

SEPTEMBER 1950 • 20¢

KOREA AND THE UN —————▶

an editorial article

POLITICS OF AMERICAN ANTI-SEMITISM —————▶

by John Howard Lawson

"TRIAL" ON COLUMBUS AVENUE —————▶

by Hershl Hartman

WHO ENDANGERS ISRAEL'S SECURITY? —————▶

by Esther Vilenska

ALICE CITRON, FIGHTING TEACHER —————▶

by Richard O. Boyer

SYNTHETIC STORY OF THE AMALGAMATED —————▶

by Morris U. Schappes

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS joined about an equal number of conservative non-Jewish organizations on July 26 in urging the Senate to defeat the Mundt bill, affirming that use of the Korean war to push the bill through "would reduce our national strength and security at home and abroad by squandering our energies and by undermining our moral position." The protesting Jewish organizations were American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council of Jewish Women and National Association of Jewish Center Workers. . . . Among 15 Chicago civic and religious organizations in July also urging defeat of the Mundt bill were the Chicago Rabbinical Association, American Jewish Congress and Anti-Defamation League.

WIDESPREAD CRITICISM by Jewish people and the Anglo-Jewish press greeted the failure of Jewish "defense" organizations in Chicago to obtain an adequate public apology from the Chicago Tribune for the anti-Jewish article published in that paper on May 29 charging Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Herbert H. Lehman with being the "secret government of the United States." A sampling of editorial opinion in the Anglo-Jewish press showed that numerous papers from coast to coast criticized the "defense" agencies, while none were found who defended them. In Chicago, in July, a group of prominent rabbis and Jewish laymen held a meeting at which it was decided to send a letter to the agencies requesting a public explanation. To date no answer has been received. The letter charged that the failure to get an apology from the Tribune was owing to the fact that the Jewish community itself had not been consulted throughout the negotiations with the offending newspaper. The group will continue to press the matter.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE Employees Union requested the American Civil Liberties Union on August 2 to investigate the American Jewish Congress in New York "for serious infringement of civil liberty by an employer." Isaac Toubin, AJC assistant executive director, has issued a memorandum threatening with immediate dismissal any employee who circulates the Stockholm peace petition in the office. Workers had been circulating the petitions on their own time during the lunch hour.

MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS of the Zionist Organization of America national offices in Chicago "persuaded" employees of the ZOA to quit the Social Service Employees Union and join the rival CIO union. . . . The Los Angeles City of Hope sanatorium frankly admitted in early July that it had broken relations with the SSEU because the union had been expelled from the CIO. This is said to be the first time a Jewish organization has openly admitted this reason for its break with the SSEU.

THE WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE of Chicago, anti-Negro organization, had its charter revoked on June 29 by Circuit Court Judge Edward F. Bareis. Further publication of the League's inciting anti-Negro propaganda was also banned. The Illinois edition of the Worker received the congratulations of many Chicagoans for its exposure of the League.

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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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AN ALUMNI COMMITTEE of New York's City College which had been for two years "investigating" charges of anti-Semitism of Professor W. E. Knickerbocker, which aroused tremendous student and faculty protest culminating in the historic five-day student strike in April 1949, issued an indecisive report in July. The report stated that "it cannot be said with any degree of certainty that Professor Knickerbocker was anti-Semitic. By the same token it cannot be said that he was not."

STATE AND LOCAL chambers of commerce, boards of trade and retailers' associations have grouped together "overwhelmingly" to oppose FEPC legislation, according to a report on FEPC

issued in July by the American Council on Race Relations and the Anti-Defamation League. Ten states have passed fair employment practices legislation.

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS limitation of membership to "white males" only was challenged by Professor Ephraim Cross of City College in a speech on July 26 before the annual convention of the New York State Grand Lodge. The fraternal order has a national membership of about 300,000, many of whom are Jewish.

ANTI-SEMITIC HOODLUMS in Roxbury, Mass., in early July attacked without provocation the
(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

KOREA AND THE UN.

THE United Nations, in the words of its charter, was designed as "an instrument of peace" and "conciliation." On October 24, 1946, Walter Lippmann wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* in opposition to the drive, led by Bernard Baruch, John Foster Dulles and Herbert Hoover, to abolish the "veto," that is, the principle of unanimity among the great powers in the UN. The Soviet use of the "veto," he said, was simply the logical and inevitable consequence of the United States' continual resort to the "majority vote." Said Lippmann:

"In a world of sovereign states there is no substitute for agreements that are acceptable—no substitute therefore for diplomacy, which is the art of inducing and compelling agreements. The attempt to operate the Security Council, the Assembly and the Peace Conference as if they were legislatures has obstructed agreement and aggravated disputes."

These two approaches to the United Nations—the attempt, on the one hand, to manipulate the Security Council like a legislature to put over the program of one bloc on another and the attempt, on the other hand, to use it as a means for reaching agreement between sovereign powers, a forum for diplomacy—were dramatically illustrated in the Security Council in the debate on the Korean question in August. The Soviet delegation, returning to the Security Council when its turn to assume the presidency came round, fought skilfully, hard and almost single-handed to make the Council an instrument for reaching agreement and bringing peace to the Far East. Washington fought to use its "majority vote" to make the Security Council a rubber stamp for its policies and to get its support for the United States war in the Far East.

Not a hint of the true nature of the battle being fought at Lake Success reached the American people through the commercial press and radio. Americans heard only that Soviet Delegate Jacob Malik was using all sorts of "illegal" tricks and devices to block the will of the majority in the Council. Malik, in the common United States view, was stalling, using his presidential powers, legally or not, to prevent votes he would surely lose.

One of the basic factors ignored in all this was the nature of a UN majority. Lippmann, in his October 24, 1946 column, pointed out: "We are suffering from an optical illusion if we think that international voting is 'democratic.' It is democratic to give all persons an equal vote. When you give all governments an equal vote, you get the greatest possible inequality in the representation of people."

"The Ambassador of Cuba, for example, wishes to abolish

the veto and substitute rule by a majority of governments. His vote represents not quite 5,000,000 people. Senator Austin's voice represents 140,000,000 people. Is it really democratic that in international affairs a citizen of Cuba has a voting power equal to 28 citizens of the United States, to 10 citizens of the United Kingdom, to more than 60 Chinese, to perhaps 35 Russians? The rights of small nations are very precious indeed. But they need not be and should not be invoked so to deny the rights of the peoples of great nations. Yet that is the result when we confuse the equality of states with the equality of men."

Who Has a "Majority"?

If we look at the composition of the Security Council, it becomes clear that Malik was not blocking the will of the "majority" but fighting for the right to be heard and to participate of something like one-third of the world. Here are the members of the Security Council and the number of people for whom each speaks:

Cuba	5,000,000
Ecuador	3,000,000
Egypt	19,500,000
France	41,500,000
India	337,000,000
Norway	3,000,000
U.S.S.R.	212,000,000
United States	150,000,000
United Kingdom	50,000,000
Yugoslavia	16,000,000
Chiang Kai-shek	0

The 475,000,000 people of China, who are entitled by the UN Charter to a permanent seat on the Security Council, have no representation at all since the United States has blocked the settlement of the problem of China's representation. Furthermore, the peoples of the Eastern European democracies have been deprived of their right to a voice in the Council. The custom and established procedure of the Council has been that elective members are chosen to represent regions and the candidate nominated by the region was always accepted in order to give that region a real voice. But in the last elections to the Security Council, when Poland's seat became vacant, and Czechoslovakia was nominated by Eastern Europe to take its place, the United States fought and won (by a close margin) an unprincipled campaign to give the seat to Yugoslavia.

In the first week of Malik's presidency of the Council, five votes were taken. The first was on his ruling, made within seconds of his calling the first meeting to order, that "the representative of the Kuomintang group seated in the Security Council does not represent China and cannot therefore take part in the meetings of the Security Council." Seven votes are required to overrule the president. They were supplied by Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Norway, Britain and the United States, plus the representative of Chiang Kai-shek. Yugoslavia, India and the Soviet Union voted to uphold the ruling. In terms of the representation of people, the vote stood 565,000,000 to uphold the ruling and 271,500,000 to overrule it.

On three other key questions voted on the third day, the vote stood this way:

Should the question of the representation of Central People's Republic of China be included on the agenda? (Motion defeated.) Five nations (Soviet Union, India, Britain, Yugoslavia, Norway) or 618,000,000 people said yes. Four States, Britain, Norway, France, Cuba, Ecuador, Chiang Kai-shek delegate or 199,500,000 people said no. Egypt, 19,500,000, abstained.

Should the Soviet proposal for "peaceful settlement of the Korean question" be discussed? (Motion defeated.) Egypt, India, Soviet Union, 568,500,000 people said yes. The United States, Britain, Norway, France, Cuba, Ecuador, Chiang

Kai-shek, 252,500,000 people, said no. Had the 475,000,000 people of China enjoyed their right to participation, the vote would have been: 1,043,500,000 people for; 252,500,000 against.

Should the United States resolution charging North Korea with aggression be included on the agenda? (Motion carried.) The Soviet Union, representing 212,000,000, said no. India and Yugoslavia, 355,000,000 people, abstained. The United States, Britain, Norway, France, Ecuador, Cuba, Chiang Kai-shek—271,000,000 people—said yes. Had China been legally represented the vote would have been 687,000,000 against and 271,000,000 for.

Washington "Diplomacy"

The Soviet Union came into the Security Council with a policy and a program, determined to use the art of diplomacy to win agreement on it. The program was wrapped up in the two items, submitted by Malik as Council president, in accordance with established procedure, for the agenda. They were: admission of New China and peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The United States policy consisted simply in attempting to block any Soviet move and all possibility of agreement. Here is what passed as Washington "diplomacy":

United States Delegate Warren Austin, in a move unprecedented in Council history, moved to substitute his own resolution, "Complaint of Aggression against the Republic of Korea," for the agenda submitted by Malik. Malik pointed out that a just and simple way of handling the problem would be to add the United States resolution as item 3 of the agenda. This would have been in accord with established procedure. Washington then tied up the Security Council for three days in a bitter fight to get *its* resolution and this one alone on the agenda. Washington finally won but some even of the most ardent of its supporters considered the victory pyrrhic. James Reston wrote in the *New York Times* that "to vote it [peaceful settlement] off the tail end of the agenda even after we had won on all other points gave Mr. Malik precisely the kind of illustration he needed to argue that we were against 'peace' in Korea."

Another example of the Truman administration "diplomacy" came when Malik proposed that, in accordance with Article 32 of the Charter, representatives from both sides in the Korean war be invited to sit in on the Council sessions. Washington insisted that only its side, South Korea, was entitled to a hearing, and it tied up the Council for another three days in a procedural fight designed to win admission for South Korea alone to the Council sessions. Carrying the ball for Washington in this fight was Dr. T. F. Tsiang, representing Chiang Kai-shek. Even pro-Washington observers thought the choice unfortunate. Tsiang raised what he called "a point of order" demanding that Malik seat the South Korean representative at once in accordance with the decision taken by the Council June 25 (without the Soviet Union present and without a vote). The Tsiang-Truman administration strategy was to force Malik to make a ruling that South Korea could not be present and

NEW YORK

Herald Tribune

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1949

South Korean Leader Contends U. S. Blocks Invasion of North

TOKYO, Oct. 31 (UP).—Sihm Sung Mo, South Korean Defense Minister, said today that his army is ready and waiting to invade Communist North Korea but has been restrained by American officials.

At the same time President Syngman Rhee said in Korea that his government will not much longer tolerate a divided Korea. "and if we have to settle this thing by war, we will do all the fighting needed." He spoke to officers and men of the visiting United States 7th Task Fleet aboard the flagship St. Paul. He described Korea as a "living body cut in half."

Referring to the readiness of his troops to drive into North Korea, Mr. Sihm 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 (American government leaders) are ready. They keep telling us, 'No, no, no, wait. You are not ready.'"

Mr. Sihm listed the South Korean Army strength at 100,000 front-line troops, compared with a Northern army of 250,000.

"We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang (the Northern capital) within a few days," he said. "The

Mr. Sihm came to Tokyo last week and saw General Douglas MacArthur and other high American military officials. He described the visits as "purely social calls," and said he did not ask for more aid.

The South Korean government on many occasions boasted openly of plans to invade North Korea. In November, Sihm Sung Mo, defense minister of South Korea, complained that the United States was delaying matters. "They keep telling us, No, no, wait. You are not ready," said Mo in this United Press story printed in the Herald Tribune on November 1, 1949.

then to overrule him with its majority vote. Malik said he could make no ruling and that the Council would have to vote on the questions of admitting South and North Korean representatives. These would be substantive questions to which the principle of unanimity would apply. One after another the countries of the western bloc rose to charge Malik with undemocratic procedure, disobeying the rules and to make thinly veiled threats. Malik remained imperturbable. At the August 8 meeting Austin in effect told Malik to get new instructions from Moscow—or else—and moved that the Council take a day's recess to enable him to do so. Malik replied simply that he had instructions to fight for a peaceful settlement but if Washington wanted time to exert pressure on other delegations, he would indeed postpone the next meeting, although he preferred to get on with business. After this session, the United States delegation summoned a press conference at which it threatened to oust Malik as Council president, to adjourn the Council till September when Britain takes the presidency, to summon an emergency session of the General Assembly.

The British promptly let correspondents at Lake Success know that they would not go along with such a move. At two meetings in the next two days Washington tried to line up the nine members of the Security Council (all but the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which was invited but did not attend) behind some drastic move to force Malik to do its bidding. The attempt failed miserably. Other delegations refused to go along on any of Washington's proposals. UN observers commented that the Americans have lost their heads. One said: "They are running amok. They want to drive Russia out of the UN for good. They seem bent on war."

The Other Side Is Heard

But most UN observers were convinced that the United States could not succeed. Washington won the votes, but the Soviet Union was winning the battle for world public opinion (outside the United States of course). This was conceded even by American correspondents. James Reston wrote in the *Times*, August 6: "The United States won a parliamentary victory over the Soviet Union in the UN this week, but in Asia where the propaganda issue really counts, we apparently didn't do so well." He complained that the United States had failed to put forward its "best arguments" and its "best men." For the first time the world was hearing the other side of the story.

Malik marshalled arguments and facts to show that the Korean war was indeed a civil-war, provoked by Syngman Rhee, and that the United States was intervening in Korea. Many of his facts came from United States sources. Moreover, his approach was so appealing to common sense that the pro-Washington bloc had difficulty concealing this. Malik said, in effect, that our job is to make peace in Korea. This concerns the Korean people. They must have a hearing. Let's invite both sides so we get the whole story. Let's invite China since obviously a Far Eastern peace can't be made without the participation of the greatest

THE SUN—Friday, April 28, 1950

Writer warns of "hot war" danger in South Korea

Sun Special Service

NEW YORK, Thursday.—Statements by South Korean authorities visiting Australia that South Korea has no intention of attacking North Korea are not reflected by the facts of the situation, says New York *Times* correspondent, Richard Johnston.

He told the Overseas Press Club today that there was a very real desire on the part of South Koreans to attack North Korea, restrained only by the fact that the U.S. authorities allowed them only enough ammunition at a time for three days' fighting.

Johnston was for many years stationed in South Korea for the New York *Times*.

He declared that the South Koreans do not care whether their civil war leads to a third world war or not.

Since they are turning heads, other (they have no objection to the Americans and the Russians doing the same if there is a chance of the conflict working out to the advantage of Korea).

Here is what the Australian Melbourne Sun—no friend of communism—printed about Korea in April. This is only one of many press stories in the past year all indicating that South Korea was straining to attack the North.

power in the Far East. Washington in denying a hearing to representatives of North Korea, Malik said, betrayed its fear that the truth about Korea might come out. Furthermore, he added, while we're talking about it, let's call a halt to the terror bombing of civilians and non-military targets by the United States Air Force. Against these proposals the United States delegate could only cry "Propaganda!" and filibuster on procedure. Before the whole world Washington and its followers were going on record against mediation in Korea, against a hearing for both sides, against the participation of one of the great powers most concerned, and in favor of bombing of civilians.

The Imperialist Bloc Cracks

Washington did not have the all-out support of other delegations even on the Korean question, let alone on those

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Washington, July 3—An unnoticed June 11 Korean border incident involving a United Nations official, may hold the answer to key questions on the Communist aggression.

The U.N. official involved in the incident was John Gaillard, American Acting Secretary of the U.N. Mission in Korea. Here is what happened:

On June 10 a radio broadcast from Pyongyang, Communist capital, invited "all political parties, social organizations and leaders of the Southern half, as well as the U.N. Korean Mission, to go to Yonyong on the 38th Parallel and receive leaflets urging a nation-wide election."

Unarmed, Gaillard arrived at the 38th Parallel on the afternoon of June 11. His first attempt to cross the border was halted by a brisk exchange of small-arms fire from opposing pillboxes.

After some palaver, the shooting stopped and Gaillard was permitted to cross into North Korea. At an open railroad platform, several hundred yards from

the heavily-fortified border, he was met by three representatives of the communist government. The trio politely, but flatly, refused to accept copies of the proposal proffered by Gaillard. They declared they had no authority to accept anything from him; that they were merely "messengers" under orders to deliver copies of their government's "Peace Manifesto."

The trio—Lee In Kyu, Kim Tae Hong, and Kim Chae Thang—then escorted Gaillard back to the border. Suddenly, without warning or apparent reason, the South Koreans opened heavy fire, pinned down the Communist emissaries, and then seized them. Later, they were jailed and are still there—as far as the U.N. Mission knows.

ALLEN



Two weeks before hostilities broke out in Korea, said columnist Robert S. Allen in the *New York Post* on July 3, 1950, South Koreans fired without warning on a peace mission from North Korea. The peace delegates, who were arrested, have not been heard from since.

of China and Formosa. In five votes taken, India voted four times with the Soviet Union and abstained once. On the question of China's representation, the Soviet Union for the first time split the western bloc wide open when Britain and Norway voted with the Soviet Union. On the question of peace in Korea, not only India but also Egypt voted with the Soviet Union. These developments were far more significant than the United States press let on and had many western diplomats worried.

India's role is a key one. Washington's rejection of Prime Minister Nehru's proposals to seat the New China and mediate the Korean war was universally condemned by the Indian press. The *Lucknow Herald* wrote that Washington "has taken over seriously the white man's burden from Britain and is constantly rattling her sword. United States action [in Korea] is not only no guarantee of world peace but a definite threat to it, and the sooner the world realizes it the better. All this talk of the freedom and liberty of smaller countries is mere propaganda." The *Indian News Chronicle* said that Washington's reply to Nehru "breathes fanatic faith in the omnipotence of force, till now associated only with totalitarian regimes. . . . [It shows] the Americans' profound misreading of the Asian mind, which resents any attempt to make this area of the globe a happy hunting ground for power politics."

United States bombing in Korea brought widespread condemnation in India. The *New York Times* reported from New Delhi on August 12: "Anti-United States feeling in India has never been so widespread as it is now. With

every day of the Korean war bringing more news of bombed cities and flaming villages, the unpopularity of the United States is growing. . . . Many Indians feel that the United States action in Korea represents foreign domination in Asian lands, which they resent. Several declare passionately that the United States should get out of Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Formosa, and wherever else it may be involved in Asia and let the Asians settle their own problems. . . . Nothing except possibly the development of the atomic bomb has hurt the United States so much as its alliance with the French in supporting the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China. . . . Accounts of the repeated bombings of Seoul by United States aircraft and reports of villages left in flames as United States troops withdraw, arouse indignation here."

MacArthur Goes to Formosa

India was even further alienated by the surprise visit to Formosa of General Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur undertook to visit Chiang Kai-shek and reached agreement with the ousted Chinese dictator on "joint defense of Formosa and Sino-American military cooperation." This looked like Washington's commitment to go to war against the New China. This impression was reinforced by a report from Tokyo that MacArthur was convinced the United States must "go all-out" in fighting communism all over Asia. According to *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*, President Truman knew nothing of MacArthur's visit with Chiang till he read about it in the papers and then promptly dispatched his chief adviser Averill Harriman to Tokyo to tell MacArthur to be more circumspect. Actually it was pressure from Britain, alarmed that MacArthur might drag the whole colonial coalition into war against China, that sent Harriman to Tokyo. Both MacArthur and Harriman denied that the general had acted on his own. MacArthur said such reports came from those "who invariably in the past have propagandized a policy of defeatism and appeasement in the Pacific." News-men, however, stuck to their guns.

The MacArthur-Chiang visit did not help the United States at Lake Success, where Austin so vigorously argued that Korea and China had nothing to do with each other and therefore China's admission could not be discussed now. When he first made this point, Malik replied: "The president of the United States himself has linked the Chinese and Korean questions. In ordering his armed forces . . . to begin armed intervention in Korea's domestic affairs, the president also decided in passing to seize Formosa by ordering the 7th Fleet virtually to occupy that island. What grounds has the United States representative now for asserting that the two are absolutely distinct questions? There is no logic in such a statement. Mr. Austin apparently doesn't agree with the president's decision." The Formosa visit of MacArthur punctured completely the United States pretenses on China.

A Losing Proposition

Washington was losing the battle at Lake Success as it was losing the war in Korea, where United States troops, despite considerable reinforcements, were being pushed back into a small bridgehead. Many United States reporters were cabling from Korea the fact that American ideas of racial superiority were injuring United States relations with what was left of the South Korean army and increasing United States unpopularity throughout Asia. Many United States reporters also revealed how unenthusiastic United States GI's are about the war. The *New York Times* on August 12 quoted a young infantryman as saying: "I'll fight for my country but damned if I see why I'm fighting to save this hell hole." Another 19-year-old corporal interviewed by the *Times* correspondent, Richard J. H. John-

ston, said: "I keep asking myself what I am doing here. The funny thing is I can't answer my own question."

Washington has embarked on what some UN observers called "a desperate and dangerous course." And the course was being chartered by the military mind unleashed in the form of Douglas MacArthur. The course could only bring disaster to the United States. But the politicians in and out of power seemed incapable of charting an alternative. Yet in the UN the United States had a chance to save face and itself from ultimate disaster. The opportunity for reaching a settlement on Korea existed. But it meant returning to the original principles on which the UN was founded, to the course of reaching agreement with the USSR as Franklin D. Roosevelt had projected. Only the American people could bring forward and push through such a program.

NEW YEAR THOUGHTS

FOR some thousands of years the Jewish community has celebrated the Jewish New Year, which falls this month, as a time for grave pondering over the year past and as a time of renewal of the determination to live in accordance with justice and right. While many Jews do not participate in nor believe in the traditional religious aspects of this festival, it would not be amiss for all Jews to take stock of the immediate past and the prospects for the future.

In the light of the experience of the tragic decades through which we have lived, what is the meaning of events of the past weeks? Is it in the interests of the Jewish people that they should give their support to Truman's foreign policy, and more specifically, to his actions in Korea? According to Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the American Jewish Congress, and Frank Goldman, president of B'nai B'rith, who have declared their organizations' support of Truman's Korea policy, the Jews should fall in with this policy. The Israeli government, too, over the strong opposition of the Communist Party and Mapam, have pledged support of the Korean action.

But what is the real character of this Korean policy? It cannot be understood apart from the many other manifestations of the Truman foreign policy. When we examine this, we find at every turn that it has thrown support to reactionary and fascist forces in every part of the world. It has renazified Germany. It has bolstered fascist dictators. Witness the propping up of Chiang Kai-shek until he had no people to oppress; witness the persistent attempts to frustrate the declaration of independence in Israel and subsequent efforts to convert Israel into a semi-colony and war base against the Soviet Union; witness the recent voting of the loan by the Senate to Spanish fascist Franco (Truman

did not object to the loan, only to the agency which should make it); and witness the aid to fascist Greece, to the Dutch suppression of the Indonesian people, to the French war against the Vietnamese. And now, the attempt to rescind the fascist South Korean regime of Syngman Rhee.

As to the real nature of the Rhee government, there can be no reasonable doubt. From the capitalist press itself the most scathing condemnation of this regime can be made. To cite only one of the many items of evidence: on March 6, 1950, Walter Sullivan reported in the *New York Times* that many parts of South Korea were "darkened today by a cloud of terror that is probably unparalleled in the world." It was no accident that John Foster Dulles, who has helped just about every fascist dictator in the past 20 years, from Pilsudski to Hitler, was consulting with Rhee only a few days before the outbreak of hostilities. No reasonable person can question the fascist nature of the Rhee regime, which American boys are dying to resurrect.

Is this, then, the policy that Jewish "leaders" are asking the Jewish people to support? Can it be in the interests of democracy and the Jewish people (for these two cannot be separated) to support a policy that has everywhere in the world tried to revive fascists where they were defeated, to create police states where the people were about to come into their own, to suppress the movements for liberation that are breaking the chains in which colonial peoples all over the world have been enslaved?

Surely the answer is that, wherever people are fighting for liberation, wherever people are struggling against fascism, there is the side that the Jewish people must support. This is obviously no light matter for the Jewish people. If we have learned anything in the past 20 years, it has been that the Jewish people are doomed unless the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, pro-peace forces defeat the policy of

saving the fascist, colonial remnants of the old, pre-World War II world.

ELEVENTH HOUR FOR FREEDOM

THE alarming and imminent threat of fascism in the United States is the domestic counterpart of the Truman Korean War policy abroad. The government is exploiting the Korean war to carry to the final fascist conclusion the repressive trends that have been gaining momentum for the past five years. On August 2 the Court of Appeals, after a brief study of the 20,000 pages of the record of the trial of the 11 communist leaders, rushed to uphold unanimously the conviction handed down by Medina's court and left the Bill of Rights a dead letter. At this writing the Department of Justice is attempting to revoke the bail of the 11 communist leaders without waiting for the outcome of the Supreme Court appeal with the excuse that the Korean crisis justifies this. Then there is the jailing of Harry Bridges while his case is still on appeal from the spurious perjury conviction. The *Daily Worker* has been forbidden to be sold on the streets of Detroit. Birmingham, Ala., has banned the Communist Party and other cities are attempting to follow suit.

From another direction, the liberties of all progressive Americans, and not the communists alone, are threatened by the burgeoning of Mundt-type bills. The Truman administration is itself preparing a bill which would administer the lethal fascist dose a little more gradually than the Mundt bill. And Senator Pat McCarran has offered an omnibus repressive measure that would incorporate the whole gamut of fascist legislation—the anti-alien concentration camp measures and the various “internal security” bills, as well as the provisions of the Mundt bill itself. Any of these bills would come close to actually initiating a witch hunt against every progressive idea and movement, from the trade unions to organizations campaigning for FEPC or for peace. And under these conditions anti-Semitism would necessarily thrive.

The picture in the next column is itself an editorial on the state of our civil liberties. This picture was taken during the police-banned peace rally on Union Square on August 2. Union Square was an armed camp with several concentric rings of 1000 policemen. Without passage of any of the bills just mentioned, it has already become “subversive” to rally the people for peace and against atomic war. William McCarthy, seaman and Spanish War veteran, climbed a lamppost to demonstrate against war and an American fascism. It seems it is no longer lawful in New York City to speak out the truth of the placard held in McCarthy's arms: “Warmongering, Jimcrow and Anti-Semitism Go Hand in Hand.” But the truth of this slogan was proved on the spot. The police, as they tried to disperse the demonstrators, shouted, “Get out, you Jew bastards”; and a Negro, John Evans, was thrown to the ground, one policeman held his foot on Evans' neck and another tightened “nippers” on

Evans' hands, demanding that Evans call them “Mister.”

Major Jewish organizations on July 26 urged the Senate to defeat the Mundt bill. But they did not organize the people against this threat of a police state in which no Jew is immune from persecution. A great wave of protest can yet at this eleventh hour save American liberty.



"THEIR DREAM WAS PEACE"

By Jan Galewicz

The following address was delivered by Jan Galewicz, Polish Consul General, at the annual dinner of the American Federation of Polish Jews held in New York on June 10.—Eds.

IT HAS become a custom for representatives of Poland speaking at a meeting sponsored by Jewish organizations to devote their speeches to the Jewish situation in Poland. They usually talk about Poland's prewar anti-Semitism, about the terrors of German occupation, concentration camps and gas chambers, about heroic struggles and bravery, about the merits of the present Polish government and the life of Jews in new Poland, a Poland run by workers and peasants.

Today I would like to break with that custom. The time has gone when it was necessary to speak about fighting underground gangs, which conducted criminal assaults on Jews. The iron power of People's Poland has crushed and dispersed the remainder of fascist gangs which—aware of the backing of powerful foreign protectors—dreamed of a return to Poland's old days of social oppression and national discrimination.

The times have gone when it was necessary to speak about aid for Jewish organizations. The Polish People's Democracy has given sufficient funds for the building of Jewish schools and theaters, cooperatives, hospitals and orphanages, for Jewish press and radio, for the development of Jewish culture.

Out of the government budget flowed millions of zlotys towards the rehabilitation of those who remained of Polish Jewry—those who had escaped the hands of the German henchmen.

Facts speak for themselves. Even the most furious enemies of new Poland have had to admit that we have been able to ensure equality of all citizens in law and in fact, regardless of origin, race, religion or nationality. They have had to admit that the laws passed by us against anti-Semitism, which include severe punishment, should serve as an example for other countries.

They have had to admit that great results have been achieved in Poland's struggle against anti-Semitism through the powerful educational campaign conducted simultaneously in schools and universities, factories and workshops, in the army, in cities and villages, through the press, films, theater and radio. They have had to admit that in her fight for the rights of all oppressed nations, new Poland fought also for the rights of the Jewish people. They have had to admit that Poland has placed herself at the head of those states which were the first in the United Nations to support

a democratic and just solution of the Palestine problem, which has made possible the fulfillment of Jewish national aspirations by creating an independent state of Israel.

However, I have no intention to speak about those matters today. As I previously stated, I wish to break with that custom and do not want to return to those problems. I want to take advantage of my speech today to talk about a matter dear not only to Polish Jews but to all Poland, of which the Jews are an integral and inseparable part. I want to speak about a matter dear not only to American Jews but to all Americans, regardless of the national groups from which they may come. I want to speak about—*Peace.*

Enough of Tears and Devastation

In the Second World War Poland lost six million citizens, including over three million Jews. In the concentration camps, gas chambers and ghettos, in street fighting, in prisons and torture chambers of the Gestapo, six million human beings perished—men and women, old people and children. The whole country was left in ruins. Destroyed cities, burnt houses, deserted villages, plundered national property, material losses reaching millions of dollars—such were the results of World War II.

The Poles know the terrible results of war not only from stories told or impressive books, not from radiograms or newspaper headlines. To the Poles war means six years of German occupation, a forest of gallows, an ocean of tears, endless torture.

Through sweat and labor, without a Marshall Plan, Poland is rapidly rebuilding. This is the result of an effort of the entire nation. Factories and mines are growing, industrial and rural production have risen, the welfare of the working masses has increased; schools, universities, sanatoriums, orphanages are multiplying—faster and faster beats the rhythm of new life. And among us all, there is only one worry, one desire! War shall never come again!

The resolution of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress in Stockholm has already been signed by over 15 million Poles. In this struggle for peace, Poland joins the peoples of the Soviet Union, whose heroic army crushed the fascist troops of Hitler. In this struggle Poland joins the 450 million people of China and all other countries of the people's democracies as well as millions of men and women all over the world who demand peace.

This worldwide peace movement is aimed at building a dam, an end, to war agitation. For although only five years have elapsed since the war ended, only five years

since the criminal dreams of the *Herrenvolk*—the nation of masters—to rule the world have been buried, the heirs of Hitlerism are already raising their heads. Today, in Western Germany such songs as *Deutschland Uber Alles* and *We Are Sailing Against England* resound again. Former Hitler newspapers published under the old headings and conducted by former editors, today again proclaim the mottoes of racial supremacy. Instead of demilitarization Western Germany is undergoing remilitarization, instead of denazification—renazification.

All the industry of Western Germany, her powerful cartels, are again in the hands of the nazis. Anti-Semitism is growing. Jewish cemeteries are desecrated. The spirit of revenge is increasing. The desire for retribution by war is growing. This is happening not only in Western Germany. In other countries as well there are people thinking about war, about military alliances, speaking in terms of war. They believe in push-button war. They believe that an atomic bomb will select its victims according to political viewpoints.

The Polish people, the Polish nation, taught by the tragic experience of six years of war, constitute a great bastion of peace. On the occasion of this meeting, I want to convey

to you this appeal of the Polish nation for peace and brotherly cooperation among nations. You, representatives of organizations of Polish Jews, should remember that if fascism and imperialism had been met with resistance in time, there need not have been a Second World War, there would have been no gas chambers at Treblinka, Maidanek and Oswiecim, and there would be three million Jews living in Poland today instead of only about one hundred thousand.

If you want to honor the memory of those murdered brothers, if you want to honor those who defenselessly perished from starvation, sickness or murderous bullets, and those who fell raising high the banner of revolt, fighting with arms in hand, if you want to honor the memory of six millions of your brothers, you can do so by joining the front with those who fight for their ideals, their beliefs and the realizations of their dreams. And their dream was peace and brotherly cooperation among nations. Their dream is now the dream of all Poles and millions of people all over the world. It is the duty of us all to fight for the realization of that appeal, to fight for peace. Peace for us, for you, for our children and yours, for all nations all over the world.

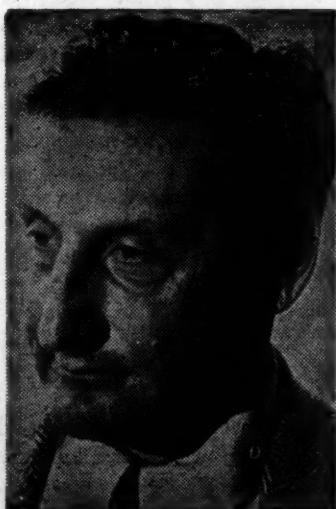
THE POLITICS OF AMERICAN ANTI-SEMITISM

By John Howard Lawson

I WISH to deal with the *politics* of anti-Semitism in the United States.

Obviously, the political and economic factors cannot be separated. It is for this very reason that the people who ignore the economic forces, are also blind to the political use of anti-Semitism.

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON is an eminent playwright, screen writer, scholar and public figure. He is now jailed in federal prison for having upheld the right of every American to the privacy of political beliefs against the House Un-American Activities Committee. Mr. Lawson just completed his book, *Hidden Heritage*, on the eve of his going to prison. It will be published in the Fall by Citadel Press. The above speech was delivered in Los Angeles on June 29, 1949.



Let me begin with a personal and minor incident. Here is a postcard that I received last week, shortly after the appellate court gave an unfavorable decision in the case of the Hollywood Ten. We all receive these communications now and then and this is a fairly typical sample.

"Mr. Lawson

"Dear Sir:

"I should said, 'Dear Commie,' I hope they give you life and I was your jailer, I would fix you up like they do in that country Russia you like and would sell out to. You should be fired from the movies, and people should Boycott All you Dirty Reds. Where did you get that name with that nose? You should have 'ski' on it.

"Soldier"

Let me offer another exhibit. Here is a copy of my new book, *Theory and Technique of Playwriting and Screenwriting*. It is from the Los Angeles Public Library, the same library that excludes progressive Jewish publications like *JEWISH LIFE*. The card shows that this is copy No. 5 and that it has been taken out only twice. It is marked throughout in pencil with anti-Semitic annotations. Many of these simply note that a person mentioned is a Jew. At some points, there is an additional warning: "Another Jew!

Reader beware!" A number of the comments display sympathy for the nazis. For example, on page 310, I mention a French author who "was shot as a traitor to his country and a collaborator with the nazis in 1945"; the pencilled comment asks *why* that is important? On page 425, I write that in 1937 "the conscience of man was deeply aroused by events in Spain and the rising power of fascism in Europe and Asia." "Nonsense!" is the comment. At another point, I speak of the myth of the "inferiority" of the Negro. The quotation marks are erased, heavily, with angry strokes.

The postcard and the markings in the book are isolated instances. They are the work of sick minds, and they do not prove anything, statistically, about anti-Semitism and are not introduced for that purpose. What is important is the political campaign of which these are manifestations. This psychopathic postcard contains a political program. It begins, formally enough, "Dear Sir." But the writer realizes this is wrong. His purpose is red-baiting, so he should have begun, he explains, "Dear Commie." He has the Hitler idea of concentration camps and gloats about what he would do if he were my jailer. But then the red-baiting comes down to brass tacks—the boycott of the movies, which is demanded by the people whom this writer serves. And then he can't resist the anti-Semitic twist. It's tacked on the end because he began, in his illiterate way, to try to write a dignified statement. But anti-Semitism is the essential background, for him and for his masters, and he can't resist bringing it in.

Behind this sick individual, are powerful and conscious forces. Anti-Semitism is not an accidental part of the Wall Street program nor is it restricted to the revival of nazi power in Germany. It is a method of maintaining political power that has been used in many countries, including the United States, and that has centuries of disreputable history behind it.

Have We Learned the Lesson?

Can we say that the Jewish community has learned the lesson of history? Have we even learned the most recent and terrible lesson—taught by the murder of millions of European Jews? I do not think the lesson has been learned.

Let us turn to a recent volume, a documentary report on anti-Semitism in the United States in 1948, sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The book, *How Secure These Rights?* by Ruth Weintraub, contains valuable research on discrimination in housing, employment, general and professional education. But we are told that "the year 1948 should go down on the credit side of the ledger" (page 1). There is not one word on the economic roots of anti-Semitism. There is also nothing on the powerful influence that anti-Semitism exerts on government policy. We would never get the impression that the government and the courts are conducting a planned campaign against the Bill of Rights and that anti-Semitism is a part of the campaign. The only politics that we find here is uncritical support of the Truman administration: the book

begins with a panegyric to Truman and ends with a quotation from him.

The book follows the philosophy of Gunnar Myrdal in holding that the Jewish "problem," like the Negro "problem," is an "American dilemma," a matter of psychology and custom. We must then conclude that heresy trials and book-burnings and loyalty oaths are also a "psychological dilemma." The investigation of government employees who are regarded as "poor security risks" involves discrimination against Jewish employees. The shadow of war that darkens the land today is also the shadow of anti-Semitism, of ghetto segregation, concentration camps, death. Right now, in the federal court in the city of New York, a political party is on trial; and the basic charge, the lie that excuses the trial, is the charge that has been used to hound and destroy Jews for generations, the charge of a secret, mysterious, "foreign" conspiracy.

Let us examine this charge: you can read it every day in the gutter press; but there are few people who realize that if the disreputable lie is spread and believed, you will see it blazoned in the headlines *against the Jews*. Hearst and McCormick and Scripps-Howard will not hesitate to use the ancient anti-Semitic lie—in cold print and flaming headlines—as soon as it is politically expedient to do so.¹

Ford Spreads the "Protocols"

The lie is embodied in the most infamous and widely circulated anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of Zion*. The forgery was first spread in the United States by a prominent industrialist, Henry Ford, in 1920. *The Protocols of Zion* was published in the *Dearborn Independent*, a periodical owned by Ford. It was followed by a series of articles, containing, as Samuel Untermyer has said, "the most colossal lies and forgeries concerning the Jews and their history ever known to have been gathered together." The *Protocols* and the articles were then translated into many languages and circulated throughout the world. One of the most virulent of these pamphlets, *The International Jew, the World's Problem*, translated into German by Theodore Fritsch, became a potent weapon of propaganda for the Hitler movement in Germany.

It is generally assumed that American anti-Semitism is derived largely from Hitler. But Hitler owed a great deal, not only in indirect support but in propaganda techniques, to the United States.

Why did Henry Ford import *The Protocols of Zion* and launch this international campaign in 1920? As you know, there are many parallels between this period and the years immediately following the first world war.

As in our present situation, foreign and domestic policy were parts of a single pattern: the United States joined with England and France in a drive to crush the new people's

¹ Col. Robert R. McCormick has evidently considered that it is now expedient to do so. The leading article of McCormick's *Chicago Tribune* on May 29 charged Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Herbert H. Lehman with being "the secret government of the United States." See Carl Hirsch, "Racist Menace in Chicago" in the August issue.—Eds.

regime in the Soviet Union and to prevent the development of democratic movements in all parts of the world. In conjunction with this foreign policy, dictated by big business, the American government moved with unprecedented violence against democratic liberties in the United States.

If you read the literature of the 1919 witch-hunt, you will find that the international conspiracy which justified the red scare was described as both *Jewish and Communist*. The lie had developed historically in those terms. The charge of a world-wide plot to destroy established governments and institutions was used against Thomas Jefferson in the period of the Alien and Sedition Laws. The same charge had been used to persecute and rob the Jews ever since the Middle Ages. It was as rusty and discredited as the torture instruments in medieval dungeons.

But it was still serviceable as an instrument of oppression. Men who attempted to maintain their arbitrary power by the claim that democracy is a "secret conspiracy" found anti-Semitism valuable. The systematic propaganda that democratic and Jewish forces were united in a world conspiracy developed in the period of social conflict in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century—in the period between the 1848 revolutions and the Paris Commune. That's when *The Protocols of Zion* was born.

Why the "Protocols" Forgery?

The historical background of the *Protocols* is a case-history of the political use of anti-Semitism. The forgery originated from a pamphlet published in 1865 in France: the original work *had no connection whatever with anti-Semitism*. On the contrary, it was by a liberal journalist, Maurice Joly, and was an attack on the corruption and greed of the French government of Napoleon III, which was bringing misery to the people of the country and preparing for aggressive military adventures. Here we have the *cream of the jest*—we see today that everything is transformed into its opposite in the propaganda of reaction—defense of the Bill of Rights is "subversive"; we must defend democracy by putting everyone who advocates it into concentration camps. We should not be surprised to find that a bitter satire on nineteenth century imperialism—on the bankers and generals of the decadent second empire in France—was turned into a supposedly documentary report of a world Jewish-Communist conspiracy. The trick was accomplished shortly after 1870. Prussia had defeated France, but European reaction was frightened by the heroism of the Paris Commune.

The structure of state power in a period of industrial development and the rise of the modern labor movement required a streamlined version of the ancient and discredited lie. Joly's pamphlet was at hand for the purpose. When Joly talked about a plan to "develop immeasurably the preponderance of the state," "to annihilate collective and individual forces," he was talking about the stupid, grandiose schemes of Napoleon III. But it was comparatively easy to put these words in the mouth of a group of Jewish

leaders, meeting secretly in "the Jewish cemetery at Prague" to plan world conquest.

This idiocy was circulated as early as 1871 in both Germany and France and it reached Russia in 1872 first as a magazine article and then as a separate booklet. *The Protocols of Zion* in its complete modern form was published in Russia in 1905 as the work of a certain Professor Sergei Nilus. The professor was in the employ of the tsarist police. His work is an almost literal translation of Joly's satire on the French second empire. Its political use in 1905 is self-evident: the attack on the Jews was a means of dividing and confusing the popular movement; it "justified" the pogroms conducted by the "Black Hundreds" before and after the unsuccessful revolution.

The Case of Leo Frank

Anti-Semitism had appeared in the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. But its more intensive development coincided with the growing concentration of economic power and the growth of American imperialism in the period before the first world war. The present connection between anti-Semitism in the United States and in Europe was already indicated in 1905—as pogroms swept Russia, anti-Semitism emerged as an organized political force in the most backward and exploited part of the United States, the South. Wall Street, seeing the growth of progressive and labor activity throughout the country in the first decade of the twentieth century, recognized that its national power depended on maintaining control of the South. If we wish to study the American origins of the techniques of power perfected by Adolph Hitler, we can find a fairly complete statement of Nazi philosophy in the activities of Thomas E. Watson, who began publication of anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic propaganda in Georgia in 1906.

It is by no means accidental that Watson's activities led to a sensational case of anti-Semitism in the period immediately preceding the first world war. The case of Leo Frank has been forgotten and its national and international importance has never been adequately recognized. Frank, manager and part owner of a pencil factory in Marietta, Georgia, was arrested in April 1913, charged with the sex-murder of a 14-year-old girl found in the basement of the factory. There was only the flimsiest evidence against Frank, but Watson used the case as the occasion for an unprecedented anti-Semitic campaign. The trial was a legal travesty, with a huge mob outside the courtroom shouting for the defendant's blood. Watson's editorials were exactly like the perverted filth published a quarter of a century later by Julius Streicher in Germany. The campaign continued after Frank was found guilty. For example, Watson's magazine published the following in January 1915: "Leo Frank was a typical young Jewish man of business who lives for pleasure and *runs after Gentile girls*." This is mild compared to some of the passages which are unquotable in their brutality.

The hatred engendered by Watson's activities reached

into the prison, where Frank awaited an appeal. Horribly maltreated by his fellow-prisoners (who were officially encouraged in their prejudice), he was removed to the hospital after his throat had been slashed. On August 16, 1915, his long agony ended: he was taken from the hospital by an armed gang and lynched.

Let those who think that anti-Semitism has little to do with discrimination against the Negro ponder the tragic meaning of the Frank case. Let us especially remember the political setting—the democratic ferment in the nation, the necessity of maintaining reactionary control of the South, preparations for American entry into the war for the redivision of world resources and markets.

Leo Frank may be properly regarded as one of the first victims of the terror that culminated in the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe. The case prepared the way for Henry Ford's publication of *The Protocols of Zion*, to be broadcast through the world, for the weakening of the labor movement and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. When I was arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1934, for daring to investigate a steel strike and visit the "Scottsboro boys," the first question asked me by the police was—"Are you a Jew?"

Present-Day Maccabees

Today there is danger of another Frank case. The danger is not only to the Jews: it portends the betrayal and suffering of the American people. Our culture—the culture of the Jewish people—has made a notable contribution to the American heritage. The defense of that heritage is

indivisible. There is only one kind of patriotism—it does not make its home in Wall Street; and unhappily, today, it is difficult to find in Washington. It is the patriotism of the common people, defending their indivisible rights and interests.

Heresy trials and book-burnings cannot be isolated from the terror against the Negro people, the callous mistreatment of Mexicans, the systematic development of anti-Semitism. The smell of oil hangs over Israel. But the same oil companies own millions of acres of land in the South—their property in the Southern states covers a land area equal in size to the states of Ohio or Tennessee. That's quite a colonial empire right inside the United States.

The threat of anti-Semitism today grows directly out of the plans of Wall Street to exploit the people of our country and of the world.

Jews who bow to the warmakers are denying their birth-right. They betray themselves, and they betray the people of the United States. Howard Fast has recently written a beautiful story of the glorious brotherhood of the Maccabees. It is more than a historical novel. It is a tract for the times. Emma Lazarus also wrote of the heritage of the Maccabees. These are the opening lines of her poem, *The Banner of the Jew*:

"Wake, Israel, wake! Recall today

The glorious Maccabean rage."

It is indeed time. The fate of democracy in the United States will affect the fate of the world. Democracy can be won in the United States, not by passivity and division, but by unity and cleansing anger. It is time to awake, to bring the "glorious Maccabean rage" to the service of our country, and of humanity.

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY: II

By Benjamin Rubin

OUR first article reviewed briefly recent decisions by the Israel government in the field of foreign economic relations. We showed that the conditions imposed by the United States in the \$100 million loan by the Export-Import Bank, the character of Israel's foreign trade in 1949 and the provisions of the 1950 law passed by the Knesset to encourage foreign investment, particularly American, make clear that the Israeli government has thrown in its lot with the imperialists.

It is understandable that many friends of Israel should assume that the young nation can hope to survive her economic crisis only by turning to the United States. For Israel is faced with many economic problems: assimilation of mass immigration; financial drain because of the constant military threat; the need for capital to invest for housing, industrialization and agriculture; and the development of export markets.

These people believe that Israel has no alternative for the solution of these problems other than dependence on the United States because they are confused about or kept ignorant of several basic considerations in the current world economic scene. First, they are unaware that Israel's economic plight is by no means unique among smaller nations in the post-war world. Secondly, they do not realize that loans and trade exclusively from the United States may meet emergency situations but also tend to make even more difficult the genuine long-term achievement of economic independence. And thirdly, they do not know that the pattern of trade during the past few years between the Soviet Union and other countries on the road to socialism presents a feasible alternative to complete dependence on the United States. This alternative does not by any means require that trade and economic relations be shut off from either capitalist or socialist countries, but it would make

it possible for Israel to avoid exclusive dependence on the United States—a dependence which in the end would mean economic servitude.

Israel's Problems Not Unique

Although Israel's economic difficulties are real, they are no cause for despair. They can be overcome as they are being overcome elsewhere. We have noted, for example, that Israel's population is increasing by about 20-25 per cent each year. At the beginning of 1959, the population of Israel was about 1,200,000. In 1949 alone there were about 240,000 immigrants. Israel's population is expected to rise to 1,800,000 by 1953, say its leaders. This is quite an unparalleled phenomenon in expansion of a national population and poses tremendous burdens in economic planning and in providing gainful employment, housing and food. But this problem is not insuperable. Neither is it peculiar to Israel, for other newly-independent nations have had to face no mean population resettlement problems. Poland had to resettle no less than 5,000,000 people in the recovered territories of the West. Czechoslovakia had to repopulate its entire northwestern border whence some 2,000,000 Sudeten Germans were expelled. China is moving millions of its citizens from Shanghai and other swollen cities to areas where they can be productively employed. These examples are surely different in important respects from Israel's problems, but they do suggest that crisis population questions are not unique with Israel and do not necessarily depend on the import of foreign capital for their solution.

Secondly, Israel is confronted with a constant military threat, which requires an abnormally large military force and drains her national budget for defense purposes. The threat of a British-backed Arab attack is enough to keep the Israeli economy off balance. This danger in turn can hardly disappear before the threat to the general world peace is removed. Here, too, Israel's problems are paralleled by the Republic of Vietnam, to mention only one of the former colonies which is obliged to face armed forces and open warfare, financed directly or indirectly by the present-United States government.

Thirdly, in natural resources so far discovered Israel is not wealthy. Nevertheless, it is still true, as Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass and Daniel Creamer wrote in *Palestine: Problem and Promise* in 1946, that: "Palestine's supply of land, water and other natural resources are not the basic factors determining how great an economic development she will be able to achieve during the next decade." With proper planning the land will be well able to care for even a larger growth in population than is now foreseen.

It has been said that Israel's industrial base is limited to light manufactures and that her agricultural productivity is low. Even though this is true, Israel is better off in these respects than Indonesia or Albania or most former colonial or semi-colonial countries. Moreover, her population, including the new immigrants, is far better equipped with vocational skills than the people of most underdeveloped countries.

Taking into consideration these problems and prospects, the future development of Israel in the long run depends on the basic economic orientation chosen by the people of Israel in domestic and foreign relations. So far the Israeli government has chosen to meet the deficit in her international balance of payments and her needs for capital investment by turning predominantly to the United States for loans and trade.

Results of Dependence on United States

There is no reason to think that Israel will fare any differently from other countries in the post-war world that have chosen to depend on the United States. What has been the experience of these countries? Western Europe, far more highly industrialized and commercially developed than Israel, was also confronted with a trade deficit at the end of the war. Under the guise of the "European Recovery Program" (Marshall Plan), Western Europe began to accept in 1948 grants and loans totalling billions of dollars. These countries undertook a form of "planning" which in effect amounted to subtracting home production from total requirements and asking the United States to make up the difference. By now it is generally recognized that the Marshall Plan has not solved the economic problems of Western Europe and will not have done so by 1952.

The conditions imposed by the Economic Cooperation Administration (Marshall Plan) for the receipt of aid resulted in an aggravation of Western Europe's economic problems. Less than 10 per cent of all shipments to Western Europe have been in the form of machinery, despite the overwhelming need for such equipment. The United States dumped agricultural and other surplus goods in Western Europe to the detriment of home industry. The ECA intervened in Western Europe's economic plans so as to force cuts in housing and other capital investment programs. Further nationalization measures were discouraged if not forbidden. Normal trade with Eastern Europe, which would have reduced the dollar shortage, was largely prohibited as a condition of Marshall Plan agreements. Currencies were devalued to facilitate the entry of American capital. Unemployment in Western Europe doubled between the time the Marshall Plan started (1948) and 1950. The people's standard of consumption has still failed to reach the level of 1938.

To all these economic burdens was added the enormous expenditures for the military imposed on the western nations through military alliances which were the inevitable consequence of submission to American capital. How little recovery can be expected from this European "recovery program" is indicated by the single fact that while Western Europe received about \$4 billion in economic aid from the United States during the past year, it spent more than \$5 billion for military purposes. Thus the recovery program defeated itself.

All American aid programs have had military implications. The Marshall Plan type of economic dependence would be even worse for Israel. From a strategic point of

view, the State Department views the Middle East as a whole and already has military bases in Turkey and other countries on the Soviet borders, while Britain is arming the Arab countries.

Economic Picture of New Democracies

In contrast to this pessimistic picture of Western Europe under the Marshall Plan, the new democracies of Eastern Europe show a quite different picture of recovery. According to United Nations reports, these countries have experienced a far more rapid rate of economic recovery without benefit of the Marshall Plan. The experience of the new democracies in planning and particularly in trade with the USSR and with each other is highly instructive for Israel. Like Israel, these countries face problems of industrialization. But their economic, social and political orientation is entirely different.

As we saw in the first article, more than half of Israel's imports came from the United States and the British Empire. Consumption goods made up the largest category of imports. Further, under the terms of the \$100 million loan from the Export-Import Bank, no more than 20 per cent could be used for industrialization. This is the traditional pattern of trade imposed by imperialist nations which seek markets and raw materials from colonial and semi-colonial countries. Imperialist nations have no intention of permitting these countries to be industrialized so as to become potential competitors or to strengthen home production.

Now let us look at the trade patterns of the new democracies of Eastern Europe. The United Nations Economic Survey of Europe described the trade of the USSR with Eastern Europe in these terms: "The commodity composition of the post-war trade of the smaller Eastern European countries with the USSR is markedly different from that of their pre-war trade with Germany. Whereas Germany was formerly one of the chief importers of the foodstuffs and raw materials produced in the region and a large scale supplier of manufactures, the trade of the USSR with other European countries has included both manufactured goods and primary products in exports as well as imports. Thus the Soviet Union has not only supplied capital equipment such as tractors and machinery, but also raw materials. . . . On the other hand, imports into the USSR have consisted to a considerable extent of manufactures, though these have varied according to the stage of the industrial development of the country of origin."

The same type of relation exists between the People's Republic of China and the USSR. The recent five year trade agreement between the two countries stipulates the delivery by the USSR to China of industrial, agricultural and transportation equipment (the first deliveries have already been made) in quantities far surpassing what Israel requires.

The type of economic relationship regularly entered in by the USSR, China and the new democracies, a mutually beneficial trade relationship, would be very promising for the immediate and future development of Israel.

Not only could Israel secure its grain, timber, coal and other raw materials at lower prices and lower transportation costs from Eastern Europe. Long-term trade agreements with the socialist countries would guarantee receipt by Israel of capital equipment since these countries have nothing to gain from restricting Israel's rapid industrialization. Economic relations with Eastern Europe and the USSR, moreover, would free the Israeli economy from foreign price fluctuations, forced currency devaluations and the cyclical uncertainties of the crisis-ridden capitalist West. But such a reorientation of trade would require revision of Israel's present concept of "neutrality" between East and West, which means in reality an orientation upon the imperialist powers.

Commercial agreements already entered into by Israel with Poland and Hungary are only samples on a small scale of the potentialities of trade with the socialist world. Israel's imports of grain from the USSR in 1949, though small, were paid for at a lower price than from the West and not in dollars.

In contrast with these potentialities of large-scale trade with the socialist countries, all known experience with foreign investment makes it inconceivable that the foreign capital invited by the new Investment Law will bring about any significant industrialization of the Israeli economy. Furthermore, profitable as such investments may be to the Western finance capitalists, they are subordinate to the overall Middle Eastern strategy of the American and British war planners to maintain the subject status of the surrounding Arab nations. It would be illusory to imagine that American capital would permit Israel to become an independent island of free labor in a sea of Middle East colonial exploitation. Already there are sure indicators that this is the path that the Israeli government is travelling in the "natural" combination of concessions to foreign capital and wage cuts on the domestic front.

For the new Jewish state the end of that path is to become another Liberia. As A. B. Magil in his *Israel in Crisis* has warned, "Without protective measures on the part of the Israeli government, without an active policy of combating imperialist encroachments, and without a program to further the development of independent local industry these dollars bring servitude, not freedom."

Knesset Members Protest Fast Jailing

LEADERS of the Israeli parliament and artists and writers wired President Truman on August 8th protesting the jailing of Howard Fast and the other members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Among the signers of the wire were Mapam leaders Moshe Sneh, Joseph Rifkin and Israel Galilee, Rabbi Mordecai Nurok and Tewfiq Toubi, Arab Communist leader. The wire declared: "We the undersigned members of the Israel Knesset, writers and artists, join with democratic opinion of the world to express our amazement and anger over the arrest of the well-known writer Howard Fast and 10 other members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. We ask you to use your influence to free them."

THE "TRIAL" ON COLUMBUS AVENUE

By Hershl Hartman

THERE is a "trial" going on.

All the ear-marks of a trial are present in this large room. There is a man up front who could be a judge. There are very obviously a prosecuting attorney and a defense attorney. There are charges. It *looks* like a trial.

But appearances can be deceiving, and deception is the stock-in-trade of this proceeding. The "trial" is not a trial; the "judge" is not a judge; and the actual defendant is neither charged with any crime nor represented by counsel.

This is a deportation hearing, conducted at an estimated taxpayers' expense of \$1,000 a day, by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Justice Department. Andrew Dmytryshyn, a Ukrainian-American of 35 years residence in this country, is facing deportation through this proceeding. Yet a strong feeling of fantasy pervades the main hearing-room at 70 Columbus Avenue.

Andrew Dmytryshyn is vice-president of the Ukrainian American Fraternal Union—one of the 16 national group societies comprising the International Workers Order, one of the largest fraternal benefit organizations in the country. It is because of his membership and activity in this organization that Andrew Dmytryshyn is under deportation charges.

Guilt by Association—Twice-Removed

Andrew Dmytryshyn is a communist. He has openly asserted his political affiliation. But in these days of rabid communist-hunting, the government claims complete disinterest in this fact. Dmytryshyn is a communist, the charges say, *by virtue of his membership in the International Workers Order*, which is in turn alleged to be affiliated with the Communist Party of the United States. Boiled down, the charge is therefore guilt by *twice-removed* association!

This is rather a novel charge, even in these days, and explanations are in order. As one of the largest pro-labor, progressive organizations in the country with an outstanding record of service to America's working people, the IWO has long been a target of verbal and printed attacks by reactionary forces. With the development of the carefully nurtured anti-"red" hysteria, an opportunity was seen finally to "get" the IWO and the then Attorney General Tom Clark was quick to place it on his infamous "subversive list." This action was immediately challenged by the Order, which hailed Clark into court to prove his charges or withdraw them. Clark refused to answer the suit, claiming that the listing had done the IWO no harm.

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The courts—even the Medina-ized courts of today—were not to be trusted with the job of destroying the IWO. Since the Order, being a federation of autonomous national group societies, has a large number of non-citizens among its membership, the Justice Department sought to destroy the organization by endangering its membership. It turned to its own—and therefore "trustworthy"—instrument: the Immigration and Naturalization Service with its quasi-legal hearing procedure, declared unlawful by the Supreme Court, though persisted in nevertheless. But the Immigration and Naturalization Service had once declared that membership in the IWO did *not* constitute grounds for deportation.

And so, taking its cue from the House Un-American Committee's "principle" of guilt by association, the Justice Department developed the charge of guilt by association with those who associate with those who advocate, etc., etc.

The IWO Is Too Progressive

The actual policies and activities of the IWO could not be brought as charges, even at an immigration hearing where chances of conviction are 99 to 1 for the government. The activities of the IWO have too often been praised by prominent personalities, headed by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The IWO has an enviable record of public service. Its moral and material aid was an important factor in the growth and development of the CIO. Many national and local social security measures were lent the powerful support of the Order. President Truman's social medicine program, patterned after the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill, was originally proposed by the IWO.

Its low cost insurance, medical care, burial and other services, while gaining the friendship and respect of working people, have gotten the IWO into hot water with Big Insurance, Big Medicine and Big Burial interests. Negroes, for instance, have to pay more for life insurance than white people of the same age and occupation—except in the IWO, where equality is a living, tangible policy. So too, for miners, whose dangerous work makes it almost impossible for them to get insurance at anything but the most exorbitant rates. The IWO has some of its most active lodges in the coalfields, charging the miners exactly the same rates as white-collar workers, and coming through with thousands of dollars in food and clothing in time of need, as in the last strike.

IWO members, because the great majority of them are workers, have often displeased big business by the policies

they have democratically set for their organization. The very structure of the IWO is a case in point; the 16 national group societies which make up the Order are dedicated to the preservation and development of the rich progressive contributions brought to America by the national groups and the Negro people. The language of each group is freely and proudly used together with English. The fact that close to one-third of the IWO's membership is Jewish—organized into the Jewish People's Fraternal Order—has also drawn the ill-concealed ire of anti-Semites in high places.

The membership of the IWO is more than twice that of the Communist Party of the United States. Yet every foreign born IWO member is inferentially declared deportable because the people he allegedly associates with are allegedly connected with other people, who are alleged to have certain ideas, which the Smith Act, not yet ruled upon by the Supreme Court, declares to be illegal.

"Fantastic Proceeding"

It is this ludicrous charge which the Justice Department levels at Andrew Dmytryshyn in the present hearing at 70 Columbus Avenue. But Dmytryshyn is the forgotten man at this hearing. Though it is he who is accused of being a deportable alien; though it is the future of Andrew Dmytryshyn and his family which is at stake; though the warrant of arrest bears only one name—Andrew Dmytryshyn—that name has not once been mentioned by the prosecution or its witnesses.

For days on end, paid stoolpigeons and informers rave on about everything under the sun, except the activities or even the affiliations of Andrew Dmytryshyn. All of them cheerfully admit not knowing him or even about him. All of them blithely lie in order to deport a man of whom they haven't the slightest knowldge.

"The rules of evidence that apply in a court of law do not apply here." This was the pronouncement of hearing

examiner William J. Wyrsh at the opening of the deportation proceeding—a statement since amply proven.

This "judge" is an employee of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, bucking for a permanent appointment as hearing examiner. For 14 years he has served the agency which is prosecuting this case. He has served it well and there is not the slightest indication that he intends to change now, though he has adopted a judicial veneer which fits him crudely.

Isidore Englander, lawyer of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born—the bone in the throat of the deportation drive—pointed out these ludicrous characteristics of what he aptly termed a "fantastic proceeding." Examiner Wyrsh, leaning his head on his hand, overruled the objection, as usual.

Then began what turned into a parade of stoolpigeons, informers and professional witnesses, armed with contracts calling for \$25 per diem plus expenses, iron-clad recollections of periodicals published 15 and 20 years ago and appalling "gaps of memory" under cross-examination. During the first four weeks of the hearings (just concluded at this writing) observers have watched a member of the State Committee of the Liberal Party and one-time officer of the IWO fired for incompetence, a Mr. and Mrs. Stoolpigeon act and a prime example of the most despised type of creature in Jewish life parade across the pages of the record, trailing lies, distortion and downright perjury as they went.

The "Forward's" "Moser"

Not because he is important, but because his appearance marked a new low in the history of social democracy, let us deal first with a very little man.

During his testimony Simon Weber, city editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, mentioned with obvious respect and care the name of Louis F. Budenz. It became pathetically clear that the little man fancied himself some sort of Yiddish-

Two young JPFO members lay a wreath before the replica of a Warsaw Ghetto fighter as the 500-voice JPFO Chorus in the background sings songs of the Ghetto resistance. The occasion was the 20th anniversary celebration of the JPFO at Madison Square Garden in May.



language Budenz, much as his newspaper plays the role of a Yiddish edition of Hearst.

With an acute awareness of the reporters at the press table, including his own flunkey, Weber strove hard to give the appearance of a suave, collected individual, hardened and worldly-wise. He flopped. Whenever he got into a tight spot, which was often, he would toy with the glass of water that was kept continually filled for him, until he finally upset it in a moment of extreme agitation.

That moment was a trying one for Weber. Whether or not he had been sent to testify by his superiors on East Broadway, which houses the *Forward* and the social democratic Workmen's Circle, is immaterial. The point is that he was attempting to get over the *Forward* line, on the one hand, while keeping the paper out of the picture as much as possible. This was because the *Forward*, though generally contemptuous of its readers, had good reason to fear their reaction to the unprecedented appearance of a Yiddish journalist in the role of the most-hated "moser"—police informer. In all the years of rightist attacks on the left in Jewish life—both in Europe and here—no right wing newspaper had ever openly served as an adjunct to police persecution. And here was Weber, placed not only in the position of serving the Immigration Service—infamous for its policy of excluding Jewish DP's in favor of ex-SS men—but faced with the odious task of citing as "subversive" some of the very things to which the *Forward* and the Workmen's Circle claim to subscribe.

Weber squirmed when it was proven that he had been a member of the IWO, though he had previously denied it. He squirmed desperately when it was shown that he had sold out the progressive movement and his position with the *Morning Freiheit* for a \$13 a week increase in salary to a Republican Yiddish newspaper, which later became Democratic. For all his squirming, though, Weber couldn't cover up the fact that he was a voluntary and very willing witness for the agency which is the most open instrument of anti-Semitic government policy. As such, the *Forward's* contribu-

tion to stoolpigeoning was the labelling, by Weber, of classic Yiddish proletarian poetry as "subversive." Weber cheerfully identified the poem "Awake" by David Edelshtadt as an example of "subversive literature . . . sold, circulated and displayed by the IWO."

Accommodating Stool-pigeons

Weber was preceded and followed on the witness-stand by equally-qualified stoolpigeons—qualified by their utter disregard for truth, by their \$25 per diem salary, and by their amazing memories, which recalled only the "important" things, which coincidentally turned out to be exactly what the prosecution considered to be important to its case.

George E. Powers, the first witness, had been a vice-president of the IWO until 1940. Shortly thereafter he was fired from his appointive post for sheer incompetence, and he, too, went seeking greener pastures in the paid informer profession. Powers, incidentally, is a member of the State Committee of the Liberal Party in New York, and is at present its candidate for State Senator in Astoria, Long Island. His burning desire to continue in his lucrative line of work led him to weave a net of contradictions and patent lies, in which he himself was ignominiously caught, to the obvious disgust of his erstwhile mentor, prosecutor Mario T. Noto, a "bright young man" who is, reputedly, a nephew to Luigi Antonini, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The second witness, Sylvia Crouch, was going to be smarter than Powers. She was going to stick to one story. Mrs. Crouch's determination to stick to her story did not prove to be better a tactic than Powers' "flexibility." She wound up being accused of perjury by Isidore Englander, who demanded she be held for a grand jury. It seems she had repeatedly sworn that she was a member of the only IWO lodge in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., in 1932 and 1933. As it turned out: a) there were three IWO lodges in the two neighboring cities at the time; b) no one could join the IWO at that time without undergoing a medical examination for the mandatory insurance policy—though she had denied having either an examination or a policy; and c) a thorough search of the IWO membership files revealed no application for Sylvia Crouch or anyone using the various pseudonyms she claimed for herself. Examiner Wyrsh, looking more pitiful and confused than ever, mumbled something about "not having the power" to hold the witness for perjury and prosecutor Noto hurried to excuse the witness.

Silence Is Suicide

Mr. Crouch was called soon thereafter to rescue the fair name of his wife and partner, and even to go the government one better. He was going to prove that the IWO was born, not even of some "communist conspiracy" in the United States, but "on orders from the Communist Inter-



The Algonquin team of the Douglass-Lincoln Society, IWO, who won the championship of the New York IWO Basketball League this year.

*A group of Ukrainian
IWO dancers.*



national in Moscow." This he set about to do, larding his testimony with large doses of anti-Semitic sneering at the Yiddish-speaking founders and builders of the IWO.

This new "international" twist proved no better than previous inventions, since it is matter of common knowledge and official record, that the IWO was born only after a long and involved process—including court decisions. After the expulsion of a number of left-wing lodges and individuals from the Workmen's Circle in 1929, the expellees asked to be affiliated to the Independent Workmen's Circle, which had been in existence since the early part of the century. After the Crouch-invented date for the alleged "orders from Moscow," the expelled WC lodges were still engaged in court action to force the "Independent" to accept them. And when the court in Boston ordered a convention to resolve the matter, the same lodges fought bitterly to be admitted—in what would appear to be direct defiance of the non-existent "orders." Only after losing the convention fight and much discussion was the IWO born.

Crouch claimed ignorance of all this. "These Jewish matters had no interest for me," he drawled in his Southern-tinged accent.

But these "Jewish matters" are of great interest to 165,000 members of the IWO. Conversely, the deportation proceeding against the Ukrainian American Andrew Dmytryshyn is a "Jewish matter" which deeply concerns and affects every Jew in this country—native and foreign born alike. By proceeding against the IWO in this manner, the Justice Department is serving notice that the foreign born (and their sons and daughters as well) are more vulnerable, that their rights are less protected and require less energy and proof to abrogate. The stench of anti-Semitism, always present in Immigration Service policy, can be felt at this proceeding as well. If the Jewish People's Fraternal Order is fair game—how safe is any other Jewish organization? The principle of guilt by association can be stretched indefinitely,

until, like the barbed-wire of Oswiecim, it surrounds all Jews. Silence at this point is suicide. The voice of Jewish organizations, their rank and file and their leadership, must be heard in defense of the IWO.

AWAKE!

By David Edelshtadt

How long, oh how long shall your strength be sold
and a whip hang over your head?
How long shall you build the cities of gold
for those who are stealing your bread?

How long shall you stand with your eyes downcast,
lamenting your miserable plight?
Awake! for the dawn is here at last —
awake to your iron, might!

Shackles and thrones shall be swept away
when labor takes command!
With fragrant flowers, with golden rays,
freedom will deck the land.

And everything will blossom, and love
when freedom's May arrives!
Brothers! you've cowered long enough—
for freedom pledge your lives.

Ring bells of freedom far and near!
Assemble the slaves for war,
and fight inspired, fight without fear—
Upon your knees no more!

(Translated from the Yiddish by Aaron Kramer)

ALICE CITRON, FIGHTING TEACHER

By Richard O. Boyer

MISS ALICE CITRON, a generous, impulsive, rosy-faced woman, is one of eight New York school teachers, all of whom are Jewish, who have been suspended by Dr. William Jansen, that superintendent of the New York City schools whose policies are entirely satisfactory to the Christian Front. The suspensions are a part of Dr. Jansen's struggle to break the Teachers Union, in which the eight are active, and create an atmosphere in New York's schools favorable for World War III. Miss Citron has been charged, as have her colleagues, with "conduct unbecoming a teacher," a euphemism for what Dr. Jansen believes to be un-American activity.

Dr. Jansen's Peculiar Criteria

According to Dr. Jansen's peculiar criteria, Miss Citron is undoubtedly un-American. In the first place she has given her whole adult life to the people of Harlem, whom she respects and admires. She understands the special character of the Negro question. She has never attacked the Negroes, of course, as did Miss May Quinn not once but at least twice right in her classroom. Dr. Jansen did not find it necessary to suspend Miss Quinn. She has never insulted them as did Miss Gladys Laubheimer not long since, another teacher whom Dr. Jansen has found it unnecessary to fire. Neither has she ever told any of her children "to go back where they came from" as Miss Agnes Driscoll did not long ago, still another teacher whom Dr. Jansen has not found it wise to reprove. Of course none of these teachers is Jewish. Are they for peace and against the use of the atom bomb, as is Miss Citron? Being for peace, of course, is the quintessence of the un-American, according to the thinking of Dr. Jansen.

I thoroughly understood Dr. Jansen's reasons for believing that the eight Jewish teachers were un-American. Abraham Lederman, for example, a mathematics teacher who has been in the school system for 23 years including three years in the army, is president of the Teachers Union, surely an un-American position; Celia Lewis Zitron, a teacher of Latin for 27 years, has succeeded in introducing the study of Hebrew into New York schools; Mark Friedlander, who has taught science for 11 years, was chairman of the union's committee for political action; Louis Jaffe,

who has taught for 19 years, has written extensively in professional journals about educating children for peace; Abraham Feingold, a veteran of World War I, whose supervisor said of him that he has "the kindest manner I have ever seen in a classroom," was exceedingly militant in the union; Isidore Rubin, a former combat soldier in Italy, had won an army prize for the best essay on the meaning of the late war and seemed to feel that the war was fought to establish peace, civil liberties and the right for everyone to speak and believe as he pleased; David Friedman, who had taught English for 24 years and contributed blood nine times during the late war, had actually campaigned over the years for better schools.

I understand Dr. Jansen's reason for believing the eight Jewish teachers un-American and yet I had a morbid wish to document his charge more fully. In fulfillment of this, I talked not long ago with Miss Citron and the parents of some of her pupils at Public School 184 in Harlem where she has taught for 18 years. The superintendent's action became even more clear when one learned that for 18 years Miss Citron has led delegations to the Board of Education where they demanded, and not without some success after bitter struggle, new schools for overcrowded Harlem. I found, too, that Miss Citron has fought for years to eliminate entirely all corporal punishment from Harlem's schools and to remove from use textbooks, some of which were written by Dr. Jansen, libelling the Negro people. My inquiry proved thoroughly, at least to me, that to labor day-in and day-out for and with the Negro people, on picket lines, in conferences, on delegations, is as definitively un-American as being for peace, according to the standards of Dr. Jansen.

Embodiment of Negro-Jewish Unity

Miss Citron, a person of no bunk or pretense, is a kind of personal embodiment of Negro-Jewish unity. Not only does she work with Negroes, but their social life is hers and there is scarcely a wedding, a christening or a funeral that involves any of her pupils or former pupils which she does not attend. She has a horror of paternalism, of anything that even hints of a spurious white superiority and she has a distaste, too, for those who work politically with Negroes and yet live socially apart from them and do not share in the daily problems of the people. When other teachers during the war were lamenting Harlem's alleged excessive

RICHARD O. BOYER is a well-known writer.

juvenile delinquency and saying they needed police protection, Miss Citron was asked why she never had any disciplinary problems in her classes.

"The kids," she said, "have to feel from you that you love them. They are sensitive to your whole personality and can tell if you are for them. They can tell whether you regard them as inferior human beings. All I know is that I have always loved my children and they loved me while some teachers, yielding to press slanders against the Negro people, were calling for police to protect them."

For 18 years scarcely a week went by that Miss Citron did not receive letters such as this from her pupils and their parents:

"Dear Miss Citron: I am writing these few lines to let you know how I am getting on in my new school, P.S. 44 and how much I miss you. I like it fine. My teacher is nice to me but I miss you very much. You were so good to me. Thank you for glasses you bought me because now I can read good. I will try to come over and see you soon. While I remain, yours truly and I love you very much. Reuben."

And when she was suspended, the president of the P.T.A. of P.S. 184, said: "We love Alice Citron because she has fought for us and our children, not only for better schools, kindergartens and nurseries but for an end to discrimination against Negroes in employment and housing. She has been more than a teacher to our children. She's been their friend and she's one of the best teachers in the district. She sews up costumes for their plays, writes the plays and paints the scenery. After school hours she goes from house to house helping the slow children. And over and over again she has put her hands into her own pockets to buy shoes and glasses and dental care for children who couldn't afford them."

Forty-eight of the 55 teachers at P.S. 184, including the principal, wrote to Dr. Jansen, "We wish to state without reservation that Miss Citron has worked tirelessly in behalf of the welfare of the children in our school. Not only is she an outstanding teacher but a particularly gifted one. We are deeply concerned when people of this caliber can be asked to prove their fitness for their position."

Fight for Better Harlem Schools

Miss Citron, who was born in Omaha, Nebraska, and educated at Hunter College, began her career as a New York City teacher by the Un-American action of campaigning against the severe overcrowding in Harlem's schools. From the first she had that peculiar cast of mind that sees problems as merely things to overcome. If schools were overcrowded, her solution was to build more schools. If a school needed painting, she, in her simplicity, would solve the problem by having it painted and if toilets were broken down, she, with her queer directness, advocated repairing them. When these things were not done, she circulated petitions asking that they be done and when



Alice Citron

they were still not done, she organized delegations to the Board of Education which demanded they be done. It was seen fairly quickly that she was un-American and as early as 1933, she was tried on a charge of general disloyalty because she did not defend the Board of Education, when the community made charges of discrimination against it. She was fined \$132 but the decision was reversed by the courts.

In 1933 she took her fight against overcrowding to the Harlem public, appearing at a meeting at St. Philips Church, where she told the audience that P.S. 184 was so packed that classes were too large for proper instruction, that each child lost an hour's school time every day and that an inadequate building nearby was being used to take care of the overflow. In addition in that year she organized a parents association for P.S. 184, appeared on picket lines demanding a larger welfare allotment for unemployed, was on delegations protesting Jimcrow policies in hiring, and was one of those who organized the Teachers' Salary Committee, an organization protesting cuts in the meager salaries of teachers.

Conditions became so intolerable in Harlem that the people vigorously demanded changes. As part of its aftermath Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia set up a Harlem committee on schools in 1935. At first only principals, intent on a whitewash, testified before the committee. But thanks to Miss Citron's efforts a large delegation of teachers appeared before it in secret session to prevent reprisals against them. For two days they testified as to corporal punishment in the schools, on the need for new schools and the need of

repairing the old ones, and as to the necessity of sympathetic teachers. The committee issued a report which said, "The situation brooks no delay in the remedying of a disgraceful situation," and a community conference was called in 1936 which had 450 delegates from Harlem's churches, fraternal orders, clubs and social groups. It set up the Permanent Committee for Better Schools in Harlem with the late Rev. James Wallace Robinson as chairman.

As Miss Citron frequently pointed out in speeches before Harlem organizations, there were then "15 public schools in Harlem and all but two were shambles." As a result of delegations, picket lines and letters over the years, the committee, with which Miss Citron, of course, continued to work, slowly began winning changes which included the building of two new elementary schools and a junior high school. In addition many of the schools were renovated and there were larger appropriations for the children's textbooks.

As a part of the campaign a mock trial of the Board of Education was held in the church of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Two thousand people attended and Arthur Garfield Hays, of the American Civil Liberties Union, acted as judge. Teachers and parents testified to the barbaric conditions prevalent in the schools and the Board of Education was found guilty by the audience. At the same time, Miss Citron, who was tireless in all these activities, campaigned for a new junior high school to reduce the burden on P.S. 184, which also served as the James Fenimore Cooper High School. "It took us seven years to get the new junior high school," she says, "but we were finally successful."

Fight Against Anti-Negro Texts

During all this time Miss Citron was also organizing a campaign to remove from the school system histories, geographies and other textbooks which maligned the Negro people. In addition she was pressing for the inclusion in the school system of Negro history, she herself writing original studies on the fight of the Negro people for freedom as well as writing other material revealing the part played by the Jewish people in building America with particular reference to their role in the fight for abolishing Negro slavery.

Typical of the texts she fought against was one called *Lanterns on the Levee*, which was punctuated with such statements as this one: "Murder, thieving, lying, violence—I sometimes suspect the Negro doesn't regard these as crimes or sins, or even as regrettable occurrences. He commits them casually with no apparent feeling of guilt." This book, as a result of the fight of the Teachers Union, was finally withdrawn from school circulation but there was small success in eliminating many chauvinistic texts since they had been written by officials of the school system and there was and is a considerable vested interest in them.

During the last war, when she gave her blood on 12 different occasions, collected money for ambulances and or-

ganized classes for teachers and parents in first aid, Harlem was repeatedly attacked by New York newspapers as a center of vicious, juvenile crime. Miss Citron not only wrote letters to the newspapers showing that what delinquency there was, resulted from a lack of playgrounds and generally deplorable conditions, but organized a plan whereby 100 teachers volunteered to supervise play after school hours. The Board of Education refused to put this plan into operation.

She is at present active in a campaign of the Harlem Council on Education which has found that "The children of Harlem are faced with mass illiteracy unless drastic action is taken." A report made by the council last year revealed that of 600 seventh year pupils, 90 per cent were seriously retarded in their reading and showing, in addition, that this situation is becoming progressively worse over the years. The Teachers Union has repeatedly pointed out that children thrice discriminated against need the very best facilities. Negro children are as capable of learning as any children but the handicaps they face are tremendous and the school system has not measured up to its responsibilities.

"The Board of Education just refuses to give its full attention to the welfare of the kids," Miss Citron said. "That's the essential factor in the mess it's making of education."

In speaking of Negro-Jewish unity, she calls for "participation" in the struggles of the Negro people. "I have always done Jimmy Higgins' work. I have participated in every kind of fight against Jimcrow. But the biggest thing, maybe, is that I'm part of the daily life of the children and their parents. The social life of the Negro people is my social life."

Protest Suspensions!

She recently spoke before the National Trade Union Congress for Negro Rights in Chicago and received a standing ovation. Many of the delegates wrote to Maximilian Moss, president of the Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, protesting her suspension and the suspension of her seven colleagues. The readers of JEWISH LIFE can do no less.

They can and should point out in such letters that Miss Citron's crime is working, tirelessly and selflessly, for better schools, her un-American activity, her fight against discrimination against the Negro people. She has given her life in the struggle to give meaning to the ancient American words, "all men are created equal," a fact that cannot be said of Miss Quinn or Miss Driscoll or indeed of Dr. Jansen. If she were for war and the atom bomb that may kill school children everywhere, her job would be safe enough although the lives of children might be a bit less safe. If these eight teachers are in fact discharged, both the lives and the minds of New York City's children will, in the last analysis, pay the penalty.

SYNTHETIC STORY OF THE AMALGAMATED

A Book Review

By Morris U. Schappes

HOW many of the almost 400,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO) have ever heard of the suppressed "Preamble" to their union's constitution? Perhaps this Preamble has been forgotten even by most of the 38,000 men's clothing workers who bravely founded the union 35 years ago. For it is more than 25 years, so far as I have been able to find out, since any publication of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has dared reprint that Preamble. Certainly there is no mention of it in the streamlined and lavishly-illustrated but thin-blooded "public-relations" job just published by the Union as a "history" under the title, *To Promote the General Welfare, The Story of the Amalgamated*, by Hyman H. Bookbinder, the union's assistant director of research, and his associates (cloth edition, \$3.00; paper edition, \$1.50). The president of the union, Jacob S. Potofsky, prefaces the volume with the recommendation that this is "a good historical account of their union," written "for the newer, younger members" and the friends of the union. He knows better.

Ample in pretension, lavish in generalities, but sparse in fact, this "history" hides more than it reveals. Unlike Philip S. Foner's concrete, exciting, illuminating and inspiring history of the fur and leather workers' union, this production by Bookbinder will misinform and dispirit its readers. Above all, it will keep them in ignorance of the history of the union. If a union leadership encourages the older members to forget, and discourages the younger members from learning, the full truth about the goals and methods of the founders, it must be because that leadership does not want the present membership to pursue those goals and use those methods.

And such is the fact.

For the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was born in conscious, militant class struggle against their own exploiting bosses and the bureaucrats of the United Garment Workers (AFL)—but the Amalgamated is now suffering from the anemia of class collaboration with these same enemies (plus the recently developed CIO bureaucrats).

What the "Preamble" Said

The suppressed Preamble? It is a great document of American labor history, born of the wretched existence and fighting resistance of tens of thousands of immigrant Jew-

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES is a noted Jewish scholar whose most recent work, *A Documentary History of the Jews of the United States*, will be published this Fall by Citadel Press.

ish and Italian tailors. Behind the Preamble lay the experience of more than 100,000 Chicago and New York tailors, a great many of them Jewish, who in militant strikes in 1910 and 1913 had faced months of hunger, cold, police brutality, court injunctions, sell-outs by the AFL top leaders, and disruption by the *Jewish Daily Forward*. In fact, in the 1913 strike, after the workers had smashed the windows of the *Forward* for daring to support UGW President T. A. Rickert's defeatist "agreement," the strikers (75,000 turned out the first day and 110,000 the second week) won union recognition, a reduction in hours and increase in wages, and the rehiring of strikers. Omitting all these facts, Bookbinder calls this an "apparent defeat," although he hails as an unqualified victory the union's beating back of the bosses' lockout in 1921 with a settlement which included "wage reductions, not to exceed 15 per cent!"

Such experiences and more were expressed in the Preamble when, after the United Garment Workers machine had excluded the militants from the 1914 convention, a new union was established at the end of that year. The Preamble took note that there was a class "based upon the ownership of the means of production" and a class that has "nothing but its labor power, which is always on the market as a commodity." The first rules the second, and "a constant and unceasing struggle is being waged between these two classes." The union is defined as "a natural weapon of offense and defense in the hands of the working class." Craft unions were recognized as outdated and industrial unions necessary. There would eventually emerge "a universal working class organization, united along the entire line of the class struggle, economically and politically."

But the working class was not forever going to be "ruled." "Every oppressed class in history achieved its emancipation only upon its attaining economic supremacy. The same law operates also in the struggles between Capital and Labor." Working class organization will ultimately "put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

Thus the Preamble, expressing socialist ideology somewhat blurred by anarcho-syndicalist confusion on the need for the working class to win political power, affirmed the basic realities of life in our country. For the first few years, this banner of militant class conflict was unfurled daily in the innumerable varieties of the economic and political struggle against the ruling class. Then the banner was locked away and taken out only on parade



THE MULBERRY TREE

By Ben Shahn

occasions. As far back as 1921 a spokesman for Chicago's clothing manufacturers put it shrewdly thus: "while the Amalgamated leaders hold socialistic beliefs, in practice they 'save their socialism for the evening meeting'."¹

Today, the banner is suppressed; the union leadership has long abandoned any ideals of fundamental social change. At the "evening meetings" and at conventions the leaders now serve up the weak "liberalism" of the Truman "Fair Deal," the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and support of American imperialist intervention against the Korean people. And all day, the leadership works at its program of "labor-management cooperation," the American advertising man's name for class collaboration that sacrifices the interests of the workers to the "needs" of the employers.

The Price of Class Collaboration

What is the economic cost to the workers of this Hillman ideal of permanent cooperation with the employers? Bookbinder of course avoids giving wage statistics. (He does not even give membership figures, perhaps for fear that the reader would look, in vain, for the explanation of

such things as the decline in membership from 177,000 in 1920 to less than 70,000 in 1931.) Bookbinder resorts to the woolly statement that "with organization virtually completed in the men's tailored clothing industry, the wage level in that industry compares favorably with wages in all American industry." But the fact is that the men's clothing workers earn less even than the women's clothing workers and incomparably less than the fur workers. To be specific: in March 1950, according to the *Statistical Review* of the New York Department of Labor, average weekly earnings of men's clothing workers were \$61.12; of dress-makers, \$59.96; of fur workers, \$96.17.

It's hard on the workers when a union goes soft.

Fur Union and Amalgamated Compared

In the past two years, the fur workers, for example, have fought for and won the fourth and fifth round of post-war increases to keep up with the rising cost of living. Not so the Amalgamated's clothing workers. Potofsky, after the 1948 CIO convention, boasted to a reporter for the trade paper, *Daily News Record*, that the ACW could have gotten higher wages for its workers in recent years, but had refrained from pressing the employers too much; even now, he declared, he was not thinking of advancing demands for higher wages or shorter hours (although it once had a 36-hour week, the ACW clothing workers are now back on a 40-hour week). So the agreement signed in 1949 had no wage raises. But at the May 1950 Amalgamated convention Potofsky bemoaned the ingratitude of big manufacturers who, having made their piles in recent years, retired from business without even severance pay for the workers who produced their profits.

Yet the men's tailors are the best paid minority of the present union membership, which includes the laundry workers, shirt and cotton garment makers, cleaners and dyers, and other branches, all of which are in the lower paid categories in the country's industries. The laundry workers, for instance, most of whom are Negro women, are notoriously badly paid. But the February 1950 agreement signed by the Laundry Workers Joint Board for 25,000 workers in the New York area contained no provision for a general wage increase.

Possibly the best measure of the "great economic successes" of the ACW leadership is revealed by Bookbinder's proud declaration that "by 1942, the 40 cent [minimum wage] rate had been established in all industries in which the Amalgamated had contracts"! This from a union that then had about 350,000 members and was considered "powerful."

Compare the achievements of the leftwing fur and leather workers' union, one fourth the size of the Amalgamated but many times as strong in defending the economic interests of its membership. And as for the social insurance features won by the tailors in the Amalgamated, to which Bookbinder devotes one-sixth of his book, the fur

¹ Jack Hardy, *The Clothing Workers*, International Publishers, New York, 1935, p. 94.

workers can surely match them point for point in health insurance, sick and death benefits, and retirement pension.

Significant Omissions

Even in what Bookbinder calls "a bare outline of Amalgamated history," the book is full of tendentious omissions. Unmentioned, for instance, are the following areas: the early dedication to the building of a labor third party; important strike struggles like the six-week strike of 25,000 Chicago workers in 1915, the ten-week New York lockout and strike in the winter of 1918-1919, the 20-week strike against the International Tailoring Company in New York and Chicago in 1925; Sidney Hillman's trip to the Soviet Union in 1922, his interviews with Lenin and other leaders there, and his splendid project of having the Amalgamated establish the Russian-American Industrial Corporation to help finance Russian clothing factories by workers' investments here; the expulsion, in 1925 and 1926, of thousands of tailors, including some entire locals, because they were left-wingers; Hillman's role in building the World Federation of Trade Unions and Potofsky's in splitting it, at the dictation of the State Department and Philip Murray; the union's uneasy support, but support nevertheless, of the expulsion from the CIO this past year of most of the left-led unions that helped to found and build the CIO, with Potofsky even sitting as trial judge against these unions; the Amalgamated's raids against New York organized retail workers, which fortunately did not succeed; the miserable achievements of the much-vaunted Operation Dixie, which between 1948 and 1950 brought in only 5,000 workers.

Discrimination Against Negroes

The weakness of Operation Dixie in the Amalgamated is of course connected with the failure of that Operation as conducted by the CIO as a whole. Red-baiting and segregation are not the basis on which southern workers can be organized. The Amalgamated may reject the more open forms of Jimcrow. At its last convention, it passed a civil rights resolution calling for Fair Employment Practice legislation, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws, and abolition of segregation in the armed forces. Bookbinder speaks of the union's "own policies of non-discrimination." Yet there is discrimination against Negroes in and by the Amalgamated. In many, especially the better paid, sections of the industries organized by the union, Negro workers are either excluded or more or less restricted to the poorly-paid crafts. The union conducts no struggle for the upgrading of Negro workers. The floor workers in the men's clothing shops, most of whom are Negroes, are not organized into the union (contrast the Fur Floor Workers Local). Although there are tens of thousands of Negro members in the Amalgamated, not one of them is a member of the General Executive Board. And, if I may add a personal

observation, I have never seen a Negro official, teller, or window-clerk in the Amalgamated Bank in New York; the one Negro I have seen is a uniformed guard.

Such discrimination in and by the union flows inevitably from the failure to recognize the special character of the Negro question, economically, politically and socially. Thus Bookbinder asserts that "the economic problems which they find on the job, however, are no different for the Negro than the white worker." But that is not true today. A special fight has to be put up, first, to get Negro workers hired in many crafts; then special efforts are needed to increase the exceptionally low wages of those crafts in which Negroes are concentrated; then special attention needs to be given to upgrading Negro workers so they can reach the higher levels from which they have been excluded; and even when all that is done, the wages the Negro worker receives do not by any means give him the same purchasing power in the Negro ghettos in which he is forced to live that the white worker commands in the general price market.

Return to Struggle

Another problem ignored by the ACW leadership and therefore by Bookbinder is that arising from the immigrant groups among the tailors. In New York, for instance, there are still locals in which the official language is either Yiddish or Italian. Younger workers not acquainted with these languages are handicapped at union meetings and rarely attend them. Recently Spanish-speaking workers have entered the trade and need particular attention. Therefore the progressive rank and file in Local 25, for instance, has raised the demand for the organization of an English-speaking local for the younger members. Obviously, the languages which several decades ago were an instrument for organizing the workers have under present conditions become obstacles to proper organization.

Despite the expulsions of the mid-1920's, the progressive rank and file has never been eliminated but has kept progressive trade unionism alive in the union. As yet, however, this movement is too narrow, as is also the case with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (see "ILGWU Convention," by Sam Coleman, *JEWISH LIFE*, August 1950). The rank and file has thus far not succeeded in involving the young Spanish-speaking, Negro and other native-born workers, who now make up the bulk of the union, throughout the country in the struggle to improve their wage and working conditions, and to take their proper place in the fight for peace, which the union leadership has abandoned. This struggle will require that the union return to the principles of the suppressed Preamble and will be aided by a study of that part of the history of the union which is glibly hidden from view in Bookbinder's official "record."

GOOD WILL FOR REACTION: III

By Joseph Brainin

IT SHOULD be obvious why the writer, in the first two articles of this series, devoted so much space to the financial backing big business has given to the National Conference of Christians and Jews. When an interfaith good will organization depends on big business for support, it is naturally hamstrung. It cannot take the side of the economic underdog, nor is it in a position to exercise pressure against discrimination in our industries. At best it can but plead, and it must meekly accept the decision of its current and prospective donors in the ranks of big business.

This impotence, moreover, extends even to the religious field. Big business-dominated good will cannot afford to invite conflict between its clergymen-members and the wealthy trustees of their churches. That is why the National Conference of Christians and Jews does not require its clergymen-members to take up concrete issues or to fight any specific evils when confronted by group dissensions and tensions. In order to retain its financial set-up, it must necessarily relegate its concept of good will to an abstract sphere—it must remain above the battle, merely giving lip service, in the form of bombastic slogans, to the idea of good will and brotherhood among men.

The extent to which religious good will has become a hoax in the hands of the National Conference was glaringly revealed in 1943 by Dr. Joshua Bloch, chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library.

Textbook Cleansing Hoax

In November 1942, *The Protestant*, an anti-fascist publication that enjoyed the support of a number of sincere and militant Protestant clergymen, established a Textbook Commission to Eliminate Anti-Semitic Statements from American Textbooks. This action was impelled by the sad but incontrovertible fact that existing committees and organizations had made no headway in the cleansing of Sunday School and parochial school textbooks of un-American, hate-breeding propaganda. The work of *The Protestant's* Textbook Commission encountered many obstacles, placed in its way primarily by organizations which felt that the very existence of such a commission constituted a reproach to them for their inactivity.

Soon after *The Protestant's* commission began to function, it became the target of calumny and attacks by organizations that should have welcomed its entry into a field

where a new, forceful and uncompromising approach is only too badly needed.

On February 4, 1945, the *New York Times* published an extensive news story under the caption "Ten-Year Drive Cuts Bias in Textbooks." Obviously released by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the story maintained that "A ten-year campaign sponsored by educational leaders, representing Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups, has proved successful in eliminating from the public, private and parochial school textbooks of the United States virtually all passages regarded as biased from the standpoint of race or religion. Clergymen and educators, working quietly, have succeeded in changing the approach toward racial and religious questions taken by textbook writers and publishers. This has been done by agreeing upon and pointing out the existence of anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant and anti-Jewish passages. Now almost no complaints are raised concerning public school textbooks, and few regarding the private or parochial school books."

In that same statement the Rev. Dr. Willard Johnson, then assistant to the president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, acknowledged the cooperation in this textbook work of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the International Council of Religious Education and the American Jewish Committee.

The National Conference's announcement naturally aroused wide interest. The press hailed it as a great achievement; the *New York Times*, indeed, editorially commended the National Conference for relieving the condition "through friendly, intelligent meetings between educators, textbook writers and publishers."

The Fake Is Exposed

Dr. Joshua Bloch—to whom, in his capacity as librarian, many inquiries on the revision of these textbooks were addressed—conducted a thorough investigation of the claims of the National Conference. With untiring patience he tried to pin down the conference to actual evidence in support of its all-embracing claims. At one time his questions caused Dr. Johnson to make the startling "admission" that "the National Conference of Christians and Jews made no claims that all passages conducive to prejudice have been removed." On another occasion, wilting under Dr. Bloch's relentless cross examination, Dr. Johnson stated that no textbooks are used in Protestant schools. Thereupon Dr. Bloch presented, by way of exhibit, a quotation from a

JOSEPH BRAININ is an Anglo-Jewish journalist. This article is the last of his series.

"teacher's manual" reading: "The Jew invoked race purity and the divine favor to his race as a basis for his totalitarian nationalism and his dream of Messianic world empire."¹

Dr. Bloch, well versed in the literature of Christian and Jewish textbooks, challenged the National Conference — but to no avail—to state whether it had attempted to revise any Catholic textbooks (since he was reasonably certain that the conference had never made any such attempt). However, paradoxical though it may appear, he did discover that efforts had been made to prevail upon the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to have the story of the Inquisition removed—not revised, but removed—from its publications on Jewish history.

The conclusion Dr. Bloch reached was unequivocal. In his report, issued in March 1943, and published in the February-March 1943, issue of *The Protestant*, the chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library wrote as follows: "The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., stands convicted of having deceived the American people on the state of anti-Semitic propaganda in religious textbooks. My answer to the many inquiries that will continue to come to me about the claims of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., will have to be terse but clear in the future. I will merely reply: 'Sorry—the whole thing was a hoax'."

"Intergroup Relations" Clinics

One must keep in mind this textbook revision hoax perpetrated by the conference when reviewing other claims made by this good will organization.² In its prospectus for the year 1950 the conference presents its program on intergroup relations as the all-embracing answer to group tensions in this country. Under the caption "Intergroup Relations Centers Modeled like Streamlined Medical Centers" the National Conference states:

"As modern health centers have patterned the way for 'abundant health,' the establishment of intergroup relations centers in universities throughout the country can provide for 'abundant brotherhood.' Through diagnosis, therapy and training of practitioners, the medical center achieves the healthy body. What is being done for the body can also be carried on for the spirit of men. Through the coordinated efforts of our religious teachers, social scientists and educators, the prejudices and animosities which have disfigured and distorted human relations through all the ages can be overcome. . . .

"To describe this program we take you behind the scenes of a wire plant in New Jersey. General Cable Corporation employs 8,000 Americans, including people of all national-

ities, color strains, religions—Protestants, Catholics and Jews. In 1949, for the first time, these employees were given a course—right in the plant itself—to learn what could be done to make the plant's teamwork click."

There can be little doubt that the NCCJ is doing an efficient job for the employer in such plants. The nine-week course it gives to "key workers" points up the necessity of achieving good will as the first condition for keeping up production. No wonder Mr. Dwight R. C. Palmer, president of General Cable Corporation, who is a substantial contributor to the conference, highly praised "the values to be obtained" from such factory clinics. It goes without saying, however, that the issues of tensions between management and labor or cases of discrimination by management, are carefully avoided in these clinics. What the clinics stress primarily is attendance at religious services and the "evil of participation in political affairs by labor" is emphasized.

"Brotherhood"—But No Action

Each year the activities of the National Conference of Christians and Jews reach their climax during the national "Brotherhood Week" it sponsors. Here too we find firm adherence to the formula of keeping the conception of good will in an abstract sphere, of carefully avoiding the mention of specific problems and cautiously eliminating any and all references to existing realities. One of the most ardent patrons of the NCCJ-sponsored Brotherhood Week is William Randolph Hearst, who gives it an enormous amount of publicity in his chain of newspapers.

At a recent NCCJ Education Committee meeting at Omaha, Neb., symptoms arose of a rebellion against the leadership of the conference. In its report of the meeting the Omaha *Jewish Press* said: "Demands for action by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to combat prejudice and discrimination in Omaha were voiced at last Friday's meeting of the Education Committee. 'Let's stop pussy-footing,' one member of the committee demanded. 'The problems are here—let's get them out and let's get going.' He cited in particular lack of equal economic opportunity for Negroes in Omaha, discrimination in the Fire Department and the 'definite double application of our laws' between whites and non-whites. Said Robert Fromkin, attorney: 'Passiveness to a problem is equal to acquiescence to it.' He urged that problems be brought out in the open, discussed and acted upon. 'Education is doing,' said Whitney K. Young, local director of the Urban League. He warned against mere talking about problems without taking any real action."

From this Omaha report it would seem that there is some hope that the good will bubble blown up by the National Conference of Christians and Jews with the support of big business can be burst in the not too distant future. Increased organization of labor and the community against anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and all anti-minority persecution, coupled with exposure of the "good will" deception, would see the end of this fake "brotherhood" outfit.

¹ *The Way of Good Will*, by Dorothy La Croix Hill, The Graded Press, Nashville, 1942; Course 3, Part 2, p. 66.

² In August of this year the National Conference of Christians and Jews made public that it had conducted another study on prejudice in textbooks published in the United States. According to the Conference, the findings of this five-year study show that "unconscious prejudices are often revealed."

Letters from Abroad

WHO ENDANGERS ISRAEL'S SECURITY?

By Esther Vilenska

At the beginning of June the Israeli press carried a United Press story which stated: "While the organizers of America's defense plans view the South American countries and other parts of the world as providers of raw materials and as areas for military bases, they consider that so far as the Near East is concerned, it will be impossible to prevent certain parts of it from becoming a battlefield, if war should break out."

The able writers for the men of Washington thereby confess that the Near East is important not only as a road through which the imperialists' aggressive armies must travel, but also as the area in which the main oil supply of the world is located. The UP correspondent declares that the United States must therefore be concerned not only to line up these countries in the "western defense" plan, but also to assure that these countries will be politically aligned with its plans.

Statements like that of the UP correspondent reveal the strategic plans of the ruling North American clique. First, this group wants to launch its aggression from the territory of the state of Israel and other Eastern countries and thereby to convert our land into a battlefield. Second, Israel's oil production must be used for the Anglo-American war machine. Third, this group wants to intervene in the inner political and economic affairs of Israel so as to make Israel completely dependent on the strategy of the imperialist aggressors.

The leadership of the ruling Mapai party in Israel made no comment, official or unofficial, upon the UP correspondent's report on Washington's plans to convert Israel into a slaughterhouse. Silence is also a form of comment.

But when the peace movement gathered momentum in Israel, the Mapai leaders did feel moved to comment. The central body of Mapai issued a statement which declared that the struggle against the use of the atom bomb serves actually only one side in the cold war—the interests of the "international communist movement." The general impression in the Yishuv—including the non-partisan masses of Israel—is that the Mapai leadership had never before issued a declaration which so shamed its authors.

What credence can be given to the excuse that the struggle for peace serves the interest of the communist movement, when the Stockholm petition calls clearly for a ban on atomic weapons by all governments without exception? The opposition of Mapai leaders to this humanitarian and patriotic struggle amounts to their actual alignment with the warmongers and places them in opposition to the interests and desires of all the people. He who honestly wants no war must struggle against war. He who does not actively participate in the struggle against the war danger exposes only his subservience to those forces which are busily preparing a new world slaughter.

Each day the rulers of Israel hitch themselves more tightly to the wagon of direct war preparations. They have reached an agreement to provide the imperialists with raw materials which are of the greatest importance to the war machine. The negotiations between David Horowitz, economic adviser of the Ben Gurion government, and William Fraser, the representative of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, aim at renewal of the British concession to the oil refineries in Haifa. The unpaid exploitation of oil is thereby being converted to military uses. The Israel government is literally giving British and American capital the right to control the natural resources of the country. Is this a contribution to peace? Is this neutrality? Can this be called love of fatherland?

Did the Ben Gurion government dare to demand of the Anglo-American concessionaires that these important raw materials not be used in time of war?

War preparations are also resulting in the steady reduction of living standards in Israel and in the systematic limitation of industry, as well as in the artificial increase in unemployment, thus providing a reserve pool for the "volunteer" aggressive army.

Government statistics for 1949 show that "average production for 1949—according to the index—was 10 per cent lower than 1946." The "free" investment brokers and the official planners of Israel's economic future work directly and indirectly to limit the independent industrial development of Israel, to strengthen foreign domination and to increase unemployment. We have lately witnessed characteristic developments in this direction. Factories have

closed down in Acco, Sofat and Nazareth, as well as in the northern parts of the country (the base of the oil companies). Israel's development budget of 40 million pounds assigns only one per cent to industrial needs, as opposed to 18 million pounds for maintaining tens of thousands of immigrants in the camps. The large bankers of Israel have complete freedom to limit industrial credit, which has been cut 17 per cent. Raw materials are distributed by the government mainly by the large industrialists. This facilitates the concentration of capital among the big bourgeoisie and hurts small business, causing loss of jobs to thousands of workers.

In addition, the government sets the tone for unofficial cuts in wages and living standards. The government itself is forcing wages below the official Histadrut scale. The attack of the government labor department on the wages of the workers and the freedom given to employers to exploit the workers are characteristic developments toward the general goal—the impoverishment of the working masses. This is the demonstrable policy of those who prepare for war and seek a temporary solution for the economic crisis within the framework of capitalist anarchy.

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Documents

FRENCH RABBIS SAY, BAN THE BOMB!

Fifty rabbis from Metropolitan France and French North Africa, meeting at the annual assembly of the French rabbinate held in Paris in July, issued an appeal for the prohibition of atomic warfare. The Stockholm Peace Appeal, said the declaration, was a generous but incomplete initiative in favor of peace since it referred solely to the prohibition of atomic weapons. The declaration continued: "Bearing in mind that, according to the doctrine of Judaism, any war other than for legitimate defense is a violation of divine law and a crime against humanity, we look with horror upon the eventuality of a new conflagration. We share the anxiety which grips the populations in the face of the menace of massacre which the new weapons would provoke and we call upon the faithful to join their prayers and their actions to those of all men of all communities which, passionately devoted to the cause of peace, liberty and human fraternity, struggle against the use of all machines and means of destruction."

In July also six leading French rabbis and Jewish laymen signed the following call in support of the Stockholm Appeal: "I have placed before thee life and

death, happiness and calamity: choose life! Judaism, as a doctrine of life in this world, is admirably epitomized in this teaching of Moses, since he asks his people to choose life and not death.

"For their part the prophets of Israel envisaged the final goal of humanity only as the reign of God on earth, as the advent of an era of Peace in which people will no longer study the art of war but in which the iron of weapons will serve as implements of labor, producers of progress and of Peace.

"But according to the words of the prophets peace is not brought about by the absence of recourse to violence in all its forms. 'It is not by force nor by violence but by my spirit, sayeth the Eternal. . . ' (Zachariah 3.)

"Thus it is the centuries-old aspiration of Israel which today sounds an appeal to all men of good will who intend with all their power to avert the use of atomic arms and of all weapons of destruction against the human race.

"Whoever we may be, whatever may be our views, the Stockholm appeal for the banning of this weapon of colossal destruction presents itself to us as an expression of the noblest aspirations and in

the highest conformity with the law of God. The Stockholm appeal demands the banning of the atomic weapon. It prescribes strict control. It asks that any aggressor which in the future first uses the atomic bomb should be declared a war criminal.

"That is why every Jew conscious of the prophetic message of which he is the bearer, should be associated with the Stockholm appeal in the spirit of the words of the prophet Ezekiel: 'If a man sees the sword lifted against his country, he will sound the trumpet and give the alarm to his people. If he is one who, having heard the sound of the trumpet, does not heed the warning, and the sword comes and removes him, his blood will be on his own head.' None can remain unresponsive to the call which has been made to us without incurring great responsibility for the death of his own people and of all men.

"Those who have souls in their charge, rabbis and leaders of the community, especially should be inspired by the well-known motto of the Jewish tradition: 'The disciples of the wise men should make peace reign ever growing in the world.'"

SIMON FUKS, *chief rabbi of Colmar*; PAUL BAUER, *rabbi of Paris*; HENRI SCHILLI, *rabbi of Paris*; LEON LYON-CAEN, *president of the French Court of Appeals, member of the Central Consistory*; MARCEL LEVY, *member of the Central Consistory*; WILLY NETTER, *general secretary of the Asiles de la Nuit and of the Crèche Israélite, member of the Consistorial Association of Paris*.

Book Reviews

AIR WAR WITHOUT GLAMOR

By Louis Harap

Face of a Hero, by Louis Falstein. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. \$3.00.

This story of one tail-gunner's 50 combat missions in the Italy-based air force is a grimly honest book. The author, who explicitly advances his conscious and informed anti-fascism, was obviously determined to tell his story as it happened, without flourishes or heroics. The result is a moving document that deglamorizes the air force and one which should, if properly understood, dampen current sentiment for an atomic war that would impose on the whole world the fascism against which we fought only five years ago.

It was not easy for the anti-fascist GI in the last war steadily to sustain his hatred against fascism amidst the sea of ignorance and cynicism that dominated the armed forces. It is no secret that perhaps a majority of American soldiers had no notion of what the war was about. The first person hero of this novel, Ben Isaacs, 35-year old, over-age tail-gunner, does not attempt to disguise the struggle within himself to hold on to his anti-fascist motivation for fighting the war. He certainly got no help from the army environment. "The Army had kept our cause a deep dark secret," Ben soliloquizes. "My crewmates fought on nothing. They fought without anger . . . simply because they thought it was their duty . . . without any conviction that their deaths would mean anything for the world."

"Most of them fought on sheer guts, with hardly any knowledge of the cause for the war. I wondered what made them persevere."

But Ben knew why he was fighting. Primarily because he hated fascism. And more, because "I was also for something. I was convinced that after we had won it, life would be better." And Ben was fighting, too, because he hated Hitler and the nazis for what they had done to the Jews, his people. "My guns," says Ben, "had spoken . . . for the anguished screams of my people, who were at this very moment burning in Hitler's extermination ovens, for Guernica, Coventry and Pearl Harbor." The anger of the Jew against his persecutors is a dominant and recurrent theme in the book.

Yet Ben's fight with himself to conquer fear is told honestly and without extenuation. One feels that his exultation and serenity on his fiftieth and last mission were well deserved. Falstein's hero is a genuine human being and not an idealized and facile creation.

This same antipathy for sham in any form also causes Falstein to strip the air force of the glamor it has been invested with. Perhaps for the first time the stark realities of life in the air force have been made available to the public through this book. While life in the infantry has been often enough frankly written about, this has not been true of the air force. Falstein succeeds in conveying this life with a high degree of success. He makes vivid how extraordinarily close the members of a bomber crew felt toward one another. Their lives depended on one another; they shared the anguished experience of intimacy during periods of imminent danger of death. Falstein truthfully conveys the varied manifestations of terrible fear of combat flying, the crackup of some men, the hardihood of others under the strain, the relentless succession of fear-engrossing missions.

Perhaps the best chapters in the book are descriptions of the first mission and of flight through heavy flak areas. Especially vivid is the account of a Vienna mission through an impenetrable soup of clouds in which many planes were lost. This mission had been undertaken to gain prestige for the Italy-based air force, which felt keenly the superior publicity obtained by the British-based air force. The false values of American life that are responsible for the "public relations" industry were operative also during the war and introduced much corrupt motivation

among the brass in the war against fascism.

Among the bitter truths conveyed in this novel is the intense chauvinism that was so widespread in the army. Anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, contempt for the Italians and British, for any foreigner encountered, for the foreign born American—these crop out every few pages. It is interesting to observe that the Italians were contemptuously referred to as "gooks," the same term that is being applied to Koreans by American soldiers today. The army did nothing to fight this chauvinism.

As an anti-fascist, Falstein is aware of this chauvinism and his hero on occasion argues with his buddies against it. But it seems to me that the book is marred by a tolerant attitude towards this chauvinism. One feels that Falstein has not put up a hard enough fight against it. The reason seems to be twofold: first, Ben is torn between his understandable loyalty to his crewmates and his adherence to his anti-fascist principles; second, one feels that Falstein's perception of chauvinism is lacking in sharpness. For instance, he refers in one place, without comment, to "Italians, or gooks, as we Americans called them." In another place, in his thoughts about the chauvinism of his crewmates towards the Italians, Ben comments: "I was ashamed, but at the same time I felt that they [the Italians] understood the Americans' belligerence, ignorance, prejudice, stupidity and feeling of superiority; understood and forgave our adolescence; understood that underneath we were lonely, insecure, war-frightened, and often ignorant why we were in Italy at all."

But this is only a half-truth. The war did not create American chauvinism: it only reinforced and intensified that chauvinism. Further, Ben has here tended to condone what cannot be tolerated. This weak attitude on the part of Ben recurs throughout the book. Ben does not challenge and fight the frequent chauvinistic expressions and thoughts that recur throughout the book. Falstein fails to

create an atmosphere in which chauvinism is condemned unequivocally. Falstein's insufficient sensitivity to the problem emerges, for instance, when he refers in one place to a Negro as a "colored boy." And some of the humor is based on chauvinistic expressions ("Prego, dago"). It is not enough to answer that this is accurate reporting, which it is. The book fails to make the reader feel jarred when such expressions are used.

While this weakness is serious enough, the book is an exceptional first novel that reveals a new talent. At times, when Falstein gives an account of life-and-death moments in combat, the writing achieves great intensity and fully communicates the agony of the experience. On the whole the writing is straightforward but infused with a great warmth for human beings. At a time when the prevailing tone of the American novel is cynical and defeatist, Falstein's book stands out for its simple love of people and hope for their future. Other recent war novels have shown deeper penetration into character. But few have greater honesty, warmth and integrity.

MEYER LEVIN SEARCHES

By David Alman

In Search, by Meyer Levin. Horizon Press, New York. \$3.75.

Meyer Levin's search for an understanding of and solution to the problems of anti-Semitism is the subject of his new book. The effort to get the book published is itself a tiny chapter in the oppression of the Jewish people and their culture: it was rejected by the leading publishing houses and finally published as the first work of a new firm.

From the author of *The Old Bunch* and *Citizens* we have come to expect a painstaking effort to get at the facts and to connect apparently separated effects as well as a hesitancy to draw conclusions. In all of Levin's work there is a sense of restrained intelligence. And though Levin sets out in *In Search* to draw conclusions, to evaluate and prescribe, one puts down his book—as one did with *Citizens*—and asks: "Well, what's to come of all this?"

Levin's attack upon anti-Semitism and his portrayal of its effect upon Jewish American intellectuals is written in a bitter vein. He discovered early in his writing days that the Jew is not welcome either as journalist or as fictional character. Newspaper and magazine editors and publishers prefer Anglo-Saxon by-lines and at one

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time he finds his material under an Irish by-line. Book publishers do not greet books in which Jewish names and backgrounds appear prominently. At one time, succumbing to this viciousness, Levin attempted to write about Jews without using Jewish names or backgrounds, without naming the problems as Jewish. He learned—as many have not—that this leads to sterility and dishonesty and he determined to have done with that brand of capitulation. Levin only hints, however, at the fact that publishers will not raise objections, by and large, to Jewish fictional characters that meet anti-Semitic “standards.”

Levin was influenced at an early age by Zionism. He became interested in Palestine and for a time became one of its pioneers. He did not, however, share the anti-Arab sentiments of the leading Zionists, and felt—as he still does—that there is a community of interest between poor Jews and Arabs. Nor did he share the illusion of many Zionists that Palestine and independence would solve the problems of the Jews in other lands. This realization led him out of Palestine and back to the United States, still in search of answers. This diligent search also took him to Spain. As a correspondent during the civil war he attempted to explain the issues involved as honestly as he could.

His sensitivity to the growth and danger of fascism in the world caused him correctly to estimate the meaning of the Memorial Day Massacre in the Little Steel strike and to participate actively in defense of the unionists.

Levin was thus in an enviable position to see and to help make history. Yet it must be said that Levin's eyes were shut to a great deal. He does not understand, for example, that anti-Semitism is as native to fascism as concentration camps. Nor does he understand that anti-Semitism is not simply a relic and hangover from feudal days, but has been nurtured in the breast of the profit-system because it is an instrument for extending and perpetuating greater exploitation. He does not see that anti-Semitism, like Jimcrow, is a tactic of the imperialist “Divide and Rule.”

There is an explanation for this strange myopia. Levin only vaguely and in a general way perceives that the world is torn by a gigantic struggle of classes. He does not see at all that anti-Semitism is a weapon of the rich, that the Jews themselves are split along class lines. It is tragic and ironic that Levin does not see this for it leads him dangerously close at times to acceptance of anti-Semitic definitions of “Jewish” behavior.

To cite one example, the efforts of a Jewish publisher to increase his wealth is viewed by Levin as an expression of hatred and envy of the non-Jews. He ig-

nores the laws of capitalist economics, the pressure of monopolies and the demands of banking houses although these are fundamental to the behavior of all members of the propertied classes irrespective of national origin. It is undeniable that the envy and hatred of the kind Levin speaks, are present. But they are outgrowths, effects rather than causes of competition among the capitalist classes. Levin's explanation, unfortunately, would pass inspection at any gathering of anti-Semites.

Levin also finds himself lost in the fog of psychoanalysis. The reaction of Jews to anti-Semitism is described in terms of “castration complexes,” efforts to return to the womb and other related obscurities. Yet Levin himself pays tribute to the militancy of the Jew with gun in hand, eyes set against the nazis during the war and afterwards in Palestine against the British. These Jews, though Levin does not tell us this, apparently do not suffer such paralyzing wounds as he describes elsewhere.

Finally, his “classless” outlook leads him to a position of actual hostility towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He equates anti-Zionism with anti-

Semitism even though he records that the majority of the Jewish people are themselves not Zionists and are in large numbers either indifferent to or hostile to it. He chooses to ignore the role of the Soviet Union in aiding Israel and the role of socialist-manufactured guns in preserving Israel's independence. Likewise, he pays little attention to the fact that during the war the Soviet Union saved what could be saved of European Jewry. At one point he cites as proof of the failure of socialist countries to eradicate anti-Semitism the fact that in Poland the Jews are permitted to carry arms to protect themselves from those Project-X elements who hope to restore capitalism!

I do not think that Levin has found the answers but I believe that tribute must be paid to this man's sense of compassion and his insights, when he is not blinded by 30 years of world-wide red-baiting and anti-Semitic propaganda. Levin believes that he wants a socialist world, though he takes great pains to indicate that he is not a communist. That he is not a communist is quite obvious. Now, if he will only take great pains to help keep world peace, he will prove that he is not altogether a dupe of imperialist demagoguery in its last desperate gasp.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

three children, the oldest nine, of leading Orthodox Rabbi Mordecai Stavitsky. "You kids are Jews," said the 14-year old hoodlums as they began to pummel the children.

EVERY BRUNDAGE, head of the United States Olympics Committee, on June 26 replied to a letter from Lester Rodney, sports editor of the *Daily Worker*, who had informed Olympic Committee members that the members of the West German Olympics Committee were notorious nazis. Brundage's letter concluded: "Tentative recognition was given to the Olympics Committee of West Germany. This action had the approval of the Allied High Command."

AFTER DENYING that he had asked for an investigation of B'nai B'rith by the Buchanan House committee probing lobbies, Rep. Clarence Brown, Ohio Republican, had to admit that this was true after columnist Robert Allen proved that Brown had wanted to investigate B'nai B'rith by quoting from the official hearings transcript in his column in July.

KAROL SIDOR, interior minister in the Czech quisling government and commander of the Czech storm troopers, the Hlinka Guards, was admitted to this country on a visitor's visa in May, it was revealed on July 11. Sidor has been addressing meetings in large Slovak communities in the East, among them the Slovak League of America, described during the war as a pro-nazi organization and supporter of the Tiso government.

AN ATTEMPT is being made to expel the Jewish People's Fraternal Order from the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council. Joseph Solomonow, ex-county commander of the Jewish War Veterans, preferred charges that the JPFO is not a Jewish organization because it is part of the non-sectarian International Workers Order and that it carries on activities detrimental to the Jewish community. Hearings are being conducted in the manner of an "Un-Jewish Activities Committee" with bulging dossiers on the life and activities of JPFO leaders. The material has the appearance of copies of FBI and Tenney Committee reports. Council attorneys repeatedly refused to answer questions as to the source of the dossiers. The hearings in July were being conducted by the 15-member council membership committee.

EUROPE

JEWISH CULTURE IN POLAND. . . . The Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw is preparing for publication the archives of Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum which are a monumental collection of every sort of document relating to the condition of Polish Jews under the Nazi occupation. The Institute also plans to publish a comprehensive volume on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and works by Jewish writers who died in the ghetto. . . . Meetings were held recently on the 35th anniversary of the death of the great Jewish writer Itzhok Leibush Peretz. Poems and articles on Peretz were published. An article in the Warsaw Yiddish paper, *Dos Naye Lebn* (The New Life), stated: "In Poland, wherever

Jewish workers are to be found, the name of Peretz will be mentioned with love and reverence, with pride and gratitude. The Polish Jew, who is building today for a better tomorrow in Poland, feels close to this great writer." . . . Twenty-five new books and reprints of older books were published by the *Yiddische Buch* publishing house in 1949 and almost as many will be published in 1950. An anthology of Jewish prose and poetry in Polish translation is due to appear soon. . . . The Association of Jewish Writers decided on June 13 to dissolve and to accept the invitation to join the Association of Polish Writers. Ber Mark, president of the Jewish writers group, said that this move shows that ideological and chauvinistic differences between Jewish and non-Jewish writers have been abolished and that this is typical of the national friendship and cooperation inspired by socialism. The Jewish writers will have a representative on the Polish writers' executive and a Jewish Writers Club will be formed to advise young Jewish writers and to maintain contact with progressive Jewish writers abroad.

CHAYA DAVIDOVNA RAK, a Jewish housewife of Waldheim in Birobidjan, was one of those awarded the Order of Mother Heroine in June by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This order is given to mothers bearing ten or more children.

WORLD JEWRY was violently attacked in a speech by Spanish Admiral Don Jesus de Cora y Lira in Madrid at the end of June. He referred to a "Jewish world policy" and to a "universal conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons." Jews, he said, were a danger in countries where they live, were responsible for all wars and control the world's press.

RENAZIFICATION NEWS. . . . There is no problem of "rising anti-Semitism" in Western Germany, said John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner in Germany, in late June. The statement was challenged in many quarters. . . . A group of drunken American soldiers desecrated the Jewish cemetery in mid-July in Aschaffenburg in the American zone. . . . A monument in Essen to the memory of the victims of Nazism was desecrated for the third time in six months; the Star of David was torn down and replaced with a swastika. . . . American anti-Semitic publications, *The Broom* and *Common Sense*, are being disseminated in the American zone by visiting German Americans. . . . Representatives of the largest neo-Nazi groups in Western Germany decided at a conference in the French zone at Neuwied in late June to form a single party. Constituent groups are Socialist Reich Party, Fatherland Union, National Democratic Party and others. . . . Jewish students in the American zone in late June protested abolition of free tuition for Jewish students at West German universities. In 1948, there were 820 Jews at these universities; in 1949, 730; in 1950, 350.

ISRAEL

THE KOREAN ISSUE was hotly debated in the Knesset on July 4. The Israeli cabinet's support of Korean intervention was endorsed by a vote of 68

to 20, with eight abstentions. Mapam then offered a motion of no-confidence in the government which was defeated 79 to 19. During the debate Premier Ben Gurion replied to Mapam that Hashomer Hatzair, the backbone of Mapam, had during the first year of World War II opposed the recruiting of Palestinian Jews for the war because of the German-Soviet pact. The Prime Minister accused Mapam of acting in accordance with instructions from the Cominform. Mapam deputies then interjected, "You are acting under instructions from Acheson." On July 6, *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam daily, called Ben Gurion the "witch-hunter-in-chief" and deplored his attempt to distort the loyalty and patriotic devotion of the left. The paper stated that it was shocked at the way the government coalition and the right wing identified themselves with the policy of the western bloc. . . . The Communist Party of Israel and Mapam have held numerous mass meetings and demonstrations throughout Israel in the past few weeks to mobilize public opinion for "identification with the Korean people" and against "identification with the United States."

ITZHAK BEN ZVI, Israeli labor leader, writer and Mapai member, sent a letter to *Hador* explaining his refusal to sign a petition calling on President Truman to release from jail Howard Fast and the other members of the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. In editorializing on July 28 on this letter, *Al Hamishmar* derided Ben Zvi's statement that signing the petition would be an "un-Israeli" act as a copy of the term "un-American activity." The paper recalled that in Ben Zvi's native tsarist Russia, liberal and socialist views were called "un-Russian."

ABOUT A QUARTER MILLION Israelis signed the Stockholm Peace Petition by mid-July. On July 20, *Kol Haam* pointed to this fact as proof that the Israeli population is determined to fight alongside of those who seek peace and against the imperialists who plot a new war.

TWO THOUSAND government, municipal and Hadassah nurses conducted a five-day strike, which ended July 10, for a rise in wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. The strike ended when the Histadrut, which had criticized the strikers for going out "without adequate consultation," although it regarded most of the nurses' demands as just, agreed to negotiate these demands with assurances that a wage increase of about 25 per cent and longer vacations would be granted, but that the demand for shorter hours could not be met. *Kol Haam*, communist daily, said on July 11 that the lesson to be learned from this successful strike is that important results can be won if the people stand united.

THREE MEN who were arrested at Elath, Israel's southern-most outpost, by order of Army Chief Chaplain Shlomo Goren for eating bread on the second night of Passover, were in mid-July sentenced for disobeying the army rule which forbids the eating of bread during Passover in Israel army camps. One defendant, who is a soldier, was given a 14-day jail term, and the two others, who are civilians, were reprimanded and fined about \$15.00 each.

NATUREI KARTA, the fanatical Orthodox Israeli organization, attacked military traffic passing through a Jerusalem suburb in early July on a Friday evening for breaking the Sabbath. A male and female soldier were injured and Jerusalem police were forced to fire over the heads of the attackers. The Hebrew press says that Naturei Karta sent a letter to the minister of social welfare, Rabbi I. M. Levine, in which they threatened to kill him for his "collaboration with the Zionist government."

