

Jewish Life

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

JULY 1950 • 20¢

CRUSADE FOR PEACE

RENAZIFICATION VERSUS THE PEOPLE *by Louis Harap*

WILL OUR SCHOOLS BE FREE? *by Sarah Levy*

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND WHITE CHAUVINISM *by Herbert Aptheker*

POEMS OF DAVID EDELSHTADT *translated by Aaron Kramer*

GOOD WILL FOR REACTION: I *by Joseph Brainin*

**What the Jailing of Eugene Dennis
Means to the Jewish People** *a guest editorial
by Albert E. Kahn*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

MEETINGS TO PROTEST the Mundt bill are taking place all over the country with active participation of numerous eminent Jewish citizens and representatives of Jewish organizations. . . . On May 18, a mass meeting was held in Brooklyn Academy of Music under the auspices of the Brooklyn Citizens Committee Against the Mundt Bill. Among those involved in the meeting were Rep. Emanuel Celler, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, several rabbis and Brooklyn representatives from the Jewish War Veterans, Hadassah and the American Jewish Congress. . . . 5000 Los Angeles people attended a rally against renazification on May 22 at which state senatorial candidate Robert W. Kenney, Mrs. Sylvia Miller, head of the Los Angeles Hadassah chapter, and Rabbi Jacob Sonderling of the Fairfax Temple, spoke.

THE LOS ANGELES BOARD of Public Works has decided that the word "nazi" cannot be used in signs on the public streets of that city because the word is "controversial."

SECURITY OF AMERICAN JEWS is directly linked with preservation of civil liberties, it was pointed out by speakers at the eighth annual meeting on May 27 of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, coordinating defense body of the major Jewish organizations. "Hysteria typified by McCarthyism" was agreed to be a danger to civil liberties. However, representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Jewish Committee hurled red-baiting slanders at communists.

MONEY CONTRIBUTIONS made by David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union announced at its May convention included the following: Liberal Party, \$50,000; anti-Soviet weekly, *New Leader*, \$35,000; "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz's American Jewish League Against Communism, \$5,000; Catholic War Veterans, \$2,000; French Socialist Party organ, *Le Populaire*, \$25,000; other anti-Soviet French organizations, \$9,000; Italian right wing unions, \$25,000; Italian right wing socialists, \$5,000; a total of \$700,000 was distributed in Italy to fight the "red menace."

TWO FORMER NAVY VESSELS were released by the State Department in early May to the Egyptian government as "commercial" vessels. Senator Herbert H. Lehman, who supports the Atlantic Pact, protested to the State Department on clearance of the ships because evidence showed that the ships had "a number of gun mounts and ammunition bins and depth charge racks." The State Department denied press reports of the military nature of the ships, but admitted that "there were some reinforced places on the decks for the mounting of guns." It is reported that the British have also cleared ships of the same type to the Egyptians.*

A PERMANENT ALL-AMERICAN Conference to Combat Communism was set up in Chicago in mid-May under the domination of the American Legion. The first goal of the rightist conference was to be the bolstering of government machinery for prosecuting defendants charged with "subversive" activities. The American Jewish Committee and the Jewish War Veterans have remained in the conference; "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz and Alfred Kohlberg, Chiang Kai-shek lobbyist and head of the American Jewish League Against Communism, are active in the new organization.

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

THE EDITORS.

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JOSEPH BEAUHARNAIS, founder of the notorious anti-Negro White Circle League of Chicago, was convicted in May by an all-white, all-Gentile jury in a Chicago municipal court for violation of an Illinois law which prohibits defamation of a religious or racial group. The charge was based on the white supremacist anti-Negro pamphlets handed out in the Loop on January 9. Beauharnais was defended by Maximilian St. George, attorney for Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling Stokes. He asked all prospective jurors their religion and rejected two Jews and three Negroes from the jury.

SIXTY-NINE TOMBSTONES in a Jewish cemetery near Boston in May were overturned and

six of them were completely smashed. Police are investigating.*

A CROSS WAS BURNED in May across the street from the home of Al Ruden, a leading citizen of Suffolk, Va., and a former department commander of the Jewish War Veterans. The cross burning was believed to be a "warning" to frighten Jews away from home building in Suffolk's fashionable suburban district.*

ANTI-SEMITIC DRAWINGS of progressive candidates for student council offices at Los Angeles City College in election leaflets, which flooded the campus in late May, are being protested. The (Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

What the Jailing of Eugene Dennis Means to the Jewish People

A Guest Editorial
By Albert E. Kahn

WHEN the communist leader Eugene Dennis was imprisoned on May 15, a shadow fell across the life of every Jewish man, woman and child in America. It was the shadow of concentration camps and gas chambers.

I am not being alarmist. I am stating a terrible truth. It began this way in nazi Germany, and it ended with the butchering of one-third of the Jews in the world. Hitler demonstrated the murderous affinity between red-baiting and Jew-baiting. The Reichstag fire not only provided the pretext for jailing thousands of German communists; it was also the precursor of the furnaces in which millions of human bodies were burned at Maidanek, Treblinka and Oswiecim.

With Eugene Dennis in jail, let every American Jew take warning from these words which appeared in the March 1945 issue of the United States Army bulletin, *Army Talks*: "Hitler and Mussolini had the communists first on their list. Among the early opponents of fascism, the communists were in the forefront." In America too, communists have been in the forefront of the fight against fascism; today they are first on the attorney general's list.

If you are a Jew, no matter whether you endorse or dispute the political opinions of Eugene Dennis, the enforced denial of his right to voice these opinions endangers you. The silencing of opposition is a prelude to fascism.

Officially, Eugene Dennis was convicted on the charge of manifesting contempt toward the Un-American Activities Committee, an agency long infamous as a fountainhead of fascist and anti-Semitic propaganda. Actually Dennis has been jailed for a graver offense. He has been found guilty of denouncing our government's efforts to revive fascism abroad and of combating the upsurge of reaction at home. His crime is opposition to the cold war.

Have we Jews forgotten our losses of the last two decades? Has the Warsaw ghetto become part of an unremembered past? And shall we now countenance with our silence a repetition of the events which led to that immeasurable havoc and agony?

I have three sons. It is for them and other children like them that I appeal to every Jew my words can reach. *For the sake of all that you hold dear in life, and in memory of our murdered dead, do not at this crucial instant sit idly by or hold your tongue! Take action now — before it is too late! Demand an end to the imprisoning of progressives and the nurturing of fascism in our land! With all your strength, with every means at your command, insist that Eugene Dennis be set free!*

The fight to secure Dennis' freedom is a fight to protect our children's lives.

FREE THE ANTI-FASCISTS!

IN ADDITION to Eugene Dennis, 14 men and women have gone to jail for their anti-fascist beliefs in recent weeks, after the Supreme Court shirked its responsibility to rule on the basic issues involved in the contempt cases of the Un-American Committee. The roll of honor, besides Dennis: George Marshall, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress; Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Howard Fast, Dr. Jacob Auslander, Dr. Lyman R. Bradley, Mrs. Marjorie Chodorov, Harry M. Justiz, Mrs. Ruth Leider, James Lustig, Manuel Magana, Dr. Louis Miller and Mrs. Charlotte Stern, the staunch 11 of the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; and John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, first two of the Hollywood Ten—all these are now political prisoners in American jails. All of them challenged the right of the Un-American Committee to invade liberty of thought guaranteed by the Constitution. All of them were sent to jail because they were uncompromising fighters against the reactionary policies of the Truman administration that are leading to the police state at home and an atomic war.

As Albert E. Kahn said in his guest editorial, these jailings have taken us a long way down the road that Hitler travelled. As it was under nazism, so in America today, it is becoming increasingly true that anyone who diverges in the slightest from reactionary government policies is stigmatized as a "communist" and subjected to persecution. For the Jews, this situation is particularly dangerous. Already, the intensification of anti-Semitism today is the augury of the scapegoating of the Jewish people, if the pro-fascist trend signalized by these jailings, is not resisted and stopped.

There is only one answer to these jailings and the Mundt bill threat. That is a determined fight by the masses of the American people, and especially the trade unions, against the fascisation of the United States and atomic destruction. *Call upon President Truman to free the anti-fascist prisoners!*

CONFERENCE ON NEGRO RIGHTS

WE GO to press on the eve of the National Trade Union Congress for Negro Rights, sponsored by the Harlem Trade Union Council and the Chicago South Side Labor Council and meeting in Chicago on June 10-11. Backed by Negro and white trade unionists from over 18 major industries all over the country, the conference will tackle the crucial problems of discrimination, whose very heart is the fight for equality of the Negro is employment. The aims of the conference are to discuss ways and means to save the trade unions from destruction by Taft-Hartley and "injunction judges"; to gain representation for Negro workers on all levels of union leadership; to win federal and state FEPC legislation with teeth; to win jobs, upgrading and seniority rights for Negro workers; and to win decent, unsegregated housing and education, fair trials and

all democratic rights for Negroes. These are issues that effect the welfare of all workers and men of good will, and certainly of the Jewish people. For the degree to which these objectives are gained, to that degree the trade union movement will be strong and win gains for the workers and the people. On these issues, all unions should be united. That this is becoming recognized is indicated by the presence on the sponsoring committee of representatives of Negro and white workers in right wing unions such as the United Steel Workers, National Maritime Union and some "lily white" railroad brotherhoods. The drive to realize the conference's objectives should have the support of every union and every worker, irrespective of position in the political spectrum, for these basic aims of all workers.

ARMS RACE AGREEMENT

ONE outcome of the recent London meeting of Secretary of State Dean Acheson with the foreign ministers of Britain and France was an agreement, announced on May 25, to "regulate" the sale of arms to the Arab states and Israel. Arms will be given to these countries "for the purposes of assuring their internal security and their legitimate self-defense and to permit them to play their part in the defense of the area as a whole." Those, like many Zionist leaders, who rejoiced over this announcement, would do well to ponder it without illusions. For the fact is that, on the one hand, the agreement is a fraud practiced upon Israel, and on the other hand, is an attempt to drag Israel all the way into the cold war. How fraudulent the agreement is, can be judged from the fact that, on June 1, the *New York Times* published an authoritative statement that British officials emphatically denied that Britain would lift its embargo of arms against Israel, and that the London agreement mentioned above would not modify this policy. Further, is it possible for Israel to purchase arms equal to those of the combined Arab states, which are now receiving heavy arms, planes and ships from Britain and the United States? And is it in Israel's interest that she become a full participant in the cold war by converting the land into a war base against the Soviet Union—which is the meaning of playing "their part in the defense of the area as a whole"? The price exacted of Israel would be deprivation of its independence and its total annihilation, in case of a war against the Soviet Union. Yet the Ben Gurion government still protests its "neutrality" as between the democratic and imperialist world blocs. But is it an accident that the Histadrut early in May severed its ties with the World Federation of Trade Unions, a cold war measure that the Mapi majority did not dare to push through last year?

Only one way lies open for securing the independence of Israel and the future of the infant state—to reject any arms race agreement and to fight for the peace of the world together with all democratic peoples. Those who really care for the interests of Israel will protest this dragging of Israel further into the cold war morass and will work for the alignment of Israel with the peace forces of the world.

Unity—in Ashes or in Life?

ash (noun): the powdery residue of matter that remains after burning.

IN THE end, they were at last united.

It was the terrible unity of ash dust.

But to begin at the beginning:

In the beginning it was June. Germany, 1932. A serene, lovely June, the sky clear, the smell of new leaves in the wind. And June came as it comes now to New York, as it comes to Detroit and Springfield.

There was, it is true, a certain uneasiness. A general made a speech at a college alumni dinner: *We are threatened on all sides. We must be prepared to defend ourselves. We must muster the greatest army on earth.*

The usual thing. Generals love to make speeches.

All in all, a quiet June. A politician in Munich made a speech denouncing communists, the foreign elements, Jews and radicals, people of questionable loyalty, subversive film writers, professors, union leaders.

The usual thing. Politicians love to make speeches. Naturally, with an election approaching.

And in this June in Germany, 1932, a certain magazine, disturbed and sensing dark portents, approached various Jews, saying:

"There are danger signs, a smell of blood and agony in the air. We must set aside our differences and stand together against a common threat. We must search out some basis of unity."

Said this to a certain Jewish union leader in Leipzig, who answered:

"Understand, I am as democratic as the next one. I am an old Socialist myself. But the main job is to get rid of the Reds in the union. We must prove to the nation that labor is as patriotic as anyone else."

And a certain playwright in Berlin answered:

"I am non-political. I am not a joiner, I am not a signer. I am concerned with art, and art alone. I put on a play, the audiences pack the theater—that is unity enough for me."

And a certain doctor in Wandsbeck answered:

"Don't you, ab, think it would be better not

to attract attention? I mean, ab, for Jews it's best not to be too loud."

And a certain housewife in Stuttgart answered:

"Who am I? I'm not an important person. I'm a nobody, what can I do? Besides, I'm busy with the children."

Explanations, excuses, apologies. But no unity.

And those who were not Jews said, it's the communists and the Jewish-Bolsheviks they're after. They won't bother us.

And that was June, 1932, in Germany. And by the next winter, Hitler was chancellor, and the Jews and all dissenters had begun their long, tortured trek on the road to a tragic unity. The unity of Bergen-Belsen. The unity of the gas chamber. The unity of ashes.

And now it is again a sunlit June. And the generals make speeches, the politicians make speeches. (Naturally, with an election approaching.)

And again threat hangs in the air. Again there are portents of blood and agony.

The A-bomb clangs off the grim assembly line. Death is packaged and waiting in the warehouse. In Western Germany the old Nazi hymns ring out. The arms factories of the Ruhr are booming. The state of Israel is endangered by the oilwell diplomats, scheming a new Middle East war. In Peoria and Peekskill the chant of the gas chamber is heard again: *Kill the Jews!*

So the wheel of history swings full turn. And once again a magazine appeals to Jews:

**WE MUST STAND TOGETHER
AGAINST A COMMON THREAT!**

This time we will not wait to achieve our unity in ashes. This time it will be a unity of the living, a unity of flesh-and-blood, a unity of determined voices vowing:

I will never be found side by side with supporters of nazis, the murderers of my people!

I will remain true to the memory of six million dead!

I will fight against anti-Semitism and racism!

I will fight for peace!

YOUR HAND CAN STOP ATOMIC WAR!



Thruout the world—

In China, Italy, Israel, in England and Brazil, in France and Mexico, in Finland and Poland, Sweden and the Soviet Union, in Africa and India and in the United States—

Tens of millions of people of all faiths and creeds, all races are signing this appeal.

*If we, the people say NO to war
THERE WILL BE PEACE.*

- We demand the outlawing of the atomic weapons as instruments of aggression and mass murder of peoples.
- We demand strict international control to enforce this measure.
- We believe that any government which first uses atomic weapons against any other country whatsoever will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.
- We call on all men and women of good will thruout the world to sign this appeal.*

Name	Address or Occupation	Contributions

SOON after this issue reaches the reader, about one million petitions like the one reproduced above will be circulating in America. Already about *one hundred million individuals* from countries all over the world—from all five continents, of all shades of political opinion and religious belief—have signed this simple demand that the atom bomb be outlawed and that *any* country which first uses the bomb as an instrument of aggression should be dealt with as a war criminal. The World Committee in Defense of Peace initiated the appeal in Stockholm in March.

When Thomas Mann signed the appeal in Paris in May, he said, "The atom bomb is evidently a grave threat to

humanity. . . . I have signed the Stockholm appeal. I support any movement which has peace as its aim." Yes, it is as simple as that—a signature for peace is an expression of the will to survive.

The goal of the American "Campaign for the World Peace Appeal" is five million signatures. We urge every reader not only to sign this petition, but to make himself into a fighter for peace and to obtain signatures from all his friends, shopmates, neighbors and every possible person. Petitions can be obtained by writing to Campaign Committee for the World Peace Appeal, P.O. Box 349, Grand Central Station, New York City.



ESTHER LETZ

*Secretary, United Labor Committee to Defeat Taft-Hartley
(On leave from Local 65, Distributive Workers Union)*

EVERY woman trade unionist should be anxious and proud to sign the Stockholm peace pledge. We well remember the many years of active war duty served by our brother unionists, husbands and sweethearts during the Second World War. We were patriotic Americans who gave unselfishly to fight fascism. We thought and hoped that after the struggle, in which millions were lost and many crippled and maimed, we would live in peace, build our unions and have a better way of life. Now the American people face unemployment, discrimination, high cost of living and the threat of a more horrible H-bomb war. The working people do the fighting and dying in a war. We should therefore be the decisive people to determine the future. I am confident that all women want and will fight for peace.

AARON D. SCHNEIDER

Director, Greater New York Joint Council, UOPWA

THE Stockholm Declaration is a great rallying call for all working people and, indeed, every person in the population who is not insanely calling for war and the destruction of all people.

The convention of the United Office and Professional Workers of America held May 15th to 19th in Atlantic City unanimously and enthusiastically passed a resolution which stands four square with the substance of that declaration. The UOPWA will act upon that resolution.

Our membership will act for peace, and is fighting those in the Jewish community who are collaborating with the anti-Semitic, pro-war forces in the labor movement and in the administration. Our fight with the managements of United Jewish Appeal, United Palestine Appeal and American Jewish Congress is a fight for decent unionism and the democratic right of workers to fight for peace and security.

RUTH YOUNG

Secretary of District 4, United Electrical Workers Union

THE Stockholm pledge for international outlawing of atomic weapons has a very special significance for workers and trade unionists. Like people in other walks

of life, workers are deeply troubled at the mass slaughter and devastation which the production of the A-bomb carries in its wake. But atomic bombs mean more than a dark cloud on the horizon; today and every day the cold war psychology which they symbolize is taking its toll of living standards of American workers. That is why I regard the Stockholm pledge as a prime guarantee of peace for all and better living conditions for the workers.

HOWARD FAST

Author of MY GLORIOUS BROTHERS, etc.

THERE is no complicated reason for signing the Stockholm Pledge for Peace. I will sign it because it is a weapon for peace, and because above and before every issue which confronts us today is the issue of peace. Peace is indivisible from life—from a continued existence for the human race and for human civilization. I am for peace because I believe in life, its goodness and sacredness.

JACK LEVINE

Artist

IT is a great honor to endorse the history-making Stockholm petition for peace. Certainly there is no possible extenuation of circumstance, no possible justification for the unleashing of atomic terror upon any people or upon any nation. Whole cities, whole cultures erected with genius and endless toil could vanish in a moment. Just as the act would be criminal, genocidal, the proponents of such a deed are the enemies of all ideas and cultures. There must be established a basis upon which people can live in harmony constructively and creatively.

There must be no World War III.

RAPHAEL SOYER

Artist

ALL the people—the workers, farmers, professionals, artists, etc.—want peace for themselves and their children. Only those want war who make huge profits by it—the industrial cartelists, munition makers and their well paid lackeys. Their “cold war,” which is preparation for the war itself, has already rolled up some fatalities—the attacks on our civil rights, on labor and on the minority groups.

To resist these inroads into our democratic life we must join in the people's fight for peace and support the program of the Stockholm Conference.

RENAZIFICATION VERSUS THE PEOPLE

by Louis Harap

After the following article was written, one of the most effective mass actions against denazification occurred in midtown New York on May 24. It was the demonstration against a so-called "Hold Berlin" rally held in Town Hall under the auspices of Common Cause, Inc., a millionaire-anti-Soviet combination "to combat communism," on the eve of the huge German youth demonstration in East Berlin. Chairman of the meeting was multi-millionaire Cornelius Whitney Vanderbilt and the main speaker was General Lucius D. Clay, former United State Military Governor of Germany and pardoner of Ilse Koch. Among the sponsors were Roger Larkin, head of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Hungarian anti-Semite Tibor

Eckhardt, pro-fascist "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz (denounced by the late Rabbi Stephen Wise as a racketeering red-baiter), "inevitable war" propagandist James Burnham, Clare Boothe Luce, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Allen W. Dulles and James A. Farley.

The aim of the meeting, obviously, was to work up enthusiasm for present United States policy in Western Germany—which is basically one of renazification—by means of Soviet-baiting. The American Jewish Labor Council therefore organized a demonstration against this endorsement of the renazification policy. About 5,000 pickets swarmed in the Times Square area, after they were roughly dispersed from picketing in front of Town Hall.

Anti-renazification picket line in front of Town Hall on May 24, before it was dispersed by the police.



The pickets chanted anti-renazification, anti-war slogans as they were driven from one place to another by mounted and foot police. Not until 11 P.M. did the last of the pickets leave.

But things were happening inside the hall, which was about half full. Opening of the meeting was delayed about one hour. All went smoothly until Gen. Clay was introduced. An ex-GI in the audience then arose and called, "Let's ask Gen. Clay about Ilse Koch and the human skin." The questioner was hustled out of the hall amid cries of "Let him speak!" and "Answer the question!" When it became clear that the question would be ignored, someone shouted, "Decent Americans, let's get out of this place!" About 200 people then left the hall. Gen. Clay arose, "white and obviously shaken by the outburst," as the New York Times report stated, and said that he would discard his prepared speech. Shortly thereafter, the meeting ended.

The entire demonstration dealt a sharp blow at the policy of renazification. How American policy in Western Germany suffered in prestige can be judged from the following Berlin dispatch by Drew Middleton in the New York Times (May 26): "The calm confidence exhibited by Gen. Taylor and other Western and German leaders in the city [Berlin] was shaken more by one event in the United States than by the steady movement into the city of tens of thousands of Free German Youth and the exultant boasting of their leaders. The incident was hostile criticism voiced during a meeting in New York of Common Cause, Inc., addressed by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former United States Military Governor and to most West Berliners the personification of Western defiance of the Soviet Union. News agency reports of the demonstration were splashed not only in the East sector newspapers but in those of the Western sectors as well."

The renazifiers are learning that the American people will not tolerate a recrudescence of the fascist enemy. The Town Hall demonstration brought this lesson home.—L. H.

DEEP resentment and concern has swept the Jewish community in the past few months over the failure of denazification. Throughout the country there is evidence to show that a new determination to fight against the return to power of the nazi murderers has seized American Jewry. Two recent events have shown which way the winds of protest are blowing. First was the release in April of the detailed, documented report by the World Jewish Congress (reprinted in part in our June issue) of the utter failure of denazification in Western Germany. The response was immediate, broad and deep. This study was actually the climax of a series of reports that the World Jewish Congress has issued over the past year or so, and the response to it showed that the awareness by Jews of the grave danger had risen to a new level.

The second event was even more startling. When the leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith read an advance copy of the speech on "The Reorientation of Germany," prepared for the ADL's annual meeting on

May 14 by McCloy's assistant high commissioner for Western Germany, Benjamin J. Buttenwieser (who is also a former Kuhn, Loeb partner and a prominent member of the American Jewish Committee), they decided to cancel the speech. They asserted that the speech was an "apologia" for renazification. "Save for some fragments," Buttenwieser had proposed to say, "nazism has been destroyed in Germany, never to rise again." In the face of the overwhelming evidence of the resurgence of fascist and vicious nationalist elements to power in Western Germany, this view is an insult to the intelligence of Americans and an affront to those who fought and died to rid the world of the nazi scourge. And the ADL knew that the Jewish people would swiftly answer this appeasement with anger and condemnation. Since the ADL is aware of this militant sentiment among the Jewish people, it took the unprecedented step of denying Buttenwieser a platform for this betrayal of the American and the Jewish people. The ADL followed through on May 21 with a strongly condemnatory report on the failure of denazification (reprinted in part on pages 28-31 of this issue).

Masses Are Ready for United Action

The ADL actions are of the deepest significance because they emphasize the breadth and depth of the readiness of the Jewish people to act on renazification. The widest avenues are open for the extension of the campaign against renazification on every level of Jewish life, from top to bottom. Do men of good will, especially progressives, grasp that the conditions for real united struggle against the revival of fascism in Germany are now present? This realization is growing, but action is not proceeding quickly enough.

The receptive mood of the Jewish masses is evident throughout Jewish life. The Yiddish press has to one degree or another been full of protest against renazification—except for the Yiddish daily *Forward*, whose anti-Soviet obsession has caused it to betray democracy and the Jewish people by seeking to soft-pedal the issue and on occasion even to condone it. Probably every major Jewish organization has passed resolutions and issued statements condemning the occupation policy of the Truman administration and all are agreed in demanding a congressional investigation of that policy and its consequences. The Jewish War Veterans in New York held an open air rally in May attended by five thousand in Madison Square Park to protest. There the statement was made that "it is an insult to Americans to grasp the bloody hand of Hitler in any kind of war"—an obvious reference to the infamous assertion by James Carey about joining with the fascists in a war against communists. The Anglo-American press has editorialized in protest. The top leadership of the American Jewish Congress has for some time been passing resolutions and issuing statements against renazification.

But the statements issued by the top leadership of Jewish community life are only pale reflections of the profound

uneasiness among the rank and file. For the most part, the leadership has not, except when pushed from below, taken the issue directly to the people. They have for the most part rested content with statements and top level actions. But the masses of people are not waiting for initiative from the top, which has not been forthcoming.

Local Movements

This is especially true of the membership of the American Jewish Congress. Perhaps the most extensive mass activity on renazification has occurred within this organization. Local leadership in various parts of the country have taken steps to organize the rank and file of the Jewish community despite hampering actions and even sabotage by the top leadership. Conferences with extremely broad representation have been initiated by American Jewish Congress chapters or divisions. Effective conferences of this kind have been held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and New York. Chapters and divisions have in many places held mass meetings.

In recent months unprecedented unity movements among the rank and file under local leaderships of the community generally have been formed, as in the Strawberry Mansion and Wynnefield-Overbrook areas of Philadelphia. Individuals 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 in Philadelphia have been working for the Sabbath resolution to investigate renazification. Characteristically, the top leadership has not only refused to cooperate in such activities, but has tried to head them off.

The depth of popular feeling on the issue has its legislative expression in a series of resolutions introduced in the Senate and the House for a congressional investigation of renazification, recartelization and militarization of Western Germany. Last Spring the American Jewish Congress, under pressure from the membership, sent a large delegation to Washington. As a result, four senators (Claude

Pepper, Guy M. Gillette, Robert C. Henrikson and Irving M. Ives) jointly introduced a resolution for an investigation of the "resurgence of intensive anti-Semitism and militant nationalism in Western Germany." On October 4, 1949, Vito Marcantonio introduced a strong resolution into the House for an investigation of the repudiation of the Potsdam agreement in Western Germany. Congressman Adolph J. Sabath introduced his resolution on January 12. No mass campaign was carried out and these resolutions reposed undisturbed in committee.

But the situation has changed in the past half year. The cold war has been getting more intense with every passing day. The coordination of former nazi bigwigs and industrialists with American plans for economic domination and anti-Soviet war preparations has become closer and more outspoken. International cartels headed by nazi industrialists under the thumb of American capital have been rapidly forming. Anti-Semitic manifestations have become more frequent and outrageous. In April, Jewish organizations in Western Germany held a conference to organize self-defense measures against the mounting anti-Semitism. Unlike pre-war German Jewry, they plan to resist and to appeal to the world to intervene against "continuing neo-barbarism." In its report of May 21, the ADL stated that, although only 20,000 Jews remain in Western Germany, anti-Semitism "is more prevalent in Western Germany today than when Hitler first appeared on the scene." The American people, and particularly the Jews, have become more and more alarmed by these developments. It is therefore to be expected that the last few months have seen a flurry of activity against renazification. The World Jewish Congress report in April and the ADL cancellation of the Bittenwieser speech in May are only the outward manifestations of this new phase.

Dangerous New Note

Unfortunately, however, this new phase of activity has seen the emergence of a new and dangerous note in top level Jewish organizational activity on renazification. This was manifested in the Gillette resolution introduced in the Senate on March 29 by Senators Guy M. Gillette, Herbert H. Lehman, Paul H. Douglas, Claude Pepper, Dennis Chavez, Harley M. Kilgore, Irving M. Ives and Robert Henrikson. An identical resolution was introduced in the House on May 2 by 11 representatives (Jacob K. Javits, Wait Horan, John A. Blatnick, Emanuel Celler, Herman B. Eberharter, Foster Furcolo, Henry Jackson, Hugh B. Mitchell, Barrett O'Hara, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse). All the other resolutions introduced before had simply called for an investigation of the revival of nazism. But these new resolutions contain the following section: "Whereas, the United States has a vital interest in preventing any alliance between nazi, militarist or any other anti-democratic elements in Western Germany, and the totalitarian communism of the east. . . ." In other words, these resolutions have become instruments in the cold war, in the preparations for war



Police breaking up Town Hall picket line on May 24.

against the Soviet Union and a catastrophe for the world.

A statement issued by the 11 representatives on May 8 reveals this even more explicitly. The main objective of the resolution is not to stop in Germany the trend toward revival of fascism and to support democracy in Germany, but to prevent a "new Soviet-German alliance." Said the statement: "If at this stage full German control should lead to unification of the Eastern and Western zones of Germany, remilitarization and a new Soviet-German alliance, open or covert, a new and even graver threat of aggression than the world has ever known would be presented. The drive toward German unification which is gaining so much ground today could well make Germany a new Soviet satellite, for the Soviet under present conditions has everything to trade with—the Eastern provinces from which come the 9,000,000 expellees who are Germany's great problem, and Eastern markets. A Germany, unified on Soviet terms, would in the minds of most Europeans, seal their fate. A full development of all the facts with regard to any community of interest between ultra-nationalists and ex-nazis in the Western zone and communist elements in the Eastern zone as well as a complete exposition of how the effort to bring democracy to Western Germany has fared is essential information to the American people."

This statement shows that an effort is being made to divert the resentment over renazification and the demand that neo-nazism be driven out of Western Germany to cold war purposes. But renazification is itself a product of the cold war. For the Truman administration has been working to convert Western Germany into a war base against the Soviet Union and this can be accomplished only by promoting anti-democratic elements in Germany. For democratic Germans, like men of good will of varying political convictions all over the world, are demanding the breaking up of cartels and an end of the hysterical, impoverishing, war-inciting preparations for an anti-Soviet war. Denazification and the cold war policies are therefore in opposition to each other. But the proponents of these resolutions are urging "denazification" in the interests of the cold war, which is like trying to cure a pneumonia patient by exposing him to a driving sleet storm. One cannot denazify and advance the cold war at the same time.

Cold War Connection Obscured

Why then have the cold war advocates directed the movement to enforce denazification in this dangerous direction? Because the mass protest is tending towards its logical conclusion of challenging our whole cold war foreign policy. The Truman administration must therefore find means of deflecting this protest movement towards support of the cold war. That is, an attempt is being made to turn the denazification movement completely around. Enormous danger exists that the anger of the people against renazification will be drained off into an intensification of the very policy that the masses oppose. Like the

great part of American leadership today, leadership in the Jewish community bears heavy responsibility for the fact that the real sources and implications of American policy in Western Germany are being obscured. These leaders are desperately trying to establish a deceptive duality in American policy between McCloy, on the one hand, and Acheson and Truman, on the other; between the cold war and renazification; between the support of fascism in Western Germany and elsewhere and defense of the "democratic way of life." Actually, there is one single integrated policy—the cold war—on which the McCloyes and Achesons, the McCarthys and the Lehmans, are united, whatever minor differences they may have. The dualities that liberals are trying to palm off as opposing, are really two sides of the same coin. In these latest resolutions on denazification, therefore, an investigation is being called for in support of the very policy which is responsible for the situation to be investigated.

Unity Imperative

There is a widespread realization that the renazification of Western Germany constitutes one of the supreme dangers to humanity and the peace today. Yet it is unfortunately true that organized resistance to this policy is proceeding far too much only under the auspices of Jewish organizations, who are naturally extremely sensitive on this issue. What is therefore imperative is a broadening of the front of resistance to include the trade unions and mass organizations of every sort in American life. For it is obvious that the danger of renazification touches all men and women of good will. Neo-nazism is a threat to all humanity, just as nazism was an anti-human crusade. Defeat of the resuscitated fascist trends in Western Germany therefore demands the mobilization of the American working class and the masses as a whole. And there can be no doubt that the masses are ready for and receptive to such organized resistance. Most important of all, therefore, is to achieve the broadest unity of the rank and file in the trade unions, community and all other types of organizations to force on the Truman administration a reversal of the policy of rebuilding fascism in Germany.

Today mass sentiment against renazification has achieved tremendous momentum. United movements directed to a reversal of the renazification policy can be built, both at the grass roots and on various levels of leadership. This movement does not demand agreement by all participants on the cold war or who is responsible for it. But the movement must not be turned into an instrument of the cold war. What the masses of Americans *are* agreed upon is that nazis, nationalists and militarists should be rendered totally impotent in Western Germany, removed from every position of influence. The danger from a renazified Western Germany is so great today that differences on other aspects of foreign policy should not constitute an obstacle to united action on this critical issue. Unity on all levels, but most of all among the rank and file, can stop renazification.

FOUR YIDDISH PROLETARIAN POETS:

POEMS OF DAVID EDELSHTADT

Translated by Aaron Kramer

ONE of the most remarkable figures in Yiddish literature is David Edelshtadt. This "rare, pure and idealistic person," as one of his contemporaries described him, lived only 26 years and until a short time before his death could not write a word of Yiddish. Yet for half a century many of his songs have been loved throughout the world.

Edelshtadt was born on May 9, 1866, in the Russian city of Kaluga. His parents were not well-to-do, but did their best to provide him with a good education. Hebrew school did not interest him greatly but from his Russian teacher he learned to love reading and writing. At 12, he wrote an elegy on the death of a young doctor who had been loved by the poor. The poem was published in Kaluga's only newspaper and was widely praised.

Soon afterward his parents moved to Kiev. In 1880 that

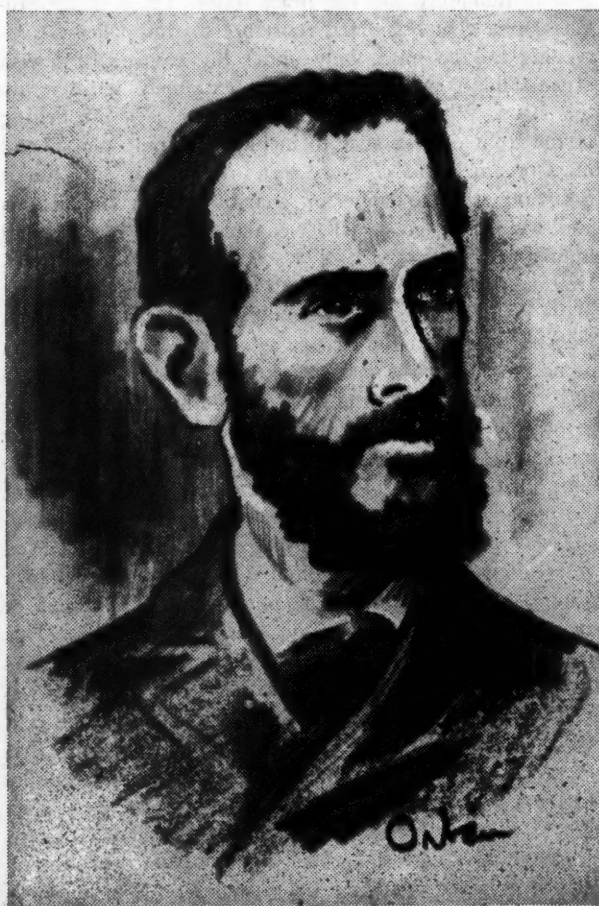
city was the scene of a particularly savage pogrom. Among the wounded Jews overflowing the hospitals was David Edelshtadt. A group of radical students had taken it upon themselves to visit the hospitals, befriending the wounded and offering whatever help they could. They were attracted to the poet—not yet 15. After he left the hospital they continued seeing him and he soon became part of their group. They not only introduced him to the best in Russian literature, but to their socialistic ideas as well. He was especially moved by the protest poems of the Russian poets Nikitin and Nekrassov and emulated them in his own work.

With his comrades he left Russia in 1882, hoping to establish a farm colony in America. But no farm awaited him. He soon found himself in a Cincinnati tailor shop, sweating at a button machine. Here he came face to face with the horrible exploitation of "free" America and got a real taste of the worker's life. Speaking only Russian, Edelshtadt was isolated from his fellow immigrants. It became necessary for him to learn the Yiddish language but he continued writing his revolutionary verses in Russian. One of these was published in the *Arbeiter Freint*, London's great Yiddish socialist-anarchist newspaper, then edited by Morris Winchevsky. But a second poem was rejected with the request that only Yiddish work be submitted. At this point Edelshtadt decided to try Yiddish.

The transition was extremely difficult. The Yiddish alphabet itself was unfamiliar to him and because of his weak vocabulary he was frequently compelled to substitute German, Russian and American words. But in an amazingly short time he had learned to express himself quite well: two of his most famous songs, "*In Kampf*" (In Battle) and "*Mein Tsavoah*" (My Will), were produced during the first weeks of transition.

Almost immediately his verses became popular among the Yiddish immigrant workers, and were welcomed by such leading New York publications as the *Judische Volks-Zeitung* and *Varheit und Morgenstern*, which existed from January to June 1890 and carried a new poem by Edelshtadt under the pseudonym "Pascarel" in almost every issue.

After his working day of 12 or more hours of speed-up in the most horrible surroundings imaginable, his condition was not helped any by studying and writing half through the night while wrestling with hunger and sleep. Yet he managed, in addition, to be one of the most active members of the anarchist movement, which he had joined as a result of the Haymarket frameup. In 1891 he was appointed editor of the newly founded anarchist paper, *Di Freie Arbeiter-Stimme*. He left Cincinnati and "established



DAVID EDELSHTADT

by George Urban

his headquarters" in New York. As editor he received or was supposed to receive \$10 per week. But more often than not the newspaper's treasury was empty and Edelshtadt endured periods of near-starvation without complaint.

A few months after arriving in the stifling metropolis, with its unendurable contrasts between rich and poor, the young poet became tubercular. His comrades arranged a theater party and with the few dollars they raised, he was sent off to a Denver sanatorium. From November 1891 he

wrestled with death and finally succumbed on October 17th of the following year.

This year Ikuf published the first and only full length study of the poet, *David Edelshtadt* (in Yiddish) by the noted Marxist scholar, Kalman Marmor. The book is also a penetrating study of the origins of Yiddish proletarian literature and of the beginnings of the Jewish workers' movement in America.

AARON KRAMER

IN BATTLE

We're hated and damned and driven,
we're hounded from shore unto shore,
and all for the love we have given
to those who are hungry and poor.

We're butchered, and beaten, and branded;
they jail us again and again—
for we have sought truth, and demanded
an end to the chaining of men.

And yet we will never be frightened
by tyranny's cruel decree—
we'll work until man is enlightened
to rise up and shake himself free.

Yes, yoke us like beasts that are herded,
and drag us as long as you will—
our bodies alone may be murdered—
our spirit you never can kill!

Oh tyrants! you haven't the power
to kill so immortal a plant.
Its fragrant and beautiful flower
is blooming all over the land!

Oh tyrants! although you destroy us,
new soldiers will stand in our place —
and fight for a world that is joyous,
and set free the whole human race!

TO MY BROTHERS

Brothers—they keep us in triple chains:
as thinkers, as Jews, and as slaves.
The bloody assassins, with torture and pain,
are driving us into our graves.

They're turning us into a beggarly herd;
they choke us, they twist us in two—
they cry: When you're plundered, don't dare say a word!
Yes, anything's fitting for you!

Brothers—let's rescue the suffering world
from bondage, from hunger and tears!
Shoulder to shoulder, our banners unfurled,
forward with bucklers and spears!

The fiercer the fray, the richer our pay;
the sweeter our triumph shall be.
And he who falls in the freedom-fray
lives on through eternity!

FROM MY JOURNAL

I wrote till the blood of my heart was drained,
and now the inkwell's dry;
not a single drop of blood remained,
not a single tear have I.

The vampire world sucked all I had—
and now that I am spent,
I sit here spiritless and sad,
alone in my poor tent.

My people—I loved you not like these
with their fake philosophic airs,
who pat their paunches, and live in ease,
as though they were millionaires.

Oh, no! the sufferer's every sigh
resounded in my breast
and turned into a battle-cry:
"Revenge for the oppressed!"

The blood of slaves rained down upon
my blooming April vine—
wherever tears of slaves might run
they met with tears of mine.

I drowned my own pain in the sea
of mankind's greater pain.
The holy sparks of liberty
in my heart turned to flame.

THE WORKER

The wheels whirl so quickly; machines clatter wildly;
it's dirty and hot in the shop.
The eyes become clouded with sweat and with tears
—tears that endlessly drop.

I feel an ache in every muscle;
a heaviness lies on my breast.
My pain is so great, I can scarcely bend—
and at night I cough without rest.

The boss, like a wild beast, hurries among us;
he's driving his sheep to the stake.
Oh how long will you suffer? how long will you sleep?
Brothers of toil, awake!

SPRING

At last the Winter is over;
the sun laughs down and gleams;
sweet smell the fields of clover—
all things wake from their dreams.

A nightingale is singing—
bright stars are in the sky.
In May the mind goes winging—
but *my* thoughts do not fly.

Some dream of loving and drinking;
such dreams are not for me—
no wine to keep me from thinking;
no loving—my heart is free.

I think of the tenement hovels,
where all is silence and gloom—
where even in Spring one marvels
to find a flower in bloom.

Who knows that birds are trilling?
Who knows of happiness there?
They wrangle over a shilling;
they feed on poisoned fare.

No golden sunbeams burrow
their brightness into a room;
the children of want and sorrow,
they live and they die in gloom.

Nightingale, sunlight, flower—
oh nature, holy and fair!
how can I salute your hour
which only the wealthy share?

If you were also healing
the hearts of those I meet—
oh goddess, I'd be kneeling
in tears before your feet!

Your radiance would inspire
my muse to do its best—
gladly would I expire
upon your proud, mild breast!

But now, when men are crying—
when Mammon rips our flag,
the flag once proudly flying,
and tramples it like a rag;

when feudal chains are ringing
in this "free" land of ours—
say, how can I be singing
the song of joy and flowers?

THE WOUNDED EAGLE

*Mid the snow-capped mountains,
on a high cliff-stone,
sits a new-fledged eagle:
wretched, sick, alone.*

Sadly I gaze upward
toward the sun's bright flame,
yet my wounded pinions
cannot lift my frame.

I twist and turn in anguish;
I cry, I curse, I moan,
till I'm left exhausted
lying on a stone.

Who, oh who can tell me
if I'll ever fly
over hills and valleys:
free, once more, and high?

soaring through the thunder
proudly toward the sun,
and among wild eagles
be the wildest one?

Alas! nobody answers!—
under quilts of snow
hills and valleys slumber;
why should they mind my woe?

Alas! nobody answers!—
the clouds hang low and dark,
and the heart keeps bleeding,
the wounded eagle heart.

THE LAST WILL

O comrades mine, when I am dead
carry our banner to my grave:
the freedom-banner, flaming red
with all the blood that workers gave.

And there, the while our banner flutters,
sing me my freedom-song again,
my "Battle Song"—that rings like fetters
around the feet of workingmen.

And even in my grave that song,
that stormy song will reach my ears,
and for my friends enslaved so long
there, too, shall I be shedding tears.

And when I hear a cannon sound
the final siege of want and pain,
my song shall trumpet from the ground
and set the people's heart aflame!

WILL OUR SCHOOLS BE FREE?

By Sarah Levy

THE boldest and most ruthless step—so far—in the nation-wide campaign to coordinate teachers and the schools into a pattern of “total” conformity with the foreign and domestic policies of the Truman administration took place on May 3. On that day Superintendent of Schools William Jansen suspended eight of New York City’s finest teachers.

This action follows the line set by the un-American Committee in its crackdown on scientists, the ten Hollywood writers, radio commentators and in its “investigation” of college text books. Dr. Jansen did not even pretend that any of the teachers were in the slightest respect delinquent or chargeable for anything in the performance of their duties. The teachers were in reality penalized for suspected beliefs.

Late in April the teachers were summoned by the superintendent to an inquiry into their “character, conduct and fitness” in relation to “alleged association with the Communist Party.” As in the case of the Hollywood Ten, refusal by the teachers to participate in this fascist-like inquisition resulted in drastic punishment. They were summarily suspended—without pay on one day’s notice. The formal charges are “insubordination” and “conduct unbecoming a teacher.”

Eight Fine Teachers

A glance at the records of these eight teachers shows clearly why the superintendent was unable to level a single charge of misconduct.

Abraham Lederman, a teacher for 23 years and president of the Teachers Union, has been considered by supervisors, from principal to superintendent, one of the most outstanding teachers of mathematics in the city. He was many times assigned to special curriculum committees by school authorities. He has been given the most difficult, supposedly backward children in his school, teaching them with marked success and gaining their affection and respect. One of his Puerto Rican pupils wrote him: “I think I can never forget you. I hope you will come back to school.”

The secretary of the Teachers Union, Mrs. Celia Lewis Zitron, has taught devotedly for over 27 years. She has been commended over and over again for “her inspiration and guidance of her students.” She is a Latin teacher, but her rich background in the study of the Hebrew language and of the culture of her people led to the request in 1930 that she introduce the study of Hebrew in New York’s high schools. Starting without text books, curriculum or teaching

materials, she built so firm a foundation—at the expense of countless hours of work after school, week ends, holidays and summer vacations—that the study of Hebrew flourished and eventually spread to 31 of the city’s high schools. When she was suspended, students wrote to her: “We have never had the opportunity before to tell you what a fine person and worthwhile teacher you are.”

Miss Alice Citron, a member of the executive board of the Teachers Union, has been a leader in the fight against Jimcrow and discrimination in the Harlem community, where she has taught for 18 years. Parents, children, fellow-teachers love and respect her. On the very day of her suspension the parents of her pupils rose to her defense. “We love Alice Citron,” they said, “because she has fought for us and our children. She has been more than a teacher to our children. She’s been their friend.” Miss Citron’s colleagues, including her principal, wrote to the superintendent: “Not only is she an outstanding teacher, but a peculiarly gifted one. We are deeply concerned when people of this caliber can be asked to prove their fitness to teach.”

Colleagues of Mr. Mark Friedlander, a teacher for 11 years, wrote to the superintendent: “In our close daily contact with Mr. Friedlander we can affirm that he has proved the excellence of character, fitness and loyalty in many ways. He has shown loyalty to his students, to whom he has devoted many hours of coaching after school, to whom he has always been a good friend and by whom he has been well liked.” Mr. Friedlander served with distinction in World War II as an enlisted officer in the Air Force.

Abraham Feingold, World War I veteran and teacher for 28 years, is an unusually kindly and devoted teacher. Characteristic comments of supervisors over the years are “kindest manner I have even seen in the classroom,” “unlimited patience, conscientious to the limit, complete loyalty.” His colleagues wrote to the superintendent, “He has given unstinting service on behalf of the pupils, teachers and the country.”

Of Isidore Rubin, teacher for 13 years, a superintendent said that his record was one “of exemplary conduct and school service. His war record is a shining example of true American patriotism.” While a combat soldier in Italy, Mr. Rubin won first prize in a contest conducted in the Mediterranean Theater of the war, for his essay, “What Victory Means to Me.” This was widely heralded in press and radio as the finest example of the aspirations of our fighting men.

Fellow-teachers of David Friedman, who has taught for

24 years, say of him: "He has demonstrated devotion to the principles of his country and willingness to serve it loyally and to inspire in his students the finest standards of brotherhood and democracy. . . . Mr. Friedman's dismissal from the school would be a loss to his school, to his colleagues and to his students."

Louis Jaffe, social science teacher for 19 years, has been outstanding in his fight for peace. His interest in education for peace has exposed him several times in the past few years to questioning by committees of superintendents. He has published many articles in educational journals on peace and international cooperation. His latest article was in the *Harvard Educational Review* (Winter 1950).

Cold War in Education

The action of Superintendent Jansen is part of the "cold war" pattern of thought control and suppression of all opposition to war. This is evident from a brief submitted by the New York Board of Education to the state commissioner in which the board asked permission to dismiss "disloyal" teachers. A loyal teacher, says the brief, must assume the obligation to "actively support the government" and to "instruct and guide the children along the right path" in zealous support of the "cold war." What becomes of the traditional American right of dissent? The brief included among those considered "disloyal," "members of the Communist Party," "those who for strategic reasons never hold a party card" and "fellow-travelers."

The brief is an application of the thought control policy set forth by the educational policies commission of the National Education Association. Dr. Jansen is a member of this commission, of which General Dwight Eisenhower is also a member. Last summer the commission presented to the teachers of the nation a report, "American Education and International Tensions," which unreservedly presents the position that American schools must become "instruments of national policy" in propagandizing for the cold

war. The democratic right to differ with the policy of the Truman administration is thus denied.

Thus, forced conformity with the domestic and foreign war policies of the Truman administration can be seen as the basis for the drive against the teachers. This policy applies to the trade union movement, as to all other phases of American life today. All the suspended teachers are active and leading members of the Teachers Union. Since this union has not knuckled under to the cold war policies of the Truman administration, it has been the target of attack. Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York is playing a very active part in this offensive against non-conformists. Under his auspices the heads of every city department have cracked down on the United Public Workers, with which the Teachers Union is affiliated. Brutal measures have been taken by the Welfare Department where leaders, including Eleanor Goding, Negro president of the welfare workers' local, have been suspended from their jobs and active union members have been punished in various ways. The Board of Education, for its part, in May approved a resolution offered by pro-Franco board member George Timone to withdraw recognition by the city of the Teachers Union.

The cold war policy of putting the main burden on the working people of our country appears in another aspect of this drive against the union. The teachers of New York are fighting a bitter struggle for salary increases. They have resorted to the unprecedented tactic of refusing to participate in extra-curricular activities like clubs, concerts, dramatic performances, dances, etc. Teachers have hitherto contributed their services for these activities after the teaching day. Since the Teachers Union was the first teacher group to propose this type of pressure for wage increases, it has not endeared itself to the city administration. And in this fight the suspended teachers were active.

Anti-Semitic "Double Standard"

Thought control by the Board of Education of New York City and the superintendent has set the tone for the rest of the country in censorship of progressive books. Howard Fast's *Citizen Tom Paine*, books dealing with anti-Semitism like Laura Z. Hobson's *Gentleman's Agreement* and Arthur Miller's *Focus*, books which present a view of the equality of all religions like *One God*, the *Nation* magazine—all these have been banned from the New York schools. Even songs and records which emphasize equality have fallen under the ban. And in the matter of censorship, too, strongest opposition has come from the Teachers Union.

Since the eight suspended teachers are all Jewish, the question has been raised as to whether anti-Semitism is involved in their suspension. The superintendent and the Board of Education vociferously deny this charge. Yet there can be no doubt that anti-Semitism, as well as anti-Negro bias, are openly expressed in the schools and go unpunished and often unnoticed by school authorities. The evidence



The eight suspended teachers (left to right): Louis Jaffe, Isadore Rubin, Mark Friedlander, Abraham Lederman, Celia Lewis Zitron, David Friedman, Abraham Feingold, Alice Citron.

is decisive enough. There is a sharp contrast between treatment of the eight suspended teachers and the cases given below. And these are only a small part of what could be cited. They indicate at the very least that there is a "double standard" in dealing with teachers.

Miss May A. Quinn was charged recently with saying in the classroom, "The Negroes were happy before they knew about racial discrimination," and "I would not go where I was not wanted." A few years ago Miss Quinn had been under fire for using a scurrilous anti-Semitic leaflet as teaching material in her civics class. The superintendent, after an investigation during which Miss Quinn was *not* suspended, found that she had not meant "to offend the Negro people or to justify discrimination." He concluded, "I contemplate no further action."

Miss Gladys Laubenheimer was guilty of making anti-Semitic remarks and slurs against the foreign born in her classroom. The school authorities were forced to take notice of the situation by persistent complaints over a long period of time and finally transferred her to one of the most desirable schools in the city.

One of the city's principals, Mrs. Eudora Fletcher, has been repeatedly charged by large numbers of parents with insulting Jewish, Italian and foreign born parents. Numerous letters, petitions and visits to the Board of Education headquarters have not even resulted in an audience with the superintendent.

Documented evidence of anti-Semitism brought to Dr. Jansen by parents about another principal, Miss Allen, were not accepted or even glanced at. The parents were told that the matter would be taken up in the future.

Free Education in Jeopardy

When all these aspects of the case of the suspended teachers are considered together, an ominous pattern is discernible whose significance is far-reaching, not only for the city, but the nation as well. Much more than the livelihood and civil rights of eight teachers is involved. Like other actions taken against leading figures in labor, science, motion pictures and radio, the effects reach out—as they

are intended to—in ever-widening circles. Teachers, already afraid to discuss issues freely, to present all the facts or to allow their students to discuss opinions even if they are unpopular, impose ever more severe self-constraint. The very mention of Russia, except in war-breeding terms, is dreaded. The word "peace" is taboo. Even such topics as trade unionism, social security or FEPC are avoided. Anti-Semites and reactionaries in the school system feel that they have a free field to indoctrinate the students. As a result, free education is in mortal danger.

Children are more and more being subjected to a one-sided, reactionary approach to all problems. Unceasing talk of war and atom bombs are creating nervous tensions and fears in some pupils. Others are becoming, like the Hitler youth, credulous followers of spy scares and hysterical red-baiting and hardened supporters of the infliction of war and destruction on other peoples. Pupils whose home education sets up resistance to the propaganda barrage are increasingly afraid to speak up in class. They are torn by conflict between what they believe to be true and what they are forced to accept in school. The parallel with Hitlerism is getting uncomfortably close.

In spite of attempts to silence opposition, there has been a tremendous volume of protest against the suspensions. The eight teachers are being invited to speak at numerous meetings. Parents from the communities in which the eight taught have sent a delegation to Maximilian Moss, president of the Board of Education. Neighborhood committees in defense of the teachers have sprung up. Parents associations and trade unions have protested. The demand is insistently being made that teachers be judged on the basis of their performance in the school and in the classroom and that they be allowed the freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. For the persecution of these teachers spells danger to the whole educational system and to democracy itself.

The issue is not local, but national. People from all parts of the country are urged to send letters to Mayor O'Dwyer, City Hall, New York City, and Board of Education President Maximilian Moss, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., demanding reinstatement of the suspended teachers.

SOCIAL WORKERS DEFEND THEIR UNION

By Samuel Cohen

THE lockout at the United Palestine Appeal goes into its sixth week at this writing. The offices of the agency are desolate, save for a few high priced executives clambering from phone to phone in an attempt to maintain skeleton staff operations. The employees, who were fired on April 27 for demanding their right to belong to the Social Service Employees' Union, Local 19, United Office and

Professional Workers of America, have maintained their ranks despite efforts of the raiding CIO union to split the workers and lead a back-to-work movement. The attempt of the UPA leadership to harness its employees to the cold war has met rough going. By this time the anti-union leadership of the UPA and of its parent organization, the United Jewish Appeal, are beginning to learn that it is

one thing to plan to smash a trade union and another to carry out these plans.

The pickets pacing back and forth in front of the UPA offices at 41 East 42nd Street, New York City, proclaim to the entire city and far beyond that Henry Morgenthau, Jr., UJA national chairman, Ellis Radinsky, United Palestine Appeal executive director and others made one slight error. When they decided to push the cold war down the throats of the employees by refusing to deal with the union, they did not reckon with the devotion of the employees to their union. Nor did they reckon with the Jewish community, which is resisting this attempt to make the UJA trade unions a respectable instrument for State Department use.

Nowhere was this better illustrated than at the conference sponsored by the American Jewish Labor Council to defend the SSEU on May 18. Such organizations as the Furrier's Union, Furniture Workers Local 140, Shoe Workers Locals 54 and 65, American Federation of Polish Jews and the Bronx Cultural Center heard a report by the union and noted the absence of the agencies, which had been invited to explain their actions. The conference unanimously characterized the leadership of the United Jewish Appeal, United Palestine Appeal, Hadassah, American Zionist Council and Federation Employment Service as "anti-labor" and condemned this leadership for "its efforts to destroy" the SSEU. The organization made plans to hold a series of open air rallies, to distribute more than a quarter million leaflets and to culminate the offensive with an open hearing in New York City of the anti-union activities of these agency leaders.

Other sections of the Jewish community also have begun to break away from the domination of the reactionary UJA leadership. Many people in the Jewish community are asking, must aid to Israel be based on union-busting?

In an editorial entitled "Unfortunate Situation," the *Queens Jewish News* on May 12 observed that one UJA contributor had muttered, "It's a shame," when he saw union members giving out leaflets attacking UPA and UJA leadership. But, continued the *News*, he had failed to understand that the shame was "not that the younger Jew was berating the UJA labor policy, but rather that we, as Jews, have forced ourselves into such an irreconcilable position." The editorial stated: "These eighteen [union members] have homes, are also members of synagogues, are active in local UJA drives, and, were it not for an arbitrary decision of our most important Jewish agencies—would also today be doing their utmost for Israel."

This expression of differences within the Jewish community is one result of the widespread campaign conducted by the union, including leaflet distributions at UJA functions and *landsmanshaften* meetings, thousands of letters to Jewish leaders and actions which showed the sharpest break with the UJA reactionary leadership. There were mass picket lines at the dinner sponsored by the Social Service Division of the UJA and at the UPA testimonial dinner for national chairman Judge Morris Rothenberg.

The full impact of community pressure upon UJA and UPA leaders is evident in the reluctance of the UPA to

bring scabs into its offices. Nor has UPA dared to face a State Mediation Board, at which admittedly they would be guilty of the worst type of unfair labor practices. This community resentment at union busting within UJA has also had its repercussions in the rest of the country, where leaders of Jewish organizations are now frankly weighing the possibility that their drive against the trade unions of their employees may not succeed. Here are a few examples.

In Pittsburgh, the Social Service Employees' Union defeated the attempted "purge" of two union members employed by the Pittsburgh Jewish Family and Children's Service. A nation-wide fight forced the Board of Directors to rescind its resolution against the employment of "communists." This victory, won at the height of the "red scare" in Pittsburgh, confounded the reactionary Jewish leaders, who expected that the House Un-American Activities Committee exposures in that city would be followed by panic and hysteria among union members.

In Cleveland, the Board of Directors of the Jewish Community Center are still deliberating whether they dare to follow the United Palestine Appeal pattern of refusing to recognize the SSEU even though every community center employee is a member of that union. For several weeks the board has been searching for a CIO member to no avail. The board split wide open on the issue and the president of the board resigned in protest when the board refused to break immediately with the union.

In Los Angeles, the SSEU, which recently led a successful 55-day strike against the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations, is now mobilizing to meet the attack by the City of Hope management, which operates a sanatorium. After months of stalling on serious grievances, including the refusal to put into effect an arbitration award of last December, management recognized CIO on May 25 even though the overwhelming majority of the staff were SSEU members and a CIO union did not formally exist at the agency!

In New York City, managements of both United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York and Federation Employment Service took one look at the UPA situation. Then they rushed headlong into watered down contracts with the CIO, which had been recognized earlier, although it was a minority company-dominated union.

Unquestionably the wavering of some reactionary leaders of Jewish organizations reflects a concern at the strong protests already registered by thousands of Jewish citizens. A concerted effort now by progressive individuals and organizations, while UJA is still in the midst of the 1950 fund drive and *must* pay attention to its Jewish constituency, would guarantee the immediate reinstatement with full back pay of the locked out UPA workers. But more than that, such effort would mean a real defeat to those who see United Jewish Appeal not as an instrument in the fight of the Jewish people for a peaceful future, but as a tool to cajole the Jewish people into support of the cold war, of support in 1950 of the same kind of forces which in 1940 enslaved an entire German nation and butchered 6,000,000 Jews.

GOOD WILL FOR REACTION: I

By Joseph Brainin

AT this time, with the country dominated by cold war hysteria and with anti-Semitism and Jimcrowism rampant, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, America's top "good will" organization, is, according to its own claims, enjoying unprecedented prosperity and great success. The moral depression that has settled over the United States apparently causes no concern to the Conference, which is reporting progress in all its spheres of activity. But that the Conference is making phenomenal headway in securing financial support is established beyond all doubt.

Even a superficial study of the Conference's financial statement proves conclusively that good will is a big business. Founded in 1928 and having scraped along on a total budget of \$13,000 during its first year, it now proudly displays a 1950 budget to cover needs totaling \$3,544,306. Last year the Conference spent "only" \$2,500,000, but it has since expanded its program of action to include Europe. The most substantial portion of the budget is obtained through voluntary contributions, mostly from big business firms and individual industrialists.

In its appeals for funds the Conference uses the go-getting vernacular of the business world. Presenting its 1950 budget of over three and a half million dollars, the Conference states, in part: "Twenty-one years ago an idea was born in a wilderness—the wilderness of intergroup relations. No one really knew how to proceed—how to put people to work together—how to overcome hates and prejudices. Steadily over this 21-year period we of the National Conference of Christians and Jews have blazed a path through this wilderness. In two decades we have developed techniques and know-how in many areas of life—in educational, in religious circles and all the other areas in which we function."

The National Conference functions in many areas and in quite a grandiose manner. It maintains 62 regional offices in the United States, a number of branches in Europe and one Canadian headquarters in Toronto. The salaries for the loyalty-tested know-how-endowed staff aggregate an impressive \$1,285,972 (exclusive of Europe)—and this, according to the chief executives, "is just a beginning."

For publicity and fund-raising the Conference spends \$275,000 annually; this is exclusive of \$114,000 for its worldwide Religious News Service, nor does it include \$343,000 for radio, advertising, films, film strips and pamphlets. Two items in the financial statement are of particularly intriguing interest. One, labeled "European Council for Brotherhood," lists an expenditure of \$180,000 "to maintain

the operation of offices outside the United States—cooperation with occupation governments." The other, under the heading "Intergroup Relations in Commerce and Industry," has a budget of \$325,000 a year "to staff new department and conduct experimental projects." (The activities represented by these two items will be examined in a forthcoming article.)

While the Conference reports at length about "monumental achievements" in the sponsorship of "Brotherhood Week" and the cleansing of school textbooks of prejudice (claims that we shall analyze in detail), little, if anything, is said about the two items mentioned above—items whose combined budgets total half a million dollars a year. The reason for this modest reticence is no mystery. A conscientious survey of the information available leaves no doubt that the National Conference of Christians and Jews is in reality a front for imperialism and functions primarily as a good will council for big business.

The Conference Is Born

In order to grasp the full scope of the hoax perpetrated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews on the American people, and now also on a section of the European people, one must delve a little into the past, when "an idea was born in a wilderness." For the circumstances surrounding the birth of the Conference throw an interesting light on the subsequent development of this prosperous good will business.

About the middle of the 1920's, Joel Blau, a Reform rabbi, wrote an essay on the guilt of the Christian church in the perpetuation of anti-Semitism. The *Atlantic Monthly*, then at the height of its prestige, published this rather lyrical "*J'Accuse*" against organized Christianity under the title "The Pharisees and the Jews." Quite a commotion ensued in clerical circles. Some of Dr. Blau's rabbinical colleagues resented his outspoken challenge to Christianity. A number of Protestant clergymen, on the other hand, sincerely stirred by the article, applauded it.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, a comparatively liberal-minded body in those days, established a subcommittee of its Commission on International Justice and Good Will for the specific purpose of promoting better relations between the Jews and the Protestants in this country. It was a well-meant gesture which, strangely enough, did not meet with the gratitude or even the approval of the American Jewish Committee, then virtually the official "guardian" of Jewish interests in America. While different reasons were given for this unexpected antagonism, it may safely assumed that the primary

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cause was the reluctance of the Council's subcommittee to take advice from the American Jewish Committee's experts. The Committee was particularly eager to placate the Roman Catholic clergy (which, incidentally, showed not the slightest inclination to participate in any interfaith good will project), while the Council's exponents of good will apparently were unconcerned about the absence of the Catholic section of Christianity.

Eventually the conflict between the Council and the American Jewish Committee broke out in the open when the Committee suddenly "discovered" that the Council maintained a world-wide missionary apparatus—a fact which could hardly be the subject of a startling revelation, since Protestant missionary work had always been one of the Federal Council's main functions. In any event, the Jewish Committee's public "disclosure," accompanied by charges that the Council's good will activities merely served to screen its missionary work among Jews, created a situation that caused the Council to decide to discontinue its good will committee.

The "Idea in the Wilderness"

Now the stage was set for an American Jewish Committee-sponsored good will organization of Jews and Christians. At this point the Reverend Everett R. Clinchy, today president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, made his entrance.

Dr. Clinchy's "idea in the wilderness" was enthusiastically received by American Jewish Committee leaders. He pictured an organization that would work in close cooperation with Jewish leaders and would have to depend on Jewish proponents of good will for its financial backing. A theretofore obscure young man, but endowed with energy, personable appearance and the resourcefulness of a good salesman, the Reverend Dr. Clinchy knew how to please and "yes" distinguished businessmen and prominent attorneys. He also had solved another important problem, namely, the "participation" of Catholic representatives.

His solution was extremely simple. The Roman Catholic clergy, who would in any event never get official sanction to join in such an enterprise, should in the meanwhile be left out of consideration, he advised. Instead, he suggested, Catholic laymen in good standing with the Catholic Church should be attracted, so that through their service they would be able to convince the Catholic high command that the Conference could mobilize Jewish and Protestant sentiment for Roman Catholic policies.

The Clinchy formula was accepted. Provided with the necessary introductions, the young Christian diplomat secured the sponsorship of Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker and the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman—two Protestant laymen of high repute and one Protestant clergyman, who did not stay in the Conference long. Guided by the Jewish financier Roger Straus, who later became one of Thomas E. Dewey's closest political mentors, the National Conference of Jews and Christians was launched. Only later was the order reversed and the word "Christians" put first.

With the help of the legal talent of the American Jewish Committee, Newton D. Baker wrote an appropriate, very carefully worded charter designed to make it easier for representatives of the Roman Catholic Church to join the body. The charter specified that "the Conference is an association of individuals, not of officials commissioned by their respective religious bodies."

Since the actual work of the Conference should be measured against the lofty aims and purposes enumerated in its charter, it may prove useful to quote another section: "Believing in a spiritual interpretation of the universe and deriving its inspiration therefrom, the National Conference exists to promote justice, unity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the United States, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships."

Today, however, hardly a trace of a "spiritual interpretation of the universe" is recognizable in the set-up of the Conference. The three co-chairmen are spokesmen for big business, to wit: Charles E. Wilson (Protestant), president of General Electric; Thomas E. Braniff (Catholic), president of the Prudential Fire Insurance Company and Braniff Air Lines; and Roger W. Straus (Jewish), chairman of the American Smelting Company. Among those who, in the course of two decades, helped build the "good will idea" into a massive business structure are the late Dr. Carleton J. H. Hayes, United States Ambassador to Franco Spain and active good will propagandist for the Madrid butcher; Fulton Oursler, feature writer for the Hearst press and associate editor of *Reader's Digest*; Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System; Dwight R. G. Palmer, president of General Cable Corporation; Ted R. Gamble, president of Gamble Enterprises; Bernard F. Gimbel, the department store tycoon; and Bernard Baruch, financier and advocate of an American monopoly of atomic weapons. No further evidence is needed to conclude that the National Conference likes big business and that big business is very much taken with the "spiritual interpretation of the universe" espoused by the National Conference.

Avoidance of Issues

"Brotherhood" and "intergroup good will" are good selling slogans which the Conference uses most skilfully in its campaign to raise bigger funds. But never has the Conference ventured into the actual arena where the battle for the ideals of brotherhood and justice rages in everyday life—except, on occasion, to support the reactionary side. As a matter of fact, the Conference very carefully avoids any and all issues, and dares not wet its feet in any controversy, lest it displease some of its distinguished financial sponsors.

It is a matter of record that the National Conference has not lifted its voice for the federal FEPC bill, which logically should be of major concern to it. While the Conference does not reject FEPC outright, it counsels caution. Thus a pamphlet by Hilda Taba, director of the Project on Intergroup Education, gives the following advice: "Decide which of the problems of importance in the community would constitute a good first step. This problem or project should not be too ambitious. For example, instead of tackling the problem of FEPC legislation right away, it might be wise to try to get jobs for some Negro young people or youth of some other minority group."

At no time has this "powerful" good will organization dared to protest against or even comment on flagrant violations of civil rights, on Jimcrow or, for that matter, anti-Semitism. The riots at Peekskill last year did not evoke the slightest reaction, official or unofficial, on the part of the Conference, which claims to possess the "know-how to overcome hates and prejudices." There is not on record a single piece of evidence to show that the National Conference has dealt with any specific cases of prejudice inside or outside the church.

But, on the other hand, the Conference never fails to whitewash the Republican Party of any accusations of anti-Semitic or anti-Negro offenses. When, for instance, during

the 1944 presidential elections campaign, the infamous insinuation of "Clear it with Sidney," spread by Dewey's henchmen, reverberated throughout the country, the National Conference of Christians and Jews issued millions of leaflets in an effort to prove that both political parties, Democratic and Republican alike, were free of anti-Semitism, and that those who charged any major political party with spreading anti-Jewish propaganda were injecting an anti-Semitic issue into American politics. It was of course obvious that Roger W. Straus was cynically making use of the Conference to bolster Jewish support for candidate Thomas E. Dewey—for Roosevelt surely did not require the defense of the Conference to prove to American Jews that he was free of anti-Semitism.

Constantly fearful lest its pronouncements on prejudice, no matter how innocuous, involve it in some specific issue, the Conference's public relations specialists adhere to a policy of keeping its copy on an abstract level, unless they can slant it to serve reaction. One of the Conference's experts, speaking to this writer, described the approved technique in this way: "Good will must be sold in the same way as one would sell soap or cigarettes. We must keep hammering away on good will as one repeats a trade mark, without trying to explain too much."

(To be continued.)

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND WHITE CHAUVINISM

By Herbert Aptheker

THE United Press reported on December 20, 1949, that Senator John J. Sparkman, an Alabama Democrat, "clashed with Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, president of the National Council of Negro Women, over whether civil rights legislation would improve the economic lot of Negroes."

The honorable Democrat was of the opinion that the enactment of a fair employment practices law might "actually do a lot of harm" and that the area of civil rights was more amenable to moral suasion than to legislation. There are many people very much more well meaning than Mr. Truman's Alabama friend who are confused by this type of argument.

The argument and the confusion are of long standing. Thus, in one of the earliest cases—*Plessy vs. Ferguson*—a Negro's challenge of Jimcrow legislation was rejected in

1896 on an argument identical with that advanced by Senator Sparkman. The Negro challenged, on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, the constitutionality of a Louisiana law providing for segregation aboard trains. But the Supreme Court rejected his plea, asserting that civil rights could not be legislated but required, rather, a long process of education.

There is an interesting inconsistency in the reasoning of the Supreme Court and of Senator Sparkman. This inconsistency may be brought out in the form of a question, namely: if laws are ineffectual against Jimcrow, why are laws needed for Jimcrow?

Most people seem to have the impression that segregation and discrimination suddenly make their appearance in a brutal and naked form below the Mason and Dixon line very much like the warmer weather—as something natural and inevitable. The truth, however, is quite otherwise.

Jimcrow is man-made; ruling class-made, to be exact. And it rests upon ruling class law; it is imbedded within the governmental apparatus. The ruling class does and will fight against the repeal of Jimcrow laws and the enactment of civil rights legislation because it knows that segregation and discrimination, that white chauvinism, is one

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of its most potent weapons for maintaining imperialism.

Indeed, American imperialism and white chauvinism are blood relations. American imperialism breeds and needs white chauvinism.

I would like, in this paper, to sketch briefly the historical evidence of this integral connection. We have said that Jimcrow rests upon ruling class law. Yes, it does, and fairly recent law, at that. Laws providing for discrimination and segregation and for disfranchisement make their modern appearance from the late 1880's to the early 1900's.

Let us indicate the facts concerning this with a few examples. The approximate time range of modern Jimcrow laws may be seen in the fact that Mississippi's statutes stem from an enactment of 1888 (this applied to the living; in 1890, Jackson, Mississippi made it complete by Jimcrowing the dead—i.e., requiring white and Negro cemeteries), while those of North Carolina stem from an enactment of 1899. Disfranchisement, a more complicated process, was accomplished—after fierce opposition from many whites as well as Negroes—by new constitutions adopted as follows: Mississippi, 1890; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1901; Alabama, 1901; Virginia, 1902; Georgia, 1908; Oklahoma, 1910.

One may observe immediately that these laws and constitutional enactments appear with the burgeoning of American monopoly capitalism, with the appearance of American imperialism. This relationship is not simply one of time; it is one of cause and effect.

Much has been written about the development of monopoly capitalism in this post-Civil War generation. There is a mountain of literature on the Rockefellers, Hills, Harrimans, Carnegies, Armours, Havemeyers and Morgans who make their debuts during this era, crush competition, perfect their monopolies and start—especially with the Spanish-American War, 1898-99—their careers as international tycoons.

White Chauvinism Spurred by Imperialism

But just as the enslavement of millions of Negro workers here for hundreds of years is neglected in historical literature as a key explanation for the speed and magnitude of the development of American capitalism, so the conquest of the South and the forcible repression of the Negro people is neglected in the literature on the rise of American imperialism. The fact of the matter, however, is that when American monopoly capitalism turned its attention seriously to overseas investments and to the appropriation of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, it simultaneously turned its attention seriously to investments in the South and to the establishment of terrorist domination of the Southern masses and especially of the Negro people. Just as the former activity produced the most rabid type of jingoism, so the latter, basing itself on the racism derived from slavery, produced the most virulent form of white chauvinism. Just as the former resulted in the imposition, by law, of second-class citizenship upon the

people of the new colonies, so the latter had the same result for the masses of the so-called New South and especially for the Negro people.

Contemporaries, especially among Negro leaders like Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter, pointed out the connection between American aggression overseas and the mounting terror against the Negro people. The latter is reflected in developing white chauvinism. Others observed this, too. Thus, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, one of the very few Republican leaders to oppose imperialism, pointed out that the ideological justification for the subjugation of the people of Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Philippines was identical with that hitherto offered by Bourbon Democrats on the Negro question. Moorfield Storey, distinguished Boston attorney and later the first president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, was a leader in the anti-imperialist movement. In 1905, while reasserting his conviction "that our Philippine policy is wrong," Storey added, "I feel that it is also responsible for the reaction at home against the Negroes."

And at the same period the Bourbon Senator Tillman of South Carolina remarked: "Republican leaders do not longer dare to call into question the justice or the necessity of limiting Negro suffrage in the South." And again, on the floor of the Senate: "I want to call your attention to the remarkable change that has come over the spirit of the dream of the Republicans. Your slogans of the past—brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God—have gone glimmering down the ages. The brotherhood of man exists no longer."

It is pertinent to observe that the treaty annexing the Philippines would certainly have failed of ratification by the Senate had there not existed a coalition on this question between the Republicans and the Bourbon Democrats.

By the late 1880's there was in full swing in the South what its people called "The Great Barbecue," by which they meant the invasion of their land by Northern Capital. In 1880 the South produced 400,000 tons of pig iron; by 1890 this was quadrupled. In the same decade the quantity of timber taken from Southern forests more than doubled and there ensued an enormous expansion in the furniture industry. From 1880 to 1900 the number of textile mills in the South increased three and a half times, the number of spindles over seven times, and by 1915 there were more cotton textile mills in the South than in the rest of the country. Bituminous coal production in the South leaped from six million in 1880 to 52 million tons in 1900. Other industries, like tobacco and railroads, grew correspondingly.

Consolidation came with growth, a fact which may be indicated by mentioning the appearance in the 1890's of such giant corporations as the American Tobacco Company and the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company. While much of the early capital for this expansion was local, as the movement continued a greater and greater proportion of the capital investments came from great Northern monopolies. Thus, by 1900, while half a billion

dollars were invested abroad, one billion dollars had been invested in Southern manufacturing. By 1900, J. P. Morgan & Co. controlled the Baltimore & Ohio, the Southern and the Central of Georgia, and by 1907 the recently formed United States Steel Corporation (also dominated by Morgan) had absorbed the tremendous properties of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad trust centered in the Birmingham-Chattanooga area.

Negro Resistance in Eighties and Nineties

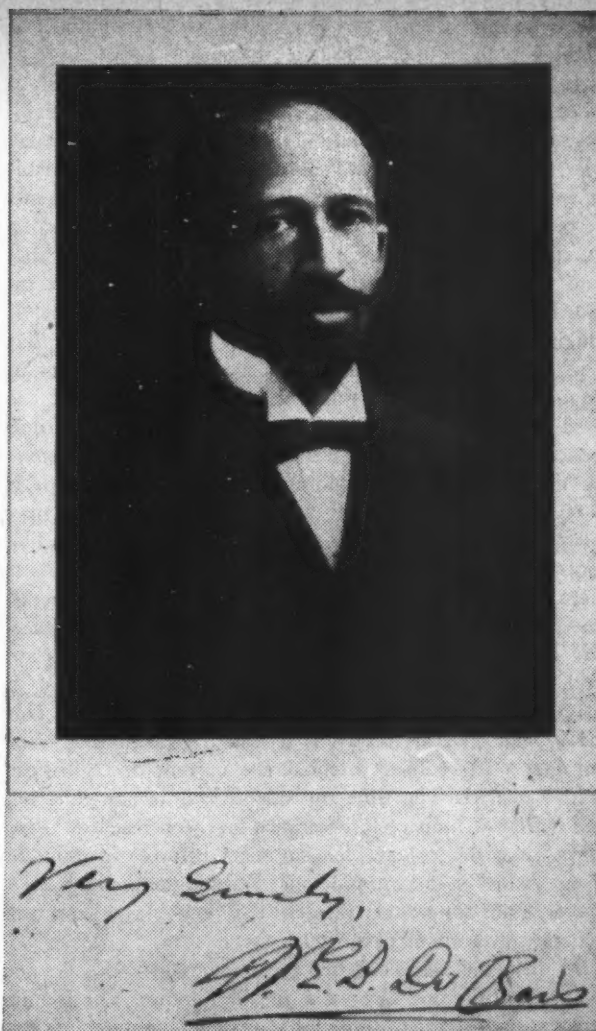
Monopoly capitalism has fastened itself nowhere and upon no people without a struggle. This is as true of the Southern people in general and the Negro people in particular as of any other people in the world. Here we shall barely indicate the facts in connection with this resistance.

It is very widely assumed that with the crushing of Reconstruction late in the 1870's the Negro people lost all political effectiveness and simply lay down, not to get up again until, perhaps, the Niagara Movement of the first decade of the twentieth century. This is nonsense. The 1880's and 1890's were years of fierce struggles, of some notable, though temporary successes, and of the most brutal and violent suppression comparable to that practiced upon the Filipino peoples by the same imperialism during the same general period.

It will surprise many to learn that during the post-Reconstruction period—that is, from 1877 to 1901—there were 11 Negroes elected to Congress. They were: from Mississippi, Blanche K. Bruce and John R. Lynch; from South Carolina, Richard H. Cain, James H. Rainey, Robert Smalls, Thomas E. Miller and George W. Murray; from North Carolina, James E. O'Hara, Henry P. Cheatham and George H. White; from Virginia, John M. Langston.

It will surprise many to learn that Negroes sat in the House and the Senate of all Southern legislatures throughout the 1880's and 1890's. The facts for Mississippi may be presented as typical of the situation: the legislature of that state in 1878 contained seven Negroes; in 1880, eight; in 1882, 11; in 1884, 10; in 1886, seven; in 1888, seven; in 1890, six and even that of 1899 still had one Negro member. It will surprise many to learn that dozens of Southern cities had Negroes appointed and elected officers on all levels of administrative responsibilities and that cities like Danville, Virginia, Jackson, Mississippi, and Wilmington, North Carolina, had anti-Bourbon administrations, uniting Negroes and whites, in the 1880's and 1890's. Indeed, only terrible massacres in 1883 and 1898, engineered by the bosses, overthrew the governments in the last three cities.

It will surprise many, too, to learn that the great Populist third party anti-monopoly movement of the 1890's captured several Southern state governments and seriously challenged the rule of the oligarchy throughout the South. On the executive committees of this People's Party everywhere in the South, when it was vigorous in the early 1890's, were Negroes together with whites, officials elected on this ticket in the South were Negroes as well as whites,



W. E. B. DuBois, great Negro scholar and fighter for his people, in the early nineteen hundreds.

and one and a quarter million Negroes (including over 300,000 women) were members of the Colored Farmers' Alliance, one of the main mass bases of that Populist movement.

White Chauvinism and Terror

To conquer this South and to smash the rising unity of Negro and white and to re-subject the Negro people to special oppression, American imperialism turned to the weapons of fraud, terror and white chauvinism. When these three instruments succeeded in smashing opposition, it was that imperialism which saw to it that the laws codifying and sustaining white chauvinism, to which reference has already been made, were passed.

The brutality of this imperialism was complete everywhere. It was H. O. Havemeyer, of the Sugar Trust, who told the Federal Industrial Commission in 1899: "I do not care two cents for your ethics. I don't know enough of

them to apply them. . . . As a business proposition, it is right to get all out of a business that you possibly can."

It was a leading Republican newspaper, the San Francisco *Argonaut*, which said in January 1899: "The Anglo-Saxon methods of warfare do not appeal to the Malay [i.e., the Filipino]. In pursuance of our imperialistic plans, it would be well to hire some of the insurgent lieutenants to betray Aguinaldo and other chieftains into our clutches. A little bribery, a little treachery and a little ambuscading, and we could trap Aguinaldo and his chieftains. Then, instead of putting them to death in the ordinary way, it might be well to torture them. The Spaniards have left behind them some means to that end in the dungeons in Manila. The rack, the thumbscrew, the trial by fire, the trial by molten lead, boiling insurgents alive, crushing their bones in ingenious mechanisms of torture—these are some of the methods that would impress the Malay mind. It would show them that we are in earnest. . . . This may seem to some of the more sentimental of our readers, like grim jesting. It is not. It is grim earnest."

In June 1894, the *Nation* reported the Right Reverend Hugh Miller Thompson, Bishop of Mississippi, as justifying lynching because "the laws are slow and the jails are full." In November 1898, Colonel A. M. Waddell said in North Carolina, according to the *Raleigh News & Observer*, that "we are resolved" to win the elections in Wilmington, "if we have to choke the current of Cape Fear with carcasses. The time for smooth words has gone by, the extremist limit of forbearance has been reached." Five days later the colonel led an armed force against the Negro-white administration of Wilmington, slaughtered scores, and announced himself the new mayor and the federal government gave silent assent.

In 1909 the San Francisco *Argonaut* said: "We do not want the Filipinos. We want the Philippines. The islands are enormously rich, but, unfortunately, they are infested by Filipinos. There are many millions there, and it is to be feared their extinction will be slow." That same year Senator Tillman of South Carolina announced on the floor of the United States Senate: "We took the government away. We stuffed the ballot boxes. We shot Negroes! We are not ashamed of it."

"Science" Aids Chauvinism

And the respectable Republican papers of the North—the organs of monopoly capitalism, of that which had usurped the South and that for which the Tillmans worked—nodded approval. Thus, in 1898, the *Philadelphia Record* said: "We have evidently just begun the task of Americanizing the African," and the *Providence, Rhode Island Journal* editorialized that same year, that perhaps the Negro "could be made a more orderly citizen if there were restored something like the old interest taken by the masters and mistresses in the Negro boys and girls around them."

The Negro "boys" and "girls" were made "orderly citi-

zens" and "Americanized" in the inimitable manner of American imperialism. That is, from 1889 through 1901 there were 1,955 recorded¹ lynchings or an average of 165 lynchings per year for 12 years. That is, in these dozen years of the rise of American imperialism occurred 42 per cent of all recorded lynchings from 1882 through 1947.

And to back up the fraud, terror and laws went the evolving of a modern "scientific" white chauvinism. The writings of Herbert Spencer in sociology, Madison Grant in anthropology, William A. Dunning in history, William McDougall and the whole paraphernalia and corruption of so-called intelligence tests in psychology, the distortions of Darwinism, bolstered this chauvinism.

To give an idea of what this meant I shall quote simply the work of an anatomist, R. B. Bean of Johns Hopkins University. In 1906, Bean published in the very widely circulated popular magazine, *Century*, a study of "The Negro Brain." Here were his conclusions—and they were broadcast by the general press: "The Caucasian and the Negro are fundamentally opposite extremes in evolution . . . it is useless to try to elevate the Negro by education or otherwise, except in the direction of his natural endowments. . . . Let them win their reward by diligent service." When, three years later, Franklin P. Mall, Professor of Anatomy at Johns Hopkins and founder of the *American Journal of Anatomy*, proved Bean's work to be fraudulent and his conclusions nonsensical, his—Mall's—report appeared only in the *American Journal of Anatomy*. It did not reach the audience which had been exposed to Bean's vicious lies.

We conclude, then, by declaring that modern white chauvinism is organically connected, from its origin, with American imperialism. Imperialism refurbished the racism of slavery and used this white chauvinism to help it succeed in the conquest of the South and the subjugation of the Negro people. This chauvinism is integrally related to the jingoism of imperialism which appeared most virulently at the same time. The conquest of the Cuban, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian and Filipino nationalities occurs at the same time and for the same reasons as the conquest of the budding Negro nation.

In *New Times*, published in the Soviet Union (1950, No. 1) an Azerbaijan poet writes: "No people is born chauvinist, even if at some subsequent state of its life it comes to be infected with the virus of chauvinism. This, we hold, is not an inborn vice. National chauvinism, the teaching of Lenin and Stalin affirms, is an ideology of the capitalist class, a class that suppresses all true human freedom."

And specifically, in the United States, the historical evidence demonstrates that American imperialism, basing itself upon the white supremacy of slavery, developed and nurtured white chauvinism as its ideological reflection and bulwark.

¹ The count comes from Tuskegee Institute and undoubtedly is a minimum. The Mississippi white historian Vernon L. Wharton, writing of the post-Civil War generation, states: "It is impossible to make any estimate of the number of individual Negroes lynched or murdered by whites during the period. Such matters attracted little or no attention in the press."

Book Reviews

RISE OF THE AMERICAN GESTAPO

By Art Shields

High Treason: The Plot Against the People, by Albert E. Kahn. Lear Publishers, New York. Paper bound edition, \$1.00; cloth bound edition, \$3.00.

This is a story of intrigue, violence and sudden death. The place and time are the United States in the last 30 years. Every character is taken from real life. And every deed and conversation reported is quoted from documented records. Nevertheless, the gunmen, spies, professional anti-Semites, machine gun salesmen, big and little racketeers, bankers and politicians are as ruthless and crooked as any that Dashiell Hammett ever conceived. And the scope of their operations is much bigger, for they are taking part in a far-flung conspiracy against the common people of the United States.

High Treason is the history of Wall Street's drive to smash democracy and set up a police state in preparation for a mad war to conquer the world. It gives special attention to the transformation of a once tiny secret police force into a huge Gestapo organization. It is the only book of its kind. And it ranks in importance with *The Great Conspiracy*, the brilliant and authentic narrative of the international plot to destroy the Soviet Union which the author wrote in collaboration with Michael Sayers several years ago.

Kahn begins his story with the deportation delirium of 1919 and 1920 and the savage attacks on the infant Communist Party. The 1919 date is not arbitrarily chosen. The United States government did not start outlawing workers' parties and militant trade unions until the first world war and the "Red Raids" that followed.

The big employers, of course, had begun their aggressive campaign against American wage earners much earlier. The foundations of what Jack London called the *Iron Heel* state were laid before the last century ended. The trusts had set up hundreds of company towns from which all democracy had been driven. These company towns were patrolled by company police. And they were protected by company-picked governors and company-dominated courts. The trusts had also begun to pick the presidents in this early period. But the federal government was still only an auxiliary force of repression with an army little larger than the Pinkertons' mercenary band and with no political

police. The government did not sit in the driver's seat in the new slavery campaign until about the time when Kahn's story begins. For it is about this time that capitalism as a whole was gripped in a permanent crisis.

By 1919 an enormously swollen federal bureaucracy was using its armies and spies against the workers' Republic of Russia and against labor at home. Strikes were being broken in all the basic industries. The spearhead of the strikebreaking drive was the political police force of the Bureau of Investigation, as the FBI was then called. And the chief of the bureau's savage raiding squads was a round-faced young attorney named J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the Department of Justice's General Intelligence Division. He has been FBI chief since 1924. Today he is still the witchhunters "Master of the Hunt," says Kahn, in the vastly intensified drive for war and fascism today.

Kahn's studies of Hoover and the Gestapo he created furnish some of the most valuable pages in *High Treason*. *High Treason* tells how 30 years ago Hoover's General Intelligence Division compiled a card index file of half million alleged "radicals" that was to form the beginning of the monumental "subversive" lists in the secret dossiers of the Department of Justice today. "Hoover beat out Heinrich

Himmler by 14 years," said the *New Republic* in a comment quoted by Kahn. Himmler's rival was also using hundreds of underworld informers and provocateurs in labor's ranks a generation ago. Hoover has greatly extended this evil practice today. The prosecution's perjurers at the trials of the 11 Communist leaders and of Harry Bridges and at dozens of deportation hearings furnish examples of his current stoolpigeons.

The savagery of Hoover's raiders and jailers in 1919 and 1920 give a foretaste of how American workers will be treated if the drive for fascism succeeds. Hoover directed the "Red Raids" of 1919 and 1920 when 6,000 or more communists and other progressives were arrested. And Kahn tells us from the victims' own affidavits how some of Hoover's prisoners were tortured in superheated dungeons until their bodies were "almost roasted by contact with the hot floor." Others were stretched by the neck or beaten again and again. Many prisoners were paraded through the streets in chains like captives of a Roman emperor. And thousands were confined in stinking, crowded rooms without sanitary facilities.

Some time afterwards, Sacco and Vanzetti, the two world famous Italian American martyrs, were railroaded to the electric chair in Massachusetts with the help of Hoover's Gestapo.

Kahn tells how Hoover continued to expand the Gestapo—even under the Roosevelt administration. He got increased funds for his anti-labor snooping on the pretext that he was protecting children against kidnapers. Thus the camouflaged forces of fascism went forward, while open fascist movements were under attack.

Big business was not plotting a fascist coup in Washington before Roosevelt came in. It didn't need to. Its most reactionary sections sat firmly in the saddle in the White House and Capitol Hill. It was content to rake in the profits, while the FBI and the troops helped keep labor in line and the Marines overran Latin American lands. America was becoming more and more of a police state, while Morgan floated loans for Mussolini and Henry Ford subsidized the nazis in Germany.

But Kahn tells how Wall Street began plotting a fascist insurrection in this country soon after Roosevelt started to make concessions to the people. The plot came to a head in 1934 when a clique of bankers and brokers associated with the Morgan interests asked Gen. Smedley D. Butler, the colorful ex-commander of the Marines, to be their fascist *Fuehrer*. The plotters asked Butler to march on Washington with a horde of armed veterans and to seize power from Roosevelt. They



Albert E. Kahn

promised \$3,000,000 at the start, and millions more later. The bills were to be paid by a group headed by the treasurer of the fascist Liberty League, that had been set up by Morgan and duPont interests. The treasurer was Grayson M.P. Murphy, a Morgan banker and a Bethlehem Steel Company director.

Kahn's story of this projected coup is one of the high points of *High Treason*. Much of his evidence comes from the files of a congressional committee to which Butler unfolded the plot. And Kahn warns us that one of the men named in the plot was President Truman's present defense secretary, Louis Johnson, one of the country's top warmongers today.

Kahn emphasizes the deep roots of fascist ideology in American ruling class minds. He notes, for instance, that Henry Ford was distributing anti-Semitic literature throughout the United States when Adolf Hitler was a nobody in Germany. Hitler's anti-Semitic lies, in fact, were largely identical with those told by Ford. Both distributed the forged *Protocols of Zion*, but Ford did it first. He got this poison from agents of the anti-Semitic tsarist Black Hundreds, who become part of his entourage at Dearborn, Mich.

Kahn points out also that the witch-hunters in Washington are steeped in anti-Semitism. He quotes an investigator for the House Un-American Committee as telling Prof. Clyde Miller: "You should know, Professor, that all those groups fighting anti-Semitism are communist transmission belts." The Un-American representative then added: "You better go back and tell your Jewish friends that the Jews in Germany stuck their necks out too far and Hitler took care of them, and the same thing is going to happen here unless they watch their step."

The author also shows how the Ku Klux Klan nightshirt spread over the land in the early 1920's. The Klan—which was dedicated to war on the Negroes, immigrants, Jews and the labor movement—took control of a half dozen state governments for several years. Kahn also deals

with the backing given to the murderous Black Legion by the automobile magnates. And he quotes a revealing letter of Harry W. Alexander, the General Motors labor relations chief, promoting the fascist group. Black Legionnaires took an oath against Negroes and Jews. Some 50 murders were laid at their door.

I should like to recommend also the chapter on Pearl Bergoff, the self-styled "king of the strikebreakers." Bergoff killed many union men and made \$10,000,000 breaking strikes for the big corporations. And he won this eulogy from his admirer Westbrook Pegler of the Hearst newspapers, after he died: "I knew him a long time," wrote Pegler. "Pearl Bergoff was never on the communist side. He was a law and order man. Pearl was a wonderful strikebreaker." Such strikebreaking "kings," however, have now been largely displaced by the FBI. Private enterprise in the field is giving way to the government's own labor-busting organization in America as in Western Germany.

The last 110 pages of *High Treason* report the new, streamlined drive for fascism in the United States since the death of President Roosevelt and the start of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union. Kahn's report of these menacing five years is all the more revealing because of the historical background given before. His facts show that President Truman and his bi-partisan advisers are following a path beaten by Wall Street stooges before them. The tempo is more headlong, however, and the ultimate objectives are more clearly defined. The employers behind Truman now know exactly what they are trying to accomplish. They are no longer merely striking down democracy when it gets in their way. They are consciously seeking to destroy it root and branch in America and the rest of the world.

In this light Kahn gives blow by blow reports of the Un-American Committee's inquisitions, the government's "Loyalty" purges, the breaking up of progressive meetings by organized hoodlums, the

burning of a communist leader's home in Columbus, Ohio; the orgy of lynchings, floggings, framings and police killings of Negroes and lastly, the trial of the 11 Communist leaders and the fascist violence at Peekskill.

He warns that the government's threat to arrest 21,105 more Americans on charges of "subversive" activity lies ahead. And J. Edgar Hoover, "like an evil spirit from a nightmarish past," is still the "Master of the Hunt" in the new inquisition today.

The people's forces have stood up magnificently under this ferocious attack. But the terrible threat of atomic war, with the murder of millions, and fascism, with its slavery for the masses, is staring in the face of America as never before. As Kahn says in conclusion: "Overriding all other issues, two stark and monstrous questions faced the American people in 1950: *democracy or fascism in their land? peace or war in the world?*"

LIVING LETTERS

By I. B. Bailin

The Letters of Emma Lazarus, edited with an introduction by Morris U. Schappes. The New York Public Library, 1949. \$1.25.

The unique spirit of Emma Lazarus, humanitarian and poetic social visionary of the seventies and eighties, grows brighter from year to year. Just as progressive Americans derive strength from the democratic tradition of Washington and Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln, Longfellow and Whitman, so we American Jews receive inspiration and vigor also from the poet whose noble words are emblazoned on the Statue of Liberty, "mother of exiles," who welcomes "huddled masses yearning to be free." All the more urgent is the message of Emma Lazarus today, when the Statue of Liberty silently watches kings, generals, nazis and fascists come into this country in flight from their "dear subjects."

We are greatly indebted to Morris U. Schappes for his part in lighting up the dimming memory of Emma Lazarus' beautiful spirit with his *Emma Lazarus: Selections from her Prose and Poetry* (published by Cooperative Book League, IWO). His scholarly introduction to that book has stimulated in many people an interest in that almost-forgotten Jewish poet.

Mr. Schappes has now made an additional contribution by his collection of letters of Emma Lazarus from 1868 to 1885. This collection affords an even more

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intimate glimpse into the personality and emotions of this restless spirit. With painstaking research he has supplied highly informative notes that help the reader to understand the circumstances surrounding the writing of each letter and that shed light on the period. His introduction gives a comprehensive evaluation of the letters' significance.

Many engaging and interesting touches can be found in the letters. Emma Lazarus writes to Henry George in 1881 of his book that "Your work is not so much a book [*Progress and Poverty*] as an event." "No person," she writes, "who prizes justice or common honesty can live or sleep or read or work in peace until the monstrous wrong . . . be done away with."

Of some interest is the poet's frankness about her lack of religion in a letter to Dr. Gottheil in 1877. Many interesting sidelights on the period can be found in this collection. Of special value are the letters and notes dealing with the Russian-

Jewish immigrants and the vile conditions of life on Ward's Island; on one occasion scores of police were used to quell a demonstration for—better food.

One circumstance concerning the publication of the letters would have aroused the indignation of Emma Lazarus. When the letters were originally published in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, the foul red-baiters of the American Jewish League Against Communism raised a howl against the director of the Library, Ralph A. Beals, and the head of its Jewish Division, the distinguished Jewish scholar, Dr. Joshua Bloch, for publishing a "communist book." The New York *World Telegram* did its share by headlining the news story on this event, "Schappes Dips Red Pen in Library Bulletin" (September 20, 1949). After particularizing the terrible misdeeds of Mr. Schappes, the article proceeds to characterize him as "the fired teacher, the perjurer, the jailbird," etc.

To the consternation of the un-Americans and the pride of those who still believe in American freedom, Mr. Beals and Dr. Bloch gave fitting replies to this dirty assault. Mr. Beals said, among other things, that Mr. Schappes' "article as submitted meets the high standards of bibliographical excellence and scholarly impartiality, which the *Bulletin* has always maintained." As to the thrust at Dr. Bloch, Mr. Beals affirmed, "I know Dr. Bloch to be a scholar of great learning and integrity, who has spent a lifetime in developing in the New York Public Library one of the world's great and impartial records of Jewish life and culture."

This courageous response in these times of hysteria is appropriately consistent with the spirit of Emma Lazarus. The fine collection of letters is enhanced by this tenacious loyalty to the American tradition of which Emma Lazarus was an eminent expression. We owe a debt of thanks both to Mr. Schappes and the library authorities.

Letters from Abroad

HISTADRUT LEAVES WFTU

Tel Aviv

The Mapai majority in the Histadrut executive committee chose a few days after May Day, holiday of international labor solidarity, to sever the Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions. The Mapai majority—as has become its custom—tried to hide its splitting action behind the mask of "neutrality." A simple reading of a report of the executive session which adopted the decision shows clearly the extent to which the action of the Mapai majority was actually dictated from the outside and aimed at diverting the struggle by Israeli labor for peace and against the imperialists.

What were the arguments of the Mapai leaders at that session?

The first speaker was Reuven Burstein, who had been the Mapai delegate to the WFTU. His speech was filled from beginning to end with distortions and anti-communist attacks. "The Federation is communistic," he said, "and therefore the Histadrut cannot maintain its affiliation." He also cited other "reasons": The militant spirit which pervaded the WFTU conference in Milan and the absence of serious differences of opinion there. "This is a movement," he cried, "which is alien to the Histadrut and we must therefore leave it."

Burstein then delivered a tirade against communism. World communism, he dared to say, is opposed to freedom of thought and is opposed to the interests of Israel. The struggle, he continued, goes on not only between blocs, but also between communism and socialism (!) and the Histadrut will not follow the path of communism. The Histadrut, he concluded, must follow the "neutral" policies of the government. "We are not interested in separating Histadrut from the government" and therefore Histadrut must leave WFTU. Burstein had inadvertently admitted that "guests from England do not conceal the fact that they would like to see us out of the World Federation." He also added, quite frankly that "the west will not welcome our further affiliation with the World Federation."

The other Mapai speakers spoke along the same line. Z. Aronovitch repeated the same lie that the Federation is composed only of communist trade unions. He as-

serted that the Federation is the "arm of the Cominform" and the "arm" of the "East" in the "anti-West" struggle. He then praised "western democracy," and heaped abuse on the Soviet Union and all Communist Parties. He maintained the fiction of Mapai "neutrality" by his statement that "We will not join the other international trade union federation as yet."

The next Mapai speaker, F. Lubyanker, secretary of the Histadrut, took a different tack. He feigned ignorance as to "who is preparing war." Objectively speaking, he said, both blocs are preparing for war. To the interjection, "but who is the aggressor?" the far-sighted Histadrut secretary replied that he could not know until war actually broke out.

The hypocritical arguments by the Mapai leadership were immediately answered by Mapam and Communist Party representatives, who rejected the "neutrality" and anti-communist "arguments" of the splitters and fought valiantly to block the secession resolution.

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The first opposition speaker, Ben Bori of Mapam, underlined the serious consequences of the Mapai resolution. Secession from the WFTU, he declared, would strengthen the splitters of international union solidarity. These splitters had created their new organization with the help of the warmongers. Secession would isolate Israeli labor from the free world.

Another Mapam speaker, Rubin, exposed the falsity of the red-baiting Mapai argument that the WFTU is communist or communist dominated. He pointed out that the WFTU contains all the militant trade unions from both eastern and western countries, from the colonies and from Latin America. On the other hand, the organ of the labor splitters unites the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, Tsaldaris of Greece, western Germany (who were welcomed as observers) and the puppet of King Farouk of Egypt.

The most powerful answer to the Mapai majority was given by Esther Vilenska, a secretary of the Israeli Communist Party and Communist member of the Histadrut executive.

"The proposal to withdraw Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions," she said, "is both directly and indirectly opposed to the interests of peace. . . . It is not accidental that we have heard so much here against communism and against the Soviet Union but nothing about the problem of peace. . . . The past year has shown that the working class, organized in the WFTU has by its actions opposed war preparations. That is why the Anglo-American warmongers, are concerned to deepen the split in the international labor movement."

Pointing to growing American influence and control in Israel, Esther Vilenska emphasized that the secession resolution is connected with overall American control in Israel: "This is only one phase of the all-pervading American pressure to force Israel into the western bloc." She pointed out that, whereas the Mapai leadership had described the WFTU Milan conference as "alien to Israel," they had referred to the splitting group simply as

a "new organization," despite the fact that the splitters include those who organized the war against Israel, as well as pro-nazis. She declared: "It is shameful that the Mapai leadership labels the unceasing appeal for peace—a 'one-sided action' but does not consider peace as related to Israel and to all Jews. Yet the war and war preparations constitute in the first place a danger to the Jewish people."

Esther Vilenska also severely condemned the effort to label the WFTU as communist. "This is not true. The Federation includes workers from the socialist lands, from capitalist lands, from most of the African colonial countries and from Latin America. The World Federation unites not only communist and communist-influenced unions, but whole labor movements. This fact is proven by the Histadrut itself, since its representative, Yahrblum, participates in the meetings of the Federation and assumes important responsibilities. In spite of this united character of the Federation, and possibly because of it, the Mapai leadership have taken the path of splitting. . . . Actually the Histadrut has been cut off from the Federation for a long time. In Milan the Mapai representatives refused to support the decisions for peace and here in Israel they have carried out a policy of wage cutting and division between the Jewish and Arab

workers. The Federation, on the other hand, fights to raise the living standards of the workers, for labor unity and for peace."

After a powerful reply to the anti-Soviet attacks of Aronovitch and Lubyanker in which she emphasized the grave responsibility of the Mapai leaders in forcing secession, the speaker concluded:

"Any decision of the executive committee or of the council of Histadrut to secede from the World Federation cannot be legal. The right to discuss and decide this question must be given by the membership. I am sure that the overwhelming majority of the workers, and among them the majority of Mapai members, will approve continued affiliation with the World Federation if they get the chance to vote freely in a referendum." Vilenska pointed to the precedent of the Histadrut referendum over the Ben Gurion-Jabotinsky pact, which the majority rejected. This proved, she said, that the Mapai membership does not always agree with its leaders.

By a majority of 26 votes (Mapai, Haoved Hatzioni and Haoved Haditi) to 16 (Mapam and Communist Party) the secession resolution was passed. The demand for a referendum, supported by Mapam, was also rejected.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Hershl Hartman.)

Documents

ADL REPORTS ON RENAZIFICATION

Below are excerpts from the report, "Why We Are Losing in Germany," issued on May 19 by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. There are formulations and conclusions in many parts of the report with which we disagree. Thus we believe that the report fails to drive home or even to recognize that American policy in Germany is the result of the Truman administration's cold war program. The report, however, contains valuable data on renazification and some of the most forthright criticism of United States policy in Western Germany that has been made to date.—Editors.

The United States has failed in its denazification and democratization program for Western Germany. Despite the astronomical outlay of military funds and Marshall Plan dollars, we are losing the peace. What has happened in Germany in the past five years is a tragedy of errors made all the more discouraging by a

methodical willingness to ignore the bitter lessons of history.

When V-E day came—and the civilized world heaved a sigh of thanks—Americans told one another, *this time it will be different*. But it isn't. We are repeating—as though working from a blueprint!—the blunders that dissipated our military victory of the first World War. The sorry truth is that the same old ruling clique—Prussian militarists, nazi gangsters and industrial warlords—is slipping back into power. The ugly myths of totalitarianism still grip the minds of millions of Germans who are looking for another "strong man" to lead them.

The Allied occupation policy established at Yalta and Potsdam, and reiterated many times since, specifically spelled out the need for a democratic Germany—demilitarized, decartelized and denazified—so that it could never again plunge humanity into the horror of war. We pledged to give sustenance to the handful

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of courageous German democrats who defied Hitler. They were to become the political leaders of a Germany reoriented to democracy.

But we have not carried through on our aims. United States occupation practices have not jibed with occupation policies. High officials in the military government charged with the responsibility of carrying out the directive of the United States, neglected that mandate. The denazification program, woefully weak when administered by the military government, has collapsed completely under German control. The plan to break up monopolies in Germany's heavy industries never got beyond the drafting board.

In Western Germany, observers report, democracy is losing . . . fascism is winning. In Bavaria, birthplace of nazism, the renaissance of that inhuman philosophy is dramatized by the open allegiance it has won among the population. Bavarians are crying for "the internal efficiency of national socialism," Drew Middleton reported in the *New York Times*. Ernst Remer, the storm trooper whom Hitler made a general, is one of the many new "*Fuehrers*" who are trying to satisfy that nostalgia. He talks about his Sozialistische Reichspartei being "the masters of Germany in two years."

In the last six months all but one of 19 newly activated political groups are of reactionary coloration, most of them working to rally Germans with current adaptations of slogans and philosophy on which Hitler rose to power. It is not an uncommon sight today to see German nationalists, uninformed in jackboots and breeches, marching through streets and singing "*Deutschland ueber Alles*."

The political apathy of most Germans—their ripeness for a *Fuehrer's* plucking was revealed in a series of public opinion analyses. Six out of ten Germans candidly acknowledged their boredom with political problems. They preferred the easy, if regimented, way out—having "others" solve such problems for them. Meanwhile, 41 per cent expressed the conviction that Germany cannot govern itself democratically. All this after five years—expensive years for American taxpayers—of Allied occupation of western Germany.

It is a matter of record that we have made progress in reverse. An MG poll taken in 1946 disclosed that 40 per cent of the Germans residing in the American zone were still convinced that "nazism was a good idea, only badly carried-out." The results of a similar poll taken two years later: a jump to 55.5 per cent—certainly a damaging indictment of American efforts to re-educate the Germans.

The policy of rushing the reestablishment of Germany's industrial economy

has been motivated by two fundamental considerations: (1) to get the country back on its feet and thereby ease the heavy burden on American taxpayers, and (2) to fashion Germany as a bulwark against communist expansion, perhaps as an ally in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

Are we, in fact, building a high German wall against communism or are we being used as a pawn by the Germans in a subtle campaign to restore the "old order" at the expense of the democratic nations of Western Europe?

To those Germans who still cling to the *Fuehrer* principle and privately express contempt for mass democracy, the cold war has been, not a pain of deprivation, but a blessing.

They can barely disguise their joy at the breakdown in Soviet-American relations. For as the temperature in the cold war drops, their own power correspondingly rises. They find themselves able once more to play both ends against the middle. The real winner thus far in the cold war has been Germany.

Failure of Denazification

The sweeping assertions that Germany has been denazified are statistical illusions. After registering 13,000,000 Germans in the United States zone and "clearing" 10,000,000 of them on the basis of their answers to a questionnaire, occupation officials then systematically arraigned 3,500,000 Germans as being nazis, according to occupation law, cataloguing them into arbitrary classifications as to their degree of guilt. This overwhelming docket has been cleared—largely by general amnesties and quashed proceedings that freed almost 3,000,000 of the accused. Of those convicted about one-tenth of one per cent were adjudged "major offenders." Or, in round numbers, about 500 major criminals were found guilty. Yet the records declare that there were at least 80,000 important Gestapo, SS and party officials. Comparing the two figures, one must question the judicial efficiency of the denazification courts.

The merry-go-round mounted by our military government in the pursuit of denazification has completed its fantastic cycle. It is true that we could not indict the whole German nation and at the same time seek its cooperation in reestablishing the country. But the mockery we have made of denazification has prompted a greater degree of contempt, than of appreciation, for American democracy and justice. Somewhere between the stern retribution of the Nuremberg trials and the meek surrender of the problem to German denazification courts, has blossomed forth a German *renazified*.

Symptomatic was the case of Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial genius whose sentence by a denazification court to eight years imprisonment was nullified. Franz von Papen, the crafty spy-diplomat of two wars, was freed. Fritz Kuhn, deported leader of the German-American Bund, was freed. Two of Hitler's aide-de-camps, trusted and loyal lieutenants of the arch-murderer, were let off with minor sentences and freed from labor camps. Karl von Eberstein, the nazi police chief of Munich, a member of the party since 1922 and decorated as a Knight of the Nazi Golden Order, was classified a "lesser offender." Gertrude Scholz-Klink, top nazi women's leader, convicted as a "major offender," was set free from jail. Wilhelm Breuckner, Hitler's adjutant, was reclassified from "major" to "minor" offender by a German appeals court. Hugo Sperrle, the nazi air marshal and devoted follower of Hitler—he ordered the blitz on London—was acquitted. And four concentration camp supervisors were exonerated after Pastor Martin Niemoller testified they were "idealists who only performed their German duties."

These examples can be multiplied a hundred-fold; they are more the rule than the exception. One SS general, a judge of the infamous "People's Court," paid for his debauchery of justice with a fine of 5,000 marks. Simultaneously, he was granted payment of 27,000 marks to compensate for the time he suffered while awaiting trial. And he subsequently was awarded a pension of 15,000 marks a year.

The widow of an anti-nazi murdered by an SS officer receives a pension of 960 marks a year. Ironically, the murderer's widow, a young woman of 27, receives a pension of 6,000 marks a year.

The denazification procedure, as practiced, placed a premium on forgery, fraud and perjury. Judges and prosecutors who could not be corrupted became the marked victims of terrorists. Prosecution witnesses were unable to find food or lodging during court sessions, but defense witnesses—so many of them glib perjurers—were transported, fed and housed by "patriotic" groups. Professor Heinkel, the aircraft designer who was one of Germany's greatest employers of slave labor, was restricted to an income of 300 marks a month. But during his trial he managed to organize bus and hotel service for the convenience of witnesses who testified in his behalf.

The extent to which bribery and corruption affected the denazification program was shockingly revealed in the Wuertemberg-Baden scandal where four denazification officials were charged with "selling" 19,500 pardons. Instead of

welcoming a thorough investigation, Minister-President Reinhold Maier sought to forestall an inquiry by American officials and to suppress news of the affair by intimidating newspapermen and threatening the dismissal of civil servants who wanted the matter aired.

It is noteworthy that one of the first official acts of the Bonn government was to abolish the denazification process.

The laxity and corruption of the denazification courts and the ease with which former high nazis have cleared themselves have been translated into a mass resurgence of nazis to political power.

In the office of the Minister-President of Wuertemberg-Baden, 38 per cent of the executive positions and 73 per cent of the professional posts are occupied by one-time Hitler followers. A former SA Oberfuehrer won the mayoralty in Schwabish-Gemund with a 75 per cent plurality after conducting an anti-Semitic campaign that extolled the features of National Socialism. Another ex-SA official became Minister of Justice for Lower Saxony. Frankfurt's police inspector is a former Gestapo agent. At Bonn, Dr. Globke, author of the Third Reich's racial laws, serves as vice-president of the Chancellery. And a former Sturmfaehrer, who once commanded a concentration camp, served as a district chief for the Bavarian Commissioner for National and Political Persecutees.

Today it is dangerous for a German to be known in his community as an anti-

nazi. So easily have nazis been swept back into power—particularly on the municipal level—that they can commit the honest democrat to social ostracism and economic harassment. The plaint of Waldemar von Knoeringen is revealing. "Four years after the defeat of fascism," declared this Social Democrat leader, "I must defend the fact that I fought for democracy against Hitler."

Von Knoeringen's dilemma is shared by many German democrats in the civil service who assisted in the denazification program, expecting the full support of the Allied occupying powers. They find themselves being eased out of their jobs, replaced by nazis. One can appreciate their situation in the light of this statement made by a former organizer of anti-Semitic pogroms, now a high official in the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior. "You know my heart is open to my dear comrades of the police and the Gestapo," he told a delegation of former nazi policemen. "You were dismissed unjustly; you have a right to come back. All the newcomers will be fired."

Failure of Decartelization

The return of industrial and banking warlords to their old positions of power is a component part of the nationalist trend in Germany. Apologists may try to "explain" away the misdirected denazification policy and attempt to "justify" the revival of German industry.

One of the focal points of the occupation program was Military Government Law 56, which specifically prohibited the "excessive concentration of economic power" in the hands of German industrialists. It is no secret that Germany's headlong rush into two world wars in the space of a single generation was powered by the mysterious machinations of the cartelists. Cartels—monopolies on an international scale—breed war. Not without cause is the Ruhr, where Germany's heavy industries are largely concentrated, referred to as "the birthplace of two world wars."

Most German industrialists, like their nazi brethren in politics, have eased their way back into "managerial" control of industries which still throttle free enterprise in Germany with a monopolist's grip.

The paradox is that the United States, a nation widely-heralded for its trust-busting, has shirked that same responsibility in Germany. The 129-page report of an official U.S. investigating committee so severely criticized the administration of the decartelization program that it was suppressed for five months.

The committee noted that not a single

German combine had been eliminated and placed the blame for this failure on high occupation authorities who "have not always been in complete sympathy with the program."

Many conscientious Americans who accepted official positions in Germany, soon quit in disgust. The first chiefs of the decartelization branch lasted only two months each before resigning. James J. Martin, who remained for 18 months, bluntly accused his superiors of trying to prevent enforcement of the law.

The committee unearthed instances where anti-cartel reports and proceedings were pigeonholed in the desks of the men directly responsible for carrying out the program. Lawrence Wilkinson, chief economic adviser to General Clay and one of the persons "not in sympathy" with Allied occupation policy, shrugged off the committee's report as "low comedy." But Johnston Avery, another who resigned because of the do-nothingness of his superiors, reported that some of the cartels and monopolies in Germany are stronger today than during Hitler's regime.

In June 1947, AMG agreed that Henschel & Sohn, largest European manufacturer of locomotives—its output once included guns, tanks, planes and trucks as well—would be split into two competing firms. This never happened. But a report to the Secretary of the Army noted that the firm of Henschel & Sons held a "position in the German industrial world so powerful that it could dictate the terms under which it would do business . . . that its size and influence rendered it impervious to the conditions of free enterprise."

Another Military Government Law—No. 75—provided for the decartelization of the Ruhr's coal, iron and steel industries. To prove the good faith of the Allies, the law stated that such industries would be managed by German trustees. The 12 Germans selected for this trust-busting operation reads like a cartel directorate. It includes Heinrich Dinkelbach, the financial brains of the German steel trust, who admitted "without regrets" that he was a contributor to the SS. The other 11 have equally impressive records as monopoly magnates.

Failure to "Educate for Democracy"

Education for democracy [in Germany] can gain no foothold when the political, economic and cultural leadership is steeped in the principles of fascism. Democracy cannot capture the imagination of Germany's youth when the nation's school system is shot through with nazi teachers and educators.

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Dr. Alonzo G. Grace, who resigned his occupation post as director of education and cultural relations, reportedly in protest against the lack of attention given to the reeducation of Germany, once walked into a schoolroom and found the teacher explaining the alphabet. "A is for Adolf, H is for Hitler, G is for Goebbels," was her method of recitation.

Thousands of nazi-indoctrinated teachers, denazified by the mass amnesties, regained their status as civil servants. They trooped back into the classrooms, often replacing anti-nazi teachers appointed by occupation authorities. Of 12,000 nazi teachers dismissed in Bavaria in 1945, 11,000 are teaching German children.

The disillusionment among youth about the values of democracy is shared wholeheartedly by German elders. There is a nostalgia for the nazi heyday. Photographs of Hitler bring a heavy price on the black market and a book by Schacht is greeted with a 300,000 pre-publication sale. The extent of anti-Semitism among the German populace is perhaps the best barometer of the recrudescence of nazism. And qualified observers report that anti-Semitism is more prevalent in western Germany today than when Hitler first appeared on the scene.

The community of 600,000 Jews who inhabited Germany in 1933 is now reduced to less than 20,000. Thus, the intensity of German prejudice against Jews, in view of the small number remaining, clearly demonstrates that millions of Germans are still motivated by the Hitler propaganda techniques of scapegoating and "Aryan superiority."

Most anti-Jewish incidents in recent months have taken the form of desecrations of graves and synagogues. These have occurred with such regularity that, American correspondents report, the vandalism can no longer be excused as the tricks of "playing children."

In Nuremberg, an American officer, after a long lecture to a German youth group on the deceits practiced by Hitler, asked his audience who was responsible for the war. "The Jews," they replied. Anti-Jewish riots are frequent and violent. A Jewish ceremonial, the exhibition of an anti-nazi movie or the selection of a Jew for government service is enough to spark the flame of an anti-Semitic demonstration.

Similarly, anti-Semitism reaches into the highest areas of Germany's political life. Dr. Richter, a Sudetan demagogue

who leads the German Rightist Party—a neo-nazi movement so blatant in its philosophy that it has rejected the new republic's flag colors of black, red and gold in favor of the swastika's black, red and white—told his followers that "the unprincipled cads from the concentration camps" who are claiming indemnification of a meager 150 marks a month for the horrors they suffered in the nazi pest holes, "would be put to the gallows in any decent country. These rascals . . . were shirkers loafing around in concentration camps. . . ." Dr. Richter, like so many others who think and talk as he does, is a member of the Bundestag.

If the occupation would end tomorrow, many qualified observers declare, an anti-Jewish uprising would erupt in full force across western Germany within 48 hours.

Asked what they thought of the Nuremberg trials, 43 per cent of the German youth polled by Dr. Gallup's researchers said: "Unjust." Another 18 per cent considered the punishment meted out to the master planners of world destruction, "too severe." Was Germany—that is, the nazi regime—primarily responsible for World War II? "No," protested 84 per cent of the interviewees. "Others nations were equally guilty."

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

progressive candidates had put on a militant campaign against discrimination by the college employment department against Negro, Jewish and Japanese American students.

OBSTRUCTION WAS CHARGED by the American Jewish Congress of action against Ivan Martynowycz, Ukrainian DP being held on Ellis Island and charged with responsibility for the murder of Jews in a Polish town during the Nazi occupation. The Immigration and Naturalization Department professed to find it hard, in the City of New York, to get Yiddish interpreters for the two Jewish DP witnesses against the Ukrainian.

ON THE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION FRONT . . .

The American Bowling Congress on May 12 rescinded a 34-year old rule restricting membership to "white males." This was the only method by which the organization could retain its charter in the face of law suits in Ohio, Illinois, New York and Wisconsin against the "white males" rule. . . . The American Jewish Congress filed a formal complaint on May 20 in the New York State Commission Against Discrimination against the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for stimulating and encouraging discrimination by the advertising it published. The complaint cited the use of words like "Anglo-Saxon," "native-born," "Gentile" and "Protestant" in the ads. It is doubtful if the commission will accept the complaint, since the AMA may be a type of non-profit organization exempted from the law. . . . An amendment to the Philadelphia housing law similar to the one adopted in Cleveland last December, which bars discrimination in city housing projects, was unanimously approved by the Philadelphia City Council in late May. . . . The National Association for Advancement of Colored People has submitted charges to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination that radio and television stations WOR, WCBS, WABC and WNBC discriminate against Negroes in employment. Statistics showed that of 400 employees at WOR, 14 were Negroes; at WCBS, between 85-100 of the 1400-1500 employees are Negroes; at WABC (WJZ), there is no record of any Negroes among the 800 employed; and at WNBC, about 30 of the about 1,500 employees are Negroes. . . . Bernadette Doyle, communist and candidate for state superintendent of schools in California, has made documented charges that rural school districts in California are responsible for "white only" advertisements for teachers placed in many parts of the country by a San Francisco advertising agency.

AN OPEN LETTER was sent by Emil O. Fehlhaber, editor of the Ohio edition of the *Worker*, to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, rabbi of the Temple in Cleveland, protesting the invitation to John Foster Dulles and Senator Robert A. Taft to speak at the temple's one hundredth anniversary celebration on May 18.

EUROPE

ADMISSION OF ISRAEL'S National Olympic Committee to the International Olympic Committee was postponed at a meeting in Copenhagen in mid-May because of "the unclear position in the Middle East." At the same time the Olympic Committee of Western Germany was provision-

ally admitted to the Olympics to take place in Helsinki in 1952. Dutch representatives announced that, if the Germans participate in the 1952 games, the Netherlands would withdraw, probably to be followed by Belgium, Norway and Denmark. It has been revealed that a vice president of the International committee is Avery Brundage, who was head of the Olympics that forced through the holding of the 1936 games in Berlin. The American Jewish Labor Council also revealed that the three members of the West German Olympics committee are all former nazis, one of them head of Nazi sports under Hitler and an SS officer who said on the eve of the 1936 games that "Jews and the Negro must not be allowed to represent German sports at the Olympics." The council called for a boycott of the Olympics if the nazis are not withdrawn and unless Israel is represented.

A NEO-NAZI PLOT was uncovered by Paris police in mid-May in which a para-military organization, which had stocked an arsenal of dynamite, bombs, tommy-guns and ammunition, had planned to murder 200 prominent French Jews. Three young men and two women were arrested and further arrests and revelations were expected since a list of 40 members of the group was discovered. The group was believed responsible for a recent series of plastic bombings of Jewish premises. The police stumbled on the plot accidentally in the course of an investigation of a series of crimes.

A NEW CAMPAIGN to outlaw anti-Semitism in France was launched in April at the annual congress of the Union of Jews for Resistance and Mutual Aid, created in 1943 by Jewish resistance groups under left-wing leadership. The general secretary of the group, M. M. Vilner, said that "during the past year anti-Semitism has increased greatly and the resurgence of the Nazi spirit across the Rhine has not made the outlook any brighter for our community."

A NATIONAL DAY against racism and anti-Semitism and for peace will be held in Paris on June 11 at the Cirque d'Hiver under the auspices of the Movement against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace. The rally will spur the fight against the rebirth of fascism, anti-Semitism and racism and the resurgence of Nazism in Western Germany and for the independence of Israel, for the banning of the atom bomb and for peace.

FASCISM IN ENGLAND . . . When Mosleyites and the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (Ajex) claimed the same site for their meetings in London in early May, the police granted the site to the fascists. Ajex held its protest meeting about 200 yards away, while the fascists played the Horst Wessel song. About 750 veterans drowned out the speech by Mosley, which was broadcast over four loudspeakers. One of the Mosley placards read, "Communism is Jewish." In a melee which followed the riding of a fascist car into the crowd, Labor Party Councillor of Hackney Joseph Kahn was arrested and subsequently fined five pounds. A second meeting held by the Mosleyites was a fiasco and was boycotted by the anti-fascists. . . . Later in May police closed two meetings in Manchester a week apart to be addressed by Mosley lieutenant Geoffrey Hamm after anti-fascists protested.

200 OF A TOTAL OF 500 Jewish cemeteries in Western Germany have been desecrated since the German surrender in 1945, reported James R. Newman, United States Commissioner for Hesse in late May. . . . Three tombstones were overturned and the graves defiled with excrement in the Jewish cemetery in Wuerzburg in the American zone. . . . After desecration of a Jewish cemetery in May in Frankfurt, Chief Rabbi Dr. Wilhelm Weinberg stated: "The Jews in Frankfurt have no confidence in the protection offered by the German police." . . . 28 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Hemsbach, near Mannheim, were overturned in late May.*

RENAZIFICATION NEWS . . . Hamburg police attempted to whitewash the anti-Jewish demonstration on April 14 at the trial of Veit Harlan, Nazi producer of the anti-Semitic film *Jew Sues*. A witness had been threatened and called a "Jewish swine." The police denied that any demonstration had occurred. . . . A Dane stated in May that his application to the German authorities for marriage to a German girl had contained a statement that he had no Jewish blood and the 1935 anti-Jewish laws were attached to the application. The application form had been printed within a month. . . . About half of all state officials and civil service employees in the American zone are former nazis. Although the situation is "unsatisfactory," say the American authorities, it does not necessarily mean a resurgence of Nazism.

ISRAEL

UNITED STATES PRESSURE on Histadrut to secede from the World Federation of Trade Unions was charged by *Kol Haam*, Tel Aviv communist daily, on May 11. The paper demanded a referendum of the Histadrut membership on the issue. The secession move was termed a "fatal, shameful and far-reaching step towards complete subjection to the imperialist powers" by *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam daily, on May 14.

MOSHE SHARETT, Israeli prime minister, "will pay respects to Daniel F. Malan during a visit to South Africa at the end of May," according to a *New York Times* dispatch on May 22. Sharett is on a "good will" mission to South African Jews. Malan is a notorious white supremacist and leader of the party which will soon receive into membership the leader of an anti-Semitic group.

FIVE OF 19 FAMILIES expelled from the Neve Yamin Moshav were allowed to remain in the Moshav after a hunger strike against expulsion.

300 DOCTORS in government hospitals, clinics and immigrant camps held a 24-hour strike in mid-May for a wage increase and recognition of their national medical association. Prime Minister David Ben Gurion will negotiate with representatives of the doctors.*

HISTADRUT MEMBERS picketed and demonstrated at a Yemenite work camp because the Yemenites were employed at rates far below the union scale. Israel Bar-Yehuda, Mapam Knesset delegate, attacked the citrus ranchers for "exploiting the newcomers and lowering the standard of labor," and demanded a Knesset investigation.*

A GERMAN ROCKET FACTORY was purchased recently by the Egyptian government. Not only the full equipment, but also the entire personnel, was taken over. The Egyptians have also purchased a German small arms factory.

ABOUT 1,023 RUMANIAN immigrants and 600 from Poland landed in Haifa in mid-May.*

(Items marked with an asterisk (*) were drawn from Jewish Telegraphic Agency news reports.)

