

OCTOBER 1950 • 20¢

THE ISRAELI PEOPLE AND KOREA ◀ *by Yakov Zerubavel*

WOMAN UNDER THE DOUBLE STANDARD ◀ *by Irene Epstein*

REARMING WESTERN GERMANY ◀ *by Arthur D. Kahn*

A VISIT WITH POLISH JEWRY ◀ *by Samuel Sillen*

SARAH FEINSTEIN'S FAMILY ◀ *a short story by Boris Polevoy*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

TEN MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS announced in mid-August their opposition to the proposed loan to Franco Spain. After voicing intense anti-communist sentiment, the statement continued: "General Franco actively and openly supported the forces that for a time enslaved Europe and sought to suppress civil liberties and religious freedom. For America to bolster financially this ruthless dictator is to betray the faith of those who died for liberty on the battlefields of the world." Organizations signing the statement were the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Association of Jewish Chaplains in the Armed Forces, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council of Jewish Women, Synagogue Council of America and Union of Hebrew Congregations. However, observers pointed out that the organizations' praise for President Truman for opposing grant of the loan through the Export-Import Bank, though not through other channels, was an appealing attitude that fell far short of uncompromising opposition to the Franco regime.

EDITORIAL OPPOSITION to an Omaha city ordinance barring distribution of literature "opposing the government or advocating its overthrow" was expressed in the August 4 issue of *The Jewish Press*, Omaha weekly. The editorial asks if the ordinance "is likely to subvert democracy? . . . Isn't there anyone in the City Council with enough guts to stand up and fight for democracy?"

AN "APPEAL FOR PEACE" initiated by Rabbi Harry Halpern and signed by a number of clergymen, educators, businessmen and professionals of Brooklyn, was issued on August 20. The appeal called for people of varying political opinions to unite to press for peace by "continued negotiations through the United Nations," utilization of Trygve Lie's 10-point program and acceptance of the International Red Cross' call to outlaw the atom bomb and all weapons of "mass destruction, bacteriological or otherwise." Among the sponsors were, in addition to Rabbi Halpern, Rabbis A. Alan Steinbach and Aryeh L. Gottlieb, Erwin R. Stern, chairman of the Stephen Wise District of the ZOA, and Philip Lasser, president of the Brooklyn Division of ZOA.

A NATIONAL JEWISH WAR VETERANS program to "combat communist propaganda" by harassing "communist" demonstrations was tried out in Brooklyn in late August. JWV elements heckled speakers at an American Labor Party outdoor meeting in Brownsville, answering audience shouts of "We want peace" with cries of "We want war." The audience was hostile to the hecklers. . . . The JWV suspended Mrs. Arthur Narins, chairman of a Philadelphia JWV auxiliary post, because she supported the Stockholm peace appeal and opposed United States intervention in Korea. Mrs. Narins, who is the Progressive Party candidate for the Senate, then resigned from the JWV. . . . On the other hand, the JWV in New York demanded the removal of General Lucius M. Clay as New York State Civilian Defense Chairman. The group said that the general's "record of appeasement of the nazis in Germany, his pardon of Ilse Koch, have not been forgotten or forgiven."

THE "CHICAGO TRIBUNE" once again smeared

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

VOL. IV, No. 12 (48)

OCTOBER, 1950

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

THE EDITORS.

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JEWISH LIFE, October, 1950, Vol. IV, No. 12 (48). Published monthly by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1950 by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc.

Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter in a virulent anti-foreign born article on August 13 by Walter Trohan, head of the paper's Washington bureau, who had also written the anti-Semitic May 29 article accusing Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Herbert H. Lehman of being "the secret government of the United States."

THE PITTSBURGH Telephone Company was asked recently why it employed no Jewish girls as operators. The company replied that it tolerated no discrimination, but Jewish girls couldn't be hired as operators "because their arms are too short to operate our switchboards."

ANTI-SEMITIC MARKINGS of "Kill the Jews," "Don't Buy from Jews" and "Jews are Communists" appeared several times on the outside walls of Independence Hall in Philadelphia in recent weeks. Police are investigating.*

RICHARD HAMEL, leader of the "American Fascist Union," which explicitly advocates fascism for the United States, was in the Yorkville section of New York in August to organize new chapters of his organization there. Hamel boasts that he is in "constant touch" with British fascist Oswald Mosley. Hamel's organization, with headquarters in Boston, has distributed vile anti-Semitic leaflets.

(Continued on page 30)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

WORLD CRISIS AND THE JEWS

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN expressed a common feeling among Jews when he recently warned on the occasion of his appointment as chairman of the Western Hemisphere Branch of the World Jewish Congress, that "in today's precarious situation when war threatens to engulf vast areas of the world," it is necessary "to be on the alert for any new peril that might threaten the Jews" as a minority group in some areas of the world. He went on to point out that "there is a clear and present danger that the neo-nazi, extreme rightist, militarist nationalist element in Western Germany, to realize their anti-democratic aims, might seek to bargain at the expense of the ideals for which we fought World War II." The current moves to rearm Western Germany show, if we needed any proof, that his warning is timely and real. But above all, as he said a little later, "We know from bitter experience that war takes a heavier toll from Jewry than from any other people, and millions of Jews are today situated in danger areas."

In the light of such warning, whose reality is evident to every thinking person today, the response of American Jewish organized life to this critical situation must be of great concern. First, what was the reaction to the worldwide campaign of the Stockholm peace appeal? Despite contorted efforts of the press and cold war propagandists to read all sorts of cryptic meanings into the appeal, it remained a straightforward statement of the determination of common people in all parts of the world, both socialist and capitalist, to make clear that the atom bomb must be outlawed, that strict international inspection provided for and that the country first using the atom bomb be declared a war criminal. This pledge could only help the peace-makers and only be aimed at warmongers. And about 300,000,000 adults in all parts of the world, both socialist and capitalist, signified their agreement with these elementary principles of the survival of mankind. If the Stockholm pledge helped the socialist sector of the world, as its calumniators said, then the conclusion must be that the socialist world genuinely desires peace and is promoting the peace of the world. Only the warmakers could regard the appeal as a threat to their policy. But the truth is that the appeal was on the side of ordinary people everywhere who stand to lose everything from atomic war.

One would suppose, therefore, that Jews, to whom war brings such mortal danger, would welcome the worldwide movement for popular enforcement of peace, would welcome the Stockholm appeal and support it. And many

thousands of Jews all over the world did sign that appeal. In France, the Jews who had experienced war at first hand, signed in large numbers, and many outstanding Jews, including rabbis, signed the appeal. In Israel, about 280 thousand citizens signed it. And in this country many thousands of Jews signed the appeal.

But the story in Jewish organized life in this country, unfortunately, was far different. It is well known that the major Jewish organizations here have swallowed the Truman foreign policy whole. Even when protesting renazification, these organizations do not draw the obvious conclusion that the only way to deal conclusively with renazification is to reject the Truman foreign policy as a whole, of which renazification is an integral and consistent part. Thus, when Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the host of war propagandists gave the cue for slandering the Stockholm peace appeal, the leaders of Jewish organizations obediently followed suit. In a statement lacking in logic or sense, ten major Jewish organizations (American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League, Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Council of Jewish Women, Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the National Community Relations Advisory Council) urged rejection of the appeal. The accusation that the appeal was "communist-inspired" is hardly worthy of a reply. If communists favor peace, should non-communists favor war? The groups condemned the appeal as "a despicable divide-and-conquer tactic." If the appeal divided the forces preparing the war in order to conquer peace for the world, this does not condemn the peace-makers.

And what can one think of Jewish organizations, whose function is to guard the civil rights of Jews and to fight for civil liberties, when they condemn the circulators of peace petitions who are attacked when peacefully gathering signatures for peace? "By circulating the Stockholm appeal," continued the statement, "the communists are attempting to provoke the American people to violence, threat of violence, mob action and disruptive disturbances. We urge the American people to avoid this trap." The wording is familiar—it was used by the fascists and the appeasers in characterizing the attempt of those who attended the Robeson concert at Peekskill to reassert freedom of speech and assembly. In the past few months several hundred peaceful peace petition collectors have been arrested and a number were physically assaulted in one of the most

egregious violations of American freedom in our history. These Jewish organizations are appeasing violators of the Bill of Rights by condemning the victims of this attack on civil liberties.

On the other critical issue of the day, the Korean war, national Jewish organizations exhibit the same appeasing attitude and make uncritical apologetics for the Truman administration. The top leaders of B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Congress and others have endorsed United States intervention in Korea under the guise of a United Nations action. When these organizations affirm their support of the United Nations, one can not disagree that the hope of the world is in the United Nations. But Jews, like ordinary people everywhere, cannot afford to mouth words and lose grasp of the substance. Too much is at stake. And what are the realities behind the United Nations' relation to the Korean situation? The United Nations, upon which all men of good will pin their hope, is the forum of all nations, and especially of the two decisive world powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, as the agency through which differences among the powers can be peacefully resolved. This is the basis of the UN Charter and of the hope which common men rest in the UN. But what happened in the Korean situation? The truth is that the UN became a front for United States unilateral action. When the Korean hostilities came before the Security Council of the UN, neither the Soviet Union nor the government of 450,000,000 Chinese was present. As is well known, the absence of the Soviet Union was caused by the refusal of the Truman administration to admit the New China to the UN. Thereby, the Truman policy was sabotaging the very objectives that made the UN a source of hope—its function as a forum for the great powers to preserve the peace of the world. And the Soviet Union was fighting to restore this function to the United Nations.

FREEDOM CAN BE SAVED

WITH every passing day the crisis of American freedom becomes more acute. The respite gained by the release on bail of labor leader Harry Bridges, whose bail had been lifted because of his opposition to the Truman policy on the Korean war, was soon cancelled out by the decision of the federal Court of Appeals in New York to lift the bail of the 10 communist leaders within 30 days if not overruled by the Supreme Court because of their opposition to United States intervention in Korea. The decision which released Bridges pointed out that the courts "cease to be civil courts and become instruments of military policy," if men can be deprived of bail because they disagree with current government policy. And that decision put incisively the challenge to the courts today. "We

The spurious position that United States intervention in Korea must be supported as adherence to the UN is exposed when one recalls that the United States sent its military forces into the Korean war before the United Nations had a chance even to deliberate on the affair. The UN was presented with the accomplished fact of unilateral United States intervention. North Korea was not allowed to state its case—a flagrant violation of elementary justice, and Syngman Rhee's version of what had taken place was unquestioningly adopted.

But the Jewish people have ample reason to oppose United States intervention in Korea. For the Korean people are fighting for their independence and integrity as a unified nation against the fatal split created and enforced by the cruel, fascist regime of Syngman Rhee with the backing of Wall Street. As Yakov Zerubavel points out elsewhere in this issue, the natural interest of the Jewish people is on the side of any people fighting for liberation.

And so we return to the note on which we started. War holds the gravest dangers for the Jewish people. Those who would make war are trying to enslave the whole world and use the atom bomb and the armed fist to prosecute this policy. They are depriving the American people at home and all other peoples whom they have subjugated with Marshall Plan money to plunge the world deeper into subjection to the power of big business. The real interest of the Jewish people is opposed to these forces, because the hope of the Jewish people is in peace and freedom. This is where Jewish organized life should be throwing its weight. But in the instances of the Stockholm peace appeal and the Korean situation, the leadership of Jewish organized life have thrown their support to the Truman policy of war preparations and aid to reaction all over the world. The Jewish masses must press upon their leadership to support the cause of those who would save both democracy and the Jewish people of the world.

say now, with all the emphasis we may command," the court held, "that however hard and disagreeable may be the task in times of popular passion and excitement, it is the duty of the courts to set their faces like flint against this erosive subversion of the judicial process." (Emphasis ours.—Eds.)

Flagrant denials of elementary rights pile up all over the country. The New York police again denied Union Square for a meeting in protest against its refusal of a permit for the rally of August 2. In a number of cities in all parts of country, from all points of the compass, communists and progressives are summarily being deprived of their rights by unconstitutional "laws" and by arbitrary police action. Hardly a day passes but some new assault on American liberty comes to light.

The Wood "anti-subversive" bill passed in the House with a scant 20 representatives with enough courage to

raise their voices in opposition. The fascist McCarran bill, which combines all the worst features of all the "anti-subversive" proposals, is being debated in the Senate at this writing. These bills propose to require "registration" of Communist Party members and of all "communist organizations." In plain terms, such a law would open *anyone* to prosecution who advocated *any* reform with which reactionaries or unprincipled politicians happen to disagree. The mildest measures in defense of the rights of the trade unions, the Negro people or the Jewish people or, indeed, of any groups except those which further the aggrandizement of Wall Street monopolists themselves, would be liable to suppression and prosecution under any such law. Only one type of opinion would be tolerated—the most reactionary.

On August 27, nine national Jewish organizations joined 13 other liberal and labor organizations in condemning the McCarran, Wood and Mundt-Ferguson bills as "indiscriminately repressive." These were American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Community Relations Advisory Council, Union of Hebrew Congregations, National Council of Jewish Women and National Association of Jewish Center Workers. And in the Senate on September 5, Senator Herbert H. Lehman declared that the McCarran bill "represents the most violent and dangerous curtailment of our civil liberties of any legislation that has ever been proposed in the American Congress." The alarm of the Jewish people over this legislation is well-founded. In the House debate on the Wood bill on August 29, the valiant Rep. Vito Marcantonio pointed out that "the pattern of Hitler and Mussolini—the pattern we're following here—was first to destroy the rights of the communists, then the Jews, then the trade unions." Marcantonio was followed by a vicious anti-Semitic speech by the contemptible John Rankin, who bellowed in a context of Jew-baiting that "the people this bill is aimed against are out to destroy the Christian religion."

It is disturbing, however, that opposition by liberals and Jewish organizations has been accompanied by vehement red-baiting and agreement with so-called milder proposals to "curb the communists." These organizations and many liberals have expressed their support of proposals of the Truman administration which differ from the crudely repressive bills already offered only in their immediate consequences, but not in essence. Senator Harley Kilgore has introduced a substitute to the McCarran bill which would provide for concentration camps for "communists" in case of war or a "national emergency" declared by the president. Liberals like Lehman are reported as favoring this substitute. But the Kilgore bill contains in essence the identical threat of its cruder fellows—the prosecution of men for thoughts and beliefs and privation of traditional due process of law. The only difference is that the Kilgore bill and its likes would act more slowly than the others, but just as surely would add up to—fascism.

President Truman announced that he would veto the

McCarran bill, if it came to him for signature. By the time this issue reaches our readers, Congress will have adjourned and the final phase of the fight on the legislative front to retain American freedoms will be at hand. This will confront the American people with the profound responsibility of mobilizing as they have never done before to let President Truman know that they will allow *no* repressive legislation, however "mild," to bring us to the brink of fascism in America. If any "anti-subversive" bill passes Congress—and we mean *any variant whatever*—the people must tell President Truman that it must be vetoed. The zero hour has come. American liberty can and must be saved by the people.

A VICTORY OVER JIMCROW

THE world does move. After seven years of the most bitter campaigning against Jimcrow in Stuyvesant Town, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company agreed on August 24 to admit Negro tenants into that community. The fight has been long and hard. In 1943, Negro communist leader Benjamin J. Davis led a delegation to New York's City Hall to protest the proposed Jimcrow plans for the project and he continued to fight the issue while he was a member of the City Council. Court cases against Metropolitan were of no avail. Mayor William O'Dwyer lent legal support to the Jimcrow company in the courts. The New York State Court of Appeals upheld the Metropolitan and the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. How then was the victory won? As Ted O. Thackrey wrote in the *New York Daily Compass* (August 25), "victory was won not by quiet and polite and mannerly dinnertable conversation, but by open and public and persistent challenge by people who were willing to stand up and be counted, to be regarded as peculiar and sometimes rowdy, and who themselves set an example by bringing Negro tenants in as their personal guests." Spearheading this perhaps impolite fight was the Town and Village Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town. Mass meetings, mass delegations, picket lines, all forms of public petition were used by the committee. Members of the committee invited Negro families to live as their guests in the Jimcrow housing project. And 35 of the tenant families who were most active in the struggle are now being repaid for their successful fight by the refusal of the company to renew their leases this year.

The fight is not wholly won, however. Metropolitan stated that, although it would permit "qualified Negro families" to move in, "no change in basic policy is involved." As Paul Ross, chairman of the fighting committee, said, "victory cannot be complete until all Negro families have the same opportunities as white families to apply for vacant apartments." Continuing vigilance is therefore needed to make certain that Negro families are permitted to rent without special restrictions, and that the company is made to permit the crusading families to retain their leases in the project.

THE ISRAELI PEOPLE AND KOREA

By Yakov Zerubavel

The author of the following article is Yakov Zerubavel, a member of the Jewish Agency executive, a veteran of the Zionist movement and at present an outstanding leader of the right wing of the United Workers Party (Mapam) in Israel. The questions about the war in Korea and the role of the Soviet Union raised by Mr. Zerubavel are of the utmost importance to every Jew, whatever his political views may be. Mr. Zerubavel argues that the war in Korea constitutes a grave threat to the independence and the very physical existence of the people of Israel. He speaks as a veteran Zionist ideologist and leader. While we do not share his Zionist views, we fully concur in his estimate of the nature of the war in Korea and of the threat to the Jewish people inherent in it. Certainly all Jews, regardless of ideological and political convictions, who are sincerely concerned with the fate of their people, would do well to consider carefully the viewpoint presented in this article.

—Editors

THE war in Korea goes on. Although General Douglas MacArthur recently with great pomp received the flag of the United Nations all the way from Jerusalem, this symbolic action will not lead anyone to view the war any the less as a war by the United States against Korea.

The United States began its military operations in Korea before the Security Council adopted its resolution authorizing military sanctions. The United States did not ask the Security Council for permission to begin its intervention. Actually, the Security Council only confirmed the steps taken by the United States. It was not an accident that the Security Council named MacArthur as commander-in-chief of the UN armed forces.

Soviet Union In A Post-War World

Do the Korean hostilities signalize the beginning of a third world war? Actually that war began long ago, even before World War II officially ended. The forces of world imperialism considered that the Soviet Union had won World War II. That country had suffered higher casualties and greater destruction than any other ally in the fight against Hitler. Morally the Soviet Union was the victor. All humanity saw for the first time that the Soviet Union is the organized force called upon to lead humanity to liberation and freedom.

The role played by the Soviet Union in the liquidation of Hitlerism inspired the peoples of the world in their struggle for freedom and independence. The Soviet Union itself set the living example. A clear perspective lay before the peoples, one which projected a political orientation toward the forces of the future, which had meanwhile become the decisive forces of today.

It would be false for anyone to try to deny that for the Jews of the entire world, too, irrespective of class position and ideology, the Soviet Union during and following World War II appeared as that state power upon which they could rely for help and decisive action at critical moments. For the Soviet Union is in its very nature the immutable and mortal enemy of reaction and fascism, which cannot abide the existence of the Jewish people.

In Israel we, too, looked up to the example of the Soviet Union and its heroic Red Army in our tragic and heroic liberation struggle. We learned from them how to fight for freedom with every fiber of our being, how to mobilize ourselves and others, everything and all, for victory. Stalin-grad confirmed our will, strengthened our confidence in ourselves and in the power of the ideal of liberation, in the might of truth, which conquers falsehood, though it be armed to the teeth.

The Soviet Union also supported us politically in our decisive struggle. The people's democracies opened the way for the emigration of Jews who were ready to join in the fateful struggle of the Jewish people to bring its fatherland to birth.

Nevertheless, we understood that our position was complicated by the dispersion of Jews in various parts of the world living under all sorts of regimes with opposing political views. We continuously kept before our eyes our historic, fateful purpose of bringing millions of our people to Israel and thus broadening the possibilities of development of the state. We therefore insisted on maintaining neutrality as the main line of our foreign policy.

Uneasy "Neutrality"

It is not a simple matter to remain neutral in a stormy world in which the imperialist rulers call for war day and night and persist in their unashamed suppression of every people's movement striving to free itself from the yoke of foreign occupation.

We felt on our own flesh the policy of Great Britain,

which pushed the Arab countries into their bloody attack on our young state in opposition to the decision of the United Nations. We gnashed our teeth when the United States State Department, in contradiction to the sense of the UN decision, helped the invading enemy Arab armies by declaring an arms embargo and refusing to allow arms and volunteers to aid us in our struggle for liberation. By our example we showed how a people fights for its independence against forces superior to it in number and force of arms. The victory was won by the spirit of the army of the entire Jewish people, including that part outside of Israel, and with the help of the sympathy and material solidarity of progressive forces throughout the world.

Asian Liberation Movement

We maintained our neutral policy. Many times we refrained from actions which we knew were demanded of us as a people which had won its freedom and independence with its own blood. There were moments when the masses were overjoyed at the victory of the liberation movement against the official rulers of the world, when it would have been criminal to hide behind the mask of supposed neutrality.

We recognize and greet the victorious people's revolution in China even though in the counsels of the UN there still sits the defeated General Chiang Kai-shek, in whom American imperialism has invested so many hundreds of millions of dollars. The poor Chinese people defeated the "American rich uncle" because they desired freedom and independence.

Now Korea's turn has come. Korea's desire to unify its people and land is necessarily understandable to us. The division into North and South is unnatural and contrary to the interests of the Korean people. The country should have been reconstituted as a united nation just as soon as the occupation armies of the Soviet Union and the United States departed. The question as to which force would gain the sympathies of the vast majority of the Korean people was an internal question. The answer had to be decided as between the force that had learned from the Red Army and the Soviet Union how to develop natural and human resources, and that other force that had capitulated in the same period to native and foreign reactionary rulers and held down the people as slaves in a corrupt anti-people's system.

UN As Shield for Aggression

When fighting broke out, this time in Korea, there was no delay at Lake Success. Was this intervention in an internal Korean problem motivated by a desire to preserve the peace? Hardly. But then it was made to appear immediately that this was not an internal problem. The United States acted like a "johnny-on-the-spot," ready to send its troops back into the country it had evacuated only shortly before. The UN Security Council provided a shield for the aggressive action of the United States. The

Soviet Union did not participate in that Security Council meeting. China—the real China, which Israel recognizes—was also absent, though the United States' steady boarder, the representative of Chiang Kai-shek, was present. A decision taken under such circumstances could not possibly have any binding value.

North Korea was not invited to present its case. But the government of Israel rushed to declare that it "supports the efforts of the UN . . . to keep peace" in the world. The United States is sending its troops, presumably, to maintain peace in Korea. The United States mobilizes its young men to shed their blood in far-off Korea—for whom?

Jewish mothers in the United States gave their blessings to their sons who wished to help their own people in Israel against the aggressors. But their own humane, peace-loving government forbade Jews to volunteer their lives for the freedom of their own people. Now those same mothers will be forced to send their sons to Korea to defend the reactionary regime of Syngman Rhee, to throttle the freedom of another people. Should not the curses of the Jewish mother ring out at this mockery?

Israel Must Side With Liberators

The government of Israel gives its blessing to all this "out of loyalty to the UN," in order to "oppose aggression." But the aggressor is not the Korean revolutionary, who wants to free his people from imperialist domination, but rather American imperialism, which seeks to stifle the young revolution in Korea, much as Churchill tried years ago to stifle the young October Revolution. Then too, various other governments came to his aid, but the October Revolution drove them from Soviet soil.

The people of Korea will also drive out those who are rushing in to "liberate" the Korean people from their own native forces of liberation. On the side of the Korean people will be the very people—including our own—who have tasted the fruits of foreign occupation and who know the value of international solidarity and of getting help in establishing oneself. The government of Israel is aware of the constant victories of the people's liberation armies, which fight for freedom and the unification of the country. It also witnesses the violation of the UN flag as that flag flies above the troops of American imperialism in battle against a people fighting for their independence.

Israel must orient itself on peace—true peace among free peoples who do not want to suppress anyone. Israel must be genuinely true to the United Nations. Israel must not sit with traitors to the Chinese people's revolution, which Israel hailed. In the name of true loyalty to the UN, Israel must not allow the flag of the UN to be stained with the blood, unjustly shed, of Korean fighters for freedom.

One who would be true to the freedom of his own people dare not allow the freedom of another to be drowned in blood, even when the name of the UN is hypocritically invoked as a cover-up.

WOMAN UNDER THE DOUBLE STANDARD

By Irene Epstein

Following is the first of a series of articles by various writers on aspects of the woman question. We shall be happy to publish comments by readers on relevant points covered—or not covered—by these articles.—Eds.

THERE is a strong trend today—not organized, but an ideological reflex of reaction—to convince women that they were better off a hundred years ago and that woman fulfils her function and finds real happiness solely within the confines of the home. The fullest expression of this school of thought in this country is *Modern Women: A Lost Sex*, published five years ago by psychiatrist Marynia Farnham and Ferdinand Lundberg. This book laid a pseudo-scientific ideological basis for Hitler's Big Lie about women.

Endless changes on this theme are being rung today. Mildred Adams asks in "What the Women's Vote Has Not Done," a *New York Times* article (August 20), if "voteless grandma wasn't happier and freer?" She observes that "it is also obvious that together with woman's advancement in the occupational world have come certain losses in her social life, and especially in her personal relationships." Woman, it seems, is losing her husband "more often than she used to" (notice that the formulation is not the other way around!) and "acute alcoholism among women is increasing." Mis Adams' conclusions are not very definite. But the tone of warning, of admonition, and of nostalgic regret for past days is unmistakably present.

Of particular concern to Jewish readers is a recent effort along the same lines. This is an article entitled "Jewish Women in a Man's World" in the *Jewish Spectator* (May), written by that Orthodox publication's editor, Dr. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, who is a leading Zionist ideologist. A few quotations from this article will convey her viewpoint.

Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's View

Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin believes that woman, because of her biological and psychological nature, has no interest outside her home and her family: "Woman is different, physiologically and psychologically. She reacts differently, has different qualities and different faults: she is suited for different tasks and is happiest and at her best when she can fulfil herself in her own sphere, the sphere of a woman."

There are basic sexual differences between men and women which make a double moral standard necessary: "Nature itself has this double standard, which makes sex a diversional [*sic!*] relief for the male, and destined personal fulfilment for the female."

Consequently the only possible relationship between men

and women is sexual. "Is not this what women want? Do not normal women resent when men notice them 'merely as persons' and are altogether immune to their feminine charm? . . . Pure friendships between men and women are impossible because such relationships are contrary to basic human instincts."

Since they have "different duties in life," boys and girls should receive different educations: "While in the case of the boys the logical and aggressive faculties should be strengthened, in the case of girls the emotional-ethical sensitivities and sense of beauty should be fostered."

Finally, Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin deprecates all the advances made by women in the last hundred years: "Woman's true strength lies in being a woman. Nature, which has assigned to her the role of motherhood, makes it difficult for her to compete with the man in *his* realm. . . . The price women pay for expressing themselves in spheres alien to their nature is terrific. There are very few happy career women—and happiness among modern 'emancipated' women is generally not very profuse either. . . . The 20th century has made women unhappy encouraging them to go against their nature."

Although Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin freely admits the existence of inequities and discrimination against women, she accepts them. Nor is she worried about them. For her the "woman question" is that some women go against their "nature" by entering into competition with men in business, in politics and in other fields. It is true, she says, that in the course of such competition women are paid lower wages, have less security or opportunity of advancement. But if they had stayed at home (where they belong!) these problems would not have arisen! Why have they not stayed at home? Because modern civilization "has not glorified, as it were, the back-breaking work and intelligent planning and direction that go into the planning and making of a happy, successful home. Ambitious women who are home-makers do not receive the type of recognition that would be conducive to filling them with the satisfaction of being important."

What of Working Class Women?

Who is the "modern woman" of whom Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin is writing? She disclaims interest in the "atypical female" who goes to college, in favor of the thousands who "are happy to exchange a routine, ill-paying sales, factory or office job—even a glamor job—for the dignity and joy of the professional 'housewife.'" But her actual discussion of those women who "go against their nature," shows that Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin is preoccupied with a very small group

of women indeed—women with access to a college education and a choice of careers. The middle class homes which these women leave because of boredom and frustration, says Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin, lack one thing only, recognition of their importance as home-makers and mothers. Give them this recognition and apparently the woman question will be solved!

The thousands of middle class women who yearn for equality and a profession, as well as normal family life, know that this is no "solution." But what about the rest of the 17 million women who are part of the labor force in the United States and who do not come within the purview of Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's discussion? What about the migratory worker whose children cling to her skirts while she picks cotton or peas? What about the textile or garment worker whose children lack care all day long because both husband and wife must work to pay rent and buy sufficient food? What about the Negro women who are "heads of families" and whose wages keep their families together? What of unmarried women, divorced women, the thousands of war widows and others, who must support themselves and their families? But like all bourgeois writers on the question, Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin sees "modern woman" in her own image—the middle class housewife, the college graduate. These women are indeed subject to male domination, but they constitute only a small fraction of the female population of the United States.

Why This Is A "Man's World"

This is a "man's world," not as Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin says, because of the "nature" of men and women, but rather because women constitute an exploited group wherever class differences exist. Women in capitalist society are exploited not only sexually, but economically in the home and on the job. The class which propagates an ideology of the "inferiority" or "difference" of other groups like Negroes or Jews, is the same class which imposes the status of "inferiority" on women.

Although male supremacy has historical roots that go far back into primitive times, women were not always in an inferior social position. In the earliest stage of social history, men and women performed different kinds of work because of biological differences; *but the two sexes were equal in social status*. We know, too, that in a following period woman was actually dominant. This was in the so-called matriarchal (rule by the "supreme mother") society, traces of which have survived among aboriginal tribes in modern times and have been studied at first hand by anthropologists. This should dispose of Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's theory of woman's "nature." But in a still further stage, hunting and warfare by *man* made possible the accumulation of wealth in the form of livestock and slaves.

The subjugation of woman by man first occurred when the state emerged as an institution to protect private property. "The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism

between man and woman in individual marriage, and the first class oppression was that of the female sex by the male," wrote Frederick Engels.¹

This is how a contemporary Marxist has described the role of woman in the ensuing class societies:

"Capitalism has taken over from the preceding period and adapted to its own purposes the social institutions built on the subjection of women. While revolutionizing and organizing production and trade on a gigantic scale throughout the world, it maintained, preserved and intensified in a still more limited and narrow form the primitive and anarchic basis of the small-scale individual household, of the family and its ties, and sought to make of this pre-capitalist institutions its most powerful conservative pillar of support.

"Only on this basis could capitalism, with its completely individualist cash nexus repudiation of all social obligations and ties, nevertheless successfully maintain itself, and through the institution of the family throw off its own shoulders all social responsibility for the social conditions of motherhood, of the bringing-up of children, of the support of the sick and the aged, as well as the enormous volume of so-called 'domestic labor'—all socially-necessary labor indispensable for the maintenance of society, but offering no profit for capitalism to organize, and thrown off as unpaid labor on the shoulders of the working-class wives and mothers, to be performed in the heaviest, dirtiest, most unproductive and wasteful pre-machine conditions alongside highly organized large-scale machine industry in the world outside."²

Here we can see at a glance the enormous stake capitalist society has in maintaining the *status quo* of women as mothers and housekeepers. Hence we can understand why the Farnhams and Lundbergs try to convince women, and men as well, that women's "nature" limits them to the role assigned to them under capitalism, and that those who rebel against it are only cranks or perverts who will bring unhappiness to their own sex.

Women Under Capitalism

But capitalism at the same time creates the conditions out of which equality for woman can begin to develop: "Capitalism in its search for ever more and cheaper supplies of labor-power, draws increasingly millions of women and young persons into industry, until today [1934] one-third of the total labor force in modern capitalist states consists of women and girls."³

Capitalism is thus confronted with an irreconcilable contradiction: its need to keep women in domestic subjection clashes thus with its need for cheap labor. Because of this contradiction, the struggle for women's emancipation is involved with that for the liberation of *all* workers and all exploited and oppressed peoples, under the leadership of the working class. From this we can see the basic difference of the Marxist view of the woman from the feminist posi-

¹ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, by Frederick Engels, International Publishers, 1942, p. 58.

² *Fascism and Social Revolution*, by R. Palme Dutt, pp. 218-20.

³ *Ibid.*



Some of the 350 women who brought the plea of millions for peace to the United Nations on July 17.

tion, which holds that the male as such is the real enemy against whom women must direct their efforts to attain equality.

We can now see why reaction tries to conceal the true basis for woman's subjugation and to convince people that it is the "real nature" of woman to be submissive, passive, undemanding, incapable of any training except in a few skills reserved to them alone. Capitalism can thus keep women in the status of a vast reservoir of cheap labor, which the capitalist class can use to break strikes, smash unions, operate a war economy and maintain an exorbitant rate of profit for itself. The fascist concept of "*Kinder, Kuche, Kirche*" (Children, Kitchen, Church) is only half the truth of women's role in the fascist state. Women are also systematically kept at the low level of understanding and militancy, thus insuring their unquestioning obedience as they function as labor reserves for fascism's imperialistic and military ventures.

Exploitation of Negro Woman

Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's "analysis" of the woman question falls down particularly when one faces the stark reality of the three-times compounded exploitation that capitalism has laid upon the Negro woman in the United States. The Negro woman suffers under exploitation as a worker, as a woman and as a Negro. Discrimination against women who wish to follow a profession is multiplied in the case of Negro women. The wage differential of Negro women from men is far greater than in the case of white women. The median annual earnings of Negro women are less than half of those of white women, whose earnings are themselves less than half of that of white men. In 1946, the median annual full time earnings of a Negro woman amounted to \$728. And as a working class mother and housewife, the Negro woman is doubly burdened by inadequate housing, lack of child care facilities, insufficient

hospitals, playgrounds and schools for her children and the high cost of living. It is a striking and shocking fact that these grimmest of all inequities that are imposed on the Negro woman never receive even the most cursory attention from feminists and bourgeois writers on women's problems!

Another conclusion that Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin draws from her view that woman's "real nature" gives her the "desire to look attractive and have nice things—that's all," is that few women are interested in business or politics. And Mildred Adams, in her *Times* article mentioned above, stresses the view that women are at sea, confused and unable to choose the right vocational path. The former says that women lack ambition, the latter that they lack self-confidence. But the cause is quite different from that assigned by Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin. If one considers the disabilities under which women, under capitalism suffer, are these facts surprising? For its culture degrades and belittles them.

Women are taught that they are hysterical, unstable, subjective, petty, that they talk more than men, change their minds more often than men, act less logically and think less clearly than men. The movies, the women's magazines and the pornography published "for men only," soap operas, propaganda for perfumes, lingerie and fashions, hammer home the fact that the *only* things about women that really matter are their physical and sexual attributes, to the complete exclusion of their brains, their morals, or any responsibility to play a useful role in society other than by procreation and housekeeping.

This barrage of male supremacy propaganda has its effect on women. Large numbers of women respond by an undue preoccupation with their appearance and their accessories. Many see their future only in terms of a husband, a home and children and are afraid that being thought "brainy" may be a handicap in "getting their man." But this is only half the damage. For men also suffer from the debasement and subjugation of women. Lower woman's dignity, limit her interests, cheapen her value—and man lowers himself to the same level. His treatment of woman, his attitude towards them, becomes the measure of his own capacities. Inequality always corrodes and destroys the human potential of the oppressor.

Thus, when Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin reduces the area of possible fruitful relationships between men and woman to that of sex alone, she is impoverishing both men and women. The fullest life for both men and women can only be founded on living in equality, mutual respect, and varied experience and social relationships. Must men, in Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's words, *either* notice women "merely as persons" and remain "altogether immune to their feminine charms" or *only* as instruments of sex? These are false alternatives.

Woman In Socialist Countries

There is a part of the world where men and women can live in thorough mutual respect. This is true primarily

in the Soviet Union, *because it is a socialist state*. For the first time in human history society has been organized so that women are released from dependence upon men for economic security and from slavery to routine, uncreative drudgery of household work. From almost the first day of the October Revolution, socialism freed women from every legal and political handicap. Real equality came more slowly and is still in the process of development, because it requires education, new skills, stamping out male supremacist ideas and building the social institutions which can assume some of the labor previously carried on in the home.

Women in the Soviet Union are entering industry, the professions, the arts and any other activity they desire. At the same time, the reverse of what Palme Dutt showed to be the trend in capitalist states is true: the socialist state is assuming full responsibility for pre-natal care of the mother, the new-born child, the health and education of its youth. Substantial allowances are paid to a mother for every child after the first two, increasing in amount for each succeeding child. Large families are increasing in the Soviet Union because motherhood is honored, in deeds as well as in word, because children do not constitute an impossible economic and health burden on the mother. Under socialism the woman is not penalized for the privilege of being a mother.

On the other hand motherhood is less and less linked with household drudgery—with the endless treadmill known to the vast majority—the average women—of three meals a day, dishes, cleaning, washing, no place for the children to play, no chance to finish one task properly before the next one comes along, no let-up from the grind all day long, day in and out, through the years. Socialism, which places the economic wealth of the country at the service of the people, makes it possible to reduce drudgery to a minimum through communal laundries, restaurants, creches, day nurseries, kindergartens and health stations and through the availability to all of labor-saving household devices such as are enjoyed today in our country by some, and dreamed of by many more.

At the same time, male supremacy is being rooted out in the Soviet Union—out of its culture, its educational system, its day-to-day living. Yet far from “abolishing the family”—a charge hurled at communists since the 1917 revolution—that social unit has for the first time come into its own in a socialist society developing into communism. The family exists and grows stronger in the Soviet Union, not because of economic compulsion, not as an instrument for women's subjugation, but because it fulfils the deepest needs of free men, women and children for stable human relationships.

Other countries follow the path of the Soviet Union in the liberation of women: the people's democracies of Eastern Europe, of China, of the People's Republic of Korea and Southeast Asia, moving at tempos determined by their inner economic progress and the world situation. Nevertheless in all these lands, women have advanced with amazing rapidity, covering more ground in a few years than they have gained in centuries. Despite the huge dif-

ficulties confronting them—tasks of reconstruction in Poland, a backward industry and agriculture in Hungary and Rumania, armed imperialist intervention in Asia, it is not inconceivable that the women in these countries will even outdistance those of the more “advanced” western nations where women's status may suffer due to the imposition of a war-time economy and fascist controls. One would never guess from reading Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's article that the area of the “man's world” is steadily shrinking!

Women In Israel

Israel offers no more substantiation of Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin's thesis that women want only homes and husbands, than any other country today. It is true that clerical influence on the Israeli government keeps women under some legal disadvantages. But the social order and mode of life do not permit the women of Israel any such kitchen-bound existence, nor have they at any time since the Jewish settlement of Palestine began in the last century. Women pioneers there, as in the early days of our own country, worked alongside of the men, sharing all their hazards and hardships. Today large numbers of married women work for wages, presumably either because they need the money, because they like to work, or because they feel that they have a responsibility in building up the new country. In the *kibbutzim*, where housekeeping is communal in character, most women are relieved of some measure of care for the children and routine domestic work in order to carry on the same tasks as the men: agriculture, care of the livestock, handicrafts, etc.

Far from being restricted to their own domestic concerns, women in Israel today belong to many organizations. A large and increasing number are wage-earners. As wives of workers they are eligible to membership in the Histadrut; they belong to the Council of Women Workers, the Women's International Zionist Organization and women's affiliates of various religious and political groupings. They are active in the leadership and rank and file of the Communist Party of Israel. The record of the women, including young girls, in the underground struggle against the British and in the war of liberation is one of the brightest pages of the Haganah and its striking arm, the Palmach.

Women and Anti-Fascist Struggle

Nor can we agree with Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin that traditional Orthodox Judaism can be adduced to strengthen her viewpoint. While admitting that changes and adjustments are needed, because Judaism, like other religions, is “male-made and male-controlled,” Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin holds that it is the only faith which has shown a proper understanding of woman's “true nature.” Traditional Judaism gives woman her due, she says, by honoring and recognizing her as mother and home-maker, while making necessary allowances for man's particular sexual needs by allowing him greater moral latitude without moral censure.

The sages who founded Jewish religion, she claims, knew what was good for women better than they do themselves today!

But Orthodox Judaism reflects the status of women, the circumstances of their subjugation, as determined by the level of economic development and social organization of that particular society and that particular period in history when the Bible and other sacred books were written. Traditional Judaism reflects the existence of an agricultural, theocratic society in a primitive stage of economic development. The teachings of Orthodox Judaism on women therefore bear no immediate relation to the needs and problems of women in a capitalist society moving towards revolutionary changes. To appeal today to the code of behavior embodied in Orthodox Judaism as a touchstone for women's actions, is like advocating a return to the Middle Ages for scientific knowledge.

When Dr. Weiss-Rosmarin affirms that "Judaism has

done far from badly by insisting that the vast majority of women—and perhaps even the women who lay claim to being 'exceptions'—can be happy only by being wives, mothers and home-makers," she is not doing a service to the Jewish people. She is not only denying to women that equality that they desire and will have. She is also, consciously or not, trying to withdraw women from the struggle to prevent war and fascism. Surely Jewish women have ample reason to help to the utmost in struggling against the imposition of fascism, for they stand to suffer from fascist reaction both as women and as Jews. What can one say of a Jewish woman who calls to Jewish women to hide within the four walls and turn their backs on the fight against the danger of atomic extermination? Must we suffer more Warsaw ghettos and Auschwitzes before we understand that women, too, must fight in order to survive, to enjoy motherhood and home-making under conditions of equality?

JEWISH SOCIAL WORKERS WRITE MR. TRUMAN

Thirty staff workers and directors in Jewish settlement houses of Chicago sent the following open letter to President Truman in mid-August urging mediation of the Korean war in the United Nations with all parties present and the seating of the Chinese People's Republic in place of the "discredited Chiang Kai-shek."—Eds.

President Truman,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As young people, Americans and Jews, in the field of social group work and each day devoting ourselves to the happy and healthy development of American children, we are very concerned about the fact that American boys are dying today in Korea. We feel that a third world war would cause untold horror and devastation and we are worried that this fighting might lead to such a war.

Somehow, things have happened too fast. Perhaps Congress should have been consulted. What also concerns us is that the members of the UN did not have a chance to fully weigh all of the possible implications of this action, and were, in fact, brought in after the United States had already committed their arms and troops to help South Korea. The unprecedented haste in shipping troops to Korea seems to us to be in direct contrast to our actions when Israel was attacked by the Arabs and had its back to the wall. We recall that at that time no American arms or troops were dispatched to help defend the embattled Jewish people. We do remember that Britain continued arms shipments to undemocratic Arab feudal chieftains. We also recall that you saw fit to proclaim an arms embargo on the young Jewish state fighting for its existence and independence. Surely, Israel deserved our support at least as much as the admittedly corrupt South Korean government. It is for these reasons that we

believe that more discussion should have taken place among the American people before we took so grave a step.

Even at this late date, we sincerely feel that a third world war is not inevitable. The Jewish people suffered six million dead in and preceding World War II and anything that we can do to prevent another world war and conflagration will redound to the credit of our people and our country. Every American life lost in Korea helps involve us deeper and deeper in world conflict and so we urge that the people of our country have more time to consider the presence of American troops fighting in Asia. We also urge that no more troops be sent into battle, and those already there be withdrawn, before too many more casualties are sustained.

This conflict can only be settled in the spirit of the United Nations agreement. A number of countries, including the USSR, did not feel that they could participate in the UN in view of the fact that it was an unrepresentative body because of the presence of the discredited Chiang Kai-shek. We believe that India is correct in trying to effect the seating of the new Chinese government so that real negotiations among the UN members can begin in earnest. We repeat, and cannot emphasize enough, that anything that can prevent a third world war can and must be attempted. In particular, the suggestions by Trygve Lie, UN general secretary, toward a long range peace program should receive our whole hearted support.

In conclusion, we sincerely hope that all responsible young people will lend support to these sentiments.

Sincerely,

ANNETTE BIRD, MORRIS GUSS, PAULINE HANDLER,
SEENA HERMAN, NORMA LEBOVITZ, JUDITH LEITHOLD,
FLORENCE NOVograd, ELAINE SCHUBERT, HAROLD
SIEGEL, JACK SLOVIN, BERNARD ZAGORIN, and others.

VERSES FOR THESE TIMES

By Lewis Allan

THESE ARE THE TIMES

Silence
in these times
is a grave
the tongueless ones
embrace corruption
creeping on hands and knees
to a shallow end

TIGER

Be wary, Citizen,
Fascism
Will not spring
Suddenly
Tiger-like
Blood dripping
From its jaws
But creep slowly
Day by day
Treading its legal way
On cat's paws.

ROBBERS

The money powerful
beggared of hope
steal good words
from us
liberty
democracy
equality
to mask
profit
slavery
fascism

ORTHODOX

Lost in the wilderness, they cry
Hosanna to the Thing they dread,
But from the bleakness of the sky
There falls no manna for their bread.

SALVATION

Profit unbridled
The limit the sky
The tongue hanging out
And the wild rolling eye
The souls in a temple
For souls never meant
Going to Heaven
At a broker's percent.

DENAZIFICATION

The Murderer
Washed his bloody hands
With a cake of soap
Made of human fat
Turned out the lamp
Of tattooed skin
And presentably attired
In postwar humility
Smiled
The gold fillings
Forced from the mouths
Of corpses
Not being apparent
As he put out a sign
"Business as Usual"

PREMONITION

The sun is warm, the sky is fair,
But the smell of the Reichstag is in the air,
A smoke drifts windward
No eye can see,
But free men breathe uneasily.

REARMING WESTERN GERMANY

By Arthur D. Kahn

FOR over a year the press has been publishing rumors of impending rearmament of Western Germany and regular denials of such plans by United States authorities. Winston Churchill, World War I crusader against the young Soviet republic, has demanded West German rearmament at a recent Strasbourg meeting of the so-called European Council and more recently on the floor of the British parliament. But the move has been extremely unpopular. The people of the world remember only too well the horrors of German militarism. This popular dread of a revived Wehrmacht was not only based on the horrors of two world wars and of nazi occupation, concentration camps and crematoria. It also derives from fear that the rejection of great power unity, forged during the war and expressed at Potsdam, Yalta and San Francisco and embodied in the UN Charter, means war and oppression for the people.

Popular revulsion at the rearmament scheme is clearly enough reflected in the authoritative organ of American big business, *U.S. News and World Report*. In its September 1 issue, that weekly pointed out that up to recently American authorities denied that they planned German rearmament and that the French and British officials likewise were reluctant to agree to it, despite the fact that it has been quietly planned since 1945, because the people of the world would not tolerate such a step. Why is it, then, that in the last weeks of August and early in September the proposal to rearm Western Germany has received the public approbation of officialdom in the Anglo-American bloc? Both John J. McCloy, American High Commissioner in Germany, and Secretary of State Dean Acheson, have at last publicly given their approval of the idea. It is entirely probable that the meeting of the foreign ministers of Britain and France with our State Department scheduled for September 12-13 will make final the plans for a Western German army.

Korea Provides the Excuse

The answer, of course, is Korea. "Until the war broke out in Korea," wrote Ernest Leiser in the *New York Daily Compass* on September 3, "the major (and officially the sole) concern of the Western Allies was to see no 'remilitarization' of West Germany, industrially or otherwise. . . . Today, however, even those allied officials whose

job it has been to see that the Germans did not try to produce war material are undertaking careful studies to see exactly what West Germany could and should produce, either for its own rearmament or for that of Western Europe."

For the Korean war has brought the danger of world war closer. Further, the fighting there has shown that threats of atom bombs, flights of American bombers and displays of modern armor will not intimidate the peoples of the world when they are faced with threats to their independence or when they are determined to free themselves from foreign imperialism and its home agents among their own people. The atom bomb-air power theory of war has been burst to smithereens by the fighting in Korea. The architects of the Atlantic Pact are frantically trying to pick up the pieces. They must find new forces to "stem communist aggression," that is, to repress liberation movements all over the world. Rearmament of Western Germany is no longer a secret plan of the Anglo-American imperialists. "A sense of inevitability is creeping into the pros and cons of West Germany rearmament," wrote Jack Raymond, *New York Times* correspondent at Bonn, on August 19. "Less and less it is becoming a matter of whether—more and more a question of when and how, and to what extent."

Re-arming Neo-Nazism

The plot to revive the Wehrmacht is a further step in the direction of World War III. Otherwise it would be unthinkable to revive a military force that only five years ago was defeated by the united effort of all the peoples of the world who sacrificed everything to exterminate this army and the nazi destroyers of humanity behind it. "If . . . the leaders of the West are convinced that war is inevitable and have made up their minds," wrote Drew Middleton in the *New York Times* on April 2, "then their only course is to sell German rearmament to the French and the other nations of Western Europe. This will take some salesmanship." Korea provided these salesmen of destruction with the "gimmick" to clinch the sale.

What kind of Western Germany is being rearmed? How can such a Germany by the wildest stretch of the imagination be regarded as a force for the "defense of democratic freedom?"

• The evidence is overwhelming that this Germany is rapidly becoming a neo-nazified country. Columns of jack-booted German troops goose-stepping down the avenues of Frankfurt, Cologne and Munich would be soldiers of a government not far different from the nazi Reich. Alvarez

ARTHUR D. KAHN was chief editor of intelligence of the Information Control Division of Military Government in Germany in 1945-46. He is the author of *Betrayal: Our Occupation in Germany*, which has just been issued in this country.

Del Vayo summed up the political atmosphere that pervades the Bonn Republic. "The resurgence of nazism," he wrote in the *Nation* on April 1, "is unanimously recognized by the three [western occupation] governments. It is now accepted as normal that close collaborators of Hitler are allowed to occupy high positions both in industry and government, that the cartels outlawed by the American Military Government three years ago are reappearing and are more powerful than ever; that publishers of former nazi papers, unrepentant and unchanged, are receiving facilities for printing venomous, anti-Semitic periodicals. These men do not even make a pretense of reform. Quite the contrary."

Danger to Jewry

The alarm of the Jews of the world at renazification is reinforced by the prospect of a rearmcd Western Germany which is travelling towards neo-nazism. After his return from a trip to Germany, James Waterman Wise wrote in the *Daily Compass* on March 29 that "Nazism is the most powerful single influence in German life today. . . . It is . . . the openly acknowledged fact that in Bavaria it is impossible today to get a government job without proof, not of denazification, but that one was a former party member!" In response to apprehension of Jews over this rebirth of nazism in Germany, the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee have all issued extended reports of this development; and in the case of the first two, the documents are among the strongest condemnations of a United States government policy ever issued by these organizations. The ADL report, "Why We Are Losing in Germany," asserted: "The United States has failed in its denazification and democratization for Western Germany. . . . What has happened in Germany in the past five years is a tragedy of errors made all the more discouraging by a methodical willingness to ignore the bitter lessons of history."

As Jews know from bitter experience, the degree of anti-Semitism in a country is an index of democracy. And according to the ADL report, "Anti-Semitism is more prevalent in Western Germany today than when Hitler first appeared on the scene. . . . If the occupation would end tomorrow, many qualified observers declare an anti-Jewish uprising would erupt in full force across Western Germany within 48 hours."

This is the atmosphere in which a new Wehrmacht would be born. Is this the force that is advertised to "save the democratic way of life?" Do we expect the state in which approximately one-third of the West German Parliament (Bundestag) and one half of state officials and civil service employees are former nazis, to defend "democracy?" The truth is that these "denazified" gentlemen, along with the nazi generals and the Ruhr industrial barons envision essentially the same objectives for the revived German army as Hitler had. In April, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer shocked world opinion when he led a

Berlin audience in the singing of *Deutschland Ueber Alles*. In April, the *New York Post* reported the reorganization of the pro-Hitler, nationalist, Junker Stahlhelm, an extremely reactionary group of storm troopers. Its leader, said the *Post*, declared that "the Stahlhelm . . . wants to take account of the numerous debates on remilitarization, of the creation of a Germany army." One of the most influential of surviving nazi generals, Lt. Gen. Kurt von Manteuffel, recently indicated that the perspective of the new army would hardly be limited to "defense." He said in a recent article in the Duesseldorf *Der Mittag*: "The German Federal Republic must receive its sovereignty, for only free men can bear arms and fight with conviction. . . . *The frontier questions in West and East must be settled.*" (Italics mine—A.D.K.)

Same Old "Crusade"

After all, the objectives of a revived Wehrmacht and Hitler's army would not be so different. Both are dedicated to a "crusade against communism." Hitler had ranted in the thirties that Germany needed an army to fight the "communist menace" and he called upon non-Soviet Europe to join a bloc against the "bolsheviks." And what do the German generals say today? On August 3rd, Helmut Beck-Brocksitter, the chief of staff of "Bruderschaft" (Brotherhood), the organization of former German generals and staff officers—to many of whom resuscitation of a German army will be entrusted—said in an interview that "our first aim is to build opposition to communism around the council of Europe."

Leadership in this crusade is now in the hands of the American policy-makers in Wall Street. A renazified Germany is the creature of their deliberate plans. "The revival first of nazism and then of militarism," wrote Carolus, the *Nation's* expert on Germany on April 29, "is the ineluctable consequence of the cold war." As early as December 1946, General Lucius D. Clay, then American military governor of Germany and now head of the New York State Civil Defense and a national "Crusade in Defense of Freedom," amnestied 300 leading nazis—members of Hitler's cabinet, of the general staff and of the storm trooper command. These leading nazis and Junkers were thereby made available for positions of influence in West Germany and are now available for posts in a revived Wehrmacht. At the same time Clay sabotaged the entire denazification program, since local denazification courts could hardly hold small-fry nazis to account when the big fish went free. And the whole world cannot forget that subsequently General Clay approved the commutation of sentence of the notorious Ilse Koch and of Hitler's financial counsellor, Hjalmar Schacht. Symbolically, therefore, as well as actually, the entire Potsdam agreement was rejected by the American administration.

This process has proceeded at an accelerating pace. On August 25, eight leading nazi war criminals were freed for "good conduct" before their terms were finished and loosed upon a renazified Germany. Included among them were

Friederich Flick, former head of Germany's largest coal and steel company, convicted of maltreating Russian slave-laborers and of looting German occupied countries; Otto Dietrich, Hitler's former press chief, and Walter Darre, former nazi food minister, both of whom had been convicted for "furthering a program that killed six millions Jews."

Wall Street Leadership

If the objectives of the Hitlerian and the current anti-communist crusaders are closely similar, leadership in the crusade has passed into the hands of the American Wall Street barons. The culmination of their plans for Germany is approaching in the rearmament of Western Germany. These plans must be seen in the context of the record of the Truman administration on both the domestic and foreign scenes. At home the plans are reaching a culmination in the imminent danger of passage (at this writing) of the anti-people's public state measures in Congress. On the international scene, the rearming of a neo-nazi Western Germany is part of the same program that supports former nazi-collaborators in Greece, corrupt war lords in Formosa and Indo-China, makes loans to Franco and builds war bases in Spain, and uses anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, fascist emigres from Eastern Europe. While support of these reactionary and fascist forces is dangerous enough, promotion of such elements in Germany has especial dangers. Germany is the third greatest industrial nation on earth with a vast potential for war production. The threat to democracy everywhere of rearming a renazified Germany with enormous war possibilities is great.

Also part of the context of the current steps toward rearmament of Germany is that an important sector of American policy-makers has been advocating a "preventive" war against the Soviet Union. In the past few weeks it is known that Defense Secretary Louis Johnson has been privately advocating a "preventive" war; Navy Secretary

Francis Matthews has come out in the open with his proposal that the United States become "the first aggressors for peace." And it is clear that such influential extreme right wing figures as General MacArthur and Commander Craig of the American Legion are in this camp.

A Measure of Desperation

These moves toward West Germany rearmament are not founded on confidence. On the contrary, they are signs of great weakness. For this move risks the danger of alienating the people of the Atlantic Pact countries, who have suffered enough from a nazi army and have not forgotten the inhumanity of the nazi regime, the nazi occupation and air raids. The warmakers are further terrified by the enormous strength of the peace movement in the Atlantic Pact countries. The 13,000,000 signatures on the World Peace Appeal petition gathered in France and the 15,000,000 in Italy have given notice to the American authors of the cold war that the workers of these countries are unwilling to provide cannon fodder for any new imperialists masking as "anti-communist crusaders."

Even in Germany the militarists will not have easy going. In the German Democratic (Eastern) Republic 17,000,000 people, who comprise 92 per cent of the population, signed the appeal. And even in Western Germany more than 2,000,000 have signed the appeal in the face of intimidation and red-baiting. Workers in many German factories have passed resolutions condemning the revival of German militarism.

The extension of peace sentiment in America and all over the world and the defeats suffered by imperialism in Asia are prompting the Truman administration and its obedient British junior partner to reach out for more and more desperate measures. One of the most dangerous is the rearmament of a renazified Germany. It poses a threat to the peace and freedom of the world.

DECAYING AJ CONGRESS

THE flourishing Pacific Region of the American Jewish Congress, which had an admirable record of militancy and effectiveness, has for some time been under attack by the national leadership of the organization. The *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, leading Anglo-Jewish weekly of Los Angeles, in an editorial in its August 11th issue, contributes to our understanding of the situation.

"Ever since the election of officers for the Western Region of the American Jewish Congress early in December of last year," says the editorial, "a pall of silence has fallen upon the organization locally, broken only occasionally by

an outcry against the failure of the government's denazification program in Germany.

"For many years, one of the most dynamic and provocative defense organizations in Southern California, backed by a constructive and effective public relations department, Congress furnished much of the stimulation to the awareness of the Jewish community with respect to Jewish and other minority problems.

"Since the acquisition of control by the national administration in New York, Congress' activities have flopped in Los Angeles with something like the well-known 'dull,

sickening thud! Yes, Congress chapters meet with some regularity for a social, a picnic or a lecture in an atmosphere of innocuous desuetude. From where we sit it appears that it has either lost, or had taken from it, its vital initiative.

"Have all of Congress' aims been accomplished locally? Are there no more serious problems facing the Jewish community which Congress might help solve in a democratic manner? Are we ready now to accept the passing of local regions of Congress as inevitable? Shall the great accomplishments of Congress under the late Dr. Stephen Wise — accomplishments achieved by mass, grass-root thought and action—now stand as memorial headstones on the grave of a great people's organization?"

"That there may be no immediate revival of dynamic and effective action by Congress locally is indicated by the cutting out of the budget expenses for public relations, for one, and, what is more serious, by the reported 'investigation' of the local group by members of the national office. What this investigation may be about we are not sure, but we have a hunch that it has some relationship to a purge of alleged, supposed, or 'fingered' Reds in Congress.

"In the meantime, lack of activity on the part of the membership is causing a loss of numbers—and numbers mean much, or should be important to a national organization like AJC. It is the power of numbers throughout the country that gives any national organization strength—especially in the self-defense field; the head office alone cannot carry on an effective campaign against anti-Semitism—unless it has the full support of a strong heart and powerful limbs—and this heart, and these limbs are spread throughout the country, not only in New York.

"Is the national administration trying to paralyze these limbs and the heart?"

To fill out the picture, we offer the following facts:

Shortly after the convention last November, David Greenwald, executive director of the Pacific Region of Congress, was fired by the national office. A little while earlier, David Petegorsky, national executive director of

Congress, had called Greenwald one of the most competent Congress workers in the country. Greenwald was fired because California had sent a large delegation to the convention to oppose the administration's attempt to stifle democracy in the organization.

Rabbi Leonard Greenberg, replacement for Greenwald, resigned after a few months in protest against the bureaucratic, undemocratic measures taken by the national office.

Following the convention the national office tried to sabotage every effort of the Californians to carry out the Congress program. Nevertheless, the local leadership carried on several effective campaigns against renazification and against the Mundt bill.

The climax of the national office's campaign to stifle democracy in Congress and to prevent it from acting as a mass organization came in September. The *National Jewish Post*, Anglo-Jewish weekly, reported in its September 8 issue that the national office had begun a nation-wide attempt to expel all militant local leaders and chapters. The *Post* reported that charges are being brought against "divisional leaders in Manhattan, two chapters in Philadelphia, one chapter in Brooklyn and divisional leaders in Los Angeles." The charges are the old ones of technical "breaches of organizational discipline" and guilt by association with "such far-left wing organizations as the Jewish People's Fraternal Order."

As soon as the charges were received in Los Angeles, the local leadership called a meeting attended by over 1,000 persons. The situation was aired and the condemnation of the bureaucratic leadership was practically unanimous. The resignation offered by Al Buckman, president of the Pacific Division, was turned down by the meeting. The charges of the national office were vigorously repudiated by those present.

JEWISH LIFE has in the past often pointed out that the Congress leadership is weakening the fight for Jewish rights. The above gives further proof of this.

SARAH FEINSTEIN'S FAMILY

A Short Story by Boris Polevoy

Translated from the Yiddish by N. Shapiro

IN a room knocked together with boards in one of the few buildings left intact in the city immediately after the Germans had been driven out, the chairman of the executive committee of the Nyelidov district had established his office. One day a small, bent-over woman of about 60 entered the room with tiny dragging footsteps.

BORIS POLEVOY is a Jewish Soviet writer whose novel won a Stalin prize last year. The original of the above story was in Russian. This English version was done by N. SHAPIRO, a New York translator, from a Yiddish translation.

She seemed barely able to move at all. The strands of hair that forced their way out from under her beret were snowy white. But her eyes, large and black and still beautiful, were youthful and their liveliness somehow belied the silver of her hair.

She fixed a piercing glance on the haggard face of the chairman. After a moment, as though she had decided that he was a trustworthy person to whom she could unburden her heart, she said to him: "And you've never been in Toropetz? No? That's too bad. If you had ever

been in Toropetz before the war, you'd certainly know my husband. My name is Sarah Markovna. Sarah Markovna Feinstein. I'm the wife of Hershl Feinstein, the best men's tailor in Toropetz, and mother of three sons. They're all in the Red Army and all three are fighting the Germans. May God give everyone three such sons!"

She had seated herself sideways on the edge of the comfortable chair they had brought her, a soft chair that had mysteriously made its way into the bleak little office with its dark, planked walls. Tracing her parchment-colored fingers back and forth over the dark cloth, she continued: "Please, I ask you, don't think I've come to you to ask for favors because I'm the mother of Red Army men. Oh no! How could you ever think that? I've come all this long way on business, on very important business. Do you understand what I'm saying? I travelled three days and three nights from Toropetz on rattling trucks over these horrible plank roads. May Hitler only wander on these roads till the day he dies!"

"Are you listening? I've come all this way to tell you what wonderful people you have in your district. . . . No, no, don't be alarmed, I won't keep you from your work. This doesn't have to do with me only. May God help us, would I have come all this way if it was something that concerned only me? But I want you to know what kind of marvelous people you're leading. Do you know the Budenny Collective in the Toropetz section? Do you know it? Well, why don't you answer? Say 'Yes' or 'No.'"

"I know of it," the chairman finally answered in a low voice, barely suppressing a smile.

For about a year, during the whole time that the district had been occupied by the Germans, he had fought with the partisans. He had fought with his detachment in those very forests after the Germans had proclaimed this border district a "Dead Zone" and had burned down nearly all the houses in the district, except those which stood along the highways. During this year of life in the depths of the forest, in caves and around camp-fires he had become completely unaccustomed to civilized dwellings. He couldn't adjust his ringing bass to the confines of his tiny office. To avoid deafening strangers, he spoke timidly in a low voice.

"Well, then," she went on, "you do know it, that's fine. Now listen carefully to me and I'll tell you about something that will move you very much, because you're the leader of this district."

IN GREAT HASTE THE OLD WOMAN BEGAN NERVOUSLY TO RELATE what she had lived through and what she had seen in this border district in the terrible days of the German occupation.

On the first day of the war Sarah saw her younger son off to the Commissariat of the Army. Then her older son left for the front, leaving his wife Chanah behind with his mother. The middle son of the three was a professional Red Armyman and was already fighting somewhere in White Russia.

When the German divisions broke through to the Nye-men and a state of emergency was proclaimed in Toropetz,

Sarah's husband found a rusty spade in the shed, took some clothes and joined up with one of the workers' battalions that were digging trenches in back of the city.

"Now don't be frightened, Sarah. The main thing is: no panic. They'll never let them get any further than the old boundary," he told her as he was taking leave of her. "And if any of those lunatics should break through, why we'll hold them at our trenches. Do you know what kind of trenches they'll be? Ah hah!" And he waved his rusty shovel cheerfully in his wife's tear-stained face.

But the Germans did get past the old boundary lines. And in this district the new trenches and pits didn't hold them back. And all at once the stream of refugees came pouring toward the East over the Toropetz highway, a stream of silent, miserable people and overloaded trucks and wagons and herds of dusty tired cattle, bringing with them from the West dull echoes of the awful, numberless vastness of the enemy, of his ferocity.

This same stream washed away the family of the men's tailor of Toropetz. At dawn, leaving behind all possessions, not even locking the door behind her, Sarah left her native city. With her went her daughter Raya and her daughter-in-law Chanah.

This happened in the days when the fascists were gorging themselves with victory. All the time now the Berlin radio played marches and every hour broadcast news of the capture of cities and towns. German fliers entertained themselves with target-practice from great altitudes by shooting at the living stream which poured out along all the roads leading eastward into the interior. The refugees became targets for practice bombing. The marauders with black crosses on their wings lowered themselves over the helpless mass of people and poured a shower of cannon and machine gun fire on them.

On the bridge at the outskirts of Toropetz a bullet from one of these planes killed Chanah. Her body, along with others, was carried off to one side and laid in the shadow of a tree by the river bank.

A day or two later a bomb from a German raider killed Raya. At the place where she had been standing, nothing remained but a deep, smoking hole.

MEANWHILE, MECHANICALLY, SARAH KEPT ON WALKING, numb with suffering. She walked on, unthinking, remembering nothing except that no one dared stand aside from the stream of people, that she had to keep walking, walking East, no matter what.

When she fell down in the hot dust, someone's loving hands picked her up, somebody gave her a piece of bread or a potato. She ate, not even thanking anyone for it. She was not hungry at all. She ate without even tasting what she had eaten. At night unknown voices called her to the fire. She, mother of a big family, suddenly left all by herself, went over and warmed herself at strange fires.

On the fourth day she became sick. Walking straight off the road, she fell down in the dusty grass that smelled of tar and gasoline and horses' sweat. She was sure that she was going to die here for she no longer had the strength to

move. Wagons rumbled past her, their wheels hammering. Sad-eyed, bewildered children stared at her through piles of baggage. The horses were covered with a yellowish froth, wheels scraped, cows mooed sadly and died in the heat and dust.

The people who walked behind the wagons, carrying parts of their belongings on their backs and on bicycles and in baby carriages, these people had dry, tired, unseeing eyes. Their lips, pressed hard together, were black with sweat and dust. Sarah closed her eyes. She understood that every one of these people had more than enough of their own troubles and would certainly have no time to think of strangers. She asked for no help. And yet there were those who carried Sarah in their arms, sick and almost dead, to the first house in the nearest village.

"We've got plenty of our own trouble in the house, and here comes someone else's trouble too," a strange, hostile voice said. "The house is full of our own and now here's something else. . . . Well, put her down, put her down anyway, what's the sense of waiting . . . ach. . . ."

Sarah never knew who said these words. She no longer had the strength to lift her fiery eyelids, which seemed to have grown together.

A DAY LATER SHE AWOKE AND STARED AROUND HER, NOT KNOWING where she was.

She lay on a bench in a large peasant hut. The bright rays of afternoon sunlight pierced the greyish green of the flowerpots standing on the window sills. A fire was burning and the wood crackled and snapped in the flames. A swarm of flies hummed around the table on which lay spoons, bread and a steaming bowl of cabbage, which stood cooling on the table—a bowl which no one, it seemed, had touched.

A tall, bony, middle-aged woman stared fearfully out of a side-window into the street. Three children clung to her skirts. From the street came a continuous banging and rattling, a roar and clamor and the guttural sounds of an incomprehensible foreign language.

"Children, children, what's to become of us? What's going to happen to us now?" The woman kept repeating this as she looked into the street.

Without really thinking about it, Sarah understood that something terrible had happened and she sighed. The woman looked at her with those same bleak, pitying eyes with which she had looked at the refugees.

"Oh, you're up. . . . Ech, my dear, better for you if. . . ." She stopped and went back to look out of the window again; now a great tense roaring and a strange, anguished, rattling and clangor began to sound, sometimes in waves so great that the walls of the house trembled and the window-panes shook, and now receding and growing quiet. The woman was silent for a while. At last she answered: "The Germans. The Germans have come."

Sarah threw off the old patched quilt with which they had covered her and sprang to her feet. But she began to totter and had to lean against the wall.

"I'm going to leave, I can't stay here, I must go," she said.

The woman glanced at her with hard eyes and gestured simply with her hand.

"Where will you go? Lie down! Whatever has to happen—will happen."

For a moment the terrible stories of refugees about the horrors of German atrocities against the Jews sprang into Sarah's imagination. About how in the little village of Sekhezh, the Jews had been driven into the local synagogue, the doors of the synagogue blocked with beams and the old wooden building set afire. About how in the city of Gevel the Jews had been driven onto a patch of sand which extended part way into the lake, and how the Germans rode their tanks onto this patch of sand; that day, the lake water, noted for clearness, became red with blood.

Oh no, she had no right to bring tragedy to this family, which had by accident given her a home. She couldn't, she didn't dare remain here.

"I'm going. Let me go, I want to go," she said, standing up. "Death doesn't frighten me anymore, I've lived out my days, my children are grown up. And here, here you have three little children. I don't want other people to die because of me. . . ."

"And do you know what this woman of the collective farm, Yekaterina Yevstigneyeva, told me?" the old woman asked the chairman of the district executive committee, wiping her face with a corner of the cloth, for a tear had rolled down her wrinkled cheek. "Please, do me a favor, write it down in your book, the name of this family: Yekaterina Fyodorovna Yevstigneyeva, of the Budenny Collective."

"You listen to me now and I'll tell you what she said. She called me an old fool. Yes, yes, yes, an old fool, no more and no less. She said I'm crazy if I think that she, a member of the collective, would throw a living human being to be torn to pieces by the wolves, just to save her own skin. . . . that's what she said. Yes, it seems the Soviets, she told me, the Soviets have brought you up very badly, if you dare to think about me like that. And she told me to stay in bed and be quiet and not move around with all my foolishness. . . . that's the kind of person she is, this Yekaterina Fyodorovna. She was a widow with three children, and the nazis weren't somewhere far away in Germany. They were riding by on their tanks, right on the street past the window, and she and I heard how they rumbled to the well as they watered their damned engines."

"But that's not all. You're the leader of the district, you ought to know about your own people. Be patient, please, and let me tell you everything that happened, right up to the end."

ACCORDING TO YEKATERINA'S WISHES, SARAH STAYED ON AT THE Budenny Collective, which had officially been dissolved by order of the Germans.

They gave her some worn peasant clothing and had her lie on top of the great oven. After talking it over, they

hit on a scheme. The German soldiers who came to search the peasant dwellings were told that on the oven lay a woman sick with typhus. The cautious Germans, who were terribly afraid of infectious diseases, not only left the old woman alone, but began to avoid Yevstigneyeva's house altogether.

And so Sarah survived until winter, not leaving the house. During the great snowstorms, when the Germans herded out the villagers to clear the roads of snow without any consideration for the children who were left alone, the women brought the children to Yevstigneyeva's house and Sarah took care of them until the mothers returned. Gradually the women got used to Sarah and became attached to her. Together with the children they began to call her "little mother" in order to avoid calling her by her real name.

One day bulletins from the German commandant appeared on the gates of the fire-control station ordering all Jews to register immediately at the nearest command post. Those who had Jews living with them and who knew where Jews were living were given 24 hours to notify the military authorities. Failure to comply was punishable by death.

When Sarah heard about this order, she decided to go and register. This time she didn't say anything to Yevstigneyeva. She gathered up her few belongings and was preparing to leave the house. At the door she met the collective farm women coming back from the highway with shovels in their hands.

"Where are you going?" asked Yekaterina Yevstigneyeva, looking steadily at her guest. Sarah lowered her eyes and said nothing. But one of the women guessed what was happening. "You were going to register? What do you think of that, women, she was going out there to stick her head into the noose. Or maybe you don't know what happened to the Jews in Toropetz?"

"I know, I know all about that!" Sarah said, beginning to shout. "Let me go, I don't want good-hearted people to die on my account."

"And do you know what this same woman said to me?" the old woman asked, standing up from the chair and looking into the tired eyes of the chairman. He looked cheerfully at her.

"They told me I was crazy, they asked me if I wanted to dishonor the *kolkhoz*, that if they should out of fear allow the vultures to tear me to pieces, they'd never be able to look each other in the face. There was a peasant named Nikifor Churilin, who was a partisan then living in the village. Now listen to what he told me. He said to me, 'Don't be so frightened. Spit on their registration! Either,' he said, 'we'll survive together, or we'll perish together.' That's what Nikifor Churilin told me then. Write it down, please, his name too. And do you think that's all, comrade chairman? No, that's not all, so please, comrade, have patience and let me finish."

THE CARE OF THE OLD WOMAN BECAME THE TASK OF THE whole collective, which, though officially dissolved, became

more united than ever. Sarah still lived with the Yevstigneyevs. Even though the Germans took the food supply away from the villagers and gradually discovered all the secret places where food had been hidden; even though everyone in the village felt the pangs of hunger, the women felt obliged to take some food from their own lean rations and bring it to Sarah.

At first the Germans avoided Yevstigneyeva's hut because of the rumor that someone there had typhus. Everything was going well, it seemed, and Sarah began to hope that with the help of her good friend she would be able to survive and live to see better times. And then it began.

A car appeared in the village with a red cross painted on its side. The interpreter asked, "Where is the typhus case?" The villagers were at a loss for an answer and in their confusion finally directed the doctors to Yevstigneyeva's. But the doctors never went into the house. An old officer in a cape gave a command to the orderlies with him and they began to spray the hut with gasoline. Yevstigneyeva thought they were disinfecting it. She stood there quietly with her children at the fence. Even after the German lit a bundle of straw and threw it into one of the puddles of gasoline, she merely looked at him without understanding what was going on. The flames suddenly licked at the walls and roared up to the thatched roof, enfolding the whole hut in a yellow sheepskin of flame. The Germans got into their car and drove away. Then she gave a shriek and ran into the hut. Her skirts aflame, she ran into the hut and crawled through the fire to the oven where the old woman lay hidden and dragged her out through the back of the cow-shed.

"And do you know," the old woman asked the chairman, "what she said, this woman who had just lost her home and all her possessions because of me, this woman who was out on the street now with her three little children? She said, 'A person is more important than a house.' She said, 'Just as long as there are bones left, it doesn't matter. The flesh will grow back.' She said, 'If there is the Soviet power, there will be a house too! And if the Germans stay here,' she said, she won't need a house, she won't need to live, let everything go under. And that's what she said, this same Yekaterina Yevstigneyeva. Please remember this, I want you to remember. You should know your own people."

"I'll remember," the chairman said in his thundering bass. He bent down and searched a long time for something in the desk-drawer; when he sat up again, his face was a little flushed and wet, as though he had suddenly caught cold. . . .

FROM THE DAY THE GERMANS BURNED DOWN HER HOUSE Yevstigneyeva lived at her sister's and Sarah, whom they all called "little mother," went from house to house, living with each family in turn like a shepherd in the summertime.

In January the German field command somehow got wind that the peasants were hiding a Jewish woman. Gestapo agents came by car all the way from Nyelidova. They posted guards to watch the peasants and began a

general search. But while the German soldiers were moving from hut to hut, two boys, Vasya and Petya Churilin, children of this same Nikifor Churilin, led Sarah out through lanes and back alleys to a neighboring village. They hid her in the home of their uncle, Mikhail Churilin, who was also with the partisans.

Later Sarah came upon the time when the woods began to ring with the sound of shell fire and there was a tank battle in the woods. Suddenly some hot, sweating soldiers with winter caps shoved back on their heads, in frozen, dirty, white camouflage cloaks, burst into Churilin's hut. In hoarse, cheerful voices, they asked her in splendid Russian, for a drink of water. . . .

That same day Sarah returned to the Budenny *Kolkhoz*, feeling as though she were returning to relatives. Here she lived, taking care of her children, until her own city was liberated. Then they sent her home in a passing ambulance that was to go through Toropetz.

The whole village saw her off. They dressed her in warm clothes, baked some potatoes for her trip home and all asked the "little mother" not to forget them.

"Comrade chairman, can I forget them? Can anyone

forget such people? Could I ever forget, God forbid, if I lived to be a hundred? They called me 'little mother.' And what do you think, you think that I have only three sons, who are fighting at the front? May God grant everyone such sons! Do you think that I don't have many, many sons and daughters there in the Budenny *Kolkhoz* where they called me 'little mother'? And you know what? You know why I suffered three days and three nights over these horrible wooden roads? May Hitler ride on those roads until the day he dies! They should all be decorated, these people. Without fail. No, please, I beg of you, don't smile. Or maybe you think they haven't earned any medals? Well, what do you say?"

The chairman was silent. His face, still reddened and burned from the wind and sun from his partisan days, the face on which only mustache and beard stood out, the face of this coarse, heroic man suddenly and uncharacteristically took on a tender expression of deep emotion.

"Of course, of course they've earned it, little mother," he said at last. "Certainly they've earned it. But the trouble is, we can't, after all, give medals to every Soviet citizen, just because they're Soviet citizens. . . ."

A VISIT WITH POLISH JEWRY

By Samuel Sillen

DURING the past summer I visited Poland at the invitation of the Union of Polish Writers. I spent three weeks in this people's democracy and was given every opportunity to become acquainted at first hand with many phases of its new life. I took part in the Congress of Polish Writers in Warsaw; I travelled to Krakow and Lodz and Zakopane; I spoke with textile workers and miners at work and on vacation. In the course of my visit I met a number of outstanding Jewish figures and was able to observe some significant features of Jewish life in Poland today.

Let me begin by telling you about a visit to the Joseph Levartovsky clothing factory in Lodz. My guide was the factory's technical director, Kauffman Jablonsky. We conversed in Yiddish. "Our factory," Jablonsky explained, "is a cooperative. It is named not after a boss, as in the old days, but after a hero who died fighting in the ghetto. We have 564 workers here. Half of them are Jewish, 40 per cent are women. Between Jew and non-Jew there is no wall here. We work together, we breathe together." He pointed proudly to a blackboard which showed that the factory was 125 per cent ahead of its norm. "That is the fruit of our teamwork," he said.

As we walked through the various departments, I

talked with cutters, operators, pressers. Some of them were veteran tailors who in pre-war days had worked in tiny sweatshops and some had only recently gone to technical school to learn the trade. All spoke enthusiastically about the democratic setup in the shop; at regular factory meetings they elect the managing committee of the factory from among their own ranks. They spoke of their new sense of dignity as workers, of their organic participation in the productive life of the country.

Later in the afternoon, when the factory closed, I went to the workers' meeting and recreation hall a few streets away—every factory in Poland has such a social and cultural center. The hall was decorated with a portrait of Joseph Levartovsky and with huge peace posters supporting the Stockholm Appeal. On the platform at the end of the hall was a group of about 20 of the workers I had just seen at the bench. This was the factory chorus. The workers were rehearsing a medley of international songs for the July 22 festival celebrating the liberation by the Red Army.

I had a long talk in Warsaw with Joel Lazebnik, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Jews. This committee is a continuation of the Jewish anti-fascist fighters' organization in the ghetto. It was formed in Lublin toward the end of the war as a coalition of dif-

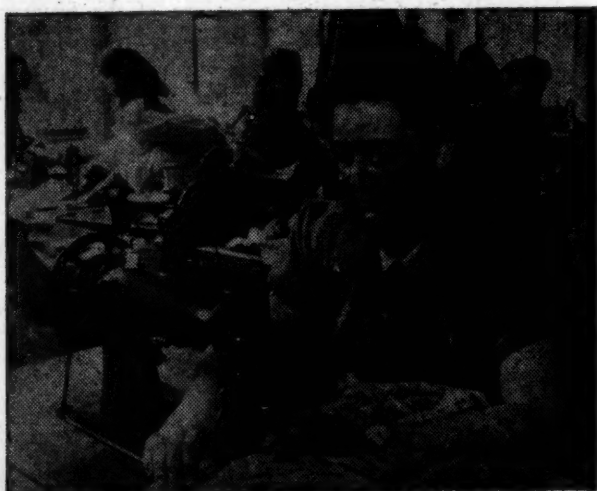
SAMUEL SILLEN is the editor of *Masses and Mainstream*.

ferent groups. With the development of post-war political life in Poland, the social and ideological differentiation among Jews became more marked. The best elements, Lazebnik explained, went into the United Workers Party (Communist); others remained Zionists, social democrats and so on. There were two main currents: the first represented by those who sought integration of the Jews in Polish life on the basis of full equality of rights; the second, by those who felt the Jews should have nothing to do with the people's democracy, but should go to Israel.

Development of Post-War Jewry

"We have undergone three main periods," Lazebnik pointed out. "At first our main task was to rescue and give relief to the Jews who came out of the forests and caves. We had to rebuild the shattered social and political institutions of the Jewish people. Only 40,000 had survived in Poland itself. The Soviet Union had saved about 250,000. Of those who returned after the liberation, more than 100,000 left following the Kielce pogrom in 1946.

"In the second period, from around 1947 to 1949, the chief job was to enable the survivors to play an active role in the economic life of the country. The main form that this effort took was the setting up of producing cooperatives of tailors, carpenters, metal workers and so forth. These were set-up under the central organization of Jewish cooperatives which was named 'Solidarity.' At the same time a number of Jews went into new industries: some became miners, others worked in glass furnaces, for example. Thanks to this development, conditions were created in 1948 for the integration of Jewish workers with general production. Separatist conditions of labor were broken down by the introduction of non-Jewish workers in the cooperatives. At the same time this period witnessed the building of Jewish cultural institutions such as the ballet school and theater in Wroclaw."



Inside the Borochovich clothing factory in Wroclaw, named after a progressive American trade union leader and initiated with funds collected from Jewish trade unionists in the U.S.

Lazebnik spoke with enthusiasm about the third period. "Today," he said, "we are in a period of organic integration in economic and social life, with full recognition of the specific cultural needs of Jewish life. The Jews of Poland are taking part in the tremendous creative effort of the country. Those hostile elements who desire to migrate to Israel have been afforded that possibility by the government. Very few of those who have chosen to leave are workers. In the main, Zionists and confirmed private entrepreneurs have elected to go. But the Jews as a whole shared in the ideological strengthening of the entire country under the leadership of the United Workers Party."

There is, of course, no reason why a "free enterpriser" who happens to be a Jew should be any happier in a country building socialism than an incurable devotee of private profit who happens not to be a Jew. As we know all too well in America, the class struggle does not stop at the borders of the Jewish community. Nor is it surprising that some Jews wedded to religious orthodoxy should prefer, even though they have full freedom of worship here, not to live in a land whose youth is being brought up in the spirit of scientific thought.

State Aid To Jewish Theater

The main force in Jewish life, as in the life of Poland generally, is the working class. The plain fact is that anyone who is hostile to that class and its outlook or who rejects its leadership, will turn his back to the whole meaning of Poland today. There is no room here for bourgeois nationalism, for setting up the interests of the Jewish people as exterior or even superior to the interests of the working people as a whole, just as there is no room for either a physical or spiritual ghetto. At the same time, the concept of Jewish integration in a people's democracy has nothing in common with the old bourgeois assimilationism. Far from erasing the rich cultural traditions of the Jewish people, the greatest respect is shown for these traditions and the fullest opportunity given for their development within new historical conditions.

For example, there are two large Jewish theaters in Lodz and Wroclaw, even though, as Joel Lazebnik pointed out, the Jews today constitute only one-third of one per cent of the population. When I visited Lodz, I attended a performance of Jacob Rothbaum's *Family Blank*, based on Sholem Aleichem's immortal story *Sender Blank*. I was invited to the theater by its manager, Meier Melman, who plays the leading role in *Sender Blank*, and by his wife, Ida Kaminska, the famous actress who has been awarded the Banner of Labor by the government for her artistic work. I enjoyed the production enormously, and later I had an opportunity to talk with the members of the cast in their dressing rooms. I learned that this theater, like the one in Wroclaw, serves the Jewish population all over the country. Every Jewish community (and some are as small as 200), is visited by the group when it is on tour. This is, of course, very expensive and would be unthinkable if the group were under private management. But it is subsi-

dized by the state. The Jewish theater has about 40 actors and a total staff of around 100. The repertory includes classics of the Yiddish theater, modern Polish and Soviet plays, as well as plays on contemporary Jewish themes. I was told that a good part of the audience is non-Jewish. This was unheard of before the war. Today the government is building in Lodz a beautiful new theater seating 750. (In Warsaw, Ida Kaminska took me to see the ruined shell of the famous Jewish theater built by her father; it was here that her mother had played in the roles which earned her world wide reputation.)

In America, the *Jewish Daily Forward* crowd piously wails about the "destruction" of Jewish life in Poland. When I mentioned this to the artists of the Jewish theater, they asked me please to convey to these social democratic hypocrites the following two suggestions: 1) that they spend a little more time bemoaning and pondering the destruction by the fascists; and 2) that they save some of their tears for the workers of the Yiddish theater in America, whose unemployment and generally outcast status in American life, with its anti-Semitism and commercial degradation of culture, seems scarcely enviable from the vantage point of a people's democracy.

Jewish Writers

To me the breaking down of generations of ghetto-like separation was well illustrated at the Polish Writers Congress. Formerly, Jewish writers existed apart from the Union of Polish Writers. Today they form a section of the union. The newly adopted constitution reads: "Members of the union are writers who are citizens of Poland," a provision which wipes out the language and national group distinctions of the past. As Hirsh Smoliar, president of the Central Committee of the Jews, told me: "This Congress took an historical step when it resolved to publish widely the work of Jewish writers in Polish in order to acquaint the non-Yiddish readers with their work. At the Congress a number of writers undertook to do translations for this purpose. At present two significant anthologies are in preparation: one, a collection in Polish of Jewish writers, the other a collection of Polish literature on Jewish themes translated into Yiddish.

"In 1945," Smoliar told me, "it was considered impossible and even undesirable to admit Jewish writers as an organic part of the union. Psychological conditions were deemed unfavorable. But now, opinion has deeply changed. With full regard for the specific needs, problems and contributions of the Jewish writer, Polish literary life is breaking down the barriers of generations and centuries."

The specific literary life in Yiddish is reflected in the press which I examined in Poland. There is the weekly *Volks-shimme*, organ of the United Workers Party, with a circulation of 12,000. *Neie Lebn*, a Marxist, though non-party organ, appears three times a week in 8,000 copies. The monthly organ of Jewish youth is *Aufgang*; the cultural and literary publication is *Yiddische Shriften*; and in addition there is the quarterly magazine devoted to historical research, *Bleter far Geshichte*. Each of the last three publica-



Ida Kaminska, leading Yiddish actress of Poland

tions has a circulation of 3,000. Besides these periodicals, there is a regular program of book publication in Yiddish. During the past two years, 22 titles appeared.

A Treasury of Jewish Art

Last April, on the seventh anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the Jewish Historical Institute opened an art gallery which houses treasures of Jewish art. At this exhibition one gets a vivid sense of the rich Jewish contribution to culture in Poland through the paintings of such masters of the past century as Morris Gottlieb, Saul Wahl and Leopold Horowitz. The century-long active participation of Jews in the national liberation struggles and working class movement of the country is dramatically reflected in a beautifully mounted collection of paintings, documents and photographs. In addition one can see here a precious collection of around 1,000 paintings done by over 100 Jewish artists, most of whom were killed by the nazis. A good many of these paintings were dug up from hiding places or contributed by non-Jewish Polish artists with whom they had been concealed during the nazi occupation.

I cannot begin to describe the tremendous impact of this exhibition. There is very little abstract art here; most of the paintings deal realistically with the struggle in which the artists themselves participated. I was especially struck by the charcoal sketches, mainly of ghetto children, drawn by Gela Sekstein, a brilliantly gifted artist who was gassed

at Treblinka in 1942. She was 32 years old when she was killed. She left about 50 sketches, including an unforgettable self-portrait. Before she was deported from the ghetto to Treblinka she wrote this note: "Now I am at peace; I must die, but I have done what I had to do. I hope that I can find a hiding place for a remnant of my work. Be well, comrades and friends; be well, Jewish people. Never again allow such a massacre."

Communists In Warsaw Ghetto

In another part of the Jewish Historical Institute I was shown the precious files of the underground movement preparing for the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto. On the basis of this and other evidence I became convinced that the reviews of John Hersey's novel, *The Wall*, in our press failed to react sharply enough against the basic distortions in the book. *The Wall* falsifies the role of the communists and the Red Army in the liberation of the Jews. Hersey does not show the real struggle of the anti-fascist vanguard of the Jews, the true magnitude of their heroism. Especially today, and particularly for American readers, it is necessary to stress the epic role of the communists in the ghetto, who from the beginning called for unity, provided a concrete program, and gave an example of militant, self-sacrificing struggle.

One can re-trace the story in the faded files of the *Morgen Freiheit*, organ of the Polish Workers Party in the ghetto. For example, the March 10, 1942 issue of this underground paper reads: "The task of the entire nation is to unite all energies for the fight, to create a national front in order to combat the Hitlerites. We are fighting for a free Poland which will exist without exploitation by landlords and capitalists; we are fighting to abolish the ghetto and for full rights for the Jews. We appeal to you: go to the partisans to fight in the German Army's rear. We appeal to you to prepare our strength for an uprising against the occupiers."

The liberating role of the Red Army, virtually dismissed by Hersey, was ever-present in the mind of the ghetto fighters and sustained their epic battle. The underground paper *Ojbroiz*, organ of the Hashomer Hatzair (left wing Zionists) said on June 17, 1942: "The heroic fight of the Red Army heartens all the people who are subjugated by Hitlerism in their fight for freedom. . . . It has blown a new spirit into underground Europe. It has also a resounding effect on the Jewish revolutionary youth. The bloody mass terror of Hitlerism enforced on the Jewish masses a passivity which often has taken the form of going to the slaughter like lambs. Until now the Jewish masses have not freed themselves from distrust in their own fighting possibilities. The Red Army's fight demands of the Jewish youth that they join with all the revolutionary forces in Europe in battle against the Hitlerite subjugation." What a contrast to the Bundist paper, *The Young Guard*, which in the midst of the ghetto could only prate in typical social democratic style about "the brutal Stalin dictatorship." Hitler's language, serving Hitler's purposes.

Unity In War And Peace

The Jews in Poland today appreciate very keenly that they, like the Polish nation as a whole, owe their liberation to the valiant forces of the Soviet Union. And they appreciate equally the fact of continuity between the role of the Polish Workers Party during the war and today. One of the Jewish writers whom I met was kind enough to translate for me a passage from a volume in Hebrew published by the Histadrut in Tel Aviv in 1947. This book, a history of the Zionist youth movement, was written by Tsivia Lubetkin, a well-known fighter in the ghetto. In a section on the Warsaw Uprising, she writes:

"We made many attempts [to organize a united front]. We visited representatives of the political parties—the left Zionists, the right Zionists, the Bund. But all the meetings accomplished nothing; we remained troubled and didn't know what to do. At that time we sent specially chosen men to the 'Aryan' side and some time later they brought news that the Polish Workers Party was beginning to organize. We tried to make contact with that party. Then, the Jewish communists, who organized themselves with the help of the Polish communists, gave the initiative to form the Anti-Fascist Committee in the ghetto. In addition to the communists, allegiance to the committee was given by the Hashomer, the left and right Zionists, and Dror [the youth *chalutz* organization]. The task of this committee was Jewish participation in the general war against the nazis. Within the frame of this committee was created a Jewish military organization. Its first task was to build supplies of arms, to organize fighting groups, and to send men from the ghetto to the woods to join the partisans." Thus, within the fighting ghetto itself, under communist leadership, was forged that revolutionary unity between Jew and non-Jew which is the most striking feature of Jewish life in Poland today.

At Helenowek, a home for orphaned Jewish children in the countryside near Lodz, I saw young sons and daughters of ghetto martyrs. Everything is being done here to heal the terrible scars. Here, in the happy faces of children who are treated with loving care, I had a poignant sense of the new chapter which is being written in the history of the Jews in Poland. After the hideous nightmare of war and fascism, after the unutterably terrible destruction, the Jews are taking a vital creative part in building socialism. After generations of anti-Semitism and ghetto life, they have won the right to organic integration in Polish life, with full and unchallengeable equality.

All of Poland today is moving into an even brighter future, and all of Poland craves peace in order to fulfill that future in the shortest possible time. What I saw in this people's democracy hardened my resolve to oppose with every ounce of strength the Wall Street imperialists who are trying to reverse history and to inflict on humanity once again the horrors of war and fascism. One thing is certain. The people of Poland, and the Jews of Poland among them, will never relinquish what they have won in such bitter struggle.

CALL FOR LABOR UNITY—1867

Edited by Morris U. Schappes

The following excerpts from an address¹ published in July 1867 and written by Andrew Carr Cameron (1834-1890), a Chicago printer and labor editor of Scottish descent, is one of the earliest in American labor history and contains the first discovered reference to the fact that the trade union movement wants Jewish workers to join the ranks of organized labor. The passage affirms the elementary fact that "the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel; that there is but one dividing line—that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labors." The records are obscure as to what portion of the then still small Jewish working class belonged to trade unions, but it is known that by 1864 there were Jews in the cigar-makers' union and probably in the tailors' unions.

The National Labor Congress, which founded the National Labor Union, had opened in Baltimore on August 20, 1866, with 60 delegates from the majority of states in the Union. A committee headed by Andrew Carr Cameron was instructed to draft the document. The "Address," which was widely distributed in leaflet form, dealt with every important issue confronting the workers: the eight-hour day, independent labor political action, the rights of women workers, and particularly, as in the excerpt given, the need to organize Negro workers into the general trade unions.²

It should be observed that it was while emphasizing the need for unity in the trade unions of Negro and white workers that the "Address" included reference to the need for unity of Jew and non-Jew in the unions.

—MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

THE first thing to be accomplished before we can hope for any great results is the thorough organization of all the departments of labor. This work, although its be-

ginning is of such recent date, has progressed with amazing rapidity. Leagues, societies and associations exist in all the large towns and cities, and in many villages and country districts. There are central organizations in many of the states, and one national labor congress, the result of whose deliberation on the future welfare of the country can scarcely be overestimated.

In this connection we cannot overlook the important position now assigned to the colored race in this contest. Unpalatable as the truth may be to many, it is needless to disguise the fact that they are destined to occupy a different position in the future, to what they have in the past; that they must necessarily become in their new relationship an element of strength or an element of weakness, and it is for the workingmen of America to say which that shall be.

The systematic organization and consolidation of labor must henceforth become the watchword of the true reformer. To accomplish this the cooperation of the African race in America must be secured. If those most directly interested fail to perform this duty, others will avail themselves of it to their injury. Indeed a practical illustration of this was afforded in the recent importation of colored caulkers from Portsmouth, Va., to Boston, Mass., during the struggle on the eight hour question. What is wanted then, is for every union to help inculcate the grand, ennobling idea that the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel; that there is but one dividing line—that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labors. This, in our judgment, is the true course for us as workingmen. The interest of all on our side of the line is the same, and should we be so far misled by prejudice or passion as to refuse to aid the spread of union principles among any of our fellow toilers, we would be untrue to them, untrue to ourselves and to the great cause we profess to have at heart. If these general principles be correct, we must seek the cooperation of the African race in America.

The above document will be published in *A Documentary History of the Jews of the United States*, edited by Morris U. Schappes, in November by Citadel Press and is here printed by courtesy of the publishers.

¹ "The Address of the National Labor Congress to the Workingmen of the United States," John R. Commons and Associates, editors, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Cleveland, 1910, IX, pp. 158-159. Drafted by Cameron, the text was also signed by the other members of his Committee: Thomas A. Armstrong, a printer from Pittsburgh, Pa., William B. Iles of the Iron Moulders' Union of Augusta and Savannah, Ga., Gilman Rand of the Bookbinders' Union, Boston, Mass., and J. R. Bolan of the Ship Carpenters' Union in Boston (*ibid.*, pp. 168, 128).

² Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, New York, 1947, pp. 371-372; Charlotte Todes, *William H. Sylvis and the National Labor Union*, New York, 1942, pp. 59f; John R. Commons and Associates, *History of Labor in the United States*, New York, 1918, II, pp. 110-113. None of the delegates to the National Labor Congress of 1866 was Jewish, nor have any of the delegates to subsequent conventions of the National Labor Union, which lasted only until 1872, been identified as Jewish.

Letters from Abroad

PROGRESSIVE ISRAELI WRITERS

By Ber Mark

Contemporary Hebrew creative writers in Israel can be divided into three categories: the old reactionary writers, led by the eulogist of the Kulak village, David Shimonovitch, and including the die-hard anti-Soviet novelist Shafman, and the Revisionists Uri-Zvi Greenberg and Lakov Kahn. Shimonovitch and Shafman, in addition to other activities, are leaders in the bitter campaign against Yiddish. Together with the Mapai poet laureate S. Sholom, they demand the abolition of Yiddish and the scrapping of the great Yiddish cultural heritage.

In the opposing camp are the progressive writers, including such revolutionary writers as Alexander Pen, and others such as Avigdor Hamairi, Leah Goldberg, Yakov Fikhman, Abraham Shlonsky, etc.

Then there are the disoriented or individualistic writers as well as other such wavering elements who would like to express progressive ideas but fear the loss of their so-called literary independence. In this group I would include Yehudah Burla, Oved Haroni, Nathan Alterman and others. Because of their manner of writing—their folkish style and oft-expressed desire for international friendship—these wavering writers belong among the progressives, although they have not so aligned themselves.

The most dynamic Hebrew writers are progressives. Among them are representatives of both the old and new generations who identify themselves with the masses and participate in the fight for peace.

First, as to the dynamic younger writers. In the front rank of Israeli progressive literature is the communist poet, Alexander Pen. He participates actively in social movements, is a master of Hebrew and the author of poetry of moving power. Pen has also done excellent translations of the work of the Soviet poet, Vladimir Mayakovsky. All in all, Pen can be considered the standard bearer of progressive Hebrew poetry.

Poets Leah Goldberg and Miriam Bernstein Kahn are among the leaders in the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm peace appeal. Leah Goldberg is deeply rooted in her old home in far-off Lithuania and her works are chiefly concerned with the life of Jewish youth in their former homes. Miriam Bernstein Kahn deals with anti-war themes and gives voice to the

feelings of women and mothers who do not want their men and their children to be sacrificed on the altar of foreign imperialist interests. The Israeli working class loves these three writers, who are not isolated from the people but in constant touch with them.

Avigdor Hamairi is also active in the peace campaign. He is an outstanding Hebrew stylist and has written powerful novels about the struggle of the Israeli masses for liberation from British imperialism and its feudal Arab agents. His war novels celebrate the heroism of the sons and daughters of the common people. One can discern the healthy and well digested influence of Soviet war literature in his writing.

We turn to the older generation. Yakov Fikhman, creator of the modern Hebrew novel, author of dozens of books and chairman of the Hebrew literary society in Israel, is an enthusiastic participant in the peace movement. During the past few years Fikhman has undergone a far-reaching transformation. This famous poet, author and critic has abandoned his former narrow nationalistic opinions and has moved closer to the camp of peace and democracy. He was among the first of the Israeli intellectuals to sign a protest against the imprisonment of the Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet by the Turkish government. Despite his age Fikhman is highly productive. His songs vibrate with healthy optimism and his stories are permeated by a genuine folk feeling that he derives from Mende. Fikhman's stories are particular favorites of the children, who sense the love which emanates from Fikhman's simple style. Yakov Fikhman has also dedicated himself—despite the anti-Yiddish campaign of the extreme Hebraistic and chauvinistic circles—to the cause of harmonious cooperation between Yiddish and Hebrew literature.

Even more forthright is the position taken by the older literary scholar and historian Shmuel Eisenstadt, a professor at the University of Jerusalem. Eisenstadt is in strong opposition to the namby-pamby "pure" pacifists who occupy most of the professorial chairs on the Mount of Olives. He is vitally active both in writing and in important social activities. His articles on the recent Jerusalem literary conference, in which he calls upon writers to struggle

for socialism and progressive culture in the tradition of the prophets Hosea and Amos, is widely known.

Among the young generation of writers who are close to the camp of peace and progress, one can also include the poet Abraham Broides, author of battle songs of the Palmach. His poetry is timely and socially conscious. The peasant authors of the kibbutzim, Joseph Araba and Ygael Mosinzohn, have also taken a progressive position on issues. They have written novels of life in the kibbutzim. These novels have created a great furore because they have broken with sweet sentimentality in their depiction of life in the kibbutzim and have, instead revealed all the difficulties and inner crises of this life.

The well-known poet, Abraham Shlonsky, who is an innovator in poetic form, is close to the progressive writers. He is also active in the peace campaign. Shlonsky achieved fame by his translations of Russian poetry. Others are the writer Yitzkhak Greenbaum and I. M. Naiman, the literary and drama critic, whose viewpoints also changed as they came close to the camp of anti-imperialism. Another writer is Raizl Kortchak, the former partisan who is the author of a well-written book about the Vilna ghetto in which she describes the communist leader, Itzik Wittenburg, with great warmth.

All the writers mentioned above and others close to them are active in the great movement for peace, for the freedom of Nazim Hikmet and are opposed to the attack of American imperialism on the Korean people. These writers also work for Israeli-Soviet friendship. With them stand outstanding democratic artists in other fields, such as the famous director of the Ohel theater, Halevi, the outstanding painter, Kastell, and others. It is also interesting to note that the old writer Max Brod, biographer of Franz Kafka and author of scores of novels, mainly historical, who lives in Israel, has signed the Stockholm peace petition.

These literary artists have allied themselves with the tremendous world movement for peace and freedom, which includes the great majority of humanity. These progressive writers thereby express the feelings of the majority of the working masses of Israel. Despite vicious attacks from the Mapai leadership and clerical leaders, the Stockholm peace appeal has already garnered over a quarter million signatures, an impressive percentage of Israel's population. Progressive writers made an important contribution to the gathering of this mass of peace signatures. By their example these writers showed the people how to act in the face of the treacherous policy of the Ben Gurion government.

Movie Review:

THE NEW STEREOTYPE

By Warren Miller

"Hollywood reverses the old stereotype to create the New Stereotype"—V. J. Jerome. "The Negro in Hollywood Films," Political Affairs, June 1950.

For some time to come it will be impossible to write of the films concerned with aspects of the Negro question without quoting from, or referring to, Jerome's brilliant analysis. What Jerome wrote of the first films in Hollywood's Negro film cycle remains most pertinent to the discussion of this latest effort, *No Way Out*;¹ indeed, this film is proof, if proof were necessary, of the validity of Jerome's thesis.

No Way Out is a melodrama accomplished with all the slickness and lack of cinematic imagination we have come to expect of Hollywood. It is the story of Dr. Brooks, a young Negro interne in a county hospital; yet, it is not his story at all. Not in the sense of the struggle for education and recognition that we know to be the lot of the Negro student in this country. This aspect is dealt with fleetingly; but it does not lend itself to melodrama and, hence, cannot be the major preoccupation of the film's producers. The Negro doctor here is merely added spice, a new twist, an angle. It is a sordid attempt to use the oppression of a people as a means of giving new interest to an old, worn-out, melodramatic situation. In no real sense is it a coming to grips with the Negro question; it is, rather, Hollywood's idea of the Negro question.

The film-maker sees the question as a problem in psychopathology: Negro-haters are "sick"; therefore, the solution lies in "curing" individuals. He is quick to point out, however, that there are white-hating Negroes—although he does not make clear why they hate. These Negroes are equally sick and must, equally, be cured. It is the only "equality" the film admits to. The film's psychopath reads comic-books; it is the only reality the film admits.

The film opens on a night when Dr. Brooks is on duty in the prison ward. Two thugs are brought in, brothers; both have been shot in the leg by the police. One of the brothers dies. The other brother (the psychopath) accuses Dr. Brooks of having killed him but refuses to give permission for the autopsy that

will prove or disprove this. Meanwhile, he is permitted to call Dr. Brooks every Negro-baiting epithet that is safely this side of obscenity. It is interesting that while the Hayes office has very rigid rules about how long a kiss can be held, there is no objection to the use of the most horrible and disgusting epithets. It is possible, of course, that such words, properly used, may have dramatic validity; they could shock the lethargic out of their apathy. But here they are used without regard to dramatic function: their effect of shock is soon dissipated by their frequency and lack of purpose.

The brother gets a message to his friends in the slums. They will take revenge on the death of the brother by marching on the Negro section of town and beating up a few Negroes. Usually, we are given to understand, they do this just for "sport"; this time, however, it is to redress a wrong.

Word of this gets to the Negro community and, led by an elevator operator at the hospital, a "white-hater" named Lefty, a group of Negroes converges on the headquarters of the white gang. At the hospital, Dr. Brooks cares for the wounded, Negro and white, as they are brought in by the jovial, peace-loving police. As he dresses the wounds of a white man, a woman rushes up to him, spits in his face, and screams: "Take your dirty black hands off my boy." Just as when he is being baited by the vicious thug, now too Dr. Brooks is permitted to look pained; it is the kind of expression, a gentle feeling of disgust, we might expect from someone who discovers that he has left his cigarettes in a phone booth. Never is he allowed to answer; and, certainly, never permitted to strike back. (This is a striking parallel to the treat-

ment of the Negro soldier in *Home of the Brave*, where a white soldier, and not the Negro soldier, is assigned the job of fighting the Negro-baiter.)

This is indeed the film's burden, its message. It should have been titled *Don't Hit Back*, for the way out is clearly shown to be the way of servility, the way of competing with whites on the white man's terms. One of the few "adjusted" Negroes in the film is the "good" white doctor's servant. I'm a good cook, she says, that gives me a place in life, something to live for. Hollywood approves; and they recognize her "place" by introducing her as "Gladys" to the dead thug's wife, who is introduced to her as "Miss Johnson."

Hollywood's idea of the Negro question can also permit of such remarks as that made by a director of the hospital; he is one of the "good" men and we are expected to cheer lustily when, in tones of righteousness and justice, he says: "I'm all for Brooks; I appointed him to the staff, and next year I want another Negro interne—perhaps even two."—Even two! Obviously he is a humane and generous man, clearly on the side of the angels?

It is true that Hollywood's lack of sensitivity to human relationships perverts and vitiates all films; but when this is applied to their efforts at a depiction of Negro-white relationships, a central question, then we must be doubly critical.

Hollywood has, for a long time, been an arm of the State Department. This film will have a function: it will be used in Western Europe as a cheap cosmetic to cover the sore spot of Negro oppression in the United States. It will not succeed. The film is too patently false, too contrived, and the people of Europe are too well-informed as to the true facts.

Book Reviews

CZECH JEWS IN AMERICA

By Morris U. Schappes

In Search of Freedom: A History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia, by Guido Kisch. London, 1949. American distributors, Bloch Publishing Co., New York. \$5.

American Jewry has been and is still being fashioned from immigrant streams coming from many transatlantic lands. Among the smaller streams is that which has been finding its way to these shores for the past two centuries from the terri-

tory now forming the state of Czechoslovakia, which includes Bohemia, Slovakia, Moravia, and part of Silesia.

If this stream has been infrequently noticed and seldom defined, the reason is that the Jews coming from these countries, which were until the end of the first World War under German, Austrian or Hungarian domination, had been "Germanized," usually spoke German, and were taken to be "German Jews." It is well, therefore, that a pioneer attempt to identify this group has been made by Professor Guido Kisch, a Czech-Jewish legal historian who has been in the United States since 1935. Coming here after the nazis dismissed him from his post at the

¹ *No Way Out*; Twentieth Century Fox. Produced by Darryl Zanuck; directed by Joseph Mankiewicz; screenplay by Mankiewicz and Lesser Samuels. With Richard Widmark, Linda Darnell, Stephen McNally, Sidney Poitier.

University of Halle, he is now teaching at the Jewish Institute of Religion and the New School for Social Research in New York. In this monograph, he has assembled, classified, and sometimes discovered facts that are useful to have.

Czechoslovakian Jewish immigration began late and slowly, only three isolated persons having arrived by the end of the 18th century. By 1846, however, there were enough Bohemian Jews in New York to form their own mutual aid society, out of which grew a Bohemian congregation two years later. After the defeat of the 1848 revolution came the first "mass" emigration of Czechoslovakian Jews, involving "hundreds" (pp. 26, 56). New attacks on Jews in 1861 in Prague and the surrounding country led to another spurt, but in the following decades emigration dwindled.

Did these Jews maintain much contact with non-Jewish Czechoslovakian immigrant communities? Not at all. Adolf Kraus (1850-1928), as a Czech-speaking lawyer in Chicago, which has a large Bohemian population (in the stockyards), for many years handled almost all the law practice of these Czechoslovakians. Edward Rosewater (1841-1906) published the *Omaha Daily Bee* in English in Nebraska, the *Beobachter am Missouri* in German in St. Louis and the *Pokrok Zapadu* (Progress of the West) in Bohemian in Chicago.

But on the whole the largely urban origin of the Jews led them to settle in American towns and cities, where they

turned to trade and the professions, while, as Professor Kisch observes, "Czechs and Slovaks in America drifted into the cigar and tobacco manufacturing industry, into oil refineries and steel plants; the greatest number of them, particularly the Slovaks, engaged in farming . . ." (p. 77). Occupational divergence led to the weakening of whatever ties with Czechoslovak non-Jews the Jews brought with them.

To what extent did these Czechoslovakian Jews seek to maintain their group identity as Czechoslovakians? At first Bohemian congregations were formed in New York, Newark, St. Louis and Milwaukee, but these did not long preserve their Bohemian character. The reason assigned by Professor Kisch is that, unlike the Russian, Polish, or Romanian Jews, the Czechoslovakians did not form federations of synagogues, and thus soon passed into general American congregations. But why did not the Czechoslovakian congregations federate? Furthermore, did these congregations use Bohemian or German in their proceedings? If the latter, one could understand why, being few in number, these congregations would merge with other German-speaking groups. Unfortunately, Professor Kisch does not trace this process of the integration of the Czechoslovak Jews into the German-Jewish community.

Because this is not so much a history as a chronologically organized chain of biographical sketches, it is difficult to define trends. Geographically, the Jews from Czechoslovakia scattered into at least 23 states, with concentrations discernible only where Professor Kisch has located the Bohemian congregations. Occupationally, he emphasizes the "notables" in medicine (such as Dr. Joseph Goldberger, whose work on pellagra is historic), in law (Supreme Court Judge Louis Dembitz Brandeis), in political life, in the rabbinate, in music and the other arts, and so forth. But an inventory of other occupations mentioned reveals a Chandler, a lithographer, a farm-hand (the first I have found, Emanuel Woodie, a very interesting character), a soap-boiler, two compositors, peddlers, a servant, a cantor, a naval officer, cigar makers, silk, trunk, and watch (Bulova) manufacturers, architects, engineers, a corporation lawyer for U.S. Steel and International Harvester, a "big financier" (Frederick Brown) and scholars. Professor Kisch observes that there is no specific labor group among these Jews (p. 80), but it would be well to explore the early cigar-makers' unions before reaching a conclusion.

As a historian, Professor Kisch exhibits the values characteristic of the Jewish bourgeoisie. Thus all wars are "historic" and need not be defined with reference to

their historical aims and content, and all Jews who fought in all wars are equal objects of Jewish "pride." Therefore Color-Sergeant Leopold Karpeles, who was a hero of the Union Army in the Civil War and won the Congressional Medal of Honor, is placed by Professor Kisch on the same moral plane as Jews who fought in America's imperialist war against Spain in 1898, or who helped crush a Filipino insurrection, or—who brought American imperialist arms into China to fight against the Chinese people. Such bourgeois nationalism is expressed even more amazingly by Professor Kisch when he laments the fact that Czechoslovakian Jews here "did not produce a figure of the format of Judah P. Benjamin who occupied a commanding position in the struggle between North and South and has been designated by the historian of American Jewry 'the greatest Jew in American public life.'" From this sigh that a slave-owner and Confederate leader was not a Bohemian Jew, Professor Kisch turns to a sterling figure like that of Isidor Bush, whose full value as an abolitionist, as an opponent of any compromise with the Confederacy, as an advocate of non-segregated education of Negro and white children in Missouri, and as a man of stature who will be remembered with honor long after Benjamin is forgotten, hardly emerges from the scanty pages given him.

Similarly, the author sadly underestimates the significance of Charles S. Kuh, who was elected to the great Reconstruction legislature of South Carolina from the city of Beaufort by the Negro population, a fact apparently unknown to Professor Kisch. But we should at least be grateful to Professor Kisch for having identified Kuh as a Jew, opening up possibilities of a new page in the relation of the Jews to the Negro in Reconstruction times. (Incidentally, Professor Kisch should use the capital "N" in Negro.)

Of errors of factual detail, this work is pleasingly free, but the following should be noted: 1) Lewis N. Dembitz, a delegate from Kentucky to the Republican National Convention in 1860, voted for, but did not nominate, Lincoln for the presidency (p. 125); 2) Haym Salomon was a very useful broker selling government notes, but he was not the "financier of the American revolution" (p. 16); 3) since there were Bohemian Jewish groups in New York in 1846 and in Milwaukee in 1847, the author confusingly underestimates the number of such immigrants in this country before 1848 (pp. 23, 83-84). Furthermore, there is no mention of anti-Semitism in the United States, as if by coming here from Czechoslovakia the Jews had effectively escaped it. However, my own records show that in 1849 a New

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York newspaper published a complaint by a Bohemian Jew, then already a naturalized citizen, who found it difficult to get work as a shade-painter because he was met by the sign, "No Jews wanted here."

Of exceptional interest, although not entirely integrated with the book as a whole, is Professor Kisch's section on the attitude of the Czech bourgeois nationalist movement of the 1840s to the Jews. This movement was Pan-Slavist, and was designed to replace Austrian with tsarist domination; for that reason Marx at the time opposed the movement as harmful to the interests of the European working class. This movement was accompanied by anti-Semitic riots, the nature of which has been distorted by other bourgeois Jewish historians.

Professor Kisch, however, resurrects an analysis of these events in the *Oesterreichisches Central-Organ für Glaubensfreiheit, Cultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Juden*, edited by Isidor Bush and M. Letteris, and published in Vienna in 1848. This quotation from that periodical is particularly valuable: "The Jewish persecutions are exclusively the consequences of the great problem of the unequal distribution of property. They were bred by pauperism, by the spiritual and moral neglect, for which the prevalent system of government was responsible in all European countries. For the public the Jews personified the ownership of money, because most of the money transactions passed through their hands. . . . It was therefore natural that the initial assaults of the proletarians, who attempted a practical solution of the property-question, should have been directed against the Jews in whom they saw personified the master class exempt from the necessity to obey, the rich beyond the need to toil, the fortunate and envied few who were free from misery" (pp. 58-59).

A PEOPLE'S POET

By Eve Merriam

Thru Every Window!, a collection of new poems by Aaron Kramer. The William-Frederick Press, New York. 50¢.

It has become a truism by now that poetry is sorely needed to inspire the struggle for civil liberties, to weld with fighting song the many oppressed groups laboring for human dignity. The call is easy to send out—"Wanted: A People's Poet." The

replies are harder to come by. Yet for a number of years now (although he is still a young man), Aaron Kramer has been working to fulfill that difficult obligation. In addition to his own numerous volumes, he has given meaningful translations of Heine, and—a highwater mark—his recent series in *JEWISH LIFE* of translations from the great Yiddish proletarian poets.

All this Kramer has accomplished at a time when the commercial publishing doors are double-bolted against the writer with anything vigorous or positive to say. Against the poet those same doors are guarded by watchdogs 24 hours a day. Yet persistently, conscientiously, Kramer has gone about the business of getting his poems into print. Further, he has not been content to let his modestly priced pamphlets gather dust on any bookstore shelf. Reading aloud to working class audiences, to Jewish language groups, to Negro and white youth, he has put his verses to the hard test of usefulness. That such large audiences have taken Kramer's work to heart, should make some armchair intellectuals sit up and pay attention instead of continuing their eliot-tasting indifference.

Thru Every Window! is the newest collection of Kramer's poems, and in the opinion of this reviewer, the best. Maintaining for the most part the simple, clearly rimed stanzas that have characterized his work, the content has become deeper and more mature. There is a new note of irony and wrathful scorn as well as the direct statement. The title poem, about the historic Peekskill concert of last Labor Day, is extraordinarily fine; its four sections leading inevitably from the personalized beginning to the unified exultant closing lines: "... and though our song be stoned and burned and barred and banned, it will yet go thru every window of this land!"

The most ambitious poem is "That Mighty Twine," a long narrative poem based on an actual experience during slave-holding times and burningly applicable today. The story line moves clearly and vividly, almost in scenario terms. The ending, however, is too abrupt. I feel that the climax needs expanding, and the inner life of the central characters ought to be explored more fully. But on the whole it is a highly effective work in the best tradition of Whittier's Abolitionist poems.

The third long poem, "When Every Tear is Turned to Stone," was commissioned by the Film Division of the United Nations; one portion of it has already been set to music and performed successfully.

Of the short lyrics, "If My Hands Have Power," a tribute to the poet's parents, is the most original, a stirring compound of

anger and love. "The Hated Street" is a splendid sonnet, and incidentally an excellent example of fusing form with content, for the off-rime endings contribute to the atmosphere of nightmare in daylight.

A few poems, like the tirade against T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, "The Loved Street," "Madhouse" and certain of the couplets in "An Unemployed Girl" fail to come off because Kramer has relied on emotions to which his audience will immediately respond, and has not bothered to bring anything new to the subject. It is not quite like the painter who sticks to portraits of babies and landscapes with pastel flower gardens, but there is an element of banality, of vague generalized images that have been used too many times before to make a clear impression any longer. Certainly a valid poem can be written on every theme he has chosen, but lines such as "Crawl back into your crevices, oh bards of darkness and decay," and "The face of a girl I saw today Haunts me, and holds my dreams at bay": these do not shock us into heightened awareness. At other times, he strains for a rime and certain absurdities creep in ("the plea of my lids to be let down," for instance). Undoubtedly, as he continues to write, these lapses will lessen, and his vocabulary will become more contemporary, more muscular. What would also be valuable from Kramer would be some poems rooted in Jewish American life and his day-to-day experiences on the job.

But now, in the present, his achievement is very tangible. *Thru Every Window!* may not win this current year's Pulitzer Prize, but it should receive some sort of people's prize.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

ISRAEL

(Continued from page 2)

A REQUEST TO ENROLL a Negro child in the Camden, N. J., school of the Workmen's Circle was rejected in mid-August. The Negro father was very friendly with Jews and wished to deepen his knowledge of his Jewish friends through Jewish education of his children. The school said it would accept the Negro child only if the father embraced the Jewish faith.

A TOY CARICATURE of the American Negro and made in Japan was withdrawn from sale in several New York stores after protests by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

CRITICISM OF THE WHITEWASH of the Peekskill rioters by the grand jury, whose conclusions absolved the police of responsibility and placed the blame on the Robeson concert-goers, was levelled by the American Civic Liberties Union in a statement issued on August 20. The ACLU statement said that the grand jury had seriously erred in not making clear that the concert-goers, against whom the violence was committed, "were engaged in the wholly lawful exercise of their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly" and criticised the grand jury's exoneration of the law-enforcement authorities.

AN UNEMPLOYED longshoreman, Alfred Gordon of Brooklyn, was driven berserk on August 6 by persistent anti-Jewish baiting in a tavern until he fired a revolver at his tormentors, killing one and wounding another. Gordon was at the bar with his wife and father-in-law when unprintable anti-Semitic epithets were hurled at him. He took his wife and father-in-law home, returned to the bar with a revolver and shot the anti-Semites. "I couldn't take it any longer," he told police. "I lost my head. I pulled the gun out and let go."

EUROPE

JAMES DUNN, United States ambassador in Rome, was reported to be aiding the setting up of a European fascist international in September under the guise of a cultural organization with the name, Association of International Solidarity. Dunn is reported to have helped the Italian neo-fascist party, Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) to initiate the conference. Those said to have been invited included the British Union of Fascists (Mosleyites), the Austrian "Union of Independents," "German Party" from Germany, "Liberation of Flanders" from Belgium, De Gaulle's "People's Rally" and the Spanish Falange. It is expected that a coordination center will be set up under supervision of MSI's Giorgio Almirante.

EIGHT MAJOR NAZI war criminals were released from Landsberg Prison on August 16 because of "good conduct" by order of the American High Commission. Among the eight were: Walter Darre, former Nazi minister of food and agriculture, who recruited East European and Jewish slave labor for German farms; Otto Dietrich, Nazi press chief; Friedrich Flick, steel industrialist who used slave labor; banker Karl Rasche; Heinrich Lehmann, former Krupp director who used slave labor; Fritz Ter Meer, former I. G. Farben director. (Landsberg Prison holds 620 war criminals, of whom 101 were convicted by the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, the rest by military courts at Dachau.) The New York Times

in late August criticised the administration for release of war criminals before completion of sentence.

RESURRECTION OF THE NAZI party was pledged at the graveside of a former S.A. leader at a recent funeral in Dusseldorf. Mourners stood at attention with arms raised in Hitler salute while a former top-ranking member of Hitler's "Labor Front" promised rebirth of the party and victory for nazism.

SOME 200 ANTI-SEMITIC LETTERS, some filled with profanities, were received by Bavarian Prime Minister Hans Ehard from Germans in the United States, mostly from Yonkers, N. Y., attacking Ehard for bringing to denazification court Mathilde Ludendorff, widow of the former field marshal. She is said to be heading neo-Nazi movements which are backed in the United States. An official of the American High Commission said: "Premier Ehard indicated that he thought the job of teaching the Bavarians democracy might begin in the United States."*

FIRST BRITISH VOLUNTEER for service in Korea, said the War Office on August 4, was Major Roy Farran, former Palestine intelligence agent whom the Jews accused of murder of a young Jew in Palestine in October 1947. Farran was acquitted by a court martial by suppression of vital evidence. . . . First man to volunteer for the city of Nottingham's contingent for Korea was fascist Samuel Anderson, who wore the emblem of the British Union of Fascists in his buttonhole. "I think," said Anderson, "it's about time someone went out to help the Americans."

ATTEMPT TO STIR HATRED against Jews and colored people in France was made in an anonymous pamphlet widely distributed in Paris in August. "Racial pollution" of the French is threatened, said the pamphlet, "as a result of the immigration of colonial natives and Jews who represent a twofold menace that must be dealt with."

A GREEK JEWISH GIRL, Odette Sabetay, who had obtained a teaching degree in Milwaukee on a scholarship from the National Council of Jewish Women, was forbidden in August to teach in Greek schools because she is not a member of the Greek Orthodox Church.*

POLISH JEWS who have been granted State Awards by the Polish government for outstanding achievements during the year include Prof. Ludwik Hirsztfeld, of the Wroclaw Medical Academy, awarded the only first-grade prize in medicine; M. Berman, a political cartoonist; W. Godik, a leading actor; S. Oppenheim, a mining engineer; and the brothers Forbert, film cameramen.

A DEFINITION OF ANTI-SEMITISM given in the first volume of the Dictionary of the Modern Russian Literary Language, published in Moscow this year, reads as follows: "An inimical attitude to Jews based on racial prejudice; a system of class feudal and bourgeois policy artificially instigating racial and religious hatred against Jews." This is followed by Stalin's famous characterization: "Anti-Semitism as the most extreme form of racial chauvinism is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is useful to the exploiters as a lightning rod, pulling capitalism out from under the blows of the working class."

MORE THAN 280,000 people in Israel, or over 40 per cent of the adult population, signed the Stockholm peace petition. *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam organ, stated editorially on August 3 that only the imperialists see any contradiction between the Korean war and the peace campaign, "for in fact the social and national liberation of the Korean nation strengthens the prospects of world peace and reduces the likelihood of war."

COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATORS at several Israeli movie houses in mid-August caused cancellation of a United States documentary film, "The UN Aids Korea."

THE ISRAEL CABINET in mid-August reinstated the police ordinance introduced by the former British administration in Palestine which provided that groups seeking to hold open-air meetings or demonstrations must first secure a permit from the district commissioner of the area where the meetings are to be held.*

TEN TEEN-AGE COMMUNIST boys and girls were forcibly ejected from the Givat Brenner kibbutz in early August. The ten, who had immigrated from Bulgaria last year and said they were members of the Communist Party, went on hunger strike. There are indications that other kibbutzim plan to expel communists.

THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT in early August sought to trial 28 persons accused of having taken part in a communist demonstration and 30 accused of having distributed communist leaflets. The government forbade the press to discuss the ways in which the government was fighting communism.

HUNDREDS OF HUNGARIAN JEWS who had emigrated from Hungary registered in July and August for return to that country after the Hungarian Legation announced that such registrations would be accepted. Long lines form daily outside the Legation to register. All those registering have been promised free passage, amnesty and employment on arrival.

RATIONING OF CLOTHING AND SHOES announced by the Israeli government on July 31 precipitated a shutdown of shops in protest. Purpose of the rationing was to save \$25,000,000 in foreign currency on importing raw materials from abroad. By August 7, nearly all privately-owned shops and restaurants were shut down in response to a call from the Merchants Association. Histadrut and cooperative stores remained open under police guard. Mass meetings against the rationing were addressed by speakers from the religious bloc, the Merchants Association and the rightist Herut Party. The shutdown was ended after two weeks by a Knesset vote of 57 to 36 approving the rationing scheme and a pledge by the government to modify the rationing regulations after consultation with representatives of the merchants. During the debate Premier Ben Gurion made the paradoxical assertion that Israel was "neither a socialist nor a capitalist state, since we encourage private enterprise." *Kol Haam*, communist daily, opposed the rationing order, asserting that it will lower the standard of living for the masses and calling for increased trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe and nationalization of foreign concessions and imports, which would render rationing unnecessary. The paper pointed out that fascist elements were exploiting general dissatisfaction to gain political influence and called on artisans and small traders to join their natural allies, the labor movement.

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

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 B'nai B'rith—Feb. 10; April, 16; May, 4; Aug. 19
 Birchfield—May, 4
 Book Reviews. Listed under author of book.
 Bookbinder, Hyman H. To Promote the General Welfare (review)—Sept. 23
 Bovshover, Joseph—Aug. 14
 Bowman, Lawrence—Feb. 13
 Brainin, Reuben—Feb. 7
 Buchwald, Nathaniel. Yiddish for Adults (review)—Dec. 26
 Bulmaria, Jews in—Nov. 22
 Burns, Edward R.—Aug. 18
 Capitalism, woman under—Oct. 9
 Carve, James—March, 5
 Cartels—April, 28; in Germany—Nov. 6; July, 30
 Catholic Church, and made unions—Feb. 16
 Censorship, in New York schools—July, 16
 Choir, Mrs. Aug. 20
 Chauvinism, in textbooks—Sept. 22, 26. See also White chauvinism.
 Chicago, Hoodlumism in—Jan. 6; April, 23; Aug. 17
 Chicago Tribune—Aug. 17
 China—Nov. 5
 Church and state, in Israel—Nov. 17
 Citron, Alice—July, 13; Sept. 20
 Civil rights, crusade for—Feb. 3, 5; March, 5
 Close collaboration—Sept. 24
 Cold war. See U.S. foreign policy.
 Commentary (magazine)—Jan. 15
 Communist Party of Great Britain—Feb. 20
 Communist Party, U.S.A., National Board trial—Nov. 4; Dec. 3
 Communists, and struggle against white chauvinism—June, 9; in Warsaw Ghetto—Oct. 24
 Community, and Social Agency Employees Union (CIO)—May, 11
 Company Unions—May, 11
 Congress of Industrial Organizations—Dec. 5; Feb. 16; April, 3
 Cooperatives, in Poland—Dec. 18
 Dancine—Nov. 34
 Davis, Benjamin I.—Nov. 4, 20
 Dennis, Eugene—July, 3
 Deportation cases—Feb. 4; Sept. 16
 Dimershin, Andrew—Aug. 3; Sept. 16
 Dubinsky, David—Feb. 18; March, 24
 Dulles, John Foster—Feb. 12; Aug. 5
 Eberhardt, Kurt—March, 11
 Edelshtadt, David—July, 12
 Education, in Israel—Nov. 17
 Eisler, Gerhard—April, 27
 Eliashewitz, Felix—March, 10
 Fair Employment Practices Committee—March, 5; April, 4, 29; July, 4

Falstein, Louis, *Face of a Hero* (review)—Sept. 29
 Farmers, Jewish—Dec. 23
 Fascist activities, in Britain—Jan. 28; Feb. 19
 Fast, Howard, *Departure and Other Stories* (review)—Dec. 29
 Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America—July 19
 Fineberg, S. Andhil, *Punishment Without Crims* (review)—May 26
 Foner, Philip S., *The Fur and Leather Workers Union* (review)—Aug. 27
 Ford Motor Co.—Aug. 20
 Formosa—Sept. 6
 Forster, Arnold, *Measure of Freedom* (review)—June 20
 France, struggle for peace in—June 5
 Frank, Leo—Sept. 12
 Friedlander, Mark—July 15
 Friedman, David—July 15
 Friedman, Lee M., *Pilgrims in a New Land* (review)—Nov. 41

Geller, Heinz—March 9
 General Federation of Jewish Labor. See Histadrut.
 Germany (eastern)—March 9; Jews in—April 27; Aug. 30
 Germany (western), anti-Semitism in—Dec. 4; June 30; Jews under Hitler—Dec. 6; "new order" in—Nov. 6; renascence—Jan. 18; March 12; June 3, 28; July 8, 28; rearming of—Oct. 14
 Glick, Hersh—April 19
 Gordon, Albert I., *Jews in Transition* (review)—March 30
 Great Britain, and Israel—July 4; anti-Semitism—Jan. 28; elections in—April 22; police brutality in—Dec. 28
 Gustadt, Richard E.—Aug. 19

Hadassah—May 12
 Harap, Louis, *Social Roots of the Arts* (review)—Dec. 30
 Heroism—Dec. 11
 Hersey, John, *The Wall* (review)—April 13
 Hebrew writers in Israel—Oct. 26
 Histadrut—Jan. 16; July 27
 Hollander, Louis—March 25
 Hoodlumism, in Chicago—Jan. 6; April 23; Aug. 17
 Housing, of Negroes—Nov. 19
 Housing demonstrations, in Britain—March 14
 Humphrey, Hubert—March 5

Imperialism, and white chauvinism—July 22
 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—Feb. 17
 International Fur and Leather Workers Union—Aug. 27; Sept. 24
 International Ladies Garment Workers Union—Aug. 11
 International Workers Order—Aug. 3; Sept. 16
 Iraq—Dec. 5; Jan. 27
 Israel, and Korea—Aug. 3; arms race and—April 3; July 4; church and state in—Nov. 17; danger confronting in—June 4; Sept. 28; foreign economic policy of—Aug. 21; Sept. 13; international policy of—Nov. 44; labor struggle in—Jan. 16; natural sources—April 28; peace front in—May 10; Aug. 10; petroleum industry and—March 29; second anniversary of—May 5; threat to independence of—June 23; U.S. and—Nov. 5; March 3; May 7; and Korea—Oct. 6; progressive writers in—Oct. 26; women in—Oct. 11
 Israel. See also Jerusalem.

Jaffe, Louis—July 16
 Jansen, William—Feb. 4; March 4; July 15; Sept. 20
 Jerusalem, and United Nations—Jan. 3; USSR and—Feb. 28
 Jewish artists—April 31
 Jewish *Daily Forward*—June 15
 Jewish farmers—Dec. 23
 Jewish History Week—April 4
 Jewish labor, socialist traditions of—May 21; June 14
 Jewish-Negro unity—Nov. 21; June 8; Aug. 20
 Jewish People's Fraternal Order—June 4
 Jewish War Veterans—Feb. 12; April 16
 Jewish Welfare Board—Dec. 12
 Jewish Welfare Federation, Los Angeles—March 27
 Jewish youth—Dec. 13; Jan. 24
 Jewish Youth Federation—Jan. 26
 Jews, and civil rights mobilization—Feb. 6; and renascence in Germany—July 9; in Bulgaria—Nov. 22; in Eastern Germany—Aug. 30; in Germany under Hitler—Dec. 6; in Great Britain—April 22; in Poland—Nov. 38; Dec. 16; March 29; in USSR—May 13; lessons in resistance—Dec. 8; Jan. 12; Feb. 10; March 23; program for, in U.S.—March 23; Stalin winners in 1949—May 15; need for unity of—Feb. 10; July 5; and trade unions (1867)—Oct. 25; in Poland—Oct. 21; see also Anti-Semitism.
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—July 4
 Justice, administration of—May 3

Kahn, Albert, *High Treason* (review)—July 25
 Kisch, Guido, *In Search of Freedom* (review)—Oct. 27
 Katkov, Norman, *A Little Sleep, a Little Slumber* (review)—Jan. 31
 Koestler, Arthur, *Promise and Fulfillment* (review)—Feb. 23
 Kohlberg, Alfred—Feb. 18
 Korea, Israel and—Aug. 3; Oct. 6; Truth about—Aug. 4; Sept. 7; United Nations and—Sept. 3
 Kramer, Aaron, *Thru Every Window* (review)—Oct. 29
 Ku Klux Klan (1868)—Feb. 13

Labor Party (Great Britain)—April 22
 Last Stop (movie)—May 31
 Lazarus, Emma, *Letters* (review)—July 26
 Levittown Houses—Nov. 21
 Levin, Meyer, *In Search* (review)—Sept. 30
 Los Angeles Jewish Welfare Federation—March 27
 Lynchings, in Tennessee (1868)—Feb. 13

MacArthur, Douglas—Sept. 6
 McPhaul, Arthur—Aug. 20
 Magil, A. B., *Crisis in Israel* (review)—June 26
 "Male superiority" doctrine—Oct. 8
 Manhattan, Avro, *The Vatican in World Politics* (review)—Jan. 30
 Mapai—July 27
 Maram—May 29
 Marcantonio, Vito—Nov. 3
 Marriage law, in Israel—Nov. 17
 Maslow, Sophie—Nov. 34
 May Day—May 4
 Mende, Robert—Dec. 31
 Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.—Nov. 19
 Middle class ideology—Dec. 6
 Morgenthau, Henry—March 3
 Morton, Henry—Feb. 13
 Mosley, Oswald—Feb. 19
 Mundt bill—April 3; May 3; June 3; Sept. 8

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—Feb. 5; March 5
 National Conference of Christians and Jews—July 19; Aug. 24; Sept. 26
 National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization—Feb. 5; March 5
 National Jewish Youth Conference—Dec. 13; Jan. 24
 National Trade Union Conference on Negro Rights—July 4
 Negro-Jewish unity—Nov. 21; June 8; Aug. 20
 Negro Women—Oct. 10
 Negroes, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and—Sept. 25; B'nai B'rith and—May 4; conference on rights of—July 4; housing, Nov. 19; political activity of—July 4; post-reconstruction period—July 23; see also White Chauvinism.
 New York City, Board of Education—Feb. 4; June 3; July 15; Sept. 20; elections in—Nov. 3; Dec. 4; June 10
 New York Post—March 23; June 11
 New York Times—May 13
 No Way Out (review)—Oct. 27

Palestine, arms race in—April 3
 Peace, struggle for—June 3, 5; July 7; Aug. 7; in France—Sept. 29; in Israel—May 10; Aug. 10; text of Stockholm pledge—June 7
 Peekskill, N. Y.—Nov. 13, 14
 People's Democracies—Sept. 15
 Perlman, David—June 11
 Petroleum industry, Israel and—March 29
 Philadelphia Council on Equal Job Opportunities—April 29
 Poems: Awake, by David Edelshadt—Sept. 19; Of Dogs and Ostriches, by Eve Merriam—March 16; five poems by Morris Rosenfeld—June 18; seven poems by David Edelshadt—July 13; six poems by Morris Winchevsky—May 24; three poems by Joseph Bowshover—Aug. 15; Seven Poems, by Lewis Allan—Oct. 13
 Poland, economic conditions in—June 12; Jews in—Nov. 38; March 29; youth in—Dec. 16; Jews in—Oct. 21
 Police brutality, in Britain—Dec. 28
 Polier, Justine Wise—Nov. 9, 11
 Powell, Adam Clayton—March 5
 Powers, George E.—Sept. 18
 Proskauer, Joseph M., *A Segment of My Times* (review)—Aug. 31
 Protestants (periodical)—Sept. 26
 Protocols of the Elders of Zion—Sept. 11
 Psychoanalysis—Nov. 45
 Public schools. See New York City, Board of Education.

Quinn, May—Feb. 4; March 4; April 4; July 17
 Red-baiting—Nov. 11; March 3; April 16; June 11
 Renascence. See Germany.
 Restrictive housing covenants—Nov. 19
 Religious education in Israel—Nov. 17
 Rhee, Syngman—Aug. 4
 Riots. See Hoodlumism.
 Robeson, Paul—Nov. 15
 Rosenfeld, Morris—June 16

Ross, Sam, *The Sidewalks Are Free* (review)—May 29
 Rubin, Isidore—July 15
 Russia. See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Sears, Charles B.—Nov. 7
 Schappes, Morris U. (editor), *Letters of Emma Lazarus* (review)—July 26
 Schools. See New York City, Board of Education.
 Sentinel (periodical)—Jan. 23; Feb. 11; Aug. 18
 Schwartz, Karl, *Jewish Artists of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (review)—April 31
 Schwartz, Leo W., *The Root and the Bough* (review)—Feb. 26
 Sennett, Bill—Jan. 6
 Short stories: Bontshe Silent, by J. L. Peretz—Dec. 20; But He Looked So Young, by Yuri Suhl—Nov. 24; Friday He Was a New Man, by Yuri Suhl—March 19; Without Tumult, by Julius Butwin—Nov. 31; Our Man, by Ben Field—May 17; Sarah Feinstein's Family, by Boris Polevoy—Oct. 17
 Sneh, Moshe—Nov. 44
 Social Democracy—Jan. 13
 Social Service Employees Union—March 27; May 11; June 24; July 27
 Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance—June 14
 Soviet Union. See Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
 Spanish-American war—June 12
 Stalin, Joseph—Jan. 19
 Stepney (England)—Jan. 9; Feb. 19; March 13
 Stool Pigeons—Sept. 18
 Strikes, social workers—March 27
 Suyevant Town Houses—Nov. 19
 Subversive activities control bill—April 3; May 3; June 3; Sept. 9

Tables (periodical)—Feb. 17
 Teachers Union (New York)—July 15
 Tel Aviv, demonstrations in—Jan. 16
 Tenants organizations, in Britain—March 14
 Textbooks, chauvinism in—Sept. 22, 26
 Theater, Yiddish—Feb. 27
 Trade unions, Jewish welfare agencies and—May 11; June 24; and Jews (1867)—Oct. 25
 Truman administration, and civil rights—Feb. 3

Un-American Activities Committee—May 3
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Israel—May 7; and Jerusalem—Jan. 4; Feb. 28; and Korea—Sept. 4; Jews in—May 13; women in—Oct. 11
 United Automobile Workers of America—Aug. 20
 United Hebrew Trades (1888)—May 21; June 14
 United Jewish Appeal—Jan. 3; June 24; anti-union activities—May 11; July 18
 United Nations, and Israel—May 7; and Jerusalem—Jan. 3; and Korea—Aug. 6; Sept. 3; Oct. 7
 United Hebrew Trades (1888)—May 21; June 14
 Service Employees Union
 United Palestine Appeal, anti-union activities—June 24; July 17
 United States, and Germany—Nov. 8; Jan. 18; and Israel—Nov. 5; April 3; May 7; Aug. 22; Sept. 14; and Jerusalem—Jan. 3; and Korea—Sept. 4; foreign policy of—Feb. 3
 United Workers Party (Israel)—May 29

Van Paassen, Pierre, *Why Jesus Died* (review)—Jan. 29
 Vatican—Feb. 16; Aug. 25

War criminals—Nov. 7
 Warsaw ghetto, heritage of—April 5, 6, 13; communists in—Oct. 24
 Weber, Simon—Sept. 17
 Weiss-Rosmarin, Trude—Oct. 8
 White chauvinism, American imperialism and—July 21; Jews must fight—Feb. 6; menace of—June 8
 White Circle League of America, Inc.—April 23
 Winchevsky, Morris—May 23
 Wischnitzer, Mark, *To Dwell in Safety* (review)—April 29
 Wise, Stephen S.—March 16
 Wittenberg, Kurt—Feb. 4; March 28
 World Assembly of Youth—Dec. 15
 World Federation of Democratic Youth—Dec. 15; Jan. 25
 World Federation of Trade Unions—July 27
 World Jewish Congress, on renascence of Germany—June 28
 Woman under double standard—Oct. 8

Yiddish grammar—Dec. 25
 Yiddish Theater Ensemble—Feb. 27
 Yiddisher Kultur Farband—March 4
 Youth, in eastern Germany—March 11
 Youth, in Poland—Dec. 16
 Youth, Jewish—Dec. 13; Jan. 24

Zionism—Feb. 8
 Zionist Organization of America—Feb. 11
 Zionist youth groups—Dec. 13
 Ziron, Celia Lewis—July 15

