



FEBRUARY 1951 • 20¢

The Plot to Rearm Germany

WHICH WAY FOR GERMANY? *by George Matthews*

WEST GERMANS DON'T LIKE IT *by Arthur D. Kahn*

THE GREAT AMERICAN DEBATE *by Moses Miller*

SOME THOUGHTS ON WHITE CHAUVINISM *by Alice Citron*

THE GORDY CASE IN DETROIT *by William Allan*

OPEN LETTER TO SYDNEY SILVERMAN, M. P. *by Ber Mark and Binem Heller*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

A NEGRO PASTOR and a rabbi of Louisville, Ky., warned in mid-December that America should never drop the atom bomb. Rabbi Joseph Rauch declared that "apart from the moral issue we would turn a billion colored people against us if we dropped the bomb." Rev. F. S. Anderson said that he thought that all believers in Christianity are opposed to the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction.

SIGNS OF ISRAELI alignment with Washington continued to mount. In a speech in mid-December Dr. Emanuel Neumann, former ZOA president, stated that the General Zionist victory in the Israeli November municipal elections had "made an excellent impression in Washington" and that as a result prospects of financial aid to Israel had been enhanced. (A 35-million-dollar loan to Israel by Washington was announced on December 26.) . . . In early December Israel Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Under-Secretary of States James E. Webb at which other guests were the British and French ambassadors and important defense and political figures. . . . The same State Department that tendered the luncheon to Sharett entertained as an "outstanding visitor" Azzam Pasha, secretary-general of the Arab League, who advocated in May 1948 "a war of extermination and a momentous massacre" of the Jews of Israel. Azzam Pasha was closeted with George C. McGee, head of Near Eastern affairs of the State Department, for about four hours and said to the United Press later that he found McGee "very sympathetic."

JIMCROW HOUSING . . . Last July the Novick and Ross families of Levittown on Long Island invited Negro children from nearby Hempstead to play with their children. In August the families were notified that they would have to leave at the expiration of their leases on November 30. Late in December the families received their eviction notices. William Levitt, operator of this largest government-aided low cost housing project in the country, has ignored protests from many organizations and of individuals like Rabbi Roland B. Gittleson. The families have appealed their eviction to the State Supreme Court. In their brief *amicus curiae* on the case six organizations, the New York chapter of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the New York Civil Liberties Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and the Nassau chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action, charged that Levitt and Sons were trying to enforce a "Caucasians Only" policy at Levittown. . . . The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, owner of the Stuyvesant Town housing project in New York, in mid-December began court proceedings to evict 33 families who had been active in the campaign against discrimination in the project. The Metropolitan is trying to avoid a jury trial for the 33.

NEGRO VETERANS eligible to engravers' positions as a result of civil service promotional examinations at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing of the Treasury Department in Washington, are still refused promotion to the plate printing jobs despite a decision of the Fair Em-

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

Vol. V, No. 4(52)

FEBRUARY, 1951

EDITORIAL BOARD

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

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

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-------|
| FROM MONTH TO MONTH | |
| DEFEND THE IWO | 3 |
| SINISTER ATTACK; THE DERRICK CASE; NEGRO HISTORY WEEK; WELCOME TO "FREEDOM" | 4 |
| SOME THOUGHTS ON WHITE CHAUVINISM by Alice Citron | 5 |
| THE GORDY CASE IN DETROIT by William Allan | 7 |
| BROTHERS, a poem by Isaac Loeb Peretz, translated from the Yiddish by Eve Merriam | 10 |
| TO SAVE THESE RIGHTS . . . | 11 |
| THE PLOT TO REARM GERMANY | |
| I: WHICH WAY FOR GERMANY? by George Matthews | 12 |
| II: WEST GERMANS DON'T WANT IT by Arthur D. Kahn | 16 |
| III: EAST GERMANY IS NOT REARMING | 19 |
| IV: THE GREAT AMERICAN DEBATE by Moses Miller | 20 |
| AN OPEN LETTER TO SYDNEY SILVERMAN, M.P. by Ber Mark and Binem Heller | 25 |
| WE CAN WIN PEACE by Ilya Ehrenburg | 26 |
| LETTER FROM ABROAD | |
| INTERVIEW WITH LEOPOLD INFELD by Claude Morgan (Prague) | 28 |
| BOOK REVIEWS | |
| IMMIGRATION, PAST AND FUTURE by Morris U. Schappes | 29 |
| JEWISH SHORT STORIES by Eve Merriam | 30 |
| FROM THE FOUR CORNERS edited by Louis Harap | 2, 32 |

JEWISH LIFE, February, 1951, Vol. V, No. 4 (52). 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 1951 by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc.

ployment Practices Board designated by President Truman. The United Public Workers is fighting the issue.

IMMEDIATE FREEDOM for Lt. Leon Gilbert, Negro officer condemned to 20 years imprisonment after a jimcrow court martial in Korea, was demanded by the American Federation of Polish Jews early in January. The protesting brief submitted to President Truman points out the totally unjust character of the trial received by Lt. Gilbert.

UNCERTAINTY SURROUNDS the prospects for defeating efforts in this country to exhibit the British film, *Oliver Twist*, which contains a vicious anti-Semitic portrait. According to latest information, the planned showing of the film by a Texas movie chain has been cancelled. The Motion Picture Association of America has not given approval to the film. On January 4, however, the National Board of Review passed a resolution opposing "open or covert actions of intimidation, boycott or arbitrary censorship" (Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

DEFEND THE IWO

THE attempt by the insurance commissioner of New York State to destroy the International Workers Order will deeply shock tens of thousands of American workers of many national origins. On December 14, the insurance commissioner petitioned the State Supreme Court to take over the IWO and liquidate it with the fantastic red-baiting incantation of our day that the Order "advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence." The court then ordered the IWO to suspend operations and took over its finances. And on January 10, State Supreme Court Justice Henry Clay Greenberg forbade the Order to hold its national convention, which was scheduled to take place on January 13-15. Not only the thousands of IWO insurance policyholders, but all democratic-minded Americans deeply resent this brazen attempt to destroy a people's institution which has for nearly two decades served the interests of the common people of America with loyalty and devotion. Five hundred policyholders went to Albany on January 8 to voice their protest against this violation of their rights.

The building of the Order through these years was an act of devotion by hundreds of thousands of American workers who saw in this organization a means of developing the security and interests of the common people. These men and women built the Order in the faith and determination that common people of many nationalities, colors and creeds can work together for their common goals and nurture the finest and most progressive traditions of their own groups.

The IWO has helped to pioneer in providing the best kind of insurance and benefits for its members. The insurance commissioner raised no question of the financial soundness of this insurance company, which has lodges in 19 states and the District of Columbia, a membership of over 162,000, assets amounting to \$6,126,801 and outstanding insurance amounting to \$110,950,000. The intention to transfer the IWO insurance policies to other companies is an attempt to destroy the sound, low-cost system developed by the IWO in the interests of the common people. Through its example and struggles the IWO in no small way contributed to the passage of social security laws. During these struggles, too, the IWO was vilified by forces opposed to any measure to advance the welfare of the people. But the leaders and members of the IWO were not then intimidated, nor are they now, for they know that they are fighting for a just cause which must be victorious.

But the pioneering of the IWO did not stop in providing benefits to its members. It added a glorious page to the history of American democratic struggle by resisting the attempt to foist the theory of Anglo-Saxonism on America

and to deprive the national groups of our country to security and self-expression. At a time when chauvinism, anti-Semitism and racism are spreading, it is important to recall the historic contributions of the IWO in advancing the best traditions of many national groups and in teaching by living example that Negro and white, that Russian, Polish, Spanish, Ukrainian, Jewish and other peoples can live in harmony and work together for common goals.

We of the Jewish community are naturally very much aware of the contributions made by the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, a section of the IWO, to the cause of the Jewish people and of America. While the Jewish daily *Forward* group and bourgeois assimilationist elements have brought vulgarity or corruption into Jewish life and among the Jewish workers in particular, the JPFO has carried forward the deepest and finest traditions of the Jewish workers. The JPFO has played a leading part in helping to surround the Jewish masses with a Jewish people's culture, with progressive culture. The JPFO's contribution to the building of Jewish schools, choruses and literature served as an example of the manner in which dignified, progressive Jewish workers can live. The JPFO has contributed to the struggle against anti-Semitism and to the creation of genuine unity of the Jewish masses in resistance to fascism and the dangers which have faced and now face the Jewish people. By its actions the JPFO forced many Jewish organizations and their leaders to undertake vital struggles in which they had been reluctant to participate.

Undoubtedly the *Forward* group and the red-baiters among the Jewish people are chortling at this latest attempt to destroy the IWO. But their glee is a bit premature. They are reckoning without the people. For the tens of thousands of people who built the Order with love and devotion will not sit back quietly with folded hands and accept the destruction of their organization. Nor will they surrender the principles which are as essential to them as the air they breathe. As they have so often done in the past, so today they will defend these principles.

But this is not a fight alone for those who are in agreement with all the principles of the Order. It is also the fight of all honest and sincere people. The Jewish people should surely know that the attack on the IWO is not directed against the Order alone. From their painful and persecuted past the Jewish people should know that persecution against one group inevitably spreads. That is why defense of the Order is the concern of every single person who would guard the people against the destruction of their liberties, against the threat of anti-Semitism and war.

We have every confidence that the membership of the IWO will stand fast, will close their ranks, will allow no one to sow confusion and fear in their ranks. They will

fight with the same steadfastness that has gone into the years of struggle to build the Order and everything for which it stands. But we emphasize that the fight is not that of the IWO alone. Every decent, self-respecting person will join in the fight to defeat those who would destroy the right of the people to build organizations of their own choosing and for their protection.

SINISTER ATTACK

THE fact that the gutter-journalist Westbrook Pegler in the New York Hearst *Journal-American* on December 27, had the temerity to call for an "investigation" of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to "arouse the public" against the activities of this organization, should be a warning signal to the Jewish people and all democratic-minded people in America. In his column Pegler charged that the ADL's activities were in the interests of "a single element" and in support of this fascist-like assertion he cited the ADL's activities for FEPC and its maintenance of an agency in the South to fight for rights of the Negro. It is no secret to our readers that we have large areas of disagreement with the ADL in its basic approach and methods. But it is clear that this ominous attack on the ADL by Pegler is prompted by sinister anti-Semitic and anti-Negro and pro-fascist intentions. When a syndicated columnist who reaches millions of readers daily dares to agitate openly for the persecution of an organization because he believes that it is carrying on anti-racist and anti-fascist activities, it is time for all honest people to unite and close ranks against the common threat to them all. Pegler would not dare to express such ideas, nor would newspapers dare to print them, if the atmosphere had not been befouled by anti-communist hysteria. The Jewish people and the American people generally should draw the important conclusions from this Peglerian filth: the racism that is the handmaiden of the red-baiting war hysteria must be combatted by all men of good will in a *united drive* to reassert American democratic principles for *all* Americans.

THE DERRICK CASE

ON December 7, John Derrick, a Negro ex-GI just returned from Korea and on his way home after discharge from the army, was killed in cold blood on the streets of Harlem by policemen Basil Minakotis and Louis Palumbo. The Negro and white community is aroused over this wanton murder. Mass meetings, delegations and protest over this fresh evidence of police brutality against the Negro people has mounted. The Negro people and white progressives are demanding the prosecution of the police killers and an end to this anti-Negro terror on the part of the police. Although Mayor Vincent Impellitteri refused to see the delegation that went to him in protest, the magnitude and intensity of mass pressure on the case has been so great that he has been forced to take the first step in retribution. He has had the two policemen trans-

ferred out of Harlem. But this is only a beginning. The people will continue to press for their full demands: a conference with the mayor to discuss measures to end police violence, a course in race relations in the Harlem precincts, a Negro deputy police commissioner, appointment of Negro inspectors and other high police officials, indemnity of the dead ex-soldier's family and prosecution of the police killers. A tremendous mass movement can win these demands. The working people and all men of good will, Negro and white, Jewish and non-Jewish, should join in this campaign for their common security.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

WE can think of no better keynote for Negro History Week, which falls this year on February 11-17, than that sounded by Alice Citron in this issue. Let there be an end, she says, to "complacent celebrations of Negro History Week . . . and a settling back to the old patterns of work" after the week has ended. Yes, deeper and wider acquaintance with the history and fighting traditions of the Negro people. But these are not ends in themselves. They are only a beginning, a basis for informed action. Liberation of the Negro people demands common struggle of the Negro people with the white working class and all democratic white people. But, as Alice Citron points out, the white people need to struggle jointly with the Negro people to prevent subjection of the whole country to fascism and avoidance of a disastrous atomic war. The Negro and white people have common aims and it is essential for the realization of these democratic aims that they work together. Negro History Week should deepen this understanding and promote joint action.

WELCOME TO "FREEDOM"

ASERIOUS gap in the fast-moving movement for Negro liberation in America has been the absence of a firm, unremitting organ to clarify the people on the issues of the struggle and to inspire them to action. It is therefore with the greatest cordiality and welcome that we greet the appearance of *Freedom*, the new monthly publication of Negro struggle. Edited by Louis E. Burnham and a distinguished board of editors who have proved their devotion to the Negro people, this magazine has the potentiality of serving as a powerful voice for the Negro people. A regular column by Paul Robeson, who is also a member of the editorial board, gives that great Negro a regular channel to the people. "We pledge," says the opening editorial of the first issue, "to make freedom more than a word." In order to succeed in its endeavor, *Freedom* needs the support of every one who has a stake in the freedom of the Negro people, which means every decent human being. Subscriptions are \$1.00 per year. The address is *Freedom*, 53 West 125 Street, New York 27, N. Y. We urge our readers to support this publication.

SOME THOUGHTS ON WHITE CHAUVINISM

By Alice Citron

A LITTLE girl in New York City tells her teacher, "I didn't think you'd like my doll. It's a colored doll. Don't you see?" An assistant to the principal asks some seven-year-olds, "What borough do you live in?" "We live in the colored borough," they reply without hesitation. So young in years, so old in the knowledge of discrimination and segregation! "Liberals" who boast of the great "advances" made in the North against jimcrow should learn something from the poignant words of Harlem's young children. People who are smug about slight breeches in segregated housing might well ponder the remarks of some ten-year-old children as they walked along Dyckman Street. "No, we can't live in this part of town. Colored people only work for the ladies who live here."

No, jimcrow is not something that a Negro can "sometimes" forget about. Every moment of his day is permeated with, "Will I have to fight to eat in that restaurant?" "Will the white teacher say something nasty about Negro children?" "Will the people on the job make insulting remarks?" "Will the policeman on the beat go trigger-happy?" "Can I ride like a white person on the train going to North Carolina?" "Where can a Negro go on his vacation without being told, 'We don't accommodate Negroes?'"

A passenger on the subway to the Bronx and to middle class areas sees a graphic panorama of the menial role imposed upon Negro women. Hundreds of Negro women pour out of the subway doors on their way to homes where they work as domestic servants for white women. And Negro women don't "love" scrubbing everyone's kitchens, as became obvious during the last war. Remember the doleful cries of middle class women during the war, "I simply can't get a maid!" In those days Lenox Avenue was a picture of a determined effort and desire to flee from slavery to the mop. The avenue was crowded with busses taking thousands of Negro women to war production plants, plants which won numerous "E" awards. But today the busses are gone from Lenox Avenue.

ALTHOUGH THE RULING CLASS IN OUR COUNTRY HAS PAINSTAKINGLY, violently and crassly dedicated itself to the task of keeping alive the myth of Negro inferiority, the wrath of 15 million fighters for national liberation haunts the American imperialists. New York has seen concrete evi-

ALICE CITRON is one of the eight teachers suspended from the New York schools. She taught in a Harlem school for 18 years.

dence of this fighting hatred of second class citizenship. For some years now thousands of people in Harlem have shown their determination to kill jimcrow in mighty demonstrations against unemployment, job discrimination, police brutality. Yes, this gigantic militancy against oppression is a phalanx that will eventually do much to defeat the oppressors.

But there are still millions of white people who simply take it for granted that they are "superior" just because they were born white! In a memorable interview that Ilya Ehrenburg gave to a leading Negro newspaper during his visit to this country a few years ago, he conveyed his sense of shock at how white people in the United States uncritically accepted their divine right to superiority over darker peoples. This scourge of American thinking has done much to prevent the most effective unity of Negro and white workers that could defeat the trend to fascism and war in our country today.

Unfortunately, there are all too many white progressives who participate in campaigns for FEPC and civil rights of the Negro people who think they are doing the Negro people a "favor." How many times have I heard, "I'm working on that Negro case." But in working for Negro rights, white people are really helping themselves. For defeat of the war plans of the Truman administration needs powerful allies more urgently than ever. And there is no ally as strong and as consistent in the fight against imperialism as the Negro. Self-righteousness on the part of those who participate sporadically in anti-jimcrow campaigns must be completely effaced.

THOSE OF US WHO HAVE TRIED TO PURGE OURSELVES OF WHITE chauvinism by active daily participation with the Negro people in the numerous struggles that go on, have been met with a variety of excuses for reluctant or lukewarm participation by others. "They don't trust us." "They'd rather be by themselves." This "They don't trust us" business is especially widespread. The mere appearance of a white person in a campaign, some people seem to think, should be greeted by Negroes with a brass band. What arrogance! What ignorance of the modes of oppression developed by the white ruling class over hundreds of years.

Among some people there is a reluctance to conduct "certain" kinds of campaigns because of charitable feelings toward the white people involved. I have a vivid recollection of the sluggishness on the part of some white progressives to struggle against corporal punishment practised

upon Negro children in the Harlem schools. These progressives were fearful that such a campaign would "alienate" white teachers. Yet in the course of a brilliant struggle against these sadistic, chauvinist practices, many white teachers learned that their own working conditions could not be improved unless they joined in the fight against filthy school conditions and the Simon Legree tactics used in many Harlem schools. The white teachers, as well as the Negro children, were the beneficiaries of these struggles. Even to this day it would be completely dishonest to say that these practices are gone from the New York scene. On the contrary, renewed emphasis and vigorous struggle against them are needed as the attacks against the Negro people increase in intensity.

How tenaciously the ruling class clings to its racist ideologies! Year in and year out many isolated campaigns have been conducted to eliminate chauvinistic passages in school textbooks against the Negroes and minority groups. To the shame of all progressives, not a single decisive victory of significance has yet been won on this issue. It's a tough fight, for sure. But how can parents who understand the nature of the class struggle tolerate that their own children absorb this dirtiest of class thinking, year in and year out? The influence of the schools cannot be laughed off by, "I'll educate my children at home." A communist mother was shocked one day when her son came home from school and said, "The Negroes are nothing but slaves." The teacher-helpers of the ruling class had done their work well that day.

ONE STRATEGIC PLACE WHERE THE CORRODING INFLUENCE OF white chauvinism has persisted too long is in the trade union movement. Many workers who have been active in the struggle against bosses have tried to rest on their laurels. Once I was returning in a car from an FEPC delegation to Washington. Several of us had a heated discussion with a worker long active in a left wing union. With us in the car was a well known Negro leader in the progressive movement. The worker had boasted of the wonderful job his union had done for the Negro workers. When we asked him how many Negro workers had been upgraded to highly skilled jobs, he gave us lots of reasons why this hadn't happened. "Some skills take too long to learn"; "You have to be specially fit to become a shop steward," etc. A lot of probing can be done during a long car ride. We found out that this worker had deeply entrenched notions that "everything" that could be done in his industry for the advancement of Negroes had been done and that all we had to do now was to wait for the dawn of a new society!

Jews, particularly, must fight a personal war with themselves to understand the question. They must learn thoroughly that those who flay the Negro, have no love for the Jews. When Rep. Lanham called William Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, a "black son of a bitch," every Jew should have recoiled with horror at this expression of racism. For this attack

against the Negro people was also an attack against the Jews. Those who would railroad Negro soldiers to prison are also very kind to the Ilse Kochs. Jews can bring to sharper focus the struggle against anti-Semitism in the course of direct and active participation in struggles for the rights of the Negro people. When Negro and white voters elected Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the New York City Council several times, they elected not only an outstanding fighter against enslavement of the Negro people, but also one of the greatest fighters against anti-Semitism. Thus the white workers who voted for Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., voted for their own interests, as well as for a great Negro. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Since Davis' defeat by a gang-up of three parties, do the Jews or Negroes have a fighting representative in the City Council?

WHITE CHAUVINISM IN ITS MULTIPLE FORMS IS THE CHIEF barrier to Negro-white unity. One form of white chauvinism that I have frequently met is the "clamming up" process. When a sharp struggle is put up against chauvinistic remarks, there are some who let their white chauvinism "hole in." They gave half-hearted lip service to the battle. Such faint-hearted people cause a great deal of damage. Another form is, of course, the exuberant, "You're such a nice feller," paternalistic approach. So deep-rooted are concepts of 'supremacy, that some progressives go out of their way to give a fatherly pat on the back to every Negro they meet.

It is not enough in these days to carry on a fight against white chauvinism *as usual*. The frenzied chauvinism that imperialism has whipped up in its efforts to enslave the world has caused more intense attacks on the Negro people than ever before. The atmosphere of chauvinism is at an unprecedented height. Many elements of the population that once thought it politic to keep their chauvinism to themselves now boldly brandish it about. Any let-up in the fight against chauvinistic acts and type of thinking renders aid to the warmakers.

In my opinion the fight against chauvinism demands that every progressive must quicken his personal sensitivity to Negro oppression. And he must at the same time join in the ceaseless struggle for the rights of the Negro people in his shop, trade union, community. In plain terms, well-intentioned resolutions passed at meetings are not enough. To fight for the rights of the Negro people does not end with a resolution passed on some phase of civil rights. One must ask, is the organization making an "all out" fight, is it *implementing* the resolution?

Today the responsibility of progressives is greater than ever because our country faces the gravest crisis in our national history. Every white progressive must clearly understand that the powerful liberation movement of the Negro people will not automatically veer to their aid. The progressives must show by their actions that they are worthy of the support of the Negro people. There must be an end to the complaints that "We have so many prob-

lems of our own that we can't take on any more." There must be an end to complacent celebrations of Negro History Week, with numerous eulogies to the great Negro leaders of the past, and a settling back into the old patterns of work after Negro History Week is over. Every progressive should take to heart the words of Frederick Douglass:

"When your army was melting away before the fire and pestilence of rebellion, when your star-spangled banner trailed in the dust or was heavy with blood dropped at the mast head, you called upon the Negro to reach forth with his iron arm and catch with his steel fingers your faltering flag, and he came. . . ."

THE GORDY CASE IN DETROIT

By William Allan

IT'S AROUND 11:00 AM on a quiet Sunday morning, November 19, 1950. A two-family flat at 1011 Alger Street in the north end of Detroit. A Negro Ford worker, Charles M. Gordy, Sr., and his family live downstairs. The Butler family lives upstairs. Peaceful, hardworking people.

Mrs. Gordy at church—Mr. Gordy and his son, Charles M., Jr., resting after a week's work. Mrs. Butler upstairs, preparing to take her five grandchildren to Sunday school.

Two police officers, Andreas M. Mellert and David R. Morgan, came to that house that Sunday morning. They came without a warrant to arrest Charles M. Gordy, Jr. Here is what happened, as told by Charles M. Gordy, Sr.:

"The police came to the house and asked for a man that did not live there. I told him (Mellert) my son Charles lives here. He said, 'Yeah, he's the one we want.' I told him to wait and asked if he had a warrant. He said he didn't need any. When I went to the bedroom to get my son I turned and saw the policeman behind me. I told him, I thought I told him to wait. He put his hand on his gun and moved into the bedroom and started to rouse my boy Charles. Charles asked him if he had a warrant. The officer said no and told my boy to hurry up and put his clothes on. I told him he should have a warrant and that I could order him out of the house if I wanted to. He said, 'You can't do that because I am already in.'"

"My boy was dressing, but the policeman wouldn't wait for Charles to put on his clothes. He said he was going to call the other officer in. My boy told him it was not necessary because he was coming out. They went to the front door and this officer kicked my boy on the leg. I told him to stop and he said 'Shut up!' I ran to the door to stop the other officer from coming in. Me and this officer (Mellert) scuffled and he drew his gun and told me to get back. I backed to the bedroom as the policeman rushed and shoved my boy out of the door.

WILLIAM ALLAN is the Detroit correspondent of the *Daily Worker*.

"When I saw that, I got mad and went into the bedroom and got my deer rifle and stood with it in the front room."

Gordy then related how the two officers twisted his son's hands behind his back and handcuffed him out on the sidewalk. He told how he stood at the window; how the policeman (Morgan) saw him and fired at him. Gordy, Sr., in self defense returned the fire, firing two shots. One killed policeman Mellert and the other wounded policeman Morgan. Gordy, Sr., then went back and put the deer rifle under the mattress in the bedroom and waited.

Police "Commando" Attack

Within ten minutes 100 policemen, including a squad of "commandos," were in front of the house. The "commandos" wore steel helmets, carried sub-machine guns, rifles with bayonets and protective armor.

The police then sprayed the house with machine gun and pistol fire and dumped tear gas bombs into the frame building. The house was completely devastated, inside and out. Every window was broken. Recoil bullets left their marks on the ceiling.

Here is an account of what happened inside the house as told by Mrs. Marie Butler, who lives upstairs: "Bullets came through the door, through the windows, they hit the ceilings, the walls, everywhere. I started yelling to the police to stop shooting, that we didn't know what was going on downstairs. I had the kids in the apartment and I was afraid they would be hit. I have five children and four grandchildren. They were screaming and crying. Then came the tear gas bombs through the windows. We ran to the back and finally the police told us to come out with our hands up."

When the residents of the two-family flat were all in the back yard, Charles M. Gordy, Sr., stood silently with them, while police continued to direct gunfire and tear gas into the empty building.

Oscar Baker, 16, said, "When I came out of the house an officer hit me with the butt of his rifle." Others who came out of the bullet-riddled house said police officers were kicking them as they went by.

Meanwhile, Charles M. Gordy, Jr., had fled to a nearby gas station and asked the owner to call a Negro policeman whom they both knew because he feared he might be killed by the white police. He still had on the handcuffs.

All of the tenants at 1011 Alger were finally taken to the police station, including Charles M. Gordy, Sr. Most of them were in night clothes. Gordy, Sr., says he was kicked and got a pretty hard lick on the jaw there. He is now held for trial on a murder charge. Gordy, Sr., said, "I protected my son and home."

Record of Police Savagery

Is the attack on the Gordy home an isolated case? Was the fascist-like brutality in that attack something that never happened before?

About two weeks after the attack on the Gordy home, Mrs. Gitner, a Negro woman, of 77 Canfield, Detroit, told how her home had been violated by the Detroit police. Here is her statement: "I was in the basement and when I came upstairs my daughters, quite upset, told me that the police had just left. They had no warrant and gave no explanations. My oldest daughter had answered the doorbell and two policemen swept past her to the bedroom, searched the closet, the kitchen and then opened the closed bathroom door where my other daughter was undressed.

"Then they left and went to an upstairs apartment. I was so angry I went into the hall and met them on their way down. A plainclothesman was with them. When I demanded to know why they thought they had the right to invade the privacy of my home without a warrant—they made no answer at all—they didn't try to apologize or explain their actions. I was sick and mad. I thought of what the police had done to the Gordy family and the people who lived in the upper flat."

What about brutality and trigger-happy policemen?

In March 1946, a young Negro man gets into an argument in a restaurant. Police are called. Words pass, the police and the man tussle. A second policeman enters. One policeman holds the man, the second shoots. The man is dead on arrival at Receiving Hospital. Witnesses agree the shooting was unnecessary. They say it was murder.

In 1947, Beverly Lee, a 13-year-old Negro youth, ran from police who say they "suspected him" of purse snatching. Shots were fired. Beverly Lee was killed.

In June 1948, Leon Mosley, 16-year-old Negro youth, was speeding. Police gave chase. The car was stopped and the youth taken from the car and beaten before witnesses. Shots were fired into Mosley's back as he stumbled away after the beating. Police said he was "escaping." Leon Mosley died. The killer, policeman Louis Melasi, was let off scot free.

In the same month 19 unemployed young men, all Negro, were rounded up, jailed, charged with loitering, after four police squad cars, sirens screaming descended on the community. Twenty-four hours in jail.

In a report to the Detroit Common Council in 1949 former police Commissioner Toy admitted that in 1948 some 20,000 arrests were made in which no charges were ever brought in court. The majority of the 20,000 false arrests were Negroes.

When looking for the answer to the savagery against the Negro people by Detroit policeman, it's well to remember that during the trials of the murderous Black Legion in Detroit, many members of the police department were revealed to be carrying membership cards. And let one not forget that during the organizing of the CIO here, police attacks against the picket lines were an everyday occurrence. Has the hatred of the police towards unions abated since those days? No, they prepare to "handle" labor in a new way, with the "commandos" who took part in the attack on the Gordy home.

Negro People Fight Back

The Negro people of Detroit, targets of discrimination at the factory gate, in the factory, on the streets, in restaurants, in getting housing, by the ruling monopolies and their agents have challenged the white supremacist gangs.

In the 1950 elections some 350,000 Negro citizens registered to vote. They demanded from all candidates a position on FEPC, police brutality, non-segregated low cost public housing, right to move into any part of the city and purchase a home, no discrimination in hiring at factory gates, jobs for Negro women. They were supported in their demands by every honest white man and woman.

Together with their white allies they sought to re-elect Records Court Judge Charles Wesley Jones, first Negro judge in over a hundred years here.

The Negro vote in the 1950 election was a movement taking its inspiration from the great growing struggle of the Negro people throughout America, from the struggle of the colored peoples throughout the world. From the thunder of struggle rolling up from the South. The fight to save the lives of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee and others.

In the primary election Judge Jones swept into top place ahead of 27 other candidates. In the final election Frank Schemanske, city corporation counsel, beat him. Schemanske didn't lose any votes when Hunt Street Police Station members didn't deliver the judgeship ballots to some 7 wards until two hours after the booths opened. Schemanske has been attorney for the Policemen's Association for many years. He also defended police officer Melasi, who shot and killed Leon Mosley.

In their courageous resistance to police terror and discrimination the Negro people, together with their white allies, have won some victories, but with many to go.

Every restaurant on Woodward Avenue up to Warren Avenue has been tested by teams from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For many blocks around the Cadillac plant, 30 restaurants agreed not to discriminate after teams of UAW Cadillac Local 22's FEPC Committee paid them a visit. Smaller victories have been won around the east side Chrysler plant.

But at the factory gates job discrimination is rampant. Mrs. Bledsee of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission told a recent city-wide UAW FEPC conference that job discrimination was mounting. She said that in 1945 some 35 per cent of the employers requesting help specified "White Only." In April 1947 this had jumped to 44.5 per cent. In 1949 it rose to 49.8 per cent and in 1950 it reached 80 per cent.

By their resistance the Negro people are playing a leading role in the struggle of all decent Detroiters to halt fascism and save democracy. That is why Detroit is witnessing a new terrifying violence being launched against this resistance movement of the Negro people. A fascist rehearsal if ever there was one.

The resistance of the Negro people has reached new heights of vision, dignity and militancy. They stand their ground. They fight for their rights just as their forefathers fought against slavery.

Operation Hush-Hush

That's why Operation Hush-Hush went to work on the Gordy case. Operation Hush-Hush was the coverup handled by the *Detroit Times*, *News* and *Free Press* and certain individuals who work with them.

In the Gordy case some 6,000 people stood behind police bayonets watching the armed assault on the house. The burning anger of the people had to be channeled off into a different direction. Their angry, protesting voices had to be stilled.

For the three daily newspapers of our town there is always "the angle." The "angle" used many times before was redbaiting. When Leon Mosely was shot by policeman Louis Melasi, the *Detroit News* led off with a "conspiracy" they "uncovered" to take over City Hall by the communists. The *News* claimed that the Mosley protest movement that arose in all walks of life and included the communists was a beachhead for TOD (Take Over Day). The *News* hauled out James Sweinhart, a "reporter" who wrote a series of 16 articles "exposing" the plot.

But as someone said, "What is the *News* screaming about? The communists did not shoot Leon Mosley, it was a policeman who shot him."

And so, in the Gordy case, the old red herring was resurrected. Operation Hush-Hush and its agents went to work.

The operators of Hush-Hush, the *Free Press*, *Times* and *News*, wrote that the police said "Communists were seeking to incite a race riot." The papers pulled out their favorite person, to quote, Horace White, a well-known apologist and willing pawn for anyone in seats of power

who needs him. Horace White added the personal touch about how he "moved in and out" quelling the "communist incitement" and by the sheer magic of his reputation "prevented the race riot" from getting under way.

People's Counter-Attack

The Detroit Pastors and Ministers Fellowship, Interdenominational, and the Baptist Minister Alliance, which make up close to 500 pastors of Negro churches, have issued a blistering indictment of the police department. A group of the leaders of these ministers' groups, called together on the initiative of the nationally-known Rev. Charles A. Hill, said: "Few occurrences in Detroit have so shocked the Negro community as the extreme brutality displayed by the Detroit Police Department in its handling of the Gordy case. Notwithstanding this wanton disregard for the lives of these law-abiding citizens, certain self-styled leaders of the Negro community have seen fit to issue statements praising the police department for its 'efficient handling' of the situation. The community was not aroused by communists or any other group but were moved because of the gross mistreatment rendered by the police."

Carl Winter, secretary of the Michigan Communist Party, issued a statement the day after the Gordy attack.

He charged that the attack on the Gordy home was a "foul, fascist-like assault against a Negro family aimed at terrorizing and intimidating the Negro community. The unprecedented viciousness of this military assault," said Winter, "can only be understood as the answer of the ruling bankers, manufacturers and real estate sharks of Detroit, operating through the Cobo administration, to the rising determination of the Negro people to win complete emancipation for themselves from jimcrow and discrimination."

More and more groups were deciding that the Gordy case was a civic issue and not an "incident." Cadillac Local 22 of the CIO Auto Workers Union, through its FEPC Committee, wrote a letter to all union locals in the city asking them to join with Local 22 in bringing to light cases of police brutality against the Negro people. The local, in a letter to Police Commissioner Boos, demanded a public statement by his office, repudiating brutal practices.

Boos' reply was: he "did not know of any anti-Negro policy."

The Michigan Civil Rights Congress, which for 16 years has been in the forefront of championing the fight for Negro rights and against police brutality, is assisting in every way those seeking unconditional freedom for Mr. Gordy.

Detroit Police Corruption

While the *Free Press*, *Times* and *News* were congratulating themselves that the Gordy attack had been taken care of, a former member of the police department let loose a broadside that rocked the beat.

He was former Lieutenant Donald A. McDonald. He revealed that the redbaiting, trigger-happy police department was linked to a liquor-graft scandal with a mob of gamblers.

The same day Senator Kefauver of the Senate Crime Investigation Committee, speaking at the Detroit Economic Club, where the top brass of the police department was present, said that organized crime took \$250,000,000 a year out of Detroit. Once again Operation Hush-Hush was in gear to cover up for the police. And from the facts already on hand, there would have to be lots of sawdust raked over the blood.

Former Lt. McDonald charged that high police officials okayed the issuance of a liquor license to a bar owned and controlled by two Detroit gamblers. He charged the same officers forced him to "resign" because of his objections to the issuance of the license. He said that Senior Inspector Thomas Wysocki had backed the license with the statement that the gamblers were "pretty good boys."

The final issuance of the license was approved by Deputy Police Superintendent Kennedy Lawrence. One of the "good boys" was Henry J. Sobcsak, who was one of the figures involved in a \$10,000,000 a year sports and numbers racket here. In addition, the scandal reached deep into Detroit and state politics, involving both Republicans and Democrats. Here's the tieup:

Governor G. Mennen Williams was a member of the State Liquor Control Commission which approved issuance of the license despite a recommendation from an LCC field worker that it be turned down.

Owen J. Cleary, state chairman of the Republican Party, okayed the transfer of the license to Sobcsak and his gambler partner.

Frank Schemanske, former Detroit Corporation Counsel and now Records Court Judge, represented Fred Sobcsak, brother of the gambler, and told the LCC that he operated a "high class" place.

It will be recalled that during Schemanske's campaign against Records Court Judge Charles W. Jones the Detroit *Free Press*, two days before election, ran a story that Jones owned some stock in a club.

Here you have it. Thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' money spent to train strikebreaking commandos who are used to practically blast a citizen's home off its foundations.

Police and press spilling tons of ink to cover up their attacks against decent, hardworking citizens while a United States Senate committee charges \$250,000,000 take by gangsters, even names them, and little or no moves are made to end this.

The cycle is thus being completed for all Detroiters to see: the redbaiting and anti-Negro, anti-labor acts of the police is matched only by their condoning of graft and gangsterism which seemingly has its connections among their own top officials.

This is the police department that Operation Hush-Hush and the daily press sought to claim "could do no wrong" by their murderous assault on the Gordy home.

Unite and Resist!

The people must speak up and act. Mr. Gordy must be freed unconditionally if the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are to have any meaning for Negro and white citizens alike. If the constitutional rights of Negro citizens are permitted to be violated, then the same rights for all citizens are in jeopardy. The fight for the unconditional freedom of Mr. Gordy is a fight in defense of the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights as it applies to all Americans equally, as well as a fight against police brutality, as directed especially against the Negro people.

I urge all liberty-loving people to help raise funds for Mr. Gordy's defense. The labor movement, to whom the Bill of Rights is so dear, can do no less than enter and participate in the campaign for Mr. Gordy's freedom. The elder Gordy is a member of UAW-CIO Local 600 and the younger Gordy is a member of Division No. 26, Street Car Men's Union, AFL.

Tribute and backing should be given to the 300 pastors in Detroit's Negro community who so fearlessly and lucidly placed the responsibility on the police department, where it belonged.

The Michigan Civil Rights Congress, which is spearheading the campaign to win justice for Mr. Gordy, must receive the assistance of every Detroit citizen. Cadillac Local 22, UAW-CIO, has called for the searchlight of public scrutiny to be thrown on police brutality. This should be emulated by all labor and people's organizations. The NAACP's efforts to obtain all facts in the Gordy case and other police brutality cases should be helped.

It will take the unity of the people again to free Mr. Gordy—to win a publicly-sponsored investigation of the police department—to remove a police commissioner like Boos.

BROTHERS

By Isaac Loeb Peretz

White, brown, black, yellow,
Mix the colors with each other.
Men and women, brothers sisters
From one father, from one mother.

Yellow, black, brown, white,
Every man is my own brother.
Different only in our colors,
One's the same as any other.

Men and women, sisters brothers
Black, white, yellow, brown.
Peoples, races, family trees—
Chop that nonsense down.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Eve Merriam)

TO SAVE THESE RIGHTS . . .

THE formation of a national committee to repeal the McCarran Act was announced on December 27 by 32 prominent Americans, including two Nobel Prize winners, six bishops, and leading educators and scientists. They have already been joined by over 1,000 others from every State and the District of Columbia.

Among the initiators of the committee are Nobel Prize winners Emily Greene Balch and Thomas Mann; Methodist Bishop James C. Baker and Bishop W. J. Walls of the A. M. E. Zion Church; Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO; Frank Aydelotte, Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton University; Dr. John A. Mackay, President, Princeton Theological Seminary; and Pierre van Paassen, Unitarian clergyman and author.

Some prominent Jewish figures, in addition to Frank Rosenblum, are among the committee sponsors: Dr. Moses Barron, noted Zionist leader of Minneapolis; Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College; Rabbi Leo Jung, Rabbinical Council of America; Rabbi D. A. Jessurun Cardozo, of New York; Rabbi J. X. Cohen, Free Synagogue, New York; and Rabbi Morris Fishman, Columbia, Mo.

Committee spokesmen John B. Thompson, Dean, Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, University of Chicago, and Robert Morss Lovett, former acting governor of the Virgin Islands, explained that the committee grew out of the appeal of more than 1,900 leading Americans to President Truman and Congress for defeat of the McCarran bill last fall and out of countless letters since its passage urging them to lead a movement for repeal.

"The hysteria and intimidation the law has evoked in the two months since its passage," Thompson and Lovett said, "have strengthened the opposition of those who were against its passage and have opened the eyes of many who were not fully aware of the dangers of such repressive legislation."

"The present situation holds three most hopeful prospects," they added. "First is the repeal measure introduced by Rep. Adolph Sabath (Dem., Ill.). We shall launch a campaign on Congress for full support of this measure. Second, we hail the recent actions of important national organizations in favor

of repeal (the National Convention of the CIO; the *American Federationist*, official organ of the AFL; the League of United Synagogues; the American Civil Liberties Union; and many others.) These actions, together with the heartening response from over 1,000 prominent Americans from 48 States and the District of Columbia who have joined in sponsoring our committee, encourage us to believe that this shameful law can be erased from the books by demand of the American people. Finally, our faith in the unconstitutionality of the Act is confirmed by the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of *Blau vs. the United States*, which proves that the registration provisions of the McCarran Law cannot be enforced. We are convinced that the American people realize that the preservation of the Bill of Rights is their responsibility and that they will therefore join with us in demanding the repeal of this infamous Act."

The other initiators of the committees are Dr. Abraham Cronbach; Prof. G. A. Borgese, University of Chicago; Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard University; Dr. Mark A. Dawber, former executive secretary, Home Missions Council of North America; Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, chairman, World Day of Prayer Committee, United Council of Church Women; Rt. Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Episcopal Bishop of Oregon; Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Delmar Baptist Church, St. Louis; Prof. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Rev. John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn; Rabbi Leo Jung; Bishop Gerald Kennedy, Portland Area, The Methodist Church; Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Carey McWilliams, economist; Dr. Alexander Meikeljohn, educator, Berkeley, former president, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Albert W. Palmer, former moderator, Congregational-Christian Churches of America; Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Episcopal Bishop (Retired) of San Francisco; Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology; Ralph Barton Perry, professor of philosophy, Harvard University; Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, Pullham Memorial Chapel, Raleigh; Paul Tillich, professor of theology, Union Theological Seminary; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Charles J. Turck, president, Macalester College; and Oswald Veblen, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton.

The Plot to Rearm Germany

I: WHICH WAY FOR GERMANY?

By George Matthews

Lord Halifax declared that: He (Lord Halifax) and other members of the British Government were well aware that the Fuehrer had attained a great deal, not only inside Germany herself, but that, having destroyed Communism in his country, he had barred the road of the latter to Western Europe, and that Germany, therefore, was entitled to be regarded as a bulwark of the West against Bolshevism.

(Conversation between Hitler and Lord Halifax, November 19, 1937, from the archives of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.)

THIRTEEN years almost to the day have passed since Halifax's conversation with Hitler. Thirteen years, into which as a result of Halifax's policy were crowded the sufferings of a century. The crucifixion of Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland; the bombing of Rotterdam, Coventry, London; the tens of millions of dead of the Second World War; the tortures and gas chambers of Dachau and Auschwitz; the occupation of France; the unforgettable and unforgivable atrocities of the nazis in the Soviet Union—these were the fruits of regarding German imperialism as "a bulwark of the West against Bolshevism." This was the "preliminary job." Has the lesson still to be learned? Are we to go one better than the Bourbons and prove that we have learned nothing and forgotten everything? Must humanity go through the horrors of world war, for the third time in a generation, before an end is finally put to the policy expressed in the Dawes Plan and the Munich Agreement? If the answer is sought for only in the speeches of Western statesmen and the editorials of the American and British press, there would be little hope for mankind. For them the issue is already settled. Germany is to be kept divided; its Western section is to be occupied indefi-

nately by ever-increasing numbers of foreign and especially American troops; its economy is to be turned into a war economy, its heavy industry into a war industry, under the control of the same nazi industrialists who did a similar job for Hitler; its people are to be rearmed and used as cannon fodder for an American aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the working class of Europe.

Since the end of the war, Communists have warned that this was the aim of reactionary circles in America and Britain. The people were told, "Don't listen to the Communists—they are making propaganda. We shall never rearm Germany." Bevin declared in Parliament on March 28, 1950, "We have set our face—the United States, France and ourselves—against the rearming of Germany, and that, I am afraid, we must adhere to." But now, openly, publicly and officially, the western powers reveal their true aims. The conference of foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and France, which took place in New York in September, held its discussions in secret. But on September 19 a communique was issued which made clear the reactionary nature of its decisions. The Occupation Statute imposed on Western Germany was confirmed; while hypocritically speaking of "ending the state of war with Germany," the communique emphasized that "this will not affect the rights and status of the Three Powers in Germany." Far from it, for the Three Powers declared that they will "increase and reinforce their forces in Germany." They decided further to lift the ban on war industry in West Germany, announcing this in the phrase, "a review of the prohibited and limited industries agreement shall be undertaken in the light of the developing relationship with the Federal Republic." Finally, they decided to carry forward the rearmament of Western Germany, which they had already begun, by permitting "the establishment of mobile police formations" and by "German participation in an integrated force."

The September 19 communique was the culmination of years of material and ideological preparation. It was to lead up to this that the Potsdam agreement was disregarded almost from the first, that "denazification" was

GEORGE MATTHEWS is a British political writer. The article above is reprinted from the *Labour Monthly*, December 1950.

turned into a farce, that dismantling was stopped, war criminals released, the separate currency reform carried through in Western Germany, the Bonn puppet government established and Hitler's generals given the job of restoring the German army. It was to lead up to this that Churchill made his long series of speeches, from Zurich in 1946 to Strasbourg in 1950, starting with phrases about "bringing Germany back into the European family" and finishing with talk of a "European Army" as the cover for German rearmament. It was in preparation for this that Montgomery, Slim, McCloy and Bradley made their repeated speeches during the past year calling for Western Germany to be rearmed.

Behind German Rearmament

The reason for American insistence on German rearmament is clear enough. For their strategy of war against the Soviet Union, the Americans need West Germany as a war base and jumping off ground, as a war arsenal, and above all as a source of manpower. For a time at the end of the war, the "push button" conception of the Third World War enjoyed popularity with American strategists. Men were not so important; air power and the alleged American monopoly of the atom bomb would decide. But the atom bomb monopoly proved to be a myth. The idea that the world could be conquered by a few men pressing buttons in Washington was replaced by the realization that wars could not be won without armies. Even the most subservient capitalists of France began to make it clear that they were not enthusiastic about a strategy which "wrote off" Europe up to the Channel and envisaged a later "liberation." The talk turned to manpower, to ground forces, to numbers of divisions. But on whom in Europe could the Americans rely? On the French, the cream of whose army is suffering reverses in Indo-China, one-third of whose electors regularly vote Communist, and hardly any of whom are hankering to get into uniform again? On the Italians, 8,000,000 of whom voted for the Popular Front, and nearly all of whom have had enough of military adventures after their experiences under Mussolini? On the British? But British imperialism could not find enough forces to suppress the colonial liberation movements and the Americans could not be sure that the people of London, Glasgow and Sheffield had yet forgotten Stalingrad. Hence the dream of a vast army of ex-nazis in West Germany. Hence the steps already taken, and the further steps proposed, to recreate the aggressive power of German imperialism.

The American insistence on these steps arises from the fact that they are fundamental to American strategy, which without them stands not the slightest chance of success. This is the theme returned to again and again by the Western statesmen and commentators:

"The logic of purely military arguments points unmistakably to this conclusion: that the creation of limited

German forces and a contribution to rearmament from the heavy industries of the Ruhr should be allowed—indeed encouraged. In no other way, as the previous chapters have shown, can the military threat to Western Europe be quickly and adequately countered without exhausting demands on the manpower and economic resources of Britain, France and their smaller allies." (*Defence in the Cold War*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, p. 78.)

Peoples' Resistance to Rearmament

But, as with so many plans that look well on paper, there are difficulties. No sooner was the New York statement issued than the storm broke. For if on the one hand German rearmament is essential to America's war plans, on the other hand it is the issue which arouses the deepest and most profound feelings among the people of Europe, including the West German people themselves.

The reaction in France was the greatest and most significant. French Premier Schuman had endorsed the New York communique. But since September 19 the French government has felt the pressure of public opinion. Anxious to carry out the wishes of its American masters, yet afraid of the wrath of the French people, caught between the devil and the deep blue sea, it has been forced to come forward with a formula for German rearmament which does not fit in entirely with American plans. Equally important have been the developments in Germany itself. The American dream of a vast German army is based on the assumption that the German people will be prepared to become cannon-fodder for Wall Street, will tolerate indefinitely the division of Germany and will not resist the combined occupation of their country by the western powers. But life itself

Israelis Protest Nazi Rearming

SOME 10,000 Israelis staged a demonstration New Year's week-end against the rearming of Western Germany. The rally was organized by Mapam and the Communist Party of Israel after they had introduced a resolution in the Knesset condemning the Brussels decision to rearm Western Germany. Israeli Premier David Ben Gurion had succeeded in getting the resolution pigeon-holed. The demonstration was the largest ever held by the progressive forces. The vast throng pledged that they would never be found on the same side with the nazi murderers of their brothers and sisters. Esther Vilenska, Communist Party leader, denounced use of the atom bomb and urged Israelis to prevent the country from becoming "a battlefield for the imperialists." Israel Bar-Yehuda, Mapam leader and Knesset deputy, told the demonstrators that the government of Israel should immediately express its condemnation of the rearming of Western Germany. Yaacov Riftin, also a Mapam Knesset deputy, emphasized that thousands of the demonstrators had lost relatives during the nazi terror.



is showing that this American dream has little relation to reality. Already in October, 1949, Stalin pointed to the historic turning point marked by the formation of the German Democratic Republic:

"There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving democratic Germany, side by side with the existence of a peace-loving Soviet Union, excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe and makes impossible the enslaving of the European countries by the world imperialists. . . . If these two peoples display a determination to fight for peace with the same intensity that they waged war, then peace in Europe can be regarded as secured."

In the year that has followed, the German Democratic Republic has achieved successes which have had a profound effect throughout the whole of Germany. Under the leadership of the united party of the German working class, the Socialist Unity Party, the Two Year Plan was completed in one-and-a-half years, and a new Five Year Plan adopted. Already the economic position of the German Democratic Republic, with full employment, a rapid tempo of economic reconstruction, reductions in prices and increasing real wages, is in the sharpest contrast to the fruits of the colonial policy of the western powers in West Germany, with its mass unemployment, rising prices, immense class contrasts between rich and poor, and disastrous economic situation. ("Europe is faced with the bankruptcy of Western Germany"—Dr. Stikker, President of O.E.E.C., October 21, 1950.) This contrast will sharpen with the Five Year Plan

in the East and the effects of rearmament in the West.

The profound desire of the German people for peace and national independence was expressed in the overwhelming vote for the National Democratic Front in the election of October 15—a vote whose significance all the efforts of the Western Powers could not conceal. And in spite of all the attacks launched by the occupying powers on the National Front and the forces of peace in Western Germany, they cannot prevent the growth in the West of a powerful movement for unity and peace, breaking across the artificial boundary division, and leading towards the development of one great national movement throughout the whole of Germany. The deep opposition of the people of West Germany to the New York decisions on rearming Germany was reflected very quickly in the resignation on October 9 of the minister of the interior of the Bonn government, Dr. Heinemann, an outstanding leader of the Evangelical Church, because of his opposition to rearmament. This was followed on October 15 by the protest of Pastor Niemöller at the Evangelical Church Conference against the employment of a former Wehrmacht general in preparing West German armed contingents. At the same time the most reactionary and chauvinist elements in West Germany were encouraged by the decisions of the New York meeting to make openly provocative statements, like that of Kaiser, minister for all-German questions, on October 22: "When those driven from their homes in the East asked 'Will the day come when all will be changed?' I can only reply, 'The day will come.'"

This statement drew from *The Times* (London) the comment, "It is obvious that it is statements of this kind which fill Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe with forebodings."

Soviet Initiative for Peace

It was in this situation that the Soviet government took the initiative in defence of peace by calling together the foreign ministers of the countries which suffered most from nazi aggression and of the German Democratic Republic itself on October 20-21 in Prague. It is only necessary to summarize the proposals made by this historic meeting to understand the rage with which they were greeted by Acheson and the British foreign office and the effect already in stimulating the forces of peace. They call for:

A Four Power declaration against the remilitarization of Germany and the carrying out of the Potsdam agreement.

The development of Germany's peace economy while the restoration of its war potential is prevented.

A peace treaty, the restoration of German unity and the withdrawal of occupation troops within a year after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

An all-German constituent council on a parity basis, to prepare the way for a provisional, democratic, peace-loving, all-German government.

Prague is 3,000 miles from New York. But as compared with the New York declaration of September 19, the Prague declaration of October 21 is like a document from another world—a world of sane and peaceful men, not war-mad lunatics. From New York came an imperialist dictate, not discussed with Germans, but to be imposed on them. From Prague came a statement discussed with leaders of the German people who in the elections of October 15 had received an overwhelming vote of confidence from the electors in the German Democratic Republic. From New York came not a word about a German peace treaty, but on the contrary, the proposal to continue to occupy Germany with increased forces. From Prague came the call for an immediate peace treaty followed by the end of the occupation and the withdrawal of all troops. From New York came proposals based on the continued division of Germany. ("The division and occupation of Germany must and will continue"—*Defence in the Cold War*, p. 84). From Prague came the demand for a united Germany.

It is no wonder that the first effect of the Prague statement was such as to make Morgan Phillips feel it desirable to sit on the fence on the question of German rearmament at the COMISCO conference held that same weekend, only to be slapped down immediately by Mr. Bevin's foreign office. The support for the Prague proposals within France was so great that when Moch, the French defence minister, went to Washington for the talks on German rearmament which started on October 28, he did not dare to yield immediately to the intensified American pressure, but stuck rigidly to the Plevin Plan. His attitude resulted in the talks breaking up without an agreement having been reached

which could be publicly announced, and a statement being issued which *The Times* (London) described as "an attempt to paper the cracks, but it was a chasm which the ministers were trying to paper and it showed only too clearly." But the "chasm" was not between the aims of the French capitalists and the American warmongers—it was a chasm between what they both wanted and what the people were prepared to tolerate. If the Prague declaration stimulated all the forces of peace, it was also followed by German reaction becoming more openly aggressive. Schumacher, the advocate of "offensive defense," seized on the occasion to demand overwhelmingly bigger Western forces in Germany. Adenauer made a series of speeches demanding "full equality" for German forces placed at the disposal of the American-European army, and declared that "it is incomprehensible that French politicians should still be bothering themselves with events of the past"—echoing the phrases of Hitler, Goebbels and Abetz in 1938 and 1939, which were the prelude to the invasion of 1940. Commented the *New Statesman*, "perhaps the most striking thing about present German comment is its self-confidence."

On November 3 the Soviet government further carried forward the Prague initiative by proposing talks between the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France on the fulfillment of the Potsdam agreement on the demilitarization of Germany. A great new opportunity opens up for a peaceful settlement of the vital problem of Germany—the question which is at the core of the fight for lasting peace.

Does Eisenhower Remember?

EISENHOWER'S return to Europe in January 1950 may revive his memories of his visit to Russia in August 1945.

I recall a few of the opinions he gave to press correspondents in Moscow before leaving. They were published in England in *Soviet News* of August 17, 1945.

"Asked for his opinions on the prospects of Soviet-American relations after the war," says the report, "General Eisenhower said that this was a very big problem, but he did not see anything that could hinder the development of those relations.

"If we wish to be friends," he said, "we must understand each other."

Eisenhower did not then admit that German forces might be revived against Russia. He was asked what tactics German industrialists and financiers were pursuing in the American zone and whether they were trying to set America against the Soviet Union.

He scouted the idea that any German "would dare" to approach him for any such purpose. He drew attention to the fact that the Americans had removed some German war equipment and said, "I do not think the Germans will be able to develop their industry."

Does Eisenhower remember?

WALTER HOLMES, London *Daily Worker*.

II: WEST GERMANS DON'T WANT IT

By Arthur D. Kahn

DURING the war I had occasion to interrogate SS-Colonel Ernst Seifert in the prison of the destroyed North Bavarian city of Wuerzburg. I asked Seifert when he thought the war would be over. "That is not clear," Seifert replied. "The Russians are advancing very deep into Germany. The danger of bolshevism is great for America." When I objected that he was not answering my question, he continued: "It's hard to say just when the open conflict will begin. When I heard the Fuehrer's speech on March 1, I said that he had always been right, and I believe he will be right again about victory."

This conversation took place on April 24, 1945, only two weeks before the end of the war. This Nazi (who, by the way, had denied any knowledge of atrocities committed against the Jews), confidently anticipated that the Nazis and the American government would soon be allied against the Russians. On December 21, 1950, when the Allied High Commissioners of Germany proposed to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer that the occupation would end, if West Germany agreed to participate in the Atlantic Pact military program, Colonel Seifert's prophecy became a likely and imminent possibility.

It is not generally known in this country that the agreement of the Western powers at Brussels in December 1950 on German remilitarization was actually a belated ratification of a trend that was already far advanced. Since the beginning of 1950, and more particularly since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, the actual remilitarization of West Germany has been proceeding at an ever accelerating tempo.

Steps Toward Remilitarization

The decision to rearm Germany can be traced to the Hoover-Dulles plan formulated almost three years ago for the revival of West Germany as a great power under American tutelage. This plan called for the rehabilitation of the Ruhr industrialists, the elimination of all reparation payments and the reinstatement of the "reliable" reactionary politicians and bureaucrats of the Weimar Republic of von Hindenburg. The wholesale amnesty of top ranking German militarists and Nazi leaders by General Lucius D. Clay carried forward this program. In 1950 the colonels finally reorganized in the open. The militaristic and ultra-nationalist Stahlhelm, notorious for its participation in the massa-

ARTHUR D. KAHN was an OSS intelligence officer in Germany during the war. He is the author of *Betrayal: Our Occupation of Germany*, which can be obtained from the author at 160 Second Avenue, New York City (cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.00).

cre of the workers after World War I, was revived last spring; the old general staff had previously established its own organization, the *Bruderschaft* (Brotherhood).

In February 1950, leaders of the *Bruderschaft*, men whose names brought terror to an entire continent for a decade—Generals von Manteuffel, Student, Stumpf, Halder, Guderian, von Schwerin, and the SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Steiner and Hausherr—met in Koenigstein-am-Taunus. They drew up plans for German conscription and rearmament, which they forwarded as a memorandum to the Allied High Commissioners.

In their dealings with the western occupation authorities the German militarists and the Ruhr industrialists have been increasingly more demanding and arrogant, taking advantage of all the contradictions existing among the Big Three. The hostilities in Korea, however, provided the opportunity for the West German politicians to press for complete independence of action in return for cooperation in the military preparations against the Soviet Union.

In the calculations for a war against the Soviet Union, West Germany has become the "hope" of the imperialists. West Germany's industrial concentration is the third largest (after the United States and the USSR) in the world. Its officers corps is largely intact. The anti-bolshevik, neo-Nazi ideology of the ruling elements conforms to the political aspirations of the American Centurions, and its reactionary leadership is willing—at a price.

Since the Korean war broke out, events have moved with breakneck speed in West Germany. Following a statement by United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy in favor of German rearmament at the beginning of July, Chancellor Adenauer requested and obtained permission for the establishment of a national police force, the *Bundespolizei*. And on July 13, 1950, the official Bonn Government Gazette announced that all restrictions on the importation of light and heavy war materials into Western Germany had been lifted.

Rearmament Already Under Way

On July 22, a Major Stevenson arrived in Stuttgart from Washington to confer with 20 high ranking German officers and several British and American army and intelligence officers. Major Stevenson suggested the establishment of a German mercenary army to consist of 40,000 infantrymen, a tank corps of 20,000 and an air force of 15,000. Nazi General Heinrich Stumpf was charged with the organization of the air force. American intelligence services offered to provide Stumpf with lists of former German aviators.

In the past few months paramilitary groups, that is, armed units not officially part of the "army," have been formed throughout West Germany. A Telepress report at the end of July estimated that there were some 1,200,000 West Germans in armed, semi-military formations, including 100,000 "industrial" police in the United States zone; 29,000 river and frontier police; 30,000 in the *Bundespolizei*; 588,000 in the Civil Workers Federation in the British zone; as well as 107,000 radar specialists. The same report noted that from 1949 to 1950 the police force in towns of Schleswig-Holstein had been increased ten times over. Since July, Labor Corps composed of unemployed have been given arms and military training. In October 1950, they were furnished green uniforms, assigned army ranks and ordered to salute in military fashion.

West German Labor Offices have been ordered to submit names of unemployed former Wehrmacht personnel to the American authorities. In several cities of the American zone, American recruitment offices have been opened for the hiring of auxiliary mercenary troops.

These facts show that, as far as the reorganization of the German general staff, the mobilization and training of manpower and the importation of military equipment are concerned, West Germany was already rapidly approaching remilitarization before the recent Brussels meeting.

German People Resist Remilitarization

The German people, however, have not remained passive before this threat to world peace—a threat which to them certainly means extermination unless they resist rearmament and the war danger. Although peace-loving men and women throughout the world are generally quick to recognize the danger in rearming German Junkers, Ruhr magnates and nazis, there is perhaps insufficient recognition of the contribution that the German people themselves are making in the struggle for peace.

The occupation officials and their German collaborators cannot and do not ignore the smouldering opposition to remilitarization among the people. Paul P. Kennedy reported in the *New York Times* (September 9, 1950) that he was informed by an "authoritative source" that "a heavy majority of the Germans not only were against rearming but looked with disfavor on the resurrection of anything like the German Wehrmacht of Hitler's era. The popular feeling is, 'we'd like to sit this out,' the source added."

The authorities have taken steps to smother peace sentiment. In mid-July Cardinal Frings of Cologne declared to a gathering of Catholic leaders that the peace movement developed about the Stockholm appeal was "contrary to Christian thinking." On July 26, Commissioner McCloy was forced to call a meeting of the ministers of interior and police commissioners of West German states to discuss countermeasures against the growing peace demonstrations. The social democratic leader Kurt Schumacher simultaneously instructed a meeting of trade union and party officials that "the job now is to assemble the people about the *Bun-*

desrepublik so that they are ready to defend it with body and soul against attack from the East."

Despite the furious barrage of propaganda, police pressure and warnings from the Church, the population of West Germany is mobilizing more and more into the camp of peace. Nor is this difficult to understand. An entire generation of German men was decimated or maimed in the last war. Every large city was reduced to rubble. Since the end of the last war, there has been no *practice* of peace in West Germany—no large-scale reconstruction of the devastated towns, no mobilization of industry to meet the dire want of consumers, no land reform to provide livelihood and food for the new settlers from the East, no adequate reschooling of youth for peaceful vocations. Today more than two million West Germans are unemployed. Inflation brings marginal living and constant insecurity for the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. And now, in addition, the old *Bonzen* (bureaucrats), Ruhr magnates and Junkers are calling for a new war mobilization. The drain of war preparations aggravates all the critical problems of the masses of German people. There is a decrease in consumer production, an end to reconstruction, prohibition of the right to strike—and death.

Workers and Youth Lead Peace Fight

Despite the hardships of unemployment, hundreds of Germans have left the Labor Corps, refusing to submit to military drill or bearing arms. In Nuremberg nearly 70 per cent of the "industrial" police would not register for military training in barracks. Throughout the West, slogans are painted on walls everywhere—"Amis, Go Home! . . . Tommies, Go Home!"

Leading the fight for peace are the workers, especially the young people and the women. A spectacular demonstration of the youth was held on September 25, 1950, when 25,000 young miners assembled in the Ruhr town of Bochum. Three thousand police and hundreds of detectives armed with automatics and truncheons were on hand. The police battled with the marching youth and confiscated their peace placards. Theodor Heuss, president of the West German Republic, had been invited to address the young people. He was unable to speak however, because the youth continued to chant: "Long live world peace! We don't want to be soldiers! Theodor, go yourself, alone!" When the hall was finally quieted and Heuss began to speak, a group of young miners raised a tremendous sign behind him with the inscription: "We want butter instead of cannon, more pay instead of divisions!" More than 50 young people were arrested and Heuss was unable to finish his address.

In August, 26 Hamburg longshoremen were fired when the dockworkers voted not to unload two British munitions ships. The women carried on a campaign in the defense of the men, braving police attacks and arrests. Finally, yielding to the pressure of the townspeople, the port authorities were forced to reinstate the dismissed longshoremen. The British ships were not unloaded.

In Frankfurt the social democratic youth group joined with the Free German Youth in publishing an anti-war leaflet, in which they announced: "We declare that the question of remilitarization cannot be determined by any German politicians and militarists or by representatives of foreign powers, but that this must be the affair of the entire German people, particularly of the German youth."

Religious Opposition

But the intense anti-war sentiment is not confined to the workers, the women and the young people. Numerous church leaders have spoken out in sharp opposition to the remilitarization plans. In October, Pastor Martin Niemöller, a former concentration camp inmate and now a leading Protestant clergyman in Germany, issued an open letter to Chancellor Adenauer in which he stated: "Despite all the denials in the press, the remilitarization of West Germany, the re-outfitting of German men for a possible war between the East and the West is being pressed with full vigor. High officers have been active since October 1 in setting up headquarters for the formation of German units to be part of a European Army. Orders for munitions have been given to German industry. . . . Evangelical Christians must oppose all remilitarization in practice and will rely on their constitutional right to do so. And if this right should be withdrawn by an amendment to the Constitution, then they will once again feel compelled to pay heed to God's commands rather than to man's. . . . When the Western Allies demand a contribution of weapons and troops from West Germany, they should command that themselves, openly, and not hide behind German democracy."

Even former officers have organized for peace. The Union of Rejecters of Militarism and War with headquarters in Frankfurt claims a membership of 17,000 veterans—officers and enlisted men.

The organized peace sentiment in Germany, moving with the peace forces throughout the world, can be decisive in the next few months. "Without the participation of German men," noted Captain Helmuth von Muecke, former commandant of the battle cruiser Emden, at a meeting of the Union of the Victims of Nazism in October, "war is impossible. If the German people refuse to take part in a war in which German must fight against German, if it rejects remilitarization, peace for the German people, for Europe and for the world is assured."

Menace to Peace

The adventurist attempt to rearm West Germany exposes the critical threat to world peace implicit in current American policy. When Nazi barbarians, calloused Junkers and Ruhr industrialists, who fattened on the slave labor of the concentration camps, are welcomed as allies, can there be further illusion about the real meaning of talk about the "defense of the Free World"? Not only are the Poles and

Czechs and Ukrainians alarmed at these developments, but Frenchmen and Netherlands and Norwegians—and Jews throughout the world.

The undisguised attempt to mobilize the military and industrial might of West Germany against the Soviet Union is, however, raising the war drive to a new level of danger to world peace. With this move, the world political crisis reaches a new and more menacing stage. In identical notes to the three Western Powers on October 21, the Soviet Union warned that it would "not tolerate" the restoration of a new Wehrmacht. In view of the experience of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Democracies under the Nazi military machine, this warning is not to be considered as mere diplomatic fencing. The next months may see new and critical developments in the fight for peace—focused in Germany.

Rabbi Silver on the War Danger

RABBI Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, carried forward his criticism of the Truman administration policies in four lectures delivered in October (see our last issue) with a hard-hitting sermon in his temple on December 26. An overflow audience heard Rabbi Silver, who is a former president of the Zionist Organization of America, declare that the entire Korean adventure was the result of a political move by the Truman administration seeking to appease reactionary Republican sentiment.

Rabbi Silver, himself once a supporter of Senator Robert A. Taft, charged that the Truman administration is responsible for dragging the nation and the United Nations into one of the gravest international crises ever faced. It is seeking to cover this up, he declared, by throwing the burden on the people through a fake "national emergency" declaration, and by taking the country and the world into a terrible war against the USSR.

He demanded an examination of the whole course of administration politics and maintained that the "national emergency" proclamation was totally unnecessary and was proclaimed to obscure administration responsibility for its military and political defeats.

It is clear as day, he said, that the policies of the State Department both in Asia and in Europe are leading to inevitable war with the USSR. He listed among these policies the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the effort to save the hide of Syngman Rhee, seizure of Taiwan and rearming of Nazi Germany. All of these, he declared, are leading the world to catastrophe.

In recent months, he said, there was plenty of opportunity to resolve the crisis honorably. But instead of accepting proposals made by Nehru and others, we overran the 38th Parallel and approached the Chinese and Soviet borders. Now that we have reached the stage of virtual war with the USSR and every military strategist knows that the USSR cannot be crushed militarily, the administration does not plan to ask Congress for war but seeks to drag us in deeper through such measures as the national emergency, Silver warned.

III: EAST GERMANY IS NOT REARMING

MANY people who favor rearmament of Western Germany have been taken in by the argument that the reconstitution of the Wehrmacht has been made necessary by the fact that the Soviet Union is rearming the Germans in the Eastern zone. Let us look at the facts.

At all times the Atlantic Pact powers under Washington's inspiration have tried to distort Soviet policy in Germany. This policy is characterized in the first place by the fact that the USSR has fought consistently for the realization of the Potsdam decisions.

The USSR has destroyed the seed of German militarism in Prussia and has deprived German reaction of its economic base in agriculture and in industry by deep-going economic, political and social reforms without which Germany would be unable to be either demilitarized or democratized.

The USSR has not preserved German military units as has been done in the Western zones. Molotov had objected to this practice at the Four Power conference at Moscow in March-April 1947.

The USSR has removed fascist elements from all controlling positions in all phases of administration, economic and governmental.

The USSR has deprived the Junkers of the economic base of their power by the agrarian reform which shattered this powerful support of German militarism and imperialism. The 6,500 great estates of the five provinces of the Soviet zone, containing 2,700,000 hectares that had belonged to the feudal land owners, have been distributed among 383,519 families.

The USSR has systematically pursued the policy of demilitarization and decentralization of German industry by abolishing the great monopolies and trusts. There are no longer any munitions factories in the Soviet zone. Enterprises owned by war criminals have been confiscated. This measure has been approved by a referendum of the people.

We present below the statement of the Soviet Union in reply to charges of East German remilitarization, as well as comments from conservative and liberal Western sources.

Following is the text of the reply sent on October 19, 1950, by the Soviet Government to the Governments of the United States, Britain and France:

"The Soviet Government has acquainted itself with the note of the Government of the United States of America which contains allegations that the People's Police of the German Democratic Republic does not discharge the usual police functions and is of a military nature.

"The Soviet Government resolutely rejects these contentions as lacking any grounds.

"The People's Police was set up as early as 1945 for discharging the usual police functions in guarding public order. The organization and arming of the People's Police are in full accord with directive No. 16 of the Control Council in Germany of November 6, 1945.

"As is known, in accordance with this directive, the Control Council recognized as necessary that the German police take 'an active part in maintaining law and order,' and, as demanded by the above directive, pro-fascist-minded persons were not and are not admitted into the People's Police.

"The People's Police of the German Democratic Republic guards and protects democratic law and order established in compliance with the decisions adopted by the Potsdam conference.

"At the same time, the Soviet Government draws the attention of the government of the United States to the existence in the western zones of Germany of 'police' formations which in point of fact are army units.

"The arming of these formations, their organizational structure, the training of officers in special schools and also the fact that they undergo regular army training and take part in military maneuvers together with the occupation troops of the Western powers, leave no doubt that these formations are in no way designed for discharging the usual police functions.

"This is also borne out by the New York communique of the ministers of foreign affairs of the United States, Great Britain and France published on September 19 this year.

"This communique says that, besides the existing police units in Western Germany, it is permitted to set up so-called 'mobile police units,' which in essence are military units, and besides this, the participation of Western Germany in the 'joint armed forces' is provided for.

"In other words, it is openly envisaged to revive the German army, which stands in utter contradiction to the rulings of the Potsdam conference on the demilitarization of Germany.

"It follows from the above-stated that the ungrounded assertions regarding the People's Police of the Eastern Democratic Republic were needed by the United States Government in order to cover up the separate and clearly unlawful actions carried out in Western Germany by the United States Government, jointly with the Governments of Great Britain and France for the establishment

of a German army, as expressed both in the 'mobile police units' and in the participation of Western Germany in the so-called 'joint armed forces.'

"The Soviet Government states that it will not tolerate such measures of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France aimed at reviving the German regular army in Western Germany."

The conservative French political commentator Pertinax wrote in the Paris *France-Soir* on November 7, 1950, as follows: "Certain people will object that if the Moscow government really wished to maintain Germany in a state of disarmament, it should have itself refrained from recruiting or gotten others to recruit a German armed force in the democratic republic of the East.

"To which it is necessary to reply: 1. that, according to information recently obtained from Switzerland and Belgium, this armed force is up to now only a police force about which it would be better to reserve any final evaluation; and 2. that, since Eastern Germany has only 17 million inhabitants as against 47 million in Western Germany, Russia could only lose in any contest of rearmament of the vanquished, if it were to push this to the end."

J. Alvarez del Vayo wrote in *The Nation*, December 16, 1950, as follows:

"To dismiss Russia's proposal [for a Big Four meeting]

as just another obstructive maneuver is to ignore the fact that the Kremlin has never felt sure of the loyalty of East Germany and has not forgotten the lessons of the past. . . . The Russians, like the French, have experienced more than one German invasion, and the horror of the summer of 1941 is still a vivid memory. The division of Germany into two states, each with its own army, or security police, or whatever it may be called, cannot please Moscow. The most immediate danger is offered by West Germany, inflamed by anti-communist propaganda and coveting the fertile fields of the East; but East Germany could be aroused by a call for the reconquest of the frontier provinces now incorporated in Poland. Two German states constitute a permanent double peril. Thus in proposing a return to Potsdam, at least in the sense of restoring a policy of collaboration among the Big Four to prevent the rise of German military power, Russia is only serving its own interests. These interests are also those of the West. The spectre of a remilitarized Reich haunts every European Foreign Office.

"If the United States rejects a negotiated agreement with Moscow on the German issue, it will not only risk a third world war, to be fought not on the borders of Asia but in the heart of Europe; it will also risk fighting the war without dependable allies."

IV: THE GREAT AMERICAN DEBATE

By Moses Miller

THE issue of foreign policy has invaded the sanctity of the American home. As evidence keeps mounting that our present day foreign policy is leading to disaster and to a desperate gamble with the lives of the American people, millions are lining up to participate in a discussion on the great and overriding issue of our time—peace or war. America has been precipitated into a great debate.

The very existence of this debate is testimony to the basically sound political health of an American working class and common people reared on a great democratic heritage. The debate is all the more significant when one considers the avalanche of Hitlerian lies, the demagoguery and racist-like propaganda to which the people are subjected 24 hours a day.

The unfolding of this debate is painful for many Americans. Emergence from the tragic dilemma into which the Truman foreign policy has plunged the American people demands revision of many notions long held and many illusions long cherished as sacred truths. Furthermore, to go where this process leads demands courage and boldness.

In mid-century America with its loyalty oaths, Smith and McCarran acts and anti-communist hysteria, to fight for peace is to risk incurring the wrath of the powers that be. But neither edicts nor inquisitions can halt the debate. Illusions die hard. But stark and naked reality is forcing illusions to give way. And the dilemma that has hit the warmakers and the rifts and contradictions in their own ranks have helped to hasten the unfolding of this debate.

The process is slow—too slow, if the American people are to halt the warmakers before it is too late; before millions of American youth as well as millions of youth of other nations will have had to pay with their lives. But the process is going on. It provides a solid foundation on which to build and it can gain momentum if it is given help and leadership.

Americans Are Disillusioned

That disillusionment with the Truman war policy is developing cannot be doubted. Consider a few items culled

Is It Insanity?

"EITHER we negotiate our differences through diplomacy or we go to war. In the latter event, our scientists tell us, there is an excellent chance that every living thing on the face of the earth will die. Yet our statesmen have rejected the other alternative. Therefore, we face certain destruction. Is this anything but insanity?"

PROFESSOR FREDERICK W. SCHUMAN, at a forum of the Congregation B'nai Zion in Chicago.

at random from hundreds of letters and messages appearing daily throughout the country:

"RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 9—Frank Porter, commentator for radio station WXGI here, polled his listeners yesterday on: 'Should we pull our men out of Korea?' Porter received 98 telephone calls within a few minutes after he put the question on the air. The result was 98—0 in favor of quitting Korea."

"SEATTLE, Wash.—Marine Sgt. Jack T. Coleman, home from Korea on a 30-day convalescence leave, told the *Seattle Sunday Times* in a front page story that most American fighting men believe that fighting north of the 38th parallel was a 'blunder.'"

In the *Brooklyn Eagle*, Louis M. Green stated, "Peaceful negotiation is in order. The way in which the Korean war has turned forces us to see the facts of the case in their true light. Either we come to some agreement with the New China's Communist masters or suffer the unhopeful prospective of exhaustive war. . . ."

Hundreds of such items can be found daily in almost every newspaper throughout the country. Often they are buried. But the ever-growing vocal protest becomes each day harder to ignore. There is much that is heartening in such items and reports. For they point to the deep rooted and overwhelming peace sentiment of the American people. Yet, we must not be blind to the fact that the doubts being raised about foreign policy and the ensuing debate are in the main taking place within a narrow framework and lack any sure and clear perspective of a *genuine* alternative to a war policy.

To date, the debate has centered around a discussion of the Truman *versus* the Taft or Hoover perspective. Throughout America people are discussing the merits of one plan as against the other. Many who are imbued with earnest and honest hopes for peace feel that Taft and Hoover are offering a genuinely peaceful alternative. This is exactly what Taft and Hoover intend. They sensed the mood and sentiment of millions of Americans and were conscious of the impasse to which the Truman foreign policy had brought the American people. Taft and Hoover were quick to recognize the need for identifying themselves with these sentiments. Not by any stretch of the imagina-

tion did they do this in order to lead the people to a real peace program. Their objective was to enunciate their own program of military containment. By resort to demagoguery Taft and Hoover responded to popular sentiment so as to contain the peace sentiments of the people and to channelize them along a direction which leads to war no less than the Truman path.

When Taft protested that the president had failed to consult Congress on the Korean adventure, he was of course expressing the truth. But the Taft who developed suddenly such a deep concern for the democratic process, will hardly advocate a further step in a truly democratic process; namely, that the president and Congress should consult the American people, should respond to the basic interests and aspirations of the people.

Broaden the Debate

At the same time, the American people are debating the issues of peace and war within a restricted framework because of the unreality of the basic theses which most Americans accept almost without question. Consider the following case. An American worker or farmer or professional comes home from work. He reads his paper or tunes in his radio and is told that the Soviet Union is rearming East Germany. He is a man who prides himself that he does not fall for propaganda. He makes up his own mind. So he sits back and tries to think through whether it was right or wrong for the Soviet Union to rearm East Germany. But how many Americans question the funda-

Six years later they get back their guns.



mental thesis? *How many Americans know that the Soviet Union is not rearming East Germany?*

The same American reads day in and day out that Russia is this and Russia is that and it is impossible to negotiate with such a country. On such a basis does he try to determine whether we can or cannot negotiate with the Soviet Union. But will this American, at this moment, consider that perhaps it is not the Soviet Union that is the barrier to negotiations but our own government?

As progressives we are aware that the great debate now raging in America cannot be transformed into a mighty and united endeavor which will be able to turn American foreign policy into a peace policy, until there is far greater clarity as to who is responsible for the present war danger. Yet we neither underestimate nor dismiss any and every honest step taken by any American toward a peaceful alternative, regardless of how heavily such steps may be encumbered with illusions and distortions. And millions of Americans today are groping their way toward a peaceful alternative.

Progressives Must Enter Debate

Indicative of this growing, groping trend are sections of an article by Archibald MacLeish in *The Nation* of December 16. This article is typical of the lines along which Americans are thinking, Americans who have not yet in any way broken with the basic outlook from which the Truman foreign policy stems.

Says MacLeish: "But if the events of the past few days have made it more difficult to think and talk of peace, they have made it easier to discuss *negotiations as a means of peace*. . . . As long as it was possible to believe in peace by containment, peace by might, peace by forces in being, the discussion of negotiation was unrealistic. All the Russians respected, all that would restrain the Russians, we agreed, was force. Now that it is apparent that force—any force in the foreseeable future—will not of itself restrain the Russians, negotiation becomes not only a realistic

Don't Open the Nazi Cage!

ON a recent visit to Paris the noted Israeli Hebrew poet Abraham Shlonsky made the following statement to the Paris Yiddish paper, *Naie Presse*:

"Any Jew, no matter who he may be, but who is at all concerned about the future of his people, must view the various attempts to rearm Germany with the deepest apprehension. To the whole world, but especially to the Jews, such an act would be tantamount to opening the cages in a zoo and letting the wild animals go free to stalk and kill. Those of us who survived the threat of that ferocious wild animal, nazism, must wholeheartedly join in the protest movement of progressive humanity against the legalization of neo-nazism."

means of avoiding war but *the realistic means*."

Never has the welfare of our country and our people more urgently demanded of us an intimate and constant awareness of the currents and sentiments shaping the thinking of the American people. Never before has it been more imperative that every single American who lays claim to progressivism, himself enter completely and unflinchingly into the great debate now proceeding on the issue of peace and war; enter with an unswerving faith that the mass of the people want peace and will follow a program for a peaceful alternative provided this is proposed within the terms of their own experience. In other words, American progressives now have the historic opportunity of broadening the scope of the present debate toward a real foreign policy for America—a peace policy. Even more important is that they convert the debate into purposeful activity.

Revived Nazi Army

Threat of a revived nazi army is one critical phase of the peace question on which progressives must act without delay. What can be a greater betrayal of the American people, as of all peoples throughout the world, than the decision to rearm the Germans and to plot the rebuilding of the Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe? Six years ago, American soldiers, side by side with soldiers of the Red Army and armies of other nations, were fighting to destroy the beasts of Buchenwald and Treblinka. Six years ago, American boys were fighting bravely against the German army at Malmedy and in the Battle of the Bulge. But if anyone had ventured six years ago to declare that the American government would in a few years be actually forcing Western Europe to accept a new German army, he would undoubtedly have been considered a madman. Yet within six years of the conclusion of the most terrible and destructive war in history, such an army is being rebuilt. Once again frenzied slogans against communism and the Soviet Union are being used to hide dangerous and aggressive designs. Once again the revival of a German army threatens to unleash a new war more horrible than any the world has ever seen, an atomic war.

The issue of German rearmament is very much a part of the great debate now taking place in our country. Every section of the American people fears the consequences of such an act. More and more often does one hear someone express the apprehension that such a revived army, composed, as it must be, of nazis and led by Hitler's officers, cannot be trusted and may even in a crucial moment turn against us. Here and there, as yet too rarely and often too vaguely, there are glimmerings of deeper insight and of the recognition that millions of Germans no longer want to fight and would be a totally unreliable force. There is a growing awakening to the fact that even as in Korea, so too in Europe there will be no major forces to do our fighting. American soldiers in the millions would have to bear the brunt of any war.

People's Doubts Are Deepening

Thus, in deciding upon this disastrous step, the makers of our foreign policy are guilty of a most shameful betrayal of the American people, which can only lead to the death of millions of Americans. Unfortunately, as on questions of foreign policy generally, so too on this decisive issue of rearmament of Germany the debate proceeds in too narrow a framework. Even though most Americans are unhappy about the prospect of German rearmament, they are nevertheless prone to sit back and accept it because they have fallen prey to many fallacious concepts consciously imposed on them by the makers of our foreign policy. It is dinned into the ears of the average American through the press, radio and the speeches of Washington spokesmen that the rearmament of West Germany has been undertaken only because of the threat that the Soviet Union poses generally and in particular because of Soviet rearmament of East Germany. Other articles in this issue show how false these claims are. Yet progressives must recognize that such questions as these, if they remain unanswered, are barriers to the crystallization of the people's peace consciousness and therefore demand consistent and persistent attention.

But we would be blind to our own responsibilities and opportunities if we did not recognize that even within limitations of popular sentiment today, much can be done to activate the American people in opposition to this new threat against the entire world. With all their weaknesses, expressions of opposition are fast multiplying. Thus, James P. Warburg wrote in *The Nation* of December 16: "Having realized that the guns-and-butter policy cannot in fact produce enough guns, we have decided to do something which, until a short time ago, we assured the world we would never contemplate—namely, rearm the Germans and the Japanese. Not only will this procedure fail to produce a defense force capable of holding off Russian invasion, but it will actually weaken the position of the non-communist world, stultify its cause, and destroy all hopes of the eventual emergence of peaceful, democratic societies in Germany and Japan."

Sentiment for another try at negotiations with the Soviet Union over the issue of Germany is increasing. The war-makers fear this sentiment and are therefore intensifying their efforts to find ways and means of preventing negotiations with the Soviet Union. This makes it even more imperative that progressives, who understand that peace hangs by a thread today, should intensify their own activities to move masses of people into a growing demand for negotiations. Such a venture can be crowned with success if we develop a campaign on every possible level, ignoring none. At the same time, no program of activity for any given group should ever be launched without serious consideration as to the level of consciousness of the group concerned. Ultimately, nothing can stand between us and the masses of the American people if we are sensitive to the apprehensions and moods and at the same time the

level of thinking at any given moment among any given section of the American people.

Many Americans simply do not believe our contention that East Germany is not being rearmed and that the Soviet Union does not by the wildest stretch of the imagination constitute a threat to the American people in any shape, form or manner. Yet such Americans will join with us or act on their own to halt the rearmament of West Germany and to force negotiations with the Soviet Union if proper direction and leadership is given them.

Jews and Nazi Rearmament

It seems hardly necessary to point out the special concern of the Jewish people with regard to the question of German

Dare We Forget?

HERE are two headlines that appeared exactly six years apart.

December 19, 1944: "Sweeping Across Luxembourg, Say Nazis."

December 19, 1950: "Nazis to Get Arms Again."

They tell in ten words the menace of the Brussels decision to enlist German militarism as an ally against the Soviet Union.

All through Christmas week of 1944 and into the New Year an immense battle raged, beginning with an offensive by Rundstedt, the German commander, on a 70-mile front and developing into the "Battle of the Bulge."

On January 6, 1945, Churchill sent Stalin an urgent message: "The battle in the West is very heavy and at any time large decisions may be called for by the Supreme Command. You know from your own experience how very anxious the position is when a very broad front has to be defended after a temporary loss of initiative. . . . I shall be grateful if you can tell me whether we can count on a major Russian offensive on the Vistula front or elsewhere during January. . . . I regard the matter as urgent."

The next day Stalin replied that weather did not favor an offensive. But, he added, in view of the situation on the western front the Red Army headquarters had "decided to complete the preparations at a forced pace and regardless of weather to launch a wide-scale offensive against the Germans all along the central front not later than the second half of January. You need not doubt but that we shall do everything that can possibly be done to render help to the glorious troops of our allies," he said.

Actually, the Red Army went into action ahead of schedule. On January 12, it threw 150 divisions into action on a front stretching from the Baltic Sea to Budapest and broke through the German lines. A headline a few days later read: "Whole Eastern Front Is Ablaze, Say Nazis." And the German News Agency said, "This war will be decided by the present Soviet offensive."

In those critical hours, American soldiers and Soviet soldiers fought and died to save each other and to defeat the Nazi enemy. Six years later the American government rearms the enemy.

rearmament. Yet it remains an unhappy fact that to this date progressive Jews are giving little leadership to arouse the Jewish community toward a consciousness of the great danger for Jewish people everywhere inherent in this plan. Certainly, American Jewry is far, far behind other Jewish communities in this respect. Demonstrations attended by thousands and thousands of Jews have been held in Israel under the leadership of Mapam and the Communist Party. Despite the attempts of Premier David Ben Gurion and the Mapai leadership to sidetrack this issue, the indignation of the Israeli people is rising daily.

French Jewry has expressed itself unanimously against German remilitarization. Under the slogan, "We Shall Never Join Hands with the Murderers of Six Million of our People," French Jewry has participated in the general demonstrations against German rearmament now taking place all over France and has initiated many of its own activities. The Federation of Associations of Jewish Veterans and Volunteers unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the rearmament of Germany. In England, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, most influential Jewish organization in the land, was forced to pass a resolution condemning German rearmament. A few days later the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen associated itself with the Board resolution, as also did the Grand Order of the Sons of Jacob, one of the largest fraternal Jewish organizations in England, at its annual conference.

In this country many of the leading Jewish organizations have issued resolutions against German rearmament. Thus, the American Jewish Congress resolved that "militarization of Germany at the present time, however limited and in whatever form, must inevitably mean the revival of the

German military caste, whose thinking and ambition have twice unloosed on our generation war and human destruction unparalleled in history." Similarly, the Jewish War Veterans at their annual encampment in October opposed the creation "now, or at any time in the future, of a new German army under independent German command."

Other examples of action by American Jews could be cited, such as the refusal over a year ago of the Anti-Defamation League to yield its platform to Bittenweiser, assistant high commissioner in Germany. Yet even a superficial survey of the American Jewish scene shows little organized reaction to the threat of German rearmament, let alone any movements of a mass character.

It is obvious that this inaction is injurious to the interests of the Jewish people everywhere as it is to America. The need for developing the debate on this issue on a much vaster scale and to initiate organized activity on this issue is imperative. No Jew, regardless of his political beliefs, regardless of his outlook on any other issue, dares remain silent on this question. The only way the threat of revived nazism and of a new world war can be halted is by fighting for a unified and democratic Germany, for a peaceful Germany. And the only way to achieve a peaceful Germany is through immediate negotiations by the Big Four and for the fulfillment of the Potsdam program.

To achieve these ends, progressives must develop a new initiative and a greater sense of responsibility in the struggle for peace. No puny effort can halt the tide to war or prevent the reestablishment of the nazis in power. Historic opportunities must be matched by historic responsibility. The current great debate on foreign policy in our country today offers such an historic opportunity.

NEW RINGELBLUM ARCHIVES FOUND IN WARSAW GHETTO

THE second part of the Ringelbaum Archives, buried in the Warsaw ghetto before the uprising and containing invaluable documentary records of ghetto life during the occupation, was found by a non-Jewish Polish worker, Wladislaw Wojcik, on December 1, 1950. Wojcik was excavating in the ghetto area to build a foundation for a new apartment house when he dug up two milk cans containing the documents. He recognized the value of the contents of the cans, which were then turned over to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

This important find, about two thirds as large as the first part of the archives discovered in 1946, was in substantially better condition than the earlier portion. The new materials include documents dating up to March 1945, that is, until the eve of the ghetto up-

rising. Among them are diaries, issues of the underground press, manifestos, reports, literary works, bulletins, chronologies, scientific reports, notes on the fate of individuals, private correspondence, announcements, placards, documents of the occupation forces, minutes of meetings—all these in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish and German. Among the materials are the continuation of notes by Dr. Emanuel Ringelbaum himself of which the first part was among the documents found in 1946.

The newly-found archives are of inestimable value for research on the occupation and specifically on the origins of the heroic Warsaw ghetto uprising. A group of scholars associated with the Jewish Historical Institute have begun the classification and cataloguing of the archives.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SYDNEY SILVERMAN, M. P.

By Ber Mark and Binem Heller

The following open letter was addressed to Sidney Silverman, Labor member of the British Parliament, by two leading Polish Jews, Ber Mark and Binem Heller. The letter was first published in the Warsaw Yiddish paper, Folks-shtimme. We reprint the letter in the belief that its contents have immediate relevance to the urgent necessity of the fullest Jewish participation in the peace movement in this country. Ber Mark is director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and a member of the executive of the Polish Fighters for Peace and Binem Heller is a noted Yiddish poet who was a delegate to the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw.—Eds.

WE were happy to learn that you submitted to the British Parliament the petition signed by over more than one and a half million British citizens calling for immediate action by the British government to put an end to its collaboration with the American intervention in Korea. This petition also demanded that the nation which first uses the atomic bomb be branded a war criminal.

With this act you have taken your place in the ranks of the great army of fighters for peace. You have thereby won the recognition of millions of common people who will not submit once again to a senseless blood-bath, who refuse to be dragged into a new world slaughter incited by a clique of gunmen and half-crazed politicians in Washington and London.

Your action has gained for you the sympathy and support of the broadcast sections of the Jewish people who suffered so terribly in the last war and who are now threatened again with total annihilation in the event of another war.

But you are not only a member of the British Parliament. You are active in Jewish affairs. You are a member of the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress. Your stand in Parliament would take on even greater significance if you were to adopt a similar position against the warmakers and their agents in the *Jewish communities* of Western Europe and the United States.

As a fighter for peace you dare not, you must not be silent about the fact that bourgeois Jewish politicians and journalists in the United States and other countries of the Americas, as well as in your own country, have openly allied themselves with those who engage in provocation and warmongering. These Jewish leaders call for the bombing of Chinese cities; they advocate a crusade against

the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Eastern Europe.

As a fighter for peace you dare not be silent while the warmonger Raphael Abramovich fills the columns of the Yiddish daily *Forward* in New York with demands on President Truman that atomic bombs be dropped on the cities of Eastern Europe.

As a fighter for peace, you dare not stand idly by while the Jewish peddlers of hate glorify the butchery of Korean women and children by the troops of MacArthur and Syngman Rhee in the sadistic spirit of Maidanek and Treblinka.

Among the warmongers, unfortunately, we also find leading members of the World Jewish Congress, of whose executive committee you are a member.

Behind the incense and the cant that surround the World Jewish Congress position of the "neutrality of the Jewish people," we see Congress leaders participate actively in war provocation, in glorifying the murder of Koreans, in molding public opinion for a crusade against the people's democracies. These leaders join in every step of this grisly *danse-macabre*. They are thereby partners in a conspiracy not only against peace-loving humanity, but also against the very existence of the Jewish people.

You clearly remember, do you not, that over two years ago at the convention of the World Jewish Congress in Montreux our representatives sounded the alarm against the approaching war danger and appealed to the Congress to take its stand in the ranks of the fighters for peace. Unfortunately our warning was not heeded by the Congress majority nor reflected either in the resolution of the convention or the practical post-convention work of the Congress. Unfortunately we did not find the Congress represented at any conferences of the world peace movement—not at Wroclaw, nor in Paris, nor in Prague, nor again in Warsaw. Nor did we find the signature of Congress on the Stockholm peace petition. By its absence Congress is acting against the expressed desire of the most diverse sections of the Jewish people, who signed the Stockholm peace petition in hundreds of thousands not only in the Eastern democracies but also in Israel, France, Belgium, in your own country and in all the countries of the Americas.

Is this negative attitude of the World Jewish Congress in such a sacred matter acceptable to you?

We express the hope you will act with the same courage and determination which you exhibited in presenting the

peace petitions of your fellow citizens to the British Parliament, in taking part in the London mass meeting for peace and in your position on the arrival of the delegates of the Chinese People's Republic. We hope that this same courage will arm you to carry on the fight for peace in the Jewish community and in particular in the World Jewish Congress. In this fight you can depend on us for active sympathy and support.

In this fateful hour the watchword is unity of all anti-war forces, unity of all peace-loving peoples, unity of the Jewish masses against war and for peace. This must be driven home to the Jewish masses again and again: it is a matter of life and death.

We believe you still remember the meeting that you attended at which the fifth anniversary of the heroic Warsaw ghetto battle was commemorated. We are reminded of that occasion because the spirit of the *Judenrat* is rising once again, this time in the United States. There are Jews in that land who kiss the jackboot of Truman-MacArthur, and sing "*Ma yofis*," "How lovely thou art," just as the Jewish trader sang before the feudal *Pan* (lord) and as the ghetto *Judenrat* did before their nazi masters.

Against this rebirth of the *Judenrat* spirit let us forge

a united front of all those who carry on the tradition of the heroic ghetto fighters, who surmounted every obstacle and at last successfully united all forces for struggle against fascism.

In the spirit of the sacred will and testament of the ghetto fighters we will forge a united effort of the Jewish masses as a part of the great people's army, fighting against war and the anti-Semitism and mass murder that war brings in its wake.

Friends of the peace movement have the responsibility of throwing all their strength and energy into mobilizing the widest sections of the Jewish people for the common fight together with the peace forces so that the whole world may enjoy a lasting peace. Peace and international security are the conditions for the security of the Jewish people in every part of the world. But peace must be fought for. Every last ounce of strength has to be thrown into this fight. This is the first order of the day. The Jewish people call us to this task. The spirit of the ghetto fighters makes this demand upon us.

We wish you every success in the struggle to involve the broadest sections of the Jewish people in the great front of all peace loving peoples.

WE CAN WIN PEACE

By Ilya Ehrenburg

Following are excerpts from the speech made by the noted Soviet novelist and journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, at the Second World Peace Congress held at Warsaw in November.—Eds.

AN enormous burden has fallen on the shoulders of each of us. It is not of our own fate that we are thinking now: upon us lies the responsibility for all children, fair and dark, for the children of London and Moscow, Paris and Peking, for the children among the skyscrapers of New York and for those who now wander among the ruins of Korea.

People ask in alarm: "Is it possible that we shall have war again? Is it possible to bring up children, wondering when a bomb will fall upon them?"

War is not an earthquake, war is the act of people and people can prevent war. This is the hope of all men, all women, wherever they may live. It is said that war is inevitable because the world has split into two worlds, because in Moscow there are other laws than in New York.

In one of his speeches the president of the United States of America said that the United States and the other states inspired by the same ideas felt the counteraction of a regime which had other aims and a different world outlook. This regime adhered to a false philosophy.

I am quite willing to allow that from the viewpoint of Mr. Truman, Marxism is a "false philosophy" and that the Soviet system is repugnant to Mr. Acheson. War is not a contest of ideas and not a debate. War is the greatest of disasters, affecting all peoples, all manifestations of their culture.

I believe that the way of life in the United States pains me not less than the Soviet way of life pains Mr. Acheson. Nevertheless I stand for peace—for peace not only with the America of Howard Fast and Paul Robeson but also for peace with the America of Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson.

I know that there are many people in the world who do not like socialism. I hope that Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson in turn know that there are not a few people in the world who prefer socialism to capitalism. We live on one planet. However, it has plenty of room and there is room on it for the adherents of different social systems.

Danger of War Propaganda

"If you want peace, prepare for war"—this dangerous dictum of a most bellicose author of a most bellicose state is now repeated by people who are preparing for war and who want war. They try to convince their fellow-citizens

that the more bombs or shells there are in the world the more peacefully children can sleep.

Chekhov once said that if a rifle is hanging on a wall in the first act of a play, then in the last act someone will fire it. War cannot be prevented by accumulating arms. War can be prevented only by reducing and destroying armaments.

What people wants a repetition of the horrors experienced? Must Warsaw again see stranglers and fire-makers? Must Paris again hear the iron march of occupationists? Must London again listen to the roar in the sky and hide its children underground? Must the American people, who have known war mainly from pictures manufactured in Hollywood, see fire, blood and death on their own land?

For the ordinary human being war is horror, it is the blood of children, the fixed stare of the mother who has lost her son; but there are people for whom war is salvation. They do not conceal their designs, before the eyes of all they sit down at a table and tuck in their napkins.

The organ of the American financiers, *United States News*, writes: "If peace is actually assured everything will fall to pieces" (translated from the Russian—*Eds.*). These people are afraid of peace, they calm down as they see general anxiety grow.

The newspaper *Times-Herald*, published in Washington, writes: "We shall send airplanes which will fly at an altitude of 40,000 feet, we shall equip them with bombs—atom, incendiary, bacteriological and also with nitrotoluol—so that they may kill infants in their cradles, old men at their prayers and toilers at work" (translated from the Russian—*Eds.*).

I will never say that such urging comes from honest Americans and it pains me that, in a city which is named after a great and noble man, murderers of children, murderers of people can live, act and openly incite to crime. I cannot say that newspapers are made by irresponsible people.

"We have 450 atom bombs, perhaps even more. This is enough for 50 bombs to be dropped on every large industrial city of Russia," says Mr. Stennis, senator from Mississippi (translated from the Russian—*Eds.*).

But calls for aggressive war do not come only from the lips of representatives; official representatives of the United States—secretaries and assistant secretaries—call for war.

If the minister of the navy of the Soviet Union were to proclaim that it was necessary to declare war on the United States in order to compel it to cooperate, he would, beyond doubt, be brought to trial. If the assistant defense minister of the Soviet Union proposed dropping the bomb on America, he would, beyond doubt, be taken to a clinic for mentally diseased persons.

In Britain the superannuated philosopher Bertrand Russell, who was once considered a humanist and pacifist, advised haste in beginning a world war. In this very country the highly respected Lord Tranchard glorifies the atom bomb as capable, in his words, of annihilating 10 to 20 million people every month.

Appeals for war are especially depressing when they

come from Britishers, both because such appeals do not accord with the British people's love of peace and because they indicate the blindness of certain Britishers who have forgotten that their island will be one of the first victims of the war for which they call.

Calls for war resound even in that country which remembers very well the horrors of war, that is, in France. I know this country, I love it and I want to say that the people who call for war in France, who speak and write in French, can hardly be called Frenchmen. Their past, as well as their present, shows that they only translate into French ideas which are not French.

The instructions for officers conducting the military training of school children in the United States say: "The instructor should encourage the natural desire to fight and kill." After this it is quite understandable when the president of Florida University, Dr. Nance, says: "We must conduct total preparations based on the law of the jungle. Everyone must learn the art of killing. I would not ask for mercy for the sick, for churches, for schools or for any groups of the population" (translated from the Russian—*Eds.*). The ideology of the nazis has not only been continued, it has been surpassed.

Stop Incitement to War

Supporters of peace, we must firmly come out against the most dangerous, the most deadly weapon—against the propaganda of a new war. We must do this while the third world war can still be averted.

If I am told that I am prejudiced, that I accuse only one side, I will reply: it is possible to find shortcomings and mistakes in our press. It is possible to point out that one or another critic judges shallowly or unjustly one or another aspect of the cultural life of the West, but never has a single political leader, a single deputy, a single journalist or teacher in the Soviet Union called for war against the United States or any other power.

As a Soviet citizen and writer I want to say with all directness that the cessation of war propaganda in America and in some other countries of Western Europe will help us to give a fuller, better and friendlier picture of the life and culture of the peoples of the United States, Britain, France.

The people who are planning a new war have much money, much cellulose, many radio waves. But what are their words compared to the beating of the human heart?

We will not let war begin. We will remove the point of the gun from the breast of man. In this we are one—communists and Catholics, liberals and socialists, Russians and Americans, British and Chinese.

As one of the delegates of the Soviet people, a people which has known the whole burden of war and which sincerely hates war, I clasp the hands of those whom it is desired to represent as our enemies, the hands of the Americans, the British, the French, with a firm faith that there is no power which can break this hand-clasp.

Letters from Abroad

INTERVIEW WITH LEOPOLD INFELD

Prague

"You know Leopold Infeld, the atomic scientist, is in Prague." When I heard some one say this and then saw him take his seat at the conference table of the Preparatory Committee of the Second World Congress for Peace, I lost no time in speaking to him. Everybody must have read a few weeks ago in the press that a well-known atomic scientist, a professor at the University of Toronto, had decided to remain in Poland, the country of his birth, where he had been on holiday. This was Professor Infeld. And there he was in person—a powerfully built man with a strong face but a very human look in his eyes.

"I hope you will tell the readers of our journal in Paris how you came to be associated with the peace movement."

"I come from a Jewish middle class family, where there was always a highly developed social conscience. I might almost say I was born with a social conscience. When I came to analyze the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, I realized that the destruction of values which it implied could not be considered independently from the destruction of other values. I was a soldier in the Austrian army during the first world war because then I was of Austrian nationality. In a state as stupid as Imperial Austria it was very difficult to be fired with enthusiasm and not to see through it to the deep stupidity of the war itself.

"During the second world war I was in Canada. I had had to leave my own country in 1936 because of the anti-Semitism and general reactionary spirit which were then thriving in Poland. Till 1938 I worked with Albert Einstein at Princeton. From 1938 till 1950 I held the chair of Applied Mathematics at the University of Toronto. During the second world war I did my best to help the war effort.

"But from the end of the war it became clear to me that there was a new conspiracy against peace. After Hiroshima I began what I might call a personal peace movement. I gave 50 or 60 lectures to small groups of people. Strangely enough it was the Institute of International Affairs, financed by the Rockefeller

Foundation, that sponsored my tour across Canada and the United States to speak to its members. It was just the opposite of a working-class public and sometimes in my audiences were many people hostile to peace. I remember one occasion at a meeting on the Pacific coast when a member of the audience yelled 'If we want to save Christianity, we must drop the bomb on Russia immediately.'

"But there were also many who were in favor of peace and on the whole I found a great deal of sympathy.

"This is what happened then. As a guest of the Polish government I spent some time in my native country and took the opportunity to give lectures in England and Ireland during the same visit to Europe. On my return I wrote some articles on Poland for various magazines and as I had been favorably impressed, these articles were naturally favorable. The Polish government had extended a further invitation to me to spend a year's leave in Poland, an invitation which I was happy to accept.

"Suddenly there was a furious outburst against me. A weekly paper devoted a whole issue to denouncing me. They stated in so many words that I was an abominable man because I was working for peace, that I was in possession of atomic secrets and that I was going specially to Poland to hand them over to General Rokossowski!

"Parliamentary tradition in Canada allows a question to be put to the government on any subject, at any time. So at this time a Conservative M.P. asked the following question: 'What does the gov-

ernment intend to do to prevent Professor Infeld handing over the atomic secret?'

"The government made no reply but I was subject to terrific pressure to prevent my leaving for Poland. They tried to bribe me—I was offered leave, money, degrees. They suggested that I go anywhere in the world—except to the country where I was born. The Mounted Police kept me under strict observation. Later, after these spectacular measures, the government was obliged to admit, in order to reassure people, that I was not in possession of any atomic secrets!

"The pressure was so strong however, that I was afraid I would be unable to leave. I went to England and from there to Poland. My wife was hounded unmercifully. The telephone was jammed with calls wanting to know where I had gone and whether she was going to join me. As she finally refused to answer the phone, they even went as far as imitating the voice of our daughter who was at boarding school—saying 'Mummy, I'm sick. Come and see me,' to get my wife to come to the phone.

"As long as they thought I was in England they wrote saying that the University would be broken-hearted at my departure. But when they learned I was in Poland, the tone became somewhat more blunt—either you come back at once or else you are relieved of your functions. I decided to remain in Poland. It had become impossible for me to continue the fight for peace in Canada."

"After such a long time did you find that your Polish had become a little rusty?"

"You don't forget your mother tongue. For 12 years I had spoken English with a Polish accent and now I speak Polish with an English accent. . . ."

"And how did you find your country?"

Professor Infeld became grave.

"The first few hours after my arrival in 1948, I was staggered, bewildered and terribly depressed. I walked through the ruined ghetto and it seemed I was walking

RIDGEFIELD RESORT

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

A RESORT OF BEAUTY AND DISTINCTION

Second Anniversary Week-Ends:
Lincoln and Washington birthdays

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

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

Do not come without first making your reservation



in darkness. Then suddenly, instead of ruins, I began to see the new building. I was seized by the dynamism and verve of the new life of my country, so active, so fast-moving. Then I went back to Canada. I stayed there for a year and I was very

unhappy. I had experienced three and a half weeks of the new life and I couldn't do without it. All the pinpricks of routine after that new life! I felt that I would have to come back!"

CLAUDE MORGAN.

Book Reviews

IMMIGRATION, PAST AND FUTURE

By Morris U. Schappes

Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863, by Robert Ernst. King's Crown Press, Columbia University, New York. \$4.50.

American Immigration Policy—A Reappraisal, edited by Williams S. Bernard, Carolyn Zeleny and Henry Miller. Harpers, New York. \$4.00.

In the insufficiently explored field of the history of immigrant groups in our country, Dr. Robert Ernst has made a worthwhile contribution with a dissertation that both increases our sum total of factual knowledge and opens avenues of research hitherto unnoted. His scope is limited, but he studies it intensively. When the Erie Canal was opened in 1825, New York's population had only 11 per cent foreign born; by 1861, the proportion had risen to 48 per cent. Most numerous were the Irish immigrants, then came the Germans (including German Jews), English, Scottish, French, and Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, Latin Americans and so on. The bulk of these newcomers became workers and Dr. Ernst's sympathetic account of what happened to them in New York and of their adjustment to the new situation is therefore also an interesting addition to the labor history of our country.

Within academic limitations, Dr. Ernst is aware that "new class alignments of capitalists and workers developed and hardened" in the period covered, and he does not hide the "class antagonisms." On the basis of extensive researches in manuscript sources, official reports, and immigrant groups' records and newspapers, he lays bare in significant detail the main aspects of the life of the immigrant. We learn how he arrived, by whom and how he was received, and where he settled. In New York, "the location of the immigrant communities . . . was deter-

mined by three basic elements: employment, housing conditions and group consciousness." We are shown the conditions of tenement life; at the mid-century, 29,000 persons were "living underground" in cellars. We are informed of tenants' struggles and lodgers' leagues, and that "mass meetings demanded public works to feed the starving."

The main problem of the immigrant was to make a living. Despite his farming background, the impoverished Irish peasant did not go onto the land; he stayed in New York and often was drawn into unskilled labor. Many immigrants of course became skilled workers, chiefly in the building trades, the clothing industry and leather work, including shoemaking. Some went into trade, business and the professions. Dr. Ernst is at his best in his five chapters on the workers, including the Negroes. Particularly important, because it undermines a widespread fallacy, is his material showing "a fundamental co-operation in their common aspirations" between native and immigrant workers. While sociologists and even some labor historians speak glibly of anti-alienism as traditional among American workers, Dr. Ernst demonstrates that "despite occasional grievous clashes with American workmen, the foreign-born co-operated with the natives in desperate efforts to improve working conditions and to restore the lost dignity of the working people." In these efforts, radical German workers, including Marxian socialists like Joseph Weydemeyer, played a role that Dr. Ernst does not hesitate to report (even though he speaks superficially of the Marxian "dogma").

More conventional but no less useful are his findings on the national group institutions by which the immigrants "attempted proudly, even defiantly, to preserve their cultural heritage": the mutual aid societies and lodges, the gymnastic and

singing clubs, the militia companies and social clubs, the banks and insurance companies, the schools and religious organizations, the professional associations, the theater companies, the press, and even the political groups through which the "foreign vote" was rounded up and "delivered."

For the student of Jewish immigration, Dr. Ernst's contribution lies chiefly in the suggestion that a wealth of material on the occupations of Jews lies hidden in the manuscript detailed state census reports of 1855 and other years. To a trained Jewish historian, these hitherto uninvestigated data can be a mine of information, although digging out the relevant facts will not be easy, because the census taker does not record who is Jewish. Dr. Ernst, whose interest was more in the larger immigrant groups of the Irish and German, reports in passing the existence of Polish-Jewish building trades workers in 1855, as well as dressmakers, tailors, hat and capmakers, and so forth. All in all, Dr. Ernst has produced an unusually valuable study and it is to be hoped he will continue his work in this field.

Useful in a different way is the long essay by Dr. William S. Bernard and his associates. Executive Director of the National Committee on Immigration Policy, founded in 1945 and headed by Earl G. Harrison. Dr. Bernard sums up the findings of this committee, which undertook to analyze the origins, functioning, and the future of American immigration policy as part of its work in promoting legislation for the admission of Displaced Persons. While the work of this committee has been not infrequently condemned because it helped open the gates of our country to a dangerous number of fascist and anti-Semitic DPs from eastern and central Europe, Dr. Bernard and his associates have conveniently gathered into one place the latest statistical data to expose the generally reactionary character of American immigration policy in the past 30 years. With 13 charts and 62 tables, and their accompanying analyses, the authors effectively perform this "reappraisal." What they reappraise is the quota system of immigration restriction legislated first in 1920 and the method of assigning quotas on the basis of national origins that went into effect in 1929.

It is well-known that the basis of the quota system was unscientific, "racial," and reactionary. Decisive in shaping the policy was "the hysterical fear of world revolution in the post-war period" after 1918. The aim of the policy was drastically to cut the "new" immigration coming from eastern and southern Europe and to increase the "old" immigration of Anglo-Saxon stock. The "new" immigrants were

considered "necessarily to be inferior biologically."

Systematically, Dr. Bernard and his associates expose the unsoundness of the reasons and arguments used by those who brought about these immigration restrictions. Fortified with the results of the restrictions, they marshal the data to disprove the charges that the immigrants caused unemployment, that they cut wages, that they hindered union organization, that they bred slums, disease, crime, and ignorance, that they undermined American family life, were clannish, did not become citizens, and were of dubious loyalty.

With 38,000,000 European immigrants entering the country since 1820, the problems of "adjustment" were many. The editors prefer to speak of adjustment because "assimilation implies the complete taking over by the immigrant group of the language and customs of the dominant group." They recognize that "the Americanization theory . . . was Anglicization rather than Americanization, and it tried to make the foreign born conform to an Anglo-Protestant culture," ignoring the multinational origins of American culture and life. Occupationally, the immigrant "adjusted" by tending "to hold the most arduous and lowest paid jobs, as the earlier comers advanced to more agreeable and profitable occupations." It was the needs of the capitalist ruling class that dictated this "adjustment," but this the editors wrap up in the bland formula that "during most of our history the occupational distribution of immigrants has borne

a direct relationship to the economic needs of the country." Despite this unfavorable economic position, "the foreign born contribute less than their due proportion to the total criminal population." (Hollywood, are you listening?) Furthermore, in the elementary schools "children of the foreign born had a better record of school attendance than children of the native born." But in adjustment to American health conditions, there were problems, because the infant mortality rate was very high, and also "immigrants tend to concentrate in hazardous industries which have high death rates." Unfortunately, the editors did not stop to ask why in the world the immigrants do such a thing. But we do learn that immigrants have a good family life, with "a low rate of illegitimacy" (another stereotype crashes), that most of them gladly become citizens (despite a cumbersome and expensive naturalization procedure that the editors ignore), and that they fought loyally in both world wars.

One would think that after such a reappraisal, the committee would be prepared boldly to recommend the repeal of the racist national origins quota system. But the committee is very cautious, contenting itself with proposing a moderate increase in the quotas, the creation of a pool of unused quotas (since 1930 only 29 per cent of the quotas have been used!), the use of occupational criteria for the admission of some immigrants, the assignment of quotas to Asian peoples, since that "would redound to our advantage in terms of world policy," and a new immigration commission of both Houses to

study "a democratic alternative" to the quota system. Since the American government is becoming more and not less racist and chauvinist, even such recommendations may displease McCarthy and McCarran.

A couple of corrections are necessary. The editors repeat the stereotype that organized labor up to the first world war "constituted the traditional opponents of unrestricted immigration." This crude oversimplification neglects the different trends in the labor movement, the left wing of which usually tended to fight the employer and his abuse of immigrant labor rather than the immigrant himself. Thus the National Labor Union, which according to these editors "took a strong stand against immigration," had its delegate to the Basle Congress of the First International in 1869 say this: "To those desirous of leaving the overcrowded districts of the Old World, and seeking a home beyond the sea. . . . I am instructed to extend a cordial invitation and hearty welcome. . . . All we ask is that you will come as friends . . . and support us in the demand for the right . . . and refuse to allow yourself to be made the tools of designing men, who, are aiming only to thwart . . . the trades' unionists of America." Similar errors: the A.F.L. was founded in 1881 (not 1886), and not by Samuel Gompers. The *Jewish Daily Forward* was founded in 1897 (not 1900), and used Yiddish from the beginning and not "a scholarly Hebrew."

But for its handy tables and useful summaries of facts that contradict reactionary fictions about immigration and immigrants this volume is helpful to have for ready reference.

Masses & Mainstream

AMERICA'S LEADING CULTURAL MONTHLY
A Special Negro-History-Week Issue



FEBRUARY CONTENTS

What About Integration? John Pittman
William L. Patterson: Militant Leader
Michael Gold
The Negro Scientist and Inventor
Herbert Aptheker
I Am Sentenced to Die Wesley R. Wells
For a Negro Theatre Alice Childress
Letters from Negro Women: 1827-1950
Upsurge in Puerto Rico, A First-Hand
Report Abner W. Berry
Poems Eve Merriam
Comment and Reviews by Samuel Sillen,
Herbert Aptheker, Doxey Wilkerson



Subscription rates:

\$4.00 per year; \$7.00 for two years;
\$4.50 per year outside the U.S.



New Century Publishers

832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

JEWISH SHORT STORIES

By Eve Merriam

This Land, These People, edited with an introduction, by Harold U. Ribalow. Beechhurst Press, New York. \$3.75.

Here is an anthology hailed by its publishers as the first of its kind: a collection of 24 stories all on American Jewish themes, all by contemporary American Jewish authors. The book is arranged in rough chronological order according to subject matter, beginning with Howard Fast's sharp, effective study of anti-Semitism in pre-Revolutionary times, "Where Are Your Guns?" and concluding with Irwin Shaw's World War II account, "Act of Faith."

If nothing more, this sequence points up the necessity for Morris U. Schappes'

Documentary History of the Jews in the United States. Between Fast's opening piece and the next selections there is a time-lapse of more than two hundred years!

Yuri Suhl's "With the Aid of the One Above" is a sympathetic characterization of a Talmudic scholar who cannot "adjust" to the ways and means of pushcart peddling. Although warm and affectionate, it is faintly contemptuous of the scholar's practical, more material-minded wife. When read in the context of the novel as a whole (it is a chapter from *One Foot in America*), this is not the case. Yet for this collection I can think of several other stories by such a talented, engaging writer as Suhl that would have been stronger—notably two which appeared originally in the pages of *Jewish Life*—

"But He Looked So Young" and "On Friday He Was a New Man." These would have contributed elements which are significantly absent from this anthology: a valid interpretation of working class life and a mature handling of Jewish womanhood.

Many of the stories (particularly those by Charles Angoff, Michael Zeide, Jennie Klein, Jerome Weidman, and Alexander Klein, among others) treat urban immigrant life in the early nineteen-hundreds, synagogue rituals, superstitions and holiday customs. Others by Ludwig Lewisohn and Victor Wolfson portray the Jew rejecting Jewishness, vainly attempting assimilation. (Is it accidental that both these bitter, unhealthy characters are women, one coming to a spiritual and intellectual dead end, the other actually destroying herself physically?)

For the most part, the stories in the volume are competently written. They have flavor, all the ingredients seem properly put together. Yet somehow the final product is a little stale. Reading the stories for the first time, you feel that you are over-familiar with many of the episodes and you can easily predict the characters' reactions. You feel that you are re-reading them for a fourth or fifth time; you become impatient with the full icebox, empty-brained mothers, the pathetic gray-faced fathers, passive younger sisters, weakly rebelling brothers. Too frequently the atmosphere is indoors, musty, with sweetly sentimental roses and honeyed ceremonial wine on the pallid mantelpiece. Louis Berg's "Nasty Kupperman and the Ku Klux Klan," a tale of Jews in a Southern setting, is slight and anecdotal, yet it looms at least as original by its change of landscape.

Why should so many of the stories seem repetitious and flat? Certainly we have not been blessed with an over-abundance of fiction on Jewish American themes. As the editor points out in his preface, the mass circulation magazines do not even admit such material, for their world is Coca-Colonized by white Protestants only. Yet in the less restricted pages of the little magazines and published volumes of short stories from which these examples have been taken, far too many of the authors have limited their vision. Searching for selfhood, brotherhood, for a tangible, solid foothold as Jewish Americans, they explored into the past.

Now this is a legitimate area for discovery and rediscovery, but the authors have confined history to their own personal childhood emotions and adolescent glimmerings. Witness David Bernstein's "Death of an Actor," told in the first person by a young boy. The story

winds up: "I watched until the very last bystander left, moving on slowly in the darkness, and then I threw myself on the bed, sobbing again, hating the world." Or the compassionate but negativistic conclusion of Waldo Frank in his excerpt from *City Block*: "They are grey, they are sullen. They are caught up in the sullen strife of their relentless way. There is no let to them. There is a barren field with no horizon." This shut-in yesterday is not strong enough to serve as a base for the world of today, not nearly strong enough to act as a springboard for moving forward into the future.

For instance, Jo Sinclair, the author of *Wasteland*, is represented here by "Red Necktie." Mendel, an old Jew, an immigrant from Hungary, is lonely in his new environment of Cleveland, Ohio. From another old man, a Negro named Tom who sells cheap ties in the corner of a public market, Mendel learns that there is companionship in America, and that there is no discrimination. The story is as idealistic as its language. "Nobody stopped to buy or even to look" (at Tom's merchandise) "but the laughter gurgled in his pipestem throat like a secret spring." "There he sat, like a warm word." Mendel asks him, "Is it hard to make a living?" Tom answers, "All I need's a little snuff." Tom, described as "the merry-eyed man" . . . "the little man" . . . "the little wizened Negro" . . . "the little black man." Seemingly dealing with Negro-Jewish unity, the story is unbelievable, patronizing, insulting. Negro-Jewish unity has been forged and is being welded mightier every hour, but not out of such shoddy, unrealistic material.

Similarly, Irwin Shaw's "Act of Faith" about a Jewish soldier in the United States army at the end of the last war seems contrived. It is cleverly, deftly fitted together, but like an expensive watch, not a human heartbeat. Incidentally, it is ironic to read the introduction to Shaw's piece in the light of recent events. "His first play *Bury the Dead* created a sensation," we are told, "and is still considered to be one of the finest anti-war plays of our time. It has been played in many coun-

tries and has been translated into many languages. The Israel company Habimah included it in its repertory." No more, no McCarran more, since Irwin Shaw has seen fit to spit into his own face by withdrawing this powerful indictment of the warmakers.

But several of the stories in a war setting speak potently for peace. Victor Ullman, with the least degree of prettification, in "A Message for Harold" gives us the truly beautiful figure of Mrs. Goldstein, Harold's mother. And Ralph Kaplan, already full-grown in his first published story, shows a rich, poetic talent in "The Night My Brother Came Home."

In his generalized preface, Mr. Ribalow poses a question. "Is it because American Jewry is so aware of anti-Semitism, or the possibility of it, that a huge percentage of the stories I read in Jewish periodicals were seldom good? Nearly every story was either apologetic or chauvinistic." I find this a strange equation. Awareness of anti-Semitism and its roots does not lead to apology but to bravery.

American Jewry is at a heightened stage of development. We have had six million of our world family murdered, human beings made into soap and lamp shades; we also have anti-imperialist struggle leading to the creation of Israel, Jews as trade unionists, artists, scientists and professionals fighting back at Peckskill, standing their ground at Union Square, raising their living strength against the renazification and remilitarization of Germany, resisting the oppressors of their brothers the colored and colonial peoples: a whole new world for American Jewish writers to articulate.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

Jewish Life

Subscription rates: \$2.00 a year in U.S. and possessions; \$2.50 elsewhere.

JEWISH LIFE

35 E. 12th St., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find check (money order) for \$..... for my sub. for one year.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

Yiddish Theatre Ensemble

presents

LEON KRUTCHKOWSKI'S "THE FAMILY SONNENBRUCH" (in Yiddish)

Performances each Saturday evening
and Sunday matinee

Barbizon Plaza Theater

58th St. & 6th Ave., N. Y.

For tickets, phone daily, 3-6:30 P.M.
ALgonquin 5-6283

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

aimed at the film. The Civil Liberties Union also opposes a ban on the film.

THE EFFORT TO STOP Senate confirmation of Mrs. Anna Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense by an anti-communist smear was revealed to have been set in motion and exploited by anti-Semitic, pro-fascist elements. Involved in the case were the Jewish pro-fascist sympathizer Benjamin H. Freedman, Gerald L. K. Smith, Senator McCarthy and Rep. John Rankin. Fascist, anti-Semitic sheets headlined the affair as "Jewish Female Now Assistant Secretary of Defense" (*National Defense*), "Washington's Female Felix Frankfurter" (*Common Sense*), while the stories carried the usual innuendoes.

MEMBERSHIP FIGURES in Jewish youth organizations were compiled by the National Jewish Welfare Board and showed the following: Jewish students in Hillel Foundations, 150,000; Intercollegiate Zionist Federation, 3,000; Junior Hadassah, 15,000; Young Judea, 15,000; Orthodox Young Israel, 15,000; Junior Mizrahi Women, 12,000; Orthodox youth groups Bachad and B'nai Akiba (training halutzim for Israel), 6,500; Federation of Temple Youth, 5,000; B'nai B'rith youth organizations, 24,000. The Zionist groups have lost 60 per cent of their memberships in the past two years. Observers urged caution in accepting these figures at their face value.

DENIAL OF THE CHARGE made in December by Jewish novelist Meyer Levin that John Hersey had been "chosen" by Jewish philanthropists to write the novel of the Warsaw ghetto, *The Wall*, was made by Anglo-Jewish columnist Phineas J. Biron, who asserted that the whole project of the book was Hersey's own.

THE ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA began a tour of 60 concerts in the United States and Canada in Washington, D. C., on January 7.

EUROPE

GERMAN POLICE in Landsberg, where major Nazi war criminals are imprisoned, brutally clubbed about 300 Jewish displaced persons and arrested many on January 7. The Jews were holding a counter-rally to a demonstration of 3,000 Germans agitating for release of Nazi war criminals. A number of Jews were injured as the pro-Nazis shouted, "Jews, get out!"

SEVERAL DEMONSTRATIONS outside and inside the Berlin theater in the second week of December finally succeeded in cancellation of the performance of Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman* because Nazi actor Werner Kraus was playing the leading role. Kraus was held responsible for stimulating anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany by his portrayals in the film *Jew Sues* and in *The Merchant of Venice*. As many as 2,000 demonstrators turned out for the first performance. The police used truncheons and high pressure hose on the crowd and at least 10 people were injured. Most of the demonstrators were university students and members of the Jewish community. A letter to the Berlin mayor from the Jewish community organization stated that "the survivors of Auschwitz do not and cannot forgive this man."

IAN MAKARDO, British M.P., newly-elected member of the Labor Party executive and a Labor Zionist leader, suggested in December that Israel lease a stretch of land in the Negev to Britain for a military base as "an answer" to Egypt's attempt to oust Britain from the Suez Canal. Left-wing observers were critical of this blatantly imperialist suggestion by a high Labor official.

ITALIAN FASCIST NEWSPAPERS have stepped up their anti-Jewish campaign as references to the "Jewish question" appear more and more frequently. The Rome *Asso di Bastoni* reprinted Mussolini's 18-point program written in 1943, which says that "members of the Hebrew race are aliens and during a war are to be regarded as members of a hostile nation."

ISRAEL PRIME MINISTER David Ben Gurion visited Sophocles Venizelos, premier and minister of foreign affairs in Greece, while on a brief visit to Athens during a so-called vacation.

BOOKDEALERS THROUGHOUT FRANCE are selling one of the most anti-Semitic pamphlets of recent years. The book, *The Theory of Racism*, is offered by Rene Bine, a rabid anti-Semite and former Nazi collaborator. The pamphlet concludes that "the Jews are an inferior race and Karl Marx was the greatest swindler in history" and admonishes Frenchmen that "Jews are the greatest misfortune of the world and humanity will have no rest from the Jewish parasites until they are dispatched where they belong."

RENAZIFICATION NOTES . . . Five West German Socialist members of the Bonn government's judge-selecting committee resigned because they said that "party politics and possibly even racial standards" were being used in the selection of judges. They said that almost half of 50 judges selected were former Nazis and that the committee refused to consider Jewish candidates for judgeships. . . . Carl Kaufman, former Gauleiter of Hamburg who supervised the deportation of Jews from Hamburg, was released from prison on alleged grounds of poor health in mid-December. . . . The authorities of the island resort of Borkum, near Hamburg, banned showing of *The Gold Rush* because they held that a Jew, Charles Chaplin, plays the leading part. It has never been definitely established if Charles Chaplin is of Jewish origin.

BAVARIAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES late in December protested the appointment of Prof. Theodor Oberlander, Nazi party member since 1934 and a high ranking storm-trooper, to the post of Secretary of States for Refugees.

POLAND'S NEW Jewish Social and Cultural Union, recently established to guide Jewish activities in Poland, announced in December that its aims include the eradication of illiteracy and the creation of Jewish schools and people's universities for Jewish workers in which Marxism-Leninism will be taught. Union official Dr. M. Sfar announced that a new Jewish theater would be built in Lodz next year.

ISRAEL

THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT announced on December 26 that the Export-Import Bank had

granted Israel a credit for \$35,000,000 for the expansion of agriculture and production of fertilizers. The bank announced in Washington that in the discussions which preceded the granting of the credit, Israel had provided an outline of its development and financing plans. Some conditions of the loan: the entire amount of the credit must be spent in the United States; it will bear three and a half per cent interest annually and is to be repaid in 15 years; it will be used to raise fertilizer production, improve regional irrigation, establish farm settlements and promote citrus fruit culture. On the day that the credit was announced, Dr. Moshe Sneh, Mapam leader and member of the Knesset, charged in that body that the previous hundred million dollar loan from America had hampered the development of the country and paralyzed the Israel government's initiative, and that American loans would continue to "disappoint" Israel.

"RED FLEET," Soviet navy newspaper, in mid-December editorially charged that Israel is being turned into an American war base. The paper charged that Haifa was being made into an American naval base and Lydda into a great American air base.

MOBILIZATION OF ALL peace-loving and independence-seeking elements in Israel was called for by *Kol Ha'am*, communist daily, on November 30, after the announcement of a visit of Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett in Washington with Secretary of State Dean Acheson and General George C. Marshall. The paper pointed out the necessity of fighting against the danger of identification of Israel with the camp of the warmongers. . . . Intimation of such an alignment was considered to be the visit Republican bigwig Harold Stassen had with Ben Gurion, Finance Minister Eliezer Kaplan and other officials of the foreign ministry late in December.

A COALITION between the General Zionists, who leaped ahead as the second party in Israel at the November municipal elections, with the extreme right wing Herut and religious groups took place in Tel Aviv; largest city in the country. The incumbent General Zionist mayor, Israel Rokach, was re-elected.

THE BAN ON GERMAN LYRICS of songs by Mozart, Schubert and Brahms sung by the American basso, Kenneth Spencer, was upheld by the government on January 1. Ban is on the German words only. The ban raised questions in many quarters since German is the language most often heard, next to Hebrew, in Israel.

A NATION-WIDE STRIKE by elementary school teachers was averted late in December when the ministry of education agreed to implement an agreement made with the union several months earlier on salary scales.

A TWO-HOUR "warning strike" of 20,000 government workers was postponed late in December when the government agreed to discuss grievances whose settlement had been long delayed.

A HISTADRUT delegation of five Mapai and two Mapam representatives visited Britain for two weeks in December at the invitation of the British Labor Party executive, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Co-operative Movement.

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

