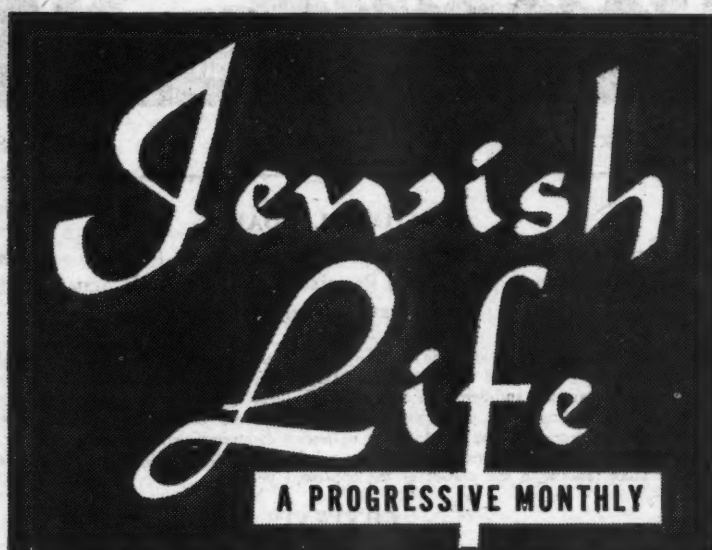


The Truth About Korea

an editorial article



AUGUST 1950 • 20¢

PICTURES OF PEACE PETITIONERS *by Jay Verty*

ILGWU CONVENTION *by Sam Coleman*

RACIST MENACE IN CHICAGO *by Carl Hirsch*

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY *by Benjamin Rubin*

POEMS OF JOSEPH BOVSHOVER *translated by Aaron Kramer*

HISTORY OF A MILITANT UNION *a review by Morris U. Schappes*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

THE CANCELLED SPEECH of Benjamin Buttenwieser may have been "a trial balloon intentionally planned for release to a Jewish audience" to test a new State Department "policy of appeasement of the nazis," said a statement of the Anti-Defamation League at the end of May. The ADL revealed that the initiative for the speech came not from the ADL but was "rather a case of a public official seeking a platform." Mrs. Buttenwieser had asked if her husband might speak before the ADL annual meeting on May 14. The speech was then cancelled after a majority of the ADL national commission decided that the speech "would be an insulting presentation" to an audience of Jews in whom the memory of six million Jewish dead and American soldiers' lives was still fresh.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS of New York State at their 19th annual convention in early June passed a resolution demanding a full and public investigation of alleged anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism among the City College faculty. The convention also resolved to ask State Department intervention to get recognition for Israel's 1952 Olympics committee and have withdrawn the recognition of the West German Olympics committee, which consists of former nazi leaders.

ALL 18 STAFF members of the New York office of the United Jewish Appeal and members of the Social Service Workers Employees Union, who had been locked out for seven weeks (since April 26), were reinstated on June 16 without loss of tenure or seniority. The staff had demanded recognition of their union. Reinstatement followed filing of charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relation Board by three employees. . . . Three employees of the United Jewish Appeal of New York were fired in mid-June for distributing a leaflet on the lower East Side during an evening open air rally in defense of the locked out UPA workers. One of the fired employees had been with the UJA staff for seven years, another for four years and the third for three years. Firings were based on pictures taken by a UJA-hired photographer. Two weeks later other UJA employees picketed UJA offices in protest after work wearing masks to conceal their identity. . . . At its convention in Atlantic City in mid-June, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers voted to support the SSEU fight against the board of Jewish community centers in Cleveland for contract negotiations.

OFFICIAL RECORDS of the nazi foreign office now in possession of the United States government reveal that in July 1940, Fulton Lewis, top Washington commentator for the Mutual Broadcasting System, was described by Kurt Sell, then press advisor to the German Embassy in Washington, as an "admirer of Germany and the Fuehrer" and that Lewis had offered advice to the Fuehrer on how to bring the war to a quick and "satisfactory" end.

ABOUT TEN MILLION pieces of literature were mailed by the Committee for Constitutional Government under Congressional frank in the last four years, it was revealed by Dr. Edward A. Rumely, its executive secretary, at a hearing of the House Committee investigating lobbying on June 28. Rep. Wright Patman called this organization "fascist" and "the most dangerous group in our country." Legislators who allowed the material to go out under their franking privilege were

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

VOL. IV, No. 10 (46)

AUGUST, 1950

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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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JEWISH LIFE, August, 1950, Vol. IV, No. 10 (46). Published monthly by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1950 by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc.

Rep. Ralph W. Gwinn, Republican of Westchester, N. Y., Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Sen. James O. Eastland, Rep. Wint Smith, Republican of Kansas, and Clare E. Hoffman, Republican of Michigan. In addition to Rumely, Joseph Kamp, of the Constitutional Educational League, and Merwin K. Hart, head of the National Economic Council, were interrogated by the House committee. All three refused to open their records to the committee, but thus far they have not been cited for contempt. Hart told the committee that "We trace the widespread use of the word democracy to an international meeting of the communists in 1935."

A RECRUITING DRIVE in Washington to or-

ganize 3,500 members among government workers was opened in June by the Ku Klux Klan.*

TWO GERMANS touring the United States on a "cultural mission" under sponsorship of the State Department were accused of spreading anti-Semitism by Stanley S. Jacobs, Anti-Defamation League director for Washington State. Jacobs said that the young Germans were telling hosts in Seattle that "Germany had no room for Jews, that Jews weren't entitled to live in the Fatherland . . . that the Jews should be in Israel—but better still, in their graves, their [the Germans'] attitudes revealed."

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

ISRAEL AND KOREA

THE Israeli government's endorsement on July 2 of the UN decisions on Korea and approval of the government position by the Knesset by a vote of 68-20, have been enthusiastically greeted in the Jewish press and by some Zionist leaders. Dr. S. Margoshes, English columnist for the *Yiddish Day*, wrote on July 10: "Israel's formal announcement, made the other day, of its adherence to the stand taken by the United States and the United Nations on the breach of the peace in Korea, marks, to my mind, the greatest event in the life of the new state since that great day in May 1948 when the proclamation of Israel's independence electrified the world. For it is clear that the announcement coming at this time squarely ranges the State of Israel on the side of the Western powers, with all the far-reaching consequences which this step entails." And at Chicago a few days earlier at the convention of the Zionist Organization of America, the newly-elected President Benjamin G. Browdy affirmed full agreement with the United States government position on Korea, asserting that "the struggle for a free Korea and the fight for a free and secure Israel is one."

The regime of Syngman Rhee a "free Korea"! Any honest observer knows that the Rhee regime is one of the most oppressive in the world today (see editorial article following). Surely the Jews and the people of Israel have suffered enough at the hands of such fascist brutes as Rhee to be under no illusions as to what is going on in Korea. Far from being a measure against aggression, the UN rubber stamping of the unilateral United States military intervention in Korea (and silence about United States aggression against Formosa) is a gross violation of the right of the Korean people to achieve a united and independent nation in the face of local fascist oppression and American imperialist support of this tyranny. The people of Israel should understand from their own recent anti-imperialist war of liberation, that the Koreans are fighting against the puppets of those same forces that clamped an arms embargo on Israel while that country was fighting for its life against United States and British-supported Arab feudal lords and Bevin's Transjordan Arab Legion.

And Margoshes' rejoicing at this outright alignment of Israel with the imperialist bloc is a profound disservice to Israel and the Jews. For this is the camp of the warmongers which imperils the peace of the whole world. The people of Israel and Jews all over the world are in the greatest danger from the atomic war which has been brought so close by intervention in Korea. A new world war would place Israel in danger of annihilation not only because it is a prospective front line of that war, but also because the fascist accompaniments of that war would mean the threat of new Maidaneks and Buchenwalds for the Jewish people.

In Israel itself the Communist Party and Mapam strongly

oppose this endorsement of the UN decisions on Korea. The 170,000 signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition already obtained in Israel by early July register the powerful peace sentiment of that country and give assurance that the people of Israel will not easily be led into atomic war by a leadership which has sold out to the western imperialists.

HITLER ATTACK ON IWO

EVER since 1947, when the International Workers Order was placed on then Attorney General Tom Clark's "subversive" list, that fraternal, insurance and benefit society has been plagued with the attentions of the Department of Justice and assorted witch-hunters. The IWO is undoubtedly the most democratic fraternal organization in the United States. Its over 150,000 members are organized into 16 national group societies, including the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, and is the only fraternal organization free from discriminatory restrictions. Yet a series of blows have been rained on the IWO. Its tax exemptions have been removed; some of its members have been fired from government service for the "crime" of membership; the New York City Board of Education has withdrawn permission for the JPFO to hold classes on Jewish culture and language in city classrooms; and various states are threatening refusal to renew insurance licenses of the Order for 1950-51 (Dunne's Insurance Report's most recent rating of the IWO is "A plus, Excellent"). And recently Sam Milgrom, IWO executive secretary, Andrew Dmytryshin, vice president and organizer of the Ukrainian section, and a number of other IWO members have been ordered to appear for deportation hearings before the Immigration and Naturalization Service on the charge of membership in the IWO.

The case of Andrew Dmytryshin is being heard at this writing. There the government made clear that this was being made a test case of the brazen proposition that membership in the IWO is equivalent to membership in the Communist Party. The government hopes thereby to be able to deport summarily many non-citizen members of the IWO. To the un-American hounding of communists the Department of Justice has now added the Hitler-like principle of guilt by association. Membership of the IWO is about three times as large as that of the Communist Party, and yet the government seeks to identify all IWO members as communists.

The threat to the life of the IWO and the freedom of its membership is part of the assault on everything progressive by a Department of Justice that is undermining basic American liberty. The IWO is proud of its progressivism and its application of democratic principles to the welfare of its members by insurance, medical service, cultural activities and many other benefits. Defense of the IWO is one front of the battle for democracy in America today.

THE TRUTH ABOUT KOREA

An Editorial Article

IN MANY American homes there may be little knowledge of the history, geography or politics of Korea. But there is an awareness that war in Korea is reaching into their families, there is fear that we are being rushed headlong into World War III, into an atomic war. The headlines are designed to create an atmosphere of hysteria. There is much confusion and little knowledge of the facts. As yet, however, there is not hysteria. There is only fear of what we are getting into.

If this is true of the American community generally, it is certainly true of the Jewish community. The impact of the last few decades has left its mark on the Jewish masses. They cannot easily forget what war and fascism mean to the Jewish people. Even the most confused do not relish the thought of an atomic war and fascism.

But the threat of war cannot be halted by prayer or desire, no matter how sincere. This can be done only by the action of men and women who clearly understand the menace and are prepared to act on that understanding. There can be no greater patriotic duty than to learn the facts and to act upon them. What, then, are the facts behind the shooting war in Korea?

On May 30, 1950, the extreme right wing government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea was decisively defeated in general elections. Of 210 delegates elected to South Korea's National Assembly only 48 supported the Rhee regime. Opposition candidates, who took 162 seats, were for the most part moderate rightists—the center and left had been driven underground in South Korea three years ago. These rightist opposition candidates generally had campaigned on a program demanding unification of the country and conferences to achieve that end with representatives of the People's Republic of North Korea.

The elections signalled that the days of the Rhee government were numbered.

The Rhee regime has been compared to that of Chiang Kai-shek in China. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1947 called it "a feeble puppet government" and a "police state" set up by the United States. In the *New York Herald Tribune*, May 5, 1948, Allen Raymond reported: "South Korea is obviously in the hands of rightist groups bent on rule as arbitrary as that of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's in Spain." In the *New York Times*, March 6, 1950, Walter Sullivan wrote from South Korea: "Large sections of South Korea are darkened today by a cloud of terror that is probably unparalleled in the world. It is universal, shadowing the lives of police, peasants and guerrillas alike."

Since 1947, the people of South Korea have been waging

guerrilla war against this corrupt and hated government. At first guerrilla operations were small and scattered. But in the spring of 1948 a large-scale uprising occurred on Cheju Island off the South coast which was bloodily suppressed only after almost a year. And in the fall of 1948, the 14th South Korean Regiment mutinied, holding a number of towns for some days. The guerrillas liberated areas in the southwest where they set up people's committees, enacted land reform, and built a base for their operations—which, they said, involved some 1,000 actions a month and some 90,000 people. Evidence of the scale of guerrilla activities was given by United States officials themselves. United States Ambassador to South Korea, John J. Muccio, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 6 that more than 5,000 guerrillas had been killed in South Korea between September 1949 and April 1950. The UN Commission in Korea reported 89,710 arrests between September, 1948 and April 1949. The Rhee regime has increased the police force to *five times* the size it was under the *Japanese*.

It was in this atmosphere of the brutal terror of a regime able to maintain itself only by force, that the people of South Korea voted May 30 for candidates who promised to confer with Northern leaders for the unification of the country. Immediately the Democratic Front, whose headquarters are in the North, stepped up its drive for uniting the country under an over-all democratic representative government. (The Democratic Front had been formed in June 1949 by 71 political parties and social organizations from the South as well as the North for the purpose of electing a government for the whole country. In the South its leaders and members had been arrested and executed whenever the Rhee government got its hands on them.)

Movement for Unification

Revealing that 5,300,000 Northerners had signed an appeal for peaceful unification, the Democratic Front proposed early in June that the legislatures of South and North Korea hold a joint meeting at which they would adopt a constitution under which nationwide elections could be held in mid-August. The Rhee government responded by intensifying the terror and proclaimed that any one who even received the program of the Democratic Front should be branded a traitor. The Democratic Front then announced publicly that it would send three of its leaders from the North to Seoul, the capital of the South, to lay the proposals before the legislature there officially. It also said it would bring the proposals to the UN Commission in Korea, if it would come to the Parallel to get them.

The story of what happened to the delegates from the North when they brought their proposals for peaceful unification down to the 38th Parallel was told by the North Korean radio a full two weeks before hostilities broke out and was available to Washington newspapermen in monitored radio reports a week before the outbreak. The UN Commission to Korea in a report to Trygve Lie also told of the fate of the three emissaries. But no paper printed this—until many days after the war began, and the Security Council completely ignored this vital information.

When the emissaries approached the border, they were fired upon suddenly and without warning. (Robert Allen in the *New York Post* (June 30) quoted United States intelligence reports emphasizing that South Korean troops began heavy fire across the 38th Parallel without provocation.) They crossed the border where, according to the UN Commission report, they were promptly arrested. Nothing has been heard of them since. The arrests took place June 11. Ten days later the Democratic Front announced it would send another delegation to Seoul. But before the delegation could set out, hostilities had begun.

Cold war turned to hot Sunday, June 25 along the 38th Parallel. Within hours of the outbreak the United Nations branded North Korea as an "armed aggressor" guilty of a "wholly illegal and unprovoked attack." For this charge the United States had only one source of information: the South Korean regime of Syngman Rhee. The first reports from the UN Commission in Korea quoted the same source—the Rhee government—for making the same charge.

The North Korean government charged that the attack was launched by the South. Several hours before its troops crossed the 38th Parallel, the North Korean radio had broadcast news of the attack and warned it would counter-attack. Some confirmation of the North Korean charge was seen in the report, carried by United States press agencies and confirmed by United States army officers in South Korea, that in the early hours of the fighting South Korean forces had captured a town six miles north of the Parallel.

Responsibility for Hot War

There is plenty of evidence as to where the real responsibility for the war in Korea lies. For years Syngman Rhee had been threatening to invade North Korea. As long ago as December 1946, he said: "On returning to Korea I advocated unification to make the world think we were united, so that we could drive the Russians from the North. America is our friend. . . . We must fight those who are not our friends. As soon as the time comes, I'll instruct you. Then you should be prepared to shed blood. I have already made connections abroad." At a press conference March 9, 1949, one of Rhee's cabinet ministers, Yun Chi Yong, declared: "What was discussed with the UN Commission is that peaceful unification of South and North Korea is nothing more than a political plot. The only way to unify South and North is for the Republic of Taehan to regain the lost land in North Korea by force."

The United Press reported a press conference held by South Korean Defense Minister, Sihn Sung Mo, on November 1, 1949: "Referring to the readiness of his troops to drive into North Korea, Mr. Sihn expressed confidence that they could wrest control from the communists. 'If we had our own way we would, I'm sure, have started up already,' he told a press conference. 'But we had to wait until they [the American government leaders] are ready. They keep telling us, 'No, no, no, wait. You are not ready.' . . . We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang within a few days,' he said." On March 2 the *New York Times* quoted Rhee as promising to unify the country "if necessary by force" despite advice given by "friends across the seas."

The day the war broke out Walter Sullivan cabled from Hong Kong to the *New York Times*: "On a number of occasions Dr. Rhee has indicated that his army would have taken the offensive if Washington had given its consent." Did Washington give its consent? The *New York Herald Tribune's* Homer Bigart wrote from Washington on June 26: "It may now be revealed that two weeks ago Korean Ambassador John Nyun Chang warned high officials of the State Department that his country was on a verge of internal collapse owing mainly to the fact that the United States would abandon her in the event of a showdown with the Soviet-sponsored regime in North Korea. He pleaded for some guarantee of armed intervention by the United States in the event of war. And he renewed the request for combat airplanes and other arms. As a result of this plea John Foster Dulles, Republican consultant to Secretary Acheson, visited South Korea a week ago."

A Visit from Dulles

Dulles had certainly proved himself the man for this job. He has been Wall Street's representative at one time or another of nearly every fascist dictator in Europe. In the middle 20's, Dulles reorganized the finances of the anti-Semitic, anti-Soviet Pilsudski dictatorship in Poland which murdered Jews. He was a legal representative of many nazi cartels and defended the nazi I. G. Farben trust during the war while that trust was producing gas for the gas chambers. Dulles even represented Franco's Bank of Spain in a suit against the United States government. In this country, Dulles and his wife were financial supporters of the pro-Axis America First Committee. And during his unsuccessful senatorial election campaign in 1949, Dulles uttered his anti-labor and anti-Semitic slur against New Yorkers.

There is, therefore, a terrible logic in the fact that fighting broke out in Korea eight days after Dulles' arrival there on June 17. He addressed a meeting of the South Korean legislature declaring that the United States would not abandon South Korea to the communists and promising that "the communist grip on the North" would soon be loosened. Rhee told the legislature in Dulles' presence: "We are not able to defend democracy in a cold war. We shall reach victory in a hot war." On leaving South Korea, Dulles declared, "Korea does not stand alone."

Dulles' visit in South Korea—where he toured South Korean trenches on the Parallel—coincided with conferences in Tokyo between Generals Douglas MacArthur and Omar Bradley and Defense Chief Louis Johnson—joined later by Dulles himself, who said the talks would be followed by "positive action." The Joint Chiefs of Staff had voted unanimously in January to keep Formosa from the People's China. The State Department and the president had opposed this. But Johnson and Bradley brought back from Tokyo a statement from MacArthur which—correspondents said—even before the Korean outbreak—would force a "complete review" of Far Eastern policy. MacArthur, Marquis Childs said in the *New York Post*, threatened to return to the United States and give the people his version of events if the president didn't accede to his policy of intervention.

The evidence suggests clearly that United States intervention in both Formosa and Korea was decided on before the outbreak in Korea and that the Korean war resulted from a United States-inspired South Korean provocation.

UN as Rubber Stamp

The series of UN actions on Korea constitute, in fact, a continuation of this United States policy. The UN Security Council, meeting with unprecedented speed on the very day of the outbreak—in the absence of the Soviet Union because of the United States refusal to admit the People's China to the UN—hastily passed a United States resolution blaming North Korea for the attack and ordering a cease-fire. The Security Council refused to hear the North Korean side of the case before it made its decision. This instantaneous action on Korea invokes recollections of all other instances in which the UN was called upon to act. When imperialist governments precipitated war in Greece, in Indonesia and in many other places, the UN stalled and failed to apply military sanctions. It is highly suspicious that the Korean decision was the only one that received prompt attention and implementation.

When Israel was set upon by the armies of the Arab feudal lords, backed by Britain, and by Bevin's Transjordan Legion in direct violation of the UN decision of November 29, 1947, the United States and Britain dragged out the deliberations because they were in fact sabotaging the decision. The prompt action in Korea, however, does not mark a change in Anglo-American policy in the United Nations. For the speed in the Korean case and the dallying in the case of Israel are both products of the same policy—propping up fascist and reactionary forces and attempting to frustrate liberation movements all over the world. In Israel the United States-dominated UN was acting in behalf of Arab imperialist puppets; in Korea, it was acting for the brutally repressive Syngman Rhee regime that had been overwhelmingly rejected by even the South Koreans in the election of May 1950.

President Truman made this unmistakably clear on June 27. The UN resolution of two days earlier had contained

nothing that would authorize the United States or any other UN member to apply military sanctions against North Korea. Yet on June 27 President Truman announced that he had already ordered United States air and naval forces into action against North Korea, practically declared war on the People's China by sending the United States 7th Fleet to protect Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and ordered the stepping up of United States intervention in Indo-China and the Philippines. The Security Council on that afternoon was thus presented with an accomplished fact of military intervention in Korea and was asked to rubber stamp this unilateral action. The plainly aggressive action against Formosa was not challenged. The UN—with India and Egypt abstaining, despite terrific pressure from the United States—then declared war on Korean people.

Urgency of Petition Drive

So immense was the propaganda campaign against North Korea's refusal to obey the rump-UN cease-fire order, that liberals like the *New York Daily Compass'* Ted O. Thackrey and I. F. Stone lined up in favor of the order. Both seemed to have forgotten the praise they heaped on Israel two years earlier for defying another UN cease-fire order. Then the people of Israel were fighting—to a great extent with arms secured from Czechoslovakia—to hang on to the Negev against the maneuvers of the United States and Britain in the UN to deprive Israel of the Negev through the cease-fire. Nor did Thackrey and Stone criticize the new democracies for helping Israel despite the cease-fire order.

The truth is that the first two weeks of fighting in Korea have made remarkably clear that, as Israel Epstein, leading authority on the Far East, wrote: "Like the Chinese people with regard to Chiang, all Koreans seem divided, in their attitude to Rhee, into two parts: those who are fighting him and those who refuse to fight for him. As in China, the Korean conflict is a war in outer form; a popular revolution inside." The dividing line in Korea is not geographical along the Parallel, but, as in all Asia, political—the line between the people and the small feudal ruling classes riding the backs of the poor and the great masses of the people who are fighting for independence and freedom. Truman and Dulles and MacArthur have put the United States into war against all the Korean people—and all the peoples of Asia.

In this situation the great campaign for peace and the outlawing of the atom bomb becomes more urgent than ever before. United States intervention in Korea must be stopped before it leads us into a world-wide atomic war. The Wall Street government in Washington must be told that the people will not follow them into an atomic war. There is still time to stop the war drive. One of the most powerful weapons for peace is the Stockholm Peace Petition campaign. The Korean intervention demands that this campaign be intensified. *Atomic war can be prevented! Hands off Korea! Millions of signatures for the peace petition!*

PICTURES OF PEACE PETITIONERS

By Jay Verty

THE editor leaned forward, his hands resting on the newspapers spread out before him.

"Will you write a story about the Stockholm Peace Petition?" he asked. "Half a million signatures came in the first week. I'd like our readers to realize that these are half a million *people*, not just numbers. I know it's a big order. But just get a sampling, a cross-section of the people who signed and the people who got the signatures."

You go to the East Side. Eastward along Fourteenth Street until you come to Second Avenue. There a young couple stand and solicit signatures.

"Join millions of Americans who are signing this petition to outlaw the atom bomb! Sign the petition for peace!"

"I'll sign," a young man says, stopping. "I was in one war. I don't want any part of another."

The girl with him asks: "Can I sign, too?"

You head for Tompkins Square Park at Avenue A and Seventh Street. There you find a young man standing at a table on which several peace petitions are spread out. Many people go by without signing the petition. Some shrug indifferently; some sneer, "Go back to Russia."

But many others stop and sign and they say, "This is a wonderful thing you're doing, young man!"

In one hour, he has collected 65 signatures.

South now, to the corner of Delancey and Norfolk Streets. There two young girls stand with peace petitions.

"Why don't you pass this petition in Russia?" a man shouts in Yiddish.

One of the women replies, "And who told you they don't have this petition in Russia?"

"The *Forward*," the man retorts. "Everywhere you talk about peace, peace, peace! But in Russia they throw you in jail if you try to pass around this petition!"

"They *are* passing this petition in Russia," one of the women explains. "In almost every factory, in every office and shop, on the farms. Everywhere the Russian people are signing this petition for peace."

"The *Forward* didn't say anything about it. . . ." the man begins.

"Look at these clippings!" the woman interrupts. She holds out a clipping from the *Daily News*, another from the *Herald-Tribune*, a third from the *New York Times*. "Read them. You'll find that the *Forward* lied to you!"

The man adjusts his spectacles. Carefully, he studies the clippings. His lips move painstakingly as he spells out the words. His face is sober, puzzled.

Finally he asks, "Why should the *Forward* lie?"

Quickly the woman replies: "Because the *Forward* gang has sold itself to the bosses. They help break strikes and

they help start wars and they'll do anything for the bosses! That's why the *Forward* lied!"

She held out a copy of the Jewish *Morning Freiheit*. "Take my paper," she said. "Read it and you'll understand why the *Forward* lied about this peace petition."

The man took the paper, folded it and stuck it away in his pocket. As he started to walk away, the woman said, "You didn't sign the petition."

He turned back and signed.

But others were not convinced. They simply refused to believe the facts. Clippings from several newspapers—even from papers that consistently follow a pro-fascist line—admitting the true state of affairs, were not believed.

At the end of the vigil on this street corner, the two women have more than 100 signatures.

On the move again and you talk to a mother who had brought in 300 signatures.

"It wasn't hard," she explains. "I just had the petition ready wherever I went. When I picked up my children at the school, I spoke to other mothers in the schoolyard. They signed. In the stores, I talk to shoppers. Two out of three people I talk to sign."

Everywhere there is a hunger for peace, a fear and hatred for war. That's the East Side of New York.

Brooklyn Signatures Pour In

Cross the East River to Brooklyn. In the first week there, 125,000 signatures came in.

In Brownsville, a Negro couple stand on a corner with peace petitions. A fine, drizzling rain is coming down and the raindrops stain the paper. People huddle and hurry by.

A little old man stops, attracted by the word "peace." He can read only Yiddish, but he understands when the petition is read out to him.

"A blessing on you!" he says, and signs the petition.

A man stops, reads the petition, signs. Then he sees the column for monetary contributions.

"I haven't any money," he explains. "But wait. Don't go away. I'll be back." He hurries away. A half-hour later he returns and donates 25 cents. "Here. That's all I have," he says.

This Negro couple bring in 900 signatures and \$50 in contributions.

A member of the American Jewish Congress explains: "I'm ashamed of myself. I wouldn't take the peace petition to our Congress meeting because I always thought the members were conservative. I was really afraid they'd red-bait me . . . call me a Moscow agent . . . a communist . . .

you know the stupid and vicious things they say when they haven't got facts on their side. But do you know what? When I came to the meeting, the people I thought were conservatives had the petition! They asked *me* to sign it! So you understand why I am ashamed? Now I'm going to take the petition with me wherever I go!"

A 75-year-old woman brings in 200 signatures. "All the old people I know, I made them sign. And they are such stubborn people! You never saw anything like it! I have to fight to make them understand. But they sign!"

And in the evening, in front of a movie house, a young man stands with his petitions. A policeman comes along.

"Go on, beat it!" says the cop.

"Why?" asks the young man.

"Go on! I'm not going to argue with you. It's against the law."

"Since when did it become against the law to get signatures for peace? To outlaw the atom bomb?"

"You're blocking traffic."

"I'm not blocking traffic. You want to prevent me from getting this petition for peace signed!"

"Look, I don't care what anybody signs. Be a good fellow and beat it. I don't want no arguments."

"I don't want an atom bomb dropped on us—or us dropping an atom bomb on some other country," the young man replies, refusing to move away.

A crowd gathers, listens intently to the argument. In spite of himself, the cop feels called upon to answer. And you can discover that he calls on the arguments of the *Journal-American* to help him.

"Don't worry about anybody dropping bombs on us," the cop says. "We got more bombs than the Russians. We can plaster every village over there."

"Sure," the young man replies. "That's nice. Every bomb we drop on a Russian or Chinese village will kill a couple of thousand people. Every bomb dropped on New York or Boston or Chicago or Los Angeles or San Francisco will kill a couple of hundred thousand people. Look, officer, I'm doing this for *America's* benefit! I don't want *us* to be plastered with bombs. And the best way to protect our

lives is to abolish the atom bomb and atomic wars."

Red-faced, angry, the policeman slithers away. "I don't want to find you here when I come back," he mutters.

And people continue to sign the petition.

What's In It for Workers?

Over in the Red Hook section of Brooklyn, Sandy went doorbell ringing. In one of the houses, an Italian woman not only signed but took a petition to fill out.

"When I came around the next day," Sandy says, "she almost slammed the door in my face! Her husband told her it was a communist petition and she tore up the copy I gave her. So I ask if I can't talk to her husband. He's home and I sit down and explain it to him."

Sandy explained, all right. He pointed out that workers have nothing to gain from imperialist wars, from the looting and enslavement of the lands of other people. The bankers and the industrialists make super-profits off ships, planes, munitions and army supplies during the war. After the war, they walk into the conquered land and take over its mines, railroads, factories, natural resources, and squeeze out even more profits. That's why they want wars.

Sandy hammered away. Workers want a home, a job with good wages and security. A chance to send their kids to school, see them grow up, see them marry and have children of their own. War can't give such things to workers. Peace can!

"The guy knew what I was talking about. He signed the petition himself. And then his wife gave him holy blazes! 'You told me it was a communist petition,' she says. 'You made me tear it up! Now *you* sign it!'

"I didn't understand," the man says. The neighbor upstairs had told him that anything the communists were in favor of was no good.

"So we go upstairs and talk to the neighbor. He works for a living, too. So it isn't hard for him to understand why a worker has to be against imperialist war. He signs up."

In the Brownsville Housing Project, four mothers went canvassing. More than 2,000 of their neighbors signed the petition. Brooklyn Dodger fan Sol went to Ebbets Field to see his favorite team play. He took petitions along. In a few days, he had some 500 signatures.

That's how it is in Brooklyn every day, and at all times of the day.

Now hop the subway to upper Manhattan.

On a Saturday morning, 20 men and women go out with petitions. They cover the corners from 90th Street, along Broadway, to 96th Street.

On 96th Street, two hoodlums try to disrupt the collection of signatures. They stand nearby and shout, "Red Fascists!"

People come by and sign the petition.

"We want war!" the hoodlums shout. "Drop the atom bomb on Russia!"

People stop and read the petitions.

One says: "We're already at war. I won't sign. It's no good now."



Brownsville Jewish women collect signatures for peace.

A few minutes later another passer-by stops and reads the petition, and says: "We're already at war! God bless you! Maybe this will help to bring peace back into the world." He signs.

Go further uptown now, to the Washington Heights area. On one Tuesday, 20 people covered the neighborhood with petitions and got 1,400 signatures.

In the Inwood neighborhood, around Hillside and Nagle Avenues, you ask a canvasser how people responded to her appeal. She had been ringing doorbells in the large apartment houses.

"I've only been out an hour," she replies. "But I've got 77 signatures."

On the corner of 181st Street and Wadsworth, a woman holds up a petition and speaks to the people as they go by.

"Wouldn't you like to sign this petition," she says. "It's being circulated throughout the world. It came out of the Stockholm Peace Conference. Most people realize that because of the war in Korea, this petition is more important than ever before."

A young man, an ex-GI, stops and glares at her.

"I was in the Army of Occupation in Korea," he says angrily. "The Koreans hate our guts, the guts of every American who was over there. We have no business whatsoever over there. Let them settle their own affairs!"

"Will you sign this petition?"

"You bet!" he replies. He signs.

Another man comes along and sneers. "Why doesn't Stalin sign it?"

The woman holds up a clipping from a newspaper. "Stalin did sign it," she answers. "So did every important member of the Soviet government!"

"Aha! I knew it was a communist petition!" the man responds. "That proves it!"

Down on 177th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, a middle-aged Irish woman is stopped in front of the A & P.

"Won't you sign this petition to outlaw the atom bomb? To declare any nation that will use the atom bomb in a war to be an aggressor and war criminal?" the petitioner asks.

"Bless you, I'd like to sign it very much," replies the Irish woman. "But my priest warned everyone in the parish not to sign any peace petitions. He said we'd be committing a 'mortal sin' by signing it."

"How can a religious man be against peace?" asks the woman with the petition. "How can supporting peace on earth be a sin?"

"I don't know about such things. Maybe it is a sin. Maybe it isn't. But I'll tell you what I am going to do. I'll sign the petition anyway. And I'll make my peace with the Prince of Peace!"

She signs.

In the Fur District

There are a thousand other stories to cover. Every name on every petition is a story. But you've got to go on. You try the fur district in mid-Manhattan.

"We've got a small shop," one of the fur workers says. "Six people out of the eight employed signed. The other two were afraid. One of them has a brother who works in the post office, the other has a son with a civil service job. They were scared. But they donated money anonymously."

Another worker explains that he works in one of the larger shops. "Out of the 80 workers, 60 have already signed," he says. "A lot of the men took petitions to fill out among their friends and relatives."

A Negro furrier says: "Four of us went to 34th Street and stood in front of Macy's. We got 80 signatures. But a lot of people passed us by. Some were against the petition. Others took us aside and explained that they were civil service workers, or had some relatives working for the government, and were afraid to sign."

A young fur worker says: "I was standing in front of the union hall, getting signatures. A young Negro worker came along and signed. Then he asked me if I had any extra petitions. He wanted to circulate them among his friends. I got five for him."

"You never can tell," another furrier joins the conversation. "I was standing on 24th Street and 7th Avenue, on the corner near the Veterans Administration Building. Along comes a guy about 50 or so, grey-haired, red-faced. He wears an American Legion button in his lapel. I'd swear he wasn't the kind who'd sign anything good. But he stops and says, 'Sure, I'll sign the petition. I was in one war, and my son in another. Now I've got a couple of grandchildren, and I don't want a war for them!' You never can tell who'll sign the petition by looks. You've got to talk to people."

Next you move on to the garment area and talk to Mrs. O. She brought her petitions into the ILGWU shop where she is employed. The shop chairman, a regular Dubinsky stooge, tried to stop her from circulating the petition. But the workers stopped their machines and gathered around to argue him down.

"A lot of the Italian workers didn't know what was going on," she says. "The argument was in Yiddish. But one of the girls told them. And they stopped their machines, too. Came over and supported me and signed the petition."

You stuff your notes into your pocket and take the subway home. And before you get a chance to sit down and start writing, your wife tells you about an experience of a friend of hers. So you get that story, too.

"I was on Kings Highway," Bea says. "A woman near the bus stop signed the petition and told me she had just returned from Austria a week and a half ago. She told me she saw these same petitions on the streets of Vienna. She signed one there, she said, and she'll sign one here."

Finally you bring the copy in to the editor.

He looks up from his desk. "Did you write up the story?"

"No," you reply. "I didn't write the story. The people who go out to get the peace petitions signed and the people who signed the petition, they wrote the story themselves."

ISRAELIS SIGN FOR PEACE

COLLECTORS of signatures of the Stockholm peace petition are being warmly received by broad sections of the Israeli population. Over 22,000 signatures were already obtained in Tel Aviv by the middle of June. Not only are workers in the shops signing irrespective of political affiliation; many shop committees are helping to organize the campaign in the factories. In addition, small business men, artisans and manufacturers, scientists, doctors, judges, artists, writers, rabbis and Knesset members are signing.

Among the first to sign the appeal were Yitzhak Greenbaum, member of the former Provisional Government; S. Kaplansky, rector of the Haifa Technical School, and Professor Hyman, of the same school; Drs. Klutz and Zaitchek, of the Hebrew University; Professor Heinz Oppenheimer, of the Ziv Institute; Dr. Kachalsky, of the Weizmann Institute; Rabbi Joseph Blumenfeld; Dr. Eisenstadt; Professor Bronislaw Schultz; Writers Nathan Alterman, Eliezer Shteinman, Avigdor Hameri, Leah Goldberg, A. Regelson, Alexander Pen and Y. Zmorah; Habimah artists Chana Ravina, Aharon Meskin, S. Finkel and A. Friedland; and many others.

Youth peace committees had already gathered 8,000 signatures by the third week of June. Teachers are signing the petition en masse and are carrying on the campaign in the schools. Army youth are fighting with their signatures. From a group of 30 soldiers and Haganah veterans stationed in Haifa, the central committee of the Israeli peace movement received signatures with the following letter: "We, the undersigned soldiers of the Israeli army, are aware of the danger of a third world war being prepared against us by the imperialists. We are supporting your campaign in order to prevent a new war."

More than 3,000 people in Jaffa have signed. The alertness of signature collectors there is indicated by the instance of a wedding where all the guests and the two officiating rabbis were signed up. Petition tables have been put in the center of the city. Professor Gideon Mar of the Hebrew University publicly signed the petition there.

Peace meetings are taking place in many parts of Israel. At the meeting in Salmah to initiate the campaign, more than a thousand people signed the petition. Representatives of the Israeli Peace Committee speak at these meetings in towns and villages to explain the importance of the campaign to Israel and to refute the charge made by Mapai that the campaign serves communist interests. Despite the urging of Mapai that the people refuse to sign the petition,

70 of the workers, including several editors, of *Davar*, Histadrut organ, have signed.

"If we followed the position of Mapai to its logical conclusion," said Leon Zahavy, member of the Israeli Peace Committee at a speech in Jerusalem, "we would be obliged to say that, since the Soviet Union fought against Hitler, we should not have done so. But the atom bomb today is an even greater danger than Hitler was. That is why every decent person must be mobilized to outlaw the bomb."

The former Haganah commander-in-chief, Israel Galili, declared at a meeting in Hedra: "When the Soviet Union supported the struggle for the creation of the state of Israel, no one said that help to Israel should be opposed because the Soviet Union was supporting Israel and Britain was attempting to destroy it. So too, no one has a right today to smear the campaign for peace because the Soviet Union and the communist movement are participants. What must be decisive for us are the basic interests of the Jewish people and of the working class in the fight for peace."

At another mass meeting Esther Vilenska, labor secretary of the Communist Party, pertinently remarked that "If the atom bomb is used on the population, it will ask no question about the political parties of its victims. So the petition does not serve the interests of any one group, but rather of all peace loving peoples all over the world. It is an honor for the parties of the left to participate in this patriotic undertaking. And it should be an honor for every group, regardless of political affiliation, to cooperate actively to halt the threat of war."

The Arab people are also participating in the peace drive. In the old city of Acco, 98 per cent of the population, 3,000 Jews and Arabs, have signed the petition. Jamal-Al-Saade, Sheik of Acco, issued a call in which he quotes the Koran's prohibition against murder and calls on the people to sign. The Arab quarter of Haifa has seen quite a few mass meetings addressed by Emil Habibi and Rustum Bustini, members of the Israeli Peace Committee. Often Jews and Arabs collect signatures in pairs.

Arab women, too, are in the fight. The League of Democratic Arab Women decided at its last conference to support the petition drive. "Together with millions of women and mothers throughout the world we declare, 'We want no waste lands. We want no atom bombs. We want peace.'" Among the many Arabs who have signed are the orthodox priest, Hannanya Hourri, and Elias Parach Almanir, secretary of the Mapai-controlled Arab labor organization.

ILGWU CONVENTION

By Sam Coleman

"HOW do you like the convention?" I asked the man with the delegate's badge.

"Nothing but speeches, speeches and now more speeches." He put down his bottle of pop and walked into the hall.

His answer was the same as that of many delegates to the 50th Anniversary Jubilee convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union held in Atlantic City in May. And no wonder! For this highly publicized union of 420,000 members held this convention like a big outing—with one drawback. For a few hours every day the delegates were forced to listen to speeches. To make up for the speeches, there were luncheons, banquets, an opera, a movie showing and an excursion to Unity House, the ILGWU summer resort.

"As an outing, it was wonderful," one pro-administration delegate told me, "but as a convention—horrible."

That was the rub. Delegates had come to do something about the alarming situation in the garment industry.

Rates for piece work are being cut. Unemployment in the established garment markets is growing. Runaway shops plague the industry. The non-union section of the trade is growing rapidly. Bankruptcies, liquidations and reorganization of shops—thereby throwing thousands of workers out of jobs—have hit about one out of every four shops in New York. Yet, not a single discussion or proposal on any of these problems was heard at the convention, except for President David Dubinsky's proposal on severance pay.

Bureaucracy Weakened

All questions, said the main resolution at the convention, are secondary to the need of winning the cold war. "In relation to this conflict [i.e., the cold war] all other domestic and foreign issues are secondary." Therefore, in an industry in which the workers are suffering severe cuts in earnings, the word "wages" was not even mentioned.

The convention gave intense expression to the desire of the social democratic bureaucracy for an anti-Soviet war. War cries—emitted from the platform—filled the hall. But the workers, and even the hand-picked delegates, want economic security and peace. The convention can therefore best be described as a ten-day period in which the differences between the leadership and the membership became clearer and sharper.

By the time the convention had closed, the bureaucracy had widened the gap between itself and the delegates and members. This was true despite the almost unanimous voting. Pro-administration delegates have expressed their dis-

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gust with the convention in the shops since their return.

The convention itself listened to some three dozen outside speakers. More employers and their direct representatives than shop workers spoke.

Representatives of Wall Street employers appeared too—from Vice President Alben Barkley to the managing editor of the *Forward*. The theme of all speeches was the same: (1) attack on communism, (2) praise for Dubinsky, (3) praise for the ILGWU for its "advanced" program.

No discussion worthy of the name took place. The only dissenting voice was that of the elected manager of the Los Angeles Cloak Joint Board, who had been removed by the national ILG leadership for being "communist-influenced." And, typical of this kind of situation, the leadership removed by Dubinsky had won for its members the highest wage scale in the industry.

Here are some examples of how the bureaucracy undermined its own position at the convention.

Despite falling wages and unemployment in the industry the bureaucracy made it clear that it was not concerned with bread and butter. The leadership's main line on economic issues is that the union is a "welfare" union. The leadership does not propose to raise wages, improve working conditions and shorten the work week. Its purpose is to convert the union into a benevolent society that provides a health center, vacation pay, retirement fund, all for the small cost of your dues!

Of course, there is nothing wrong with union welfare plans. What is wrong about the welfare tactic of the ILGWU is that it is used as a means of abandoning the main function of trade unions. That function is to replace competition among the workers by cooperative actions to improve the conditions under which the sale of the workers' labor power takes place. And if this competition is not so replaced, welfare schemes are of secondary value. In fact, welfare programs themselves are endangered if basic union struggle is abandoned and the workers become easy prey for the bosses.

Working for the Bosses

There are two main reasons why the ILG has developed in this direction. First is that the viewpoint of the union leadership has become indistinguishable from that of the manufacturers. The main task of the union, as the union administration sees it, is to make sure that the bosses make enough profit to stay in business. Thus, Julius Hochman, chairman of the Dress Joint Board, last year warned that a depression was approaching and demanded that the bosses build up their cash reserves! The manufacturers'

association, not to be outdone, promptly demanded that the union organize the unorganized!

And if the union is to assure that the boss makes enough profit to continue in business, the union must create conditions of minimum competition among the manufacturers while increasing competition for jobs and wage rates among the workers. Hence the union makes concession after concession to a manufacturer who claims he can only survive competition by reducing "labor costs." What then ensues is competition among workers of different shops that lowers the price of their labor power to enable their boss to stay in business. Thus, the function of a union has been stood on its head.

This orientation is called "doctoring a sick industry." Or it is called "sharing responsibility"—not for the workers' conditions, but for the bosses' profits!

The second reason is one of service not only to the employers on Seventh Avenue, but also in Wall Street and Washington. Dubinsky and his company of vice-presidents are concerned with Big Things. They don't want to be bothered with dressmakers' problems or piece rates. They have a Role to Play, even more than the striped pants diplomats, as was said at the convention. Their role is to run all over the map on little errands for Wall Street. Feinberg to Germany, Zimmerman to Norway, Kreindler to England, Molisani to Italy, Dubinsky to the Vatican, etc., etc.

The bureaucracy had its claque in the convention hall. At every pause for applause there would be a terrific din. However, even a mere glance over the hall was enough to indicate that the noise was coming from the first few rows, where delegates were equipped with wooden blocks for the purpose. For the most part the majority of the delegates, especially those from outside New York, sat with stony faces.

Changing Union Composition

This is of great significance and is indicative of the tremendous changes taking place in the ILGWU. The fact is that a large number of the delegates were in their thirties. Some even younger. Thus a whole new generation is entering the shops and creating an entirely new base.

Proof of these changes can be found in the records of the union itself. Take the convention report on death benefits and retirement funds. Since 1938, 11,956 deaths have been reported. Of these, it is significant to note that 5,014 were heart and 1,917 cancer cases.

The significance of the report really hits home, however, when one breaks down these figures by locals.

Local 117 (Cloakmakers)	1,519
22 (Dressmakers)	1,618
35 (Cloak Pressers)	616
9 (Cloak Finishers)	542
60 (Dress Pressers)	414

All of these are New York locals. But what is more significant is that these are the very locals that have, from

the first days of the union, been the main base both of the left and right wing and have been decisive in union policy making. These locals and a few more are the main source of support for both the bureaucracy and the left wing. They contain the most skilled craftsmen of the industry. Composed mostly of men, although the industry is 80 per cent women, these locals are in their majority Jewish.

Many of the workers of these locals played a historic role in building the union; made many sacrifices and participated in heroic struggles to destroy the sweatshops and the miserable and brutal conditions of earlier years.

Yet life does not stand still, nor does the character of the union. Few of the children of these old-time Jewish workers have entered the needle trades. The proportion of Jewish workers is therefore constantly declining. New immigrants, this time of non-Jewish nationalities, are pouring into the industry.

As things stand today, more than half of the workers in the New York market are Italian. Spanish-speaking women workers are in increasing numbers entering even the cloak industry through section-work shops, where cloaks are made by semi-skilled, assembly line workers.

Local 22 is a good example of what is taking place. Once almost exclusively Jewish—for Italian dressmakers are organized in Local 89—Local 22 is today little more than half Jewish.

Spanish-speaking workers, mostly Puerto Ricans, are entering the garment industry in swiftly growing numbers. In Los Angeles, thousands of Mexican-Americans make up the majority of the workers in dress and sportswear. There are also Spanish-speaking workers in the New England district, in Florida and in the Southwest. The clothing industry has traditionally exploited immigrant labor.

The largest national group in the union at present is Italian, constituting probably about 40 per cent of the national membership. The Italian dressmakers local, Local 89, is the largest with about 36,000 members.

The size of the Negro membership is difficult to estimate. There are probably 15,000 Negro members in New York—and as many more in the rest of the country. There are also at least 5,000 unorganized Negro shipping clerks in New York.

The membership age level is falling as thousands of new young workers enter the section-work shops. Over a third of the delegates at the convention seemed to be under 35.

Four out of every five members are women—although almost all important offices in the union are held by men.

Everything for the Cold War

In view of the composition of the membership, the general executive board could hardly be less representative of the membership. Twenty-three board members are men and only one is a woman. Twenty-one are Jewish, only three are Italian, and their average age is well over 50. There is no Negro or Spanish-speaking member on the board. In fact, Negro or Spanish-speaking paid officials in the International can be counted on the fingers of one

hand, so far as I know—hardly adequate representation.

So sharp was the collision at the convention between Dubinsky's line and the desires of the membership, that even the resolutions submitted by strong administration locals had to be modified.

For instance, Local 117, a main prop of the bureaucracy, submitted a simple and straightforward request for denazification. But the foreign policy resolution chided Local 117 for losing its perspective on the needs of the cold war. The resolution "on Germany introduced by Local 117," said the convention's resolution, "... is inadequate and in spots is out of focus in that it does not deal with developments since the London Conference of Foreign Ministers and omits entirely the reactionary role and maneuvers of Russia in Germany." In other words, shift the responsibility for renazification away from its real source, the United States policy of bolstering fascists.

The six locals that submitted resolutions on Israel were also criticized in the foreign policy resolution for forgetting to drag Israel into the cold war. "We understand the urgent necessity," said the resolution, "of having a militantly strong and virile democracy in Israel, which is on the flank of Turkey—a land in the front lines of Russian fire in the event of another world conflagration." In other words, make Israel a base for war against the Soviet Union. Further in this direction was the convention resolution on the Histadrut in which the decision of Histadrut to leave the World Federation of Trade Unions is "welcomed" and the Histadrut is urged to line itself up decisively with the imperialist bloc in the cold war and to abandon its "neutrality."

The foreign policy resolution, a lengthy document of some 8,000 words, is the most advanced pro-war resolution to come out of any labor union in the United States this year. Placing the question of victory over the Soviet Union in the cold war as primary and overriding, it affirms that therefore all economic issues and differences with the Truman Administration must be regarded as distinctly of minor importance.

The foreign policy resolution, proudly claimed by Dubinsky to be the high point of the convention, does not shrink at the thought of a shooting war. And its only concession to the peace desires of the membership is to use the word "peace" at the head of different sub-sections of the resolution. Thus, "Peace and Germany" is a sub-section heading for a discussion which in effect evades the question of the responsibility for the emergence of the nazis in Western Germany.

But the peace sentiment of the garment workers is more accurately registered by the thousands of signatures for the Stockholm peace petition collected since the convention. The Garment Labor Peace Committee has announced that almost 16,000 signatures had been obtained by the end of June on its own peace petition calling for the outlawing of the atom bomb.

Of course, almost all resolutions on problems of the industry were referred to the incoming general executive board because the convention couldn't spoil its holiday mood by considering them.

New, Militant Leadership Needed

This convention showed not only the corruption of the social democratic bureaucracy in the ILG. It also revealed the hollowness of the claim of a "great, democratic union" so assiduously built up by the publicity hounds. It showed how weak and shaky is the support of the administration. And it revealed how rotten ripe the union is for a new leadership. There is a deep need for new, militant leadership on all levels. In the shops and in the locals the workers are looking for leadership that will organize and lead struggles against the bosses. This new leadership can emerge only as a product of struggles in the shops in defense of the conditions of garment workers.

The locals that form the base of support for the present administration are the same locals that have traditionally had the greatest left wing strength. For this reason some left wing leaders have taken a factional and sectarian approach. This has led some of them to lose sight of the correct tactic in approaching the workers. Many workers are apprehensive about the increasing attack on their living standards. A determined effort to rally the workers on the shop level against wage cuts, speed-up, etc., would meet with a ready response. The workers are eager and ready for such struggles.

But when left wingers insist on carrying on struggles on a level for which the workers are not yet prepared, they become isolated from the mass of workers, instead of broadening the base of struggle. It is true that the fight against the bureaucracy is of key importance. But this fight cannot be effectively waged by name-calling. It can have effectiveness only to the extent that it flows from united front struggles on bread and butter issues and proceeds primarily on the shop level.

A second problem of the left wing is that it is itself least strong at those very points where support for the administration is also at its weakest and most vulnerable. Among the Spanish-speaking, Italian and Negro workers the left wing has always been weak. But these workers are the very ones who are the furthest removed from the bosses and from the bureaucracy, ideology and policies of the administration. These workers are most ready to struggle. From them a fresh, militant leadership can arise in the great battles in defense of their livelihood.

The old time militants in the union have tremendous experience. They are fired with deep loyalty to the workers in the industry and to their union. In the everyday battles with the administration in the shops and locals they have been slow to absorb the significance of the great changes in the industry. But these changes are now writ so large that the old militants will undoubtedly grasp them and contribute their knowledge, experience and leadership to raise up a new generation of rank and file leaders from among the young Italian, Spanish-speaking and Negro workers. And these young workers will surely become the leaders of the garment workers not only in their shop struggles, but in their national struggles through their revitalized union.

IV: POEMS OF JOSEPH BOVSHOVER

Translated by Aaron Kramer

THE youngest of the four proletarian Yiddish poets, Joseph Bovshover, was born in 1873, in the poor town of Libovich in Russia. His family had more than its share of rabbis, cantors, and religious fanatics. The lad's upbringing was entirely Jewish, and it was at home, under the strict tutelage of his fanatical father, that he received his early education. Although it was hoped that he would become a Talmudic scholar, Bovshover gave up his studies while yet a child, and took a job in a flour factory.

He did not keep that job very long. His stormy, romantic nature grew to despise the medieval mentality of his town and of his home. He yearned for a new way of life; and in his search for a "flower island," journeyed to America. The privation and injustice of New York jolted him out of his fantasies. He found work in the fur industry and was initiated into the miserable life of the sweatshop workers.



JOSEPH BOVSHOVER

By George Orban

It was at this time that he wrote his first songs, sweatshop songs, and read them aloud to the other workers in the factory.

By 1890, when he was 17, Bovshover had determined to join the socialist movement. He made the acquaintance of many pioneer propagandists, David Edelshstadt among them. Inspired by his new comrades, Bovshover began writing revolutionary poems and stories. At first his work was imbued with sorrow—tears, sighs, death on every line. But gradually the mood changed to anger, and at last he not only threw aside the veil of melancholy in his own work, but criticized other sorrow-singers, and urged them to write strong, fiery verses for "the future masters of the world."

Although his poems of revolution bear comparison with those in any language, Bovshover proved himself a master of other moods as well. His songs of childhood and nature have a richness and a joyous, lyrical grace quite unlike anything produced by the other-proletarian poets. He also outstripped them in craftsmanship: both rhythmically and linguistically he opened new doors for Yiddish poetry. At the same time he wrote a series of prose studies on the nature of poetry and on such poets as the Heinrich Heine, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman and Edwin Markham. Not only are these studies remarkable for their beauty of style and their insights, but for the many quotations from Homer, Dante, Petrarch, Goethe and Milton, which Bovshover himself translated in a masterly fashion.

It was not long before the young poet, in an effort to break through the narrow confines of the Yiddish world, began writing English poems. His first attempt, "To the Workers," was published in *Liberty Magazine*. The editor of that journal, Benjamin Tucker, immediately published a long article in praise of Bovshover, whom he heralded as a poet of the first rank in English literature. Under the pseudonym of "Basil Dahl" he continued publishing his English verse in Tucker's magazine. Among his most noteworthy contributions at that time were translations into Yiddish of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and Goethe's *Faust*.

In spite of his literary success, Bovshover went hungry. When he did receive payment for his work, he had a habit of sharing it with his friends. A rich brother, who lived in Albany, New York, made an effort to "establish" the poet in the grocery business. Inviting his ever-willing friends to the store, Bovshover treated them to a delightful picnic that lasted until the merchandise and money had entirely disappeared. After this episode the brother at-

tempted to hire him as an assistant in his own store—but it was impossible for this soul, which despised so vehemently the world of trade and swindle, to become part of such a world.

Impractical he remained—and soon became the laughing-stock of those who had made their adjustment with ease. Former friends now threw him out of their homes, or gave him a few dollars for train-fare to Albany (which he immediately spent in Manhattan). Misunderstood and rejected, he shrank more and more into himself, and was gradually possessed by melancholia, which he called his best, most loyal friend.

At the age of 23 his melancholia had developed to such a point that it was decided to place him in a mental hospital, where he remained until his death in 1915. Dur-

ing those tortured 18 years he produced not a single poem and was almost entirely forgotten by the literary world. When his nature poems were included in anthologies, they were credited to others. When his revolutionary songs were sung by workers at illegal meetings in the forests of Poland and tsarist Russia, none knew who had created the words.

In 1918, the Soviet Yiddish press began paying tribute to this great tragic figure and publishing his work. Had Bovshover continued writing beyond his twenty-third year, there is no way of measuring the contribution he might have made. As it is, he is generally considered to be the most gifted of the four pioneer poets and the most completely integrated one of the group into American life.

AARON KRAMER

A SONG FOR THE PEOPLE

Lift up your eyes, oh my people: so wretchedly poor and oppressed!
Lift up your eyes to the north and the south, to the east and the west,
and look at the numberless treasures, and look at the fruit of your hands,
and see what an heirloom the earlier ages have willed to our lands!

Lift up your eyes, let them follow the ships that are laden with goods,
the smoke of the swift locomotives that race through the-darkening woods,
and see how they're moving, and coming so quickly from far-away shores,
and bringing their products and wares to be bartered in far-away stores!

Lift up your eyes, and behold the great factories: heaven-ward straining,
where workers are weaving and sewing and knitting and sawing and planing
and forging and filing and lathing and carving with skill and with speed,
and making the wares, and creating the products that people will need!

And look at the giant machines, that keep slaving from daybreak to night,
that help to amass all these riches, that make every task of ours light,
and see how the wild, mighty forces of nature are being controlled—
for Man has dug deep with his mind, and the secrets begin to unfold!

Lift up your eyes toward the flourishing, jubilant fields, and behold
the wheatstalks bowed down by their fulness, the wheatstalks of radiant gold,
and see the magnificent gardens where trees are hung heavy with fruit,
where birds fill the quivering boughs, fill the sky with their joyous salute!

And see how all nature is ready to sweeten and brighten your lives!
And feel a compelling desire in your hearts, that arouses and drives!
Stretch forth your thin hands, and courageously join in a giant brigade—
too long have you been the embezzled! Too long have you been the betrayed!

Lift up your eyes, oh my people! From graveyards of darkness come forth!
Lift up your eyes to the west and the east, to the south and the north,
and take the great treasures, and take what your labor deserves for a fee,
and, building—enjoy! and, enjoying—build on when the world shall be free!

TO SING OR TO DAMN

There's a little wind that rushes
through my fiddle's every string,
and it whispers, and it murmurs:
"Sing a song in praise of Spring!"

There's a little flame that rushes
through my heart's vibrating chords,
and it flickers, and it urges:
"Curse and damn the tyrant lords!"

FROM MY ALBUM

If you're trying to discover
pearls, you do not climb a peak;
at the bottom of the ocean
you will find the gems you seek.

If you're trying to discover
hearts whose beat is true and brave,
do not go to see great rulers,
go and see the simple slave.

REVOLUTION

I come like a comet newborn, like the sun that arises at morning;
I come like the furious tempest, that follows a thundercloud's warning;
I come like the fiery lava, from cloud-covered mountains volcanic;
I come like a storm from the North, that the oceans awake to in panic.

I come because tyrants imagine that mankind is only their throne;
I come because Peace has been nourished by bullets and cannon alone;
I come because one world is two—and we face one another with rage;
I come because guards have been posted to keep out the Hope of the Age.

I come because tyranny planted my seed in the hot desert sand;
I come because masters have kindled my fury with every command;
I come because man cannot murder the life-giving seed in his veins;
I come because liberty cannot forever be fettered by chains.

From earliest times the oppressed have waked me and called me to lead them;
I guided them out of enslavement, and brought them to highroads of freedom;
I marched at the head of their legions, and hailed a new world at its birth;
and now I shall march with the peoples, until they unfetter the earth!

And you, all you sanctified money-bags, bandits annointed and crowned,
your counterfeit towers of Justice and Ethics will crash to the ground;
I'll send my good sword through your hearts, that have drained the world's
blood in their lust,
and smash all your crowns and your scepters, and trample them into the dust!

I'll rip off your rich purple garments, and tear them to rags and to shreds;
and never again will their glitter be able to turn people's heads;—
at last your cold world will be robbed of its proud, hypocritical glow;
for we shall dissolve it as surely as sunlight dissolves the deep snow.

I'll break down your cobweb morality, shatter the old chain of lies,
and catch all your black-hooded preachers, and choke them as though they
were flies;
I'll put a quick end to your Heavens, your Gods that are deaf to all prayers;
I'll scatter your futile old Spirits, and clean up the earth and the air.

And though you may choke me and shoot me and hang me—your toil is in vain!
No dungeon, no gallows can scare me—nor will I be frightened by pain—
each time I'll arise from the earth, and bedeck it with weapons of doom,
until you are finished forever, until you are dust in the tomb!

RACIST MENACE IN CHICAGO

By Carl Hirsch

THE myth of a "secret Jewish conspiracy" is as old as bigotry. In modern times, this hoary fable has taken a thousand different forms. It has been the stock-in-trade of the bias-mongers. It has been the firebrand used to ignite pogroms. It has been a Roman chariot on which fascists rode to power.

On May 29, this ancient falsehood appeared on the front page of our nation's second largest daily newspaper—the *Chicago Tribune*. It was a big story—in the number one slot. It was signed by the head of the *Tribune's* large Washington Bureau, Walter Trohan. "*Three Men Called a Government in Themselves*," declared the headline. The story went on to list Felix Frankfurter, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former secretary of the treasury, and Herbert H. Lehman, senator and former governor of New York, as "the secret government of the United States." In some 1,600 words, the article fashioned a fantastic web, linking this purportedly sinister trio with "world communism." The three Jews were shown as power-crazed puppeteers who have manipulated Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, Harry Truman, as well as other influential figures throughout the world.

The specious documentation of this "conspiracy" was in the manner perfected by the *Tribune*. For example, the diabolical methods of Frankfurter in controlling the foreign policy of both the United States and Great Britain were outlined as follows: (a) "State Secretary Acheson and Frankfurter are the closest of friends. The two walk together every morning." (b) "The mother of Sir Alexander Cadogan, recently retired British representative on the UN Security Council, was an Acheson." The *Tribune* singled out Lehman for its violent attack because he has "played a major role in opposing Senator McCarthy." Morgenthau was given the *Tribune's* smear treatment mainly because he "is credited with being the author of the policy of a harsh peace toward Germany."

This leading *Tribune* article, exhibiting the photos of the three influential Jewish leaders, was a lie from beginning to end. But the damage to the Jewish people was incalculable. And that was its intent.

It reached a million families in the Middle West who read Col. Robert R. McCormick's paper, many of whom regard the *Tribune's* word as gospel. The word "Jew" was not mentioned once. And yet the article was one of the most potent anti-Semitic attacks in the history of our country. It could have come straight out of Herr Goebbels' lie

factories, where the myth of "international Jewish bankers" was used constantly, side-by-side with the infamous forgery, *Protocols of Zion*. In this country, this particular form of anti-Semitism has been widely used by the fascist lunatic fringe. One of its foremost exponents is Elizabeth Dilling, the Chicago Jew-baiter, who wrote three books exactly on this theme.

Meaning of "Tribune" Article

Now, what is the meaning of the *Tribune* article and what is its aftermath?

There was nothing accidental about the *Tribune's* anti-Semitic outburst, nor was it the personal venture of some hare-brained reporter. Walter Trohan is the *Tribune's* top editor in Washington, handles only the paper's most important "policy" stories. The story appeared by deliberate design of the heads of the *Chicago Tribune*—*New York Daily News*—*Washington Times-Herald* chain. And the fact that they meant every word of it is emphasized in the way they handled the demand for retraction, dealt with later in this article.

The Col. McCormick papers are the heartbeat of fascist reaction in America. They reflect every fascist impulse and every fascist advance. They apparently made the estimate that the cold war has brought America to a lowered stage of resistance to fascism. They have obviously calculated that the time has come to bring anti-Semitism out of the shadowy beer-cellars of America's fascist movement and into the open. They believe that red-baiting has so weakened American democracy, so divided American Jewry and its friends, that Jew-baiting can go unchallenged.

And once this position is established, the pogrom might then be institutionalized. Within the last year, racist violence against the Negro people has already been given open, official status in Chicago—with the *Tribune* playing a major role in inciting mobs and in protecting the mobsters. Negro families have been bombarded and besieged in their homes. And in every case, the authorities, the police, the courts and the press have thrown their weight fully on the side of fascism.

The Chicago edition of the Negro paper, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, charged in an editorial: "Day after day the *Chicago Tribune* inflames passions, stirs up racial antagonisms and wounds the spirit of Chicago's colored citizens. . . . The *Tribune* plays a dirty game."

In the Peoria Street violence of last November, the attack against Negroes and Jews was joined. This was the

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case of Aaron Bindman, a Jewish trade unionist, who had invited a group of fellow unionists to his home, among them several Negroes. What followed can only be described by the word *pogrom*. For a week, violent mobs formed each night in front of the Bindman home. Jews and Negroes in a half-mile radius were set upon and savagely beaten. The mobsters were known to the authorities and clearly identified in court. But in a series of trials, climaxed by an outrageous opinion by Municipal Judge Joseph H. McGarry, each of the mobsters was set free. Judge McGarry declared that the whole thing was a "communist plot" and leading witnesses, who were Jewish, were told by the court that he did not believe a word of their testimony.

Renewed Anti-Semitic Offensive

Anti-Semitism is a chain that grows unless it is broken. Encouraged by Judge McGarry's decision, the racists made new efforts to force the Bindmans out of the Peoria Street home that they and another Jewish family had bought last September in this Irish Catholic community. They had a \$7,000 mortgage loan from the Colonial Savings and Loan Co., located in the neighborhood. The terms of the mortgage provided that the house had to be insured.

Two weeks after the mob violence at the Bindman home, the Colonial Co. informed the Bindman family that they were foreclosing, since the insurance company had suddenly cancelled the insurance. In the ensuing weeks, the Bindmans went to seven different companies and secured insurance on their house. Each time the policy was cancelled after a few days. And the loan company continued to press its foreclosure suit.

Nor did the racists stop there in their bedevilment of the Bindman family. One of the main ringleaders of the mob attack was a neighborhood haberdasher by the name of Edward R. Burns. Burns was among those acquitted by Judge McGarry. A few weeks after the McGarry verdict, Burns filed suit for \$250,000 against Aaron Bindman and his two attorneys, Max Naiman and Theresa Ehrlich. He charged that he had been falsely arrested at their behest and "held for several hours." Attorney H. B. Rittman, defense attorney in this case, expressed the opinion that Burns was not acting alone and that "influential elements are financing this lawsuit." The whole chain of events in the Peoria Street case bears out this contention. Central to the entire case is the figure of Frank C. Rathje, the big banker of the community, who has a long record of racist activity and instigation of restrictive covenants among the area's property owners.

While all this was taking place, the *Chicago Tribune* published its infamous front-page anti-Semitic article. A few days later, an event took place which could be traced only to the fact that the *Tribune* article had emboldened the professional anti-Semites.

The libel suit against the Anglo-Jewish Chicago weekly, *The Sentinel*, was reopened. This case dates back to the fall of 1947, when 10 of the hate-mongers, who had been pro-

secuted for sedition in 1944, brought *The Sentinel* into court in an obvious attempt to silence the magazine. Their charges were based on vigorous language which *The Sentinel* had used in characterizing them and their activities. The plaintiffs were: Elizabeth Dilling, Robert E. Edmondson, William R. Lyman, Col. Eugene N. Sanctuary, Ernest F. Elmhurst, Charles B. Hudson, Joseph McWilliams, E. J. Parker Sage, George E. Deatherage and Lawrence Dennis.

In a trial which shocked decent-minded Americans for its use of the court as a sounding board for fascism, *The Sentinel* was held guilty. Four of the plaintiffs were awarded damages of more than \$24,000. They were: Dennis, the intellectual theoretician of American fascism; McWilliams, notorious leader of the Christian Front gangs; Sage, Detroit propagandist of the Coughlinite and anti-Semitic National Workers League; George Deatherage, chief of the Knights of the White Camelia.

Subsequently, the Appellate Court reversed and remanded this verdict. In the opinion handed down by Justice Scanlon, he stated: "We found it difficult, at first, to believe that the evidence and the arguments . . . form a part of the transcript of the record of a trial in an American court. The 'testimony' of plaintiffs McWilliams and Mrs. Dilling consists practically of wild attacks upon Jews, their religion, and Jewish organizations, although there is not the slightest competent evidence to warrant the attacks. The 'arguments' in behalf of the plaintiffs to which we have referred are mere vicious rabble-rousing appeals to religious and racial passions and prejudices, and the harm done to defendants by the appeals was aggravated by the fact that the court remained silent while they were made. . . . We are satisfied that there was a grave miscarriage of justice in this case."

Since November 1949, when this reversal was handed down, the political climate in America has changed for the worse. The war crisis has sharpened, and with it the suppression of civil rights and the persecution of minorities. Shortly after the May 29 *Tribune* article, the anti-Semites in this case came back into court to reinstate their case against *The Sentinel*. They believe that now they can win and make it stick.

Another lawsuit against the Jewish magazine, which had been dormant for two years, was also suddenly pressed. This was a libel suit brought by Albert Dilling, Elizabeth's ex-husband, who was discharged as attorney for the Republican County Committee after an expose by *The Sentinel*.

Jewish Divisive, Hush-Hush Elements

Thus, the Jewish community of Chicago is an embattled people, whose defense must be carried on by democratic Jews and Gentiles alike. The struggle against anti-Semitism here has reached new levels and makes urgent new requirements. It must be joined with other aspects of the democratic people's struggle. It must draw from among the Jewish people of this city, especially, a determination to fight with skill and vigor and unity. However, there are

still the divisive elements, the wavering and the traitorous ones to contend with. And among other things, there is still the "hush-hush" policy which has survived a thousand lessons of how wrong and dangerous it is.

The Sentinel case is one of the most powerful of these examples. From the beginning, the issue was battled out among those involved and those who supported the case—either to keep it quietly confined to the four walls of the courtroom (and preferably to the judge's chambers), or to make it a broad people's fight. It was the leaders of the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Jewish Congress who were put in a financial position to decide how the case would be handled.

That first disgraceful trial and its disastrous verdict should have buried the "hush-hush" policy for all time. The outcome of the trial was a direct result of the fact that the Jewish community was deliberately demobilized. There were no mass protests. There were no efforts to arouse the democratic forces of the city, Jewish and Gentile. There was no mobilization to insure a fair and decent trial. As Elizabeth Dilling put it in one of her bulletins: "The only ones in court were my friends and a few of the hook noses."

The hush-hush policy was carried into the very defense strategy of the trial. But as one defense witness said later: "It's all right to be a fine gentleman when you are dealing with gentlemen." The anti-Semites took advantage of the restrained tactics of the defense to turn the courtroom into a raucous Jew-baiting rally, to bully the judge and to poison the minds of the jurors.

The horror of the verdict knifed deep into the Jewish community. Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, president of the Chicago Rabbinical Association, voiced a common sentiment that the verdict "demonstrates clearly that it is later than many of us think, that 'it can happen here.' We refuse to accept this indictment of a whole people as a verdict of democratic America," he said.

Appeasement Must Stop

In preparation for the appeal, there were some efforts to broaden the fight, to reach out into the community for aid. A defense organization was set up. And funds to finance the appeal were solicited at large. The appeal victory reflected the fact that a somewhat different kind of struggle was being carried on, that the fighting was no longer all by one side—the fascist side.

Nevertheless, the hush-hush advocates remained and still remain powerful. A sample of their viewpoint was the letter sent by Richard E. Gutstadt to all B'nai B'rith lodges in the Chicago area shortly after *The Sentinel* was convicted. "We are convinced," he wrote, "that flamboyant publicity, whether by way of the press, the radio or public gatherings, is ill-advised and dangerous because it may affect adversely the further legal proceedings in the case and should not be a part of any policy or any group sincerely interested in this matter."

Now, back to the *Tribune* article and how the hush-hush crowd handled it. They would have preferred to do nothing except for the outcry in their own organizations. But what they did do was even worse. These self-styled "statesmen" of Chicago Jewry decided to call on the *Tribune* and make a polite request for a retraction. The publishers of America's most perfidious newspaper said, "Yes"—and then a few days later, "No." The *Tribune* proposed instead an exchange of correspondence on the whole matter.

For its part, the hush-hush committee wrote: "We realize the implications of this article were not understood by you at the time of its publication. We should be glad to have your complete assurances that the unfortunate implications of this article were not intended by the *Tribune*." And the *Tribune* replied: "It [the article] dealt with Justice Frankfurter, Mr. Morgenthau and Sen. Lehman as public men, regardless of their religious beliefs. The *Tribune* is not anti-Semitic. Its record has been that of defender of minorities when they were right, however unpopular their cause."

By "gentleman's agreement," this exchange of correspondence was printed not in the *Tribune* nor anywhere else—except in the *Jewish press*!

What about the *Tribune* readers who had been given this dose of Hitlerite poison? The only thing they will get is more poison—while the *Tribune* gets absolution from any guilt by the men who call themselves leaders of Chicago Jewry.

How much longer can treachery like this continue in the camp of a people whose heads have already been bloodied by fascist resurgence?

There are deep stirrings in the Jewish community of Chicago. There is disgust and outrage over these continued betrayals. *The Sentinel* is editorially denouncing the hush-hushers' betrayal. There is conviction that only disaster can result from any failure to bring into operative leadership among the Jewish people those who stand for a militant and unified defense.

The *Tribune* has flung a warning and a challenge to the Jewish masses of Chicago. The wind across the city carries the stench of Dachau and the ashes of six million Jews. It carries their anguished cry, "Remember—and act before it is too late!"

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NEGRO-JEWISH UNITY AT FORD'S

By William Allan

ONE stirring example of Negro-Jewish unity is a lively topic of conversation among many of the 65,000 workers at the Ford Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan.

The story began some three months ago. Arthur McPhaul, Negro shop committeeman in the giant Press Steel Building at Rouge, was making a speech in the plant lunchroom to hundreds of workers on the fight for peace, banning of the A- and H-bombs and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. He was opposing speedup and advocating measures to defend workers' jobs.

At the side of McPhaul was his fellow-unionist, friend and co-worker, Max Chait, who is a well known Jewish rank and file leader at Ford's.

McPhaul did not mince his words as he kept explaining to the workers day after day that the Ford Motor Company was rapidly gearing its tremendous industrial might for participation in an atomic war that could wipe out modern civilization. He told the workers that their jobs and union security, their very lives were being cynically jeopardized by the company's war preparations.

He gave these facts to prove it:

The company plans to move 30,000 jobs out of the Rouge, to Buffalo, N. Y., and Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio, in accordance with the anti-union technique of the runaway shop. Thirty thousand workers would thus be left without jobs. McPhaul showed that the company's drive to smash all production records in 1950 was aimed at producing enough cars in 1950 to last two years. Ford's decision not to make any major change in models for 1951 was tied up with "new types" of production for 1951. Further, the appointment of company vice president John S. Bugas, ex-FBI chief in Detroit, to a top job with the atomic warfare board, brought the cold war right into Rouge.

But the company decided that McPhaul's courageous exposure of the issues facing the workers could not be allowed to continue. McPhaul was therefore hauled up before the gestapo-like labor relations department (manned by many ex-FBI agents) and fired.

One week later McPhaul, candidate for the second highest union post in the 10,000-man building, was elected by the workers.

This demonstration of the workers in support of McPhaul was organized and led by his friend and fellow-trade unionist, Max Chait, Jewish Ford worker.

After McPhaul was fired, Chait spoke out in the lunchrooms in defense of freedom of speech, against the cold war moves of the company and against speedup. Chait

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called on the workers not to let up on their fight to win back the job of their Negro shopmate.

Probably the largest lunchroom gatherings ever assembled in the Press Steel Building listened to the Jewish worker stand up in defense of his Negro fellow worker. Chait accused the Ford Motor Company of the rankest discrimination in firing McPhaul. He told the workers how many times in the past the company had tried to "get" McPhaul. Some weeks before, a plant guard had used the Dixiecrat technique of saying to McPhaul, "Hey, boy." Chait told how he and many other white and Negro workers had signed a statement protesting the insulting conduct and language of the guard.

Once more the company gestapo, the labor relations office, went into action. Chait was hauled before them and fired.

When workers in other sections of the plant heard that these two outstanding union shop leaders had been fired for doing what Ford workers have done ever since the union was organized back in 1941—speaking in lunchrooms—a demand arose to hold a plant wide Free Speech Day. The Ford Local 600 general council delegates body moved that such a day be organized. Certain cold war forces of UAW President Walter Reuther stalled the issue. "Let's take this up with Henry Ford II," they said.

Recently a delegation of union leaders were refused a



Arthur McPhaul



Max Chait

meeting with that "advanced social thinker" because, as he wrote, he had to make a speech somewhere. He palmed John Bugas off on them. Ford's speech was made before a Jewish organization in support of a fund drive. There, in his usual hypocritical way, young Ford tried to convey the impression that no taint of his late grandfather's anti-Semitism clings to him. The complete text of his speech was carried as a full page ad in scores of newspapers.

And while Ford was making with the words about his

tolerance and "human engineering," back at the Rouge plant, his top brass executive have brutally told union leaders that Chait and McPhaul will not go back to work. Hints already have been dropped to Chait that "you have a good chance to get back." Chait quickly takes these tipsters to task and points out that he will not allow his case to be separated from that of McPhaul. The company wants just such a separation. Petitions demanding action on the return of Chait and McPhaul are being signed by hundreds of workers all over the Rouge plant. The need for mass action down below in the departments to win back the job of the Negro worker and the Jewish worker, who stand as a fighting symbol of unity against the company and its cold war

program, is slowly becoming understood by the workers.

Both men are union veterans. Chait was fired in the early thirties for signing workers into the union. In 1943 he was fired again for fighting on issues in the shop. He has spoken before many local unions in Michigan for the American Jewish Labor Council and obtained endorsement for its program, including the backing of the 65,000-strong Ford local.

While the company has said it will not give Chait and McPhaul back their jobs, the Ford workers who elected McPhaul and who know Max Chait will have the final word on that—and we think that word will not be long in coming.

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY: I

By Benjamin Rubin

BECAUSE of the drama surrounding Israel's heroic fight for national independence, there has been an inclination in this country to think of Israel's problem in terms of *military* security. Many people tend to view Israel as exempt from the issue of *economic* independence shared by all smaller nations striving for independence, even those for whom armed defense of independence is past.

In considering the future of Israel, therefore, it is useful to remember that the post-war world is dominated by the contradictions between the imperialist nations, led by the United States, and the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union. Israel is only one of the many areas of struggle for independence. The People's Republic of China, the Republic of Vietnam and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe have won their independence not only by casting off the overt trappings of imperialism such as garrison troops and unequal treaties. They have also ended the more insidious controls from abroad that stem from foreign investment, foreign ownership of basic industries and foreign "aid" with political, economic and military strings and have embarked upon full-scale industrialization.

The "newly-won independence" of India, the Philippines, Indonesia, Ceylon, etc., has advanced those nations only one stage in the direction of genuine independence. In point of fact, the national independence movements of these erstwhile colonies are being throttled by regimes which continue foreign ownership of mineral and power resources and basic industries such as transportation and utilities. They enact laws to establish a "favorable climate" for even further foreign investment in exchange for "technical assistance." They provide 99-year leases for military bases, etc. In these circumstances, "independence" is a farce. In India, Burma and elsewhere colonial exploitation goes on under new auspices—made necessary by an unyielding tide of revolt. The service these governments perform on behalf of monopoly capitalism is all the more anti-

national because they help to conceal their real masters from the people.

Economics and Independence

Israel, too, is struggling against these deterrents to her independence. Her economic problem is complicated by a number of factors beyond providing subsistence for the population. For one thing, the absorption of as many as 200,000 immigrants each year creates a temporary but acute crisis in housing, resettlement and unemployment. Secondly, the constant threat of military attack by the British-backed Arab feudal lords drains off a disproportionate share of the national income for defense and commits a large number of able-bodied workers to non-productive military service. Thirdly, Israel has to overcome the legacy of the British mandate—foreign-owned investments, a small industrial base limited mainly to light industries, the need to establish new markets for exports and a relatively low agricultural productivity.

Israel has had to battle inflation on the one hand and to devote a substantial share of her national income to investment—spending for the future, on the other. In 1949 the population of Israel rose to a little over 1,000,000, of whom 320,000 persons were employed. The national income was about \$600,000,000, of which almost 40 per cent went for investment purposes. Her foreign trade deficit (the excess of imports over exports), traditionally made up in large part by the personal resources of immigrants, amounted to \$215,000,000. Capital funds were needed to house the new immigrants, to develop industry, agriculture and communications, and the trade deficit had to be paid for.

Israel quite naturally turned abroad for help to meet this deficit. The political circumstances attending the birth of the new state—the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947, Anglo-American rivalry in the Middle East, etc.—

had catapulted Israel into the world arena from the very outset. As a small nation she now had to seek military and economic assistance in the cold world of the cold war. Israel obtained arms from Czechoslovakia in her days of military crisis, while the Arab nations were armed by Britain, whose economy in turn was subsidized through loans and the Marshall Plan by the United States. In which direction has Israel oriented herself for economic purposes?

Israel has proclaimed her "neutrality" in the cold war.¹ Though the political and strategic commitments of the Israeli government's decisions have not yet been clearly unveiled, the facts of economic life leave no doubt that she is leaning towards the imperialists in the major world division. At least three developments during the past year and a half point in this direction: the \$100 million loan of the American Export-Import Bank; the character of Israeli foreign trade; and the policy toward the admission of foreign capital, culminating in the Investment Law of 1950.

The American Loan

The main terms of the American Export-Import Bank credit reveal the degree of economic control of Israel yielded as a consequence to the United States. 1) The loan must be repaid at three and a half per cent interest in 24 half-yearly installments beginning four years after its negotiation; 2) the money may be spent for purchases in the United States *only*, even if cheaper prices prevail elsewhere, and transported in United States ships, despite the higher cost; 3) the uses of the loan must be approved by the bank; 4) no more than 20 per cent of the credit may be used for industrialization; 5) Israel must provide to the bank quarterly reports throughout the life of the loan on its economic situation—prices, government budgets, currency reserves, resource exploration, etc.; 6) agricultural equipment purchased under the loan may not be used in the Negev; 7) although Israel may use the loan only for purchases in the United States, the United States is not obligated to buy anything from Israel.

There is a startling resemblance between the conditions imposed by this loan and those under the Marshall Plan, except that Israel will have to pay back the whole hundred million dollars plus interest, while most Marshall aid recipients (except Germany) will have to pay back only about 20 per cent of the sums received.

Yet only five months before the loan was negotiated, Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett had said: "We would resist any attempt at interference in the internal life of Israel. We shall not buy loans at the expense of sovereignty, economic or political. We shall not accept dictates as to what to do with the money from the United States."

Even the conservative *Israeli Economist* reported (April 1949) that "strong criticism has been voiced against the loan from political as well as economic viewpoints." After justifying the terms by saying that "it is an accepted axiom

that the lender has a right to know how his money is going to be used" (the agreement goes much farther than allowing the United States to "know"), this businessman's journal still hedges: "It may, of course, be that the terms for the industrial slice of the loan will turn out less convenient [than the agricultural loan]. In that case, we are still at liberty to refuse to accept it." With the acceptance of the loan (which was timed six days before the Israeli election), Israel already went deeply in hock to United States economic and political interests.

Western Trade Predominates

The direction of Israel's foreign trade in 1949 is another indication of her orientation toward the United States. No less than 31 per cent of her total imports came from this country. Another 21 per cent came from Great Britain and its colonies, but this is at least partially understandable for 1949 because Israel could spend the money that Great Britain owed her only for purchases in the sterling area (i.e., the British commercial sphere). Imports from the Soviet Union and all the people's democracies accounted for only 10 per cent of the total. Israel imported almost twice as much from Australia and New Zealand as from the USSR in 1949. (*Israel Economic Bulletin*, May 1950.)

Israel's exports in 1949 amounted to about 10.6 million Israeli pounds, or only 12.1 per cent of her imports, which totalled 87.7 million pounds. The fact that imports were so much higher than exports would seem to underscore the importance of limiting imports to absolute essentials. But all observers have reported the appearance of foreign luxury goods in Tel Aviv and Haifa, and the official figures bear this out. Consumer goods made up a larger proportion of imports (32.4 per cent) than capital goods (28.6 per cent). Industrial equipment made up only seven per cent of total imports and agricultural equipment another 6.7 per cent. The commodities imported were determined primarily not by Israel's need, but by what the Americans and British chose to export.

If the Export-Import Bank loan and Israel's foreign trade policy are of the Marshall Plan-type, then her position in foreign investment can be described as a model "Point 4" (so-called development of backward areas) example. There is of course a long background to foreign investment in Israel under the British mandate, which has been well described in A. B. Magil's *Israel in Crisis*. Between the end of the first and the beginning of the second world war the equivalent of more than \$100 million of foreign capital—mainly British—was invested in Palestine. Though the amount is not large in comparison with other colonies, this foreign investment controlled key sectors of the economy. In 1945, five foreign banks held 67 per cent of all deposits and 35 per cent of all credit. The Palestine Electric Corporation, under British control, generated about 92 per cent of all the electricity consumed. Palestine Potash, Ltd., whose control has passed from the hands of British to American investors, holds a concession (which does not expire until 2005) for the exploitation of the Dead Sea

¹ Since this article was written, the Israeli government's approval of the Korean intervention has torn off the mask of "neutrality."

mineral deposits. These two foreign-controlled corporations alone in 1943 held 36 per cent of the total capital invested in Jewish industry.

The Haifa refinery is owned by Consolidated Refineries, Ltd., which is in turn owned 50 per cent by Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and 50 per cent by the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co., the latter affiliated to Royal Dutch Shell. The Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation is also British-owned.

American Finance Takes Over

During the past few years American capital has been crowding out the British in Israel as it has elsewhere in the colonial world. The principal American investment firm is the Palestine Economic Corporation, sponsored largely by the Kuhn-Loeb and Lehman Brothers banking houses. Tracing the leading figures in these Wall Street firms and the American Jewish philanthropic organizations, Magil concludes that "the interlocking directorate among the Palestine Economic Corporation, the American Jewish Committee, the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Jewish Appeal means that the investment arm and the philanthropic arm of the Jewish section of American big business are working in unison in behalf of a single policy. Who can doubt that such a constellation of American financial power, linked with Washington, wields massive influence in the economic and political affairs of Israel?"

According to the *Israeli Economist* (March 1950), the largest American investment corporation in Israel is Ampal, the American Palestine Trading Corporation, with a capital of \$10 million. During 1949 Ampal handled more than \$25 million in financial operations for Israel.

The significance of investment at this state of Israel's development is shown by the fact that in 1949, when the national income was about \$625 million, foreign and local investment amounted to \$240 million or almost 40 per cent. The director-general of the Israel Ministry of Finance reported that of this total, \$79 million went into building and housing; \$53 million in agriculture; \$48 million in industry; \$34 million in communications; \$20 million in port development and \$6 million in irrigation.

Of the total investment, 39 per cent came from private sources and 61 per cent from public capital, including 36 per cent from abroad. The American loan is included in "public investment."

Investment in 1949 from the United States came to about \$25 million. On the whole this was very disappointing to the Israel government, all the more so since two-thirds of the amount was represented by imports of merchandise. Industrial investments and imports of cash were slow in developing during last year. Between January and August 1949 investments in industrial enterprises by Americans amounted to less than \$4 million. (*Economic Horizons*, October 1949.) Moreover the investments were mainly in consumer goods and services industries like textiles, hotels and building construction.

In view of the reluctance to invest a movement began, prodded by Americans, to improve the conditions for foreign investment, culminating in the law passed by the Knesset in March 1950.

Inviting Investment Law

When one examines State Department documents concerned with a "favorable climate for foreign investment," the same guarantees come up again and again—reasonable taxation (lower than that of home industry), the right to withdraw capital in dollars, convertibility of earnings to dollars, no discriminatory or unreasonable legislation, the right to employ "expert" technicians regardless of nationality, "prompt and just compensation in the event of expropriation," etc. As enacted by the Knesset, the Law for the Encouragement of Capital Investment would seem to be a transliteration of a State Department brief for the promotion of American foreign investment. The law

1) provides exemption from urban and rural property taxes for a period of five years of any building the construction of which was completed after May 5, 1948;

2) places a ceiling on income tax rates for five years of 25 per cent on the income derived by individuals from approved investments (while it is 75 per cent for Israeli capital);

3) provides additional tax relief through extraordinary depreciation allowances on buildings, machinery and equipment, equal to 200 per cent of the existing rate of depreciation for the first three financial years, and to 150 per cent during the subsequent two years;

4) allows the minister of finance, in special cases, to refund part of the income tax paid;

5) provides also relief for fees for registration of a company, land transfer fees, etc.;

6) exempts from the payment of import duty plant, installations, machinery, raw materials and semi-manufactured goods used in connection with approved investments;

7) allows an investor to withdraw, on account of capital, profit, interest or depreciation, up to 10 per cent of his investment in any one year, converted to the currency of the original investment;

8) provides that, if the investor settles in Israel, he may be exempted for a period of seven years from the obligation to offer foreign currency for sale to the ministry of finance;

9) provides that, if a non-resident is designated as a "specialist" in any economic undertaking, he may likewise benefit from certain tax reliefs.

Oppressive Results

This combination of tax benefits, customs exemptions and transfer and convertibility provisions of the new law corresponds very closely to what the State Department is seeking in its commercial treaties with all "underdeveloped" countries and others as well. This does not tell the whole story, however. There have also been official assurances against the nationalization of industry. Moreover, the so-

called drop in the cost of living during 1949 was achieved through an austerity program plus an agreement by the Histadrut (opposed by the Communist Party and Mapam) to cut wages. Finally, when the United States succeeded in September 1949 in imposing a devaluation on the British pound sterling in order to lower the cost of foreign investment and improve its own trade position, the immediate repercussions included the devaluation of the Israeli pound as well as most other currencies in the capitalist world market. On that occasion the director general of the Israel ministry of finance pointed out "that prices in Israel would not increase and that the devaluation would benefit Israel by attracting foreign investment and facilitating exports." The journal of the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency wrote at the time, "Wage Cut Expected to Boost Exports." (*Economic Horizons*, September 1949.) Referring to the "price dip" and the devaluation, this journal concluded that the two measures had increased the value of the investment dollar by approximately one-sixth—"a distinctly favorable turn of events for the potential American investor." (*Economic Horizons*, November 1949.)

In November 1949, the *Israel Economic Bulletin* reported that "prospects for investors in Israel are fair, but Americans must understand that they cannot expect the same profits as in backward countries." This revealing statement is a reflection of the strength of the more advanced working class in Israel. In recent months, and particularly since the passage of the new Investment Law, this word of

admonition has not been a deterrent to the entry into Israel of more decisive elements (including non-Jewish) American capital. The Ford Motor Company is establishing an assembly plant. The General Tire and Rubber Company of Akron is investing about two million dollars in a new plant in the Haifa area. Kaiser-Frazer is establishing an assembly plant north of Haifa with an estimated output of about 6,000 vehicles a year. The agreement with the Israeli government gives Kaiser-Frazer exclusive sales' rights in export markets where vehicles cannot be purchased from the United States because of dollar shortages. The agreement further stipulates that 75 percent of the foreign currency obtained from export sales will be placed at the service of the company and only 25 per cent at the disposal of the Israel treasury. A one million dollar steel plant is also to be established south of Haifa and the Israel government "promised the new company all facilities in accordance with its policy of attracting foreign capital." (*Economic Bulletin*, May 1950.)

In effect, then, the Israeli people have expelled the British-Arab invaders by force at great sacrifice, while the government admits American capital through the front door. The next article will examine the implications of this policy and also the alternative policy whereby an independent Israel may be developed industrially and otherwise without fettering her economic freedom.

(To be continued.)

GOOD WILL FOR REACTION: II

By Joseph Brainin

AT NOON of June 8th of this year a festive mood prevailed at the Maison de l'Amérique Latine, Avenue d'Illéna 96, Paris, France. To judge from the personalities hovering about in the main dining room (which was set for a gala luncheon), the occasion appeared to be an important politico-economic gathering.

Every guest came under the careful scrutiny of United States embassy staff members and ubiquitous American and French security agents. The cozy foyer where the guests of honor had assembled was filled to overflowing with international celebrities. Among the most lionized personalities were Henry R. Luce, editor and publisher of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*; Dr. Arthur H. Compton, atomic physicist and chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis; Roger W. Straus, chairman of the American Smelting and Refining Company; Sir Stanford Cooper, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, Ltd., London; Emanuel Monick, honorary governor of the Bank of France; and

Thomas E. Braniff, president of the Prudential Fire Insurance Company and of the Braniff Airlines.

In the groups around the tables one could recognize Signor Alfredo Pizzoni, president of Credito Italiano, Milan; Pierre de Gaulle, mayor of Paris and brother of the general; Paul-Henri Spaak, president of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe; and Paul Reynaud, French war-time premier who surrendered his powers to Pétain, and now special consultant for France on ECA affairs. Others engaged in animated conversation included the American General William J. Donovan, war-time head of the Office of Strategic Services; Georgio Andreoli, vice mayor of Rome; Ferdinand Friedensburg, deputy mayor of Greater Berlin; Albert Plesman, president of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, the Hague; Guill Lonsbruck, assistant director general of the big cartel ARBED, Luxembourg; Vittorio Valetta, president of the Fiat Motor Company, Ltd., Turin; Oscar Hammerstein II, New York playwright and producer; and Howard E. Wilson of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York.

JOSEPH BRAININ, Anglo-Jewish journalist, is executive secretary of the Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists.

The luncheon for which these VIP's of international finance and diplomacy had come together was the opening session of the World Organization for Brotherhood, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Before we take you to this four-day conference studded with elaborate luncheons, dinners, receptions and opera parties, however, it would prove advantageous to review in their chronological order several steps that led to this climax in the history of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, whose origins we discussed in our first article last month.

Arm of the Vatican

Although its charter specifically states that "the National Conference exists to promote justice, unity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the United States" (my italics—J.B.), the Conference has evinced a lively interest in foreign affairs ever since the close of World War II. The political orientation of the Conference was greatly influenced by Vatican policy as carried out in the United States by Cardinal Francis Spellman. Whenever it was deemed advisable to provide Protestant and Jewish support for a political campaign sponsored by the cardinal, the Conference supplied it—even though this support was rather illusory, since the Conference is in no way representative of the authoritative Protestant and Jewish religious bodies. The primary purpose was served, however. There can be little doubt that from a public relations point of view the Conference rendered valuable service to the political arm of the Roman Catholic church.

During the treason trial of Archbishop Stepinac, for instance, the Conference submitted a petition to the United Nations asking for a special investigation of the charges against this collaborator of Hitler. And since the anti-Semitic record of Stepinac had received public attention, the Conference designated the Jewish attorney, James N. Rosenberg—who at one time had praised the Soviet Union for its elimination of anti-Semitism—to file the petition in the name of the Human Relations Committee of the National Conference. Again, when Cardinal Mindzenty was convicted of treason by a Hungarian tribunal, the Conference raised its voice on behalf of this self-confessed champion of corruption and fascism.

A similar acceptance of Catholic policy by the Conference was in evidence during the prolonged controversy on federal aid to parochial schools in this country. On that occasion the Conference attempted to neutralize Protestant and Jewish opposition to the inclusion of parochial schools in the federal budget.

Furthermore, the *Religious News Service* of the Conference keeps up, as a matter of routine, a constant stream of reportage—based on gossip—about "Godless activities" in the Soviet Union. The Conference has served faithfully to strengthen the political arm of the Roman Catholic church.

Yet, despite all this, it was only after consultation with

prominent laymen and dignitaries of the Catholic Church that the United States Department of State seriously considered the Reverend Everett Clinchy's proposal to extend the functions of the National Conference to Europe. Before the final answer was rendered, the personal sanction of His Holiness the Pope had to be secured.

This is how the National Conference reported that significant event: "A 20-minute private audience with Pope Pius XII was one of the highlights of a 90-day mission by a group of NCCJ leaders in Western Europe during the fall of 1949. Its members, headed by George B. McKibbin of Chicago and Thomas E. Braniff of Dallas, studied and discussed with European experts the result of initial efforts to build better inter-group relations abroad. With the effective assistance of the Economic Cooperation Administration [Marshall Plan] and United States embassy officials, the American delegation consulted industrialists, business men and leaders of labor, religion, education and community organizations in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and Great Britain, and selected a group of over 50 key figures who will meet with leaders of the American movement next spring to frame a European organization for brotherhood. These influential citizens will serve as patrons of a program on inter-group education similar to that of NCCJ but adapted to the particular conditions in the various parts of Europe."

"Spiritual" Marshall Plan

Here you have the self-confessed blueprint of the American spiritual Marshall Plan as conceived by the leaders of the National Conference. It was of course natural that the Conference undertook to finance the world organization "until such time as the European divisions will be self-supporting." Among the "North American Advisors" are listed such spiritual financiers and international lawyers as Allen W. Dulles, Lucius D. Clay (former United States Military High Commissioner in Germany), Mark F. Ethridge, Paul G. Hoffman (head of the ECA), William Green, Philip Murray, Norman Thomas and Lady Eaton of Canada. The Jewish representatives are Samuel Bronfman, president of the Canadian Jewish Congress and perhaps the wealthiest Jew in the western hemisphere, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, James N. Rosenberg, the attorney, who presumably represents the American Jewish Committee, and Roger W. Straus.

No wonder that our State Department felt not only safe but distinctly eager to do business with the Conference. Obviously there was no room for doubt that these gentlemen would find the right means "adapted to the particular conditions in the various parts of Europe."

Official circles in Washington are especially interested in the brotherhood division for Western Germany. As a matter of fact the National Conference has been operating in Western Germany for more than two years—and rather "successfully," if one is to judge by the progress made in the renazification program of our State Department. The

Conference representative, Carl F. Zietlow, in his reports to Conference headquarters—which, in its turn, conveys them to the proper authorities in Washington—stresses his satisfaction “with the progress made toward brotherhood.”

At the end of 1949, the Conference notes, 900 Germans were members of councils in Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden and Frankfurt. “For the first time in German history,” the Conference report continues, “an Institute on Human Relations was held in the spring of 1949 in Munich, where religious and civic leaders of post-war Germany affirmed the need of the German people to replace the ‘blood and iron’ philosophy with democratic convictions and a religiously motivated sense of responsible citizenship. To achieve this aim a Coordinating Council was set up to direct a permanent educational program which will embrace all of Western Germany. On December 7, 1949, Theodor Heuss, president of the West German Republic, addressed the Wiesbaden Council of Christians and Jews.”

World “Brotherhood” Gets Under Way

The June 1950 conference in Paris gave the National Conference semi-official status. Until then the Conference had contented itself with rehashing meaningless phrases about “inter-group relations” and “unity among all men of good will.” During the Paris conference, however, NCCJ publicly hoisted its political colors for the first time when it established, under the encouraging guidance of ECA and United States State Department officials, the World Organization for Brotherhood (i.e., “brotherhood” against the East).

The character of this “brotherhood” conference can be gauged from the following excerpt from a news report in the conservative London *Jewish Chronicle* (June 16), with the subhead: “Combating Anti-Semitism of Secondary Importance.” “At the congress here,” said the news story, “where Germans and Jews from many lands spoke from the same platform and dined together amicably at the same tables, the topic of anti-Semitism was only briefly alluded to. Herr Ferdinand Friedensburg, Deputy Mayor of Greater Berlin, claimed that ‘nowhere have I discovered any trace of real anti-Semitism’ in Western Germany, while Frau Annedore Leber, editor of *Telegraf*, of Berlin, criticized the world’s press for publicizing the desecration of Jewish cemeteries in Germany without recording ‘the protests of millions of German voices against such criminal deeds.’ She also blamed the survival of anti-Semitism in Germany upon those Jews throughout the world who cry ‘We want no reconciliation!’”

Each delegate to the Paris conclave was handed a kit featuring President Truman’s address to the 1949 Armistice Day luncheon of the National Conference of Christians and Jews at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C. Mr. Truman’s speech was made available to the Conference brethren in English and French, with an introductory preamble that stated: “The cataclysmic events of recent years in Europe and throughout the world have thrown

into sharp relief a tremendous need for fuller understanding and more effective cooperation among the various national, ethnic and religious groups of mankind if further disaster is to be avoided.”

Truman’s Marching Orders

This exhortation, under the French headline “*Projet d’une Organisation Mondiale pour la Fraternité*,” indubitably was intended to present the people of France with an American-made counterpart to the Paris World Congress for Peace, the success of which greatly annoyed our State Department. The Conference appeal for “*Fraternité Mondiale*” was of course given extensive and favorable mention in the Marshall Plan-supported newspapers, and was dressed up for the people of France as a genuine peace movement. The industrial and diplomatic delegates to the Paris Brotherhood sessions, however, were told in unequivocal terms that the European Councils for Brotherhood were intended as spiritual bastions on the battlefield of the cold war against the Soviet Union. The words of Mr. Truman which the Paris Brotherhood conference hailed as its inspiration for action, stated clearly that he expected the National Conference to give religious backing to his doctrine of containment of the Soviet Union—in other words, to the cold war.

In his statement to the National Conference Harry S. Truman declared: “In various parts of the world today human rights and freedom are being deliberately violated and suppressed. Men and women are being systematically persecuted for their religious beliefs. Campaigns are being waged to turn religion into a tool of the state. These things are not only morally wrong—they threaten to undo the slow and hard-won achievements of civilization. These are the acts of men who conceive of other men as slaves, not as brothers.”

Thus Washington handed the torch of battle against the “Godless” people of the East to the faithful of the Conference, and called for a brotherhood of the West against the “materialistic” millions of the East.

Of major significance to American Jews is the fact that through the National Conference of Christians and Jews they are today officially aligned as participants in the cold war. While in our country the masses of Jews and Protestants do not take the National Conference too seriously and probably minimize its influence, Europe views it as the religious arm of the State Department and considers it a united American political front of Catholics, Protestants and Jews. That, presumably, is why Isai Schwartz, Chief Rabbi of France, felt compelled to join.

From now on the renazification of Germany and the Marshallization of France, Italy and the other Atlantic Pact countries will proceed under the aura of “spiritual unity.” The hoax of Brotherhood Week in the United States, neatly packaged for export, will be distributed to the European soldiers of the cold war as an antidote against the germ of universal peace “threatening” Europe today.

(To be continued)

HISTORY OF A MILITANT UNION

By Morris U. Schappes

HAS there ever been an American trade union quite like the one built by the fur and leather workers in the past 40 years? Has any union faced such obstacles, beaten so many and such powerful enemies and won so much for its 100,000 members? Is there another union the very existence of which today is such a living refutation of the thousand and one lies and slanders to the effect that communists and left-wingers are the enemies of American labor?

Small in numbers as unions go, and in an industry far from basic, the fur and leather workers' union is yet particularly the one against which monopoly capital is launching almost its whole arsenal of weapons in order to smash its strength and obliterate the inspiring example it has been setting to forward-moving workers throughout our land. One of its greatest leaders, Irving Potash, is one of the 11 Communists so disgracefully and unconstitutionally convicted at Foley Square. Several others among the union's most experienced leaders are being subjected to deportation proceedings by another section of the Department of Justice. The Taft-Hartley Law is creating unprecedented difficulties for the union. The CIO leaders, obedient to the voices of their masters, have tried to raid this union, have sent in strikebreakers to break its strikes, and have recently forced the union out of CIO ranks.

If the furriers and their union have always been close to the hearts of the American Jewish workers, that is because the union was practically built, originally, by the intelligence, the courage, and the bloody self-sacrifice of immigrant Jewish men and women. It was these Jewish workers who won Greek workers over to the union, and the German workers, and the Negro workers, and recently, in the leather division, the New England workers and the Virginia mountaineers.

When the Jewish furriers began their battles, their conditions were miserable indeed. Sweatshops in filthy holes were the rule. Grasping and autocratic contractors sat on their necks. Interminable were the working hours during the seasons and endless were the weeks of unemployment. Wages were at less than the sustenance level. Occupational diseases tore at the lungs and hands and lives of the workers. And even in their wretched jobs, the workers had no security, with the job-hunt beginning anew each season.

And what are the present conditions? The average wages of the fur manufacturing workers are the highest in the United States: \$3 an hour for a 35 hour week. In other parts of the fur industry, the rates are lower, but still superior to those in most other crafts. And the leather workers, whose affiliation with the furriers began only in 1939, succeeded by 1948 in pushing their rates up from 70 cents to

\$1.50 an hour. As for shop conditions, paid holidays and vacations, health insurance, pension plans, job protection for elderly workers and job security, the fur workers are the pace-setters for the country.

Real Union Unity

To protect and improve these gains, the workers have the greatest of their achievements: the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, united, and cleansed of its right-wing socialists, of the thugs, thieves, bureaucrats and red-baiters that used to infest that union and still have a strangle-hold on other unions. A strange combination? Incredible? But look, and look carefully, at the evidence revealed for the first time in that plainly written but exciting book by Philip S. Foner which has been the immediate stimulus to these reflections.¹

Foner amply lives up to his claim to have "brought to light hundreds of hitherto unpublished documents that reveal in all their nakedness the unsavory role of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and of the Socialist Party in the American labor movement. Here is the irrefutable evidence which shows how these labor leaders conspired with every enemy of the fur and leather workers, with employers, police, underworld gangs and other anti-labor agencies, to maintain their dominance over the workers in the interests of the employers." Yet it was from the archives of the AFL itself that Dr. Foner dug up many of the devastating and damning letters reproduced photostatically in the book!

Having beaten this unholy combination, the union now exists as a solid united front which includes Negro and white men and women of various political beliefs from Communist to Republican, and of various religions and countries of national origin, Jewish, Greek, Italian, etc. This united front operates through a system of effective inner union democracy that makes the membership the real controlling factor. The union involves the utmost rank and file participation in all its affairs, from policy making to mass picketing to dues paying (the union has consistently rejected the "easy" method of dues check-off). Leading the union are men like Gold, Potash, Winogradsky, Schneider, Burt, Klig, Feinglass, Galanos, Lyndon Henry, Pickman, O'Keefe and others who are described by Foner, without exaggeration, as "a tested, incorruptible, fearless and responsible collective leadership . . . of proven integrity, ability and loyalty to the progressive principles of demo-

¹ *The Fur and Leather Workers Union*, by Philip S. Foner; Nordan Press, Newark, N. J. \$5; in progressive bookstores, \$3.

cratic trade unionism." I should add one more adjective: "resourceful." Membership and leadership are also farsighted enough politically to take active parts in all progressive movements and struggles that confront our working class, nation, and the world.

How the fur workers out-manuevered and outfought their combined enemies is an instructive and moving lesson in unity, skill and sheer physical bravery. Had they had to deal only with the bosses, the problem would have been comparatively simple. But it soon became clear that the bosses could be defeated only if the workers pushed out of the way those among their own leaders who were collaborating with the manufacturers. At the founding of the International in 1913, the leadership consisted of Socialists of the Jewish daily *Forward* persuasion, bureaucratic, resourceless, and afraid of the militancy of the workers. "One must use the whip" against the workers, wrote one such character, Isidore Cohen, manager of the New York Joint Board, in the *Forward*. The "whip" included the use of gangsters and the stealing of elections. After Cohen was finally ousted, he became an open shop fur boss. So did Albert W. Miller, the International president and also a Socialist, after he was forced to resign. A tougher nut to crack was Morris Kaufman and the gangster machine with which he ruled both as manager of the New York Joint Board and president of the International. The *Forward*, needless to say, poured salt on the open wounds of the furriers. On one occasion, when several workers, including two

women, were beaten up by Kaufman's thugs at a membership meeting, and Ben Gold was attacked and slashed so that 11 stitches were required on his head, the *Forward* reported that the left-wingers had themselves beaten Gold to make a martyr of him! But the turning point came at a mass meeting on January 5, 1924, when the long-suffering workers decided to build up "an organized defense committee" to "take practical steps to free the workers from terror." At least five more workers were to be murdered by gangsters before that freedom from terror was realized.

Great Strike of 1926

One of the finest sections of the book is the 65 pages given to a description of the 17-week New York fur general strike of 1926. Foner's simple, even plain, style takes on eloquence, excitement and a new pace as he recounts this historic battle in which proletarian determination and brilliant leadership defeated a terrific combination of enemies. With Kaufman's machine defeated in New York and a united front that included the left-wing now leading the Joint Board, the strike made labor history in many ways. "A new technique in strike strategy" was introduced: a General Picketing Committee of 1,000 with a "women's battalion" of 200. The officials renounced their salaries for the duration of the strike. The Jewish strikers, the majority, spurned the crude attempts of the *Forward* to incite them against the Greek strikers.

Unity, militancy and mass picketing by all the 12,000 on strike were the weapons used against gangsters, police, and the treacherous right-wing Socialists of the International union. William Green, head of the AFL, it is now known from Foner's researches in their archives, was deeply involved in a plot to smash the left-wing and bilk the workers of demands they could well win. But Gold's shrewd strategy was, as Foner points out, "to differentiate between the right-wing leaders of the International and leaders of the AFL. . . . An open conflict with the Federation must be avoided if possible." The strikers made it impossible, by their mass solidarity, for Green to break the strike, but then, having always left him a way out, gave him an opportunity "gracefully" to help settle it on terms of victory.

In this resourceful and skilful strategy there is perhaps a clue to the reason why the fur workers were able to rid themselves of the right-wing Socialist shackles, while other needle-trades workers in the millinery and men's and women's garment unions are still saddled with Dubinskys. Although Foner does not stop to analyze this important problem, he does make this passing observation: "At no point in the strike did Gold fall a victim to the isolating policies into which left-wing ultra-militants in the American labor movement so often slipped. In spite of every provocation of the right-wing to cause a break between the General Strike Committee and the AFL, the union, as a result of Gold's leadership, maintained its position." The first 40-hour week contract in American labor history was one of the victories won.



Ben Gold addresses picket line at fur strike in 1938.

The Lepke-Gurrah gangsters were finally physically driven out of the fur market by the mass defense of the workers in 1933, without, for instance, the kind of cooperation the right-wing millinery union got in 1932 from the governor, the district attorney, and the police. The furriers did the job alone and made it stick; in fact, in 1936, when the city officials were unable to find anyone with the courage publicly to testify against Lepke and Gurrah, the fur union leaders Irving Potash and Samuel Burt dared to take the witness stand and won a conviction from the jury.

The furriers proved another thing in the 1930s: that gains could be won for the workers in the depths of the crisis in 1932 and also in the depression of 1938. While other unions assumed that such times are not propitious for successful workers' struggles, the left-wing leaders of the furriers operated on the theory that unity, militancy, and boldness can turn the tide. That is why in 1949 some of the locals were winning contracts for their *fifth* rounds of post-war wage increases while some right-wing unions had not even entered the second rounds for fear of inconveniencing the employers.

Some Limitations

Dr. Foner's book, with all of its wonderful qualities of unprecedentedly revealing materials and insight into complicated aspects of union policy and high readability, has one serious limitation. He concentrates so much on the important bread and butter issues and struggles, which are of course the backbone of any union, that he all but ignores the continual attention to the broader issues that made this union not only militant but progressive. The miners' union, for instance, is militant, but is it a progressive union on the level of the fur and leather workers? The difference must lie in the understanding and approach to major social problems, in the ideology of the rank and file and the leadership, the core of which has, for the past 25 years, been Marxist. The slighting of this element in the history of the fur union not only leads to omissions and the playing down of many events (such as the vigorous opposition to the first imperialist world war, which is barely mentioned), but reduces the force of the lessons to be learned from this union and the inspiration it can give to other workers.

A part of this limitation is expressed in Dr. Foner's treatment of the union's approach to the Negro question. Now there are some two score references to the need of unity of Negro and white and to the high level of attainment of that unity in this union, which has two Negro leaders on the general executive board of the International, and which has followed a policy that has put it way out in front among American trade unions on this question. But the matter is treated as if it were just a routine part of the democracy that is practised as a matter of course. It seems to me that this is not all there is to the answer, that in fact it was a Marxist approach to the Negro question on the part of some of the leaders and members that accounts for the present achievements. To omit this factor is to make it harder for



Irving Potash

those workers who might wish to emulate the example of this union to appreciate how it is to be done.

But the limitation is only and exactly what it has been called, a limitation. Fundamental is the fact that the progressive movement has produced this book and is again greatly indebted to Dr. Foner for placing his superlative professional talents as a historian so directly in the service of the working class. The women's garment workers and the headgear workers have had books written about their unions by economists or journalists, all of whom glorified the ruling social-democratic machines and their leaders. For the first time we have a history of a trade union written by a historian, and the difference in objectivity and craftsmanship is obvious.

Jewish Peace Signers in France

The Jews of France are playing their part in the vast and broad campaign to sign the Stockholm Peace Petition. Following is a typical list of signers: writers Jean-Jacques Bernard, Andre Spire, G. Benoit-Levy, Edmond Fleg; artist Mane Katz; Chief Rabbis Morali, of Nancy, Avram, of Besancon, Simon Fuks, of Colmar; Rabbis Paul Bauer Gourevitch, Zaoui, Schilli; Leon Lyon Caen, president of the French Court of Cassation; Andre Blumel, lawyer; Mme. Kagan, president of the Women Zionists of Casablanca; M. Orfus, president of the Jewish War Veterans and vice president of the Zionist Federation of France; Dr. Vital Modiano, president of the Representative Council of French Israelites and honorary president of the Zionist Organization of France (General Zionists); Jacques Lilienbaum, president of the Zionist Union of Eastern France; M. Studi, president of the Bessarabian Fraternal Society; Dr. Wertheimer, Professor of Medicine at the University of Lyon.

Letters from Abroad

JEW IN EASTERN GERMANY

London

How many Jewish people are left in the territory of the German Democratic Republic—that is, the Eastern third of Germany, where before Hitler there were many?

I can answer exactly. I visited the *Juedische Gemeinde*, the Jewish community center and headquarters for Berlin and the republic, just after a census had been completed.

The number is 1,240 outside Berlin. The largest community is in Leipzig — 338. Erfurt has 256, Dresden 193, Magdeburg 166, Halle 95, Schwerin 81, Brandenburg 62 and Chemnitz 49. In many towns and localities, the Jewish residents must travel together to celebrate feast-days. Not enough remain in each to form a *minyán*.

The population consists predominantly of old people. One hundred are under 18 years old, 300 aged from 18 to 45, 800 are over 45.

Do they wish to emigrate? Hardly. Emigration is fully permitted to any or all who desire to go. But what should they do—unless of course they have relatives abroad? Even if they have savings, by the time these are converted at the current exchange rates, of what use would they be abroad? And for old people, like the majority of them, there could be no easy life in Israel.

Every man among them over 65, every married woman over 55 and every unmarried woman over 45 has the statutory pension of 200 marks monthly. That is enough, not to live well, but to live reasonably. It is about the basic wage of a semi-skilled man, more than a student's allowance, much less than can be earned on piece-work. It suffices for rent and rations, but not much is left at current prices for the ration-free goods beginning to reach the

market. It is expected that these prices will be cut twice this year, however.

Every ex-concentration camp inmate and every former "star-bearer" (that is, a person who was obliged by the nazis to wear the mark of the "Shield of David") ranks as a Victim of Fascism. This means, of course, pretty well every Jew.

A Victim of Fascism gets three advantages: priority in claims for housing accommodation; top category of rations; and immunity from the sack, *i.e.*, if there are to be dismissals from his place of employment, he must be the last dismissed.

I asked whether the number implied only religious Jews. Not at all. Many Jews—for example, Arnold Zweig, who has an honored post at the head of the progressive writers of the German Republic—who in the past did not much identify themselves with Jewish community affairs, now play an active and helpful part.

In Berlin itself, the Jewish community number 7,000: 2,900 in the Soviet sector and 4,100 in the American, French and British sectors. (I have heard that 20,000 among the population of 30,000 in camps is the estimated number for West Germany). Berlin has six functioning synagogues; four liberal and two orthodox.

Currency provides trouble for Jewish Berliners, as for all others. "Easterners" are, of course, entitled to the same free medical services as other citizens of the Democratic Republic, but if they wish to go to the Jewish hospital, which is in the West sector territory, they must pay for medicines, etc., in West marks. At the fake-inflated exchange rate, they can only get one West mark for eight East marks, a charge impossible for them to meet. The *Gemeinde* authorities are asking the hospital administrations that they be allowed to pay "one for one" and any loss be borne by both East and West Jewish Berliners.

I asked about anti-Semitism in the Democratic Republic. "Out of the question," "It would not be allowed," were the replies I received.

Such outrages as the Hedler case, instances of public persons guilty of anti-Semitic incitement being acquitted, retaining their party and parliamentary posts, etc., familiar from the West zones of Germany, are utterly impossible. One of the leading people's judges in Eastern Berlin is Jewish and actually the chairman of the *Gemeinde*.

But surely, I asked, after the years of indoctrination, anti-Semitic feelings must remain widespread, however strongly they may be discouraged officially? What is the general attitude of neighbors in the Republic to those few Jews who now survive? The whole atmosphere is entirely different, I was told firmly. There is nothing one cannot take in one's stride.

IVOR MONTAGU

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Book Reviews

PORTRAIT OF PROSKAUER?

By Louis Harap

A Segment of My Times, by Joseph M. Proskauer. Farrar, Straus, New York. \$3.00

At the age of 72, Joseph M. Proskauer, recently retired president of the American Jewish Committee, has published his autobiography. He can look back upon what is called a "distinguished" career. This book conveys briefly the varied marks of the "successful" man: Proskauer has been a leading lawyer, a judge, a civic leader, a close political co-worker of Al Smith, a leading figure in Jewish philanthropy and a potent influence in Jewish organized life through the American Jewish Committee.

One could hardly, however, consider this book a penetrating revelation of the man.

Too many critical facts are omitted. Proskauer does not consider it necessary to state that he was an attorney for the American-Arabian Oil Company (Aramco) in 1948, nor that he had been a member of the national executive committee of the virulent anti-New Deal Liberty League in 1934. Nor does he recall that he contributed to the whitewash of George A. Timone, when this Franco supporter and Christian Front collaborator was investigated in connection with his candidacy for the New York City Board of Education. Subsequently Timone has spearheaded the pro-fascist drive in the board. The number of such facts about Proskauer's life can no doubt be multiplied.

Instead, Proskauer tries to project a picture of himself as a man of rigid principle and high-minded devotion to the public weal and to the Jewish people. Though there is some evidence of liberalism in the book, it virtually ends, significantly enough, in the early thirties. Proskauer indicates that he personally deplored the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, although he does not give any evidence of activity on the case. He was a member of the New York Bar Association committee that tried to prevent the expulsion of the five Socialist state senators in 1920. He worked closely with Al Smith while the latter was a liberal governor of New York.

But the break with liberalism appears to have come when he opposed the New Deal together with Al Smith soon after 1932. In the book Proskauer makes clear that his reason for the break was his opposition to the New Deal's "invasion" of

the rights of private property. Proskauer's vision does not extend beyond the view that Roosevelt's social program was an illegitimate device to get votes. Proskauer is, in short, a conservative defender of capitalism. While professing concern for Israel, Proskauer was right behind the State Department in support of every perfidious maneuver made by the State Department to prevent the proclamation of Israel. In his approach to the problem of anti-Semitism, Proskauer puts his faith in "tolerance pledges" and the spurious "science" of "removal of inter-group tensions," whose real function is to inhibit a genuine grappling with the problem concretely. Above all, Proskauer is a believer in the efficacy of abstract generalities. To grasp the quality of Proskauer's "fight" against bigotry, we need only note that in the year 1950, Proskauer can write of the first 18 years of his life in Mobile, Alabama, that "it was a good world"—the eighties and nineties of the past century when oppression against the Negroes in the South was becoming more intense.

The picture of Proskauer is therefore the picture of the American Jewish Committee in small. The bourgeois Jew is not exempt from anti-Semitism and discrimination, as Proskauer personally learned in school in the "earliest in a long series of bloodied noses" inflicted by anti-Semites. In self-defense the bourgeois Jew has an inclination toward a progressive viewpoint. But the class interest of the bourgeois Jew asserts itself by the adoption of a veneer of liberalism which attempts to cover over the alignment with the ruling class. Further, the bourgeois Jews as a group must impose restraint on the Jewish community against the progressive inclination that comes with membership in a group that is subjected to discrimination and persecution because this tendency among the Jews works against the interests of the bourgeoisie.

This, then is the reason for being of the American Jewish Committee—to give the appearance that it is defending the Jews while actually, in deeds, it restrains the Jewish community from effective defense because such defense in practice involves direct opposition to ruling class policies. And this, too is the essential story of Proskauer. His awareness of oppression against the Jews stimulates him to activity in "defense," but this turns out in practice to drain off the resistance into channels that make it innocuous for the ruling class.

The real story of Proskauer would therefore be quite a different account from the rather flattering self-portrait in this book. A true estimate of the man would answer the question why Proskauer in the book deplores the listing of "subversive" organizations without a chance for a hearing as a danger to democracy, while the American Jewish Committee, especially under his administration, served as the informer organization against "communists" in Jewish life, and used the "subversive" list technique before Tom Clark proclaimed it as public policy.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

INFLUENTIAL GERMANS and United States occupation authorities were trying to sabotage the impending trial of Ilse Koch in a German court, the World Jewish Congress charged on June 12 on the basis of confidential information received from Munich. The WJ Congress charged that occupation authorities were refusing to bring two key witnesses against Ilse Koch from the United States.

CONSTITUTIONALITY of New York's release-time program for religious education was upheld by Supreme Court Justice Anthony J. Di Giovanni in Brooklyn on June 19. The justice asserted that the principle of separation of church and state had "never meant freedom from religion, but rather freedom of religion." Observers pointed out that this means that freedom to refrain from choosing a religion is not included in the separation of church and state.

"WHITE ONLY" terminology is still used in job advertisements in the New York Times, Herald-Tribune, Journal-American and Brooklyn Eagle. The Harlem Trade Union Council protested in letters sent to the publishers in June demanding an end to this discriminatory practice.

"THE NATION" has for the third year been banned from the New York Board of Education list of approved magazines. After reasons for the ban were demanded of Superintendent William Jansen he listed four "objectionable" references in the past year. Nation Editor Freda Kirchway responded that "every single quotation is taken out of context."

A DELEGATION of 12 Jewish leaders of Brownsville of that community's Council of Jewish Organizations visited Maximilian Moss, president of the New York City's Board of Education on June 6 to request reinstatement of the eight Teachers Union leaders recently ordered suspended. The delegation pointed out that the suspensions signaled growing anti-Semitism and fascism on the part of the board.

EUROPE

"WHILE I WAS in Berlin," writes a correspondent of the conservative London Jewish Chronicle on June 9, "the Jewish cemetery in the Eastern sector was desecrated by a group of young Germans. . . . The authorities, unlike those in the West, took immediate and formal action to discover and arrest the perpetrators of this shameful act. . . . This action contrasts unfavorably with the leniency shown to kindred criminals in the West."

EAST BERLIN'S MAYOR Friederich Ebert sent a letter of regret to the Jewish community of Berlin for the recent desecrations of the Jewish cemetery in Weissenhof in the Soviet sector. He stated that "criminal elements" in his part of the city had been "encouraged by the open toleration of anti-Semitic behavior in West Germany."

THREE GERMANS CONVICTED for damaging a synagogue in Marktreditz in Bavaria in September 1949 had their sentences reduced by the United States Appeals Court in Germany from ten to two months in the case of two and from

four months to suspended sentence in the case of the third.

NAZI GENERAL KARL VON MANTEUFFEL was forced to flee from a meeting he was addressing in Dusseldorf on June 12 under the auspices of the "Free Democrats" Party by several hundred Free German youths and some Social Democrat "Falcon" youth. "Manteuffel, get out!" and "Hang the generals!" shouted the young people.

THE NEW POCKET GUIDE for United States occupation troops in Germany just issued by the army contains not a single reference to neo-Nazi movements, anti-Semitism, persecution of the Jews or the six million Jewish dead. The guide describes Germany's hardships and elaborates on Germany's contributions to civilization.

IN AN ATTEMPT to defend the freeing of Xavier Vallat, pro-Nazi Commissioner of Jewish Affairs under the Vichy regime, French Minister of Justice Rene Mayer said in the National Assembly that "I know what Xavier Vallat did better than anyone else since in 1941 I was chairman of the Union of French Jews organized by the Vichy government. As a Jew, and on behalf of my co-religionists, I could have made excuses if I were to have taken a decision not to set Vallat free. However, a minister of justice must be able to prove that he does not confuse justice with vengeance." Observers pointed out that Mayer's leniency was consistent with his acceptance of the post with the Vichy government.

SOME THOUSANDS of Rumanian Jews have received permits to emigrate to Israel this year.

HUNGARIAN JEWS who emigrate to Israel will be permitted to transfer their assets to Israel in accordance with a trade pact recently negotiated between Israel and Hungary.*

THE POLISH PRESS is publishing letters from Polish Jews, who had emigrated to Israel, expressing regret at having left Poland because of the terrible conditions under which they have to live in Israel.

AN ARTICLE on "The 'Large Family' among the Mountain Jews" (who live in Dagestan), by I. Khilov, was published in no. 1, 1950, of the Soviet publication, *Soviet Ethnography*.

THE "OFFICIAL" Jewish Peace Society in Britain headed by the British Chief Rabbi has refused to sponsor the Stockholm Peace Petition movement in England on the ground that this was "obviously a communist organization which has sprung up overnight." The British Mapam organ, *Labour Israel*, expressed amazement that the "official peace movement should take this attitude towards a petition which is receiving support of large sections of the whole population."

MOSLEYITE ACTIVITY . . . Mosleyites flooded Hampstead borough of London with anti-Semitic leaflets in June acribing the housing shortage to the influx of "thousands of alien Jews." Occasion for the campaign was a local election in Hampstead. . . . *Fuehrer* Oswald Mosley was asked by British Ambassador to France Sir Oliver Frank the "honor of his presence" at a reception held

at the embassy in Paris in June. The Parisian anti-fascist paper *Droit et Liberté* characterized this as "an insult to the English and French people." . . . Mosley has been touring in European capitals to set up a fascist international with Auguste de Marani, head of the Italian fascist "Movimento Sociale," with Die Deutsche Partei, neo-Nazi party in Western Germany and "La Liberation de la Flandre," pro-Nazi Belgian party.

ISRAEL

A CONSTITUTION for Israel will not be drafted, according to a 50-38 vote in the Knesset on June 13. A body of basic laws will rather be drawn up over a period of years. This victory for the position of Premier David Ben Gurion was characterized on June 14 by *Kol Haam*, Communist daily, as a confirmation of the Mandate constitution and a continuation of the emergency regime promulgated in 1936. The paper terms the Knesset vote a betrayal of the electorate and calls for continuation of the struggle for a basic constitution. *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam daily, argued that the basic rights of Israeli citizens were now at the mercy of bargaining by the coalition government. Dr. Moshe Sneh, a Mapam leader, declared that his party would fight the resolution until it was changed.

PREMIER BEN GURION'S official statement before the Knesset in early June on the American-British-French agreement on an arms policy for the Middle East registered satisfaction that the discrimination against Israel in sale of arms had been eliminated by the agreement. The statement was approved by 64 affirmative votes. Communist deputy Meyer Vilner said that the premier's statement was a sign that Israel was joining the Western bloc and surrendering its freedom and sovereignty and he called upon the Knesset to proclaim that Israel will not be converted into a springboard for an anti-Soviet bloc. *Al Hamishmar* accused the government of obscuring the fact that the agreement would not guarantee Israel's frontier but would rather put pressure on Israel to consent to inclusion within the sphere of Western strategy.

ISRAEL AND POLAND have agreed to extend their existing trade payments agreement until December 31, 1951, with negotiations for renewal of the 1950 trade pact to take place at the end of this year.*

A "RED ARMY FOREST" was established in June on Jewish National Fund land in the Judean hills west of Jerusalem, where the Israeli army broke the siege of Jerusalem. The name was given in honor of the Soviet Union's role in World War II and the ceremony was attended by Knesset members, representatives of the Soviet delegation and a number of Jewish leaders.

SOME 2,000 IMMIGRANTS from Poland, Hungary and Rumania arrived in Haifa in one day in mid-June.

RECENT PRESS REPORTS from the Middle East state that the communist movement in the Arab countries has been growing in recent months in organization and leadership.

YOUNG IMMIGRANTS from 17 to 35 who are physically fit and unmarried will henceforth not be accepted in immigrant reception camps, but will be sent to a special reception camp in Haifa, where they will be given the choice of entering a work camp or joining a collective or semi-collective settlement, it was announced by the Jewish Agency in June.*

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

