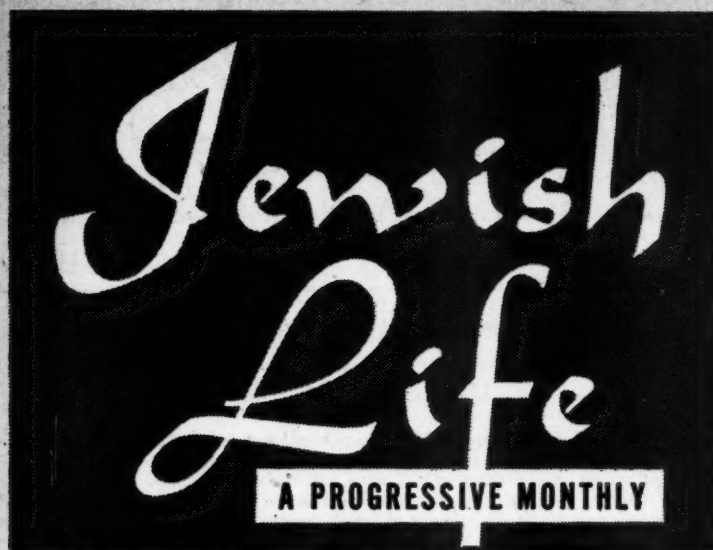


MAY 1951 • 20¢



AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

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by Gordon Schaffer

ANTI-UNIONISM IN JEWISH AGENCIES

by Louis Harap

A STARTLING LIBEL CASE

by I. Berman



From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

REP. ADOLPH J. SABATH (Dem., Ill.) introduced a bill on March 29 to repeal the police-state McCarran act.

AMONG SIXTY-ONE COMMUNITY leaders of Baltimore and Frederick, Md., who appealed to President Truman on April 5 that the 38th parallel should not again be crossed and that immediate peace talks be opened with Korea and China "so that war-torn Korea may live again and World War III be prevented," were Rabbis Uri Miller, H. Feldman and Jacob Max.

OPPOSITION TO arming Western Germany and Franco was expressed in a resolution adopted by the national executive committee of the Jewish War Veterans on April 8.

A BROAD CAMPAIGN to mobilize Jewish masses against the administration policy of rearming nazi Germany was launched at a conference April 8 of 365 delegates from 153 Jewish local and national organizations. The conference was called by the coordinating committee of Jewish *landsmanshaften*.

PROMINENT NEW YORK East Siders joined in a declaration on March 30 expressing their disquiet over the growing discrimination against Negroes while nazi war criminals are freed, and over Rep. Arthur Klein's refusal to set up a committee for the saving of Willie McGee, innocent Negro condemned to die on a frame-up rape charge. They called on Americans of all denominations and political affiliations to join them in demanding that President Truman and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi effect McGee's release.

BILLS TO GRANT \$150,000,000 to Israel under the Marshall Plan were introduced on April 2 into the Senate by Senators Paul H. Douglas and Robert A. Taft and in the House of Representatives by John W. McCormack and Joseph W. Martin (majority and minority leaders). The joint statement of the senators declared that "the menace of new aggressions by communist tyranny in Iran or elsewhere in the Near East is great" and that "Israel is a bulwark in that area of world democracy." This language, observed progressives, is the usual way of describing the building of further segments of the ring of bases in preparation for an anti-Soviet war. Economic and political domination of Israel was also seen lurking in section 4 of the bill, which reads, "No assistance under the authority of this act shall be made available until an agreement is entered into between Israel and the United States containing undertakings on the part of Israel as the president may find necessary to carry out the purposes of this act."

REPORTS OF THE IRAQI pogroms and persecution, according to the American embassy in Iraq, were without foundation. But dispatches from the French News Agency said that anti-Jewish decrees had brought Iraq into a "state of chaos" and the Associated Press reported disturbances.

"THE MYTH OF MARTYRDOM built around Cardinal Mindszenty and other prelates and priests tried on charges of espionage and treason must be shattered for the sake of historical accu-

Jewish Life

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MAY, 1951

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

THE EDITORS.

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racy and for sound judgment upon Vatican espionage in the United States," said William Rufus Scott, member of the National Advisory Council, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, in a speech before the annual workshop meeting in early March of his organization in Washington.

A SURVEY OF 62 medium-priced restaurants in midtown East Side New York showed that almost half of these treated Negroes "discourteously" or accorded them "poor service and inferior treatment," although none refused to serve Negroes. The study, conducted by the Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan, Inc., found that the presence of headwaiters or hostesses increased the likelihood of discrimination. In 28 of

the restaurants visited, tables given to Negroes were near the kitchen, the lavatory, a door or in a room separate or hidden from the view of other diners.

AN FEPC BILL was passed by both houses of the Colorado legislature by early March, barring discrimination because of race, color or creed in private or public employment.*

BIAS IN SCHOOLS . . . South Carolina Negro leaders are pressing a suit against segregation in the schools against the state. On March 17, Governor James F. Byrnes, former secretary of state and former chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, said in a speech that the state "will

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

MOMENTOUS MAY DAY

AMERICAN workers are deeply troubled as May Day approaches. Their sons and brothers may be facing death in Korea or may be drafted into the army. The country is being dragged into preparations for an atomic war. Living standards are declining as prices rise steeply and taxes are heaped on the backs of the workers, while at the same time a spurious "control" keeps wages frozen. The Negro people are especial victims of these conditions and their human rights are being violated more flagrantly than ever. The Jewish people are uneasy at growing anti-Semitism all over the so-called free world and by the renazification and remilitarization of Germany. Fascism in the United States has become a very close danger.

In view of these manifold perils facing the working people of America, the momentous significance of May Day this year becomes apparent. For May Day, above any other day in the year, is the occasion for demonstrating working class solidarity, national and international.

The May Day tradition among Jewish workers is strong. Ever since May Day was established in this country in 1886, Jewish workers have participated in it. The heroic fighters of the Warsaw ghetto rested on their arms to celebrate the day. And this year, with so many grave issues facing them, in common with all workers, Jewish labor should make its greatest effort to achieve a maximum representation in this year's demonstrations.

For May Day this year offers the opportunity to crystallize working class resistance to the ruthless assault of Big Business on every front. The working class has been made to bear the fantastic financial burden of the reckless program of Big Business while the monopolies reap the greatest profits in their history. There is plenty of evidence that the workers are moving toward more stubborn resistance, despite the sellout by their misleaders. The widespread demand to get out of Korea, the great strikes in railroad, packing, textile and other industries show that the workers are resisting the dishonest call to "sacrifice." By a powerful manifestation by labor on May Day for peace, for labor's rights and for civil liberties the workers can help to bring home to the American people the significance of the many-pronged attack on their security and livelihood. That is why every worker, every professional, every man and woman of good will, should march on May Day and give powerful expression to the people's demand for peace and security.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL

ON MAY 14, it will be three years since the state of Israel was proclaimed. Before the state was established,

the governments of the United States and Britain maneuvered desperately in the United Nations and behind the scenes to prevent the realization of statehood for the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Had it not been for the determination of the people of Israel to achieve an independent existence and if the Soviet Union and the people's democracies had not fought steadily and uncompromisingly for the fulfillment of the UN decision of November 29, 1947, the state would never have been realized. And subsequently, the feudal Arab puppets of the American and British imperialists waged a bloody war against the infant state. Again, if not for the heroism of the Israeli people and the arms made available by Czechoslovakia to the fighting nation, the new state might have suffered abortion.

Since those months of travail many hundreds of thousands of Jews who were driven near to death by Hitlerism, came to Israel. A high percentage of the population of Israel today were direct victims of fascism. Is it not tragic that these Jews once more face the danger of fascism in the world and an annihilating war? And this danger stems from the very forces which tried to rob Israel of her independence, the imperialists of the United States and Britain, while the force that made possible the establishment of the state, the Soviet Union, is leading the forces of the world that are trying to prevent World War III.

To the people of Israel, this should be apparent from the fact that the United States government is responsible for the return of their torturers to power in Germany, is desperately trying to rearm the nazis, and has bludgeoned the capitalist world into accepting Hitler's friend, the butcher Franco, as an ally in their preparations for an anti-Soviet war. The memorandum submitted by the Israeli government to the Truman administration protesting the freeing of nazi war criminals attests to the potent hatred of the Israeli people for the nazis. The Israeli people should think deeply before they allow their government to lead Israel into an alliance with the murderers of the Jewish people.

On this third anniversary, therefore, our thoughts go out to the many thousands of Israelis who were branded and hounded by the nazis nearly to death. For the danger of a repetition — and perhaps completion — of the extermination plan projected by Hitler, dare not be minimized. The course that Israel must follow should be evident for anyone who has learned the lesson of the past few decades — alliance of all democratic and peace-loving forces all over the world against those who are trying, under a new aegis, to carry forward the fascist plan of subjugating the world to reactionary powers. In practical terms, the fight against war and fascism means that the people of Israel must struggle together with the world movement for peace and democracy that is led by the World Peace Congress.

WILLIE MCGEE MUST NOT DIE

FOR THE sixth time in five years a date has been set for the execution of Willie McGee, innocent Negro, convicted on a framed-up rape charge in 1945. If President Truman does not move to set aside the execution, or if Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi does not stop the legal murder, an innocent Negro will die on May 8. And there is only one way to prevent this shame of the American people — by such a widespread and determined protest that President Truman and Governor Wright will be unable to resist it. Such protest stopped the murder of Tom Mooney and it can save the life of Willie McGee.

About the innocence of Willie McGee there can be no doubt. New evidence to this effect has been produced but was ignored by the Mississippi courts and the Supreme Court of the United States. William Faulkner, Nobel prize novelist and a native of Mississippi, told a group of women that he believed McGee is innocent of the rape charge and that the persecution of the Negro and the death sentence were outrageous. The crime of legally lynching the innocent Willie McGee is compounded by the fact that a white man has never been executed for rape in Mississippi. It is clear that Willie McGee is threatened with execution because he is a Negro.

In this country, as the execution date approaches, the protest movement has mounted. On Saturday evening, March 31, a dramatic demonstration of 5,000 New Yorkers took place on Times Square at eight o'clock in the evening. The trade union movement is joining its protest. Early in April it was revealed that the national CIO had appealed to Governor Wright for clemency. The Confederation of Workers of Latin America, representing 1,000,000 workers, announced on April 2, that it had protested. The Electrical Workers and the Fur Workers Unions have urged the president to intervene. Trade union committees are carrying forward the campaign.

There is little time left to save the innocent Willie McGee. The movement against this legal lynching must grow to far higher proportions, if this end is to be accomplished. Not only the life of one innocent man is involved, important as this is. It is the civil rights of all of us that are at issue in the McGee case. Without a moment's delay, letters and telegrams should go to President Truman, urging his intervention, to congressmen, urging them to press upon the president the critical need of this intervention, and to Governor Fielding Wright (Jackson, Miss.) urging a pardon. Only an unprecedented popular protest can win freedom for Willie McGee.

THE SILVER CONTROVERSY

IN PAST issues we have commented upon and quoted a series of lectures delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver on American foreign policy. Silver charged that American policy was based on building up alliances with the most

reactionary and fascist forces throughout the world and on the remilitarization of Germany. He argued that the Korean adventure was a tragic blunder and that the sooner Washington put an end to this war, the better. And in one lecture, devoted to the question of Germany, Silver pointed up the tragic consequences that must inevitably follow from such a policy. Arguing for the thesis of the possibility of the co-existence of capitalism and communism, Silver urged that every effort be made to relieve present world tensions through peaceful negotiations.

The only Jewish newspaper that published Silver's speeches was the *Morning Freiheit*. This in itself is deeply illuminating, particularly when one bears in mind that Silver is the dean of the American Zionist movement whose speeches and comments consistently received major billing in the Jewish press. Quite obviously, Jewish leaders and the press were very unhappy about this direct and outspoken challenge to American foreign policy. While practically all therefore maintained a discreet silence, one newspaper, the viciously reactionary *Forward*, launched into a vitriolic attack and declared that Silver had become an apologist for Moscow. The *Forward*, whose outspoken advocacy of a preventive war against the Soviet Union dates back to the days when we were fighting side by side with the Soviet Union to defeat Hitlerism, was outraged at the thought that its program was being challenged by a prominent Jewish leader. They know very well that Silver is far from being a communist. But this makes them all the more frantic, for it nails the lie in their propaganda that only communists are concerned with the question of peace and peaceful negotiations; that only communists hold that communism and capitalism can peacefully co-exist.

Such papers as the Jewish *Day* and the Jewish *Morning Journal* found themselves in quite a dilemma. They could not allow this attack on Silver to go unchallenged. The Jewish *Day* therefore launched an attack of its own against the *Forward*, accusing the *Forward* of deliberate misrepresentation and accusing it of partisanship in daring to smear Silver on the basis of information printed in the *Freiheit*. In other words, the *Day* tried to create the impression that the *Freiheit* had distorted the Silver speeches.

Having attacked on these grounds, the *Day* was necessarily forced to tell its readers what Silver *did* say. It therefore reprinted Silver's speech on Germany. Lo and behold, it turns out to be exactly what the *Freiheit* reported Silver to have said. Furthermore, Silver wrote an open letter to the *Day* in which he reiterated his conviction that the Korean war was a costly mistake and that there was substantial proof to show that the majority of the American people agreed with him on this. And a short time thereafter, Silver again restated his fundamental position before the New York Board of Rabbis and urged them not to allow the present wave of hysteria to silence them.

Silver's speeches show quite clearly that the starting point from which he arrives at his conclusions, is fundamentally different from ours and that there are many basic points on which we disagree. Nevertheless, we greet

Silver's utterances and his call for peaceful solutions because we believe that it is vital that all men, regardless of political differences and orientation, join hands in the most momentous and historic task of our time—to save the peace. We believe that Silver, regardless of our areas of disagreement with him, put forward a program which, if fought for and enforced, could avert another horrible war.

We believe that thousands of members of the Zionist movement as well as the many thousands who are influenced by Zionist thinking would do well to think through the utterances of one of their own leaders and to recognize that the fight for peace is the most fundamental way in which a Jew can serve his people.

THE ROSENBERG CASE

EVEN in our hysteria-ridden atmosphere, the death sentence meted out to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on April 5 for allegedly passing atom bomb secrets to the Soviet Union during the anti-fascist war, shocked many Americans. The shock was particularly deep on New York's East Side, where the Rosenbergs were born and brought up, where their two children were born and where they lived up to the time of their arrest.

This judgment is full of unprecedented aspects. First, never before in our history had the death sentence been passed by a civil court on native born Americans on an espionage charge. Then there is the fact that the alleged passing of information was to an ally in time of war. As the *Jewish Day* pointed out, "If Soviet Russia would have gotten the information about the atomic bomb, she would have used it not against America but against the nazis." Then there was the extraordinary statement made by Judge Irving Kaufman at the time of sentencing that the Rosenbergs had "altered the course of history" by making it possible for the Soviet Union to achieve the atomic bomb "years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb." Therefore, reasoned this judge, "I believe your conduct . . . has already caused the communist aggression in Korea with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 Americans."

This is fantastic. In the first place, scientists have been saying since the first atomic bomb was set off, that there are no such things in the modern world as this sort of "secrecy" and the Soviet Union was quite capable of developing the atomic bomb in a few years. And to blame these two obscure individuals for the war is only to indulge in a hysterical attempt to shift responsibility for this unpopular adventure off the shoulders of the Truman administration.

These extraordinary circumstances surrounding the death sentence disturbed the Jewish community. This was felt even by such a reactionary paper as the Jewish daily *Forward*, which called the sentence "too horrible" and "too cruel." "Every Jew felt the same way," continued the *Forward*. The *Jewish Day*, too, sharply criticized the death penalty, adding, "We hope a way will be found to set aside the death penalty." For the Jewish community felt that the

judgment had the odor of the pogrom. This feeling was not lessened by the fact that the judge and prosecutor, as well as the defendants, were Jewish. If anything, this fact made the outcome more ominous. For it meant that Jews were being used to further this pogrom atmosphere. As the *Jewish Day* guardedly observed, Judge Kaufman's remarks "could only increase the present hysteria in certain circles"—that is, give impetus to the fascists and anti-Semites.

The significance of this judgment is brought into sharp relief when certain other judicial actions in the recent period are considered. Klaus Fuchs, the leading figures of the alleged conspiracy, received a 15-year sentence; whereas the Rosenbergs, alleged to be secondary figures, received the death sentence. There was the gentle treatment given to proved traitors of the anti-fascist war: Tokyo Rose got 10 years; Axis Sally got 10 years; and Ezra Pound was confined to a mental hospital although serious doubt exists as to his presumed insanity. More recently, there was the mass of grants of clemency and even release from jail for the worst nazi criminals and the legal lynching of Negroes like the Martinsville Seven and the death sentence for Willie McGee. When these actions, together with the rearming of the nazis, are placed side by side with the Rosenberg sentence, the trend appears in all its terrible implications.

JEWISH HISTORY WEEK

THE past of a people can serve to illuminate and inspire in the present, provided that one can discern those elements in the past that carry forward the best traditions of the people. However, there is a tendency for some Jews to view their past uncritically and to swallow it whole. For Jews have been found on both the reactionary and progressive sides of any struggle. Progressive Jews therefore should look to the progressive elements of the past for emulation. The great struggles of the Jewish people for freedom from oppression, such as the Maccabean wars and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the militant struggles of Jewish workers—these are some of the elements of our past to which we look for inspiration. And it should be to this tradition that we should return during Jewish History Week, which falls from May 6 to 12 this year. In this fateful period when the Jews are confronted with grave dangers from increasing anti-Semitism and a renewal of the threat of fascism, celebration of Jewish History week should contribute toward stiffening resistance by Jews to these trends and toward cementing unity within the Jewish people regardless of political affiliation and unity with the general American community in fighting off the dangers which face us in common. This is a time particularly for renewing our links with the great traditions of Jewish workers in the labor movement, who played such a great role in the development of the American labor movement as a whole. The knowledge gained of the progressive past of the Jewish people can spur us on to more effective action in our own dangerous days.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

By Halois Moorhead

ONE DAY not long ago, almost simultaneously, the State Department and the Committee on Un-American Activities, together with John Steelman, the president's confidential advisor, George Sokolsky, reactionary columnist, *Counterattack*, pro-fascist newsletter, Walter Winchell and Fulton Lewis, Jr., began to "warn" the American people against the emergence of a new organization. What was this monstrous thing about which these forces felt it necessary to "warn" the people?

That danger was *peace*. The American people were being warned to beware of the American Peace Crusade, a new organization which was issuing a call to all men and women of good will throughout the nation to join in a mighty peace crusade to Washington on March 15.

The cry for peace is in the hearts and on the lips of the American people. The Gallup Poll informs us that 66 per cent of the American people want peace. And so, the warning to the nation to beware of the American Peace Crusade did not catch on. Instead, the call for peace moved men and women from all over the country. There were 2,500 Americans in Washington on March 15: Negro and white, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish. There were copper miners from the west, coal miners from Pennsylvania, electrical workers, farmers, clergymen, folksingers, fur workers and plain people from 36 states. There was a cowboy from Colorado with a tanned, lined face, wearing cowboy boots; there was the farmer from Central Missouri, who had joined a St. Louis delegation that had to brave a blizzard as they drove to Washington, who said, "The people in my area are plenty stirred up. Heads of families are being drafted and families ruined."

There was the Negro woman, Mrs. Lily Thomas, from Denver, who had just been chosen by a Denver radio program as Denver's "Biggest Heart of the Week." She had made her special work for peace the visiting of army hospitals in Denver to take cakes and cookies to the wounded veterans. "A hospital is a lonesome thing," she said. "If the president and congressmen had one teaspoonful of decency, they would stop the war." She spoke of the wounded 19 year-old who had never heard the word peace till a Korean mother asked him, "Did you Americans ever think of winning with peace?"

And the American Peace Crusade was in Washington to tell senators and congressmen and the whole govern-

ment that the American people want an end to the fighting in Korea and a peaceful settlement of differences. Further, they were in Washington to express their unalterable opposition to the rearming of Germany and to applaud the Big Four parley. The delegates to the crusade, knowing that the fight for Negro rights is inseparable from the fight for peace, called for an end to discrimination against the Negro people, both in the army and in all walks of life. They made clear their staunch defense of civil liberties and of the right and moral obligation of all men to advocate peace.

A Cross-Section of America

The impact of this tremendous gathering of peace advocates was felt by official Washington. It was no small matter that 2,500 men and women from all over the nation should leave their daily pursuits to come by plane and train and car to their nation's capitol. The press showed their awareness of this fact by a leaden curtain of silence: the people were not to be informed that 2,500 men and women, representing their own most fervent desires, had had the courage to brave the anger of the State Department and Walter Winchell.

Half of the 2,500 were women. For the desire for peace is deep in the hearts of American mothers and wives, of young women and old. It was 1,000 women who had protested against war in Washington last August and demanded the banning of the atom bomb and called for the withdrawal of our troops from Korea. At that time those women formed an organization, American Women for Peace, which now exists as a growing force in the lives of American women and which contributed to the success of the peace crusade.

The pilgrimage was a cross section of the American people and expressed the growing unity among wide sections of the people on the issue of peace. There were differences of opinion among the delegates on other issues and even on some aspects of the peace question. However, all were agreed on the fundamental need for peace and determined to work for a genuine peace program.

On the first morning of the crusade a representative group of 60 sponsors and national and local leaders of the crusade met to plan peace activities throughout our nation. Among the initiating sponsors present were Professor Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist of Cornell University, Ernest DeMaio, vice president of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and Dr. Clemen-

HALOIS MOORHEAD is executive secretary of American Women for Peace. She was formerly business agent for the Hotel Front Service Employees Union, Local 144, AFL.

tina J. Paolone, obstetrician and chairman of American Women for Peace. Other prominent national figures present included Professor Robert Morss Lovett; former governmental secretary of the Virgin Islands; Mr. John Gojack, international vice president, U.E.R.M.A., Fort Wayne, Indiana; the Reverend Charles A. Hill, of Detroit, Michigan; Mr. Paul Robeson, internationally renowned artist; Rev. Edward Freeman, First Baptist Church of Kansas City; and Mrs. Theresa Robinson, chairman of the Civil Liberties Section of the Negro Elks.

Professor Morrison reported that nearly 300 prominent Americans had become sponsors of the peace crusade's program. More than 120,000 copies of the call to the crusade had been distributed; more than 500,000 peace ballots were put in circulation; 27 city and state committees and councils of the crusade had been formed.

The sponsors at this meeting decided that even greater stress must now be placed on the need for honest negotiation by our government to settle the war in Korea and outstanding differences with the Soviet Union. A letter in this vein to Secretary of State Dean Acheson was approved, as well as one to Secretary of Defense George Marshall condemning barbaric methods of warfare in Korea and pointing out the relationship between the contempt of an oriental people which allows for an "Operation Killer" and discrimination against Negroes, in particular in the unjust sentencing of the Negro officer, Lt. Leon A. Gilbert.

Petitioning Their Government

Immediately upon their arrival the delegates went directly to buttonhole their senators and congressmen. Even though all representatives of the government had been alerted on the crusade in advance through a letter from the State Department, some congressmen left the halls of Congress to meet the peace pilgrims. Although many refused to see the delegations, over 100 congressmen were actually visited.

Several delegations reported that a number of legislators, including Corbett of Pennsylvania, Nicholson of Massachusetts, Cole of New York and Jonas of Illinois declared that they believe America should bring its troops home from Korea. Spokesmen from the Washington delegation reported that Rep. Tolaffson agreed on the validity of negotiations instead of war.

Of course, there were congressmen like Rep. McGrath, who sent a note to a large delegation of women from the Bronx saying that he would not talk to anyone from the peace crusade. And Rep. Javits, who saw a delegation from his district, openly justified the war in Korea. These congressmen must be answered by the people in increasing strength by fighting for peace now and later at the polls.

At this time a special delegation of sponsors of the American Peace Crusade called on the State Department. This delegation was headed by the Hon. Robert Morss Lovett, Mr. Paul Robeson, Dr. Clementina Paolone, Mr. Ernest

De Maio, Mr. Abe Finneglass, International Fur and Leather Workers Union, and Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, of New York University. The delegation was received by Assistant Secretary of State Francis Russell, who tried desperately to subject the delegation to the State Department charge that the peace crusade was "communist-inspired." But the delegation refused to be diverted by this attack and hammered away at the necessity for the State Department to heed the wishes of the people for peace. After unanimity among the sponsors became clear to Mr. Russell, he defensively claimed that we must defend a "free world." Lucy Brown, pianist of New York, then said, "Do you include Greece, Turkey, Spain, the governments which hold Africa in subjection, Chiang Kai-shek and renazified Germany in the community of free nations?"

At the State Department

The delegation finally left a statement for Secretary of State Dean Acheson which said in part: "The one key to peace in an atomic age is negotiation. Everything else is sure to fail in the end. Statesmanship means conciliation; selfrighteousness, military might, economic advantage are not adequate substitutes for give and take discussion. There is a steady and terrible drift to war in our land; the burden of arms in dollar cost and in mental and moral surrender to war as an instrument of policy is heavy and day by day it grows. We must not allow ourselves to drift in this current past the point of no return. We believe that we speak for very many millions of our countrymen when we say we find not hope but fear in the policies which your department carries out today. No nation today can rule the world, as no nation can isolate itself from change and flux. The recognition that a way of living together in peace is necessary and possible is the first fact of diplomacy of today. We ask today that you place the success of the conference of foreign ministers, even a partial, gradual, step-by-step success, as your first responsibility to the American people and that you undertake promptly to tell them how important and how hopeful such a conference might be."

Among other delegations, totaling over 100 people, who visited the State Department, one special delegation from the American Jewish Labor Council presented a brief against the rearmament of Germany. The State Department, said the delegation, should note the indignation among wide sections of the Jewish people, who are alarmed by the possibility of the rearmament of Germany. The freeing of many nazi war criminals who share the guilt of the inhuman destruction in gas chambers and by torture of some 6,000,000 Jewish people, reinforce the demand that our government should not take upon itself the criminal responsibility of recreating in Germany the way of life which was responsible for this slaughter. The American people, said the delegation, see in the rearming and renazification of Germany a threat to the dignity, freedom and very lives of an entire people.

Another delegation of sponsors called at the office of Secretary of Defense George Marshall. This delegation was led by Rev. Charles A. Hill, of Detroit, and included Miss Maud Russell, for more than 20 years a YWCA secretary in China, together with Albert Pezzati, eastern leader of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, and others. Strong representations were made regarding the case of Lt. Leon Gilbert and the discriminatory character of court martial practices, segregation in the armed forces and the ruthless military extermination policy directed at the civilian population of Korea.

A sponsor's delegation to the civil liberties section of the Department of Justice was led by Rev. Dudley Burr, Congregational minister of Connecticut, and included Rev. Edward Freeman, president of the NAACP of Kansas City, Arthur D. Kahn, author of *Betrayal*, Maurice Travis, secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Bishop H. M. Hooper of Holy Nazarene Church of Chicago. This delegation protested the indictment of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and other officers of the former Peace Information Center and demanded protection of the full right to speak for peace. Bishop Hooper concluded with a strong plea for Justice Department action against the increasing violations of the civil liberties of the Negro people.

A significant incident took place while Bishop Hooper was on his way to the Turner's Arena meeting. When he stopped two Washington policemen to ask his way, the policemen questioned Bishop Hooper, who is a Negro, and demanded his credentials as a bishop. The policemen took him to the nearest station house. Only after vigorous protest by crusade leaders was Bishop Hooper released without charges. This is a typical example of the insulting treatment meted out daily to the Negro people in order to intimidate them into accepting oppression and the administration war program.

Labor Wants Peace

Labor made a real showing at the crusade with a total of 600 delegates. The delegation to Charles E. Wilson of the Office of Defense Mobilization was the highlight of the lobbying for labor. For two weeks Wilson had refused any appointment with representatives of the National Labor Conference for Peace. Refusing to take no for an answer, a delegation of 50 labor representatives, headed by Sam Freedman, chairman of the New York division of the National Labor Conference for Peace and of the Furriers Joint Council, just called at Wilson's office. While Wilson did his disappearing act, his executive officer, Carter L. Burgess, and three assistants of Wilson met the delegation and received their prepared statement. "Labor can only expect impoverishment and misery from a war program," the statement pointed out. "Labor can only expect death and destruction from a Third World War. Further the 'national emergency' and the war policy it stems from are being used as a club to depress the living standards of

the working people; it has become apparent that this emergency order is geared to provide war contracts at tremendous profits to big business. Thus, labor insists on a foreign policy based on peaceful solutions of all international disputes and on the domestic front demands a peace economy."

Over 100 labor delegates stayed over on March 16 to discuss the building of the National Labor Conference for Peace and its local affiliates. The theme of their session was the immediate need to embark on a vigorous national campaign to "organize the unorganized peace sentiment" which is so widespread in shops of all unions, regardless of political beliefs.

The resident board of the National Labor Council for Peace was instructed to draw up a statement exposing the fallacy of the "equality of sacrifice" slogan, showing that the United States is not menaced by a foreign aggressor, that peaceful solutions of all international disputes were possible and that war is not inevitable.

Seven hundred youths, Negro and white, from church groups, community organizations, schools and trade unions came to the crusade to add their voices for peace. They lent tremendous enthusiasm to the crusade with their songs and spirit. Youths from different parts of the country exchanged experiences in their fight for peace. They formed four delegations to see House committee chairman Vinson, Army Secretary Pace, Draft Director Hershey and Assistant Defense Secretary Anna Rosenberg on problems close to their welfare. Their slogan was, "Books, not guns."

Among other crusade activities were delegations of women to Senator Margaret Chase Smith, lone woman senator, and to Mrs. Anna Rosenberg. One group of women visited the wounded at Walter Reed Hospital and distributed gifts of fruit. Although the women were followed around by a disapproving officer, a number of the men grabbed copies of the *Peacemaker* (monthly bulletin of American Women for Peace). "I'm a professional soldier," said one of the wounded. "I've been in the army since I was 19. One war is enough. I'm glad the women have waked up." Even those who did not yet understand the thinking of the peace crusade said. "Come back and talk to us about what you want. Don't forget now—that's a date."

On the day following the delegations, some 50 women from 14 states remained under the sponsorship of American Women for Peace to discuss the special role women must play in the fight for peace and to exchange ideas on how peace activities could be increased.

Next, June 29 in Chicago

The climax of the crusade was the mass rally for peace at Turner's Arena in the evening. Professor Morrison presided and the first speaker was Mrs. Theresa Robinson, outstanding Negro woman leader, who spoke movingly of her recent visit to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, where she became convinced that the people of those countries want peace. Dr. Robert Morss Lovett spoke of "the

shocking decline in human feeling of the public in regard to war. Never before, so far as I can recall, have our soldiers exhibited such an unashamed satisfaction in mere killing. . . . But we take pride in that two-thirds of our population, tested by the Gallup poll, demand the withdrawal of our soldiers from Korea." Paul Robeson sang several songs and spoke in the most moving terms of the struggles of the colonial peoples throughout the world for their freedom and of the role of the Negro people in this country in the fight for peace.

FULFIL THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT

Following is a statement on German rearmament submitted to the State Department on March 15 by the American Jewish Labor Council.—Eds.

ON October 18, 1945, 24 leaders of the nazi regime and seven nazi organizations went on trial before an international tribunal at Nuremberg. They were charged with:

"Crimes against the peace—planning, preparing, initiating, or waging aggressive war.

"War crimes—violations of the laws or customs of war.

"Crimes against humanity—murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation or other inhumane acts against any civilian population, before or during the war; of persecutions, political, racial or religious."

A year later, the tribunal handed down its verdict. That verdict was a milestone in the history of civilization. The tribunal had established and set down for posterity the full record of the nazi war crimes. It decreed punishment for plotting aggressive war and for war crimes. It imposed the death penalty for crimes against humanity.

The Nuremberg verdict was hailed by war-weary humanity as symbolizing the victory over militarism and fascism achieved at the cost of millions of lives.

Today spokesmen for our government are bartering away the fruits of this victory in return for German participation in a Western alliance for war.

No sooner was the Brussels Conference decision to rearm West Germany made public, than a clamor arose throughout the western zones of Germany for the restoration of the *honor* of the German soldier by releasing all war criminals. Immediately, assorted nazi war criminals and mass murderers started rolling off the amnesty assembly line set up by United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy. SS-men, convicted for the Malmedy massacre, were reprieved from the gallows. The death sentences of members of the *Einsatzgruppen* (extermination squads), who directed the slaughter of millions of Jews, were commuted. The gates of Landsberg prison were opened for others, including Alfred Krupp, whom Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson at Nuremberg called "as guilty as Hitler." Robert M. W. Kempner, deputy chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, denounced the release of Krupp and the others:

"In 1924, I warned the Bavarian government against the release from Landsberg prison of a certain Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Hess. Today I want to go on record with a warning that a too early opening of the Landsberg gates will turn loose on society totalitarian and subversive forces that will endanger the free world."

In closing the meeting, Professor Morrison said, "We have a job to do. Let's get to it." He was referring not only to the daily fight for peace, but also to the mobilization of a giant peace pilgrimage and exposition that the crusade had projected to take place in Chicago for three days, beginning June 29. The delegates responded with the greatest enthusiasm to this plan. They were determined to work unceasingly to achieve a delegation of 5,000 people in Chicago for the greatest demonstration for peace that our country has ever seen.

In a documentary report, Commissioner McCloy made it very clear that the guilt of these criminals was not in question. The commutations and releases were acts of "clemency," which the *New York Times*, in a prize understatement, said might lead people to believe "that the United States is playing ball with the nazis."

The clemency granted the war criminals has destroyed the moral value of the principle of punishment for war crimes and crimes against humanity established by collective judgment at Nuremberg.

The rehabilitated nazis, brazenly coming to the fore in West Germany, have long since repudiated the entire principle of Allied war crimes judgment. Their cry has always been: "Nuremberg was a mistake!"

Today, those who claim to speak for us are ready to agree.

Today, they are meeting and dining with generals and politicians who promoted the rise of Hitler and with him plotted World War II.

Today, they are absolving and returning to power those responsible for aggressive war and mass murder.

They may say this is necessary in order to enlist German militarism as an ally in defense of democracy and civilization.

Europeans are asked to believe that their salvation will be achieved by putting weapons in the hands of those who twice before have loosed death and devastation upon them.

Jews are asked to accept as comrades-in-arms those who committed the horrors of Maidanek and Auschwitz.

But millions of people throughout the world are not ready to agree that Nuremberg was a mistake. More and more voices are raised against the betrayal of the ideals for which six million Jews and 30 million others died.

We take this occasion to add our voice in protest against this criminal policy of absolving and arming the sworn enemy of humanity.

Six years ago, the victorious Allies, meeting in Potsdam, solemnly pledged that "German militarism and nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement now and in the future the other measures necessary to assure that Germany will never again threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world."

Today, on the eve of the conference of foreign ministers, we appeal to our government to enter into serious negotiations in good faith with the governments of Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union, for the disarmament of Germany, for the creation of a peaceful and democratic Germany.

ISRAEL—A WAR BASE?

By G. Koenig

THE visit of Lieutenant General Sir Brian Robertson, chief of Britain's Middle Eastern military forces, to Israel in February accentuated the dangers to the young state. General Robertson, who dreams of becoming the MacArthur of the Middle East, was received in Tel Aviv by Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett and the chief of staff of the Israeli army. In Jerusalem he conferred with Premier David Ben Gurion. The press has frankly stated that the purpose of the visit was to discuss Israel's participation in the projected Middle Eastern pact, whose western anchor is to be Franco Spain, with Turkey as its eastern anchor. Nor did the press conceal that the discussions also included talk about the creation of Anglo-American air fields and naval bases in Israel, particularly the concession of certain parts of the Negev to Britain for this purpose.

Robertson's visit was, of course, no accident. It could have been anticipated from the series of visits by Mapai leaders to Belgrade, Ankara, Athens and London. The last two cities were visited by Ben Gurion himself although every effort was made to have it appear that his visits were holiday jaunts. But it was interesting to observe that, as these "holidays" continued, more and more talk was heard of a military pact of four countries—Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Israel. And lately a fifth has been added—Abdullah's Transjordan.

British Labor MP's Want Bases

Equally "coincidental," no doubt, was the fact that as these "holidays" went on, three important British Labor members of parliament delivered themselves of policy speeches on Israel. Richard Crossman demanded that Britain "help" Israel and that Israel "help" Britain. Lord Strabolgi expanded on the theme. "The Israeli army," said Strabolgi, "must take over the defense of the Suez Canal from the British army." And he went on: "The Jewish state must give air and naval bases for the military forces of the United Nations" (sic!). As if this were not enough, a third Labor MP, Ian Mikardo, put his cards on the table: "The Israeli government," said Mikardo, "must rent Britain part of the southern Negev for military bases."

At about the same time, the *New York Times* published an article by a fourth Labor MP, Wyatt, who recounted a talk he had with Ben Gurion. "Premier Ben Gurion," said Wyatt, "assured me that Israel is a part of the Western World and that in time of crisis Israel will properly fulfill

its responsibility. Israel had already shown this by its stand in the UN on the Korean question."

Thus Mapai leader Ben Gurion no longer talks about "neutrality." He states quite openly that Israel is part of the "Western World" (read Wall Street) and that in a moment of "crisis" (read anti-Soviet war) Israel will "fulfill its responsibility." Naturally Ben Gurion talks about Israel in the same way that certain government leaders speak of "France," "Belgium," "England," etc., despite the fact that the peoples of these countries have quite a different opinion from theirs on questions.

But this is not all. Wyatt said that for a time Israel was under suspicion because of its supposedly neutral attitude toward the Soviet Union. But after his talk with Ben Gurion, it became quite clear to Wyatt that there was nothing to fear from this type of "neutrality." This pose of "neutrality," wrote Wyatt, "was necessary because of the need to get as many Jews as possible out of the countries 'behind the Iron Curtain.'" In other words, there had to be talk about "neutrality" in order to trick the Soviet Union. But now it was all right to talk quite openly about "fulfilling one's obligation to the West."

Wyatt concluded: "The army which Israel has is much larger than one that England could keep there, even if she had military bases in the Jewish state." What can such a remark signify but that Britain will have bases in the Negev and that Jewish youth of Israel will serve as cannon fodder for the MacArthurs of the Middle East? Ben Gurion, by the way, has never denied that he had made this statement, despite the fact that S. Mikunis, leader of the Communists, publicly challenged him in the Knesset to deny the statement.

These facts quite clearly fill in the background of General Robertson's visit.

Purpose of the Mission

The mission of this British general is also closely related to the Anglo-American military conference recently held in Malta at which Britain was assigned certain "zones" in the Middle East which she must "organize" and exploit in coordination with American war plans. Robertson's mission is also tied to the military conference held in Istanbul, where practically all American ambassadors of the Middle Eastern countries, including Israel, assembled.

But the building of the whole Middle East into one solid bloc is hampered by the numerous contradictions which the imperialists have created and nurtured in that area. There

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are contradictions between Turkey and the Arab states; there is the diabolical and artificially stimulated Arab-Jewish antagonism; and there are the contradictions among the Arab states themselves. Therefore the strategists and diplomats of Anglo-American imperialism must build their Middle Eastern pact in stages by setting up several blocs. Thus they aim to create one bloc of Turkey, Greece and Israel (and possibly Yugoslavia). To this bloc they wish to add one Arab state which is completely subservient to England—Abdullah's Transjordan. According to the plan, this bloc is designed to serve as a whip against the bloc of other Arab states (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria). On the other hand, these Arab states can serve as a bogey man against Israel. By controlling both blocs, Washington hopes before long to be able to get a tight hold over the whole Middle and Near East (Franco Spain included) and finally to establish one common Middle and Near Eastern anti-Soviet front.

It is apparent that Washington puts greatest reliance on Turkey, into which she has already dumped millions upon millions of dollars for military bases. The reactionary Zionist leaders, however, are anxious to impress upon the imperialists that, although Israel is much smaller than Turkey, she can also be extremely "useful." As President Browdy of the Zionist Organization of America said in the course of his request for a loan for Israel from the American government; "Israel is ready to fight against communism. With the exception of Turkey, Israel is the only country in the Middle East which will offer resistance to communism in case of aggression."

But can any honest person dare to say that the Soviet Union, which is leading the struggle for peace, which saved the Jews of Europe from total destruction and which helped the young state of Israel to avert destruction through the maneuvers of the General Robertsons of London and Washington, is planning "aggression" against Israel?

What these gentlemen really mean by "defense" against aggression becomes quite clear from this statement in the official Turkish government newspaper, *Yuve Saban*: "It is very easy to penetrate from Turkish bases into the very heart of the USSR and to deliver a death blow."

This is, of course, the essence of the imperialist plan—a "preventive" war against the Soviet Union erupting from Turkish bases. And the aim of General Robertson's visit, as well as those of the British Labor MP's, is to prepare the youth of Israel to become cannon-fodder.

No wonder, therefore, that the war policy into which these men wish to draw the young state of Israel, calls forth such dismay among Jews as well as non-Jews who are truly friends of Israel. No wonder, therefore, that the population of Israel each day manifests firmly its opposition to these war plans.

Nazi "Allies"

An insight can be gained into the nature of these plans for an anti-Soviet war from the response which they evoke

from the present-day continuators of nazi ideology in Germany. For instance, the newspaper *Bruderschaft*, organ of the Hitler generals, who are now the closest advisers of the American general staff, said on December 25, 1950: "In 1941 and in 1945, the Allies allowed to slip by the opportunity to launch a preventive war against the Soviet Union. If the United States is planning to attack the Soviet Union, one can take it for granted that Turkey will be the spot from which it will be started and carried on in the direction of Moscow and the East. The United States will need in the first weeks of such a war 100 Panzer divisions and an entire air corps."

The nazi generals still dream of Hitler's cry, "On to Moscow!" Even though Hitler is dead, it seems that Israeli soldiers will be mobilized to the same tune, only this time it will be called by the American general staff. Is it not time to remember what happened to those who tried this before? Is it not time to grasp the consequences of such an act for every country of the Middle East and for Israel as well?

The Hitlerite generals do not, of course, content themselves merely to act as advisors. They are playing an ever more active role in the Near East. According to official figures, 6,000 former officers of the nazi army arrived recently in Transjordan and Iraq. They constitute the leading cadre of the military forces of these countries. The same is true in Egypt, Syria and Turkey. The nazi war criminal and tank specialist General Heinz Guderian is now serving as chief specialist on the development of Middle Eastern military forces.

This is the situation. If the Anglo-American plan for a Middle Eastern pact is realized, then the Jews who narrowly escaped death at Treblinka and Maidanek, the Jews who came to Israel during the "exodus from Europe" hysteria, the Jewish orphans whose parents were murdered by SS troops and by Bevin's bombs and shrapnel—will find themselves in one camp with the Hitlerites and will be led by the Glubb Pashas, nazi officers and SS troops.

Any honest and self-respecting Jew will ask—how is this possible? How can the Israel government pursue a policy of national and physical suicide? How is it possible for Jewish politicians and military men to participate in an alliance against the Soviet Union, which saved millions of Jews from being destroyed in the crematoriums and which decisively helped bring Israel to birth?

How can the Jewish leaders agree to be in the same camp with nazis and Jew-murderers?

"Socialist" Policy

Incredible as this may seem, it has been proven by events to be the fact. Ben Gurion has many times stated that Israel is part of the Western camp. Israeli representatives in the UN have shown this in their stand on Korea. Israeli leaders have confirmed it in their recent conferences with General Robertson. Israel's policies conform more and more each day to the dictates of the State Department.

But right wing social democrats in Israel are finding it increasingly difficult to explain their policies to the masses. Goebbels found a way to do this 20 years ago: he prated of the "danger of Bolshevism." Today the right wing social democrats are using this same "red scare" to frighten the people and lead them to the gallows. With this "red scare" the Jews are being frightened into forgetting that the Hitler weapon of fear succeeded in exterminating six million Jews. An effort is being made to convince the Jews to join with nazis and other pogromists in a war against the "Bolshevik danger."

An example of this approach is an article in the Jewish daily *Forward* of January 18, by its editor, Hillel Rogoff. No country can be "neutral" at the present time, says Rogoff. "Israel has made its choice" and "has aligned itself with the democratic camp," he says. To Rogoff "the democratic camp" means General MacArthur, who "liberates" hundreds of thousands of Koreans with the help of bombs; General Lucius D. Clay, who commuted the sentence of Ilse Koch; United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy, who freed Alfred Krupp and the Landsberg nazis. The "democratic camp" includes, according to Rogoff, Turkish fascism, the Greek Tsaldaris, Tito, Abdullah, Generals Guderian and Speidel. Israel should concretely establish this alignment by becoming part of the Middle Eastern pact, says Rogoff. He makes no secret of the fact that joining this camp means becoming allies of Franco and Hitlerites. Yet he dares to justify this shameful act. "In addition," he writes, "the Jews must pay a special price. They must make special contributions in mental anguish and fear as a nation, owing to concessions which are being made and may yet have to be made to the enemies of the Jews and of the Jewish homeland."

One of the main "concessions," according to the *Forward* editor, is the re-establishment of the Wehrmacht. The Jews, he says, "must" make this "concession" to Germany because it is necessary to acquiesce to the demands of enemies of the Jews. "The democratic countries, primarily America, now want to rebuild, if not the whole, at least part of the German army. . . . The demolition of German war factories has been stopped. And the members of the German general staff now sit in conference with the leaders of the democratic [!] camp."

Well, then, here is the course for Israel to follow—join with the nazis, join with the "enemies of the Jews and the Jewish homeland." That will be Israel's role in the "Western World."

Attempts to Justify Policy

But this plan is not easy to carry out. Recently the Paris edition of *Monde d'Orient* published an article that rejoiced over the increasingly close ties between Greece, Turkey and Israel. This journal, which makes no secret of its anti-communist position and which openly sympathizes with the politics of the Israeli government, expresses its regret that "the agreement in the Eastern basin of the

Mediterranean has anti-Sovietism as its only premise." But, says the author, "Anti-Sovietism is not in and of itself a sufficient motive. It is sad to relate that the United States is preparing to repeat the errors of the Far East."

In other words, behind the anti-Soviet ties between Israel, Ankara and Athens stands Washington, seeking to extend her "experiences" in the Far East into the Middle East. Washington looks forward to planting there her Chiang Kai-sheks and her Syngman Rhees. She strives to set afire "liberations," that is, wars modelled after Korea. By allowing herself to fit in with those plans, Israel will be turned into an Anglo-American colony and an anti-Soviet war base.

In order to "justify" this shameful policy the Jewish reactionary press argues that Israel must seek economic and financial aid from America and therefore has no other recourse but to comply with United States political maneuvers. The organ of the Israeli bourgeoisie, *Haaretz*, said on December 27, 1950: "To be able to receive economic aid, the Israeli government must completely identify itself with the West." This simply means that to obtain "economic aid" one must join with MacArthur, Bevin, Franco, Tsaldaris, Abdullah, Guderian and Manteuffel.

But can one weigh the independence and freedom of a nation in dollars? Shall we measure the blood of youth in gold? Shall we exchange the honest friendship of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies for the price of an American loan?

The people of Israel and the fighters of the Haganah did not spill their blood so that a few years later the government would exchange its hard-won independence for "economic aid."

One has only to look at those countries "fortunate" enough to have received Marshall Plan "economic aid" to establish the fact that American "aid" does not mean well-filled stomachs, but rather poverty and unemployment.

Where Can Israel Expect Aid?

In addition to the "economic aid" argument, Mapai leaders often use another: we must join with America and England for protection or to keep them from doing us harm. But has not the tragic experience with the British during the 30-years mandate, especially the war against Israel, proven this theory to be false? Did British imperialism ever consider the devotion of the Zionist leaders any reason for ceasing to arouse unrest and pogroms in Israel? And were England and America those who "defended" the young Jewish nation against the aggression of six Arab armies?

On the contrary, it is common knowledge that it was Bevin who led the war against Israel. And everyone knows that from the first day of the war against Israel, President Truman prohibited the shipment of ammunition to the Jewish nation, thus supporting British aggression.

What then is the alternative for Israel? There is only one—Israel's policies must be based on independence and peace.

Israel will not be isolated in this fight. She will be supported by all those who helped in her birth as a nation and in her defense against the aggressors. All those who fight for peace will stand by her.

When Moshe Sharett, foreign minister of Israel (who now vilifies the name of the Soviet Union daily) sent warm thanks to the Soviet Union in 1948 for saving the Jews from Hitler's clutches and for its decisive role in the creation of the Jewish state, Molotov replied with a short telegram in which he expressed only one wish: "May Israel

become a force for peace in the Middle East!"

But if this is to happen, Israel must completely change its present official policy, a policy which is contrary to the will of the Israeli population, as was clearly demonstrated by the 300,000 signatures by Israeli citizens to the Stockholm peace petition, by the protests of the people against the re-establishment of the Wehrmacht and by the many demonstrations against General Robertson's visit. The Communist Party of Israel is leading this struggle today. All sincere friends of Israel throughout the world support this fight.

A STARTLING LIBEL CASE

By I. Berman

A STARTLING trial began in Tel Aviv in February. *Kol Haam*, organ of the Israel Communist Party, was summoned to court on charges of "insulting Premier David Ben Gurion." The prosecution based the charges on an article published after the conference of *Hanoar Haoved* (labor youth organization), at which Ben Gurion delivered a speech filled with venom against the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Israel.

At one point the article in *Kol Haam* said: "The premier spoke without restraint or shame to the thousands of Israel youth, using the kind of smear words which only traitors of the nation and of the working class have the effrontery to utter." This was the passage on the basis of which the Communist Party newspaper was brought to trial.

The trial was often postponed at the request of the prosecutor. Significantly enough, the trial finally opened when the commander-in-chief of British forces in the Middle East, General Brian Robertson, made a "courtesy visit" to Israel and was received with great honor by the Ben Gurion government.

At the trial, defense counsel Benyamini asserted that the sentence quoted above was justified not only on the basis of Ben Gurion's speech to the youth conference. Counsel also brought out this fact: at the most decisive moment in the battle for the Negev in 1948, when the Egyptian army was nearly defeated, *Ben Gurion ordered the Israeli army to withdraw solely because of pressure from Britain and the United States*. Such facts, reasoned the lawyer, justified use of the term "betrayal" by *Kol Haam*.

The position taken by the defense was fully confirmed by the testimony of Colonel Yitzkhok Sadeh, a founder of Palmach, Israeli shock force, and one-time commander of a part of the Israeli militia in the Negev. When questioned on the stand by the defense, Colonel Sadeh testified as follows: "After capturing Abu-Eglyah, we drove the

Egyptian force in the direction of Al-Erish, which was a key position. By cutting off the railroad, we would have caught the Egyptian army in a trap. It is well known that the Egyptians had no reserves to strengthen their forces. We would have been able to capture Al-Erish. Our forces were far superior to those of the Egyptians. However, at the most critical moment, when all signs pointed to a victory for the Israel army, we received an order to cease fire."

The defense lawyer then asked Colonel Sadeh why this cease-fire order had been given.

"The commander of my front told me that it was caused by pressure from foreign powers," answered Colonel Sadeh.

In response to other questions, Colonel Sadeh mentioned another order to withdraw from the town of Rafyach: "I can state without doubt that in both cases of withdrawal, that is, because of the withdrawal from Rafyach and the cessation of fire in the region of Rafyach, the Egyptian foe was saved from complete defeat."

Colonel Sadeh further confirmed that an Order of the Day issued by the commander of the Palmach forces in the Negev after the battles stated that "the cessation of fire saved the enemy from complete defeat." The colonel told of the bitterness caused by the withdrawal among the soldiers.

The atmosphere in the courtroom was tense as the colonel was testifying. Everyone listened intently to the witness' testimony. The prosecutor repeatedly tried to prevent the witness from speaking by objecting to the defense counsel's questions. But the defense demanded the right to a thorough examination of the withdrawal order from the Negev.

"If I can prove," argued the defense counsel, "that during a certain phase of the battle Ben Gurion did not act in the interests of our nation but of a foreign government, that acts were committed in the Negev which were harmful to the country, it follows that in this instance a certain

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party is justified in charging betrayal and cannot be accused of inventing slanders."

When the trial opened, the defense asked permission to call Moshe Sharett, foreign minister of Israel, as a witness. The court refused on the ground that "his testimony cannot help to uncover the truth." Defense counsel then asked permission to call Ben Gurion himself, whose testimony would surely shed light on the truth. To this the court agreed. Ben Gurion will therefore testify later in the trial. The general secretary of the Communist Party, S. Mikunis, will also testify.

Following is an excerpt from a report of the trial by correspondent David Flinker, published in the Jewish Morning Journal of March 11. Flinker had reported Colonel Sadeh's testimony in connection with the victorious march of the Israeli army against the Egyptians.—Eds.

"Defense Counsel: What happened then?

"Solonel Sadeh: I received an order to retreat.

"Q.: How can you be certain that you could have captured Al-Erish?

"A.: We were seven kilometers from our destination, so that the Egyptians would have had to bring reinforcements from far away, which was impossible.

"Colonel Sadeh then related that in retreating as ordered, he marched his troops in the direction of Rafyach. He was in a position to capture this stronghold. This time once again the Egyptian army would have been surrounded. But once more he received an order to withdraw.

"Then followed a series of questions and answers that completely absorbed those in the courtroom.

"Q.: How can you be certain that you could have captured this position?

"A.: I am certain of this but I cannot speak freely because even now the answer is a military secret that would

be of value to the Egyptians.

"Q.: Why were you ordered to stop?

"A.: Since I am attached to the army, I cannot answer that, even though I know the reasons.

"Q.: Tell us, not in your capacity as a military man, but as witness Yitzkhok Sadeh. Can you explain it?

"A.: There was pressure from the great powers.

"Colonel Sadeh testified further that at that time British planes appeared over the battlefield and dropped parachutists. The British were captured and two captured British officers were brought before the witness.

"Q.: Perhaps the British wanted to help the Israeli Army?

"A.: I saw no such help."

As we go to press, news has arrived that Ben Gurion had been questioned on the witness stand for four hours in Tel Aviv on April 8. His testimony was characterized by evasion, resort to military security and irrelevant red-baiting. The court ruled that the premier had to reply to questions by counsel for Kol Haam on strategy during the Israeli war but upheld him in his refusal to enter into what Ben Gurion called military or state secrets. Defense counsel asked Ben Gurion to explain the presence in Israel during the early months of its existence of a "Colonel Harris," a former United States army officer. Ben Gurion replied that Harris came as a "volunteer, spontaneously" like many others and refused to elaborate on the ground that anything he might add was "likely to compromise the security of the state." When he was asked if he issued orders on December 28, 1948, pulling back Israeli troops who had penetrated Egyptian territory, he replied, "All my orders during war time were issued to attain ultimate victory." He refused to answer additional questions because he did not consider the courtroom a "proper" place to discuss Israel's relations with foreign countries.

DOMESTIC BLISS

CHAIM is a porter.

When he trudges down the street hunched under a packingcase, he can hardly be seen; it seems as if the packing case were walking on its own two feet . . . but his heavy breathing can be heard afar!

However, as soon as he lays down his burden and gets his fee of a few groschen, straightens up, draws a deep breath, undoes the skirts of his coat, wipes the sweat off his face, strides to the fountain for a few gulps of water, he rushes into a courtyard.

He stops beside a wall and raises his large head at such an angle that the point of his beard, tip of his nose, and peak of his cap lie in a straight line.

I. L. PERETZ is the classic Yiddish writer.

A Short Story
By I. L. Peretz

He shouts:

"Channah!"

Under the eaves a small window opens and a small female head in a white hood answers:

"Chaim?"

The couple look at one another affectionately.

Chaim tosses up his earnings, wrapped in a piece of paper; Channah catches it in mid-air; this is not her first catch.

"What a skillful creature!" exclaims Chaim, with not the slightest desire to go away.

"Go on, go, Chaim!" she smiles. "I can't leave the sick youngster. . . . I've shoved the cradle close to the chimney. . . . I'm skimming the soup with one hand; I'm rock-

ing the cradle with my foot. . . ."

"How is the youngster?"

"Better!"

"Thank God for that! And Henye?"

"At the seamstress's!"

"Joseph?"

"In *cheder*."

Chaim lowers his head and walks away and Channah watches him until he disappears.

Thursdays and Fridays these exchanges take longer.

"How much is there in the paper?" Channah asks.

"Twenty-two groschen."

"I'm afraid that's too little."

"What do you need, Channah?"

"Six groschen's worth of salve for the baby, a few groschen for candles; I have the Sabbath loaf . . . and meat too, a pound and a half, but no wine for benediction! Besides, we need some more fire-wood!"

"I'll get you the fire-wood in the market, all right."

"So I need. . . ."

And she lists what she still needs for the Sabbath. It ends with the decision that the benediction may be said over the Sabbath-loaf and that it is easy to do without many other items.

But Sabbath candles are indispensable—that and the salve for the ailing child.

Nevertheless, when, God willing, the children are well, the brass candle-sticks out of pawn—and if, in addition, there is a pudding, Sabbath is a genuine delight for this couple.

And though she's always short of something: flour, an egg, a bit of fat—when all is said, there's the pudding, a luscious, sweet, refreshing pudding that melts in your mouth!

"Cooked by the angels," Channah says and smiles with joy.

"An angel, indeed; it sure is an angel!" Chaim laughs. "You think you're not enough of an angel with what you put up from me and the children—the pain we cause you, the times when I am angry . . . do I ever get the curses some of the others get from their wives? And what great joy do you get from me? You and the children in rags . . . what am I good for? I can't say the benediction or the prayers and can't even sing the Sabbath songs. . . ."

"But you are a good father and a good man, anyway!" Channah insists. "May all Jews be as fortunate as I am . . . and may the Almighty let me live out my life with you!"

And the couple gaze into one another's eyes with such warm affection, with such overflowing hearts, that it would seem they had just stepped out from under the wedding canopy. . . .

The atmosphere at the table grows even more joyous. . . .

After his nap, Chaim goes to the small synagogue to listen to the reading of the Torah.

A teacher reads the Torah to the common folk. The place is hot, the faces are sleepy. One man is still drowsing, another yawns aloud. But suddenly, at the right moment,

when the teacher is speaking about the Other World, about hell where the wicked are whipped with iron rods; about shining Paradise where the saints, in their golden crowns, sit and study the Torah—all of them bestir themselves. With mouths open and faces beaming . . . breathless . . . they listen to the tales of the Life Beyond.

Chaim usually stands near the stove. There are tears in his eyes and his hands and feet are trembling; he is transported to the Other World!

He suffers with the sinners: tosses in boiling pitch; is hurled into the nethermost pit; is made to pick wood in barren forests . . . he lives through it all and is covered with a cold sweat . . . later, however, he enjoys all the happiness of the saints; the brightness of Paradise, the company of angels, a portion of Leviathan and flesh of the sacred ox—Shor-Habor. All these good things are so vividly real to him that when the teacher finishes the lesson, kisses the page and closes the volume, Chaim awakens as if from a dream, as if returned from the Other World.

"Ah," heavily he draws the breath he had held back, "Heavenly Father! Just a piece, a tiny bit, just a fragment of Paradise—for me, my wife, and my little ones!"

He becomes sorrowful: he asks himself: "What's the good of pleading?"

One time after the lesson, he went up to the teacher. "*Rebbe*," his voice trembled as he spoke, "please tell me how I can gain the privilege of entering Paradise."

"Study the Torah, my child," he heard the teacher's advice.

"I can't study."

"Study Mishnayes."

"I can't read."

"Recite the Psalms."

"I have no time."

"Pray devoutly."

"I don't understand the prayers."

Pityingly, the teacher looked at him.

"What are you?" he asked.

"A porter."

"Well, *Meshamesh Talmiday Chachomim*."

"What does that mean?"

"As a service to the scholars, supply the house of prayer with water every night so they may have something to drink."

Chaim was overjoyed.

"*Rebbe*," he continued, "and my wife?"

"When the husband is seated in Paradise, his wife is his footstool."

When Chaim came home in time for the evening prayers, his wife was seated, saying the prayer, "God of Abraham." As he saw her he was stirred at the heart.

"No, Channah," he rushed to her, "I don't want you to be my footstool. . . . I shall lean down to you and raise you to a place beside me. We shall sit together on one stool as we are doing now. . . . We are so happy together! Listen, Channah, you must sit beside me on one stool . . . the Heavenly One Himself will have to consent!"

ANTI-UNIONISM IN JEWISH AGENCIES

By Louis Harap

THE long-standing attempt of Jewish agencies to break the Social Service Employees Union was brought home to the American public on March 16. On that day long stories appeared in the general press announcing that the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies had given notice that it would cease to recognize the union after the expiration of the present contract on June 30. The reasons were stated in a letter to the 225 employees by Federation President Ralph E. Samuel: expulsion from the CIO of the SSEU, Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, District 65 (independent), on the alleged grounds that the union "followed . . . the program of the Communist Party"; and because of "recent international events." Federation, Mr. Samuel graciously concedes, is ready after June 30, "to deal with its employees through whatever bona fide labor organization its employees may select."

The Jewish people must face up to the critical issues raised by this and many other similar actions all over the country. For the course adopted by many Jewish social agencies toward the SSEU, to speak without exaggeration, leads in a direction of the utmost danger to the Jewish people and to democracy itself. A mere recital of the facts will show that Jewish agencies have been engaging in the twin and interrelated techniques of union-busting and anti-communism, both of which undermine democracy in the most serious way and consequently jeopardize the welfare of the Jewish people themselves.

How the Attack Began

It is first necessary to disabuse the reader of the notion dropped by Mr. Samuel that this action results from "recent international events." For the fact is that the assault on the SSEU by Jewish agencies *dates from the period of World War II*. Appropriately enough, it was the American Jewish Committee, organization of the wealthiest American Jews, which initiated this union-busting drive by attempting to break the SSEU among its own employees beginning in September 1944. Although 100 of the 105 employees of the Committee were at that time enrolled in the union, the Committee refused to deal with the union on the ground that it was "communist-dominated." A number of eminent Jewish figures and national labor leaders protested this refusal to bargain with a union of its employees' own choosing. It suffices to quote from a letter written by Judge Justine Wise Polier to the Committee on September 20, 1945, asking, "Does the Committee be-

lieve that its paid employees . . . are not free to join a union of their own choosing? . . . I deeply regret the position taken by the American Jewish Committee because I believe it thus, aligns itself with the red-baiting, anti-labor groups in this country who are now engaged in building or creating evidence to discredit the CIO as a first step in a general attack on organized labor."

The fears expressed by Judge Polier were realized in the Taft-Hartley act and subsequent weakening of labor's bargaining powers up to the recent complaints by top labor leaders of complete control of the war mobilization set-up by big business. While Judge Polier has herself since succumbed to the very trends against which she here so cogently warned, the principles she enunciated are still valid and apply to the subsequent red-baiting and union-busting activities against the SSEU. All the elements that were to figure in the post-war drive against the SSEU were present in the Committee situation, which began *while the anti-fascist war was still in progress*. Not only did the Committee attempt to red-bait the union out of a contract: it also used the time-honored anti-labor tactic of splitting the workers by its attempt to set up a company union—a "staff association"—which it openly promoted and encouraged through company stooges on the staff during working hours. After the expulsion of the SSEU from the CIO, this company union function was performed by a new raiding union set up by the CIO, the Community and Social Agency Employees Union (CSAE). We shall see how CSAE acted to weaken employee organization in the social service field and was used as a union-busting device by agency managements.

Now the significance of the Committee case cited above is that it exposes the real anti-union and pro-management intention of the whole drive against the SSEU. And the strongest tactic to this end is the anti-communist technique, which the Committee used. *Before the excuses of "expulsion from the CIO" or "recent international events" were even available, the tactics of the union-busting Committee were virtually the same as those used after these excuses could be offered.*

But let us continue our recital of the facts. The Anti-Defamation League followed the lead of the American Jewish Committee. In November 1946, the majority of ADL employees were members of the SSEU (while it was still in the CIO). When SSEU applied to represent the employees, ADL management began a campaign of red-baiting, threats of dismissal and star chamber grillings during working hours. This time the company union

device was the AFL Office Employees International Union, Local 153, to whom the ADL administration turned over the list of employees for mailings to their homes. The president of the AFL United Financial Employees was invited by management to speak during working hours to ADL workers about his union. All the anti-communist sentiments that could be uttered by the ADL do not alter the irrefutable fact—the ADL was refusing to deal with a union and union leadership of its employees' own choosing.

Harassment of the SSEU continued unabated. It is impossible here to go into every case. We shall give the facts about some cases in the recent period in which, as we shall see, the pattern is identical—anti-communist tactics, union-busting action and resistance to dealing with the union voluntarily joined and endorsed by the employees.

Anti-Unionism in Los Angeles

The scene this time shifts to Los Angeles. After nine months of fruitless negotiation with the SSEU, Local 95, in which the Los Angeles Jewish Welfare Federation refused to bargain in good faith, employees of nine welfare agencies financed by the Federation called a strike, which lasted from December 5, 1949, to January 25, 1950, when the strike was settled with a victory for the union. For weeks the Federation refused to negotiate with the union. Every tactic in the union-busting calendar was used: scabbing, refusal to accept offered impartial mediators (the Board of Rabbis of Southern California), an injunction against mass picketing (to the great shock of the Jewish community). The Federation was finally forced to settle the strike after seven weeks under great pressure from a broad array of Jewish organizations, the local Anglo-Jewish weekly and other local unions. In commenting editorially on the collusion of the agencies with the CIO union, which tried to make hay during this period by raiding, the Los Angeles *B'nai B'rith Messenger* wrote: "we appeal to our Jewish readers to keep their heads at a time when the world is upset by hysteria and the anti-Semite is ready to take advantage of every weak spot in our defenses. Let us not help our enemies by boring holes in our Jewish, democratic and American defenses."

After the expulsion from the CIO in February 1950, of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, of which the SSEU is a part, the Los Angeles Federation used this as an excuse to refuse to deal with dignity with the union of its employees. Three workers were fired in July 1950 and the Federation refused to arbitrate the cases. A court order to arbitrate was obtained by the union. In November 1950, the arbitration ruled that the workers be reinstated. So intense was the hatred of management for the union that they resorted to the almost unheard-of step of *refusing to comply with the arbitrator's award* and have forced the union into court to compel compliance.

One of the Los Angeles agencies, City of Good Hope Sanitarium, on May 25, 1950, notified the SSEU that the agreement was cancelled and recognition was withdrawn.

Among the red-baiting reasons was expulsion of the SSEU from the CIO. But the SSEU was so clearly the bargaining agency of the employees, that a court order was obtained compelling the management to continue the agreement and recognition. A new agreement with management was reached in July. Despite all the efforts of some agency board members to help the CSAE-CIO raiding forays during this period, not a worker joined the CIO union.

Some Cases in New York

We return to New York City. The CSAE-CIO lost no time in launching raiding forays in the Jewish agencies and in cooperating with management in weakening and, where possible, in destroying the SSEU, whether or not the employees wanted this. Early in 1950, the national office of United Jewish Appeal in New York balked at signing with the SSEU and at the same time tried to pump some life into the tiny contingent of CSAE-CIO members. During negotiations of management with the SSEU, the CSAE weakened the bargaining position of the workers by making it quite clear that its members would scab in case the SSEU took any action to enforce demands. A contract with SSEU was drafted and Professor Milton Handler, of Columbia University, labor relations counsel for the UJA, recommended that executive vice chairman Henry Montor sign the agreement. The doubts expressed by Mr. Montor that SSEU represented a majority of the workers were dispelled when an overwhelming majority of the staff turned up at his office to demand an agreement.

About the same time, Hadassah was negotiating with the SSEU and had practically come to the end of negotiations. The New York management then suddenly called the staff to a meeting and announced that it was recognizing the CIO union even though the fact was that that union had not yet been formed. Management then notified the SSEU that it was willing to hold an election to determine which union should be recognized. In the meantime, the CIO signed up workers on the false claim that expulsion from the CIO meant that the contract of SSEU was terminated. And one of the CIO techniques, that has become routine since, is the unspeakable one of intimidating non-citizen workers, refugees from nazism, with the threat that membership in the SSEU threatened them with deportation! By March 31, UJA broke off relations with the SSEU and recognized the CSAE-CIO, which represented less than a fourth of the workers.

A little later, union-busting erupted at the national office of the United Jewish Appeal. By April 1950, the CSAE-CIO had been unable to win a single worker at UPA. Nevertheless Ellis Radinsky, UPA executive director, during contract negotiations called the employees together and announced that the agency would no longer recognize the SSEU. This, at a time when UPA employees were 100 per cent in the SSEU! The employees went in a body to Radinsky's office and told him that the SSEU was *their* union and they meant to stick to it. When Radinsky

ordered all the employees to return to their desks immediately on pain of being fired, they refused to do so, but wanted to discuss the matter further. Incredible as it may seem, he then fired the whole staff forthwith, all 18 workers. The workers then held a sit-in. The employees left in the morning. When they returned later, they found that they were locked out.

Let us now take a trip to the suburbs. The Westchester (N.Y.) Jewish Community Service is an agency with 12 workers. The SSEU was fighting for a contract. In February 1951, the SSEU leader was summarily fired. Six of the more active union members then went to the office of the director to demand reinstatement of their union leader. All six were thereupon fired. Ten days later, these workers were rehired, but the leader of the union in the shop was not reinstated and the union drive was squelched.

Incident at NYANA

Back in New York, at the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA), where the majority of the workers are in the SSEU, the expulsion from the CIO was the signal for management to undermine the union. Management required all employees to sign new authorizations for the check-off, thus attempting, without much success, to intimidate them into leaving the union. CSAE-CIO moved into the shop, openly circulated leaflets in the shop and, as was admitted by CIO members, CSAE representatives met with management. SSEU members, of whom ten per cent are non-citizens and eight per cent Negroes, were subjected to intimidation by CSAE. The non-citizens were told that they would not be allowed to become citizens if they clung to SSEU, while the Negroes were told that they would not be able to get jobs in the future. Despite all these provocations, SSEU members held solid and CSAE made little headway.

In February of this year, someone at NYANA posted a notice on the union bulletin board announcing a social workers' meeting on peace. One of the CSAE leaders then took it upon herself to tear down the notice. She hysterically ran into management to accuse a certain SSEU member—falsely, as it turned out—of putting up the notice and to demand discipline of the person. The workers were incensed at this bit of informing and assembled after work to let the informer know what they thought of a stool-pigeon. The CSAE person became hysterical and called the police, pointing to three supervisors who, she said, had "assaulted" her. But no arrests were made after the workers protested this prevarication to the policeman. However, the three supervisors, chosen at random by the CSAE member, were fired by NYANA management. The case was taken to arbitration, and hearings are being held at this writing. At the hearings the CSAE worker refused to testify under oath that she had been assaulted (one of the main reasons for the firing), but another SSEU worker did testify *under oath* that this same CSAE worker had assaulted her on a previous occasion. (Management has

done nothing about this.) Furthermore, management's tactics at the hearing was to divert the issue—a clear case of a contract violation—by dragging in the Soviet-German pact, the Stockholm peace petition and the McCarran act.

Union-Busting at Pleasantville

The case of the Jewish Child Care Association of New York, whose institution is in Pleasantville, New Jersey, gives another example of union-busting tactics by the CSAE-CIO. The 110 workers of this agency are covered with an SSEU contract. The CSAE took advantage of Christmas week, when many workers were away, to put on their drive. Using the 13 non-citizen workers as a nucleus through now familiar threats of failure to get citizenship or even of deportation because of SSEU membership, the CSAE called a meeting on institution grounds with a CSAE organizer present. As a result of this meeting a number of workers, mostly in two departments whose supervisors are most active CSAE members, were persuaded to leave the SSEU, although not all joined the CSAE. In the meantime, the workers were intimidated with red-baiting. Taking steps to defend their union, the SSEU called a meeting at the Pleasantville institution to which 200 SSEU members came from New York in busses. The entire group then went in orderly fashion to the office of the director to charge the agency with collusion with CSAE and red-baiting of union members. On January 19, the union brought formal charges against the agency of a share in the responsibility for union-busting. Although the agency denied the charge, it issued a formal statement on January 25, in which Director Louis H. Sobel reaffirmed the contract with the SSEU and pledged that the agency "agrees not to recognize any other union for the period covered by the contract," that it would not permit meetings of any other union on its premises, that it "disapproves most strongly" the attempts of supervisors to weaken the SSEU and that it would not permit intimidation. But the agency shows signs of not fulfilling these pledges. When the SSEU recently attempted to send a delegation to visit the supervisor most active for the CSAE, it was told that any staff member participating in such a delegation either on or off working hours would be fired.

Then there is the case of the Federation Employment Service in New York. Some time ago this agency announced that, since the majority of the staff were no longer members of the SSEU—which was absolutely contrary to fact—the agency was going to recognize the CSAE-CIO. The agency did not state that the CSAE had a majority of the staff, since this was not so. Obviously management intended to impose the CSAE-CIO on workers who do not want this union.

New York Federation to the Attack

Finally, there is the case of the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, which announced on March 15

that it would cease to recognize the SSEU after the expiration of the present contract on June 30. Although some members resigned from the SSEU after the letter from Ralph E. Samuel mentioned earlier, the SSEU still has a majority of the workers. Most workers resented Samuel's dictation of the union to which they should not belong. Even under all these circumstances, the CSAE-CIO has had little success in recruiting members.

Up to the time of the expulsion of the SSEU from the CIO, the union had 98 per cent of the membership on the voluntary check-off. Some members left the SSEU after the CSAE started its raiding operations, but not all of these joined the CSAE. But the CSAE has carried on a guerilla war against the SSEU ever since. Needless to say, the CSAE has hysterically waved the red herring before the workers. Recently the CSAE sent leaflets to all Federation workers—and there is reason to believe that the list may have been obtained from management—which included a statement by Julius Leventhal, president of the East New York YM and YWHA's, that the "Y's" would not continue to recognize the SSEU but was willing to enter into negotiations with any "non-Communist representatives as the staff may choose." A second item in the CSAE's mailing was the reproduction of an article in the New York *World-Telegram* of February 19, 1951, by Nelson Frank reporting the Jewish Labor Committee conference and the "demand" of the Jewish Labor Committee that the Federation and other agencies should "clean out Communist Party elements" and refuse to deal with the SSEU.

These are the *facts* about the country-wide assault upon the SSEU. The pattern, we have seen, was repeated all over: the union membership has been subjected to various forms of red-baiting intimidation; CSAE-CIO has attempted to raid the SSEU with the cooperation of management and of intimidation and has thereby weakened trade unionism in the social work field; the managements of Jewish agencies have trampled on the basic democratic and trade union principle that workers have the right to belong to a union of their own choosing. In the name of communist-baiting, elementary democratic rights have been denied to the SSEU and its membership—all in the name of preserving democracy. The honest reader cannot fail to draw this conclusion from the facts presented here.

Undermining Democracy

By thus undermining democratic trade union principles the Jewish agencies are contributing toward the weakening and ultimately the destruction of democracy itself. The anti-union drive has several sources. Anti-communist hysteria is certainly its indispensable condition. In their position as employers the governing boards of Jewish agencies are exploiting this hysteria as a weapon in bargaining with agency employees and are using the CSAE-CIO as an instrument to split the workers. Those agency employers who are not too happy about union-busting are wilting

under the pressures of unscrupulous anti-communist hysterics like the Jewish daily *Forward* and the Jewish Labor Committee—the McCarthys of the Jewish community—and of the State Department and reactionary red-baiters in the Jewish and general community. Many of these agency board members, like their counterparts in Germany under Hitler, labor under the illusion that repressive measures like those against the SSEU will buy for them safety and immunity from the anti-Semitic consequences of reaction and fascism.

Above all, there is no doubt that a main reason for the attempt to break the SSEU is the fact that the union has taken a militant stand for the promotion of peace and for the preservation and extension of democratic liberties. In the first place, the opinions of the union leadership and of the members are of no concern to the agency, so long as the workers do their job properly—and management has not complained on this score. The members of SSEU were and are under no compulsion to belong to that union. They voluntarily joined it, elected its leadership by democratic process, and are free to leave it or to elect a different leadership. According to democratic trade union principles, that is all that management is entitled to require. And Jewish agencies have infringed the rights of its employees by asking more of the SSEU.

An Attack on Peace

But it is quite clear that a main reason for the attack on the SSEU engineered by the wealthy Jews who control those organizations derives from their attempt to bring the Jewish community into line with the war program of the Truman administration. They are concerned with silencing any voice in the Jewish community that dares to question American foreign policy, let alone to carry on a militant struggle for peace. These Jews, who rate high in Dun and Bradstreet's, are little concerned with the fact that the drive to war and alliance with nazis, Hitler generals, Franco Spain, fascist Greece and Turkey and Chiang Kai-shek confronts the Jewish people with the gravest threat to their existence. If this statement strikes any reader as exaggerated, let him study again the lessons of the leaders of German Jewry, who travelled the path to destruction that Jewish leaders in this country are now taking.

But the attack on the SSEU should raise another basic question in the minds of honest and thinking Jewish people. The allocation of the millions of dollars contributed by the masses of American Jews is in the hands of a small group of these wealthy Jews. Only the most naive will fail to realize that this control over funds bestows tremendous power to influence policy of the recipient organizations. Inevitably funds will be disbursed so as to strengthen and spread the political orientation held by those who control them. Since those who hold the purse strings of Jewish communal funds are in accord with the advocates of the present American war program, they will try to influence everyone in their orbit, in Israel or here, to subordinate

his policy to this Truman administration war program.

The Jewish masses would do well to grasp this situation with clear heads and consider the kind of Jewish elements in whose hands they entrust funds raised to further the well being and security of the Jewish people. The interests of the Jewish masses, which depend on the preservation of democracy and peace, dictate that the leadership of the Jewish agencies reverse the policy of undermining democratic procedures and the fight for peace. The Jewish masses must see that an end is put to wanton disregard for trade union rights in the Jewish agencies.

The Jewish people and the employees of the agencies must refuse to be intimidated by the anti-communist hysteria. The principles of democratic trade unionism must be adhered to in order to strengthen trade unionism itself. To the social workers, the attempt to destroy the SSEU threatens the whole range of their interests, from the right to fight for their economic welfare in a union of their own choosing to resistance against the fascist implications of denial of their right to belong to such a union. The social worker must resist this threat to his rights as an American and a Jew.

THOUGHTS AT THE WARSAW GHETTO

*By Hewlett Johnson
Dean of Canterbury*

THE transfer of the World Peace Congress from Sheffield sent me to Warsaw with an eye seriously inflamed by the cold weather. On arriving in Warsaw an excellent Polish oculist treated me and counselled great care. Running whatever risk was involved, I accepted the honor of laying the wreath on the Warsaw ghetto war memorial. I dared not to be absent on so moving an occasion.

It was not the first time I had been to Warsaw or seen the ghetto. I was there in May 1945, when I was the first Englishman to enter Poland after the war. I spent a Sunday at Warsaw; I visited the terrible camp at Oswiecim, near Krakow; I visited the human soap factory at Gdansk.

These three occasions were inevitably linked together. They threw a lurid light upon that most appalling tragedy of our time, the attempted obliteration of the Jewish name by mass murder from amongst the European peoples. All this surged to my memory as I stood by the monument at the ghetto at Warsaw and with it all the other terrible

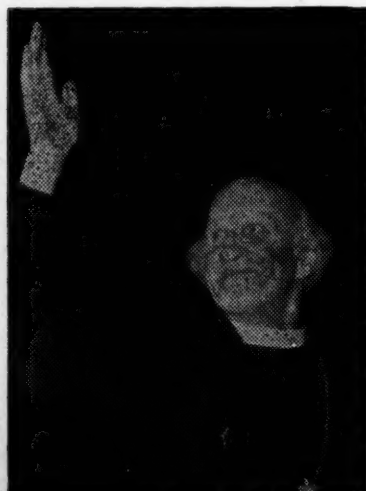
sights and stories that I had heard.

I had visited the ghetto, or rather the pile of rubble as far as the eye could reach which had once been the ghetto, in May 1945. Here the destruction had been more thorough than in any similar area in the world. One chimney stack alone remained amid acres and acres of rubble. The Jews had fought back, 50,000 young men and women in Warsaw alone. My Polish friend Maria, who herself had suffered from the Gestapo, her thumbs having been crushed, told us the grim story of a Jewish girl, a survivor of the ghetto massacre. Maria was among those who were daily led to their work from the concentration camp past the ruined ghetto. One day they observed an emaciated creature, a young girl, hiding in the ruins.

She had subsisted for months. They fed her with scraps of food from their own scanty rations. At length the Gestapo discovered her. Astonished that one could survive so long in such circumstances, the German authorities did not at once kill her. They fed her until she was well on the way to recovery. Then, the experiment ended: they shot her.

How, I asked myself then, as I laid that wreath at the foot of the ghetto monument—how, I ask myself still, can any human person, especially any British or American person, tolerate the thought of rearming again those very nazis who had to be forcibly hindered from the appalling task of exterminating the whole Jewish people? How can they tolerate the thought of rearming those very nazis with the deliberate intention of hurling them against the very people who had fought at Stalingrad and had, in the words of Mr. Churchill, “torn the guts out of the German war machine”?

Only fascist-minded people could do this. For there is, alas, a British fascism and an American fascism, just as there was a German fascism, an Italian fascism and a Japanese fascism. Those who would maintain the status quo against the upsurge of people thirsting for a fuller life and are ruthless in the protection of their privilege and wealth



*Hewlett Johnson,
Dean of Canterbury,
who won
second prize in
the Stalin Peace
Awards for 1950.*

are the fascists. And we have them here.

And fascism's earliest victim is always the Jew. It is ominous that today in London and elsewhere the same fascist hooligans repeat the same attacks on Jews and those who strive for the peace of the world and for sympathy with our one-time ally and deliverer.

But fascism is doomed. It met its military defeat at Stalingrad. It will meet its psychological defeat in the emergence of the new people from Peking to Prague who are striving to build a world on scientifically planned economy inspired by the moral motive: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

In spite of all errors and blunders, this great Eastern world of thoroughgoing socialism is laying the foundations of the new human society.

It behooves our sympathy and help and understanding.

Of special importance is this understanding to the Jew. Russian treatment of the Jewish question is consistent with all her principles. That is one reason why she is hated and grossly misrepresented. Despite all lying statements to the contrary, Jews in the new world of Russia enjoy equal rights with every other Soviet citizen. And if the Israel legation in the USSR cannot conduct espionage or conduct propaganda of an anti-Soviet character, as a foreign legation it is treated precisely as other legations are treated.

Anti-Semitic propaganda in the USSR is subject to heavy sentences and years of hard labor.

And if the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidjan, with its own government and its own schools, fails to thrive as was expected, that is precisely because a people driven through centuries to adopt protective habits and ways of life and thought, find that these disappear in a socialist society where a Jew is treated precisely as any other citizen. The Jewish working people in the Soviet Union are developing contacts with the working people of other nationalities where they live rather than with Jews living under and accepting capitalism.

Jewish safety today lies not with the fascist elements of a decaying capitalist world, but with its socialist elements and with that new emerging Eastern world.

For a new world is emerging. The center of gravity of the world has changed.

Years ago, Sir Halford Mackinder, the British geographer, spoke of what he called the heartland of the great World Island of Asia. By that heartland he meant Russia and Russian Asia. This heartland, he said, with illimitable resources in manpower and materials, would fight, if attacked, on interior lines and could never be conquered.

To that heartland we must now add Eastern Europe and China, 800 millions of people, and as the world appears now to be moving, we might also add India and all the Orient.

By its every action and by its own pressing needs, that heartland expresses the will to peace. A people suffering so terribly and so recently wants no war. A people planning peaceful construction on so spacious a scale wants no war; a people whose planned economy dreads no unemployment, who can consume all it produces, wants no war; a people who, at home as well as abroad, thinks peace, speaks peace, plans for peace, wants no war.

Here in this emerging world is the supreme enemy of fascism. Fascism knows this and takes every step by lying propaganda to blind the eyes of the democratic common people of the West to the truth.

But fascism will not win. In the long run it is doomed. But in the short run and in its death struggles it can—unless we meet it with ceaseless vigilance, it will—strew the world with horrible destruction. Unless we meet it with courage, sincerity and ceaseless and selfless vigilance. What a call to the Jewish people, whose mighty prophets six centuries before Christ saw with prophetic vision the pattern of the new world which begins to emerge. From the far past, great voices call to us to will, to suffer and if need be to die that our children may live.

"MY PEOPLE DESIRE PEACE"

By Ilya Ehrenburg

ON GERMANY are fastened the eyes of the peoples of the world. This might be explained by geography: we have before us a country situated in the heart of Europe which has been arbitrarily split into two. Beyond its borders lie two worlds, the possibility of whose peaceful co-existence the instigators of war deny; and one-half of this country has already been turned into a base of military operations. This interest in the future of Germany might also be explained by history: Germany has too often in-

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terfered in the destinies of other nations, her soldiers have too often crossed into foreign lands. People ask, "What will the Germans do?" or "What will be done to the Germans?" Wherever they may be living, people know that if Germany is drawn into a military coalition, the threat of war will grow. People also know that if Germany remains outside the game, the instigators of war will think twice before they pass from threats to the first fatal shot.

I may be asked why I talk of Germany as a single entity. After all, there are two Germanies, one distinct from the other. Yes, I know very well that the people who

head the German Democratic Republic do not resemble the people who have proclaimed Bonn the capital of another Germany. I know that at the very time the Berlin parliament passed a peace defense act, the ministers of the government located in Bonn were negotiating for the inclusion of Western Germany in a military coalition. And if I nevertheless speak of the destiny of Germany, as though ignoring temporary boundaries, it is because I cannot separate the destiny of a state from the destiny of its people. The inhabitants of Frankfurt-on-Main and Frankfurt-on-Oder have shared the same periods of rise and decline, have created the same values, committed the same blunders, lived one common life. This nation was not born yesterday, nor did it only yesterday become conscious of its unity. As in every country where social contradictions still exist, Germany has its internal boundaries. It is not along the Elbe or any other river that they lie; they are to be found in every city, they separate the mansion of Herr Krupp from the homes in which his workers live. But are there not two Frances—the one that signs military pacts and the one that demands peace? I therefore take the liberty of speaking not of the destiny of Frankfurt-on-Main or Frankfurt-on-Oder, but of the destiny of Germany.

The Tangled Skein

We have heard the controversies of diplomats, the wranglings of international jurists, the arguments of politicians. I am neither a diplomat nor a jurist nor a politician. I want to speak of the German question as a man who has lived through all that other people of my age have lived through. I shall speak bluntly, casting aside delicacy, which is sometimes more offensive than the truth. The problem of Germany's future is a complex and painful one; it is like a tangled skein of hair clinging to a still suppurating wound. Here we have the fate of German adolescents who grew up amid sirens and ruins, amid torn-up maps of "Greater Germany" and meager food rations, amid alien soldiers and home-bred marauders, amid talk of canned food and atom bombs. Here, too, we have the fate of those Germans of all ages and all walks of life who drained to the dregs the cup of shame proffered them by the Third Reich, and who, recognizing the depth of their fall, rose up and began honestly to work and to think and to strive for brotherhood and charitableness. In the tangled skein of which I speak, we have the fate of other peoples, those who knew the bitterness of nazi invasion—the fate of the Poles, the French and the Czechs, the fate of the millions of men and women of the Soviet Union, the fate of the people who have built or are building new homes on the ashes of the old, the fate of widows, orphans and mothers parched by tears, the fate of the people who knew the horrors of the death camps and Gestapo dungeons, and of their comrades and near ones, the fate of the soldiers, who have not forgotten and never will forget what they have been through. In this

tangle of hair on the unhealed wound, we have the fate of the men of many nations who during the war cast in their lot with the heroic resistance to fascism. The war between the nazi aggressors and the peoples of Europe was not a knightly tournament, nor a conflict between two dynasties or two concerns. Diplomats, jurists and politicians may weigh the legality or expediency of resurrecting Hitler's army; but the peoples have a conscience and that conscience cries, "Never!"

The American commander-in-chief, who recently came to Germany looking for a consignment of human flesh, hastened morally to rehabilitate Hitler's army. If we recognize this moral rehabilitation as correct, then we must condemn the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the sacred indignation of the guerrilla fighters of Byelorussia, Poland, France. To them, as to all honest men of Europe, the war against the nazi aggressors was not only a patriotic duty; it was a war in defense of humanity's ideals. The men who are setting Korea's cities aflame with jellied petroleum, the men who are slaying old folk and babies in this unhappy country, many, of course, rehabilitate the men who burned down thousands of Soviet villages, who marched through Lidice and Oradour, who worked the crematories of Oswiecim. But never will the honest people of the world call infanticides soldiers.

Past Cannot Be Buried

When General Eisenhower came to Germany he said, "Let us bury the past." These words sound noble enough if you don't stop to think about them. But if you do stop to think about them, they sound criminal. No one has ever accused the Russians of bearing grudges. Vindictiveness is not in our nature. My people have extended the hand of fellowship to the Germans who have turned to a peaceful and honest life. But ours are not maiden memories—we do not forget. To forget what the fascists did to Europe would be betraying not only the groves we cherish; it would be betraying our children. Memory is a high faculty—it distinguishes the life of man from the life of a moth. To forget the crimes perpetrated by Hitler's army would be betraying not only the French and the Poles; it would be betraying Europe and the whole world. I do not think it would help the German people to forget; on the contrary, it would be dangerous and tragic for them to do so. To rehabilitate Hitler's army would mean for Germany retracing the terrible path from January 1933 to May 1945. To forget the past would be going back, at first, to the military parades, and then to the military cemeteries; it would mean first seizing the towns of others, and then seeing the ruins of their own towns. It is not the Wehrmacht generals the German people want to rehabilitate, but their own good name; not the SS men, but Germany's honest and peaceable working folk; not the storm troop divisions, but German towns, their schools, their libraries and museums.

The American newspapers would have the none-too-

sophisticated American reader believe that the resurrected German army will not resemble Hitler's army. But who are the men that are expected to build this new army? They are men who led Hitler's soldiers from crime to crime. The Americans' closest adviser is General Hans Speidel. He commanded the Italian Eighth Army at Stalin-grad; he burned down hundreds of villages in the Ukraine. He has as his collaborator another nazi general, Heusinger, who also took part in the attack on the Soviet Union. Where were the plans approved by the Americans for the rebuilding of the German army worked out? In Landsberg jail, where the war criminals condemned by the Nuremberg Tribunal were until recently held. With the consent of the Americans, General Hans Speidel requested his brother, General Wilhelm Speidel, who was condemned for ruthlessly massacring Greeks, to draw up a project for the resurrection of the Wehrmacht. Their army was born in jail. Its architects are convicts, infanticides and genocides.

What Is Being Rebuilt?

The army they are rebuilding was conceived in the fascist underground, among officers of SS divisions. There you might hear the names of General von Manteuffel, former commander of "Greater Germany," of SS chiefs Helmut Beck-Breusichter and Alfred Frankgrich, of Major-General Otto Remer, Fritz Dorls and Hedler of the Deutsche Reichspartei, and of the so-called "new Fuehrer," Alfred Loritz. The atmosphere prevailing there was that of the Munich beerhall, where began the career of the man who reduced hundreds of cities, the man whose memory is cursed by all the mothers of the world.

The fascist underground has come out into the open; it talks conceitedly with the American cannon-fodder recruiters. General Eberbach insists that the honor of the nazis be rehabilitated at once: "We are not soldiers of the devil, we also fought the Communists," he says. And in reply, McCloy signs orders amnestying war criminals. It is probable that we shall soon see condemned SS men wearing American medals. That will scarcely surprise anyone. Of what can MacArthur accuse the nazi incendiaries? Does it befit Ku Klux Klansmen who lynch Negroes to censure SS men who slew millions of Jews? And how can Mr. Truman, who is preaching a crusade against Communism, refrain from taking off his hat to the helmets of his predecessors?

Alfred Krupp, the man who helped Hitler to become Hitler, the man who took ransom from every shot and from every corpse, the man who three years ago was condemned to 12 years' imprisonment and confiscation of property, is now at liberty. All his property has been restored to him. Only yesterday he was a criminal; today he is armorer-in-chief. The instigators of war have thrown off all shyness; they are not ashamed of the embrace of Franco, nor the handclasp of SS men, nor Krupp's guns.

How does it come about that General Eisenhower, who in his book stigmatized the crimes of the nazis, is now

fraternizing with them? He is not squeamish, this American: with him, principles are principles, but business is business. The Americans who are plotting another war have everything ready—mobilization plans, a general staff, atom bombs, canned food, special correspondents. They lack only one thing: soldiers. They have dragged to Korea Turks and Greeks, Dutchmen and Frenchmen, Colombians and Englishmen. Now they are looking for soldiers for an attack on Russia. They have not forgotten those last days of 1944, when the German divisions, enfeebled though they were by the battles on the Eastern front, nevertheless struck a heavy blow at Eisenhower's armies in the Ardennes. They seek to buy in Germany cannon fodder of prime quality.

This I affirm not on the basis of conjectures, but on the basis of public statements made by garrulous Americans. Senator Johnson recently proposed the recruitment of a foreign legion, consisting chiefly of Germans, and a million men strong. He said quite frankly: "This will save the lives of a million young Americans." His colleague, Senator Lodge, objected: "We must recruit not one million, but two."

They are keeping displaced persons from Silesia, Pomerania and the Sudeten region in barracks, in compounds, and telling them: "You will soon go to win back your lost lands."

German People Say No

And what do the people concerned think of this? I am not referring to those Germans who are now building a new life and who, together with all honest people, are fighting for peace and fraternity among men. I am referring to those other Germans, who were doped with the poison of nazism and who retained their faith in Hitler down to the last hour, and recoiled from him not because he had started a criminal war, but because he lost that war. Are they prepared to accept the counsels of the American recruiters? I think not. They argue just as cynically as their American partners. They receive their promises coldly, not because the Americans are plotting an infamous war of conquest, but because they doubt whether the Americans are capable of winning that war. They know that the Americans usually leave it to others to do the fighting, and themselves come in at the kill. Hitler's soldiers who fought in Russia know that the war which certain Americans are planning will be a very bitter one, and they prefer to fight in the American style. Even Silesians and Pomeranians who have been poisoned with the fascist dope genially reply to the Americans: "It would be better if you went on ahead, seeing that you are the strongest nation. As to us, we shall come in later—to take over our lands."

It need scarcely be said that the German working people, who learned to know the vileness of fascism, are incensed at the resurrection of the nazi army. If the wrathful voice of the German people is loudly to be heard in the Democratic Republic, it may also be heard in Western Germany, in spite of all the prohibitions, browbeating and

persecution. I am convinced that if the occupation authorities were to allow a popular referendum on whether the Wehrmacht should be rebuilt or not, nine-tenths of the Germans would answer: "No!"

Rebuilding of the German army in any form and revival of Germany's war industry, such as is taking place in Western Germany, has aroused the indignation of peace-loving people all over the world. The American newspapers, of course, claim that only the Communists are opposed to the remilitarization of Germany. But that is another one of their lies. Louis Marin, one of the oldest deputies in France, is neither a Communist nor a Socialist, but a man of the right. British Members of Parliament Fletcher and Mellish are not Communists, they are members of the government party. Thomas Mann, the writer, is not a Communist. The well-known Swiss theologian, Karl Barth, is not a Communist. British Minister Hugh Dalton is not a Communist. Heinemann, former minister of the interior in the Bonn government, is not a Communist. Pastor Niemöller is not a Communist. These are men who think differently, but who are all opposed to the armament of Germany. They realize that the resurrection of the Wehrmacht may rapidly lead to tragic consequences.

World Movement for Peace

Our high organ, the World Peace Council, the only international organization that embraces genuine representatives of the people, must unite the movement against the remilitarization of Germany, as being a movement against a measure which is not only illegal, but criminal, inasmuch as it may lead to war in Europe. In the terrible game the war-lovers are playing, Germany must be neither a player nor a playing card. We must not permit the revival of the German army and war industry. The German people must be allowed to rebuild Germany, to work in peace, to contribute their share to the world culture which they enriched in the past.

We comprise men and women of different views, and it is not our business to compare the internal systems of the two halves of Germany, their social structure, their laws, their ideology. Whereas in one of the halves of Germany youths are being taught the way to brotherhood and international solidarity, in the other half *revanche* [revenge], hate and war are preached. But it is our business and our duty to declare that so long as Germany is split into two, combustibles are being piled up in the heart of Europe which may be set alight by an American cigarette butt. The Peace Council must demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with a peaceable and united Germany. This will be a step towards peace, whereas the creation of a German army, the reinforcement of the occupation forces in that country, and the prolongation of its unnatural division must inevitably lead to disaster.

The men who are engineering another war turn their gaze most of all to Europe. It is here, on our old and glorious continent, that the holocaust they long for is to take place.

United States Senator William Fulbright said: "We shall help the Europeans by destroying their cities." Only a barbarian, a nomad, only a man who is incapable of understanding how many centuries of labor and spiritual effort were required to create Paris, Rome or London, can say a thing like this. But to all who treasure ancient Europe's culture, to all who regard the Uffizi and the Louvre, St. Sophia in Kiev and Chartres, Prague University and Oxford University, Krakow and Cologne, not as future bombing targets, but as part of the living flesh of the spiritual motherland they love, I address the appeal: Let us not permit this calamity!

My people desire peace. I was recently on the Volga, in the areas where the hydroelectric stations are being built and where people desiring to change the climate, are planting tiny trees. I bring as witness of our great devotion to peace the old man who plants a year-old oak, and the mother who nurses her year-old firstborn. We know that the Soviet government, loyal to the aspirations of the people, has proposed that the Great Powers should sign a pact of peace. Is the mad game of a handful of greedy and irresponsible men to darken the morrow of mankind? Are we, who have been sent here by the anxious peoples, to permit this incredible calamity? No, we shall bar the way to war. And this we say in an hour of tragedy and hope.

Anti-Semitism Is a Crime in the USSR

The following question and answer on the outlawing of anti-Semitism in the USSR appeared in The Bulletin of the West New York Jewish Community Center of the Shaare Zedek Synagogue, February 1951.

QUESTION: Why did Russia pass a law forbidding anti-Semitism? Weren't the Russian Jews persecuted in the past and is it possible that the Russian regime became Jew-loving under Stalin?

Answer: According to Professor Salo W. Baron, to whom this question was posed, the reason may be attributed to the following: communism aims to eliminate class struggle and, if you do that, you will eliminate the need for a scapegoat and anti-Semitism, its resultant offshoot. In 1918, Lenin outlawed anti-Semitism because it was an instrument of the governing classes. Since anti-Semitism is a factor in the class struggle—one class being set against another—it was against the best interest of the communist program to retain it. Anti-Semitism thus was not outlawed necessarily because of a love for the Jews, but because it would violate a principle of the communist theory.

Editorial note: The reference to "love of the Jews" distorts the issue. The truth is that communist theory does not advocate "love" for any people above any other. As a scientific theory, communism maintains that there is no such thing as inferiority or superiority of any people and, consequently, racism of any kind is a criminal offense against both the state and any victim of racism.

GERMAN REARMAMENT LEADS TO WAR

By Gordon Schaffer

IN APRIL 1945, the nazi armies had broken in the East and the West but the last available resources of German manpower were being thrown into the Eastern battle in an effort to fill the breach and hold the Red Army's advance on Berlin. Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS, who bore responsibility for the massacre of more men, women and children than any other human being in world history, sent a message to the United States and Britain through the Swedish foreign office. He offered capitulation to the Western Powers but urged that a nazi government should be left in power in Germany for a combined effort against Russians.

The Gestapo chief was a little premature and he only escaped the gallows by suicide after his capture by British troops. But it has taken less than six years for the plot he planned to become the official policy of the leaders of the Western Powers.

Rudolf Hess, deputy to Hitler, tried the same trick four years before Himmler. He parachuted into Scotland on a night in May 1941, when nazi planes were raining bombs on London, to tell the British government that the Fuehrer had decided to attack Russia. He asked the British kindly to let "bygones be bygones" and join in the attack on the "common enemy, Communism." Mr. Kirkpatrick, of the foreign office, now Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, British high commissioner in Germany, had long and detailed conversations with Hess.

The British government knew that the people would never agree to such a betrayal. To Mr. Churchill's eternal credit he spurned Hess's offer and welcomed the Soviet Union as an ally in the struggle against the nazi tyranny. The foreign office took some time to come into line and for several days insisted that the Russians were not allies but "co-belligerents." Nevertheless the alliance was forged and although many things happened during the war to throw doubts on the sincerity with which some of our leaders regarded the alliance, the war ended with all the allies pledged, in the words of the Potsdam declaration, that "German militarism and nazism will be extirpated and the allies will take, in agreement, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany will never again threaten her neighbors or the peace of the world."

The declaration signed at Potsdam by Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union did more than reiterate the allies' pledge to insure the denazification and demili-

tarization of Germany; it also laid down the methods by which these objectives were to be achieved.

During the years in which the Potsdam pledges were being steadily whittled down by the Western powers, various excuses were put forward for the failure to carry out the agreement. The Russians, it was said, were refusing to treat Germany as an economic whole, the Russians were demanding reparations from Germany's current production, which Germany could not possibly fulfill, and so on. But now the picture has emerged for all to see: Potsdam was not carried out in the West because it would have meant ending the power of the landowners, depriving the German industrialists of their economic domination, transferring the great cartels to the German people. Such steps would inevitably have entailed massive social changes in Germany. They would have meant the general elimination of the nazis from German life and their replacement by anti-fascists resting on the German working people. . . .

But that was just where Hitler came in in 1933. He and his storm troopers were adopted by the industrialists of the Ruhr as their gangster weapon to prevent social change in Germany. The industrialists of the Ruhr and the German cartels were backed by their friends in Britain, France and America because they offered a guarantee against social change and because they offered the assurance that a re-armed Germany would turn its arms against the East.

Little wonder that, when the United States announced the Truman doctrine of "resistance to Communism" just as the foreign ministers were in session in Moscow in 1947, the pro-nazis of Western Germany took heart again. They were scheduled once more for their old role as the "bulwark against Bolshevism."

After that the Western Powers steadily put the clock back so that today in West Germany a nazi card is a passport to a job, while an anti-fascist who resisted the Hitler regime is certain of persecution.

Alliance With the Enemy

It is possible to argue about the reasons which have led to the proposals to rearm Western Germany, but the terrible fact cannot be denied that the Americans and their supporters are seeking an alliance with the very people who waged Hitler's war. If this policy is right, then we were fools to refuse the offer of Hess to switch the war in 1941. If this policy is right, we were wrong not to clasp the bloodstained hand of Himmler in 1945.

If we accept this policy, we must agree that the men

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who died fighting bravely and proudly against fascism were sacrificed in vain and that we must now redeem their error by accepting the fascists as our allies for a war against the ally which saved us at Stalingrad.

If this policy is right, then we mock the memory of the tens of millions who were murdered by the nazis in the occupied countries. We tacitly accept the murder of millions of Jewish men, women and children of a dozen countries, including Germany, who were cold-bloodedly gassed and incinerated for no other reason than that Jewish blood ran in their veins.

There can be no evading that issue. Those who advocate rearming Western Germany make no attempt, indeed they can make no attempt, to disguise the fact that the men in power in Western Germany today represent the same elements, in many cases the same people, who created the nazi Reich and backed Hitler's war until the end.

Nor can the fact be hidden that many of the politicians in the Bonn Government were active in the nazi regime. Hardly one of them opposed the nazis. Dr. Rieck, now in the Bonn ministry for Marshall aid affairs, joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and the SS in 1934. Herr Globke, personal assistant to Chancellor Adenauer, wrote the official explanation of the Nuremberg race laws.

In 1944, Dr. Kutscher, now personal adviser to the German minister of economic affairs, said at a conference: "The Jews are the misfortune of all nations, a Jewish victory would bring about the end of all civilization." Dr. Kutscher, it is well to know, was "denazified" before he took over his present job.

Dr. Fritz Dorls, a member of the Bonn Parliament, said in 1950 that the concentration camps and the gas chambers could be defined as the revolutionary technique of the National Socialist era. Hundreds more names could be cited. The editors who printed obscene anti-Semitic sheets like *Der Sturmer* are back at their desks.

Return of the Nazi Generals

The German generals whom we are now to welcome as our allies are the same generals who commanded Hitler's Wehrmacht, who spread terror and murder over a continent, who carried out Hitler's orders to collect Jews, men, women and little children, for dispatch to the gas chambers and the incinerators. There are no other military men in Western Germany with whom an alliance can be concluded. The proposal to recreate the Luftwaffe can only be done by the men who bombed London, Coventry, Rotterdam and dozens of other towns and cities.

If the peoples of the West are to accept these blood-stained gangsters as allies, then there must be a campaign to make the world forget the horrors of nazi rule. So President Heuss of the West German Republic appeals for "due honor to be given to the German soldier, who fought honorably for his country." The former nazi SS chief Skorzeny, who fled to Spain, openly demands the release of war criminals sentenced for the murder of American

prisoners as a condition for cooperation. In the American zone 33 war criminals are released without even prior consultation with the British. Krupp, who made millions out of slave labor, is to have his property returned. Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick announces that he is reviewing the sentences of all war criminals now in jail in the British zone.

For years now, the Germans in the West have been treated by the occupying powers to the same propaganda as Hitler gave them. Many of them have been sitting back and saying: "The Fuehrer was right. The real enemy is in the East. The damn fool British and Americans fought the wrong war."

Now the German generals, even before they have been given arms, are making their own terms. The Associated Press circulated on January 14, 1951, an interview with General Guenther Blumentritt, Rundstedt's chief of staff on the western front. This is what he said: "No time should be lost quibbling over exact conditions. We should not ask for everything at once. Let us get this started first. Germany must fight to regain the confidence of the Western world to which she belongs. Fighting is the only way that Germany can gain the support of the Western allies in reestablishing her Eastern frontiers—the defense of Europe can only be conducted in an offensive way. Western Europe can be defended only by driving eastward. We must act in dealing with Russia according to the growth of our strength—moderate in 1951, a little further in 1952 and in 1953 we can afford to be sharp and firm."

Revenge Motif

The AP report adds that by "Eastern frontiers" Blumentritt meant the former German areas now incorporated in Poland.

This is what the nazi generals are saying before they have arms. It is the blueprint of World War No. 3. Does anyone believe that they will be less bellicose when they are once again given arms?

An armed nazi Western Germany will prepare step by step for a new war of revenge. Already every effort is being made to whip up support for an attack to regain the territories ceded to Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war with the agreement of Britain, America and Russia.

These new frontiers were fixed because the crimes of German fascism demanded measures to prevent a repetition of the nazi method of using a German fifth column as the first instrument of aggression. Again, with the agreement of all the allies, the German-speaking population were moved from these areas into Germany.

The Poles and the Czechs will defend their frontiers. Russia has a pact of alliance with both countries guaranteeing mutual assistance in the event of attack by Germany or any power associated with her.

The German Democratic Republic has accepted the new frontiers of peace and friendship. But a rearmed nazi

Western Germany, determined on revenge, would keep the world continually on the brink of civil war and world war.

Peace would hang on the whim of nazi generals.

Even the more honest American commentators admit that. Walter Lippmann recently wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*: "Germans take concessions about political equality for granted. Substantial German rearmament can be had, if at all, only by an all-out American strategic commitment not only to defend Western Europe but to liberate Eastern Europe. French insistence that German troops shall have no autonomy stems not from the ancient fear that a German army would march against Paris. It stems from an accurate and contemporary realization that a German army would wish to march and would drag along with it all the rest of us against Koenigsberg and Warsaw."

Nazi Rearmament Means War

Could the case be clearer? *Rearmament of Western Germany means war.*

Until August 1950, when the decision to rearm Western Germany was taken in principle, the politicians in both America and Britain all agreed on the dangers of giving back arms to the nazis. Mr. Louis Johnson, United States secretary of defense, said in November 1949, "there is no intention to rearm Germany." Ernest Bevin told the House of Commons only last summer: "We are all against German rearmament."

But while the politicians feared the anger of the people, the military men had already made up their minds.

In the autumn of 1949, General Lucius Clay, who, in July 1948, as American commander in Berlin, officially requested his government to send an armed convoy to Berlin (a step which could have meant war), was openly calling for a German army. The United States paper *Newsweek*, reported at the same time, that an influential group of United States army officers were in favor of relying on Germany as the main source of manpower.

When John Peet, Reuter's correspondent in Berlin and a universally respected journalist, resigned his post in June 1950, he said that Lieut.-Gen. Sir Charles Keightley, commander-in-chief of the British army on the Rhine, blurted out this statement at the Press Club in Berlin: "I have discussed the whole thing with Monty and he fully shares my view that we must get a German army as soon as possible. Some dumb politicians are against it, but they won't be much longer."

It is only fair to add that Sir Charles issued a statement denying he made this remark; but that was the sort of thing all the military men were saying and the "dumb politicians" are certainly now being brought into line.

What are the arguments used by those who seek to recreate this Frankenstein in a new nazi Reich? They say a German army is necessary to resist a Russian invasion: yet every commentator declares that there is no evidence

of any intention by Russia to invade the West.

For anyone with eyes to see the facts are crystal clear. Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, are intent on vast plans to raise the level of their people. They have been calling ever since the Prague Conference for four-power discussions on Germany. Instead of accepting this proposal, we are shilly-shallying while the militarists go ahead with plans for German rearmament which will make a settlement impossible.

Fallacy of "East German Rearmament"

The one argument which has carried some conviction to many honest people is the allegation that the Russians have built up an armed force in Eastern Germany.

That is not true. In both the East and the West there are police forces which have arms. All continental police have arms. The *Daily Mail*, for example, announced on August 3, 1950, that the authorities in the American zone were creating an armed police force of over 16,000 ex-Wehrmacht members and 10,000 displaced persons. The *Daily Mail* went on to say that this force would contain many members of the SS (the Hitler force responsible for the worst atrocities).

In Eastern Germany the first qualification to be a member of the People's Police is to have an anti-nazi background. In accordance with the Potsdam decisions the Russian zone of occupation carried out 100 per cent denazification in the police, the law, education and the higher ranks of public administration.

I saw the People's Police being formed. I talked with Hans Kahle, who commanded a German division of the International Brigade and who went back to Germany from Britain to head the police force in Mecklenburg. Hans Kahle told me of the measures he took to find proved anti-nazis and of how he worked night and day to overcome the sense of corruption which had permeated so deeply among all sections of the population during the Hitler regime.

The People's Police send out speakers to the factories to appeal to the workers for help in their campaign against black marketeering, corruption and sabotage.

The artificial frontier across Germany leaves the way open for a constant flow of saboteurs across the zonal border and the German Democratic Republic must protect itself. I remember visiting the Leipzig police station where scores of anti-nazis were murdered during the nazi period. There, in a place of honor, was a memorial to the men and women who gave their lives fighting German fascism. That is a different sort of armed police from the form the Americans are recruiting. There is no evidence to bear out the stories that the People's Police are armed with tanks and guns. The Russians, like the British and Americans and French, have a perfect right to have tanks and guns in the hands of their own army; they do not need to give them to Germans.

For the unchallengeable fact is that the Americans are

seeking to rearm Western Germany because they want men to fight their war. The British United Press reported at the beginning of 1951 that the Americans were concerned because the GI was the most expensive soldier on earth and that it cost a hundred times as much to keep him in the field as a Chinese soldier.

The Americans want cannon fodder. The last thing the Russians need to do is to rearm the Germans. The Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia have millions of men who, if the tragic necessity arose, would defend their country.

It must be clear that for every German nazi put into uniform hundreds of free men will be ready to defend their freedom, that the rearmament of the German nazis will create a solid phalanx of all the peoples of Eastern Europe who suffered the agony of nazi occupation.

But an even more powerful answer to this propaganda is that the USSR and her allies in Eastern Europe have countered the Western proposals with insistent requests for a conference of the powers to discuss the demilitarization of Germany and the reduction of all the armed forces of the Great Powers. Otto Grotewohl, premier of the German Democratic Republic, has offered to discuss the character and composition of police forces in both East and West Germany even before discussions begin on the wider question of German unity.

Peoples Resist Rearmament

When the powers get round the conference table, both sides will have a perfect right to demand investigations of all the military forces and equipment in the various countries. That is the way to peace and the answer to the argument that we must arm the German nazis because of completely unconfirmed reports of the size of Russia's forces.

The peoples of France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, all remembering German occupation and the brave struggle of the liberation movements, are resisting the plans to rearm their nazi oppressors. In Western Germany itself millions who suffered in the last war are refusing to have anything to do with the plans of their government. Public opinion polls have shown majorities of 70 to 90 per cent against rearmament. Pastor Martin Niemöller and other German leaders are winning mass support in their campaign against giving the nazi generals arms. And the Germans who refuse have right and justice on their side, for a law against militarism passed in the Western zones in 1945 is still on the statute book. It is in these terms:

"Any German who by spreading nazi militarist or racial ideas or by other activities impedes the reconstruction of a peaceful democratic state or endangers the peace of the world is liable to punishment." The fundamental law of the Federal Republic of Western Germany says that all actions aimed at hampering the peaceful cooperation of nations and at preparing for aggressive war are against

the constitution.

If we allow the nazis to have arms, their first victims will be the people of West Germany whom we promised to liberate from fascism. But it will not stop there. France will have to be forced into acquiescence and already plans are being laid to rig the electoral machinery so as to oust the Communists and prepare the way for a De Gaulle dictatorship.

Franco Spain is waiting in the wings for the signal to join the alliance. The generals have decided "in principle" that Franco Spain is just as necessary as Western Germany to their plans. Franco sends an ambassador to Washington, Senor Lequerisca, former Vichy ambassador, who gave a party to celebrate Pearl Harbor, and asks Britain to accept as ambassador Senor Castiella, who fought in the Blue Division as an ally of Hitler.

Rearmament of the nazis means fascism and it means war.

Rearmament of the nazis can be stopped. The powers can be forced to sit down at the conference table to work out plans for a peaceful united democratic Germany, a first and essential step towards a solution of the other problems besetting the world.

But the time for action is now. Tomorrow will be too late.

Stalin Prizes for Jews for 1950

JUST at the time that the Jewish Labor Committee submitted a memorandum to the United Nations concerning alleged "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union, *Pravda* announced (March 15-17) the Stalin prize winners in science, technology and the arts for 1950. By itself the list provides a crushing reply to this slanderous allegation, for at least 114 awards in science and technology and 31 awards in literature and the arts were made to Jews. While Jews form about one per cent of the population of the Soviet Union, something like nine per cent of the prize winners were Jewish. And these winners were distributed throughout the whole range of the sciences and arts.

The Jewish winners include two first prizes of 200,000 rubles each in physics (Lazar Davidovich Rosenberg) and biology (Lyov Semyonovich Berg); ten first prizes of 150,000 rubles each in various branches of science and technology; as well as 36 second prizes of 100,000 rubles each and one second prize of 50,000, and 65 third prizes of 50,000 rubles each.

In literature and the arts awards were made to Jews ranging from 100,000 to 25,000 rubles. There were eight first prizes, one in poetry (Samuel Yakovlevich Marshak); six in film (Moise Sholomovich Magid, Mikhail Ilyich Romm, Wulf Abramovich Rapoport, Mikhail Yefimovich Gindin, Alexander Borisovich Stolper, Mark Naumovich Bernes) and one in music (Yuli Sergeyevich Meytis). There were also 16 second prizes and seven third prizes to Jews in various branches of literature and the arts.

Letter from Los Angeles:

DUBINSKY COMES TO TOWN

David Dubinsky's highly ballyhooed and carefully organized week-long visit to Los Angeles in February had a sour climax. It was the workers, not the big garment employers or the chamber of commerce, who turned thumbs down on Dubinsky, his red-baiting and his strident advocacy of President Truman's war drive. The bosses and the city and county big brass did their part. They feted Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers, royally at luncheon, a testimonial banquet and in flowery resolutions passed by the city council and board of supervisors.

But all of these events were intended to be subsidiary to a "mighty demonstration of the needle trades workers" at Olympic auditorium, which was designed to be the high point of the visit. Shops throughout the garment district were knocked off early with full employer approval. The workers were advised to be going to parade "en masse" to the Olympic, which seats 12,500. All arrangements were made for an overflow crowd.

But the parade was a mighty scraggly affair, and, when Hyman D. Langer, the new ILGWU coast director, gave the signal for the program to start, there were no more than 2,000 garment workers in the huge fight arena. As three or four preliminary speakers went through their paces, lavishly lauding Dubinsky as only ILG payrollers can do, several hundred workers started an early exit from the auditorium.

When Dubinsky finally rose to speak at 4:50 P.M., he was flushed and sputtering. For a moment, the trickle of workers out of the hall stopped. The ILG president brushed aside the flowery introduction and the apologies of subordinates for the "unfortunate" attendance. He whipped out a copy of the printed "open letter" which a rank and file needle trades committee for peace had circulated the day before in the garment district.

"Communists, communists, communists!" shouted Dubinsky, after he had nervously read the entire leaflet aloud, calling upon him to join with the rank and file workers in fighting against the war drive and the depressing of living standards. In an apoplectic voice Dubinsky leveled a 15-minute attack on progressives in the union. "He was so excited that he didn't make much sense. You couldn't understand much of what he was shouting," said one rank and file leader.

Finally the great labor statesman seemed to wear himself out. He sat down ab-

ruptly. He had discussed nothing of the union program, nothing of the plans for organizing. He had just red-baited.

His outbursts seemed to shock the workers, particularly the newer members of the union, the Negro and Mexican workers. Scores got up and walked out

when he held high the rank and file peace leaflet and screamed that he did not agree with his sentiments. Soon the aisles were full of workers streaming out. The workers were not impressed. It was left for the employers to show proper deference for America's high priest of social democracy.

Letters from Abroad

STRAIGHT THINKING ON SOVIET JEWRY

London

The journal of Mapam in Britain, *Labour Israel*, affirms its friendship for the Soviet Union. It is therefore surprising to note what appears in the March issue.

A contributor, "Thinking Aloud," refers to Soviet Jewry. He rebuts any suggestion that anti-Semitic policies are being carried out which "a few Jewish sycophants of the *Voice of America* would like to discover." He records the elimination of anti-Semitism by the Soviet government and what he describes as "fostering some form of *Galut* Jewish national life—in common with all other nationalities of the USSR," referring particularly to Birobidjan and the interest shown by the late president of the USSR, M. Kalinin.

"Thinking Aloud" correctly states that "an economic and occupational redistribution of Jewry" is "a criterion for the solution of the Jewish problem." Then comes the amazing assertion that this has *not* taken place in the Soviet Union. Facts can easily be ascertained. On page 30 of *Jews in Work and Trade*, by Dr. N. Barou, there are tables showing the occupational distribution of Jews in tsarist and Soviet Russia. Compare the figures for 1897—a generation before the Revolution—with those of 1939—a generation after the Revolution:

Per cent of Jews occupied in	1897	1939
Industry	15	30
Clerical and Professional	10	41
Farming	2	6
Crafts	18	20
Traders, etc.	55	3
	100	100

If this is *not* an economic and occupational redistribution, what does *Labour Israel* call it? The "*luftmensch*" has disappeared. The abnormality of Jewish economic life caused by centuries of discrimination has been ended in the land of socialism. The 30 per cent of Jews in in-

dustry in 1939 is very close to the 32.2 per cent of the total population employed in Soviet industry that year.

That the Soviet government has been successful in its efforts to "normalize Jewish existence within the Union" is testified by Dr. Barou, who writes:

"One thing is clear: the numerous reports in the Soviet press about the useful work and achievements of Jewish industrial workers, engineers and scientists, who figure prominently among those honored by the Soviet Government, prove that the Jewish masses have made good use of the industrial and educational opportunities afforded them in the Soviet Union" (p. 22).

That the writer of "Thinking Aloud" does not grasp the import of Kalinin's

Masses & Mainstream

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MAY CONTENTS

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words, is shown by the statement that the late Soviet president helped to foster, "some form of *Galut* Jewish national life" in the Soviet Union. The word "*Galut*" means "exile." Soviet Jews are not in exile or in any way discriminated against. They enjoy a free and equal status as Soviet citizens.

On the other hand, if by "*Galut* Jewish national life" the writer means that which exists in capitalist countries, then it is surely the last thing Kalinin would have encouraged. He wrote in 1935, "The Birobidjan Jews will not be a nationality with the characteristics of the town Jews of Poland, Lithuania, etc."

Nor did Kalinin, unlike our friend in *Labor Israel*, regard Birobidjan as providing "the territorial concentration of Russian Jewry." As Kalinin pointed out:

"Those Jews to whom Jewish national

culture is so dear and who desire to develop the Jewish state unit as the base from which this Jewish culture, socialist in content, will arise, must help in the construction of Birobidjan."

Moreover, the urge for Soviet Jews to go to Birobidjan does not exist. Wherever they live already, Soviet Jews dwell in safety and lead full and happy lives. They do not have to flee as did those who accomplished a territorial concentration of Jews in Palestine.

To say, as *Labor Israel* does, that "Birobidjan has gone the same path as all other non-Zionist territorial solutions," is nonsensical. For there is no question of an attempt at a territorial solution of the Jewish problem in Birobidjan.

Thinking aloud can sometimes be very embarrassing for those who indulge in it.

A. H.

Book Reviews

HISTORY OF CHARLESTON'S JEWS

The Jews of Charleston, by Charles Reznikoff, with the collaboration of Uriah Z. Engelman. The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia. \$4.

In 1800, the Jews in Charleston, S. C., constituted the largest single Jewish community in the United States and were about 20 per cent of all the Jews in the country. The Jews of New York City were then in second place. Charleston, too, was then the fourth largest city in the United States. In 1826, the 600 Jews in Charleston were still as numerous as those of New York.

In 1948, however, the 1900 Jews of Charleston ranked it 132nd in size of its Jewish population, while the city itself, according to the 1950 census, has only 68,000 people (about 45 per cent Negro). The Jewish families of Charleston are

small, and the birth-rate too low to reproduce them. The dwindling of the number of Jews in Charleston is therefore kept down only by Jewish immigration into the city. While 76 per cent of the Charleston Jews are native-born, the 24 per cent who are immigrants compare with the less than 2 per cent of the total population of Charleston which is foreign-born. Of these immigrants, 85 per cent are from Eastern Europe and more than 100 subscribe to New York Yiddish dailies.

As part of the preparations for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the founding, in 1749, of the first Jewish congregation in Charleston, a sociological survey of the Jewish community was made by Dr. Engelman. The figures on the occupational distribution of the Jews are

useful. About 53 per cent of the Jews "were proprietors or managers of a business," while in the city as a whole (in the 1940 census) only 8.7 per cent were so engaged. Almost 25 per cent of the Jews were clerks, sales personnel, stenographers and typists, while for all of Charleston the figure was 17.3 per cent. About 12 per cent of the Jews were professionals, compared to 7.8 per cent for the city as a whole. About 7 per cent of the Jews were skilled workers, compared to 12.4 per cent of the total white workers in the city; but while more than half of Charleston workers are unskilled (including Negro domestic workers) there were only a couple of Jews in this class.

There are no Jewish bankers or department store owners in Charleston, nor in the important lumber or chemical and fertilizer businesses. Jews are important only in the wholesale dry-goods line, in the furniture business and in the sale of antiques. In the professions, Jewish engineers are more numerous than either the lawyers, dentists or doctors.

More than one half of the Charleston Jews belong to the four congregations (two Orthodox, one Conservative, one Reform), which is a higher percentage than usual. Of course Charleston as a whole has a higher proportion of church affiliation than most other cities.

These and similar figures are crowded, almost without social or historical interpretation, into some ten pages in the last chapter of the volume and into a few tables in the Appendix. The entire survey, however, has a major and crucial omission. In a city like Charleston, the relations between the Negro and white people are a key to the economic, political, social and cultural life of the community. Therefore no study of the Jewish community in such a city can be illuminating in any fundamental way if it avoids investigating and defining these relations. Yet this study, sponsored and the funds provided by the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and the Charleston Jewish community, ignores this basic issue.

The bulk of this volume, however, presents a historical chronicle of the connection of the Jews with Charleston from 1695, when the first known reference to a Jew was recorded, down to World War II. For the period through 1865, such a chronicle had already been published in 1905 in Barnett A. Elzas' pioneering work, *The Jews of South Carolina*, printed in a limited edition and now difficult of access. Mr. Reznikoff presents it anew, sometimes with expanded detail based on additional data derived from old wills, diaries, and similar manuscripts, and the background of Charleston as a whole.

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His most important correction is of the common belief that the early Jewish community of Charleston consisted of Sephardic Jews when in fact there was a considerable proportion of Ashkenazic Jews from Germany and Poland. But if one discounts the new data that may be useful to the historical specialist, and that can be found more often in the elaborate notes than in the text, there is little that can enlighten the reader in search even of the answer to the question Mr. Reznikoff declares he wishes to answer: "how the Jews of Charleston became Americans of their region and remained Jews."

For instance, the Charleston Jewish community is known as the cradle of Reform Judaism because of the beginning made in 1824 with the secession from Beth Elohim of a group that founded The Reformed Society of Israelites. The reason for the change? Mr. Reznikoff sees it thus: "... they were Americans. One result of equality was the desire to become in their worship more like their friendly non-Jewish neighbors—particularly the Protestants, who were in the great majority." But Reform here (and in Europe) was rather a program of the rising Jewish bourgeoisie to change the character of Judaism in order to accord with its new needs under capitalism. Production for and distribution in the capitalist market interfered with the observance of many Orthodox practices, which the enterprising Jewish middle class therefore sought to modify.

Although neither Mr. Reznikoff nor his collaborator is a Charlestonian or Southerner, they have adapted themselves to the requirements of their sponsors, so that the flag of the Confederacy waves over the entire volume. Chauvinist stereotypes of Negro slaves as "docile and faithful," of anti-Negro "humor" and the "comic" use Negro speech patterns are not uncommon. The Civil War is always called by the Confederate name, "The War Between the States," and six times as much space is given to the 180 Charleston Jews who fought for slavery in the Confederate army as to the 250 Jews who fought in the anti-fascist war a few years ago.

Finally, Mr. Reznikoff professes to have found no significant anti-Semitism in all the history of Charleston. Here he seems to me to be reflecting the policies of his sponsors rather than the historical or present reality. Regarding anti-Semitism as "the result of Jewish conspicuousness" in numbers or in achievement, Mr. Reznikoff would have us believe that because Charleston is an *American* city dedicated to tolerance and equality, there is no anti-Semitism there. Other observers have at least noted that to a certain extent

the existence of the major oppression of the Negro people in Charleston and the anti-Catholic sentiment combine to reduce anti-Semitism to a third place in the pattern of Charlestonian and southern reaction.

But Mr. Reznikoff and the Jews of Charleston are deceiving themselves if they shut their eyes to the anti-Semitic danger. For instance, did not the Charleston *News and Courier* on January 20, 1946, editorially threaten violent resistance to any Fair Employment Practices Law that New York might force on the south: "though we say it is not the 'old New Yorkers' but the Hillmanites, and Harlemites, the 'Liberals' amalgamated with the Negroes in political control of New

York, who would force racial admixture into the Southern states." And does not Thomas Hamilton, the Grand Dragon of the South Carolina KKK, continually orate throughout the state about the menace of B'nai B'rith and, more recently, of Anna Rosenberg? No good purpose can be served by hiding such facts and their class and historical foundations.

There is a hint of a danger whose ominousness Mr. Reznikoff does not appear to see when he states: "The Jewish immigrant is welcomed . . . by some because he is white." If the Jew is welcomed because he is white and therefore can be used to help keep the Negro down, there is little present or future security for the Jews of Charleston.

Important Announcement

Jewish Life circulation campaign

—MAY and JUNE—

Our readers and friends are urged to cooperate fully in the circulation campaign that **JEWISH LIFE** is launching. If you are a member of a union, a fraternal, cultural or social organization, if you work in a Jewish center—make sure that your friends and co-workers are introduced to **JEWISH LIFE**.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

abandon the public school system" before it allows Negro and white children in the same classrooms. He said that he would call on 17 Southern states to help in defeating the suit. . . . Harvard Medical School recently accepted a \$200,000 bequest to establish a scholarship fund "preferably for applicants of Anglo-Saxon descent." The president of Harvard's Society for Minority Rights, Walter C. Carrington, said on April 5 that "Acceptance of the gift will contribute to racial discrimination at Harvard." University officials show no signs of renouncing the gift. . . . Early in March it was revealed that Piedmont College, in Demorest, Ga., had accepted a \$500 monthly "gift" from the "Texas Education Association," endowed by anti-Semitic and pro-fascist Texas oil tycoon George W. Armstrong and headed by anti-Semitic and racist General George Van Horn Mosely. English Professor H. E. Bowen was fired for organizing protests at the college against the appearance there of Mosely and college treasurer David Eddy was fired later for denouncing the gift as representing "anti-democratic ideologies." Townspeople circulated a petition calling for the ouster of President James E. Walter and students demanded his ouster by a vote of 114 to 14. An endowment by the Armstrong fund had been refused several years ago by Jefferson College in Mississippi.

"NEW EVIDENCE" of discriminatory practices against Jews by Professor William E. Knickerbocker, was presented to the New York Board of Higher Education by the Anti-Nazi League in March. The evidence clearly showed that in at least four of the seven years of Knickerbocker's chairmanship of the Romance Language Department of City College, top ranking Jewish students were deprived of the Ward Medal for highest achievement in the department. Knickerbocker, together with anti-Negro Professor William Davis, was the storm center of protests against racism at City College a few years ago.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN CALIFORNIA . . . The statue of Haym Solomon, Revolutionary War patriot, was moved to MacArthur Park in Los Angeles because of continuous vandalism against the statue at its original location. . . . Hoodlums painted swastikas and broke windows of the newly-purchased home of a middle-aged Jewish couple in the Fairfax area of Los Angeles in March. Police response to the continuing vandalism was, "Malicious mischief." . . . During a hearing late in March on deportation of San Francisco trade unionist Chris Menslaves, the government stoopid witness Frank Montoya snarled to Menslaves' lawyer, Richard Gladstein, "Jew!" and "Do I have to answer these questions for this Jew?"

EUROPE

NAZI REARMAMENT and freeing of nazi war criminals were protested by Jews all over Europe in the past weeks. . . . British Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie urged his government early in March to use its influence against rearming Germany. . . . Three hundred representatives of all major British Jewish youth groups adopted a resolution on March 19 at a meeting in London protesting rearmament of East and West Germany and

clemency to nazi war criminals in the American zone. . . . Chief Rabbi I. Jacobovitz of Ireland at a meeting in Dublin in mid-March strongly protested "in the name of Irish Jewry" against the release of nazi war criminals. . . . Protest meetings against German rearmament are being held in all provincial cities of Britain by Jewish Representative Councils. . . . The French Federation of Jewish Societies, representing 130 Jewish organizations, forwarded a protest on March 25 to the United States ambassador in Paris against the decision to stay the execution of seven nazi war criminals convicted of atrocities against and mass murder of Jews. . . . The fourth congress of representatives of Italian Jewish communities meeting in Rome on March 29 passed resolutions protesting the rearmament of Germany and the freeing of nazi war criminals."

FIRST SERIOUS OUTBREAK of post-war anti-Semitism in Austria occurred on April 4 when Jews demonstrated in Salzburg against the showing of *Immortal Beloved*, new film directed by Viet Harlan, nazi director of the anti-Semitic film *Jew Süss*. The nazis and police attacked the demonstrators and about 30 Jews were injured, ten seriously, as the nazis shouted, "Jews and Americans, get out!" Jewish leaders present say that the police joined the nazis in beating Jews with truncheons and using clubs and throwing stones at Jews. One high ranking police official was heard to remark during the riot, "You Jews should be beheaded." Jewish community leaders were among the injured. The film was withdrawn after the riot. . . . Protests over the film by the Vienna Jewish community resulted in the banning of the film from that city. . . . The Berlin newspapers have decided to boycott advertisements and reviews of the film. . . . Owners of Frankfurt movie houses have decided not to show the film.

RENAZIFICATION NOTES . . . United States High Commissioner in Germany John J. McCloy on March 30 denied that the clemency to nazi war criminals was motivated by "political expediency." . . . West German Chancellor Karl Adenauer on April 5 said before the Bundestag that "the percentage of those guilty [of war crimes] is so low and so small that the honor of German soldiers is not damaged in the slightest. . . . It is unjustified to blame former soldiers, and particularly the professional ones for war. Once and for all, the thesis of collective guilt must be dispensed with." . . . Western Germany's new deputy minister of economic affairs is Dr. Kutscher, who was the main speaker in April 1944 at the nazi conference of *Judenreferenten*, anti-Semitic specialists attached to legations abroad. He said then, "The Jews are the misfortune of all nations. . . . A Jewish victory would bring about the end of all civilization."

A DEGAULLIST CROWD, emerging from a meeting in Paris' Latin Quarter, marched up and down chanting, "Long Live De Gaulle! Into prison with the Jews!" The Committee of Student Action has protested.

THE JEWISH STATE THEATER of Rumania employs 105 actors and other personnel and is the recipient of an annual state grant of 25 million lei.

NEWS FROM POLAND . . . "Jewish Book," publishing house of the Jewish Cultural Union of Poland, will print 30 volumes in Yiddish this year including works of current Jewish authors, translations of literary works by Polish and Soviet writers, Marxist criticism and Marxist classics. . . . The new Jewish State Theater in Lodz, built at great cost with the most modern stage devices, was recently opened and is becoming a center of Jewish cultural life. . . . The Polish ministry of culture has approved plans for the construction of six museums of Jewish martyrology in the former nazi death camps at Belzec, Sobibor, Ponibow, Trawniki, Budzyn and Chelmo.

ISRAEL

GEORGE W. McGEE, United States undersecretary of state for the Middle East, visited Israel late in March after his series of conferences throughout the Middle East. He consulted with Prime Minister David Ben Gurion, President Chaim Weizmann and Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett. While the exact topics discussed were not disclosed, it is generally known that they concerned problems of Middle Eastern strategy against the Soviet Union. *Kol Haam*, Communist daily, pointed out on March 15 that McGee's visit was intended to complete "the plans for the establishment of Anglo-American bases in Israel." The paper related this visit to the application for a grant-in-aid made by the Israeli regime to the United States. The application, said *Kol Haam*, should be prevented lest it "prove to be the hangman's rope for the intending suicide." Dr. Moshe Sneh, Mapam leader, said on March 14 that Israel would be "subjugated by United States imperialism" if she accepted the grant. *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam organ, wrote on March 25 that the grant would take Israel a step farther into the camp of "American satellites" and believes that the extent of the Truman government's friendship for Israel may be judged by its refusal to intervene in defense of Iraq's robbed Jewry.

TEWFIQ TOUBI, Arab Communist leader and member of the Knesset on March 19, in commenting on persecution of Jews in Iraq, condemned Iraq's "reactionary discriminatory policy" and warned that it was hurting the cause of Arabs everywhere.

ISRAEL PROTESTED formally to the United States government on March 12 against clemency to nazi war criminals. Israel's note stated that such action would undo the "great achievement of Nuremberg trials which had established the principle that there are certain basic rules of morality which no state and no government can disregard with impunity and that individuals convicted of their violation will be held personally responsible and not permitted to escape on the ground of superior orders."

THE MAPAI MAJORITY in the Histadrut executive on April 5 by a vote of 32 to 16 rejected a proposal to invite to Israel a delegation from the World Confederation of Trade Unions.

POLAND SIGNED a one year trade agreement with Israel on April 1 whereby Israel will buy \$7,500,000 worth of coal, sugar, poultry, potatoes, textiles, chemicals, timber, machinery, piping and other products, which will be paid for up to 65 per cent by exports to Poland of citrus fruits, chemical and pharmaceutical products, artificial teeth, razor blades, dental equipment and other articles.

ELECTION DATE in Israel was set by the Knesset for July 30.

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

