

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

AUGUST 1951 • 20¢

Chicago Peace Congress

THE PEOPLE MEET FOR PEACE

by Milton Ost

JEWISH PANEL AT PEACE CONGRESS

"WE SPEAK OF PEACE"

by Gale Sondergaard

TO MY FELLOW UNIONISTS *by Irving Potash*

THE ZOA CONVENTION *by Louis Harap*

PERETZ' VIEW OF LITERATURE *by Ber Mark*

THE STORY OF THE GOAT *a short story by I. M. Weissenberg*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

ALTHOUGH EXPRESSING UNEQUIVOCAL AGREEMENT with the Truman foreign policy, the 62nd annual meeting late in June of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, representing about 600 Reform rabbis, reflected in some respects the popular uneasiness over these policies. The conference therefore felt it necessary to approve efforts "to reach a peaceful settlement of the Korean war and a general settlement between East and West" and to call on the government to reach a basis "for the control and reduction of all armaments through the United Nations." Although Conference President Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein assumed a position of total agreement with red-baiting policies, he was forced to warn that civil liberties in this country were endangered because of the war program and to decry "hysteria and repression." A conference resolution opposing released time because it endangered separation of church and state came in for an attack on June 21 by Right Rev. Msgr. John S. Middleton, Cardinal Spellman's secretary for education.

AMONG 200 PROMINENT WHITE AND NEGRO artists and professionals who urged in "A Statement to the American People" late in June withdrawal of the prosecution of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for his peace activities, were Rabbis Jonah E. Caplan, Henry Cohen, Franklin Cohn, Robert E. Goldberg, and Prof. Bernard Baum, Dr. Abraham Edel, Albert E. Kahn, S. Lev-Landau, Millard Lampell, Albert Maltz, Elias Picheny, Max Weber and many others.

A SUIT IN THE CALIFORNIA SUPREME COURT was filed in June by the Pacific Region of the American Jewish Congress to restrain the national Congress office and its executive committee from suspending or revoking west coast charters and the court was asked to unfreeze funds of the local Los Angeles group impounded by the national office. The red-baiting and bureaucratic national office is gunning for the Pacific Region of Congress, which is one of the most active and militant in the country. Four large mass meetings against remilitarization of Germany in which Congress members actively participated came under attack from the hush-hush local Jewish Community Council.

IT HAPPENED IN CANADA, TOO. THE Ontario and Quebec Regions of the American Jewish Congress in June expelled the progressive United Jewish People's Order and its affiliated cultural and educational institutions. Less than a quarter of the eligible

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Congress executive members voted on the expulsion order.

ACTION FOR REPEAL OF THE McCARRAN police state law was urged in June by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union on all its affiliates, which were asked to urge their congressmen and senators to vote for the Sabbath bill to repeal the fascist law.

SALARIES PAID TO 37 SENIOR EXECUTIVES of one Jewish fund raising organization were reported to total \$418,000 a year. The top official gets \$28,000 a year plus \$14,000 bonus and a free trip to Israel; his deputy gets \$22,000 a year plus a \$3,000 bonus; "Number 37" receives \$7,000 a year.

A FIGHT AGAINST SEGREGATION WAS MAPPED out at the 42nd annual conference of the Association for Advancement of Colored People late in June attended by 700 delegates. The six-day conference was held in Atlanta, Ga., first annual meeting of the NAACP in the South since 1920. A legal and legislative program against discrimination on local, state and national levels was planned. Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP legal council, told the conference that Negro soldiers had been given "an unbelievably raw deal" in Korea and he reasserted that General Douglas MacArthur was responsible for Jimcrow policies there. The conference voiced its "unalterable opposition" to the indictment of Dr. W. E.

(Continued on page 32)

CHICAGO PEACE CONGRESS

June 29 - July 1, 1951

I. THE PEOPLE MEET FOR PEACE

By Milton Ost

A GAINST a background of war, intimidation, political attack and pro-fascist harassment, the peace movement in America moved toward greater maturity last month with the holding of an American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace in the Chicago Coliseum, June 29-July 1.

While the American Peace Crusade, which sponsored the Congress, is by no means the only peace formation in the country (witness the Quakers, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, etc.), the Crusade is the most advanced.

Three months earlier, the Peace Crusade had held a peace pilgrimage to Washington at which 2,500 delegates gathered, demanding an end to the Korean war. For six months while the casualties rose and the "great debate" was confined to advocates of "limited" and "unlimited" war, the Crusade barnstormed the country with the slogan "Let the People Speak for Peace" and a ballot that gave millions the opportunity to propose a peaceful solution to international conflicts.

When the press blacked out Senator Edwin C. Johnson's Korean armistice resolution, the Crusade reprinted the text and sent it to churches, unions, farms and communities throughout the country. The Crusade published a peace tabloid in a quarter million copies, leaflets in mass quantities, circulated petitions to settle the Korean war by negotiations and sparked campaigns of wires and letters to congressmen and administration officials. Wherever its message appeared, it found Americans of all creeds, views, national backgrounds and political beliefs ready to speak up for peace. Everywhere it spread the message of the coming Chicago Peace Congress, urging all peace-loving Americans to pool their ideas, their talents and their hopes for a plan for peace. It was plain that a ferment for a meeting of peace advocates was rising.

"Louisiana will send 91 delegates to the Peace Congress."
"Farmers around Rice Lake, Wisconsin, are planning to

MILTON OST is a New York writer. He is at present publicity director of the American Peace Crusade.

halt plowing for three days and come to the Congress." "Forty delegates from Baltimore." "Five hundred from Illinois," estimated the Illinois Peace Assembly. "Well over 1000 labor delegates from AFL, CIO and independent unions," was the report of the National Labor Committee for Peace. "I'll be at the Congress with bells on," wrote Larkin Marshall, Negro publisher of the *Macon World*. "At least 30 delegates—both Mexicans and Anglos," wrote the Pueblo (Colo.) Peace Council.

A week before the Congress opened, the attacks upon it began in dead earnest. Earlier they had been confined to local red-baiters, the Legion group in Chicago which attempted unsuccessfully to force the Coliseum to cancel its contract, threats and intimidation. The tactic of the press had been to suppress news of the Congress. Suddenly a wire service carried a story coast-to-coast that a State Department spokesman had condemned the Peace Congress as a "Communist front." As proof the State Department spokesman said that the Congress could be expected to propose the "Communist peace terms" of cease-fire in Korea and negotiations among the major nations of the world!

But the atmosphere changed with the Soviet proposal for a Korean cease-fire. At the moment when the Peace Congress was in session in Chicago, news came of the agreement to hold a truce meeting in Kaesong. The feeling was one of hope. The Congress was confronted with a new situation. The demand for an end to the fighting in Korea was on the verge of being realized. What changes in program would this necessitate?

Program for a New Phase

The answer was forthcoming quickly. Following addresses to a plenary session on American foreign policy by Jerome Davis, Prof. Robert Havighurst, Scott Nearing, Harry Bridges and Paul Robeson, 1,500 delegates at the Labor Workshop voted a resolution for negotiations to

settle all differences, opposition to German rearmament, an economy based on peaceful production rather than rearmament, an end to the "war emergency" and its wage-freeze and discriminatory taxation, as well as the lifting of all restrictions on the constitutional rights of labor and the people. Similar proposals for a permanent peace policy and for immediate pro-peace changes came from workshops on Colonialism, The Negro Citizen, Nationality Groups, Veterans, Women, Youth and Farmers.

The Declaration of Principles adopted by the delegates set forth principles that will gain support among all honest Americans. "We believe that peace is America's best defense and that the need for peace is the over-riding need," the declaration began. It adduced this need from the pinch of war taxation, higher prices, violence, lynching and oppression of the Negro people, discrimination against the Jews and other nationality groups, the crackdown on the right of free speech. It opposed "the revival of the German war machine." It called for unity of all Americans to halt the scourge of war, "for peace can only be obtained through such unity," which can be achieved by a common effort of Negro and white Americans in the cause of peace. The declaration acknowledges that differences of opinion will remain, but asserts the readiness of the Crusade to find an area of agreement on the road to peace.

Tackling the knottiest question of our day, whether different social orders can co-exist in peace, the declaration affirms "our belief that the acceptance of the co-existence of differing social systems is essential to peace. . . . We have to be willing to live and let live, to negotiate and compromise."

The Congress decided that the Crusade should provide a national center of information and action on peace. Its chief purposes are to coordinate and stimulate peace activities, aid in the establishment of regional state and local peace councils, seek interchange of peace information with other peace movements and interested organizations in America and throughout the world and to explore all forms of cooperation and parallel expression with other peace organizations in our country.

Broad Representation

The credentials committee reported that 4,116 delegates attended the Congress. Many more came as observers and visitors, sent by their organizations. It is estimated that over 4,500 participated in the Congress in one way or another. More than 1,500 were trade unionists, 1,575 were women, 547 were youth, 511 war veterans, some 1,500 were Negroes and about 400 were farmers. The delegates came from over 30 states.

The delegates came from every important section of the American people. They came from a Baptist Ministers Conference in a midwest city and from both left and right-led AFL and CIO unions. They came from community peace groups that have sprung up in the last six months in hundreds of small and large towns throughout the country—from Quad City, Illinois, from Pueblo, Colorado, from Bellingham, Washington, from Manitowoc, Wisconsin. A sizable delegation of Negroes and whites came from Louisiana. Negro and white miners came from Tennessee and



Peace Crusaders, young and old, at the Chicago Congress. These came from St. Louis. Left to right: Fanny Manevits, Alice Simpson, eight months, Sandy Hall, eight years.

Alabama. Farmers in Montana and Iowa put away their plows and came to discuss peace. Seamen on the West Coast left their ships and hitch-hiked to Chicago. Jews, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Czechs, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and members of some 15 other nationality groups in the United States converged from all parts of the country to meet in nationality group panels, including a Jewish panel. Women from small towns in Indiana discussed ways of achieving peace with women from New York, Los Angeles and Baltimore. Youth from Birmingham competed in sports and cultural competitions with youth from Philadelphia and Duluth. Negroes from Northern ghettos met with Negroes from the deep South in a special panel on Peace and the Negro Citizen and white delegates participated in the panel, too. Political, social, ethnic and geographic lines were crossed and recrossed many times: peace was the bond that united all.

Negro-White Unity Is Primary

Underlying this general unity was the unity of Negroes and whites, which unquestionably made the Congress historic. This was expressed not only in the exceptionally large number of Negro delegates and observers, who spoke in every panel and workshop and from the platform as well, but in a resolution on the permanent need for such unity submitted to the entire Congress body on Sunday and adopted unanimously. Illustrative of this unity was the board of officers elected to the leadership of the American Peace Crusade. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the great Negro scholar, statesman and peace champion, was elected co-chairman of the Crusade, along with Prof. Robert Morss Lovett and Prof. Anton Carlson, both of the University of Chicago. Thomas Richardson, outstanding Negro trade unionist, formerly chairman of the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the United Public Workers, was elected co-director, together with the Rev. Willard Uphaus, of Connecticut.

As though to confirm the delegates' judgment that Negro-white unity was indispensable for winning peace, pro-war forces struck at this unity at the very moment the Congress was over. On Sunday, while most of the delegates were on their way back to their towns, 300 hoodlums gathered outside the home of a Lithuanian daily newspaper editor who had housed three Negro delegates from the west. For two nights running, while police looked on, they broke windows, threw rocks, hurled epithets and threatened physical harm to the 65-year-old man and his family. They shouted: "N—r-lover!" "Kill-Kill-Kill!" The Crusade leadership, together with democratic Chicagoans, many of whom did not accept the peace program of the Crusade, met immediately and launched a counter-attack. They demanded that the mayor of Chicago provide police protection, the arrest and trial of the guilty and an immediate investigation to reveal the identity of those who had fomented the disorders.

A most significant aspect of the Congress was the participation in deliberations by the delegates themselves. A Phila-



Singing delegates from Washington State. From left to right: Mrs. Wortha Campbell, Rainier Valley Peace Committee; James McDaniel, member of AFL Plasterers and Cement Finishers Union; and Mrs. Thorum Robel of the Renton Peace Committee.

delphia housewife told a panel that her neighbors sent her to Chicago to "find out about peace. . . . Once a week our kids come home frightened and upset because they have air-raid drills. So the women collected money to send me here." A minister from Connecticut, who preaches sermons on peace, reported that he answered his colleagues, who asked him how he gets away with it, by saying to them "How do you get away with it?" A farm equipment worker told the Labor Workshop: "We got shellacked when we talked only about peace. But when we tied it in with cut-backs and wage-freeze and layoffs—well, two months ago the guys in our place wouldn't listen to us. Today, there's three of us here as official delegates from the local." And a young woman from Utah told how a poetry center became a peace group and urged national spokesmen to tour the small towns that are geographically isolated but abundant with peace sentiment.

The grass-roots of America spoke up for peace in Chicago, and nothing, no one, will ever halt their voices from being heard and felt. Already, with the Congress only a few weeks old, the Crusade is unfolding a campaign for a million messages to President Truman demanding permanent peace in Korea and negotiations among the major powers to settle all problems peaceably. It is preparing a large delegation, including many groups that do not belong to the Crusade, to visit the United Nations to demand world leadership in the effort for peace. Many meetings and talks have been projected throughout the country to unite all sections of the people behind the single concentrated attempt to win peace now and not in some distant tomorrow.

II. JEWISH PANEL AT THE PEACE CONGRESS

A panel on Jewish problems in relation to the fight for peace was held during the great Chicago Peace Congress. The panel met at the People's Auditorium on June 30 and was co-chaired by Herman Bush, president of the Chicago Federation of Polish Jews, and Eve Neidelman, of Detroit. The main report was made by Rabbi Abraham Bick, who emphasized that Jews should be in the vanguard of the fight for peace. He said that the Israeli delegates at the World Peace Congress in Warsaw, which he had attended, often repeated that "a third world war would destroy the Jews of Israel as well as the Jews of the world. . . . The Jews of America must be among the leading fighters for peace and they must create a broad, united Jewish peace movement, just as this Peace Congress in Chicago must create a united movement of men and women without regard to religion, nationality or color."

The panel was attended by guests from the Negro people and from other nationality groups. The Negro woman leader, Leonora B. Lawson, of Richmond, Virginia, and vice-chairman of the Progressive Party there, greeted the panel. She emphasized the necessity for unity between Negroes and Jews in the fight for peace and in the movement for human rights.

The panel was greeted by representatives of various Jewish organizations. Jennie Truchman, a leader of the Emma Lazarus Federation, affirmed that "Women must fight for peace! How can we bring up our children in an atmosphere of war?" A Jewish youth brought greetings from Fraternalist Youth and he told how this organization was advancing the idea of peace in the national Jewish Youth Council, in which Fraternalist Youth was fighting for peace together with Zionists, religious Jewish youth and with non-Jewish youth. Jacob Mestel, of the Ikuf (*Yiddisher Kultur Farband*), of New York, called for help in organizing Jewish cultural forces in the fight for peace. Yuri Suhl, noted Yiddish poet and author of the English novel, *One Foot in America*, brought greetings in the name of the 60 Yiddish writers organized into the Writers Society of Ykuf. J. M. Budish pointed out that "one cannot separate the fight against anti-Semitism from the fight for peace." Delegates from 25 cities attended the panel.

The panel adopted a resolution affirming that all Americans should unite to demand settlement of differences among the five great powers by negotiation, to combat renazification, to demand reduction of armaments and an immediate end to the war in Korea.

III: "WE SPEAK OF PEACE"

By Gale Sondergaard

GREETINGS to you, men and women of peace. Greetings to you, men and women of all nationalities and origins, of all professions and trades—fellow actors, farmers, teachers, sharecroppers, factory workers, trade-unionists, doctors.

You come from all the states. I know you all—as I know each part of this vast United States.

I am of many states and complex origins.

I was born among the lakes of Minnesota—and visited

my parents for many years beside those of Wisconsin—

I have played upon the theater stages of New York and Michigan and Illinois—

And in Chautauqua tents in Ohio and Indiana; in Shakespearean companies in Idaho and Colorado, in Washington and Oregon—

And I have, at the request of my government, visited hospitals and cheered the soldiers who fought fascism—in the states of Virginia and Rhode Island and Massachusetts and Missouri—

And I have made many motion pictures and won awards, for them in California—which is now my home and the home of my two young children.

I am of Danish-American stock, my husband of Russian Jewish American stock—

And all of this lives in me in peace—in fraternity—and because of this I know it can in the whole world as well—and will in the world!

I have never loved my country more than tonight—as I know you have never. I love my country, as you do, in the only way a country can be loved—

By loving the complexity of our people—their complex freedoms.



GALE SONDERGAARD is the noted film actress who refused to crawl before the Un-American Committee. This speech was delivered at the great mass rally at the Chicago Coliseum on June 29 that opened the peace congress.

The freedom of speech for them—of ideas—of association.

Their freedom to be—and to be whatever they are—and wish to become—in peace!

Who does not love the people thus, lies when he speaks of loyalty—lies when he speaks of peace—

Yes—lies when he speaks of love of our ancient liberty.

TONIGHT IN OUR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, LIBERTY IS bleeding to death—

With a sickness more virulent than polio or cancer—

With a fascist virus—fear of the people—hatred of the future—when people of all colors, lands and origins will love each other—when liberty will be restored again.

I have visited a jail in Texas—where my husband spent five months for defending the first amendment of our constitution—

I have also been in Washington, D. C.—the city which has become notorious for imprisoning freedom—

They handed me a paper—a subpoena—to appear at their inquisition. It was my economic death warrant—a sentence to my professional starvation unless—unless I cease to care whether liberty bleeds to death in America—whether peace commits suicide in our land!

Unless—

If tonight I were to say to you, "Drop the atom bomb on Moscow"—"War is inevitable—draft 16-year-olds"—I would be permitted to return to my interrupted career as an

actress—a career I love with a very deep passion.

I would perhaps be permitted to appear in a picture they may soon make—extolling the great humanity in the mass extermination of peoples—in putting whole populations of un-Godly Reds out of their misery.

Why should it be so difficult for me to speak out, with some show of enthusiasm, just two words, "preventive war"! Just these two words and my picture would again appear in fan magazines—

Or any of the other words—to show superiority and contempt.

I am not a Russian or a Chinese or a Negro or a Jew or a North Korean. Why can't I accept the idea that all of these people are my enemies and that fierceness can triumph over them—that life is at best a brutish battle.

I cannot accept this idea because it is a lie—a fascist lie—and I am not—could not be—a fascist. But that is only a half statement. Because I am not a fascist, I can feel myself one and in common cause with everyone who believes in himself and in fraternity—with everyone who, knowing the total disaster represented by World War III—will, under any and all circumstances continue to fight to achieve peace.

And because of this when I stood before the Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, I appeared to its members to be a Jew-loving, Negro-loving, Red-loving, culture-loving, peace-loving, un-American woman.

HOW INCREDIBLE TO BE HATED FOR LOVING SO MUCH AND SO



Four young women delegates at the Congress from various parts of the country. There were more than 1,500 women delegates, many of whom played a leading part in the conference.

many and so well—and I am not lonely in my loving—beside me stand the hosts of the decent living and the brave dead.

The brave dead and the orphans of Loyalist Spain are within me and their warmth courses through my veins still and will as long as I live. Years ago when I went to Mexico to comfort those dear and beautiful children of Spain, I told them they need have no fear of growing up—that their high and noble hopes would be realized. Can I go back on them now—or say less to myself than I said to them?

The brave dead of China and their orphan children—who have now inherited their own earth—these children I have supported for 15 years through all the changes of position of our State Department—(and I support them yet). Through all the years I have expressed my confidence in the good life before them—never believing that independence might be theirs so soon. Shall I have less confidence in my hopes for myself and my own children?

Beside me stand as well the mountains of dead and the mountains of orphans of the Soviet Union. I do not forget what I owe to them—who turned my terrified days in 1942 and 1943—when I shuddered as I looked down at my children—into tremendous days of victory and celebration.

In high place among my treasured dead is Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The beasts of prey have crawled out of

the rocks where they hid during his presidency—have crawled out and begun to eat at his memory—but they will never destroy it. And soon our people will again remember him—and compare present inadequacies of soul and vision and allegiance with the days of confidence—of warm and comforting words—and happy deeds.

TODAY THE LAUGHTER-LOVING, CHEERFUL PEOPLE OF THIS LAND are growing weary of the grim and acrimonious quality of this present era—era of scandals and thievery and hysteria and death—to no end.

I have known and know the company of brave and clean and people-loving people. To know them again I have come here tonight. They have gathered in my heart and I feel them all in this ugly moment of my country's life. I will never surrender them—never surrender a single smile of their confidence—never surrender and thus make vain a single cry of their pain—never surrender their meaning and the meaning of their existence—to greed and thievery or war. Nor will you. That is why we are here together tonight.

Who are we? We are the men and women of peace from all these United States—of all nationalities and origins—the lovers of mankind. We are chosen ones—chosen to speak of progress—of fraternity—of peace.

We are Americans.

Rabbis' Resolutions on Peace and Freedom

THE Rabbinical Council of America, one of the largest groups of rabbis in America, passed resolutions endorsing Senator Edwin C. Johnson's Senate resolution to end the Korean war and condemning character assassination at their 15th annual convention on May 29. The Council represents about 700 Orthodox rabbis in the United States and Canada. The executive of the Council approved the resolutions in June. It is heartening to record the courageous actions of the Council.

Texts of the resolutions follow:

On the Johnson resolution:

Whereas the ideal of peace is one of the basic foundations of our faith and the prophetic precept has always been 'seek peace and pursue it,' and

Whereas it is our religious duty never to close the door upon the possibilities of peaceful settlement of differences and negotiations for peace, and

Whereas the resolution introduced into the United States Senate on May 17, 1951 by Senator Edwin C. Johnson calling upon all nations and groups engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice by June 25, 1951 is in full accord with our traditional ideal of pursuing peace;

Be it resolved that the Rabbinical Council of America in convention assembled fully endorse the approach and aims of this Johnson resolution to restore peace and strongly urge the United States Senate and the people of America to give this resolution their sincere and careful consideration with the view towards implementing its goal of a speedy peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict.

On character assassination:

Whereas in this period of universal stress and tension, many people and groups in their zeal for national security have hastened to accuse and condemn fellow citizens as subversive and disloyal without adequate evidence, and

Whereas many unquestionably innocent citizens have suffered loss of employment and social disgrace as a result of these irresponsible, unsupported charges, and

Whereas the Jewish tradition has always upheld the principle that the personality and dignity of an individual are inviolable and dare not be impugned without conclusive evidence, and

Whereas all civilized democratic law upholds the principle that a man is innocent until proven guilty, and

Whereas the present emergency which we face can only be met effectively if we uphold and strengthen our religious and democratic principles,

Be it resolved that the Rabbinical Council of America in convention assembled reaffirm the Jewish and democratic principles of the sanctity of the human personality, full freedom of conscience and the inviolable right of every person to a position of dignity and honor among his fellow men even if his expressed convictions differ from the prevailing view, and

Be it further resolved that the Rabbinical Council of America strongly condemn any form of vilification of person or character assassination (without conclusive evidence of guilt) and the indiscriminate branding as un-American or communistic of honest divergent expressions of opinion.

THE STORY OF THE GOAT

A Short Story

By I. M. Weissenberg

The author of the following story, I. M. Weissenberg, is one of the foremost Yiddish writers of the twentieth century and a disciple of I. L. Peretz. He became famous with his novel Di Shtetl (The Town), published in Warsaw in 1906. His main interest in the poor people and workers and his sharply critical attitude towards the rich and the bosses made him a precursor of Yiddish proletarian literature in Poland. His chief work was a body of short stories about the poor in the small towns in Poland. He was born in 1881 and died in Warsaw in 1938. The story below was taken from a volume of his short stories published in Warsaw this year.—Eds.

"YOU know what, Gitele," said one sister to the other. Both were old crones with hairy warts on their jaws and mouths sunken like shallow graves; one had had a more prosperous old age, and it was she who was saying, "You know what, look and see: I have only a piece of soft bread, which I soaked in water so my teeth could manage it, and I can't possibly give you what I need for myself, so my advice is that you go out begging—no one would refuse you. . . ."

"D'you know what, Bayleshe," the other replied, "let it be as God wills; I can't go begging, and I'll manage to get through the day somehow—but at night, sister dear, let me come into your house, give me a place behind your stove where I can rest my head. I'll use my shawl for a pillow—all I want is a roof over my head."

"Don't I know how stubborn you are," the richer one said. "Well, see then, how the rain leaks in over that spot. . . ." So saying, she pointed to the ground behind the stove where she herself had just poured some water that hadn't dried yet.

The poor sister sighed, sighed again and barely staggered from the house, both hands on the wall, since it had been three days since she had last tasted even a little warm water. And since she had neither a room nor bed of her own, she lay down in the street and died a simple, honorable death.

Well, when a person dies in the street, it touches the hearts of compassionate Jews, who provided her with a shroud free of charge and six feet of earth in the cemetery under a tree.

As the coffin passed, some women and the sister ran out of their houses and threw a few coins into the charity box carried by beadle Aaron, who cried as he walked before the coffin, "Alms will save you from death." As she passed, they said that she had died a pious woman, that

she never took anything from anyone (there is no higher praise), wished that the good angels might meet her; and each of them then returned to her own house and asked for a pot of water to wash her hands before entering, as is the custom after a funeral.

But God sits above and looks down below. So he caused the following to happen.

A PEASANT HAD AN UNRULY GOAT, WHO CAUSED DAMAGE IN the cornfield. Calmly and simply the peasant put the goat, bound and tied, onto a wagon. And since it was market-day in town, he took along the goat to sell to the butcher.

In town, however, the peasant stopped at an inn for a drink. The goat lay on the wagon and waited one hour and then another, but still the peasant did not return. She considered her plight, broke the braided straw that bound her legs and, standing up on her thin little legs and shaking her beard, she hopped off the wagon.

And that's that.

But by now the market-place was crowded with many horses and wagons and the goat became lost among the wheels and hooves.

She wandered and leapt over the wagons, looking dull and frightened and bleating sorrowfully, so that the horses snorted, dilating their nostrils and laying back their ears at the sight of the wild, bearded creature which danced among their wagons.

Evening. The wagons had long since departed. Piles of yellow dirt lay scattered in lonely disarray over the deserted market place. The goat stood wondering; now where? Night fell and the embittered goat began dashing about along the walls of the market stalls, bleating her heart out in the stillness of the empty market-place so that God might have pity for her.

Meanwhile, a fire began to glow in a window. There lived the rich sister who was sitting *shiveh* for the departed. And since she was old and in mourning to boot, she had lit a fire earlier than anyone else in the whole market-place.

As soon as the goat saw the glow in the window, she remembered that her owner would sometimes come into the barn at night carrying a lantern and so she thought that the light shone in her own true place of rest. She trotted over to the window.

But there she discovered her mistake. For here she saw a glass door, which the barn had never had. And though she did not understand what it was all about, she still needed a place to rest. So she went through the back door.

Inside she found steps leading up to the attic, and slowly she climbed them. . . .

In the attic she found a treasure. A pile of straw in a corner, under the gables. With a goat-sigh she lay down to rest after the day's exertions. The pile of straw had been put there by the housewife against the day of their need, just as she had stored away a ball of mending thread, though she had not torn anything in ten years because she walked carefully with measured steps, balancing on her nose the spectacles which were tied to her ears with string.

MIDNIGHT. THE DOOR AND THE SHUTTERS HAD LONG SINCE been bolted. A small fire gave the walls a reddish glow. The rich sister lay covered with a featherbed, a kerchief about her head.

Suddenly she heard a rustle in the attic. She pricked up her ears . . . it wasn't her imagination. Someone was rustling about and her heart seemed to stop. "What can this be?" she asked herself, wanting to duck her head under the featherbed . . . but the more she wanted to do this, the more her ears were drawn to the noise; and the more her ears perked up, the more she heard the rustle.

"It's no good," she thought. "Since sister died, a spirit has been wandering about the house."

And, rising from the bed, she turned the lamp up, took the stack of holy books and the prayer shawl left her by her husband when he had died some 30 years earlier, placed these objects about her as a barricade and returned to bed. "Let it be as God wills. . . . What can I do if sister wants to avenge herself? . . ."

Meanwhile the goat became chilled by lying in the attic, so she quietly crept down the stairs, while the old crone trembled on hearing the evil thing descend on her.

The door opened inward and the crone sprang up with terror in her eyes. "Sister dear, what do you want of me!?"

For a moment, the goat stood still while the crone, the lamp trembling in her hand, looked and looked. . . .

And she saw a large white eye, framed in a raised eyebrow, staring at her through a little hole in the door. And she fell down on the floor with the lamp in her hand and she, too, died.

WELL, SHE DIED—AGAIN THE QUESTION OF A BURIAL. NEIGHBORS poked about her stove till they found a loose brick, and behind it enough money to pay for a shroud and for a place in the cemetery. Women stood near her windows all day and with trembling lips praised her name: what a pious person she was, what a good person she was, how good-hearted she was—and how it was her great sorrow over her departed sister which brought her to her grave, poor thing.

However the matter may have been, she still had to be buried. By evening she was already being borne through the streets. Around the coffin was the burial society, and in lead, beadle Abraham, charity box in one hand and lantern in the other.

But since the goat still remembered how her master

would come into the barn carrying his lantern—she now came leaping about the procession, running ahead and stopping every now and then to stare in a goat-like way at the worthies of the burial society—and then jumping ahead of the procession and running ahead.

Everyone could easily see that something was wrong here. That something had been possessed of a *dybbuk*. And the crowd steeled itself to keep from looking at the leaping goat.

Well, such things shouldn't happen. But still it does happen sometimes that an evil spirit dances before a funeral.

Nevertheless, the crowd proceeded to the burial ground, let it be as God wills, and stopped near the open grave. But the goat was already peering from among the trees. She saw the lantern lifted above a mound of sand and remembered how one autumn her master had finished storing his potatoes at night. At that time, too, a lantern had shone over a mound of dirt. And her heart, though a goat's heart, grew full in anticipation, and her eye peered twice as large from among the trees, especially since she hadn't eaten since she had left the village.

Later, after the crowd had left the burial ground, the goat came to the grave and trampled it and plowed it up with her horns. But since she could not find anything and her labor was fruitless, she went in her misery to the nearby *zaddik's* crypt and bedded down without her supper.

IN THE MORNING, THE GRAVE-DIGGER SAW THE FRESH GRAVE—so it had happened. He ran to the burial society to give them the news.

The whole town was gripped with uneasiness; everyone knew what such a thing could mean: a goat leaping before a bier at night, a grave found disturbed in the morning.

Expectant mothers grew fearful. A kind of panic developed in the town, a secretive fear. It was decided that the rabbi and the worthies of the town should go to the place to tell her first that she should know that she is dead and should lie quietly in her grave; and second, to recite chapters from the psalms over her grave in order to free her soul from the evil spirit that had danced before her bier and had so joyfully greeted her. . . .

The rabbi donned his finest high hat and kaftan, the worthies their velour Sabbath hats, and off they all went. . . .

Seeing the procession, the artisans too left their work, the cobbler his hammer, the tailor his scissors, and they followed, putting on their jackets as they ran.

Everything within the power of man was done for her soul's sake. But in the midst of the psalm-reading, blind Tziviele, who prays for the dead in the cemetery, went with two other women to the *zaddik's* crypt to pray for his intervention in the calamity. As soon as they saw the goat drowsing by the pickets, all three leapt up with a great cry and ran to the group of Jews, their arms outstretched.

And God's host was seized with fear, not to say panic—and again they took counsel and decided that the rabbi and the host would go to exorcise the evil spirit from the goat so as to get her out of there and chase her to a desert where

no man ever goes or at least under a bridge somewhere.

So the rabbi took hold of the *tsitses* and he and all the host surrounded the crypt, he at the door.

"Go thou from here," he chided the goat, first calmly and in a reasoning tone. "It is I, Samuel the small, rabbi of this congregation . . . with the approval of all the community, who have come to exorcise your evil spirit . . . and you shall leave this place only through the hole in the roof, so that you may not harm anyone, God forbid."

The whole crowd stood with mouths agape, waiting for the goat to heed the rabbi's words. But the goat did not choose to move. So the rabbi seized his cane and wanted to deal with the *dybbuk*. The goat became frightened and leaped up at the rabbi, catching her horns in his beard and upsetting him, high hat and all. The whole host, God's forces, sprang up into the air and almost flew to the town squawking like a flock of geese.

Doors and shutters slammed shut: "The devil's coming!" And all the inhabitants hid themselves in their houses. The town became like a crypt, and the goat began to wander about the deserted streets with head held high.

From that day on, grass began to sprout on the roofs of the market-stalls—whole plots of moss—people are still hiding behind the shutters. And even if today a stranger with a head of pure gold should come to the town, the doors and windows would still be barred to him.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Hershl Hartman.)

TO MY FELLOW UNIONISTS

A few days before leaving for prison, Irving Potash, manager of the Joint Council of the Fur and Leather Workers Union and one of the 11 convicted Communist leaders, issued a statement to union members. The union was in the midst of a strike. Potash had just been re-elected manager by a vote of 6,782 to 369 "no" votes. The greatest part of Potash's statement follows.—Editors.

FELLOW Fur Workers:

I regret exceedingly to leave you in the midst of the strike. It is very painful to be deprived of the opportunity to contribute my efforts for victory in our strike. But my leaving you is not voluntary. It is forced upon me.

As I enter prison, I have the utmost confidence that you will defeat the efforts of the fur bosses to rob you of your hard-won gains, that you will win the strike and a better agreement.

You will win because your fight is just. You will win because our union is strong and united. You will win because I know that you will conduct the strike with

SONG FOR PEACE

By Edith Segal

I dreamed I walked on an endless path,
Circling the land and the sea,
I greeted my neighbors of many lands,
And everywhere folks greeted me.

In brotherhood we planned joyous years,
Free from the fears of the past,
And lifting our eyes to the rising sun,
All mankind knew peace at last!

The dreamer wakes, but the dream lives on,
Calling crusaders for peace,
To fashion a new world where dreams come true,
Where wars between nations will cease.

In brotherhood we'll plan joyous years,
Free from the fears of the past,
And lifting our eyes to the rising sun,
All mankind will know peace at last!

By Irving Potash

firmness, discipline, resoluteness, devotion and courage which have always characterized our progressive union and our struggles for the welfare of the fur workers. . . .

You will win because your leadership is honest, able, firm, devoted and progressive. You will win because at the head of your strike is our International President Ben Gold, under whose leadership our union has won many difficult struggles and has established itself as a powerful union of all fur and leather workers, a model union in the American labor movement. . . .

Be on guard against stoolpigeons and the agents of the bosses in your ranks. Be on guard against all kinds of rumors which may be circulated by them. Unmask them and expose them without the slightest hesitation. That's the way to make them harmless. . . .

Brothers and Sisters, Fur Workers: I assure you that I regard very highly your re-electing me as Joint Council manager. Your vote of confidence, particularly when I was being railroaded to jail, is a source of deep satisfaction to me and great pride in our membership. . . .



Irving Potash

Danger Ahead

Fur Workers: Hard and grave times are ahead of us. Our country is faced with a dangerous political situation. The indictment, conviction and imprisonment of the 11 Communist leaders, the majority decision of the Supreme Court, and the growing number of arrests and persecutions of trade union leaders and progressives—all these are cause for alarm to all workers and all freedom-loving people.

From the very beginning our union fought against the persecution of Communists even though our union is not a Communist organization. Our union recognized from the very beginning that these persecutions threaten to undermine the democratic rights and constitutional privileges of labor and the people. The opinions of Supreme Court Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas not only prove that we were correct but are a serious warning to the people.

Our union should be proud of the fact that it was able to see the truth right at the beginning. This was possible because our union has been in the forefront of the struggle against fascism wherever and whenever it raised its ugly head. It will never be said that our union forgot the tragic lessons of Germany.

To wait until fascism's brutal claws are already around our throats is a tragic mistake. In the fascist countries, the working people, the progressives and especially the Jewish people, paid a heavy price in blood and tears, destruction and death for their failure to fight fascism before it was too late.

Fascism, like an octopus, surrounds the people with its deadly tentacles in the form of Taft-Hartley laws, Smith acts, McCarran laws, un-American Committees, etc. The curse of fascism marches under cover of war hysteria, fear, terror against Negroes and anti-Semitism.

Reactionary fascism in our country is already busily engaged in destroying the Bill of Rights and all other

human values—the most cherished heritage of the American people. It moves forward when the most cynical and most brutal, reactionary section of Big Business seizes outright control of the government and all of its agencies.

Fascism Destroys

As in Germany, it moves to power by first arresting and imprisoning Communists on frame-up charges like the Reichstag fire, by jailing the most tested and trusted and beloved leaders of the working people while intimidating and terrorizing in order to silence everybody else.

Fascism is bitter anti-Semitism, it is pogroms and slaughtering of the Jewish people. Fascism is lynching and brutal atrocities against the Negro people. Fascism is the destruction of the trade union movement and of the rights of the workers to organize for better working conditions. Fascism is the end of democracy, it means depriving the people of the democratic liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Fascism means war. Fascism means tremendous profits for the billionaire corporations at the expense of the hard labor, lower living standards and even starvation of the mass of working people.

The war profiteers have seized every agency of our government, as even Philip Murray and William Green were compelled to admit only recently. The war profiteers fear opposition. They fear the voice of the plain people. Because of their fear, big business war profiteers adopt more and more of the methods of fascism.

Our union has therefore learned that, as part of the labor movement, as an organization that serves the interests of the working people, it must fulfill its responsibility to fight against war, to fight for peace and to fight against fascism.

Fight Back

Fur Workers: Read and study the opposing opinions of Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas. Read them to your children and to your friends. Get acquainted with the true facts. See for yourselves the crying injustice of this case. Learn the truth. See for yourselves that the 11 Communist leaders were railroaded to jail on trumped-up charges. You will see from the opinions of these two Supreme Court justices that the 11 Communist leaders were not found guilty of committing a crime, that they were not even charged with committing any criminal act.

Our "crime" was that we advocated peace, that we tried to prevent a third world war which with present atomic weapons would destroy millions of innocent human beings everywhere, including our own country. Our "crime" was that we demanded negotiations for an end to the war in Korea. Our "crime" was that we advocated a peaceful settlement of all disputes with the Soviet Union and insisted that such a settlement could be made by good will and by genuine negotiations. We insisted that war must not come; that the war can and must be stopped. Our

"crime" was that we remained loyal and devoted to the interests of labor and the people. Our "crime" was that we are devoted to humanity.

But the real crimes are the deeds of reactionary fascists. Their attempts to destroy democracy stem not from their strength but actually from their weakness and desperation. The demand for peace is growing every day and is involving ever greater sections of the people in our country and throughout the world. The rising protest against the rail-roading of Communists to jail is sobering up the American people. They are beginning to realize the dangers. The progressive trade union movement is charged with a sacred mission in these critical days. Labor and the people are in need of true leadership. It is the task of the progressive trade unions to help the people and to give leadership.

You, the fur workers, will not fail the people in this crisis.

Given the truth and real leadership—the common people will fight courageously and stop war and fascism. The common people don't want war and don't want fascism. You fur workers know the truth and you have the leadership. You owe it to yourselves, to your wives, to your children, to the labor movement and to the country that you fulfill your responsibilities with honor. I know that you will.

At this time when the entire country proudly celebrates its Declaration of Independence, let us all remember and rededicate ourselves to the ringing words of Thomas Jefferson, one of the most illustrious founders of our country: "I have vowed eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the minds of men."

ANOTHER DANGEROUS COURT DECISION

By Jeremiah Lesser

THE anti-communist and war hysteria has produced one more monstrous court decision, one that brings shame to New York State. This is the judgment by New York Supreme Court Justice Henry Clay Greenberg issued on June 25 upholding the petition of New York State Insurance Commissioner Alfred H. Bohlinger to liquidate the International Workers Order. Judge Greenberg's opinion was full of the by now familiar verbiage about "close ties" of the IWO with the Communist Party, whose "purpose [is] to teach, advocate and encourage the overthrow and destruction of the United States government by force and violence." This assertion was "established" also in this case by the usual parade of professional informers, perjurers and convicted criminals and by an array of books and magazines.

A study of the case reveals, however, that the IWO is being persecuted because it is the most democratic insurance and fraternal society in the country. The case gives further evidence that it is the objective of the anti-communist hysteria to destroy democracy and not only the communists. For the IWO was completely solvent and was in an unassailable financial condition, as Superintendent Bohlinger admitted. Over 162,000 families—among them over 50,000 organized into the Jewish People's Fraternal Order—held insurance policies of about \$115,000,000 and the IWO had about \$7,000,000 in assets.

But the IWO does follow some unique policies for an insurance institution. It is the only insurance organization in the United States that offers complete insurance without regard to color or creed. Sixteen national group societies are joined in the IWO in fraternal unity. The IWO is the only insurance organization in the United States that offers insurance to Negroes at the same rates as whites.

Thus, Negroes and whites, native Americans and foreign-born, young and old share the same privileges and pay the same rates without discrimination. Most of the policy holders are working people from low income groups and many are special objects of discrimination at the hands of commercial insurance companies, while they receive equal treatment in the IWO.

The anti-democratic nature of this persecution of the IWO comes out clearly also in some of the "charges" which the State Insurance Department made. Did not the IWO help the defendants in the Scottsboro case? Did not the IWO support the Loyalist cause in the war of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini against the Spanish people? The IWO proudly agrees that it did help in these and other instances when democracy at home or abroad was imperiled. But to the anti-communist witch-hunter, such activity is evidence of "subversion."

Are these IWO policies and activities "hazardous to its policy holders, or its creditors, or the public," as the law reads under which the IWO was charged? Surely only enemies of democracy would regard themselves as threatened by a record such as that of the IWO, whose program and activities are an embodiment of democracy in operation. Is the IWO less democratic than the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which charges Negroes far higher rates than whites and which carried on a Jimcrow policy in its Stuyvesant Town project until mass pressure forced it to make token admissions of Negroes to the project? Is the Metropolitan less of a "hazard" to its policy holders and the public? Such a comparison shows how false is the charge against the IWO. But even in strictly legal terms the charge is a fabrication. For the "hazard" contemplated by the law is intended to apply to the financial aspects of

insurance only and Superintendent Bohlinger admits that the IWO is in completely sound financial condition. Thus the persecution of the IWO is a perversion of the law under the distorting aegis of anti-communism.

The attack on the IWO has importance for the Jewish people not only because of the general threat to democracy involved. The threat also includes specifically the some 50,000-strong Jewish People's Fraternal Order, which is a component of the IWO. The JPFO carries on the progressive tradition of the Jewish people and working class, out of which it sprang. The JPFO not only provides its members with insurance and fraternal benefits, but also with a program for Jewish security and for a progressive Jewish culture. The contributions made by the JPFO to American democracy and to the welfare of the Jewish people are significant. And now the decision of Judge Greenberg threatens to stop this democratic, Jewish activity. The Jewish people have a profound interest in reversal of this decision.

If the IWO is permitted to be liquidated, it will constitute a serious blow against democracy. The action against the IWO, says a brief in *amicus curiae* submitted by 200 prominent Americans in labor, the professions, arts, religion and business, "goes further in jeopardizing the rights and liberties of the people than any other similar effort in this state of which we are aware." Not only is there jeopardy to thousands of low income families in depriving them of this low rate insurance, to the many Negroes who would have to pay very much higher rates in any other company, to old people who cannot at this late date obtain insur-

ance and death benefits at rates within their ability to pay. It is intolerable enough that these Americans should be deprived of IWO benefits. But the danger to American democracy in this liquidation order is very grave, too. As the brief mentioned above says, in paraphrase of a Supreme Court opinion of Justice Robert Jackson: "If this effort does succeed, then a public official will have been given not only the right to prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, but also the right to prescribe with whom Americans may insure themselves, and how, where and with whom they may buy, sell or carry on other business affairs."

As a fighting democratic organization, the IWO is determined to defeat this Hitler-like effort to liquidate it. Appeals will be taken up to the Supreme Court, if necessary. Judge Greenberg has granted a stay of the liquidation order pending appeal to the highest courts. In the meantime the IWO is maintaining its insurance services, fraternal benefits and other fraternal functions. It is determined to survive this ordeal by anti-communism.

It is clear that the persecution of the IWO is part of the kind of anti-democratic pattern that Hitler unfolded with such devastating effect. This decision by Judge Greenberg against the IWO followed upon the Supreme Court decision to uphold the Smith Act and is part of the same picture. It is therefore the obligation of every American who refuses to allow fascism to come to America to protest against the effort to liquidate the IWO and to deprive working people of a genuinely democratic fraternal organization.

THE ZOA CONVENTION

By Louis Harap

AT A DINNER held in his honor after his return in May from a visit in Israel, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver declared that the most decisive issue facing the people of Israel was peace or war. Of course, this is profoundly true. The Middle East not only shares the general danger of war that hangs over the entire world like a sword of Damocles. The Middle East is also one of the focal points of that danger because of its strategic location and because it is the only land mass bordering on the Soviet Union which is still dominated by imperialism. Then, too, Israel is adjacent to the explosive Iranian situation, where British and American imperialists are trying to prevent the Iranian people from taking possession of their own oil resources. And in addition to these ominous dangers, Israel must be on the alert against the possibilities of a "second round" of war threatened by the Arab puppet leaders strung by American and British imperialists.

Thus, when the Zionist Organization of America met

at its 54th annual convention in Atlantic City from June 14 to 17, it was confronted with a vital challenge. Surely the convention should have placed the problem of war or peace as it relates to Israel at the heart of its deliberations. Unfortunately, this was far from the case. Instead of dealing with this and the many other critical and pulsating issues facing Israel, the convention stumbled dully through partisan bickerings. As *Jewish National Post* reporter G. M. Cohen wrote in the June 22 issue, the convention "was one of the dullest in the history of the organization."

Unchallenged War Policy

Of course the question of peace or war was not absent from the convention. But it remained a matter of perfunctory, totally unchallenged approval of the coordi-

nation of Israel in the war-inciting, anti-Soviet strategy of Washington. In his message to the convention, Senator Irving M. Ives said, "Israel is the natural ally of America and the western world and can serve as an effective base for the western armies in time of war." This counsel of disaster was hardly discussed, let alone challenged. Although most Zionist leaders do not dare to pledge Israel in so many words as a military base in the anti-Soviet world strategy, they have often spoken more vaguely of Israel as a "bastion of democracy" in the Middle East, which means to put Israel in the front lines of a planned anti-Soviet war. There was no discussion of the grotesque concept that Israel was a "natural ally" of those steadfast "democracies," Chiang Kai-shek's Formosan headquarters, Syngman Rhee's corrupt butcher regime, Hitler-friend General Franco's fascist junta, fascist Greece, a rearmed and reactionary Japan and, last but not least, a renazified and rearmed Germany. Such extremely serious questions did not exist for the convention. The question of peace and war in Israel could not be said to have been even the major issue taken up by the convention. Not even Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, whose speeches in the past few months outside the Zionist platform have been a clarion call for peace, alluded to this central issue.

What, then, was the convention chiefly occupied with? It seems that the top ZOA leadership is most anxious over the question whether the ZOA will be recognized by the Israeli government as the spokesman of American Jewry. Should the ZOA be granted special status in Israel? Or, as Premier Ben Gurion informed 200 Zionist leaders at a meeting in New York at the end of May, would the American Jewish Committee group, the so-called non-Zionists, have greater influence in affairs of Israel? Did the ZOA leadership want to keep the American Jewish Committee group in a subordinate position because the two groups differed on basic issues? No, for the contending groups have no fundamental differences in principle either on Israeli foreign policy or on the domestic development in Israel. ZOA President Benjamin G. Browdy stated the "issue" which held the central place at the convention. "It is our profound conviction," he said, "that the Zionists, and the Zionists alone, can be depended upon to serve as the chief factor" in obtaining aid for Israel. Thus, in plain terms, the ZOA was engaged in a struggle for power with the Committee group, not a struggle on real issues.

Zionists vs. AJ Committee

To understand this situation, we must go back a few years. Prior to the realization of the state of Israel, the Zionists required most of all strong centers of nationalist propaganda and ideology, and these were supplied by the various Zionist organizations outside of Palestine, chiefly those in the United States. Zionist leaders were then accepted by the Palestinian Zionists as spokesmen for American Jewry. For their part, the American Jewish Committee, which is the organization of the big bourgeoisie

in the American Jewish community, was opposed to Zionism, because this was a deterrent in their climb to the highest ranges of economic life in the United States. For the Committee members wished to reduce the differences between themselves and the non-Jewish big bourgeoisie to a minimum so as to approximate as closely as possible to the status of non-Jews and thus to facilitate their operations in the economic life of a country with a strong tradition of Anglo-Saxon superiority.

But once the state of Israel was established, the situation underwent basic changes. For the Zionist movement, a "crisis in Zionism" developed because the function of Zionist movements had to be adjusted to the existence of the Jewish state. It is important to note that once the presumed objective of Zionism, the establishment of a Jewish state, was achieved, the ideological basis of Zionism—the theory of the "ingathering of the exiles," for instance—began to crumble and the inner contradictions of Zionism operated with full force. In this country, the ZOA was not even essential for fund raising, which is managed by the United Jewish Appeal. Further, there was no emigration function for the ZOA to fulfil, since only a minute number of American Jews desired to go to Israel. And since Israel was a sovereign state, American Jews could no longer participate—officially, at least—in the determination of Israel's policies, as the Zionist movement outside of Palestine had done through the Jewish Agency. It will be remembered that in the deliberations that led to the UN decision of November 29, 1947, the Jewish Agency was recognized by the UN as the official spokesman of the Jews of Palestine.

Besides giving political aid to Israel by influencing United States policy toward the new state, the ZOA retained some secondary functions like support for the very small *halutzit* movement and promotion of Hebrew cultural activities. But after the first flush of enthusiasm among American Jewry over the struggle for realization of Israel, ZOA membership and interest had fallen off, as was shown by the small attendance at the ZOA convention. In the past few years the ZOA leadership has been flailing about in the attempt to resolve this "crisis of Zionism" but has made no appreciable progress.

AJ Committee Dominance

In the meantime, of course, radical changes had taken place on the Israeli side of the relationship. The former need for a nationalist propaganda and ideological center of Zionism in the United States had become secondary to the pressing financial and political needs of the new state. Since the advocates of "free enterprise" dominated the Ben Gurion government, the economic development of Israel was seen in terms of obtaining philanthropic funds, creating favorable conditions for private investment and of obtaining loans from the United States government. These objectives also required that Israel subject itself to the policies of Washington, which laid down such align-

ment as the condition for financial "aid." The Ben Gurion government recognized that the American Jewish Committee group was the most important source for the kind of help that the government was looking for. As Boris Smolar, Jewish Telegraphic Agency columnist, wrote early in June, Ben Gurion implied during his visit to this country that "the non-Zionists [that is, the American Jewish Committee group] through their influence in Washington and as 'big givers' to the United Jewish Appeal, are today more helpful to Israel than the Zionist movement in this country."

The Committee group, however, did not enter into full cooperation with the Ben Gurion government without assurances that the Zionist ideology, which the Committee opposed, would not be officially pressed by that government in relation to American Jewry. Last summer, when the plans for the four-point program for aid to Israel in this country were drawn up (fund raising, grants-in-aid from the United States government, the billion dollar bond drive and encouragement of private investment in Israel), Jacob Blaustein, president of the Committee and oil tycoon, visited Israel and received assurances from Ben Gurion that Zionist ideology with reference to American Jewry would not be promoted. At a dinner in Israel honoring Blaustein, Ben Gurion renounced the Zionist doctrine of the "ingathering of the exiles" so far as it affected American Jewry. He clearly stated that he accepted the view that American Jews had no other allegiance than to the United States. Thus the ideological obstacle to full cooperation by the Committee was removed. This speech was the public acknowledgment that the Ben Gurion government recognized the primary place of the Committee in relations with American Jews. Blaustein had worked out the entire four-point plan with Israeli officials and it was only after the plans had been fully drawn up that the American Zionist leaders were called to Israel to give it their approval—and the primacy of the Committee group became an accomplished fact.

Ever since, Blaustein has acted as a kind of unofficial representative for Israel to the White House. He has on many occasions since had talks with the president on Middle Eastern affairs. And since then, also, the alignment of the Israeli government with Washington's policies has become more and more openly pronounced as the four-point program has been put into operation. In all this, the Zionist leadership has definitely been given a back seat and has grown increasingly impotent. So far has this relegation of the Zionist movement gone that Ben Gurion failed even to mention the word "Zionism" in his many speeches in his visit to this country in May and has not hesitated to let the Zionist leadership here know that he regards the Committee group as the source of most important help to Israel. Thus a marriage of convenience has been concluded between the "socialist" Mapai Party under Ben Gurion's leadership and the American Jewish Committee big bourgeoisie. Both the Zionism and the "socialism" of Ben Gurion have been subordinated to the

program of the bourgeoisie, which coincides with the imperialist plans of Washington.

ZOA Bankruptcy

Thus the bankruptcy of the ZOA was clearly evident at the recent convention, which was absorbed with bickering about its loss of dominance in relation to Israel.

If this leadership is bankrupt, where can Israel expect to get help in this country? For there is no doubt that the very survival of the young state is threatened by the critical danger of war. Interestingly enough, a way out is indicated in the speeches that Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, an outstanding Zionist leader, has been making in the past few months in his temple in Cleveland. Rabbi Silver has been demonstrating that the foreign policy of the United States is leading in the direction of war and he has been putting forth a program of assuring peace by negotiation of differences among the five great powers, ending the Korean war and acceptance of the new China into the United Nations. It is a sad commentary on the reactionary character of Zionism that Rabbi Silver seems to be totally oblivious of the program of international policy that he so forcefully advocates, when he deals with the problems of Israel. Judging from his speeches under Zionist auspices, he has failed completely to draw any implications of his position for Israel. At the ZOA convention he gave no intimation of his foreign policy position. Nevertheless, if Rabbi Silver were to advocate within the Zionist movement the kind of peace policy that he promotes outside of the Zionist arena, he would point the way toward a hopeful policy of peace for Israel.

Anti-War Leadership

Lacking this leadership, however, the Jews of America must look to the general anti-war movement for leadership in a policy that will prevent the destruction of Israel that would be a consequence of war. For the ZOA convention has shown that the existing Zionist leadership is subordinating the welfare of the people of Israel, their very survival, to the service of American imperialist plans. In Israel itself the people have demonstrated their desire for peace. About 300,000 Israelis—about one-fourth of the adult population—signed the Stockholm peace appeal. For it is in the prevention of war that the interests of the people of Israel are served. And a peace program like that advocated by Rabbi Silver gives the only assurance of peace, which is, as Rabbi Silver has said, the primary issue for Israel today.

The progressive peace movement must therefore consider seriously its obligation to mobilize the peace sentiments of American Jews, not only as Americans, but as a group which is deeply concerned with the well-being of Israel. And this must be done among the rank and file of the Zionist movement, many of whom will understand the central importance of peace for Israel.

PERETZ AND THE MISSION OF LITERATURE

By Ber Mark

All over the world the Jewish people are this year celebrating the centenary of the birth of the "Father of Yiddish Literature," Isaac Leib Peretz, who was born on May 25, 1851, in Zomoshits, Poland. Peretz was one of the great triumvirate of Yiddish literature—Mendele Mocher Seforim ("The Grandfather of Yiddish Literature"), Peretz and Sholem Aleichem. In the following essay by Ber Mark, director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the progressive nature of Peretz' view of literature emerges. Centenary celebrations are being held throughout the year in the Jewish communities of the new democracies. The love of Peretz exhibited through these many tributes to the great writer shows how hollow are the current slanders about the "genocide" of Jewish culture in the new democracies—Editors.

THE literary concepts of Peretz went through a considerable development. In the first period of his creative activity he contrasted two types of readers: the common people and the representatives of a "higher stratum of society." In his view literature was the property of the "elite" reader. Furthermore, one can at the same time write for oneself, for one's own pleasure. So far as the "masses" were concerned, he granted that they needed to be supplied with popular scientific works in order to raise their level of knowledge. These were Peretz' ideas during the period when he was under the influence of the enlightenment. However, in later years Peretz himself questioned this approach and exclaimed, "What is the good of all this education if the people need bread."

In the nineties, when Peretz' sympathy for the working class had crystallized, during the period of the *Yom-Tov Blettlakh* (Holiday Magazines), a deep change came over the master's views on the content and function of literature. His conception of literature as a "song for oneself and for the muses" and as "pleasure for the elite spirits" became a passing phase. From the nineties of the past century until the end of his life Peretz stood forth as the bearer of the idea that genuine literature has a great social and human mission and that its main function was not art for art's sake but rather to influence, to elevate and to educate.

The Pindaric Type of Literature

In his massive essay, *Roads That Lead Away from Jewishness*, Peretz vigorously attacked those tendencies in Jewish culture at the beginning of the new century that

were alien to the people. Peretz set forth his conception of the role of the ancient Greek poet Pindar, who inspired the people to rise against the enemy and fight to victory. He quotes the well known lines:

"But in Greece the following took place.

"Sparta is besieged.

"A great multitude surrounds the walls.

"As the situation becomes more critical, more dangerous with every passing day—

"Sparta turns to Athens, asking for help;

"In response Athens sends to Sparta not more than one man and he is lame and a hunchback.

"What does this mean?

"Sparta, too, asks this question!

"But they realized at last that the hunchback and the lame one was none other than Pindar—

"The poet and the singer!

"Pindar stood up in the market place and sang a song of battle! The song echoes in all their hearts; and the hearts of the besieged swell with heroism. . . .

"Young and old are turned into heroes. The faint of heart seize weapons, the weary throw off their fears and climb to the top of the walls, aim their arrows and the enemy is driven out.

"Pindar came from Athens to bring us help.

"Would they had sent one of our modern ones to do that job."

Pindar is thus the symbol of an art that is faithful to the people, of an art that is saturated with ideas and that encourages struggle. This was also Peretz' concept of art. He contrasted artists of this kind with "our own modernists," the art for art's sakers, the cosmopolitans, the writers for pleasure. This does not mean that Peretz was opposed to new literary forms; quite the contrary—it was Peretz himself who was an innovator in Yiddish poetry, in the Yiddish novel, in Yiddish drama.

Serious Art

In one of his letters to Sholem Aleichem, Peretz formulated both the new aims which he proposed for the content of his creations, as well as the new forms which must correspond to the new content. And this is what he wrote concerning true literature: Its purpose was "to scrutinize and expose the so-called bigwigs, the most prominent *hasidim*, *misnagdim*, merchants, philanthropists and dispensers of favors in order to expose the foul source on

which we are compelled to draw." And further: "And this is the very purpose of a poem—not to use flowery poetic language but to uncover new skies, to reach toward the people with ideas and not to keep on repeating what is old and obsolete. . . . Since we will convey new ideas, we must turn to new forms, new modes of expression, because the old vestments do not fit the new expressions. Although the new may seem strange at the start, it will finally penetrate like water into the readers and will enrich their comprehension."

This was the Peretz concept of the dialectical unity of form and content. He emphasized above all the idea and the degree of enthusiasm that a given literary work can evoke. As with Pindar, so in his time the new concepts demanded a new artistic clothing, which must become fused with the new content.

Peretz had stressed that Pindaric art is much more weighty than mere entertainment or any creation in and for itself. In 1910, Peretz developed in his essay, *The Poet, The Book and the Reader*, some basic concepts concerning the way that leads to true social creation in art. "Two paths," says Peretz, "are open to the man who departs from daily life, from business, from the search for bread: the way of the promenade and the way of the tourist. The promenade is pleasant. One seeks for the sweet and quiet murmur of the waters, in the shadow of well-landscaped

paths, of flower beds. The promenade is the easy, the sentimental, the literature of entertainment. It has no content, it presents no ideas. True, at times it fills the air with sweet sounds . . . and it carries one along with the stream of the promenaders, couples in love, removed from reality." But beneath this external, enchanting beauty is hidden a venomous snake. This is the literature of decadence. The creators of such a diseased literature are doomed to oblivion. They are not the ones who create enduring works.

In contrast to such diseased, decadent literature Peretz projected his positive literary ideal. The latter is the work of writers who build their creation on a foundation of feelings genuinely experienced. This is a literature which uncovers ideas and preaches about them. "I want to speak to you," wrote Peretz, "of poets who have lived through their poetry and have not just written them—those who have preached their ideas not as shrivelled flowers among the leaves. I want to speak to you of books written by poets and in the name of poets and readers who are called 'the people.'"

The Stony Path

Peretz attacks the theory of art as a means of enjoyment. "For us," he wrote in one place, "art is not a game, not a



Leaders of the Jewish community in Poland march to the grave of Peretz on April 3, 1950, to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the writer's death. Among the marchers are (First row, right to left): Hersch Smoliar, Joel Lasebnik, Mark Bitter; behind them are S. Zachariash (first in third row, right, in dark coat), M. Mirsky (next to Zachariash, left, in light coat), David Sfard, Ber Mark (behind wreath) and the poet Binem Heller (last in the third row).

means of killing time or an occasion for self-expression or for the outpouring of sinful thoughts beyond the borders of life or of the seamy side of life. Art, literature is something that stands above life and draws life to itself, treasures life from a higher ideal standpoint and praises it and castigates it." Peretz not only defended the above principles in his articles on literary criticism and in his essays and verbal improvisations. He also embodied them in life. He himself pursued them in his work in a Pindaric manner and chose for himself the hard and stony path. For this reason his works performed a Pindaric role in the hardest moments of the Jewish people. His songs of labor and of need influenced Jewish workers in the years 1905 and 1917. With his words, "*O mein nisht az di velt iz a kretshma*" (Ah, don't think the world is a barroom)—with these words on their lips, the oppressed Jews in the Warsaw ghetto marched against the traitors of the *Judenrat*, against the police and against the "Thirteen." His flaming calls to battle, his prophetic arousal of vigilance inspired the ghetto insurgents, the partisans, the Palmach soldiers. His spiritual heritage penetrated the open heart of the classical writer of Yiddish Soviet literature, Red Armyman Asher Shvartzman.

The achievement of this high pinnacle of art naturally is not so easy to realize. Peretz reveals two fields: one a very tempting one, the beautiful, flower-bedecked promenade; the second, a hard, physically dangerous one. Every true writer must withstand the temptation to fall prey to the lure of the beautiful word and the enchanting sound which obscure the truth of life; he must pursue the aim, the idea to which every writer must adhere if he wishes to serve the working class, the people, humanity. Peretz understood many years ago and warned against the temptation of which he wrote. And he himself—except in a few cases—emerged victorious over this temptation.

A Critic for Today

If we read carefully Peretz' essays on literature, his literary articles and reviews, we see how close he stands—in spite of the distance in time that separates us from him—to our present day and the views of literature which permeate progressive circles today.

In an article published in 1909, Peretz combats naturalism. He says that naturalism is nothing more than a document, the handiwork of a photographer, but not art. This is the kind of literature that was introduced to us by Bershadsky—"our erstwhile home-made Zola"—this is the literature which presents petty interests, the little virtues and crimes of the day outside of any perspective in time. But really great literature presents the needs of the day through the prism of eternal motifs: what is life and death, love and hate, what is being built and what destroyed; what rallies people and what disperses them. Peretz appealed for the creation of a synthesis of contemporary motifs saturated with a clear perspective, an inspired, creative romanticism.

In keeping with his theory of true and full-blooded literature, Peretz gives an inspired evaluation of Sholem Aleichem. Full of love, of deep, noble understanding is the speech on Sholem Aleichem made by Peretz in Warsaw in 1913. In that speech, which ends with a hearty pronouncement, "Good health to Sholem Aleichem!" Peretz touches on the question of humor and satire in literature. Peretz saw in Sholem Aleichem's humor not only laughter, not only the kibitzer's playfulness, but its tremendous social role of that which scrapes off the rust. "After the rust is scraped off," said Peretz, "then one can see what was rotten and diseased. After that will come the hands to clear away and then hands to build. Sholem Aleichem was a muck-raker. Does he laugh at the good? at the healthy? at the strength of us and in us? No, he ridicules the day-dreaming nomads, who wander in chaos, he exposes them and, once exposed, they must depart. . . ." Peretz sees in Sholem Aleichem the humor of the tragic: "Laugh over Sholem Aleichem's work and perhaps unnoticed a tear will drop from your eye, a quiet tear. All Israel laughs. Collect this laughter and you will have a cascade of it. Collect the quietly dropped tears and you will have a crystalline sea of tears."

Thus Peretz was one of the first to understand and to emphasize the social mission of Sholem Aleichem's work, which shows the truth of Jewish life under capitalism and indirectly gives the stimulus to change relationships and to build a better, a more secure and socially just life.

Peretz encouraged his contemporaries, the Jewish writers, his admirers and disciples, to believe in themselves, in the suggestive power of the literary word and image, in their mission, in the strength and endurance of Jewish culture. S. L. Zitron relates in his recollections how Peretz gathered his writer friends after a highly successful lecture in Vilna in order to share his joy with them. Somehow the festivities failed to come off. Then Peretz told them what is lacking in Jewish writers—faith!

He pronounced this one short word, as was his custom, and it was very often a very timely word—faith. He did not specify what he meant by the word. What faith? Faith in whom? What he had in mind was primarily faith in oneself, in the suggestive, influencing power of one's own creation. Peretz possessed that power. He was imbued with faith. Though he was frequently subject to doubts, he had a desire to view other writers with faith. He used to do it in everyday conversations. He did it in his literary essays. He had pointed out to the Yiddish literary world the hard, stony but compensating and victorious path. He had set the example as a teacher to us, his grandsons. Peretz demonstrated the vital role of literature. He unravelled its great historic mission and thus pointed the way to the duration of a work for generations to come. Having realized in his many artistic works this Pindaric type of art, Peretz has become immortal.

SISTERS

A Short Story

By I. L. Perets

POVERTY is a vagrant.

He leaves no place any warmer for having been there; he never spends the night where he has passed the day.

And he is as old as the world!

Having traversed the earth for so many years, in torn charity boots which have given him bunions like apples, he could give us a better history of the world and a better description of the earth (however, they would not be pretty or delicate) than those we have from people who have looked down upon the world from the heights of towering castles, palaces and cathedrals and who now rush about in trains and automobiles. . . .

But poverty does not know how to write. He had no time to learn and he has no hand for writing! His hands with their warts are as little suited for writing as his feet for the charity boots in which they are shod. Besides, he has no time for such things; not even to narrate his story. All day long, he is either at work or looking for work or seeking treasure on some town-dump, or he flings himself, hungry and weary, beside a fence to dream of the coming

of the Messiah with bread on every tree! At night, he either sleeps like the dead or tosses hungrily on his bed, like a snake, or in pain with a belly-ache from some savory dish picked up in his treasure hunt; or he looks foolishly up into the sky to ask why there is no thunder or, finally, he begets children to the glory of the creator and at the expense of the Benefactors of Charity or the Kohol.

Vital statistics apparently are inaccurate, because many of Poverty's children are not even registered—they are suddenly among the missing! Nevertheless, those who are known are spread and scattered across the world. These sisters and brothers do not even know each other and meet face to face without a smile, like strangers, unless they meet by chance on two neighboring beds in a hospital and groan, or say their dying confessions together.

I KNOW TWO OF POVERTY'S CHILDREN—TWO SISTERS WHO have been living in Warsaw for a number of years and who meet often, only to pass one another like total strangers.

One lives in a dark hovel among nine souls from three families, in a basement lodging on Mokotov. She struggles with them, night after night, for a breath of air. The second struggles for her breath of air, night after night, with ten souls from four families, at the other end of Warsaw, in an attic under a tin roof on Black Lane. The first is a blonde, the other a brunette; however, that does not matter—sisters they are—Poverty's children, and both have almost transparent nostrils, thin skin on sunken cheeks and deep sunken eyes, and both are seamstresses at cotton white goods. The blonde, for 20 kopeks a day to lodge, feed and clothe herself, works from nine to nine among 16 girls in a white goods shop on Black Lane and fights for a place close to a window where she may breathe freely; the brunette, also with weak lungs, faints among her 18 companions who work with her in a not-too-spacious room on Mokotov, for the same 20 kopeks a day with which to pay for lodging, food, drink and clothing. In season, they work into the night and through these earnings the two sisters have made themselves calico dresses and bought themselves straw hats; there was not enough for shoes so they fell upon the idea of blacking their stockings and the holes in their shoes with ink. . . .

They do not know one another and yet serve one another like veritable sisters. Daily, for a major part of the day, the blonde from Mokotov goes to work for her sister the brunette on Black Lane and the brunette from Black Lane goes to Mokotov to do the same work for the same part of the day, for her sister the blonde.



I. L. Perets

Both walk through the Saxon Gardens, the brunette entering by way of Krulevska and leaving by Nietzsche Gate, while the blonde enters by way of Nietzsche and leaves by Krulevska Gate,

They meet, mid-park, pass one another and—there you are!

ONCE, IN JULY, BOTH AWOKE BECAUSE OF THE HEAT; BOTH were bathed in sweat and both were gasping for breath. Both leaped out of bed at almost the same moment; the blonde in the basement on Mokotov; the brunette under the tin roof in Black Lane. Both washed quickly, dressed in their calico dresses, blackened their stockings and the tears in their shoes and placed on their heads—the straw hats which they pinned down—the blonde on her silken-blond and the brunette on her pitch-black, hardly braided hair, both did this with the aid of round pocket mirrors and both smiled—not bad to look at, and both were suddenly overcome with longing for the sight of green, flowering things, for something warm with life and for—tiny mustaches and twinkling eyes. The blonde yearns for dark ones and the brunette for blond and blue! And both sighed, cast another glance into the little mirrors and because it was still too early rushed off to the Saxon Gardens . . . the blonde entering through Krulevska Gate, the brunette through Nietzsche Gate. Once within the park, both were suddenly saddened.

Left, thinks the blonde, there is a drinking fountain where they play music; no admission! Her nose twitches to the scent of freshly roasted coffee: "Nothing for nothing."

Left, thinks the brunette, there is the flashing lake with its white swans; how delightfully they come close when you throw them bits of bread—I've had no breakfast yet, myself! She turns right. Further attractions—sweet soft drinks, how gladly she would have some of them but,

"Nothing for nothing."

"Maybe some day they will give those things away," both girls suddenly find consolation; they are sisters after all! They rush to the middle of the park where the noise of the streets is showered like dust upon the thousands of leaves of the wide-branched trees and where it is seemingly so quiet, so quiet. . . .

AND BOTH WOULD LIKE TO SIT DOWN. AND BOTH KNOW THAT as soon as they do, "mustaches and twinkling eyes" will come over to chatter . . . just to chatter. It is so pleasant to chatter in the open air, beside the beds of multi-colored flowers. The fresh air is intoxicating. Bewitched by the fragrance of flowers and sweet talk, there is a pleasant warmth at the heart, although that dream bursts suddenly like a soap-bubble or one perceives something dreadful and flees. Both, however, are fearful that they may become entangled in talk and be made late.

They both turn to the right, to the watch-tower, and because they are sisters they do it at the same time and select the same bench, facing the clock dial, and seat themselves at opposite ends.

Perhaps they will speak to one another.

They begin to look at one another. But at just that moment two young men come up, seat themselves in the middle of the bench and turn, the brunette to the blonde, the second, a blond, to the brunette. . . .

Two couples begin to chatter. . . .

Just as the minute hand points to a quarter of nine, the two sisters leap up and flee.

The blond from Mokotov hurries through the Nietzsche Gate to Black Lane; the brunette from the Black Lane hurries through Krulevska Gate to Mokotov. . . .

They did not recognize one another. . . .

Perhaps, sometime, in a hospital they will know each other.

MAIMING THE YOUNG

By Albert E. Kahn

A FEW days ago my nine-year-old son asked me, "Why are we having atom bomb drills in school, Daddy? Will atom bombs be dropping on us here?" My son is a slender, gentle-hearted child, dreamy and yet gay by nature; he should not be obsessed by visions of violence, terror and flaming death. Such visions, however, are today haunting the minds of millions of American children.

Throughout the United States, school children are being

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taught to hide under their desks with their eyes closed and their heads buried in their arms, to stand with their backs to windows and their faces pressed against walls, to crouch on the floor with pieces of cloth draped over the exposed parts of their bodies. These measures, the children are advised by their teachers, will protect them not only from flying glass and falling debris but also from the flash-burns and death-dealing radiation of atomic bomb explosions.

In different cities the style of drill varies. As the December 27, 1950, issue of the *National Guardian* reported: "At a teacher's signal public school children in Albany, N. Y.,

pull down classroom shades and crawl under their desks. After an interval for an imaginary blast, they are led into corridors, where they lie on the floor against the walls. In Los Angeles, children are being trained to respond to a signal by kneeling beside their seats, burying heads in their hands. In Portland, Oregon, they go down on their knees, press their faces to the floor. . . ."

A-Bomb Drill Terror

In one Los Angeles grade school a special instructor makes sudden appearances in the different classrooms and shouts, "Drop!" The children must immediately throw themselves under their desks. So effective has this conditioning been that children in this school often automatically start to drop to the floor when they meet the special instructor in the corridors.

On February 8, 1951, this news item appeared in the *New York Daily Compass*: "About 890,000 children ducked under desks in 800 schools yesterday at a signal from the teachers that a simulated atom attack was under way. There had been previous drills based on an assumption of warning before an atom attack and the children had time to go to shelters. Yesterday's was the first 'sneak attack' drill with the youngsters forced to take cover within their classroom. . . . Superintendent (of Schools) Jansen said the drill was fine and will be repeated."

One principal of a New York school has sent this solicitous message to the parents of his pupils: "In order to save your child from burns in the case of direct exposure to an A-Bomb, we are asking him or her to bring to school a piece of sheet large enough for him to curl up under. Will you send it with him? Write his name on it in ink. He is to keep it in his desk for use in emergencies. It will be impossible in our time limits (for preparations for atom bomb attacks) to have children put on snow suits. Will you therefore equip children with long stockings instead of snow suits?"

In Inglewood, California, school children have been given dog tags to wear which denote their blood type and classification for transfusions. . . .

Distorting Children's Minds

Needless to say, this atmosphere is not conducive to a tranquil state of mind among children. Cases of hysteria are multiplying among boys and girls throughout the country. Medical groups report a swift rise in the number of children suffering severe emotional disturbances. Parents tell of being awakened at night by the terrified cries of their children who are having nightmares about atom bomb raids.

Typical is the case of a small boy in Chicago who recently asked his mother, "Please, Mummy, can't we go to some place where there isn't any sky?"

The problem of the mounting widespread anxiety among children is being attentively studied by educators and civilian defense officials. "We are making every effort not to disturb the children emotionally—especially the little tots," states Superintendent of Schools Samuel E. Fleming, of Seattle, Washington. The New York State Educational Department has issued directives recommending that atom bomb drills be made "part of dramatic play" and become a "fairly natural, everyday experience . . . as we have learned to brush our teeth." Another suggestion is that children be trained to smile during the atom bomb drills.

Some experts are of the opinion that the drills can actually have a salutary effect. "If you were to find your youngsters playing war games and pretending to atom bomb each other, you should encourage them," Dr. Kurt Fantl, consulting psychiatrist to the Los Angeles Health Department, has declared. "You might be horrified at what you consider their cruelty or savagery, but you would be wrong."

The Assistant Education Commissioner of New York State Civil Defense, Dr. Edwin Van Kleeck, philosophizes: "A child's fear is a reflection of a parent's attitude. . . . You have to train a child to keep from running in the path of an automobile. Is it not then logical to explain to him what to do if an atom bomb strikes?"

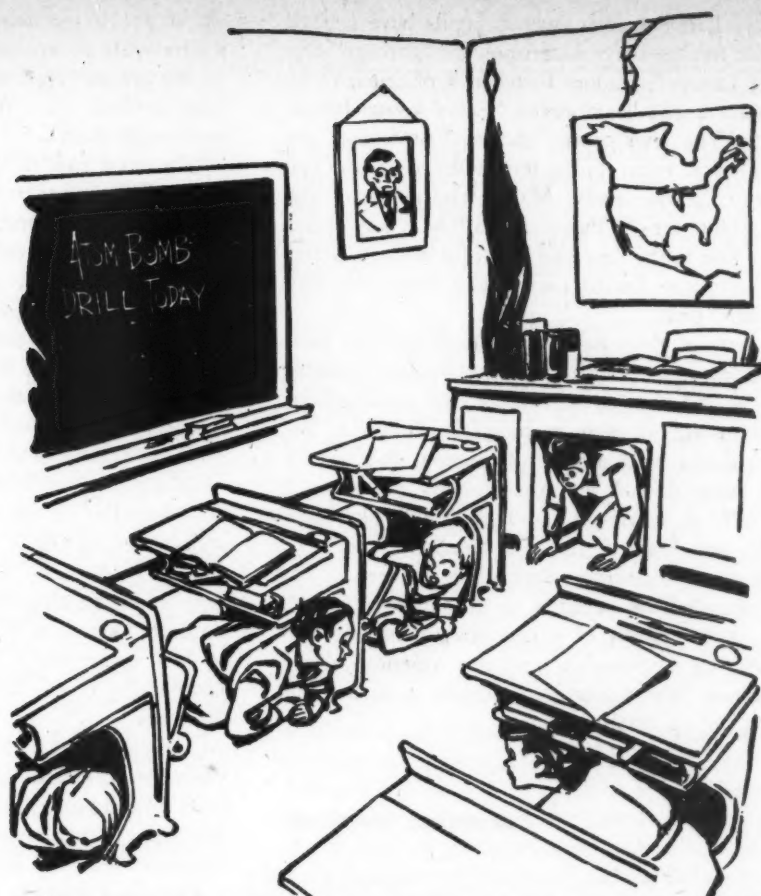
Parents Protest

Many mothers and fathers, however, are not impressed by this logic. In city after city, parent groups are demanding that the drills be halted. Three parents' associations in Brooklyn, N. Y., have gone on record against the drills. The Committee to Combat War Tensions in the Schools had advanced this slogan: "Peace is the only cure for war tensions."

A delegation of 25 mothers representing the Committee of Philadelphia Women for Peace presented the Board of Education in that city with a statement which declared that "to use the Civilian Defense program as a method to condition children for living in a world at war; to use children as messengers of propaganda . . .; to send them home hysterical to their parents in order to get parents to act . . . this is not preparedness but insanity, an insanity we do not wish to see reflected in our children."

The Philadelphia mothers recommended instead that "the educators in this city turn their energies toward fighting for the funds denied them by the plans for war, the funds needed for more schools, more teachers. . . . We propose a program of education toward peace and friendship with the peoples of all countries. . . ."

There are, of course, other ways in which American children are being fitted into the war pattern. In more and



WOULDN'T IT BE A LOT EASIER IF TRUMAN TALKED TO STALIN?

more schools the atmosphere of the army barracks is coming to prevail in classrooms and playgrounds. Illustrative of this trend is a bulletin entitled *Preparation for a National Emergency*, now being distributed among teachers at the Central Needle Trades High School in Manhattan, which reads in part:

"During the homeroom period the informal spirit must give way to a stricter and more formal relationship between the teacher and his class. A military discipline should prevail.

"The swearing of allegiance to the colors should become part of the daily routine.

"A close inspection of the physical appearance of the student should then follow. . . . This should be done with military precision with the class at attention.

"In the gymnasium the Marine Handbook will supplement the course of study. Formal drills and exercises will take the place of the informal game period."

Co-ordinating Teachers

"A struggle is going on for the souls of our children," writes the journalist, B. Z. Goldberg, in the *Jewish Day*.

"Those who already have the press and radio in their grasp want to take over the schools and mould the children into their political spirit. . . . They are not satisfied in controlling what a teacher does and what he says. They want to decide what he should think. Even deep in his soul he is not permitted to resent the cold war."

"Loyalty" investigations are purging the schools of teachers whose social and political opinions fail to conform to the current war standards of Washington and Wall Street. Among the more notorious of recent purges was the dismissal of eight New York teachers whose advocacy of peace and whose support of progressive causes were regarded by the Board of Education as irrefutable evidence of disloyalty and "conduct unbecoming a teacher." It was not entirely coincidental that these eight teachers were all members of the Teachers' Union and that they were all Jewish.

On the other hand, teachers with fascist inclinations have no difficulty retaining their jobs. Despite repeated protests by parents' groups, such teachers as the following remain secure at their posts in New York schools: May Quinn, whose pedagogical record includes praising Hitler and Mussolini and asserting that "most Communists are

Jews"; Gladys Laubheimer, whose pupils have learned from her that foreign born Americans are "garbage" and "the scum of Europe"; Eudora Fletcher, a principal of an elementary school, who has declared, "Every shyster lawyer is a Jew. . . . The Jews control the legal profession, the real estate industry. What do the Jews want to do—control all of America?"; and Gladys Mann, who not long ago assaulted an eight-year-old Puerto Rican boy in one of her classes, threw him to the floor and beat him brutally, shouting, "You dirty little Puerto Rican, why didn't you stay where you came from?"

In many parts of the country school teachers are now receiving printed and mimeographed instructions advising them what to tell their pupils about the international situation. According to these memoranda, American intervention in Korea is "a defense of freedom and human rights," the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are "ruthless aggressors," and personages like John Foster Dulles and General Douglas MacArthur are stalwart champions of democracy. Persuading children to believe this propaganda is depicted as the "patriotic duty" of teachers. In the words of a document issued by the Education Policies Commission and the American Association of School Administrators, education must become "an instrument of national policy."

Education for Hate

"My young son, 11 years old, just came home from school," a mother recently wrote in a letter to the Teachers Union in New York City. "I am very upset that our schools should be teaching our children to hate. Why should youngsters learn to hate another country?" The mother added that her son had been taught in his school to sing a song preparing the children for war against the Soviet Union. This was one of the verses of the song: "Now creeps in a menace that may force us to fight. Hail, free men, hail. There's danger ahead. Its color is red."

Indicative of the results obtained by such educational methods is the experience of a progressive teacher: "In my social studies class a pupil asked: 'Is Russia in the United Nations?' When I said 'Yes,' he retorted, 'Well, why are they? Why don't we just drop an atom bomb on them?' When I attempted to indicate that wars bring misery and that we should attempt to settle international differences by peaceful means, another pupil asked: 'Aaah, Russians aren't human beings.'"

A recently published book, *Searchlight*, which is a carefully documented expose of present conditions in New York schools, sums up the basic if unpublicized aims of the school authorities in these words:

"What we want to do is bring up a generation of young people who will be ready to step into a uniform.

"Your child must learn to accept the idea that another

world war is inevitable. Therefore he must learn to hate Russia with an unthinking hatred.

"We can no longer afford the luxury of teaching children *how* to think. . . . We must control their thoughts: we must teach them *what* to think.

"We need citizens who will be loyal—loyal, that is, to the need for another war."

It is not, of course, only in the nation's schools that children are being deluged with propaganda. Radio and television programs, motion pictures, newspaper comic strips, children's magazines, patented war games—all are being used to convince young Americans of the glories of war and the menace of Soviet Russia.

Typical of the "comic books" distributed in the millions among children is one entitled *G. I. Joe*, which features on its cover a lurid drawing of a grinning American soldier smashing the head of a North Korean soldier with his rifle butt. Subtitles on the cover guarantee that the book contains "Exciting Battle Action" against the "Red Devils of Korea." In the text, North Koreans are called "gooks" and depicted as fiendish murderers of old men, women and children. Dozens of illustrations provide the young readers of this comic book with scenes of American soldiers slaughtering North Koreans with machine guns and flame throwers.

Confectionery and candy stores are now selling children a new brand of chewing gum. It is called "Freedom's War Gum." Each package contains a printed card with a picture depicting a battle scene in Korea. Chinese and North Korean troops are drawn with brutal distorted features.

There is a macabre irony to the fact that the men who are leading our nation toward war quote frequently from the Bible and invariably refer to themselves as Christian gentlemen. They would do well to recall what Jesus of Nazareth said about children: "Whosoever shall offend the least one of these, my little ones, it were better a millstone were tied about his neck and he cast into the sea."

MacArthur and the Crackpots

GENERAL of the Army Douglas MacArthur took his hair down during his June visit to Texas and exposed the direction of his politics.

Said MacArthur in Houston, Texas, on June 14: "Our greatest hope rests upon two mighty symbols—the Cross and the Flag; the one based upon those immutable teachings which provide the spiritual strength to persevere along the course which is just and right—the other based upon the invincible will that human freedom shall not perish from the earth."

"The Cross and the Flag"—this is an echo of fascist crackpot Gerald L. K. Smith, whose monthly periodical is called—*The Cross and the Flag*.

VOICES FOR FREEDOM

When the Supreme Court majority upheld the Smith Act, it opened the floodgates of fascist repression. The Communists are not the only, but the first victims. Westbrook Pegler lost no time in pressing the advantage to the forces of fascism. On June 27, he called for immediate jailing and death penalty for thousands of New Dealers. And a little incident in Quincy, Mass., on June 25, points in the same direction: there a small meeting of Americans for Democratic Action (an anti-communist group) on the "danger of inflation" was interrupted and broken up by a city official because he "suspected it was a Red Front." The indictment of 17 more Communist leaders on June 20 makes a mockery of justice with a list of "overt acts" which must surely be the most fantastic ever recorded in America. One defendant "did leave" a building; another caused an article to be published; another "did mail approximately 50 envelopes"; another "did issue a directive"; another "did participate in a meeting"; another "did teach"; etc. The disintegration of freedom could hardly go further.

There are some hardy spirits who recognize the threat to the basis of American democracy. There must be many more. Below we print excerpts from some of those who have spoken out for freedom.—Eds.

Dissenting Opinion of Justice Hugo Black:

AT THE outset I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is, and what it is not. These petitioners were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the Government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the Government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date: The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government. No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids. I would hold Section 3 of the Smith Act authorizing this prior restraint unconstitutional on its face and as applied.

But let us assume, contrary to all constitutional ideas of fair criminal procedure, that petitioners although not indicted for the crime of actual advocacy, may be punished for it. Even on this radical assumption, the other opinions in this case show that the only way to affirm these convictions is to repudiate directly or indirectly the established "clear and present danger" rule. This the Court does in a way which greatly restricts the protections afforded by

the First Amendment. The opinions for affirmance indicate that the chief reason for jettisoning the rule is the expressed fear that advocacy of Communist doctrine endangers the safety of the Republic. Undoubtedly, a governmental policy of unfettered communication of ideas does entail dangers. To the Founders of this Nation, however, the benefits derived from free expression were worth the risk. They embodied this philosophy in the First Amendment's command that Congress "shall make no law abridging . . . the freedom of speech, or of the press. . . ." I have always believed that the First Amendment is the keystone of our Government, that the freedoms it guarantees provide the best insurance against destruction of all freedom. . . .

So long as this Court exercises the power of judicial review of legislation, I cannot agree that the First Amendment permits us to sustain laws suppressing freedom of speech and press on the basis of Congress' or our own notions of mere "reasonableness." Such a doctrine waters down the First Amendment so that it amounts to little more than an admonition to Congress. The Amendment as so construed is not likely to protect any but those "safe" or orthodox views which rarely need its protection. . . .

Nor can I let this opportunity pass without expressing my objection to the severely limited grant of certiorari in this case which precluded consideration here of at least two other reasons for reversing these convictions: (1) the record shows a discriminatory selection of the jury panel which prevented trial before a representative cross-section of the community; (2) the record shows that one member of the trial jury was violently hostile to petitioners before and during the trial.

Public opinion being what it is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society.

Dissenting Opinion of Justice William O. Douglas:

THE [Smith] Act, as construed, requires the element of intent—that those who teach the creed believe in it. The crime then depends not on what is taught but on who the teacher is. That is to make freedom of speech turn not on *what is said*, but on the *intent* with which it is said. Once we start down that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen. . . . But never until today has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of con-

spiracy could constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct. Yet that is precisely what is suggested. I repeat that we deal here with speech alone, not with speech *plus* acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment. To make a lawful speech unlawful because two men conceive it is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions. That course is to make a radical break with the past and to violate one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme.

"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," June 5, 1951:

THERE is no greater right in all the world than the right to hold free opinions and to express them without fear of reprisal by those in authority. This is the very heart of American democracy. Keep it secure and the free way of life will survive. Take it away and the free way of life will die within itself, whether or not attack ever comes on the outside. . . . These six justices . . . cite no overt acts of force. They present no record of violence. They find no danger both clear and present through teaching and advocacy alone. Never before has such a restriction been placed on the right to hold opinions and to express them in the United States of America. . . . What is important in this case is what has now been done internally to our own historic security. . . . The logical consequence of this decision would be for the Department of Justice to order the arrest of everyone who can be said to have taught or advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. It would be to throw perhaps as many as 75,000 or more people behind bars for their political and economic beliefs. After that might come all those who have proposed radical change in the government. Then those who have proposed any change. And so on and on. . . . Six men have amended the United States Constitution without submitting their amendment to the states for ratification. That is the nub of this decision.

"The Catholic Worker," June 1951:

A SUPREME COURT which has become more and more callous to American freedom has upheld the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders. A Supreme Court whose Chief Justice did not vote once in favor of the individual and against the state in split decisions on civil liberty during his first year in office counts only two men—Black and Douglas—who have the courage to speak out against hysteria and for the rights of man.

"New York Post," June 5, 1951:

IN AFFIRMING the conviction of the Communist leaders a majority of the Supreme Court has upheld the infamous Smith Act. . . . No decision could be less American in spirit than that of the court majority. It will damage the democratic cause at home and abroad far more than

it will inconvenience the Communists. . . . *The judges could have affirmed our national pride and confidence in our free institutions. Instead they displayed the timidity of scared politicians.* . . . But now the court has given its blessing to heresy-hunting. Henceforth, men's minds may be searched—for "intent" and for daydreams. Never was it more vital for Americans who value their liberties to speak up against repression.

"The Nation," June 16, 1951:

WHAT the court has done is to formulate a rule of political expediency under which an obnoxious opposition can be suppressed by charging that it uses certain words and ideas with intent to violate the Smith Act. . . . But only a people aroused by a sense of the clear and present danger to their liberties which this precedent creates can generate the social and political energies that will reverse it.

"UE News," June 11, 1951:

PRACTICALLY the entire labor movement of the United States has at one time or another condemned the Smith Act and scores of unions and other organizations have protested against the trial of people for their political beliefs. . . . We believe that in this decision the majority of the Supreme Court has yielded to the present political atmosphere of fear and hysteria to permit reaction to deal the heaviest blow in generations to the rights and liberties of the entire American people. To get at an unpopular minority, the Supreme Court majority has consented to the undermining, to the subversion of the right of all Americans to think, speak and write as they please on political questions and has opened wide the gates for official persecution, not only of communists, but of all who offend authority. It was in just such decisions as this that compliant judges in Germany, yielding to pressure and hysteria, smoothed the way for and legalized Hitler's rise to power to crucify the German people and plunge the world in blood and sorrow. . . . The people of this country, whose rights as free citizens have been undermined by the Supreme Court, must insist upon the reversal of this decision and the repeal of such laws as the Smith Act and the McCarran Act.

**Earl Brown, Only Negro
New York City Councilman:**

THE Supreme Court's decision in the Communist Eleven case last Monday was not so much a curb on the Communists as it was a setback of freedom of speech and assembly. . . . The six to two majority opinion of the court has created a real threat to freedom of speech for every group. . . . The court's decision cannot curb the Communists without hurting all of us. And this is too big a price to pay for halting the infamy of those who would, but up to now, cannot destroy us. (*Amsterdam News*, June 10, 1951.)

MORE ON THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE

The slanders about "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies continue to gush from the anti-Soviet press in this country. The following current reports about the life of the Jews in these countries will show how much truth there is in these slanders.

The Soviet Union

IN a review of the thirteenth volume of Stalin's collected works covering the period from 1930 to 1934, which recently appeared, *Pravda* of May 15 calls attention to a hitherto unknown letter by Stalin on anti-Semitism. The letter was written to a Ralph W. Barnes. Stalin wrote, says the review, that in the Soviet Union "all expressions of national hate or hostility to foreigners as foreigners are prosecuted by law." Stalin "pillories anti-Semitism, pointing out that communists, as internationalists, are determined enemies of anti-Semitism."

An article on "Freedom of Religious Worship in the Soviet Union" in the *USSR Information Bulletin*, May 18, published by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, includes "The Judaic Religion" as one of 10 religions freely practiced in the Soviet Union and carries a picture of Jewish services in a Moscow synagogue, as well as pictures of services in Moslem, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches.

One of the current charges on Soviet "anti-Semitism" is that Jews have been "eliminated" from the Soviet diplomatic service. It is therefore interesting to note some observations on participation by Jews in the Soviet diplomatic service made in an article in the London *Jewish Chronicle* of June 8. The writer analyzes the new *Russian Diplomatic Encyclopedia*, the second and last volume of which appeared in Moscow recently. Although the writer states that there are "now few Russian Jews holding important posts abroad, . . . it appears that there are still many Jews in the Moscow Foreign Office itself." "About 20 of the contributors to the encyclopedia, most of them prominent officials in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, are Jews," concludes the writer.

Poland

ABOUT 50 Polish Jewish workers early in June were awarded "First Class Stakhanovite" prizes for exceeding

normal labor quotas and for skill and ingenuity in increasing production. Among the workers were tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, miners and metal workers. A little earlier the first Jewish locomotive engineer in Poland was honored for skillful performance of his duties. In recent months two groups of Jewish workers have been singled out for labor honors.

A committee has been appointed by the Polish government in cooperation with the Central Jewish Committee of Warsaw to erect a memorial to the hundreds of thousands of Jews who were murdered at the Treblinka death camp.

Interesting cultural information is contained in the June 7 issue of the Yiddish *Folks-Shtimme* (People's Voice) published in Warsaw. An audience of 1500 persons packed the rebuilt theater at Wroclaw to celebrate the 100th literary-artistic Friday evening. Another item reported that on May 26, a celebration was held for the opening of the Jewish Cultural Club in Lodz. The evening ended with recitations, song, music and dancing.

Hungary

FOR some time a discussion on "Conditions in Hungary" has been proceeding in the London *Jewish Chronicle*. In the issue of May 25, H. Soref, of London, wrote a letter critical of the conditions of Jews in that country. A reply appeared in a letter by E. Duker, of Whitley Bay, on June 1. Writes Mr. Duker: "My mother, my sister and many other relatives and friends live there and I am also a regular reader of the Hungarian Jewish paper, *Uj Elet*. I find it rather difficult to reply in detail to the letter because most of Mr. Soref's allegations appear to be based on hearsay and rumor rather than on facts. For instance, his statement that youth and religious organizations have been banned is in direct contrast to the reports which I have received, nor can I see what makes him state that the Seminary to which he refers [Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary], is permitted by the government merely as a showpiece.

"As to his statement that the economic plight of the Jewish community is worse than any other, I am fortunately in a position to tell him the opposite. It is quite true that there is a certain section among the Jewish community whose plight is really bad and who are disgruntled. While

we should deplore this state of affairs, we must bear in mind that, (a) this is a small minority and (b) that it largely affects people who in earlier times had earned their livelihood from activities for which in the new Hungary there is no longer any basis. I am referring to small traders, shopkeepers, financiers, etc.

"On the other hand, the vast majority of Hungarian Jews have always been wage earners who, prior to 1945, not only earned

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about
"anti-Semitism"
in the people's
democracies?**

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by

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Correspondent for *Reuter's* in
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very little, but whose situation was most insecure, both politically and economically. These people are far better off and by no means discontented and we had better face up to this whether we dislike the political situation in Hungary or not.

"As to emigration, I am aware that this is discouraged but it is not impossible. Indeed, I could quote a number of people, including my own relatives, who, when offered the possibility of emigration, refused to take advantage of it."

Czechoslovakia

THE Vienna correspondent of the London *Jewish Chronicle* reports in the June 8 issue an interview he held with Father Josef Plohar, minister of health in the Czechoslovak government and president of the Czechoslovak (Catholic) People's Party. The interview revealed these facts: Jews in the country have received full restitution for damage suffered under the nazis; Jews play a prominent part in the economic, social and political life of the country; all traces of fascism and anti-Semitism have been eliminated and racism, discrimination and anti-Semitism are outlawed; Catholic priests who were guilty of anti-Jewish acts were punished, as in the case of the Slovak Bishop Vojtishar, who was sentenced to 20 years in prison for confiscating Jewish assets during the war; Jews hold several important posts in Father Plohar's own ministry; his ministry had established a Jewish Home for the Aged at Podibrad Spa and *kashrut* there was supervised by the Jewish community.

Rumania

IN the *Jewish Day* of June 10, Dr. S. Bickel wrote that the Yiddish cultural journal of Rumania, *Ikuf-Bleter*, had ceased publication in the summer of 1950. The fact is that this journal never stopped publication. It is interesting to note the cultural facts and features of Rumanian Jewish life that were reported in the May

19, 1951, issue of *Ikuf-Bleter*. In an article on "The Cultural Revolution in the Rumanian People's Republic," the writer notes that there are two Jewish State theaters in Rumania, that the "Ikuf" (Jewish cultural organization) provides the opportunity for Jewish workers to become acquainted with progressive Jewish culture and that there are a People's Chorus, the "Ikuf" Library and a Jewish press in the native languages of the Jews of Rumania, Rumanian, Hungarian and Yiddish. The writer also points to the Yiddish schools in the country and to Yiddish instruction in many other state schools. Thirty-six Yiddish school texts have been printed and also various works by Jewish writers. Jewish writers are full and equal members of

the Writers' Union of the Rumanian People's Republic.

The magazine also publishes a report of a meeting held in Bucharest by the "Ikuf" on May 20 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Jewish classic writer, I. L. Peretz. On May 12, the same group held a meeting on Sholem Aleichem. The issue also contains Peretz anniversary articles and reprints material by Peretz. Another feature of the issue is an introduction to Peretz in the children's four-page section. The magazine also includes an article on a new book of Yiddish poetry, *Light in our Lives*, by H. A. Stolper. On the last page of the magazine there is a notice of the Saturday radio programs in Yiddish.

Letters from Abroad

WHY DID BEN GURION VISIT THE USA?

By I. Elsky

Tel Aviv

The recent visit of Ben Gurion to America has aroused uneasiness in wide circles in Israel. Day after day, Ben Gurion made statements at various meetings in America that provoked many Jews to ask: exactly why did the Israeli prime minister journey to America?

Some people have been taken in by the well-publicized, deliberate propaganda that Ben Gurion, together with several ministers, have gone to America to hold thorough discussions with the Jews there concerning a loan. But the statements made by Ben Gurion in America are opening the eyes of many people. If we must get money to build up our state, to absorb the new immigration, then why

should the prime minister proclaim that Israel will be the bastion of the west in the Middle East, that "our soldiers will fight well if it should become necessary?"

What is the meaning—many Jews are asking quite correctly—of the statement made by Morgenthau at the great mass meeting in New York, at which Ben Gurion was the main speaker, that "the task of Israel is to fight against communism?" Jews naively supposed that the question of how to absorb the new immigrants was the reason for the trip. But Morgenthau, who is closely connected with the oil magnates, thought otherwise. For him, as for Ben Gurion, "the task of Israel is to fight against communism."

To assure Washington how far the Israeli regime is ready to subordinate the interests of its own nation to Washington, Ben Gurion declared that "we have no confidence in the Germans." But if you think that he said this because the nazis murdered six million Jews, you are greatly mistaken. "We have no faith in the Germans," said Ben Gurion, "because it is hard to know which side the Germans will take as between the free and the unfree world." That is, when Ben Gurion can be sure that the Germans will align themselves in case of war on the side of the "free world"—that is, the American world—then he will not oppose the rearmament of Germany.

Irrespective of viewpoint, Jews were



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shocked by this idea. It was not the thought of Maidanek or Oswiecim that determined Ben Gurion's opposition to the rearmament of Germany, but rather the fear that perhaps the German people would turn away from the Atlantic Pact war camp.

But the real purpose of Ben Gurion's trip to America becomes clear from this fact: members of the whole diplomatic corps were invited to a banquet for Ben Gurion, but American Zionist leaders failed to invite the representatives of the Soviet Union and of the people's democracies. Also invited were "representatives" of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who represent in reality nothing more than the pogrom bands who murdered hundreds of thousands of Jews.

So far as Ben Gurion himself is concerned, he left no doubt whatever about the real purpose of his American journey. His statements on "the task of Israel to fight against communism," on German rearmament if the Germans should agree once again to go to war, his sharing a banquet with representatives of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian pogrom bands, who had fled from the people's justice—all these statements showed quite conclusively just what Ben Gurion had discussed with Truman, Acheson and Marshall.

On these occasions the talk was not about the welfare of the immigrants or housing for the people. Instead Ben Gurion said that "the armies of Turkey and our own are the strongest in the Middle East" and "we are determined to defend democracy [of Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and the oil magnates] with all our strength."

Must we then spend large sums of money for bombs rather than to build housing and to create employment for the new immigrants? No! The interests of the masses of Israel, of the Israeli people, have nothing in common with the plans of Washington to attack the Soviet Union. Most of the people of Israel have lived through severe, cruel years of their own war. They will not allow their land to be converted into a war base and their army to be thrown into the front lines in defense of the oil magnates. There are some, however, who say that in the meantime we are getting the dollars which we need so badly. Others argue, let Ben Gurion prate about war; we won't fight anyway, but meanwhile we shall be getting dollars.

However, it is becoming clearer every day to broader masses that this is a false argument. The recent crisis in England was precipitated by the resignation of three Labor ministers in protest against the consequences of subordination to

America. This subordination led to the ever-increasing impoverishment of the country and the throttling of industry because of increasing appropriations for armaments imposed by America. Are the American millionaires and oil magnates better and more nobly disposed toward the state of Israel? The facts say no.

Truman has asked Congress to appropriate eight and a half billion dollars for war purposes. This sum includes about 125 million dollars both for the Arab states and for Israel. But it was clearly indicated that this money is not intended exclusively for economic construction, but for military purposes to build up war bases.

The propaganda that America is lending money to help absorb the immigrants is false. Every dollar handed over makes more likely the conversion of our country into a base for a war which threatens our homes with destruction.

The disposition of the money from the wealthy American Jews is not such a simple matter either. The inflated billion dollars which were pledged last year at the conference of American millionaires have somehow not been forthcoming. The billion has become 400 million. Of the 400 million, they have given Ben Gurion a check for 40 million dollars. But Ben Gurion cannot take any of this home to buy products which we need. This check first goes into an American bank. Then after consultation with Truman, Acheson and Marshall, it is decided on what basis money can be collected in America.

For this money we can buy neither railroad tracks nor tractors, neither cement to build houses nor machines to exploit our natural resources. With this money from the American Jews we will be "permitted" to buy only such material as will better convert our country into a war base.

And this is against the interests of Israel, against the interests of the new people who need housing, work and, above all, peace. The state of Israel is in

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dire peril. The crisis in the country is becoming more acute. The war danger is becoming more serious. We shall not be lulled into relaxation of vigilance against the war danger. We have already lost too many dead in the last war; too dearly have we paid for our independence. The people of Israel are interested in peace. Only in peace can we build our country and undertake the absorption of the immigrants. And this is possible. All workers, all the people must unite in the struggle for a program that is in the interests of the state of Israel and of peace.

THE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE IN ARAB PALESTINE

By I. Berman

Tel Aviv

The news that comes to us from time to time from the Arab part of Palestine, which was annexed by Abdullah, tells us of the ever-strengthening fight of the Arab people there for bread, peace and freedom. The reports tell of demonstrations, strikes

and other manifestations of the fight against domination by the imperialist vassal, the puppet king Abdullah, and against the war plans of the imperialist masters. A recent issue of *Al Mukavama a-Shabia* (People's Resistance), underground organ of the Arab League for National Liberation, reports new developments in the

fight. An article in that issue describes stormy mass demonstrations in observance of May First in a number of cities like Shechem, Jericho and Ramala—demonstrations in which thousands of workers, peasants, youth and working intellectuals participated.

"This is the first time," says the paper, "since the imperialist intrigues against Palestine, when the working class in the Arab parts of Palestine celebrated May First together with a great number of peasants and students." The League publication characterizes the demonstrations as "an expression of the firm determination of the Arabs of Palestine to carry on the fight under the leadership of the working class for peace, freedom and bread and for the return of the refugees to their homes."

One demonstration occurred on April 30 in Shechem and a second and particularly impressive one in Jericho on May 3.

Ten o'clock in the morning of April 30, there was a brief mass meeting in Shechem at the Square of the Eastern Gate. Fifteen hundred demonstrators in the neighboring streets shouted various slogans against imperialism and war. There were also slogans calling for understanding between the Arabs and Jews which were received, says the League organ, with enthusiastic ovations throughout the demonstration.

Oncoming police tried to disperse the demonstrators but every one turned toward the policemen and told them that the demonstration was against war and for bread for women and children. Some policemen then joined the demonstrators. About 11 in the morning, new police reinforcements arrived and demanded that the demonstrators disperse. The police officer gave the order to use force but most of the policemen refused to do so. Not until a quarter of an hour later, when soldiers of Glubb Pasha's Arab-British Legion arrived, did the terror begin. The demonstration had by then broken up but the soldiers milled about in the streets and made many arrests. Many of those arrested were brutally beaten. This manifestation for peace and unity among workers, peas-

ants and students, made a powerful impression on the city.

Particularly impressive was the demonstration in Jericho, which was held on May 3. Over 4,000 participated and all shops were closed. The demonstrators shouted demands for peace, bread and work. Here also the police tried to disperse the demonstrators but without success. And here, just as on April 30, the arrests began after the demonstration was broken up. Here also the arrests were made by the soldiers of the Arab Legion. Thirty people were arrested. They immediately began a hunger strike. As a result, the police were forced to free a number of them.

There was a great demonstration also in Ramala, where the police made many arrests among the leaders of the workers. The demonstration occurred on the 30th of April. Early in the morning a group of 40 workers went to police headquarters to demand the freeing of those arrested, but the protesters were themselves arrested. Thereupon a new demonstration was held to demand the freeing of the Arab leaders. The police held on to three demonstrators and decided to free all the rest but those who were freed refused to leave the police station and remained with those who were held. All those arrested were then sent to prison in Aman and trade union offices in Ramala were closed down.

It is characteristic that among those arrested was a teacher. Many students then held a protest strike against the arrest. They tried to organize a demonstration but the arrival of an armed force of soldiers prevented it.

In Beth-Lechem the demonstration was a smaller one in which peasants and students participated. The police behaved with especial brutality and those arrested were terribly beaten. Among those beaten was a young boy whose condition is critical. The organ of the League for National Liberation which reports all these facts ends its account with a call to strengthen the fight against the imperialistic warmongers and their feudal agents.

The facts concerning the demonstrations in the various cities of the Arab part of Palestine show what a force for peace and freedom there is among the fighting Arab people there. These facts show how insidious is all the propaganda about the "backwardness" of the Arabs. The purpose of this propaganda is to deceive the people and to create the impression that the fighting common people and their feudal masters are of one kind. (Incidentally, those who propagate this idea, are the very ones who join with the feudal masters against the people.) The facts show how criminal, how anti-national this demagoguery is. Instead of supporting Arab-Jewish friendship and the forces for peace and strengthening the fight for independence in accordance with the decision of November 29, 1947, decreeing the creation of an independent Arab state, some Zionist leaders encouraged the Abdullahs and Glubb Pashas and calmly accepted the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine.

The demonstrations in the Arab part of Palestine (and such demonstrations take place also in the neighboring countries) show that it is possible to create a united front of all the peoples of the Middle East, to head off the attempt to turn the Middle East into a war base and to frustrate efforts to set Jews and Arabs against one another. In this respect, these demonstrations are a great aid to the masses of Israel, who also are carrying on the same fight against imperialism and war, for peace and independence.

Letter from a Reader

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Reading Peter Furst's article on "Jews of Eastern Europe" in the June issue of your excellent journal stimulated in my mind the following proposal:

That an exhibit, portable, be prepared, which would consist of physical copies of reasonably recent issues of publications in Yiddish issued in the socialist world. I assume there are such things as cultural monthlies, or quarterlies from rabbinical seminaries, etc.

That the appropriate auspices be sought.

That arrangements be made to bring the exhibit wherever interest can possibly be attracted.

It need not be confined to publications; but they are primary.

F. A.

New York City

JEWISH LIFE will be glad to cooperate with any readers who are interested in executing such a project.—Eds.

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To Our Readers:

THE modern wise man has reason to amend the old saying—of making magazines there is no end. But the wise modern reader will know how to deal with this flood of magazines: he will choose those that are important to him. The Jew today, if he is wise, will include *Jewish Life* in this choice. Why? Because the magazine provides him with a guide through the maze of dangerous and difficult problems that face him today.

How can we avert the world-destructive war that threatens, with the special menace that it holds for the Jewish people? What can we as Americans and Jews do to avert the coming of fascism to America, with its prospect of new Maidaneks? How can the new state of Israel achieve independence and security? What is happening in the Jewish community in America? How are anti-Semitism and discrimination being fought? How can we struggle along with the oppressed Negro people, whose liberation is closely tied to Jewish welfare?

These are some of the main questions on which *Jewish Life* carries a steady stream of articles and analyses. Many of you have written us and told us that you find the magazine useful and enlightening and a reliable guide in your activities in the Jewish community.

But a magazine like ours cannot exist on praise. It gets little advertising. It needs subscriptions; it needs bundle orders. And it needs financial help.

Progressive publications have never found it easy to survive. Even more is this the case today, with the witch-hunt and manifold harassments that today plague everything progressive. But this is all the more reason why you should help us to the utmost, for in this period of war danger and privation of democratic liberties the guiding voice of a progressive magazine like *Jewish Life* is needed more than ever.

Jewish Life is now being published by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc. We have moved to Suite 601-2-3, 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, New York.

During this period of change-over, we have serious organizational and financial problems. The next few months will determine whether or not we can succeed in the objective we have set ourselves to continue publishing a progressive Jewish magazine designed to serve American Jewry. Our success is entirely dependent on you. Your appreciation of Jewish Life can best be expressed in a down-to-earth practical way. Will you therefore:

- 1) Organize the sale of bundle orders on a regular monthly basis;*
- 2) Send in whatever contribution you can make personally or obtain from friends to tide us over this difficult period.*

THE FUTURE OF JEWISH LIFE IS IN YOUR HANDS.

THE EDITORS.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

B. DuBois and urged Negroes to boycott the products and services of sponsors of the Amos 'n Andy television show and the Beulah radio and television racist programs.

FIVE NEGROES WERE DENIED THE RIGHT TO admission to the University of Florida by a Florida Supreme Court decision on June 15, even though courses which they wanted to take were not available at the Florida A. & M. College for Negroes.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN SCHOOLS OF THE South was upheld 2-1 by a special three-judge federal court on June 23, although the court reminded the Southern states that they must provide equal educational facilities for Negroes. Said the court: "Segregation of the races in the public schools . . . is a matter of legislative policy for the several states, with which the federal courts are powerless to interfere." The NAACP announced that it would appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. . . . The murder of John Derrick, Negro veteran, by two white Harlem policemen last December was placed in investigation by a federal grand jury in June. A New York County grand jury had whitewashed the policemen.

MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS JOINED about 100 labor, liberal and church groups in June to urge upon President Truman that he exercise his emergency powers and issue a new executive order creating an emergency FEPC.

A PUBLIC MEETING OF SOME UKRAINIAN groups in Toronto in June to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the death of Simon Petlura, infamous Ukrainian pogrom leader under whose regime many thousands of Jews were massacred, was protested by the Central Region of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

LEADING ANTI-SEMITES AND FASCISTS ARE informing on Jews to the House Un-American Activities Committee about "communism" in Hollywood. One of these, Dr. Wesley A. Smith, said in 1948: "I prophesy that before November 1953, there will not be a Jew in the United States and by that I mean a Jew that will be able to walk or talk."

EUROPE

ANTI-SEMITISM IN FRANCE . . . A PROTEST rally against the growth of racist propaganda in France as a threat to peace was

held late in May in Paris under the auspices of the Movement Against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace (MRAP) attended by 2,600 delegates, including Rabbi Simon Fuks, chief rabbi of Colmar, Judge L. Lyon-Caen, of the French Court of Appeals, Professor J. C. Hadamard, world-famous mathematician, and André Blumel, president of MRAP. Outlawing of racist agitation was urged at the meeting. . . . The *Sturmer*-like, pro-Pétain paper, *Rivarol*, is publishing the foulest anti-Semitic matter. This paper is on sale throughout France.

A PROTEST MEETING BY ITALIAN JEWS against rearming of Germany to be held in the Jewish Center of Rome was forbidden by the police of Rome on June 21. The Jews protested the ban by placing a wreath outside the Ardeantine Caves, where many Jews were murdered by the nazis in 1944.

JEWISH FARMERS IN DZHERZHANIEW, Lower Silesia, Poland, who owned individual farms, organized themselves into a cooperative with the help of the Jewish Social and Cultural Union.

TWO NAZI GENERALS, HANS SPEIDEL and Adolf Heuzinger, who are active in helping General Eisenhower to plan and ram through German rearmament, were guests of United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy at the July fourth celebration in Frankfurt.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OF THE MUNICH CITY Council introduced in June a resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 26-16, calling on the Bavarian Parliament to enact legislation prohibiting *shechita*, the kosher slaughtering of animals. The "socialists" called *shechita* "a crime against humanity." Two Catholic city councillors condemned the proposal, calling it "pure anti-Semitism and discrimination and a result of a hostile attitude toward the Jews."

A KNOWN NAZI, DR. WALDEMAR LENZ, formerly correspondent of Goebbels' *Voelkischer Beobachter* in Rome and Warsaw, was recently appointed as director of the radio department in Western Germany by the Adenauer regime.

A SYMPHONY GLORIFYING HITLER BY composer Albert Stuker was recently performed in a Hamburg concert hall. The symphony symbolically depicts Hitler's rise and suicide, and the last movement depicts the life of Hitler in the afterworld and the welcome accorded him by German spirits of the past.

THE SOCIALIST REICH PARTY, MENACING and growing neo-nazi group in Western Germany, is leading a movement to unite with other neo-nazi parties.

ISRAEL

PROTEST AGAINST THE JAILING OF UNITED States Communist leaders was cabled by S. Mikunis, general secretary of the Communist Party, in July. The message demanded the immediate release of the leaders and hailed the American Communist Party's "heroic struggle for peace and democracy."

ABOUT 840,000 ISRAELIS WILL VOTE IN THE July 30 elections, while 502,000 had voted in the January 1949 elections. Twenty parties have entered lists for the election. The Communist list is headed by S. Mikunis, Arab leader Tewfiq Toubi is second on the list and two other Arabs are among the first ten places.

ELECTIONS FOR 13 SEATS IN THE ACRE Municipal Council held in June resulted in four seats for Mapai, two each for the Communist Party, the Arab Workers' League and Mapam, and one each for the General Zionists, the Religious Bloc and Herut.

KIBBUTZ HAMEUCHAD, COOPERATIVE FARM movement of about 80 individual kibbutzim of Mapai and Mapam members, faces a serious crisis. The Mapai faction has split away and formed a new organization. According to latest reports, some 20 of the kibbutzim have voted to join the new Mapai organization. Sidney Gruson reported in the *New York Times* on June 19 that the crisis is due in part to "the failure of the kibbutz communal life to attract either new immigrants or a steady flow of pioneers from overseas."

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN THE FIRST QUARTER of 1951 resulted in 66,697 work days lost, as against 50,901 for the corresponding period for 1950. Eleven of the strikes involved less than 50 workers, seven between 50 and 100, three between 100 and 200 and one over 200.

A STRIKE OF 500 WORKERS OF RAILROAD repair shops in Haifa for higher wages took place in mid-June. Communist and Mapam labor leaders called a one hour strike in protest against the loading of a cargo of citrus fruit concentrate sent by the Israeli government to Korea.

A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION IN JUNE OF about 250 immigrants, mostly from Iraq, demanding bread and work and protesting discrimination at the employment office, was attacked by police, demonstrators beaten and 21 arrested.

JEWISH LIFE

