours a day at the machine had drained the blood from him; the "slack" seasons had left him gaunt; while the viciousness of the employers and his contact with propaganda had made a socialist of him.

At the machine he found an outlet in angry song and his

verses were soon known to many London workers. Without grasping the barest fundamentals of poetry, he wrote his poems too clumsily for the editors of *Der Arbeiter Freint* of London to find them acceptable. Yet he continued learning his craft. By the close of 1886, when he had moved to New York, the *Yiddishe Folks-Zeitung* was ready to publish his revolutionary poem, *Dos Yohr* 1886.

In 1888 Rosenfeld became a contributor to *Der Arbeiter Freint* and at the end of that year his first collection of poems, *Die Glocke*, appeared. Most of the book was revolutionary in spirit, following the example of Winchevsky. Among the mottoes were quotations from Heine, Boerne, William Morris and the Haymarket martyr, Albert Parsons. But most significant was a section titled "*Lebensbilder*," in which he described the conditions of a tailor shop worker. Here, for the first time in Yiddish, were memorable labor poems. He was at once acknowledged as a singer of the first rank and the pages of many publications were opened to him. From 1888 to 1890 he was chief poet of the *Folks-Advocat*; he also contributed, along with Edelshtat, to the anarchist *Varheit*; both the socialist *Morgenstern*, and the newly-founded *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, organ of the Socialist Labor Party, featured his poems. *Blumenkette* (1890), his second volume, consolidated his position.

But praise and publication were all that editors could offer him. It was unheard of in those years for contributors to receive payment. To maintain his family it was necessary for Rosenfeld to continue slaving in the sweatshop. His eyes and general health deteriorated, but it was in those years of hardship that he produced his greatest poems. To be sustained by his writings was his most eager personal wish. He engaged in a number of projects with that in mind. Occasionally he would stop work for a couple of months to travel from city to city with his books, singing and reciting like a troubador of the Middle Ages. In 1894 he founded a weekly, *Der Ashmodai*, in which he let loose all the bile that had accumulated within him against editors and critics. Of all the reviews, essays, and poems which appeared in its pages, most notable was a little satire, "*Der Latutis*" (The Patcher), in which he leveled a devastating attack against those writers who had mocked him for being a tailor.

In 1897 he published his collected poems, *Dos Liederbuch*, but this failed to bring the financial return for which he had hoped. Embittered, he began to resign himself to a sweatshop future. This book, however, came to the attention of Leo Wiener, professor of Slavic languages in Harvard University. Recognizing an unusual new talent, and overwhelmed by the volcanic force of the sweatshop songs, Professor Wiener in 1898 published a volume of unrhymed translations, *Songs From the Ghetto*, which immediately established Rosenfeld's reputation among America's literati. During the next few years he was invited to lecture at Harvard, Wellesley and Radcliffe colleges. He was lionized everywhere. Translations soon appeared in French, German, Czech, Rumanian, Polish, Russian, Hebrew, Hungarian and Japanese. Many of his poems were



ORBAN

MORRIS ROSENFELD

By George Orban

included in an anthology edited by Maxim Gorky at the turn of the century. He was invited to tour Europe, where he was feted by royalty and had the pleasure of hearing great actors recite his poems in many languages. He returned to America with applause still ringing in his ears.

It seemed that he had "arrived." But the years of hardship finally took their toll. His son, whose childhood of privation he had immortalized in such songs as "*Mit Mein Kind*" and "*Mein Ingele*" and who was now beginning to translate his father's poems, died before his seventeenth year. A stroke nearly finished the heartbroken poet, leaving him feeble and almost blind. The Yiddish daily *Forward* hired him, but having his work edited and cut pained Rosenfeld more than all his years of slavery in the shop. His *Naiste Shafungen* appeared in 1912, simultaneously with the celebration of his fiftieth birthday. The following year, however, he lost his position with the *Forward* and in 1914, Hillel Rogoff—one of the most vicious editors of that newspaper—unloosed a particularly venomous attack on the poet's character. Yet Rosenfeld continued writing as well as he could. Among his later volumes were *Dos Buch fun Liebe* and studies of the two poets whom he most loved, Heine and Halevy. His own poetic vigor was by now completely dissipated. Gone, too, was the revolutionary fire, to be replaced by a gushing bourgeois nationalism. He could do no more in his versification than repeat the old formulas of his earlier work and try to echo the music of Heine.

By now Rosenfeld was hardly mentioned in the press, except to be vilified. Occasionally, to satisfy his financial needs, he made short tours, reciting before audiences that

were still enthralled by the magnificence of his reading. In the midst of his obscurity a rumor started that Rosenfeld had died. He then had the rare treat of reading eulogies in the same newspapers that had lately abused him. They

acknowledged him now for what he undoubtedly was: the greatest folk-singer of the Jewish people. After great agony he died in 1923.

AARON KRAMER.

WHAT IS THE WORLD

And if it's no more than a bedroom, our world,
and life but the vision it seems,
then let the few years that were granted to me
be spent amid beautiful dreams.

Then let me have visions of freedom and joy,
no less than the prosperous peers;
then let me envisage a glance full of love,
and never again dream of tears.

And if it's a grand celebration, our world,
where each of us comes as a guest,
then I, too, would sit in the banqueting hall—
my portion as large as the rest.

I too am well able to eat what is good;
a choice bit of meat gives me pleasure;
the blood in my veins is as red as the blood
of those who are swollen with treasure.

And if it should be but a garden, our world,
where roses—all kinds of them—grow,
then let me walk freely wherever I like,
and not where the rich bid me go.

Then let me wear rose-garlands high on my head;
I want no more thorns for a crown—
then let me walk on, with my love at my side,
where myrtles and laurels beam down.

And if it's a terrible war now, our world,
where weak ones and mighty ones fight,
no storm can dissuade me, no wife and no child;
I won't turn my back on the sight.

I'll rush into battle for those who are weak,
and fight in true warrior's style;
and if I am hit—and fall dead on the field,
then even in death I can smile.

THE TEARDROP MILLIONAIRE

My throat is not inspired to sing
in parlors rich and grand,

nor can my voice be made to ring
at any lord's command.
I hear a worker moan in pain,
and lo! the songs awake—
and I am forced to sing again
for my poor brothers' sake.

And this is why I pine away,
and half-alive I linger—:
what wages can the workers pay,
what pittance to their singer?
They pay with tears for every tear—
that's all they can afford:—
I am a teardrop millionaire,
and weep upon my hoard. . .

WITH MY CHILD

I go for a walk—it's a beautiful day;
my son walks beside me: he's sickly and gray.
When one of the corner-stands catches his eye
he stretches his hands out, and tries not to cry.
He goes where the fruit have all neatly been placed.
An apple, alas! how he longs for a taste!
His little heart's ready to break, I can see—
with sorrow he looks at the fruit and at me.
Oh darling, I know why your hands are stretched forth;
but no, not for us are the fruit of the earth.

We go a bit further, my sick little boy
discovers a window with toy after toy.
He looks at the gifts with the glee of a child,
and then his eyes ask if I know why he smiled.
He chirps and he chatters; he laughs and he cries;
and pulls me along to admire each prize.
Each prize in the window excites him anew.
With pity I watch him—oh, what shall I do?
My child sees a toy that could fill him with mirth;
but no, not for us are the toys of the earth.

Well—gloomy and bitter, one morning I swore
I wouldn't go walking with him any more.
He begs me, and screams: "Come on, papa! let's go!"
It moves me, yet sadly I always say "No!"
I always say "No!" and I feel that I'm dying. . . .

A babe, just a baby—so soon to be crying!
How painful it is for a father, how sad
to see the distress of his own little lad,
and yet, with a voice almost smothered by woe,
to answer "Be still!" and to always say "No!"

THE SWEATSHOP

So wild is the roar of machines in the sweatshop,
I often forget that I'm part of the scene;
I'm drowned in the tide of the terrible tumult—
my ego is void; I become a machine.
I work, and I work, and I work without letup—
produce, and produce, and produce many things.
For what? and for whom? I don't know, I don't wonder—
has anyone come across thinking machines?

No feelings, no thoughts, not the least understanding;
this bitter, this murderous drudgery drains
the noblest, the finest, the best and the richest,
the deepest, the highest that living contains.
Away rush the seconds, the minutes and hours;
the days and the nights go like sails in the wind;
I drive the machine, but I can't overtake them,
I chase without reason, I chase without end.

The clock in the factory doesn't rest either:
it ticks, and it wakes, and it points its great hand—
a long time ago someone told me the reason:
its pointing and waking are part of a plan.
Yet something returns, like a wisp from my dreamings;
the clock wakes my senses, and sets me aglow,
and something besides—I'd forgotten—don't ask me!
I'm just a machine; I don't know, I don't know! . . .

And once in a while, when I hear the clock ticking,
it points and it speaks in a far different way:
I think that inside of it unrest is burning,
and urging me: Faster, work faster each day!
I hear the wild yell of the boss in its ticking,
I see his dark frown in the two pointing hands;
I shudder to think it: the clock is my master!
It calls me "Machine!" "Hurry up!" it commands.

But after a while, when the uproar is over,
at noon, when the boss takes his leave of us, then—
oh, then the sun slowly arises within me;
my heart reaches out—and my wound burns again;
and tears that are bitter, and tears that are seething
soak into my pitiful lunch, till I choke—
I can't for the life of me finish the sandwich!
Oh bitter privation! Oh terrible yoke!

At noon, when we're having our food, I imagine
the shop is a battlefield, truced for a spell;
wherever I turn I see nothing but corpses;
their blood screams to Heaven a message of Hell.
One moment, and swiftly a trumpet is sounded:
the corpses awake, they return to the fight;
the regiments battle for strangers, for strangers,
and strive, and are stricken, and sink into night.

I look at the warfield with rage and with horror,
with hunger for vengeance of all that I see;—
at last I can hear the clock rightly—it wakes us:
"An end to enslavement; an end let there be!"
It ticks back to life my emotions, my senses,
and points to the hours that are hurrying by:
so long as I am what I am, things are hopeless.
So long as I'm quiet, there's reason to sigh. . . .

The man who had slept in me slowly awakens,
the slave seems asleep, that was wakeful in me;
the hour, at last the right hour is striking!
an end to misfortune, an end let there be!
But in comes the boss with his whistle: his bugle;
My reason is gone—I forget that I'm there—
such tumult! such battling! my ego goes under;
I'm just a machine—I don't know, I don't care. . . .

SHOOT THE BEAST

Don't spare the bullets! load your gun
and shoot the hungry miner dead!
A miner's life is seldom done
the same as other folks'—in bed.
A miner's life—what is it worth?
This year or next—let it be finished!
He is a creature of the earth,
you kill a corpse; you won't be punished.

For him death's night should hold no fears.
What light has cheered him underground?
Deep in the gloomy shaft he hears
the roof that caves in all around.
A miner flinch at dying? No!
Just load your gun, and shoot away!
The ground's his country—let him go,
—not bother us another day!

What does he need, down in the mine,
this slave whom sunlight never knows?
A home in which the sun can shine?
A higher wage? A suit of clothes?
Oh shoot away, don't spare the lead!
It's safe to shoot a miner dead.
Oh shoot again, in case you missed him!
No man will hear, no god assist him.

ADL REPORTS ON ANTI-SEMITISM

By Louis Harap

EACH year the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a leading Jewish "defense" agency, issues a public report of developments for that year in anti-Semitism and discrimination. This year the report is embodied in *A Measure of Freedom*, by Arnold Forster (Doubleday, \$2.50), who is the ADL national director of civil rights work. The book has received enormous publicity, which is all to the good, so far as it goes. For there is much in the report that is informative and valuable. The report makes more revelations about anti-Semitism and fascists than the ADL has ever done publicly up to now. Yet the conclusions of the report remain as platitudinous and vague as ever.

"The facts put together between the covers of this volume," writes Forster, "stress the unwholesome racial and religious prejudices and undemocratic discriminations in the United States. They are but blemishes which disfigure an otherwise healthy body politic." (p. 211) One would never suspect from this statement that the traditional fabric of American freedom had corroded so seriously.

How then explain both the unprecedented—for the ADL—release of facts, and the reiteration of smug conclusions about "health" of the body politic? For the answer we need to recall that the ADL is financed by the Joint Defense Appeal, combined fund-raising agency of the ADL and the American Jewish Committee. Although the funds are collected from the Jewish community as a whole, control of these agencies is vested tightly in a group of wealthy Jews, whose fear of and concern about anti-Semitism is never urgent or demanding enough to cause them to drop their dread of mass movements against anti-Semitism.

Big Business Support of Fascists

But the menace of anti-Semitism in the past few years of cold war hysteria has loomed so large that the Jewish masses are not inclined to remain supine before the threat. These agencies can continue to ignore this heightened danger only at the risk of forfeiting influence in the community. And wealthy Jews are a little scared, too. The ADL and the Committee are therefore forced to deal a little more forthrightly with these problems than heretofore. This explains why they have joined the rest of the Jewish community in a well-nigh unanimous opposition to the Mundt bill, which would bring naked fascism close to America. Nevertheless the Forster report stops short of drawing the inevitable conclusions from the developments it records.

In the chapters on the anti-Semitic and fascist hate-mongers the report turns up some information of a kind that has often enough been published before, but never,

so far as I know, by the ADL, although that agency must have far more and perhaps even more startling information in its files. "Money," writes Forster, "is the mainspring of organized anti-Semitism." (p. 80) This is, of course, not a novel idea. It is by now common knowledge that without the millions given to Hitler by German industrialists, nazism would have gotten nowhere. That America, too, has its industrialists who are financial angels and prime movers of pro-fascist movements, is no secret either. What is new is that the ADL should name big business names. Forster reveals that about \$1,000,000 went into the coffers of pro-fascists in 1949, chiefly to Gerald L. K. Smith, Merwin K. Hart, Gerald Winrod, Upton Close, Joseph Kamp, Allen Zoll and Wesley Smith. Among the contributors to or supporters of pro-fascist organizations named by Forster are Charles M. White, president of the Republic Steel Corporation; Frank H. Lee, Jr., owner of Lee Hats in Connecticut; Lammot and Irene du Pont; J. Howard Pew, head of the Sun Oil Company; E. F. Hutton, Wall Street broker; De Witt Wallace, publisher of *Reader's Digest*; William Buckley, of Pantepec Oil of Caracas, Venezuela; George Montgomery, of the Wall Street law firm of Couder Brothers; and Robert Donner, retired steel tycoon.

This list gives only an inkling of the extent to which big business supports pro-fascist movements. Among the contributors to Merwin K. Hart's pro-fascist National Economic Council cited by Forster were American Car and Foundry Company, American Rolling Mill, Armstrong Cork, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, Sears Roebuck, Union Carbide and Carbon Company and Remington Rand. But even this peep into the tie-up of big business with American fascism, gives some idea where the danger to American democracy and the Jews stems, although Forster carefully refrains from drawing any conclusions from the facts he reveals.

Discrimination Surveyed

Almost half of the book is taken up with surveys of attitudes regarding anti-Semitism and discrimination conducted under ADL auspices and by others. The prevalence of anti-Semitic attitudes among the general population is studied. Several surveys of social ostracism by the majority against minorities reveals, as is indeed obvious, that, with certain regional differences, the Negroes are the most oppressed group, while the Jews are less discriminated against than Chinese, Mexicans and Filipinos.

The quota system in colleges and professional schools is the subject of several studies which only give precision to

the generally known facts about the spread of this practice. The book takes a firm stand against "separate-but-equal" education for Negroes, that is, opposes acceptance of the view that Negroes should be "provided with "equal" facilities in education, but in segregated schools.

A chapter is devoted to studies of anti-Semitism among college students, both freshmen and seniors. College students were found to be less anti-Semitic than the general adult population. On the other hand, the surveys seem to indicate that no appreciable decline in anti-Semitism occurs after four years, leading to the conclusion that college education itself has no definite influence in decreasing anti-Semitism. A chapter on legislative efforts in 1949 to decrease discrimination in all fields shows a pretty dismal record on the whole, despite the report's complacent view that "the over-all picture was heartening." (p. 120)

A significant fact emerged from this mass of surveys of discrimination and group hatred—the paucity of studies on discrimination in employment. It is true, as Forster remarks, that "Discrimination in employment is, in a sense, the most serious aspect of religious and racial intolerance." (p. 198) Equal right to a job is the basic form of freedom and from it flow enormous consequences for the social, political and economic structure of a society. But, as Forster notes, there is "surprisingly little survey data that bears" (p. 106) on the attitudes of people toward job discrimination. Yet of the hundred pages devoted to surveys in the ADL report, only one page is occupied with discrimination in employment. In other words, despite Forster's verbal awareness of the cardinal importance of this type of discrimination, the ADL like other survey groups, has allocated practically no funds for a study of this question. Why not? Is it because the middle class approach to problems naturally cuts off basic consideration of questions relating to labor? Is it because study of discrimination in employment would step on the toes of the big business elements of which the ADL is itself a part?

Hostility to Mass Action

But the ADL approach in this report has even more serious weakness. There is no attempt to analyze the nature of anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, discrimination or minority oppression generally. In Carey McWilliams' review in this magazine in July 1949 of the ADL report for 1948, he relevantly remarks: "the materials in this volume are presented in much the manner that an official of the weather bureau would announce certain facts. . . . The only way materials of this sort could possibly have any meaning would be against some stated theoretical background; some statement, that is, of the nature of the problem. . . . I find it difficult to believe that the ADL is utterly without a point of view about the problem which is its sole reason for being; but if such a point of view exists, it is not apparent in this volume." The same could be said about this year's report, which does not analyze the problem.

Scrutiny of the report from the background of actual

events in the past year confirms what is generally known about the techniques of the ADL. Besides collecting facts about fascist and anti-Semitic movements in the United States—which facts are by design certainly not exploited to a hundredth degree of their effective possibilities in the struggle against anti-Semitism and fascism—the ADL concentrates on promotion of legislative and court action on discrimination—without mobilization of mass support. Like that other big business agency for "defense" of the Jewish people, the American Jewish Committee, the ADL opposes mass action and mass pressure to combat minority oppression. Dependence is rather placed on the operations of professional "experts" and of influential individuals. Except where popular pressure is irresistible, as in the case of the great civil rights mobilization in Washington in January, the ADL and the American Jewish Committee are among the most effective agents in Jewish life for suppressing mass action against corrosive anti-democratic practices of minority oppression and discrimination. Forster's report ignores mass actions to this end.

For instance, in the course of his discussion of the klan, Forster notices in passing that the klan in New Jersey burned a cross after a meeting of "a group of local citizens who had assembled to protest the death sentence of the 'Trenton Six'." (p. 20) And that is all. No mention of the fact that this was a "Northern Scottsboro" case or that a tremendous mass movement sparked by the Civil Rights Congress has thus far saved the lives of the six and exposed one of the most shameless government frame-ups of Negroes in American history. Another instance: in his discussion of the important case of anti-Negro discrimination in the tax-exempt Stuyvesant Town housing development (pp. 205-6), Forster limits himself to notice of the court action brought by several Negro veterans. No mention of the great mass campaign to break down discrimination, no mention of the support given to this movement by Stuyvesant Town residents, no mention of the dramatic and courageous action of Town residents in having the Negro family, the Hendrixes, as long-term guests. This omission is quite deliberate. The ADL does its utmost to prevent *the people* from participating in the fight against minority oppression and discrimination. Nowhere in the whole discussion of the fight against discrimination of various kinds is mention made of the essential role played by mass pressure in forcing legislation against discrimination.

What Is the Source?

The gravest defect of the report, however, is its total failure to locate the source of the greatest threat in the past year to the Jews, the Negroes, all minorities and to democracy itself. I refer to the heightened dangers arising from the cold war. Whatever one may believe about the cold war, the facts are clear. What we have seen in the United States in the past few years is a repeat performance of the nazi strategy of exploiting the anti-communist big lie to befuddle the people into an acceptance of tyranny.

Has the ADL learned nothing from the Nazi nightmare? The report appears unaware of the fact that the wild red-baiting practiced by the anti-Semites and fascists so roundly condemned in the book, is hardly distinguishable from the red scare that has been carefully nurtured by the government and all the organs of communication. In other words, America in 1949 was ominously close to Germany in 1932. One would never suspect this from the report.

A qualitative change in the fascist threat occurred in 1949, hence the greater frankness of the ADL. It is significant that the ADL *press release* of the book states that "the tense international situation and the cold war have helped to create fears and racial tensions that on several occasions last year flared into violence, the report declares." Yet the report never refers to the "cold war" as such or discusses the relation of the cold war to anti-Semitism. Instead, vague terms like "an unwholesome approach" by Americans to "the communist menace" are used without further comment. The actual closeness of the technique of the hate-mongers to the exploitation of red hysteria in respectable and governmental quarters is not even intimated.

"The 'Peckskill incidents' and the November 'Chicago riots,'" says the report, "meaningfully reflected the tensions which existed in 1949." (p. 89) What were these "tensions?" How were they reflected in respectable and governmental circles? What was their source? The report does not say. More than this, the report flouts the evidence of collusion by police and officials in these affairs, as has been noted by all observers, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Jewish Congress. Nor does the report take any notice whatever of the grave impairment of constitutional guarantees in the past year, which has received Supreme Court sanction in recent weeks. The reason for this silence is plain: the ADL is unwilling to fight for the Jewish people, if this means taking issue with the cold war-mongers. The campaign to impose a police state on America and the role of the Truman administration seem to be outside the scope of the ADL. Instead, Truman's hypocritical, lavish promises on civil rights legislation without any intention or effort to fulfill them receives approbation. "Congress' failure to enact any civil rights legislation," says the report, "stands in sharp contrast to the earnest pleas of President Truman." (p. 192)

Connection With the Cold War

It is the responsibility of a Jewish defense agency to grasp and expose the connection of the cold war anti-communist campaign and the propaganda of the anti-Semites and fascists. But the ADL experts are silent on this crucial matter. The connection is implicit in the report itself. Forster gives a long description of the activities of Upton Close, who has made the ADL one of his red-baiting targets. Last year Close issued a pamphlet on *The Anti-Defamation League and its Uses in World Communism*. This alone should give the ADL the clue to the connection between the anti-communist incitement of the cold war and

that of the fascist crackpots. Let us see how this connection can be established with regard to the crackpots discussed by Forster. Senator Joseph McCarthy inserted in the *Congressional Record* of April 13, a two page piece by Upton Close, McCarthy was also one of six senators who helped in the "concerted drive in 1949 to rally sentiment for the release from jail of William Dudley Pelley." (p. 84) McCarthy is also connected with Joseph P. Kamp, another fascist given extended treatment in the report. Kamp is acting chairman of the Constitutional Educational League, which gets "a substantial part of its income from 'subsidies' and contributions which Kamp promotes from large industrial organizations and wealthy individuals interested in his anti-labor, anti-democratic propaganda." (p. 49) It has been proved that McCarthy derived the main line of his attack on Owen Lattimore from a pamphlet by Kamp (see documentation in the New York *Daily Compass*, April 7, 1950). The connection with the cold war could not be any clearer.

But some persons may protest that McCarthy and his like are disapproved and condemned by the more respectable cold war advocates. The difference is only one of degree and slickness, perhaps, President Truman, in his speech of April 24, assured the nation that his administration was doing a job on the communists more effectively than McCarthy. But there is no essential difference between McCarthy and Truman on the main point, that is, exploitation of the red hysteria to expedite the coming of a police state and atomic war. The cold war as a whole is a continuation of the Nazi enterprise in the post-war period.

The evidence of the cold war trend to destroy democracy is just as conclusive on the international scene and should be especially clear to a Jewish organization whose purpose is defense. The deliberate revival of fascism in Germany as a calculated cold war policy is a scandal that is too obvious to be denied anywhere—but there is no attention paid to this terrifying fact in the ADL report. The support of fascist and extreme reactionary forces by the Truman administration everywhere—in Greece, in China, in Indo-China in South America, in Europe—all over the world—leaves no doubt as to the anti-democratic character of the cold war. Yet the ADL report is silent on these developments.

Thus, despite useful information contained in the ADL report, it has failed utterly to meet the most dangerous threat to democracy and the Jewish people. The ADL has learned little from the Nazi scourge. That event should have taught us that only uncompromising resistance to the red-baiting big lie and its exploitation to kill democracy will save the Jewish people from the annihilation that Hitler could not fully carry out.

It is possible to exert pressure on the ADL to change its ostrich-like attitude. The fact that the ADL and the American Jewish Committee have come out against the Mundt bill shows this to be feasible. The Jewish community, and particularly the membership of B'nai B'rith, should organize to let the ADL know that the real sources of anti-Semitism must be squarely faced, that the technique of the main enemy of democracy and the Jews is the red-baiting hysteria.

WHO THREATENS ISRAELI INDEPENDENCE?

By Moshe Sneh

IN a recent note to the United States government, Israel protested against the rearming now going on in the Arab states. Egypt alone bought sufficient equipment for a fully armored division, 100 jet planes, 260 Sherman and ten Centurion tanks, quantities of heavy guns, pocket submarines and torpedo boats. And this rearming is going on in Iraq, Transjordan and other Arab countries as well.

The main supplier of arms is, of course, Great Britain, although small quantities are also sold by Belgium and Italy. But these countries are only the direct agents. The main source of these arms is the United States. The American secretary of state, Mr. Dean Acheson, said a number of times that in his opinion the continuation of these supplies to the Arab states is desirable and has his full support.

Moreover, Britain, which supplies arms to the Arab states, is herself at the receiving end from America. In the new agreement regarding arms supplies to the Atlantic Pact countries to the value of \$1,000,000, a special clause was inserted allowing Britain to supply arms to countries outside the Atlantic Pact in accordance with her previous treaty obligations. This same agreement forbade all other countries to send or sell arms to countries outside the Atlantic Pact. The interpretation of these clauses as far as the Middle East is concerned will certainly be that all Middle East countries, apart from Israel, will receive supplies.

Cairo radio has announced the Egyptian government's opposition to peace talks with Israel and the spokesman added in the name of "reliable Arab sources" that "the battles of the 'Second Round' with Israel will commence before the end of the year." Rearmament, accompanied by these threats, surely indicates a real danger. Yet we must not be satisfied by looking only at the surface, but should try to find out the sources of the danger.

Last week the United States government proposed to the Arab countries that they should conclude a Friendship Pact with her on the same terms as the recent agreement between the United States and the Lebanon. In his speech before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives, Mr. McGhee, the assistant secretary of state, spoke with great frankness about his government's interest in the Middle East. He said: "The Middle East can be of vital importance to our national interest, both in peace and in war. In peacetime America is prepared to open commercial and cultural contacts in the area, but as far as the 'cold war' is concerned, the air lines passing through the area and the natural resources to be found there are of even greater importance."

These words of the State Department official directly

MOSHE SNEH is a former commander of the Haganah and at present a leader of the United Workers Party (Mapam).

responsible for Middle East affairs, show clearly what are the reasons for the proposed friendship treaties between America and the Arab countries, and what is the real background for the supply of arms to the Middle East. But in this area, an area which America wishes to transform into her strategic base, there exists the State of Israel. Washington would like to include Israel in this "sphere of interest" as well. This desire is the root of the Egyptian talk of the "Second Round." The arms arrive in the Middle East by way of Britain and the threats are conveyed to Israel through the medium of the Arab states—but the real source of both is in Washington.

Government circles in Israel have worked out a policy to break the encirclement of our state by means of a separate peace with Abdullah. The government has been making approaches in this direction for over a year now. The political commentator of *Haaretz* who, as a rule, is a reliable spokesman of the Kiryah, writes: "In political circles it is pointed out that Israel has failed in these negotiations. On the one hand, they spoiled her relations with the East, and on the other, nothing positive had been achieved, and relations with the United States, which desires the conclusion of a treaty, have also not improved."

The rearmament of the Middle East is directed against three factors: against the Soviet Union, against the progressive forces in the Arab countries and against Israel. Common sense requires that Israel, if she wishes to guard against the danger, should seek closer relations with the other two potentially attacked factors. Official Israel policy, however, is proceeding along diametrically opposed lines. It seeks security by making approaches to the source and the instrument of the danger, to Acheson and to Abdullah.

Program for Security

In the face of this threat we should seek our security by means of three fundamental principles. First, we must transform our whole people into a "fighting nation" and make the Israel Defense Army a real popular force, by organizing every settlement, suburb, factory and farm into defense units able to withstand the shock of attack.

Secondly, there must be a sharp turn in our foreign policy in order to lead us out of the one-way street leading only to London and Washington. We must seek to establish closer relations with the Soviet Union and the popular democracies and free ourselves from economic, political and military dependence on the United States. This is the way we succeeded during the Arab invasion, in spite of the

open enmity of Great Britain and the arms embargo of the United States. This is the only way we can withstand the pressure on our independence and remain faithful to our obligations in the cause of world peace.

Thirdly, we must find friends in the Arab states. These will not be found in the ranks of their ruling circles. A

progressive democratic regime in Israel, showing friendship and real equality to the Arabs and a preparedness to cooperate with the progressive democratic forces in the neighboring Arab states, will make a breach in the wall of enmity put up against us by the reactionary Arab governments; a breach destined to widen into the gates of peace.

LOCKOUT IN THE UPA

By Samuel Cohen

THE Social Service Employees Union (UOPWA) has represented the interests of workers in many Jewish agencies over a period of years. Because of the union's militancy in defending the rights of the workers and its opposition to the cold war, the union has become the target of the government, the press and the national CIO leadership. And as we pointed out in *JEWISH LIFE* last month in the article "Union-Busting in Jewish Agencies," the leadership of Jewish communal organizations have become full-fledged partners in the conspiracy to destroy the SSEU. Since that article was written, the attack has been stepped up. Not even those who suffer little from illusions, would have believed that the United Palestine Appeal heads would go so far as to *lock out* its 18 employees—all members of the SSEU.

What are the facts?

To date the management-organized CIO company union has failed miserably. It was unable to win majorities either at the New York City or the national office of the United Jewish Appeal, could not win a single member at the United Palestine Appeal and could not budge the majority of members at the Federation Employment Service. The CIO union could not do the job even with the active support of management. Management therefore proceeded to ignore its employees entirely.

As the prime target Henry Morgenthau Jr., UJA general chairman who is spearheading the attack, chose United Palestine Appeal, of which not a single employee is a member of the new CIO company union, the Community and Social Agency Employees' Union. Ellis Radinsky, executive director of the United Palestine Appeal, a constituent agency of the United Jewish Appeal, called the employees together on April 19 and threatened to fire any employee who participated in protest demonstrations against the UJA anti-labor policy. In the meantime, negotiations which had opened on a new contract bogged down. The following week Radinsky called the staff together once more and announced that the agency would no longer recognize the Social Service Employees' Union. "I will recognize any other union of the employees," he told the 100 per cent UOPWA staff. "Will you recognize the CIO company union?" one employee asked. Mr. Radinsky nodded assent.

The next day, the employees visited Radinsky in a body

and told him that they would not be deprived of their union representation. They asked for a meeting between the union and a special committee of the board of directors of the United Palestine Appeal. Radinsky refused and ordered the employees to return to their desks immediately or be fired. The employees refused to be frightened by such an ultimatum. Radinsky then summarily fired the entire staff!

The staff refused to leave the agency offices. The result was the first sit-in in the history of the UJA. After a series of provocations, including an attempt to lock out every employee who had left the offices for food, Radinsky and his cohorts wearily withdrew for the night. But Radinsky left two UPA "representatives"—two armed Pinkerton detectives whom he had hired, presumably to "guard the property."

It seems, however, that the Pinkerton agency, for reasons of its own, had no desire to be tossed into the middle of the agency's attempt to lock out its employees. When a union official protested to the Pinkerton agency, a Mr. Carroll of the Pinkerton Agency told the union: "Mr. Radinsky double-crossed us. He never told us that this was a lockout." The Pinkerton men were immediately withdrawn from the premises of the UPA. The next morning, April 27, the employees were barred from re-entering the agency, which they had left earlier that morning. The staff drew up a picket line at the UPA offices at 41 East 42nd Street and have maintained it ever since.

Unfair Labor Practices

At the national United Jewish Appeal office, Henry Montor, \$40,000 a year executive vice-chairman, who owes his position to the personal intervention of Morgenthau, carried out his superior's orders to the letter. He stalled on the signing of a fund raiser's contract for more than two months. Then on March 31, a majority of the employees stopped work to demonstrate their determination to win a new contract. Management's reply was in the form of a memorandum breaking off relations with UOPWA and recognizing the pitifully small minority CIO "union," which admittedly represented less than one fourth of the staff. This followed a severing of relations with UOPWA

by Monroe Goldwater, president of the UJA New York City offices.

In both UPA and UJA the union demanded a fair and impartial election to give the employees an opportunity to select the union they wanted. But management did not dare to place its CIO union in such a vulnerable position. A union demand to permit the New York State Board of Mediation to mediate the dispute was similarly rejected by Morgenthau in the national UJA dispute. At UPA, Radinsky is holding off the State Mediation Board at the same time that he is trying to round up scabs through the CIO.

When the vice chairman of the CIO raiders, Samuel Friedman, an employee of the UJA of Greater New York and a leader of the Socialist Party, expressed his contempt for the Negro people by greeting a leading Negro UOPWA member, Marian Pearson, with the epithet "*Schwartze*" in the UJA halls, UJA management moved quickly to protect him. A union investigation revealed a number of similar incidents in which Friedman was involved. Yet, despite the anger of UJA employees, and a union demand that UJA rid itself of any employee guilty of such chauvinistic acts, Melville E. Rappaport, personnel director, issued a memorandum stating that "our investigation of the alleged Marian Pearson incident satisfies us that there is no foundation for these charges" and asserted that "these groundless charges . . . can only be injurious to the UJA." Yet no UJA employee, except possibly Mr. Friedman, was called in for questioning on the "incident."

Union-Busting and the Cold War

The development of community support for the right of employees of Jewish organizations to belong to a union which takes a forthright position for peace has occurred despite a press blackout of all the facts together with a venomous, hysterical attack against the union. The *Daily Worker* and the *Morning Freiheit* print the facts as they occur. The rest of the metropolitan press, including the *Yiddish Morning Journal and Day*, ignore the entire story, while the *Jewish Forward* attacks the union without benefit of facts. The *Forward* has charged the employees with being fifth column agents, Soviet spies and members of the "NKVD."

Morgenthau himself, his national chairman, Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, Judge Morris Rothenberg and William Rosenwald put forth a similar rationale in more guarded language in a memorandum to the employees on April 5, 1950. "As a philanthropic organization," it said, "the United Jewish Appeal operates within the framework of the American community. The United Jewish Appeal felt that it could not, in justice to its standing in the American community, do other than sever its relationship with a union which had been expelled from its parent body, the CIO." Here Morgenthau attempts to place the blame for his action upon the American community and in particular upon the Jewish community, which supports the UJA. This attempt to link the Jewish community with the cold war policy,

which is today responsible for the arming of the Arab feudal states and jeopardizing the independence of Israel, signifies an underestimation of the lessons which the Jewish people have learned from the anti-fascist war.

But when Morgenthau faced his employees, he dared not take such a stand. Four days after recognition of the CIO at the UJA national offices, Morgenthau met with a union committee led by Bernard Segal, union executive director. On advice from his counsel, Lloyd K. Garrison, who was present, Morgenthau refused to answer all questions. When Segal asked him, "Does your concept of democracy include the right of employees to join a union of their own choosing?" he refused to reply after consulting his counsel. Nor could Morgenthau explain why he was breaking off relations with a union which has had left-wing policies and leadership during the 10 years of its relations with the UJA. The union has not changed. Its peace campaign, which brought hundreds of its members out on the streets in April to gather thousands of signatures to a petition to outlaw the H-bomb, is typical of the union's fight to achieve the kind of world in which the whole American people can live in security and peace.

But Morgenthau and the Jewish big money elements which he represents are on the war path against everything that will lead to a peaceful world and the security of the Jewish people. They are determined to break the growing powerful alliance that is growing up between the Negro and Jewish people with the workers to halt the drive to war. Morgenthau is determined to hand over the UJA and millions of Jews to the State Department program which is scheming to use a renazified Germany and a semi-colonialized Israel as pawns in American capital's drive for world domination. Morgenthau showed his hand clearly enough when he was in Israel in January. There he dared to urge Israel to conclude a Middle Eastern Pact similar to the Atlantic Pact. He said that such a move would be a "coalition against aggression by Russia." But the Israelis, who know that the Soviet Union is their strongest friend among the nations, resented this warmongering interference in their affairs. Protest demonstrations were led by the communists. Mapam delegates to the Knesset demanded that the Ben Gurion government repudiate this statement.

Morgenthau is not finding his warmongering, union-busting path easy. The support which the Jewish community is giving to the fight of the Jewish agency employees is an expression of their growing desire for peace and the right to existence of organizations of the people which lead this fight.

The international aspects of the union dispute are also having an effect. The stories about the dispute appearing in Israel, particularly in the Mapam press, are being followed closely by Israeli citizens. The people of Israel are finding that their fight to receive funds with no strings attached, is closely tied up with the fight of the Jewish people in America to have the right to belong to unions of their own choosing.

Book Reviews

REQUIRED READING ON ISRAEL

By Joseph Clark

Israel in Crisis, by A. B. Magil. International Publishers, New York. Paper ed., \$1.25; cloth ed., \$2.50.

We are happy to report that there is no longer any reason to be uninformed about Israel. This is said in the knowledge that there is more misinformation and ignorance about the Middle East, Palestine and the two-year-old state of Israel than about many far less publicized areas of the world. A. B. Magil has set himself a most necessary task in this book—to tell American readers the story of Israel. But more important, he tells the story behind the events. He deals with fundamental factors and describes the whirlwind of politics that swirls about this corner of the world. He reveals that this state, hardly out of its swaddling clothes, faces profound dangers that can deform, if not strangle the child.

There is much misinformation about Israel, not only because of the slanders of its foes, but also because of the starry-eyed indifference to facts displayed by some of its friends.

The service which Magil has performed is to explain the real issues involved in Palestine—of imperialism and the fight of the Jewish and the Arab peoples, the role of their leaders, the role of the various great powers, the real forces at work in the period of Israel's birth and development. He has sought for the facts, making a most detailed, painstaking study in order to present a well-rounded picture. Magil speaks both as reporter and historian. He was there when Israel was fighting its war of national liberation. He imparts the excitement of that struggle and the flavor of the land and the people. As a historian Magil goes to the sources and the record to clear your vision of the big struggles shaping up in the fabulous lands of the Middle East.

If Israel was born at last after so much travail, it was due to four factors, Magil shows. First, the struggle of the people themselves; second, the stand of the Soviet Union and its allies in the UN and the aid they gave to the new state; third, the conflict of imperialist interests between the United States and Great Britain; and fourth, the force of American opinion.

And if so soon after its birth Israel

faces a crisis, it's because imperialism confronts the new state with "a new colonial enslavement." Our own imperialism, its heart in Wall Street and its head in Washington, moves to establish Israel as an imperialist base. Magil documents this penetration of Israel by American imperialism, as well as by British imperialism. The presses were still warm from turning out this book when we received bitter confirmation of this development.

It came when Bevin's puppet Abdullah, operating in this case with Acheson's consent, publicly announced his annexation of the Arab part of Palestine as well as the old city of Jerusalem. Here the guns of imperialism are brought right to the borders of the state of Israel.

What is the source of this crisis within Israel itself? It resides in the fact that the national liberation struggle of Israel did not have the political leadership of the working class. Only the working class in the epoch of imperialism is in a position to give that kind of leadership which can unite all toiling and anti-imperialist classes in an uncompromising and successful struggle for national independence.

The ruling party of Israel's government is a social democratic party. This fact alone places Israel's independence in jeopardy because social democracy the world over serves as an agency of im-

perialism within the ranks of the oppressed classes and peoples of the world. The betrayal by the Ben Gurion government of Israel can be seen most clearly in the deal it made with Abdullah allowing him to seize Arab Palestine and part of Jerusalem. Magil defines this situation most precisely. After telling of the short-sighted policy of Israel's government in curtailing Arab rights within Israel, Magil writes:

"No less foolhardy from the standpoint of Jewish national interests was the Israeli government's policy in regard to the Arab sector of Palestine. This is a decisive issue, affecting the whole future of Israel and the Middle East. It requires no profound knowledge of the politics of that area to recognize that a friendly democratic Arab state, apart from its importance to the Arab population of Palestine, is a necessity for the Jewish people and its state—essential for their economic health and military security. It has been insufficiently recognized that Anglo-American imperialism suffered only partial defeat in Palestine, that it won a major victory when it succeeded in blocking implementation of the second half of the UN partition decision providing for an Arab sister state of Israel."

The government of Israel was in an excellent position to fight for this part of the UN decision, in its own interest and the interests of Middle Eastern democracy and security. Instead it chose to appease and come to terms with the very forces against whom it had to fight its heroic struggle for independence. The Abdullah deal truly can be called a Middle East Munich.



A. B. Magil

You Cannot Afford to Miss — Masses & Mainstream

May Contents

PEACE CAN BE WON

James S. Allen

THE BIG FINGER

Howard Fast

FREED ON MAY DAY

Jeff Boehm

ARAGON: POET-ORGANIZER

Michael Gold

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

Charles Humboldt

OUR TIME

Samuel Sillen

Also: W. E. B. Du Bois, Joseph North, Joseph Starobin, Pablo Picasso, Joseph Clark, and Others

Single copy 35¢; subscription \$4

Order at your club, bookshop, or newstand

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
832 Broadway, New York 3

Another excellent contribution which Magil makes is his carefully documented analysis of American capitalist infiltration of Israel. Among other things this penetration is stifling the industrial development of Israel. Many friends of Israel argue that its government is in no position to break its ties with the Anglo-American imperialist war camp because the new state needs foreign economic assistance. Magil shows that because Israel needs such assistance, it should be in the camp of democracy and socialism.

The terms of the \$100,000,000 loan from the Export-Import Bank of the United States retard industrialization and promote Israel's dependence on foreign capital. The invitation to foreign capitalists to invest in Israel under terms that are very favorable to foreign capital also stultifies Israel's development. In 1949, when foreign investments, loans and gifts were at a peak, "only a negligible proportion was flowing into industrialization." And even when foreign capital allows some industrialization, it is of a colonial type, permitting that degree of processing which is suitable to the foreign investor and not to the independent economy of the nation.

The illusion that the little state of Israel will be able to "use" Wall Street for its own ends is as illusory as the idea that appeasement of Bevin and Acheson, via Abdullah, will lead to anything but disaster for Israel.

The history of every colonial or backward people which struck out for its independence teaches that imperialism prevents these peoples from developing their own nationhood, given half an opportunity. And the opposite story is told by the relations between the new democracies of eastern Europe and of China with the Soviet Union.

Miracles of economic progress and basic industrialization were performed in formerly backward countries as a result of the special kind of cooperation which is possible only between free and equal peoples. Nor does this mean that these countries must cut themselves off from trade and economic intercourse with the capitalist world. But it does mean that a people's democracy prevents imperialism from using those relations to undermine their economic and political independence.

Israel's economic crisis will become sharper as the problem of integrating the new immigrants remains unsolved. Magil indicates certain economic steps which Israel can and must take for survival. These include nationalization of foreign concessions; nationalization of imports; establishment of state-owned basic enterprises. This would also require close economic and political cooperation "with those that stood by Israel's side in her hour of greatest need, that seek no bases, no domination, no advantage at Israel's expense: the Soviet Union and the people's democracies."

But of course an economic program to defend and build Israel's independence requires a foreign policy opposite from the one now pursued by her government. Israel's crisis is a product of Israel's participation in the camp of the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan, the Bernadotte plan and the Abdullah sell-out—the camp of Wall Street imperialism. Israel's welfare requires an anti-imperialist policy.

The supporters of such an anti-imperialist policy include large sections of Israel's workers, farmers and small business people and professionals, Magil found. Many of them have expressed this preference through the United Workers Party (Mapam) and the Communist Party. The prospect is hopeful because world impe-

rialism has been weakened and the camp of anti-imperialism and peace has been strengthened. "Israel's new-won independence and the ousting of imperialism from direct domination over Palestine are themselves expressions of this change."

For those who may think we have touched on all the subjects into which Magil goes most thoroughly, let us just mention the ground he covers. Magil introduces us to the people, the Jews as Israelis, the liberation war and the land. He describes the role of the US and the USSR in Israel's fight for life. He investigates the role of oil and of anti-Soviet strategy in the Middle East. He analyzes Zionism and the Jewish question all over the world. He gives us the anatomy of Israel's parties and depicts its labor movement. He discusses the soldiers, women, the youth, religion, education and minority Jews. And above all he shows us what lies ahead.

Magil makes a sober and thoroughgoing analysis of Zionism as a movement and ideology among the Jewish people which has served the interests of the ruling classes and not of the Jewish masses. The reliance of Zionism on British imperialism and its present trend toward subservience to American imperialism is well documented in the book.

After reading Magil's book you won't be satisfied with having become so well informed. You will want others to know the score. The distribution of this book can be useful in the fight for the independence of Israel and the peace of the world.

Yiddish Theatre Ensemble

presents

A Sholem Aleichem Evening

1. ESTHER AND MOTEL, a humorous play in six scenes by Nathaniel Buchwald, based on Sholem Aleichem stories; directed by Al Saxe; choreography by Lillian Shapiro; acted by the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble.
2. MIKLOS GAFNI, world famous tenor, in Yiddish songs.
3. H. GENDEL, monologist, in a Sholem Aleichem repertoire.

Saturday Evening, June 10, 1950

Central Needle Trades High School

225 W. 24th Street, New York N. Y.

Admission: \$1.20; \$1.80; \$2.40

Tickets available at
80 Fifth Avenue, 16th floor; OR 5-1161

Now Playing:
"THE VICTORS AND THE VANQUISHED"

Coming:

Ludwig Satz in a new
Jewish comedy

STANLEY - Seventh Ave., between
42nd and 41st Streets

FUR WORKERS RESORT

at White Lake, N. Y.

New features for your entertainment and comfort
• Gala entertainment and social program
• Complete sports program
• De luxe hotel and bungalow accommodations
• Delicious home-like meals
• Supervised day camp for children
• Cultural and educational activities

REDUCED PRE-SEASON RATES

Make your reservations now at:

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL
250 W. 26th St., N. Y. C. WA 4-6600
or telephone WHITE LAKE 350

RIDGEFIELD RESORT

Home of the JPFO at Ridgefield, Connecticut
(50 miles from New York City)

A RESORT OF BEAUTY AND DISTINCTION

FOR YOUR VACATION

Open All Year 'Round

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

Make your reservations by calling directly Ridgefield 1180. New York Office: 80 Fifth Ave., 16th floor, Tel: ORegon 5-1161. Four Flying Eagle buses leave daily from Dixie Terminal, 241 West 42nd St., and stop at gate of the resort.

Do not come without first making your reservation



Documents

NAZI COMEBACK IN WESTERN GERMANY

Following are excerpts from the report on denazification issued by the World Jewish Congress in April (see editorial on page 4 of this issue).—Eds.

1. The Political Parties

True democracy is based on a system of political parties which express unfettered the views, trends and policies of the general population. Accordingly, the Allies at the end of 1949 abandoned the regulation which required that political parties in Western Germany be licensed. This was done on the assumption that the democratic structure of the Constitution and the obligations undertaken by the Federal Government in the Bonn Agreement—to encourage the establishment of democratic institutions and to eradicate all traces of nazism from German life—would lead to the creation of real democratic parties.

These expectations have not materialized. Careful studies by impartial observers prove conclusively that the nationalism of the ex-nazis, neo-fascists, militarists and authoritarians has been gaining ground openly among the discontented classes and secretly and insiduously among the followers of political parties.

The Free Democratic Party, a part of the present government coalition, is rather to the right. At least one half of its representatives in the Bundestag "may be considered as strongly nationalistic"; the party is said to include "some of the foremost promoters of nationalism," so that "the more moderate and progressive wing in the party is shouted by the radical Right."

The [U.S. Occupation] report contends that "4,000,000 votes is considered to be a liberal estimate of Nationalist strength" in the August 1949 election. However,

Drew Middleton (in the *New York Times*), basing his contention on reliable information, believes that "the nationalist groups within the non-nationalist parties now control about 6,000,000 votes or more than a quarter of the 23,000,000 votes cast last August."

The nationalist strength may well be shown in the evolution of the so-called "national conservative groups."

The most prominent among these groups is the German Party, with 17 representatives in the Bundestag. Its industrial wing is led by Dr. Seehofer, who is "close to the Reich idea." Some, like Hedler, are even more extreme in their views.

Another of the national conservative groups is the former German Rightist Party, German Conservative Party, which, after joining with the National Democratic Party of Hessen to form the German Reich's Party, has turned decisively toward the right. It is reported to control some 600,000 votes.

Even more radical in their nationalism are the so-called "Associations and Collectivities." Since they represented groups that had suffered from the war, such as expellees and those who had suffered losses through the war and bombing, they advanced more radical demands than other parties. The only radicalism at their disposal, aside from communism, was radical nationalism.

The Deutsche Gemeinschaft (German Association) represents the most clearcut development in this direction. It was first founded by August Haussleiter, a member of the Deutsche Union (German Union) in Munich, for Bavaria, probably on the basis of experience, with the many splinter Emergency Associations (Notgemeinschaften) at the elections for the Bundestag. Shortly afterwards, the representatives of several groups met in a coordination council which was to prepare the organizational steps for their amalgamation.

Further steps toward a unified organization were the integration of the Notgemeinschaften (Emergency Associations) under Dr. Matthes and Deputy of the Bundestag, Dr. Ott, the Unabhaengige Gemeinschaft in Hessen (Independent Association of Hesse), the Notgemeinschaft Niedersachsen (Emergency Association of Lower Saxony), the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Hamburg (Working Association, Hamburg), and the Deutsche Gemeinschaft in Bayern (German Association of Bavaria) into the Deutsch Gemeinschaft (Ger-

man Association). Several similar groups may be expected to join this new party in the near future.

The first goal of the Deutsche Gemeinschaft is a "free and strong democracy of a coloring of its own as a political system worthy of the German nation." Only the "best and most efficient" are to become responsible representatives, through the election of "personalities." "Representation of estates must be created and given opportunity to collaborate in legislation." In all branches of administration, the "efficiency" idea (*Leistungsgedanke*) is to be applied.

Gert Spindler, one of the leaders of the Tatgemeinschaft, declared that the general public must realize that its influence and its criticism of the elite must be very limited in scope.

Recently the Deutsche Gemeinschaft and the Tatgemeinschaft freier Deutscher representing the "have-nots" established close cooperation. Great political significance is attached to this fact because it is assumed that in all forthcoming elections there will be millions of voters willing to follow this Gemeinschaft.

The neo-fascists and national-bolsheviks comprise a third group. These believe in "German or national socialism" and envisage some kind of corporate state led by an elite as the desirable form of government.

One of the most extreme groups among these radicals is the Sozialistische Reichspartei (Socialist Reich Party), led by Dr. Fritz Dorls, which constituted itself on October 2, 1949, by seceding from the German Rightist Party.

Dorls' party is now the fastest-growing political organization among right wing parties, perhaps among all the parties in West Germany. On October 2, 1949, it was started with two persons, and today Dr. Dorls claims nearly 60,000 registered adherents. He predicts that within two or three years the party's registered strength will increase tenfold and gain control of the government through political combinations.

It was in Munich, too, that the first illegal political party, Katakomb Scheinwerfer (Catacomb Searchlight) made its appearance. Judging by the number of its circulars, it has been in existence for about two and a half years. Although there is no data available on its inter-party connections, reliable sources indicate that contact is maintained with Meissner, with the Austrian Volkspartei der Unabhaengigen (People's Party of Independents), the Austrian underground organization Die Spinne (The Spider), the Banderovici, and, through these, with the Fatherland Union and Strasser. The organization has small groups scattered throughout Ger-

CLARION ACRES

A GREAT VACATION SPOT

AT MODEST COST. FINEST MEALS
IN THE MOUNTAINS

MODERN, FULLY EQUIPPED BUNGALOWS and cottages. Swimming on the premises, handball, open air games, shuffle board, other sports. 175 acres of beautiful fields, woodlands, all off the main road.

QUIET, RESTFUL ENTERTAINMENT

For rates, reservations call IR 6-2058
or write: CLARION ACRES, Box 693,
South Fallsburg, N. Y.

many, of which only the smallest units are known to each other. It is assumed that the movement has some 15,000 to 20,000 members.

Representatives of Otto Strasser are working toward the same goal. On Sept. 10, 1949, they founded the Gesellschaft der Freunde Strassers (Society of Friends of Otto Strasser) after a license had been refused to a Bund fuer Deutschlands Erneuerung (League for Germany's Renewal). This organization is undoubtedly the most dangerous of all the rightist groups, except for the group of Hans Bauer of Cologne.

Very recently a consolidation of the right-wing political parties and various refugee groups under their influence took place. Reports from the American and British zones show that the extreme right groups are drawing together for what will be their first real trial of strength with the moderate established parties. The party that appears to be emerging as the leader of this radical right is the aforementioned Socialist Reich Party, which is making headway, inter alia, in Bremen, Kassel, etc.

II. Attitude of the Government Toward Democratic Officials

Through the creation of the Western German State the Germans acquired an independent government which, as already pointed out above, is subject only to explicit controls defined in the Occupation Statute and in the Bonn Agreement. As a result of this freedom of action, members of the cabinet and high officials of the federal government have openly attacked Allied policy and have repudiated the responsibility of Germany for the war and its consequences.

It is not surprising, therefore, that ex-nazis and their sympathizers constitute not only a very large percentage of the total number of local government officials, but that the Bonn Government "does not hesitate to appoint to responsible positions men who openly played a part in the nazi regime. They incline increasingly to rely on persons some of whom, less than a year ago, were, after careful investigation, turned down on applying for public appointments because of their more than dubious past." *N.B.* This is a quotation from an English source.

The German labor unions recently addressed an appeal to the Allied High Commission, the federal government and the Laender governments and parliaments in which they stated that "in the public administration and economy even the highest posts are being entrusted to nazi activists and other reactionaries. There thus exists the danger that the administration apparatus may become the legal apparatus

of the plotters against democracy and constitution."

The following examples prove that these fears are not unfounded.

The diplomatic adviser of Dr. Konrad Adenauer in his negotiations at Bonn with representatives of the West Allies was Herbert Blankenhorn, who was alleged to be "a notorious pre-war agent of the nazi regime in the United States."

Another adviser of Dr. Adenauer is Hans Globke, who holds a position of the utmost trust and is responsible for the government's personnel policy. (His formal appointment as Secretary of State to the Chancellor has not yet been approved.) In 1933, Globke became an adviser to Dr. Wilhelm Frick in the nazi ministry of the interior and, in collaboration with Secretary of State Wilhelm Stuckhart, wrote a commentary on the Nuremberg racial laws of September 1935. During the war he was most energetic in disseminating his racial philosophy.

A counselor to Dr. Ludwig Erhard, federal minister of economics, is a certain Dr. Kutscher, who was a legation counselor in the nazi foreign office with the special title of Adviser on Jewish Affairs. (These "advisers" were attached to the nazi offices throughout Europe to further anti-Jewish activities.) On April 3 and 4, 1944 Kutscher attended a conference of all advisers on Jewish affairs called at the order of Hitler in Krummhuebel (Silesia) for the discussion of a new international anti-Jewish propaganda system which had been worked out by Hitler, Goebbels, and von Ribbentrop. Dr. Kutscher holds his new office, although he was once dismissed from a position with the Bizonal administration by the political screening committee because of his previous activities, of which his present superior, Dr. Erhard, is certainly aware.

The Germans continue to evidence a lack of interest in, and the absence of a sense of responsibility for, a real democratic government while manifesting a willingness to leave responsibility and direction to others. No action or educational measures, however, have been initiated by the new government. On the contrary, as the afore-mentioned United States Report states, "governmental procedures in Germany today are deeply rooted in authoritarian practice."

III. Denazification

The general trend in denazification, which was discussed in our memorandum of June 20, 1949, continued during the last half of 1949 and the beginning of 1950 along the lines mentioned in that document. The nature of the verdicts handed down by the denazification courts is re-

ported to have disgusted even the Germans. A case in point was the verdict of the court in Lippe-Detmold declaring Alfred Hugenberg to be merely a nazi follower.

The present results should have been anticipated because the Germans to whom the implementation of denazification was entrusted, have never sought to bring the real nazi criminals to justice and thus convince the German population that justice was being administered impartially. The best proof of this "impartiality" was the recent denazification scandal in Wuerttemberg-Baden, involving the minister president of the Land himself. He admitted publicly that he had pardoned or reduced the sentences of 19,000 nazi offenders, most of them in the last five months.

A most revealing insight into the functioning of the courts is supplied by the activities of one August Meyer, who served as a mediator between the defendants and the denazification authorities and through whose efforts 1,035 nazis were denazified in collusion with the denazification courts. According to the police, Meyer was paid 68,000 marks to "handle" three special cases. A striking case was that of Schad-Kaelbe, accused of having maltreated Polish workers during the war and who was extradited to Poland. His father-in-law succeeded in having him returned without punishment through Meyer and the minister president.

It has been reported, however, that Meyer's activities pale into insignificance along those of Andreas Rap, who was the deputy denazification minister of Wuerttemberg-Baden during the years 1946-1949 and who later established an agency to deal with denazification cases. No wonder that under such conditions denazification has become a farce in Wuerttemberg-Baden. This is a result of the "new political freedom and powers" which were bestowed upon the German authorities last September when the Allies relinquished much of their direct control. Less than a fortnight after the Occupation Statute became effective, the Ministry of Political Liberation was dissolved and by January 1, 1950, 19,500 nazi pardons were signed.

The failure of German denazification is clearly demonstrated by the recently released figures for Baden, which is supposed to have acted more vigorously than other Laender. Of the 237,698 persons whose cases were handled up to the end of 1949, 87 per cent were completely exonerated.

The Germans have now begun to wind up the farce once and for all. At a conference of the ministers of justice of the Laender of the United State occupation

zone at Rothenberg the draft of a law for ending denazification was adopted.

The amnesties and proposed end of denazification have led to the reappearance of nazi bigwigs, who now feel secure. Among them are the former mayor of Mainz, a former SS *Hauptsturmfuehrer* who lived until now under an assumed name, and the last personal press secretary of Goebbels. At the same time denazified officials seek "redress for the damage" they suffered through Allied and German denazification measures. The amount required to pay their pensions, annuities, etc., would come to 350 million DM, to be paid out of the public revenues.

At the same time, prejudice against persons associated with the denazification authorities is still growing. The director of the employment service in Munich has stated plainly that there is a "terrible front" against former denazification officials and that for the unemployed among them no position can be found. The Bavarian Parliament has been told that only 623 of the 1833 employees discharged by the Bavarian denazification ministry have been able to find work despite special legislation guaranteeing them jobs.

IV. The Press

The general policy of lifting Allied controls was also followed in regard to the press. On May 2, 1949, the U.S. Military Government took a preliminary step toward the termination of the licensing system of newspapers, magazines and books by issuing General License No. 3 under Information Control Regulation No. 3. This regulation provided that all licensing requirements in the Laender of the United States zone would be lifted as soon as each Land adopted legal safeguards for press freedom. At the end of August 1949, the licensing system came to an end in Bavaria.

As an immediate result, former nazi publishers rushed back into business. Many of them had been blacklisted by the Military Government in 1946 because of their background and therefore harbored resentment both against the Occupation Powers and the owners of the licensed press. Their newspapers are chauvinistic, anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, anti-DP and anti-American. Among the new publishers are such well-known names as Max Willmy, of the *Stuermer*, Nuremberg; Dr. Georg Huber, of the *Staubinger Tagblatt*; Franz Udart, Pfaffenhofen; Dr. Ottmar Best, of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*; the brothers Wilhelm and Johann Bollman (Bollman Publishing Co.); the Haermann family (*Hofer Anzeiger*); Dr. Geiselberger (*Gottinger Zeitung*); Oskar

Erdl (*Trostberger Tagblatt*); Heinrich Delft (*Windsheim*); the brothers Rissinger (Kitzingen); father and son Ostheimer (Schoelkripen); father and son Mayer (Aichach). These are only a few well-remembered names.

The number of new papers which have appeared in Bavaria alone or are scheduled to appear there amount to 150. In the whole of Western Germany 450 new papers have appeared since the abolition of the licensing system.

German newsstands since the end of licensing present a very strange spectacle. Many magazines specialize in publishing stories about the intimate life of Hitler, Goering, and other nazi "heroes," and recall the "good old days" by publishing pictures showing nazi leaders with flowers, talking to children at play, etc. This type of propaganda is not intended to eradicate nazi sympathies from the mind of the German people. A series of articles in one of these magazines is titled: "The Great Lover Adolf Hitler" (*Der Grosse Liebhaber Adolf Hitler*), written by a former nazi minister Hermann Esser, who was classified by a denazification tribunal as a "major offender."

The returned publishers are supported by important industrial interests and have large sums of money at their disposal. They have formed the Executive Organization for Press Affairs, headed by Dr. Walter Jaenicke, who has openly stated that the mission of the organization is to fight the licensed press to the bitter end. The "old" publishers have reorganized the so-called *Matern-Dienst* which had been built up by Hugenberg and taken over by Goebbels, through which smaller newspapers regularly received prepared features with a strong nationalistic tinge. In Munich, where the *Matern-Dienst* is already functioning, the newspapers have declared that they will accept as employees only those who were barred from the press by the Military Government since 1945.

When in September 1949, the Allied High Commission proclaimed the Occupation Statute, they promulgated at the same time a new Law for the Press, Radio, Information and Entertainment.

The law reserves to the Allied High Commission the right to cancel or annul any measure, governmental, political, administrative or financial, which threatens the freedom of the press as guaranteed by the German Basic Law. It provides for the dismissal and imprisonment of journalists, suspension of publications, and confiscation of news material that is deemed prejudicial to the prestige or security of the occupying powers. This law

contains the only powers reserved by the Western Allies over the German press: the Allies can interfere in the German press only on the basis of this law.

So far the Allied press law does not appear to have been invoked in a single case, nor has it prevented the appearance of new newspapers and magazines of the kind to which reference was made above. On the contrary, a dispatch from Munich reports that in February 1950, eight unmistakably nazi and anti-Semitic papers made their appearance. Among them is the *Nationaler Ausbruch* in Cuxhaven whose announced program is extreme German nationalism, blunt anti-Semitism and the fight against the Jewish-Bolshevik enemy.

V. Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism in Germany has not lessened during the past year. It is the general impression of all qualified persons that "no one can work in Germany for even a brief period without being conscious of the deep underlying hatred and hostility against the Jews," and that a "grave danger again confronts the Jewish survivors in Germany."

The outward signs of German hostility have been manifold. The violations and desecrations of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues became so frequent that the Association of Jewish Community Councils in Germany had to appeal to the government in December 1949, to place a permanent guard at Jewish cemeteries. Another expression of this attitude is anti-Jewish demonstrations in theaters; distribution of anti-Semitic leaflets, and posters, demonstrations and attacks in Munich, Duesseldorf, Kassel, Fuerth, and Hildesheim; the throwing of a bomb into the home of a Jewish merchant in Wiesbaden, etc., thousands of anti-Semitic demonstrations on Hitler's birthday, public insults to Jews. Every week there are reports of physical assaults on Jews, insults hurled at them, veiled accusations in the press, desecration of cemeteries (16 within a fortnight in Bavaria alone). Discrimination against Jews in employment, private business and public offices was reported in a survey by Jewish community leaders. There are even reports of restaurants and cafes in Wuerzburg, Frankfurt and Regensburg, which openly proclaim the undesirability of Jewish patrons.

The extent of these incidents may be judged from the fact that the city council of Fuerth has appealed to Bavarian and federal authorities to institute "immediate and sharp measures against the revival of anti-Semitism in Bavaria." Hardly a week passes without some evidence of vicious anti-Semitism.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

and NAACP to Police Commissioner George Boos, who promised greater police protection at such events.*

THE AMERICAN BOWLING CONGRESS was fined \$2500 on April 22 in Chicago for limiting its membership to white males. While Superior Court Judge John A. Sbarbaro at first directed that the charter of this largest bowling organization in the nation be revoked, he changed his judgment to allow the congress to revise its by-laws at its May convention in Chicago.

QUESTIONS POINTING to discrimination in admissions were found in the application blanks of 99 of 123 colleges in Pennsylvania, according to a survey made by the Committee on Fair Educational Opportunities of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission and released in April. A photograph is required by 56 schools.

OPPOSITION IS GROWING to the move by the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies to close down Stuyvesant House, 31-year-old community house on the lower East Side. The reason given for the move was that many non-Jews have moved into the community so that the Jewish membership of the House is now 65 per cent. A Citizens Committee to Save Stuyvesant Neighborhood House, in which numerous local Jewish parent and community organizations are participating, argues that, while it is important for Jewish agencies to offer a program for Jews primarily, it is equally important for people of all nationalities to participate together in joint programs. The committee holds that abandonment of the center will not only be discriminatory to non-Jews, but also to Jews.

ON A MOTION from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in late April the UN Human Rights Commission voted by seven to four, with three abstentions, to drop Soviet and French proposals that the projected Covenant on Human Rights should ban racial propaganda. Mrs. Roosevelt's position was that "advocacy, however reprehensible morally," is not a justification for denying free speech.*

PLANS TO CELEBRATE the 300th anniversary of American Jewry in 1954-1955 are being planned, said an announcement by the American Jewish Historical Society.*

EUROPE

JEWISH CULTURAL NOTES from USSR. . . . A prospectus recently received in this country of Soviet books to be published in 1950 includes word that books in Yiddish will be available. . . . The Children's Publishing House of the Soviet Union announces publication this year of a volume of poems, *Morning*, by I. Kotliar, translated from the Yiddish into Russian. . . . The 1949 volume of the *Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye* (Soviet Eastern Studies), published in Moscow, contains an article by K. B. Starkova on a newly-discovered letter written in verse by the great Hebrew poet Yehuda Halevi (1080-1140) to Habib Al-Almahadyah, a young Jewish scholar of North Africa. The article reproduces the letter in Hebrew.

RUMANIAN CHIEF RABBI Dr. Moses Rosen attacked Bernard Baruch, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Benjamin Cohen of the State Department as

warmongers among the Jews and charged them with helping to attempt "to throw the world into the whirl of a new war." . . . Thirty-five newly-graduated rabbis received their licenses from the Federation of Jewish Communities of Rumania in April after they passed an examination supervised by the Superior Rabbinical Council. They were chosen from a total of 60 candidates. The Federation also announced that the acute shortage of religious teachers in Rumania is being met by a special training course which has already attracted some 30 students, who will undergo a six-months training course.*

ALL POLISH SCHOOLS were instructed by the ministry of education to commemorate appropriately the seventh anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on April 19. A ministry circular stated that the ghetto heroes would be remembered by the generations to come.

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY announced in late April that his fascist Union Movement would stage a parade through London's East End on May 7th, when the ban on political marches in London would expire. The defense committee of the British Board of Deputies of British Jews appealed to the government against renewal of the ban, since existing legislation gave the government the power to ban "clearly provocative" marches without impairing political freedom. The Home Office nevertheless once again imposed the ban on May 2 for three months. Mosley announced that he would address an open air meeting in a Jewish district on May 7. . . . A deputation from the London County Council visited Home Secretary Chuter Ede at the end of April to voice their concern that fascist hooliganism may force censorship on Britain, as happened in the banning of the *Sword in the Desert*, American-made film on Palestine.*

BIRMINGHAM'S FASCISTS, who were inactive for a time because of an internal split, have reformed under the name the Birmingham Nationalist Club. They have distributed anti-Semitic literature publicly without interference by police. Anti-Semitic slogans have been appearing on walls of the city.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT turned down an Israel application in April to purchase arms and certain chemicals in Britain until Israel made peace with the Arab states. It has been learned that Britain has sold 150 modern fighters and bombers, including 100 jet fighters, to Egypt. In answer to a question in the Commons, Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs Ernest Davies denied that the Arab states were aiming to resume the war against Israel. He said that Israel has sufficient arms to maintain internal security and to defend itself against aggression.*

OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES of the East German Republic participated recently at Weissensee in the dedication of a statue in memory of the Jews murdered by the nazis. Said Vice Premier Dittman: "The East German Republic considers anti-Semitism a crime against humanity and declares that any anti-Semitic act in the republic will be punished severely." He emphasized that Jews enjoy full equality in East Germany.

ADVANCE OF NEO-FASCISM IN WEST GERMANY. . . . At least 53 former nazis are members of the West German Bundestag, or about one-third of the 402-man body: three were members of the

nazi elite guard; at least nine had joined the nazi party before Hitler became chancellor. Twenty-one of the nazis are members of the Christian Democratic Party, 16 of the Free Democrats, 17 of the German Party. . . . Fourteen of the 31 senior members of the Western German state's embryo foreign service were nazis, according to Dr. William Haas, appointed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to set up the foreign service. Haas added that communists would not be accepted into the service because they did not have "the right qualifications of the democratic outlook." . . . In defense of the appointment of many nazis to civil service jobs, a spokesman of McCloy's office stated that it was better that they should work under supervision "than to allow them to become a disgruntled free lance class, vulnerable to neo-nazi schemers."

AT LEAST THIRTY acts of vandalism against Jewish cemeteries in Hesse province have occurred since the war's end. Several occurred in April.*

ISRAEL

CLASHES OVER THE POLICY of the Ben Gurion government caused the traditional United May Day celebration in Tel Aviv to be called off. Mapai refused to allow the demonstration unless Mapam promised that no anti-Ben Gurion placards would be carried. After fights occurred when Mapam marchers came to the stadium carrying banners to which the Mapai objected, the demonstration was called off. . . . In Jerusalem communist marchers carrying huge portraits of Stalin and anti-atom bomb placards were stopped by the police. . . . Almost every Tel Aviv worker was on holiday May Day.*

THE TWO COMMUNISTS, Uri Winter and Gustav Golobner, who were arrested a few months ago on charges of possessing secrets documents of Israel's armed forces, have been released on bail. Golobner was first released on bail because of illness. Winter then went on hunger strike to gain his release. He was promised an application for bail after three days of hunger strike.*

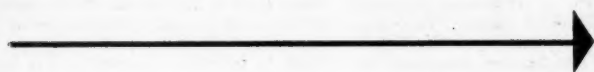
THE FIRST TRANSJORDAN ELECTIONS were held in April, following annexation by Abdullah of Arab Palestine. While official Transjordan circles claim that 70 per cent of the electorate turned out to vote, reliable sources report that only 35 per cent voted in Transjordan proper and 25 per cent in Arab Palestine. The illegal revolutionary League for National Liberation urged boycott of the elections as a British-sponsored maneuver for the annexation of Arab Palestine. Tank units of the British-trained Arab Legion intimidated the population of Arab Palestine in the pre-election period.

FORMER IRGUN COMMANDERS, now Knesset members of the Herut Party, are inciting the Israeli people to fight against the Transjordan's annexation of Arab Palestine. The Herut program advocates that the Arab part of Palestine be made a part of Israel.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SEPHARDIC Jews in Israel is charged by Turkish immigrants who have returned to Turkey from Israel. One said: "I was at the top of the housing list but I received no accommodation. There was clear evidence that priority was given to Ashkenazim (European Jews) who arrived after us. It was the same with employment. I could get no job although I was willing to do any kind of work."

(Items marked with an asterisk (*) were drawn from Jewish Telegraph Agency news service.)

LONG AWAITED
and now at hand



Clearcut answers
to complex questions

Paper bound edition \$1.25



This book offers a fascinating account of the birth of Israel, its growing pains, its battles, the past of its problems and its relationship to Jews all over the world. A hard-hitting presentation backed up by an impressive array of facts and irrefutable conclusions. Its basic class analysis and wide range make it a must for every progressive. Even those who may disagree with its viewpoint cannot afford to ignore its arguments.

Jewish Life offers
SPECIAL MONEY-SAVING COMBINATIONS

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

SAVING: 25¢

I am a subscriber to JEWISH LIFE.

Enclosed is check (money order) for \$1.00 for a copy of A. B. Magil's *Israel in Crisis* at reduced cost.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY..... ZONE... STATE.....

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

SAVING: 75¢

Enclosed is check (money order) for \$2.50 in full payment for A. B. Magil's *Israel in Crisis* plus one

- ☐ renewal
☐ subscription

to JEWISH LIFE (reg. price \$2.00).

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY..... ZONE... STATE.....

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

SAVING: \$1.25

Enclosed is check (money order) for \$4.00 in full payment for 2 subscriptions (or renewals or 1 of each) to JEWISH LIFE, plus a FREE copy of A. B. Magil's *Israel in Crisis*.

Names and addresses of new subscribers and/or renewals on enclosed sheet.

Send the book to:

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY..... ZONE... STATE.....

