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TRUTH ABOUT THE ROSENBERGS' CASE

by William Reuben

ABRAHAM CAHAN AND THE "FORWARD" *by Paul Novick*

NATIONAL MEETING OF JEWISH YOUTH *by Jack Greenstein*

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS *by Morris U. Schappes*

WHY A FOOD CRISIS IN ISRAEL? *by I. Elsky*

Shall a
renazified
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be rearmed?

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NEO-FASCISM IN GERMANY *World Jewish Congress Report*

ADENAUER'S FRAUDULENT "REPENTANCE"

POTOFSKY'S WARNING

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

An Interfaith Committee for Peace Action was formed recently in which Rabbi D. N. Jessurun Cardozo, of the Sephardic Jewish Center of the Bronx, and Rabbi Max Felshin, of the Radio City Synagogue of New York, were among the sponsors, along with noted Protestant ministers. The Interfaith Committee held three simultaneous meetings in New York on Sunday afternoon, October 7, attended by about 9,000 people urging truce in Korea.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver opened the fall season at his Temple in Cleveland on September 29, with a Rosh Hashonah sermon for peace in which he asserted that war is not inevitable and that peace can be achieved by friendly relations among the great peoples that won the last war. He criticized the foreign policy of Washington and London of tying themselves with fascist and corrupt regimes.

"Oliver Twist" was withdrawn from the Cinema Theater of Buffalo after one week of a three week run because, as the theater manager said, "there seems so much feeling against it." The *Jewish Ledger*, of Rochester, editorialized against the film in its October 14 issue, calling the film "as subtle as a swastika splashed in paint on the portals of a synagogue. . . . Considering the temper of the times we live in, it is foolish to think that a picture in which the Jew devil myth reappears could be shown innocently (which is to say, harmlessly)." However, the paper opposes banning the film.

In Senate debate in early October on the "Mutual Security Bill" for "aid" to countries cooperating in the anti-Soviet strategy, which would assign \$20,000,000 to Israel for "military assistance," the "liberal" Senator Paul H. Douglas pointed out as reassurance to the Senate that the right wing in Israel had been strengthened in the recent elections. Senator Robert Taft thought that Israel might be useful in the anti-Soviet strategy because it could help in the "defense" of the Suez Canal, African airfields and uranium deposits in the Belgian Congo.

Anti-Semitic material was found in public buildings, including a public library, of Ogunquit, Kennebunk and Old Orchard Beach, as well as Biddeford, Maine, during September. . . . Vandals entered the Washington (D.C.) Jewish Community Center and the new Adas Israel Synagogue late in September. The vandals forced open a

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first floor window of the center, smashed doors, opened desk drawers and scattered papers. Two doors of the synagogue were jimmied open. . . . Louis Levand, Jewish publisher of the *Wichita (Kansas) Beacon*, said in an interview in September that Korean war veterans, and officers in particular, were returning with "alarming expressions of anti-Semitism" and that the army seemed to be doing nothing about it.

Andrija Artukovic, a cabinet minister in Hitler's puppet Croat regime during the war, who is wanted by the Yugoslav government as a war criminal and was arrested on August 29 "without bail" pending decision on Yugoslavia's extradition request, was released on \$50,000 bail late in September. Artukovic is charged

with 23 specific murders and responsibility for concentration camp horrors against Jews and Serbs during the war. The American and World Jewish Congress have offered to present witnesses and documentary evidence of his war crimes guilt. The "Butcher of the Balkans" entered this country under a false name on a temporary visa a few years ago and it is charged that the government was aware of his identity. In the course of hearings, his attorney said that the "communists" were persecuting him and that "the safest place for him is the United States." The defense petition states that Secretary of State Acheson urged the Yugoslav ambassador in May not to seek Artukovic's extradition

(Continued on page 32)

FIVE YEARS OF "JEWISH LIFE"

WITH this issue JEWISH LIFE enters its sixth year.

We leaved through the pages of the magazine for the five years past as we sat down to write this anniversary notice. The story told in these pages is one of a crescendo of crisis. When the first issue of the magazine appeared in October 1946, the Truman bi-partisan administration was already hacking away at the structure of the anti-fascist coalition, both at home and abroad, which had been built during the war. The drive had begun to rob America of its Bill of Rights and to prepare the country and the world for United States global dominance and World War III under the smokescreen of the slogan, "Save the world from communism."

The Jewish people were still stunned with the enormity of the slaughter of the six million and were determined that this tragedy should not recur. The sad plight of the Jewish survivors in the DP camps moved the Jews deeply. The movement in Palestine to shake off the bondage of British imperialism and the bid of American imperialism for dominance was accelerated, in spite of the Zionist leadership, until the UN decision of November 29, 1947 and the Israeli war of liberation. Amidst great optimism the state of Israel was proclaimed and the imperialist intrigues of the United States and British governments to frustrate the emergence of the new state suffered defeat. However, the subservience of the Ben Gurion government to American imperialism became more and more open and the new state became increasingly coordinated with the global war strategy of Washington. As a result the economic and political crisis of Israel became more severe.

On the home front the pages of the magazine record the growth of the fascist danger from the "deportation delirium" to the fascist jailings of victims of the Un-American Committee to the trial of the Communist 11 and their conviction and the Supreme Court majority decision upholding the Smith act. And an integral part of this picture was the ominous development of the anti-Negro-anti-Semitic-anti-communist violence and epithets of hate—Peekskill, Chicago, Cicero. Anti-Semitic incidents of varying magnitudes occurred with increasing frequency.

But the people were not taking the danger of fascism and war lying down. The world balance of forces changed radically when a large sector of oppressed nations—China and the people's democracies—broke away from capitalist domination and embarked on the road of socialism and formed a powerful bulwark against a new war. The colonial world still under imperialism was on the move. The pages of the magazine showed the growth of the movement for liberation and for peace as the threat of war

came closer. As Washington moved ruthlessly to set the keystone of its war plans, the rearmament of a renazified Germany, the protests of the Jews and democratic-minded people rose, as the Jewish plutocracy supported the Truman program in deeds while protesting nazi rearmament in words.

And through these years we tried to expose the way in which the most reactionary sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie penetrated Jewish organized life with their ideology. The sterilization of the once democratic-minded American Jewish Congress was one outstanding sign of this capitulation to reaction. At the same time we tried to show that the rank and file of the Jewish people and the Jewish workers still responded in a militant way to threats to the Jewish people and democracy, as is so vividly shown on the issue of renazification. At the same time we published articles and pamphlets to counteract the confusion sown among the Jewish people by the servants of State Department policy—the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee—about "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

Where, then, are we today? Can we avert the abysmal horrors that fascism and war would bring? Can we avert the threats of new Maidaneks? We believe it is still possible. We have not lost our faith in the essential decency of the American people; we do not believe that American workers will permit themselves to be reduced to fascist slaves and cannon fodder in a new war. Nor do we believe that the common people of Europe and the colonial world will permit Washington to use them as expendable in the mass.

We shall avert these horrors if we learn the lessons of the past decade—*resistance*. This means the refusal to be intimidated by the effort to silence all dissent by un-American committees, Smith acts, McCarran acts, Taft-Hartley laws, loyalty oaths. It means rallying to defense of the Bill of Rights. It means organizing to impose peace and to achieve a peace pact of the five great powers. It means making irresistible the people's opposition to rearming Germany.

As JEWISH LIFE enters its sixth year, we shall continue to do our utmost to rouse the Jewish people to resistance. We shall, as we have tried in the past, continue to give clarity to the Jewish people, to the Jewish workers; we shall continue to inform the people of the facts that the press virtually suppresses. We shall try to stir the consciences of the Jewish people; we shall spur them to action.

We owe this to our martyred Jewish dead. We owe it to the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Above all, we owe it to ourselves. For only by resistance can the Jewish people survive.

TRUTH ABOUT THE ROSENBERGS' CASE

Did the government prove beyond reasonable doubt that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were guilty of atom bomb espionage? Here are the facts

by William Reuben

WHEN the death sentence for allegedly turning atomic secrets over to the Soviet Union was passed on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by Judge Irving Kaufman on April 5, the community was shocked. This was the first time in all our history that a death sentence was meted out by a civil court for espionage, either in peace or war. Judge Kaufman justified his sentence by the fantastic claim that the Rosenbergs were responsible for the Korean war. The Jewish community especially was shaken. Even the Jewish daily *Forward*, which has few equals in red-baiting, found the death sentence "too horrible" and "too cruel" and asserted that "every Jew feels the same way." And the Jewish community was vaguely disturbed by the fact that this extraordinary penalty was imposed on Jews, and that all concerned in the case—defendants, prosecutor and judge—were Jewish.

These attitudes concerning the severity of the sentence in no way reflect anything but a complete assumption that the Rosenbergs have been overwhelmingly proven guilty of espionage. From no quarter in the American press had anything been published to indicate what a flimsy legal case had been presented against the Rosenbergs, until the *National Guardian* began with its issue of August 15, a thorough expose of the host of peculiar and suspicious aspects of the government's case. (The series is in its seventh installment at this writing and contains a much fuller exposition of the case than space limitations here permit.)

When Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg was transferred to the Death House at Sing Sing, she issued a statement to the press declaring, in part: "We are victims of the grossest type of political frame-up ever known in America. In our own way we will try to establish our innocence. But we ask the people of America to realize the political significance of our case and come to our aid. . . . My husband and I are only two people, but this case has significance which far transcends our personal lives. The entire population of America will be adversely affected by our persecution."

The trial record provides abundant grounds to justify

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Mrs. Rosenberg's statement. Before examining the implications of the case to which she alludes, it is necessary, because so few of the facts have thus far been published, to examine some facts and the background of the case.

How It Started

When German-born British scientist Dr. Klaus Fuchs was arrested in London, February 1950, on charges of transmitting atomic data to the USSR, our ally during World War II, he confessed. FBI agents conferred with Dr. Fuchs and were told the names of others involved in the plot. On May 23, the FBI arrested in Philadelphia bio-chemist Harry Gold, the courier to whom Dr. Fuchs had turned over secret information. Gold, too, quickly confessed. Three weeks later, on June 15, the FBI arrested two more of Gold's "contacts": industrial chemist Alfred Dean Slack and a former Army sergeant who had been stationed at Los Angeles as a machinist, David Greenglass.

Like Fuchs, these three also admitted their guilt. Gold turned out by his own admission to be an anti-left-wing adventurer. Slack, when arrested, declared: "I am not now and never was a member of the Communist Party—and never will be." The prize catch of the lot was Greenglass.

In arresting him, the government was able to show a tenuous link between the Communist Party and the A-bomb spy ring. The announcement of the Greenglass arrest stressed the fact that he had been a member of the Young Communist League—in 1938.

Enter the Rosenbergs

By the middle of June 1950, the "plot" was, in police parlance, "a closed case," seemingly on the verge of being quietly concluded. But a month later—shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War—the case was suddenly and sensationally brought back into the headlines and into the consciousness of every literate American. On July 17, the FBI arrested in New York City a young electrical engineer named Julius Rosenberg. The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover was able to arm the press with a dossier on Rosenberg, showing that in 1945 Rosenberg had been dismissed from the Signal Corps on charges that he was a member of the Communist Party. Hoover announced that Rosenberg had made him-

self available to Soviet espionage agents "so he could do the work he was fated for . . . so he might do something to help Russia."

Rosenberg's wife, Ethel, was arrested three and a half weeks later, on August 11. A government spokesman told reporters there "is ample evidence that Mrs. Rosenberg and her husband have been affiliated with Communist activities for a long period of time." And at her arraignment, a member of the prosecutor's staff, in successfully requesting that Mrs. Rosenberg be held in \$100,000 bail, declared: "If the crime with which she is charged had not occurred, perhaps we would not have the present situation in Korea."

For the eight months ensuing between Julius Rosenberg's arrest and the time he and his wife went to trial, the American public was subjected to an almost ceaseless barrage of press and radio statements by Prosecutor Irving Saypol, the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. They hammered into the minds of the American public the certainty that the Rosenbergs were guilty and that mountains of evidence existed to prove this. The only question that seemed to concern the press was whether or not the death penalty would be imposed.

No Documentary Evidence

Beforehand, the government announced it would call 118 witnesses. Among them were to be top nuclear physicists Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and Dr. Harold C. Urey and Lieutenant General Leslie Groves, head of the wartime atom bomb project.

The government announced that it would take three months to present the case. But eight and a half court days after Prosecutor Saypol opened his case, the government rested.

Of the mountain of evidence that had been promised, *not one iota of documentary evidence was produced to link the Rosenbergs to the crime charged against them.*

Of the 30 exhibits placed in evidence by the government, only two were directly linked to the Rosenbergs: (1) a Spanish Refugee Appeal collection can found in their apartment; and (2) a petition signed in 1941 by Ethel Rosenberg for Peter Cacchione, successful Communist Party candidate for New York City councilman. In other words, *the only material evidence brought against the Rosenbergs had nothing to do with espionage, but only indicated radicalism.*

Of the 118 prosecution witnesses originally announced, only 20 were produced. (Oppenheimer, Urey and Groves were never called.) Of the 20:

Eight testified to details of co-defendant Morton Sobell's trip to Mexico, in no way implicating the Rosenbergs.

Two army colonels testified to security measures at the Los Alamos project during the war.

A nuclear physicist explained a sketch that Greenglass, Rosenberg's brother-in-law and the star government witness, drew in court about some components of the bomb.

One witness identified a photograph of Anatoli Yakovlev, a Soviet consular aide who, four years after he returned to the USSR in December 1946, was named in the indictment as a defendant in the case.

Three witnesses, the Rosenbergs' family physician and Ruth Greenglass' sister and brother-in-law, corroborated minor portions of the Greenglass' testimony without in any way implicating the Rosenbergs.

The remaining five witnesses were the only ones who gave testimony purporting to link the Rosenbergs to the crime of espionage. Of the five, four were self-confessed spies, the fifth, an electrical engineer, was a one-time Communist who characterized himself as a "liar," admitted he had a perjury charge, for which he could be jailed for five years, hanging over his head at the time he testified.

Elizabeth Bentley and Harry Gold, both former spy couriers, *had never known or been involved in any way with the Rosenbergs.* Gold's testimony established the existence of an espionage ring and gave newspaper headline writers a field day. Bentley testified that it was "implicit" in Communist Party membership to carry out orders from Moscow, and that the Communist Party of the United States "only served the interests of Moscow, whether it be propaganda, or espionage or sabotage." The purpose of Bentley's testimony, as Judge Irving Kaufman explained to the jury, was "to show a link, as the government contends, exists between aiding Russia . . . and being members of the Communist Party. . . ." *This "link" was considered established merely on Bentley's say-so.*

Who Was "Julius"?

The most damning features of the testimony of both Gold and Bentley—and, indeed perhaps the most-incriminating aspect of the government's case was the introduction by them of a mysterious "Julius" into the spy plot.

Gold testified that, in establishing contact with David Greenglass in New Mexico, when he received atom bomb information from Greenglass and for which he paid him



**Dr. Klaus Emil
Julius Fuchs
Was he "Julius"?**

\$500, the code words he used were: "I come from Julius."

Bentley said that during 1942 and 1943 (the first "overt act" charged in the indictment allegedly occurred in June 1944) she received a series of phone calls from a man whose voice she could not describe and whose identity she did not know, except that he was "someone who called himself Julius."

The government presented this evidence (which in less hysterical times, because of its remoteness would in all likelihood never be permitted to reach a jury) in the obvious hope, which proved correct, that the jury would decide that this mysterious "Julius" was Julius Rosenberg.

But the *National Guardian* series uncovered a startling fact not introduced at the time of the trial—which would ordinarily be grounds for granting the Rosenbergs a new trial. On February 4, 1950, the *New York Times* report of the arrest of the arch-conspirator of the spy plot, Dr. Klaus Emil Julius Fuchs, declared: "Dr. Fuchs, who is charged in London with unlawfully disclosing atomic secrets, was known to his friends here as 'Julius.'"

The Greenglass and Elitcher Testimony

Thus the government's entire case against the Rosenbergs depends on the oral, wholly unsupported testimony of three persons, Ruth and David Greenglass and Max Elitcher.

The Greenglasses are both self-confessed spies. Each was guilty of acts for which they could have been sent to the electric chair. As a result of testifying against the Rosenbergs, David Greenglass got off with a 15-year sentence and will be eligible for parole in eight years; and his wife Ruth was never prosecuted or in any way punished for her espionage activities. Furthermore, there had been bad feelings between the two couples for several years prior to the time when the Greenglasses implicated the Rosenbergs in the "spy plot." These difficulties had arisen from an unsuccessful business venture in which the two men had been partners. Their relationship had become so strained because of losses in the business that Greenglass once attempted a physical assault on his brother-in-law, Rosen-

berg; and it culminated in instructions given by the Greenglasses to their attorney to institute a law suit against the Rosenbergs.

The only other person to offer testimony against Rosenberg was Max Elitcher, a former classmate at the College of the City of New York. Elitcher was questioned by the FBI two days after Rosenberg's sensationally publicized arrest in July 1950. Elitcher testified at the trial that when the FBI first sought him out for questioning (as they did every one of Rosenberg's CCNY classmates, his friends, business associates, relatives, etc.), the first thing they brought up was that they "had information that I was involved in espionage . . . that they had information to the effect that I had given material for the purposes of espionage." Elitcher further testified that he had been continuously "scared to death" ever since he had falsified a government loyalty oath form by denying that he had ever been a CP member; that he quit his government job in 1948 chiefly because of the fear that it would be discovered that he had lied under oath; and that the FBI agents, before questioning him about Rosenberg, had confronted him with proof of his former CP membership to indicate that he could be prosecuted for perjury and sent to jail for five years.

The testimony of the three persons—the Greenglasses and Elitcher—seemingly would warrant the closest scrutiny, simply because they *each had such strong material motives for testifying as they did*. The reliability of this testimony must also be weighed against the fact that *not one scintilla of documentary evidence was offered to corroborate it*.

Additionally, all three key government witnesses were, curiously enough, represented by the same attorney, O. John Rogge. Ruth Greenglass consulted with Rogge for a month after her husband's arrest on June 15, 1950, and then in the middle of July 1950, before signing a statement in which she implicated her in-laws, the Rosenbergs. She met for three days in a row with Saypol, members of his staff, Rogge, her husband and FBI agents. Elitcher's testimony, as he described it from the witness stand, had been "re-fined" after he had talked on "many occasions" with the FBI; altogether he signed three statements for the FBI

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg



and each contained implicating remarks suggested to him originally by the FBI. And David Greenglass' testimony against the Rosenbergs resulted from his visiting FBI headquarters "at least 15 times" to discuss the case and of his signing "six or seven" statements.

At the trial, all three admitted that their original stories omitted at least a dozen salient particulars that were incorporated in their testimony in the courtroom.

The "Master Spy"

What evolved, eight months later, from these many conferences and consultations was a portrayal of a master spy. David and Ruth Greenglass pictured Julius Rosenberg as a man of intrigue, mystery, cunning and ubiquitous wisdom. According to them, Rosenberg was the central figure in a spy ring which began during World War II and continued throughout the cold war, dedicated to obtaining atom bomb and other secret information for transmission to Moscow.

The Greenglasses' portrayal had Rosenberg being furnished by the Russians with unlimited contacts with scientists in government agencies and key defense plants; to spend \$50-\$75 every night for entertaining; to subsidize the college education of likely espionage prospects; and to furnish his confederates with large sums of money to flee this country and find eventual haven "behind the Iron Curtain."

Notwithstanding the real-life mystery-story qualities of this portrayal and the virtually limitless facilities of the FBI for producing corroborative evidence, *the government failed to offer any evidence to back up these charges.* Conspicuously absent were any proofs that Rosenberg was known to other members of the A-bomb spy ring; that he was a big spender in night clubs and restaurants; that he had "important contacts" in defense plants and government agencies; that he had ever possessed large sums of money; that he had ever consorted with Russian nationals; or that he had ever subsidized any student's college education.

The "Overt Acts"

In sharp contrast to the lurid, though undocumented, portrayal of a "master spy," the 12 "overt acts" listed in the indictment against the Rosenbergs seem humdrum. Rosenberg, when he took the witness stand, denied several of the "overt acts" as downright falsehoods. He denied giving Ruth Greenglass a sum of money or a torn half of a jello box; receiving from her or her husband, David, any written or oral information pertaining to the atom bomb; or introducing David Greenglass to "a Russian." But Rosenberg did not challenge the other "overt acts" listed in the indictment, which included a visit to Elitcher's Washington, D. C., home and several visits in New York City between the Greenglasses and the Rosenbergs. However, Rosenberg did challenge and deny on oath the import of these acts as alleged by the uncorroborated testimony of

three witnesses whose accusations against the Rosenbergs saved their own skins.

Rosenberg denied categorically that he had ever engaged in any "spy-talk" on any of the occasions when he saw Elitcher and the Greenglasses. However, Rosenberg agreed readily that he had talked about politics, the war effort, the need to open a second front, the Soviet Union's military and economic gains and his freely expressed views that the Russians had "contributed a major share in destroying the Hitler beast who killed six million of my co-religionists, and I feel emotional about that thing."

Ethel Rosenberg, when she followed her husband to the witness stand, also denied categorically the Greenglasses' accusations purporting to link her to the espionage plot as Julius' assistant and moral supporter. The Greenglasses accused Ethel of typing up certain of the information which they had allegedly given to Rosenberg; of writing letters to them when the Greenglasses were living in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and allegedly giving them instructions for meeting a courier; and of being present at several of the meetings, which the Rosenbergs insisted were family or social gatherings. *No letters, notes or any other corroboration of these accusations were presented by the government.*

The most "incriminating" act she had ever done, Ethel Rosenberg testified, was her admission that she had typed up her husband's denial of the government's allegations in severing his employment in 1945 on the charge that he was a Communist.

In addition to what has been already considered, one additional fact jars rudely against the government presentation of Julius Rosenberg as a "master spy." The 12 "overt acts" listed in the indictment charging him with committing espionage in behalf of the Soviet Union all occurred during the six-month period preceding Rosenberg's dismissal from his Signal Corps job on charges that he was a Communist Party member. It must be assumed that prior to his dismissal on these charges, Rosenberg was under investigation. It may further most certainly be assumed that Rosenberg's open and constant and vigorous espousal of the Soviet's role against Hitlerism was not only known to his superiors but was instrumental in causing his dismissal. But if Rosenberg had in fact been involved in an espionage ring during this period, when his outspoken championship of the Soviet Union led to his dismissal from government service, the government characterization of him five years later as a "master spy" in this period would be a grossly inapposite description of perhaps the most blundering, inept spy in all history.

The main outlines thus reveal the flimsiness and suspiciousness of the government's case. They suggest that *no case has been offered by the prosecution that in any way establishes the guilt of the Rosenbergs.*

In the next article we shall consider the host of factors which illustrate the sinister implications of the case and suggest that the "crime" which has landed the Rosenbergs in the Death House at Sing Sing prison has to do, not with committing espionage, but with harboring radical ideas.

THE PEOPLE vs. THE SUPREME COURT

The further deterioration of civil liberties since the Supreme Court upheld the Smith Act made even more urgent a rehearing of the case

Following are excerpts from the "Supplementary Petition for Rehearing" before the Supreme Court of the case of the 11 Communist leaders. The petition was dated August 26 and submitted by the five lawyers who originally argued the case for the defendants. Even though the petition for a rehearing has been denied, the arguments presented here are still enlightening.—Eds.

I. Subsequent events show that the Court's decision of June 4, 1951 has inevitably had consequences radically different from those which the majority of the Court said would flow therefrom. . . .

The opinion of the Court expressed the belief that the decision "well serves to indicate to those who would advocate constitutionally prohibited conduct that there is a line beyond which they may not go—a line which they, in full knowledge of what they intend and the circumstances in which their activity takes place, will well appreciate and understand."

Yet, on July 28, 1951, the President of the United States found the line of prohibited advocacy so vague in the public mind that American citizens now fear to sign their names to a petition re-affirming the doctrines set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, lest by so doing they bring upon themselves the penalties which the June 4 decision has licensed for Communists and alleged Communists. . . .

From the very beginning of this case, these petitioners have maintained what Justices Frankfurter and Jackson thus in effect concede—that the issues herein—and indeed the issues inevitably posed by the "teaching and advocacy" sections of the Smith Act—are beyond the power and competency of any Court to pass upon, and can only be adjudicated through acceptance or rejection by the people themselves.

Yet it is precisely these untriable issues which were to all intents and purposes "adjudicated" by the decision of June 4. The "political predilections" of judges of this Court and of the lower Courts have by this decision been garbed with the authority of law. . . .

II. The decision outlaws a political party, the Communist Party, and thereby denies the inalienable and constitutional right to organize a political party which advocates a working class political program and teaches the doctrine of Scientific Socialism.

Shortly following this Court's decision in this case, the

Attorney General stated publicly that the decision did not outlaw the Communist Party. The logical inference from this was that membership in the Communist Party remains legal—notwithstanding the membership provisions of the Smith Act and the fact that the indictment charging petitioners with membership in that Party has never been dismissed.

The Attorney General's statement may have been prompted in part by a reluctance to have our country appear less democratic than Great Britain, France, Italy, Australia and other nations which recognize as legal entities Communist Parties founded upon the same theories and utilizing the same books as those for which petitioners stand convicted, and their Party condemned. Perhaps the Attorney General was motivated by a desire to avoid precipitating an issue as to the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1951 (McCarran Act) which, in requiring all Communist Party members to register with the government, might be held to be a bill of attainder. Or, the Attorney General might have been mindful that both Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in the 1948 elections publicly declared themselves opposed to the outlawing of the Communist Party. . . .

Whatever Mr. McGrath's reasons for issuing this statement, the course of conduct followed by the Department of Justice since the decision in this case negates his words. This course of conduct demonstrates that the decision of June 4 provides the legal framework for, and sanctions, the piece-meal outlawing of the Communist Party through prosecution and imprisonment of anyone shown to be a member, or to have any organizational association of any kind with petitioners or their associates. . . .

What was initially presented to this Court in this case as a charge against the top leaders of an alleged nationwide conspiracy is now revealed as a broad legal framework within which all the tens of thousands of members and alleged sympathizers of a political party may be put behind bars. No more effective means of by-passing the legislature and the electorate to achieve the outlawing of a political party could be devised—and this instrument is made available through, and only through, this Court's June 4 decision. . . .

Thus the historical pattern of all sedition laws repeats itself. An indictment founded upon inferences drawn from public writings and utterances, and relying on a similarity of views, results in a conviction by a jury previously intimidated by hysteria and therefore afraid to reject the

testimony of paid stool-pigeons, or to return a verdict of acquittal. The pattern is thus completed and thereafter all who speak or write against the *status quo* are suspect. We submit that this Court's June 4 decision serves as the keystone of such police state repression and gives "legal" license to these nation-wide attempts to suppress all political criticism and dissent.

III. The decision gives dangerous impetus to that pernicious political phenomenon known as "McCarthyism."

All of the facts to which we herein call this Court's attention are manifestations of what is popularly known as "McCarthyism." With deference we submit that every stage of this proceeding—from the indictment to this Court's decision affirming the Smith Act and the conviction of these petitioners—marked a surrender to "McCarthyism"—to the reactionary forces driving toward American fascism and a third world war. And we also submit that each such surrender has in turn greatly emboldened these forces and facilitated their achievement of a dangerous ascendancy in the life of the nation. . . .

In essence, "McCarthyism" is an American form of what the Nazis called "*Gleichschaltung*"—the enforced conformity of all individuals, organizations, and media of communication to the views dictated by pro-fascist reaction.

The basic premise on which McCarthyism rests is that Communism is a menace to world peace, to America's national security, and to the domestic welfare of the American people. It thus provides the ideological "justification" both for the Administration's bipartisan foreign policy and for government attacks on the democratic rights of our people. In outlawing the Communist Party and affirming the Smith Act and the resultant conviction of these petitioners, this Court also in effect "affirmed" this basic premise, adoption of which renders resistance to McCarthyism ineffective and indeed impotent.

Popular opposition to McCarthyism has not diminished but increased since this Court's June 4 decision, and is reflected in the President's frequent references to this issue in his post-June 4 and pre-election speeches. Certainly the American people's alarm at this growing menace to rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights provides this Court with compelling reason to grant a rehearing in this case. . . .

IV. The decision licenses and encourages denial of the constitutional right to bail, to a presumption of innocence, to council of one's own choosing and to a fair trial before judges and juries free from bias or intimidation.

The new construction put upon the First Amendment by this Court's decision in this case has opened the way to drastic revisions in our traditional interpretation of the Fifth, Sixth and Eighth Amendments as well. All the component parts of due process are being subverted, and a fair trial in political cases—particularly under the Smith Act—has become impossible. . . .

V. The decision drastically restricts the right of the American people to listen and read and to act in concert for the advancement of policies of whose wisdom they are convinced or for the reversal of policies they believe harmful to their own welfare and the security of the nation.

In his concurring opinion, Mr. Justice Frankfurter wrote: ". . . In sustaining the power of Congress in a case like this, nothing irrevocable is done. The democratic process at all events is not impaired or restricted."

But the facts herein cited show that the democratic process *has* been seriously impaired and restricted. The right of the American people to listen and read and to act on the basis of an informed opinion has been seriously infringed upon and the pursuit of truth is today accompanied by "dangers which are hazarded only by heroes." . . .

Despite the dangers that exist, and indeed because those dangers are daily being more clearly recognized, the voices of protest are multiplying—as the President (and this Court) no doubt realize.

Since our initial petition was filed with this Court, many who in the past believed that the trial and conviction of these petitioners are of concern only to Communists have had some sober second thoughts. . . .

Though thousands are frightened into silence, more and more Americans are engaging in the pursuit of truth. They seek to learn the truth about the causes of the break-downs in the Korean cease-fire negotiations, the truth about the real reasons behind the policies which lead to the re-arming of Germany, the remilitarization of Japan, and the acceptance of Franco Spain as a "free nation" and worthy ally. . . .

The democratic process cannot operate effectively where those seeking truth are free to hear only one set of answers to the questions they ask. Thus it is not only the right of Communists to advocate and teach which this Court's decision forecloses, but also the right of the American people to have access to the views expressed by the Communist Party, and by other groups now silenced or stigmatized because they are allegedly tainted by even partial agreement with, or similarity to, Communist policies.

These considerations, among others, have moved prominent Americans in all walks of life and of varied political opinion to question the June 4 decision. . . .

For the outlawing of the Communist Parties in fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Franco Spain marked a point of no return. As Mr. Justice Jackson pointed out in his opening address to the International War Crimes Tribunal, the decision in the Reichstag Fire Trial which acquitted the accused Communists came "too late to influence the tragic course of events which the Nazi conspirators had set rushing forward." . . .

But it is imperative that now—today—the men and women of America be and feel free to write and read, to speak and assemble without fear of reprisal, and through the exercise of their inalienable rights pass their own judgment on all the great issues of our time—and above all on the supreme issue of how the world is to be saved from atomic war and our country from fascist tyranny. . . .

"CONSPIRACY" IN CICERO

FROM all parts of the country, and especially from Chicago itself, outraged Americans have poured out a deluge of protest against the shameful indictment by a Cicero grand jury of the victims of the Cicero riots last July. The attempt of Harvey J. Clark, Jr, a Chicago Negro, and his family to move into an apartment in nearby lily-white Cicero was followed by rioting that provoked martial law. Not only did the mobsters wreck the apartment house and vent their anti-Negro feelings, but they let loose a barrage of anti-Semitic epithets as well. Yet not one of the rioters was indicted. Instead, following the pattern of the Peekskill grand jury, the victims were indicted: George N. Leighton, attorney for the Clarks and a Chicago leader of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People; George C. Adams, Charles Edwards and Mrs. Camille DeRose, all connected with the ownership of the building and rental of the apartment, and Norman Silverman, arrested three weeks after the affair for allegedly handing out Communist Party leaflets in Cicero.

The "crime" of the five, according to the indictment, was that they were part of a "conspiracy" which "maliciously and wilfully" caused a depreciation of property values in Cicero by arranging to rent the apartment to Clark. The grand jury, significantly enough, was headed by Earl W. Seaberg, a general foreman at Swift & Company, which has been fighting attempts of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers to defeat new Jimcrow hiring practices.

A sixth indictment was handed down against the Cicero police chief, Erwin Konovsky, who personally touched off the violence against the Clarks. The charge against him is misconduct in public office, which carries no jail sentence but merely dismissal from office.

The grand jury also refused to indict Joseph Beauharnais, head of the local Klan-like White Circle League, which openly incited and organized the racist mob, or four Cicero policemen, who were charged with helping the rioters. Although more than 123 rioters were arrested when martial law was declared in Cicero, not one of these was indicted. And on October 7, it was reported that 44 of the rioters were acquitted of the charge of "unlawful assembly" while ten were fined from \$25 to \$10. Fifty-five cases are still pending.

The protests against the indictments came swiftly. Walter White, NAACP secretary, denounced the indictment as "one of the gravest threats to the Negro fight for equal justice which has yet developed." The NAACP general counsel, Thurgood Marshall, will head the defense of the indicted, three of whom (Leighton, Adams and Edwards) are Negroes. CIO Regional Director Michael Mann charged that the grand jury action was "legally fantastic and morally outrageous" and called for federal intervention. Sydney Ordower, executive secretary of the Chicago Council for Labor Unity, said that justice had been "completely overturned" by indicting victims of mob violence while "permitting the real conspirators like Joseph Beauharnais . . . to go scot free." Trade unions

from other parts of the country have joined the chorus of protest. The Civil Rights Congress said that the grand jury's "action makes them as guilty as the lynchers who attacked the Clarks."

The Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination held a special meeting at which it called upon its 100 affiliates to petition President Truman and Attorney General Howard McGrath for a federal grand jury investigation. On September 27, a delegation from the Council met with McGrath in Washington, after which he announced that he would ask a grand jury to investigate.

A telegram asking for a grand jury investigation was also sent to McGrath by the major Jewish organizations—the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations—to inquire into "the egregious miscarriage of justice which has occurred in connection with the housing riots in Cicero." The telegram charged the Cicero police with "cynical disregard of their duties" and "collusion in mob violence." The findings of the Cicero grand jury had "subverted the instrumentalities of justice to the service of discrimination," said the message.

Some of the larger implications of the affair were drawn by J. L. Fishbein, editor of the Chicago English-Jewish weekly, the *Sentinel*, in his editorial on September 28. "The action of the grand jury," said Fishbein, "was a natural outgrowth of the verdicts rendered in the Peekskill and Peoria Street cases, in which the victims were punished instead of the culprits. This is an entirely new concept of American law, representing another facet of nazi philosophy we have borrowed from Adolf Hitler. It was the nazis, it will be remembered, who developed the technique of blaming 'Jews, liberals and Communists' for the violence their storm troopers themselves created. As a matter of fact, it was a common occurrence for an SS man to accost a bearded Jew in the street, beat him horribly and then throw into jail for resisting an officer of the Third Reich."

Fishbein then adds that the Jews had better do some fundamental thinking about the whole affair. "Many of us," he adds, "forget that to the average German living under Hitler, the monstrous crimes enacted in their name seemed perfectly proper. . . . That is what is happening to us. We have become so frightened and hysterical that we allow guarantees and safeguards, so traditionally a part of American justice, to be swept aside as if they were meaningless. Rather than buck the tide, too many of us are ready to abdicate our freedoms to the un-Americans who have usurped the Constitution in liberty's name."

Cicero cannot be understood in isolation. It is a product of the anti-democratic and pro-war hysteria that goes under the banner of "anti-communism." The lesson it should teach the Jewish people is clear: unity with the Negro people and all decent-minded people against destruction of the Bill of Rights.

PRELUDE TO GENOCIDE

Some racist aspects of the frenzied conferences at San Francisco and Ottawa to enlist Japanese militarists and nazis for an anti-Soviet war

By John Pittman

WHEN the North Atlantic Alliance was created by the Truman administration, a number of commentators of the Negro press observed that the alliance brought together all the imperialist powers concerned with the preservation of colonialism. Since that time, the Truman administration has expanded its program of so-called regional security arrangements into other geographical and ideological areas. It has consolidated its inter-American alliance, laid the basis for its Pacific alliance and is presently trying to establish a Middle East alliance and a Mediterranean alliance. It is attempting to re-establish the old fascist Axis powers as the keystones of its system of alliances. And accordingly, it is bringing together and giving powerful encouragement to the world's most criminal purveyors of racism and practitioners of genocide.

This fact was called to the attention of the delegates of the 52 states assembled at the San Francisco Conference in August by Poland's Vice Foreign Minister Wierblowski. Unfortunately, the Polish delegate, limited by strict gag-rules dictated by the Truman administration, was unable to do more than characterize the policy of Washington as a racist policy. But the entire set-up of the San Francisco meetings, as well as the content of both the so-called Japanese peace treaty and the security pact between the Truman administration and the Yoshida regime, confirmed Wierblowski's charge. Indeed, the developments of September in Washington, San Francisco and Ottawa go far toward establishing Wall Street imperialism as the prime and most dangerous instigator of racism today.

Dulles' Selective "Consultations"

The San Francisco Conference was preceded by a world junket of John Foster Dulles, President Truman's personal emissary, and the conclusion of separate so-called security agreements between the Truman administration and the governments of the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia. In his speech formally opening the San Francisco meeting, President Truman boasted that he personally had sent Dulles on the mission of making private deals with the heads of governments, instead of abiding by the Potsdam agreement to submit the question of a peace treaty

with Japan to the Council of Foreign Ministers. It is noteworthy that Dulles deliberately avoided consultations with the major Asian peoples. Even during this globe-trotting expedition, it was evident that the Truman administration held the views of the Asian peoples in profound contempt. And this was soon to boomerang against Washington's plans, when the government of India rejected the invitation to San Francisco partly because—as Pandit Nehru explained—India's views had not been solicited.

But while ignoring India, Dulles was careful to consult the imperialist government of France and to line up for the Truman administration the three votes of France's puppet rulers in Indo-China, purportedly representing the people of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam. This arbitrary action was all too similar to the custom of Southern Bourbons in the United States "Black Belt," where the white rulers reserve the right to determine a "good Negro" and a "bad Negro"; or of the old Gestapo practices, when individual SS leaders took upon themselves the right of deciding whether or not a Jew was useful enough to be allowed to live.

It should be added, moreover, that so enraged were many Republican and Democratic politicians by Nehru's statement that they raised a demand for breaking off relations with India. Apparently the lowly Hindu was not only to feel flattered by an invitation to a conference about which he had not been consulted, but under no circumstances was he to be allowed to voice any resentment over not being asked his opinions!

Of course, the most striking example of this contempt for the Asians was the exclusion of China from the conference and the preliminary discussions of the conference. Although the Chinese people, constituting almost one-fourth of the world's population, are the biggest power of Asia, suffered most from the aggression of Japanese militarism, and contributed millions of lives and incalculable treasure to the victory over Japanese militarism, they were completely shut out of discussion concerning the peace treaty with Japan.

The contempt for the Asians was also to be seen in the military alliance with the Quirino regime of the Philippines. This so-called "security pact" promised the Filipinos United States protection against a revival of Japanese aggression. But it actually gave the Truman administration the right freely to establish garrisons and bases in the

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Philippines and to utilize Filipino manpower in any way deemed "necessary for joint defense" of the United States and the Philippines. By such an agreement, the Filipinos can be sent to help French imperialism try to re-conquer Viet Nam on the pretext of "necessity for joint defense."

Treaty Against the Peoples

But the tell-tale evidence of racism was contained in the "peace" treaty and the security pact. Of these, the more important is the security pact, for which—as many European commentators observed—the peace treaty conference was merely window-dressing. For scarcely had the ink dried on the peace treaty, than Premier Yoshida and Secretary of State Acheson met at the Presidio and initialed the military alliance. Yet, as Soviet chief delegate Andrei Gromyko observed during his vigorous and powerful arguments against the treaty, "the national interests of the Japanese people dictate the necessity for Japan to maintain peaceful relations with other countries and primarily with her neighbor states." The Dulles-Truman draft peace treaty for Japan, far from containing guarantees against a revival of the Japanese militarists, actually created conditions for such a revival, endorsed the continued presence of occupation troops in Japan and the building of war bases, and provided for Japan's participation in the alliance with the United States. The terms of this military alliance forbade Japan to engage in similar arrangements with any other power, and set forth the principle that the Yoshida regime, signatory of the alliance, might call upon United States forces to sustain it in power if it should feel its future menaced by popular ferment.

Obviously, such treaties imposed on the Japanese would, if ratified and implemented, make Japan a virtual colony of Wall Street, a colony governed by a mercenary, subordinate imperialism maintained in power by the United States armed forces. In the face of such realities, the speeches of President Truman, Secretary Acheson and Dulles about restoring "full sovereignty" to Japan and treating the Japanese as "equals" are cynical and false efforts to conceal the nature of the colonial status imposed on the Japanese. Readers who so desire can find ample documentation of the racist character of these two treaties in many more of their clauses and special provisions, especially the economic provisions of the peace treaty. But what is apparent from even this abbreviated account is the Truman administration's racism in its dealings with Asians.

Unity With Japanese Militarists

It is noteworthy, moreover, that while Truman and Dulles express by deeds their contempt for the Japanese and other Asian peoples, they choose to clasp hands with the Japanese militarists and fascists, who on their own part displayed "efficiency" in the use of germ warfare and other forms of genocide against the peoples of Asia. Japanese militarism and fascism had its own peculiar brand of

racism. It posed as the great "liberator" of the colored peoples of Asia and the world against "white domination." But amongst the Asian people, it proclaimed its self-appointed mission and right to rule. It bred among the Japanese people feelings of superiority to other Asians. Now, once again, it is being given a free hand to resume its propaganda with regard to the Asian peoples. And just as the Hitlerian "Aryan" mythology did not prevent German imperialism from recognizing in the colored rulers of Japan a kindred spirit and a war partner, so the Anglo-Saxon racists of United States imperialism find their white supremacy mythology no barrier to reviving Japanese imperialism as a war partner.

Alliance With Western Racists

The events in San Francisco were but a prelude to other developments which mark a new acute rise in the war danger, growing out of the Truman administration's acceleration of its war drive and its reckless disregard of the interests and opposition of other nations. From San Francisco, Acheson sped to Ottawa, there to insist on the revision of the Italian peace treaty so as to allow the re-arming of Mussolini's successors, and on the earliest possible "integration" of a West German army into the so-called European "defense force." At Ottawa, also, Greece and Turkey were dragged into the Atlantic war organization despite their distance from the Atlantic. Clearly, the high-handed, undemocratic way in which the Japanese peace treaty was forced upon the majority of the delegates at San Francisco set the stage for the projected alliance between the Truman administration and the other fascist and arch-reactionary cliques of Europe and the Middle East, particularly the West German racists.

Wall Street and Washington intend to re-build the German army and hope to use it as the "cutting edge"—to use General Eisenhower's term—against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Although the "initial contribution" of West German manpower to the Eisenhower forces is publicized to be no more than 250,000 troops and a tactical air force of not more than 2,000 fighter and bomber planes, this new Wehrmacht is intended only as a nucleus of a much more formidable force. If the Pentagon plans go through, West Germany will be called on for not less than 3,500,000 men, according to the conservative Paris newspaper *Le Monde*.

The economic and political plans for establishing this kind of army are already far advanced. The "White Paper on the Resurrection of German Imperialism," published recently by the National Council of the National Front of the (East) German Democratic Republic, cites much evidence of the revival of German imperialism's war industry and of the new role in West German affairs which is being played by Hitler's generals. Obviously, such plans could not be implemented except with the support of the most chauvinistic, brutal elements. And this is precisely what is happening: former war criminals, hangmen, execu-

POTOFSKY WARNS AGAINST GERMAN REARMAMENT

DISILLUSIONMENT with United States domestic and foreign policy is beginning to set in among some right wing labor leaders, who are reflecting uneasiness among the workers. Last month we published excerpts from a speech by Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in which he asserted that "creeping fascism is a real menace here and we must take steps to counteract it."

Later in September, Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the same union, returned from a four-months tour abroad. He came back a very disturbed man. He warned against the United States alliance with Franco Spain and the rearmament of Germany. "The free nations," he said "can't understand why a democracy like ours should make combinations with autocracies like Franco Spain." Potofsky discussed this matter with General Eisenhower, who pointed to the map and said, "We need the base."

About German rearmament the trade union leader said: "I feel that we will have cause to regret it. We are trading the good will we have built up—trading for bases or divisions which are either problematical

or may give us trouble later on. The labor movement of Germany is against rearmament, and with good reason. That army might be dominated by the Junkers and Hitlerites. Germany has not been denazified."

Potofsky also expressed concern at the manner in which Marshall plan money has been dispensed. Although the productivity of Marshall plan countries has risen, he said, the living standard of the workers was falling. "The billions of dollars we are sending abroad must seep down to the workers and their families," he said, "to increase their standard of living and thus take them out of the poverty and inertia that come from a low wage scale. Our money has been used primarily to strengthen the governments in power and the industrialists. The rich grow richer, the poor poorer. European industry has retained its time-honored theory of unbelievably high profits and low wages. Labor has not had the benefits of improved conditions since the end of the war. . . . This accounts for the growing number of Communists in France and Italy, where we've poured billions in ECA funds."

tioners, SS commanders and gestapo officials are once again clamoring to be loosed against "the Bolshevik menace," while the Occupation authorities, to whose ears this is the most melodious music, are encouraging these elements to take over the direction of West German affairs. So that when the Truman administration replaces the Occupation Statute with a "contractual arrangement" purportedly granting West Germany its full "sovereignty," this transaction will seal the alliance between Washington and the West German racists.

Adenauer's Propaganda Stunt

Obviously, such a move was bound to rouse the fears of mankind and to encounter opposition from many countries which Truman refers to as "allies." To offset this reaction, the Truman administration compelled the Adenauer regime to make a gesture of retribution for Germany's genocidal policies in the Hitler period. The Adenauer regime pledged "restitution" of property seized from Hitler's Jewish victims. But it limited this to West Germany's "ability to pay." Its other promises were vague and wordy. The same politicians and generals and industrialists who participated in and profited from the murder of six million Jews even said that the majority of the Germans had condemned the anti-Semitic crimes and "had nothing to do with them."

This was a despicable, cynical propaganda stunt, intended to offset popular opposition to the revival of the German army and the old policies of racism; yet, it

evoked from an official of the Israeli government, which has a one-and-a-half billion dollar claim against Bonn, an effusive welcome. Apparently there are Jewish politicians who think it expedient to forget the German SS commanders who politely explained that the transports to Auschwitz were merely taking people to "new lands in the East" and who asked millions of men, women and children to remove their clothing and "enjoy a nice bath" in the gas chamber. Such cynical methods of deception, now repeated by the Bonn regime, are an ominous warning of the consequences which may be expected from a war alliance between the white supremacists of Washington and the "Aryan supermen" of West Germany.

These alliances with the nazi monsters and the Japanese germ-warriors portend grave consequences for every people, but especially for the people of the United States. The fate of the German people and the Japanese people, who were the first victims of their respective imperialists, should serve as an unforgettable warning. The drive to fascism here in the United States proceeds in pace with the drive to war. It is the highest patriotism, in accord with the vital self-interest of the people of the United States, that the struggle for peace should now be raised to new heights. Pacts for peace must replace these alliances for war—and in the first place, the five-power anti-war pact between the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and the Chinese People's Republic. This kind of pact, establishing the political framework for peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism, would put an end to the schemes of the racists and prepare for the abolition of racism.

ABRAHAM CAHAN AND THE "FORWARD"

When the nonagenarian Abraham Cahan died, he left behind him in the "Forward" a legacy of political reaction and cultural vulgarization

By Paul Novick

ON the front page of the Jewish daily *Forward* on March 15, 1902, an announcement appeared detailing "improvements" that would be made in "every department" of the paper. The paper would "be written in pure, plain [the English word is transliterated] Yiddish Yiddish and we hope that every line will be interesting to all Yiddish-speaking people, young and old." Number one among the articles to appear in the next day's paper was to be about "Irish or Italian Gentiles who have become converts to Judaism because of girls in Jewish neighborhoods." This was item one of the program laid down by Abraham Cahan when he took over the editorship of the *Forward*, a position which he held until the day he died, on August 31, at the age of 91. We shall see the significance of this sort of journalism for the Jewish community.

Cahan was one of the "pioneers" of the East Side. His activities date back to the 1880's, when the mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe began (Cahan arrived in this country in 1882). Throughout two generations of "storm and stress," he was in the limelight. What influence did he exert on Jewish life in the United States? What type of "pioneer" was Abraham Cahan?

Despite the fulsome eulogies that followed his death, there is hardly any personality in Jewish life about whom the non-Jewish world and even part of the Jewish community has been so stubbornly misinformed. To the *New York Times*, for instance, Cahan's life was the "success story" of a "poor immigrant" who built up a rich and influential newspaper and who became toward the end of his life the "patriarch" of the East Side, a "builder" and "teacher" and what not. Some people who sing Cahan's praises must know about the sensationalism of the *Forward*, of its "sexy" material, of its letters to the lovelorn. Such praise, therefore, cannot imply much respect for the East Side.

The Enemy of Jewish Cultural Builders

The "boosting" of Cahan is hardly consistent with the fact that almost every builder of Jewish culture on the East Side and nearly every prominent Jewish socialist has bitterly fought Cahan and Cahanism. This was true of Morris Winchevsky, the "Grandfather of Jewish Socialism,"

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as he was called, one of the classicists of Yiddish poetry in the United States; of Jacob Gordin, the foremost Jewish playwright; of Leon Kobrin, the writer and dramatist; of Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky, philosopher and cultural leader; of Abraham Liessin, poet and editor; of Jacob Milch, M. Zametkin, Dr. A. Gaspe, Louis Boudin and many other writers and East Side pioneers; of the eminent M. Olgin. All fought Cahan because of his baneful influence on Jewish culture and Jewish life generally, as well as on the socialist movement. The *New York Times* of course, is not troubled by such things. For wasn't Cahan a "success"? And wasn't Cahan a violent red-baiter, with an obsessive hatred of the Soviet Union that antedates the "cold war"?

But what is the truth of the role of Abraham Cahan the editor? What was the influence of his editorship of the *Forward* on Jewish culture? What was his significance for the Jewish people?

The announcement we cited above was followed by another on April 29, 1902, which said: "We have collected piles of facts about marriages in the Jewish ghetto, about girls who remain unmarried, about girls who marry young, interesting reasons why a girl stays unmarried. For instance, are all unmarried girls not pretty? The answer is 'No' and there is a lot to tell."

And a lot there was. Immediately the *Forward* let loose a stream of stories like the following: "What is a pretty woman?" "Husbands who boss their wives," "Wives who boss their Husbands," "Unmarried girls," "The bride who was spanked," etc. Material about labor was crowded out. The struggle of tailors in the sweat shops for a 25 per cent raise got only seven lines, while the story, "Did Florence Eat Supper With Walter?" got a full column. The *Forward* was well launched on the road to becoming a sensational, "sexy" newspaper. Towards the end of 1905, Cahan introduced the "*Bintl Briif*" (a bundle of letters), now "famous" in the Yiddish speaking community, sentimental trash about the lovelorn and family life. And so it went. Other papers began to copy Cahan's methods.

The tenacity with which Cahan practiced this type of journalism over the years is illustrated by a story in the *Jewish Morning Journal* (Sept. 7) by the columnist, Jacob Glatstein. In 1922, Glatstein, then a budding young poet, came to Cahan for a job. Cahan's proposal was that Glatstein should become a "fiance" in a matchmaker's bureau and write up his experiences. This story also tells volumes

about what Cahanism did to many a writer and to Yiddish journalism generally.

Portrait of a Vulgarizer

How could a labor and socialist newspaper take such a turn? How could Cahan succeed in his "sexationalist" program and follow it so stubbornly for nearly 50 years? The answer is that Cahan, an energetic, ambitious and domineering individual, based himself on a certain element among the people of the East Side and played upon their backwardness. Very many of the Jewish immigrants towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the twentieth were either petty traders or people without any trades, *lustmentshen*, who came from the then slumbering and backward small towns in old Russia and Poland or from the ghettos in the larger cities. Such immigrants had no contact with the labor movement or socialism, had not been touched by the then rising modern culture in Yiddish. Even some of the more "advanced" element among them were muddled. Cahan himself had for a short time attended an institute for reform rabbis in Wilno (in old Russia). He related in the *Forward* (May 4, 1940) that he became a socialist on board ship to America. "What kind of a socialist—a social democrat or an anarchist—I did not know," Cahan adds in that typically muddled fashion which disposes of one of the widespread legends about Cahan, that he was supposedly active in the Russian revolutionary movement prior to his departure for America.

This pseudo-intellectual, a "practical" man who hated theory (and who could not get below the surface of things even when he wanted to), was an opportunist of the first water. He was ideally suited to exploit the backwardness of certain sections of the Jewish immigration prior to 1905.

There were, of course, more developed elements, too, among the Jewish immigrants of the 80's and 90's, and they put up a fight against Cahanism. After 1905, when the tide of immigrants touched by the Russian revolution was rising, this struggle sharpened. One of the results was the birth of a new Yiddish daily, *Varheit*, which was established by the pioneers of the *Forward*, Louis Miller and Morris Winchevsky. The struggle against Cahan and Cahanism by Dr. Zhitlowsky, Jacob Gordin, a group of writers who called themselves the "Young Ones" and an element in the Workmen's Circle who called themselves "The Young," are recorded in the writings of many East Side pioneers. These cannot be overlooked by any historian who wants to give a true picture of the development of the Jewish community in the United States.

The struggle against Cahanism really began as soon as the *Forward* was established, in April 1897, with Cahan as editor. A few months later Cahan resigned to become a reporter for the *Commercial Advertiser* because Morris Winchevsky, L. Miller and others on the editorial board could not agree with Cahan on the policies of the paper. For five years the *Forward* struggled along, as socialist

papers usually did. Early in 1902, Cahan's adherents utilized the precarious financial situation to influence the Forward Association (or "Federation," as it was then called) to invite Cahan to become editor with full powers. Cahan then resumed where he left off in 1897, bringing with him the methods acquired during his five years as reporter for the capitalist press. He injected into the Yiddish press the yellow journalism at that time being developed by Hearst and Pulitzer.

The "Forward" Grows

The circulation of the *Forward* soon began to grow rapidly. It is problematical whether the methods Cahan introduced were responsible for the growth. The tide of Jewish immigration had continued to rise. To the immigrant who was lonely, forlorn and dazed in the Golden Land, the Yiddish newspaper was like a lighthouse in the storm. Other Jewish newspapers, too, gained in circulation. It also happened that immediately after Cahan took charge of the *Forward*, the old Yiddish socialist daily, *Dos Abend Blat*, established in 1894, was discontinued because of the deterioration of the Socialist Labor Party.

However, the fact that the *Forward* circulation began to increase almost immediately after Cahan introduced methods of the yellow press, strengthened the Cahan group and Cahan himself. The defeat of the opponents of these methods was thus facilitated. For many years rumbling continued inside the Forward Association, even after some of Cahan's chief opponents bolted to establish the *Varheit*. But Cahan's editorship was a financial "success" and the *Forward* became a going and growing concern and Cahan's absolute control of the paper was consolidated.

The newspapers established at this time (*Varheit*, 1905; *Day*, 1914) were not socialist. Until the *Freiheit* was founded in 1922, the *Forward* was the only labor and socialist paper in Yiddish, published by an association which at that time consisted of socialists (or "socialists"), a majority of whom were also trade unionists. Some of them were led into the trap of sensationalism by the motivation that more people would thereby be attracted to socialism. The paper willynilly became the organ of the socialist and trade union movement and was utilized in various campaigns against the sweat shops and during elections. The prestige it thereby gained facilitated Cahan's efforts to play a dominating role on the East Side, which at that time was overwhelmingly Jewish with a considerable proportion, if not a majority, of Jewish workers.

But the labor and socialist movement itself was sensationalized by Cahan. The Russian revolution of 1905 was given a "sexy" angle. The paper ran front page stories about the "Jewish" wife of the then tsarist prime minister, Count Witte. On October 24, 1905, for instance, the *Forward* ran the following headline: "Madam Witte, the Jewish Girl from Shavel, Admitted to Royal Dances."

Among the famous *Forward* scandals there was the episode with the book, *Women and Socialism*, by August

Bebel, leader of the German socialist movement before World War I. Here are some of the headlines over stories that Cahan used to boost the Yiddish edition of the book: "Why Were Women in the Past More Beautiful Than at Present?" "A Moslem Woman Cannot See Even the Doctor," "King Solomon had a Thousand Wives and that Was No Sin," etc. Rumor had it that Bebel himself put an end to this scandal.

Such examples show how the sensationalism and crass opportunism of the *Forward* under Cahan could not help but affect the labor and socialist movement itself, as well as the social and cultural life on the East Side. And these examples indicate the influence of Cahan on the Yiddish language, theater and literature. The language was cheapened, vulgarized, polluted. The "pure plain Yiddish Yiddish" which Cahan promised to promote on March 15, 1902, was neither pure nor Yiddish.

Corruptor of Language and Culture

It was a matter of "principle" with Cahan to jargonize the Yiddish language with American phrases. He bitterly fought against the establishment of Jewish children's schools. Although an editor of a Yiddish daily, he was against Yiddish "in principle." According to the muddled concepts of socialism and internationalism of Cahan and his group, the Yiddish language was a manifestation of Jewish "nationalism." Cahan was a bourgeois assimilationist, that is, one who believed in deliberate surrender to the dominant ruling class culture. Since the beginning of this century he continually "predicted" the disappearance of Yiddish "in five years," "in ten years," and he did his best to make his predictions come true. With his powerful instrument, the *Forward*, he fought every attempt to build a Jewish culture. He refused to allow even a mention of the names of important cultural leaders (for instance, Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky).

He harmed the Yiddish theater in many ways. By his sensationalism Cahan influenced its repertoire and its public. He served as the paper's "drama critic" himself and suppressed mention of "unfriendly" names, thus holding a whip over the theater. The proud Jacob Gordin, foremost Jewish playwright, who refused to bow to Cahan, was Cahan's enemy to the death. True to his "principles," Cahan did not countenance, let alone help the building of a good Yiddish theater on a non-commercial basis.

Because of his bourgeois assimilationism and opportunism and because of his respect for Jacob Schiff, Louis Marshall, Felix Warburg and other representatives of the Jewish big bourgeoisie (he saw "romance" in the names of Jewish Wall Street bankers and a source of "pride" to "the poor East Side Jews"), Cahan followed the line of the American Jewish Committee on Jewish problems. This alliance of the *Forward* Association with the Jewish plutocracy also testifies to the "socialist" character of this group. Clearly, this alliance did not contribute to a proper understanding

of Jewish issues. Quite the contrary. For the lack of clarity among many sections of the Jewish community on Jewish problems and their lack of unity in action, the *Forward* bears a share of responsibility. The *Forward* has always followed the hush-hush line of the AJ Committee and rarely, if ever, supported mass action.

Cahan's Legacy

In 1927 I wrote a series of articles for the *Freiheit* on "Thirty Years of the *Forward*." A well known Yiddish dramatist, a nationalist, conveyed to me his gratitude for these articles. "The *Forward*," he said, "is the greatest misfortune that has befallen the Jewish people since the destruction of the Temple." To me this sounded bizarre. But it certainly gives some indication of the magnitude of this misfortune, which is now far more harmful than in 1927. A few examples from the recent history of the paper will show this.

1. In 1946, the *Forward* opened its columns to the tsarist General Denikin, leader of bloody pogroms in the Ukraine in 1918-19, in order to whitewash him.

2. In 1947, when the Jewish community in Rio de Janeiro excommunicated the brothers Saifman for collaborating with the nazis in the slaughter of the 20,000 Jews of Ostrowce, Poland, the *Forward* defended these two "Kapos" in a series of articles by Chaim Lieberman, one of its chief writers.

3. After the Peekskill outrages in September 1949, the *Forward* sided with the fascist bands and blamed the "communists" for the events.

4. The *Forward* has been conducting a vicious campaign against Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who is a conservative, for his anti-war sermons at his temple in Cleveland.

These attacks caused the Chicago *Sentinel* (April 5) quite correctly to brand the *Forward* as an organ which uses "Hitler methods in Jewish life."

5. On February 16, 1951 the *Forward* published a feature article in praise of General Lucius D. Clay. Of course there was no mention in the article of Clay's commutation of Ilse Koch's sentence.

6. The *Forward* has in recent months supported the alliance with Franco and the rearming of West Germany.

From these facts it is obvious that a paper like the *Forward*, which still has a large circulation and is financially well-intrenched and owns its own radio station (WEVD), is harmful to the Jewish community as a whole. Furthermore, its influence extends into national life through the labor and political machines it has built up in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (Dubinsky) and other unions, as well as in the Liberal Party and in sections of the Americans for Democratic Action.

But we must let the facts given here suffice. No matter how important it may be to place the figure of Cahan in its historical perspective, it is still more immediately important to evaluate the legacy of Cahan and the role of his creation, the *Forward*, which is still alive.

NATIONAL MEETING OF JEWISH YOUTH

Organized Jewish youth have not been stampeded by the red hysteria; their annual meeting reaffirmed their belief in unity and action

By Jack Greenstein

THE Jewish community has come to anticipate eagerly the conclusions, resolutions and decisions of the annual assemblies of the National Jewish Youth Conference, and with good reason. For this actual and spiritual heir—representing almost all organized Jewish youth in America—of the late American Jewish Conference has demonstrated over the past four years that it is unique in Jewish life. This uniqueness stems from the honest searching of the over almost 200 young people who come yearly to Camp Wel-Met, in Narrowsburg, N. Y., in September, seeking answers to the problems of American Jewish youth.

Changes Among Jewish Youth

The years of the cold war have brought many profound changes in the character and composition of the Jewish youth community. These changes have become most evident in the course of the past 12 months, which saw a sharp drop in membership figures and in the age level of the membership and leadership of Jewish youth groups in the community and, though to a lesser degree, on a national level. No longer are Jewish youth organizations composed mainly of veterans of the anti-fascist war, or of young people who grew into maturity during the period of the broadest unity among all democratic forces in the United States and the world. The draft and the process of growing up have taken most of these young adults out of the ranks of "youth" in the organizational sense.

They have been replaced by youngsters whose thought and activity began developing under the cloud of post-war reaction, in an atmosphere of conformity instead of unity, of witch-hunts instead of democracy. The young people who now comprise the bulk of Jewish youth groups and organizations did not grow up in the Jewish community which formed the American Jewish Conference to serve unitedly and militantly the needs and interests of the Jewish people. They were in their early teens and even younger during the great mass actions which expressed the solidarity of American Jews with the struggles of the Palestinian *yishuv* for national independence. Their development has begun in communities where the major concern of big business leadership has been not to build unity, but to destroy the unity already attained through "purges of dissident elements" in organizations and community councils, where "public relations" and timidity have largely

replaced the earlier post-war militancy and mass action.

But—and the "but" is the deep lesson of our times—the problems and struggles faced by today's youth are no less intense than those which their older brothers and sisters faced—perhaps even more intense, more critical to the very existence of the Jewish people and all humanity. The experience of anti-fascist unity on the part of the "older generation" of youth made possible the creation of the National Jewish Youth Conference despite the disruption of the American Jewish Conference. The intensity of today's struggles and the honest searching of youth have made possible the preservation and even the advancement of unity and democracy at this most recent NJYC assembly despite the pressure of five years of cold war and over a year of "hot" war.

They Tackled Basic Questions

That this is true becomes evident even from a cursory reading of the "Findings" (summary) of the discussions held at the assembly, from the resolutions and reports of many delegates. The basic question of war and peace, for instance, was approached with greater clarity than ever before. *JEWISH LIFE* (November 1950) correctly pointed out that last year's assembly revealed a "serious lack of understanding of the connection between the war danger and others problems," and that this lack of understanding tended to weaken the overall effectiveness of the position taken on other questions. Peace was considered an abstract "need of Jewish youth," along with adequate recreational facilities and the like, at the 1950 assembly. This year, however, the delegates declared in their summary:

"We are meeting in a world full of insecurities for youth as well as for adults. The lives of young adults, in particular, have been seriously disrupted by the tensions which exist in our world society. The withdrawal of young men from the community into the armed forces has had its effect not only on their lives, but also upon the lives of the young women in the community.

"The interruption of plans for continued education, courtship and marriage and of careers or occupations newly entered into, and the effect of all this on the emotional well-being of youth in the community are a matter of serious concern to youth everywhere and to us as Jewish youth.

"The climate of the community in which we live makes it increasingly difficult for young people to speak out on issues which affect them and all society. It becomes more difficult even to arrange forums for the free expression of conflicting opinions and points of view."

From this understanding that the clouds of war and war preparation cast their shadow into the Jewish community center and its youth activities, the delegates framed and unanimously adopted a resolution pointing out that "the lives of our generation have been disrupted by past wars and preparations for possible future wars" and that "the interests of the world in general and youth in particular can best be served through negotiation of differences within the framework of the United Nations." While the delegates did not examine deeply the source of the war danger, they did call on the United States government to explore all possible avenues to peace *through the U.N.*

In its resolution on Germany, the assembly showed greater clarity than before while revealing the effects of many of the carefully-sown confusions in the Jewish community. The delegates again confirmed their "opposition to the resurgence of nazism in Germany" and expressed their "pain and anger at the rapidity with which the murder of six million Jews and millions of people of all nations is being forgotten." They called upon all organized Jewish youth to take action on renazification. The resolution is silent on the equal and inseparable danger of the rearming and remilitarization of Germany, an omission which must be considered a serious lack of clarity.

Awareness of Thought-Control

The assembly felt sharply the stifling atmosphere of thought-control in our country and the rise of racism and anti-Semitism which has accompanied the attacks on the Bill of Rights. A group of resolutions was adopted, among them expressions of "unconditional opposition" to the McCarran act and a call for its repeal, condemnation of "any limitations on academic freedom," specifically "loyalty oath requirements for professors and the curbing of the rights of student groups to freely express their opinions," and a call for the elimination of "bias toward minority groups in textbooks and the entertainment industries." The resolution on human rights called on Jewish youth to play a vital role in the elimination of human rights violations in America, by programs of education and action. The NJYC itself was instructed to "focus attention on such issues" at annual assemblies, to take action and to supply its constituents with factual information regarding violations of human rights. As the first such action, the assembly condemned the inciters of the riots in Cicero, Illinois.

Problems of Racism

Delegates report that the assembly manifested a deeper understanding of anti-Semitism and its relation to racism,

leading to greater interest in relationship between Negro and Jewish youth. The summary of discussion around the question of social action reports these as major issues around which action has been taken on local levels: "the protection and advancement of civil liberties and basic human rights, the combatting of anti-Semitism, the development of inter-group and inter-cultural programs." The report warned against a sterile approach to relations between Jewish and non-Jewish youth: "Inter-group relations must not be concerned with brotherhood on an abstract level but instead must serve as a means for united community action on common problems."

The summary reports that a discriminatory admission policy in a Jewish community center brought protests from the youth council in that center. The assembly was then stimulated to discuss the "problem" faced by centers in cities where the Jewish population of working-class neighborhoods has been largely replaced by Negro and Spanish-speaking families. The youth did not recommend, as too many adult Jewish leaders have, that the Jewish community center close down in the interracial, working-class neighborhoods and build new centers in the heart of Jewish middle-class areas. The young people suggested joint operation of the center by Jewish and non-Jewish agencies, pointing out that in this way, the needs of all the youth in the community would be served.

Rejection of Red-Baiting

Perhaps the present policy of the bourgeois Jewish leadership, which has carefully nurtured fear and timidity and ruthlessly attacked any development toward militant, mass action, was unknown to the youth. In any case that policy became quite clear on the second day. Under the appropriate headline "Jewish Youth Warned," the *New York Times* reported on September 3, that S. D. Gershovitz, executive director of the National Jewish Welfare Board, sponsor of the NJYC, had declared that "because of youth's traditional idealism and its healthy desire to get at the root of things, young people run the risk of becoming the dupes of unprincipled and ruthless enemies of democratic society."

The decisions made by the delegates showed that they were not scared by such bogeys. The delegates went even further by rejecting—in action, if not in words—this red-baiting. Against a background of the witch-hunt and expulsions in adult Jewish community councils, the young people regarded as an important reason for formation of youth councils the fact that "they are a setting in which organizations with diverse philosophies and approaches to Jewish life may meet together, learn about each other, and find areas of agreement for common action." The assembly recalled the American Jewish Conference and its outstanding example of "unified action by American Jewry" and called on the adult leadership of community councils and national organizations "to call together an American Jewish Conference." This proposal was made by the outgoing chairman of the NJYC, according to the *JWB Circle*, and

was enthusiastically supported by youth at the conference.

The pressures of the cold war were not entirely absent from the deliberations of the conference, however. While "youth's . . . healthy desire to get at the root of things" (to quote Mr. Gershovitz again) proved much stronger than the pressure of reaction, certain weaknesses must be noted as signs of danger to the further development of this united, democratic youth movement. For example, the assembly adopted a resolution accepting the libel of "the insecure position of Jews in certain countries of Eastern Europe," lumping the people's democracies with the feudal semi-colonies of the Near East. The resolution declares that "it has been the policy of many of these countries to forbid emigration to Israel and outlaw any organization advocating such emigration" (despite the fact that there are no emigration laws that single out Israel) and ends by calling on those countries to allow the Jews "the right of emigration to Israel if they so desire" in the name of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Neither the press nor delegates reported any discussion of this question during the assembly. It is obvious that the intensive campaign of the American Jewish Committee and Jewish "Labor" Committee has in some measure succeeded in spreading this "big lie" in the Jewish community. Conversely, it becomes obvious that those who see in this campaign an attempt to immobilize the Jewish people in the fight for peace must increase their clarification of the truth about the lives of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe.

Resistance to "Purge"

The basically democratic spirit of the delegates, it is reported, caused a revision in the tactics of the small group to whom the democratic unity of the NJYC has been a source of growing irritation. Following the sharp rebuff to the abortive frontal attack launched last year against the progressive Jewish Young Fraternalists, (see *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1950) this year's try at witch-hunting was more cautious.

An attempt was made to include provisions for the expulsion of affiliated organizations in the NJYC constitution. Significantly, the proposal for an expulsion mechanism was supported by two arguments: first, that expulsion of affiliates has become quite the thing in many Jewish organizations; and second, that the Supreme Court had upheld the right of organizations to conduct purges.

Many delegates immediately saw this "innocent" proposal for what it was and a number took the floor in stirring affirmations of the basic concept of the NJYC—unity without uniformity. Speakers pointed out that expulsions meant "sitting in judgment" over various ideological trends in Jewish life and that this was the converse of seeking to find in all approaches common agreement leading to action for the diverse needs and interests of Jewish youth. The expulsion proposal was withdrawn and the constitution ratified without it. But the debate over this question served to crystallize and deepen the understanding of many young

people who had been hazy on the basic concepts of democratic unity. Their determination to strengthen and extend that unity was one of the high points of the assembly.

The Cultural Heritage

Major enthusiasm was developed around discussions of the means by which youth could help develop a living American Jewish culture, and in the actual creation of dramatic, musical and dance works at the assembly itself. It was only natural that the discussions of the problems of Jewish youth should lead the delegates to seek answers in the history of the Jews in the United States and to see in the powerful lessons of the past 300 years the source of cultural creation. Not only did the young people enthusiastically decide to make observance of Jewish History Week a high point in youth activity, but they also wrote and produced a cantata, entitled *Heritage*, tracing the participation of Jews in the struggle for American democracy and showing how these struggles drew upon and added to the heritage of the Jewish people.

The discussions and decisions around the question of Israel reflected, perhaps more than in any other area, the influence of prevailing attitudes and contradictions in the Zionist movement and in middle-class Jewish life generally. While recognizing, on the one hand, that Zionist youth organizations have suffered a greater loss of membership than others, and that the future of Jewish life in the United States depends primarily on meeting the real problems of American Jewry in America, many young people still spoke in glowing generalities of the impact of the State of Israel on American Jewish youth. The question of *halutzit* (emigration to Israel) was not raised as sharply as in previous years. Although the assembly adopted proposals for greater fund-raising activity and intensified relations between local Jewish youth councils and youth settlements in Israel, nowhere were these activities projected as a substitute for meeting the everyday problem of Jewish youth.

A Fighting Program

It is of the highest importance that the program adopted by the assembly is designed to meet the many-sided needs and interests of Jewish youth. The program can be evaluated only in terms of the critical times which the delegates themselves described; in terms of the hovering danger of war and its threat of extinction of the Jewish people, of the destruction of democratic rights and the growing boldness of racist propagandists and hoodlums, encouraged by the rapid march toward fascism. Most of all, this program must be evaluated on the basis of its capacity to *help in the mobilization of Jewish youth* to meet the challenge of this crisis.

The assembly did in great measure develop such a program. Carried out in every community, it can serve as a basis for a united movement of all Jewish youth, moving forward to peace and democracy.

RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Some comments on four new books that discuss current trends toward breakdown of the basic principle of separation of church and state

By Morris U. Schappes

IT IS sometimes overlooked that the First Amendment to our Constitution contains two parts. The second portion deals with "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble." This part has been undermined by the Smith act and the recent Supreme Court decision confirming the conviction of the Communist Eleven under this act. But the first part of the amendment is also under increasingly severe attack by the same forces of economic, political and clerical reaction. For the First Amendment begins thus: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." It was mass pressure and the political wisdom of the Jeffersonians that compelled Congress to establish what Jefferson called "the wall of separation" between church and state.

Current Attacks

Yet Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, emboldened by his successes in political persecution, has made a bid to open the dikes of religious persecution by calling for the elimination of the first part of the First Amendment. Addressing the National Catholic Educational Association of America in Cleveland on March 30, 1951, McGrath declared that "we of the Catholic faith" believe that, "if anything, the state and the church must not have any fence between them." Startled by the fact that a cabinet member had dared to espouse a position heretofore advocated only by the most reactionary clericals, many Americans spoke up.

The *Toledo Blade* editorially denounced McGrath. The *Christian Century* called for McGrath's resignation. Speaking at the University of Chicago Law School on May 10, Leo Pfeffer, counsel for the American Jewish Congress, demanded that McGrath apologize to the American people. But George A. Timone, the hierarchy's fascist-minded whip in the New York City Board of Education, announced that the Board would ask McGrath to file a brief with the United States Supreme Court in support of the compulsory practice of reading the Protestant Bible and reciting the "Lord's prayer" in New Jersey public schools. At about the same time, W. Kingsland Macy, Re-

publican politician and member of the New York State Board of Regents, proposed that "a graded report from a church or temple" become a requirement for graduation from a public school.

Shortly thereafter the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform), on June 20, passed a vigorous resolution opposing the use of the public schools for Bible readings, for observation of religious holidays, Christian and Jewish, and for "released-time" programs, in which school officials organize the pupils to leave class earlier on a given day for religious instruction in or outside the school. The following day, Monsignor John S. Middleton, secretary for education to Cardinal Spellman, scolded the rabbis for encouraging secularism, which, according to him, "is already eating away the heart of American life." On July 7, the New York State Court of Appeals decided that the New York released-time program was constitutional. And to top it all, Congress has again yielded to the pressure of the hierarchy that no Federal Aid bill shall pass unless it provides funds for parochial as well as for public schools. For years federal aid bills have been killed in Congress; the main sufferers are the Southern states and especially the Negro people in those states.

A New Strategem

While these and innumerable other unconstitutional attempts are being made to force religious education into the public schools through the front door, an even more insidious movement is gathering momentum. In 1944, the National Conference of Christians and Jews stimulated the American Council on Education to hold a conference on the subject. In 1947, a committee appointed by this conference issued a report, "The Relation of Religion to Public Education: The Basic Principles," recommending that religion be studied "objectively" in the public schools. In September, 1948, a five-year program, financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, was begun at Teachers College, Columbia University, to prepare teacher-leadership to carry such studies of religion into the schools.

As a manual for the building of such a curriculum, Harper's has published a little volume by Dr. Virgil Henry,

Superintendent of Schools of Orland Park, Illinois.¹ To provide "fundamental character training," Dr. Henry recommends "an objective 'study of religion' as a part of the culture (in contrast to the 'teaching of religion,' which to many people implies sectarian indoctrination)." Dr. Henry opposes the ordinary devices put forward to breach the wall of separation between religion and public education. He is against released-time programs, Bible-reading rituals, Christmas, Thanksgiving and Hannukah celebrations in the schools, and so forth.

Instead he proposes what is more dangerous because it is more thorough: a systematic study of religion that would include "acquaintance with the great religious classics, including the Bible; first-hand contact with the geographically accessible religious institutions and basic information about their past history, present programs, and goals for the future; the main beliefs of the various sects; the major philosophies of life and the attitudes of the different religious groups toward these philosophies; opinions of the great scientists and religious leaders about the relationship between science and religion; and an understanding of the great religious concepts expressed in music, art, and drama."

In short, religious ideas are to permeate and to be integrated with every branch of study. Dr. Henry advocates "emphasizing the religious aspect of history." As for "religion in the physical and biological sciences," Dr. Henry proposes the teaching of "evolution as a part of God's plan." He would teach "the nature of God" by "associating God with many examples of law and order in the universe and with the wonder and beauty of nature." From arithmetic to zoology, the curriculum would be infused with religion. Such a program would destroy the victories achieved by the people in the past 150 years in fighting for public school education that is secular and scientific.²

Once alerted, the democratic elements in the teaching profession will surely resist this new maneuver.

A Weapon Against Released-Time

In the meantime there has come to hand a sturdy weapon to be used in the resistance against released-time programs, Bible-reading routines and attempts to secure tax-funds for such purposes as bus transportation or text books for parochial schools. Prof. R. Freeman Butts of Teachers' College has very effectively performed³ the task of refuting the distortions of American history on the subject of separation of church and state disseminated by the hierarchy. Recently this distortion was set forth by a Catholic layman, Brooklyn College Professor of Speech J. M. O'Neill, in his book, *Religion and Education Under the Constitution* (1949).

To explain the historical meaning of the phrase in the First Amendment about an "establishment of religion,"

Prof. Butts digs deeply into the history of our country. He proves that in colonial times, when unity of church and state prevailed, an "establishment of religion . . . meant *positive support of religion by public funds*, and . . . *legal enforcement of certain orthodox religious beliefs* . . ." (italics in original).

Our revolutionary democratic forefathers, he shows, tried to *disestablish* religion. By the First Amendment they did not, as O'Neill argues, mean to prevent the establishment merely of one national church. "Any co-operation between the state and any or all churches was considered to be 'establishment.' . . . It was this expanded meaning of multiple establishment that the First Amendment was designed to prevent. . . ."

Therefore, Prof. Butts concludes, "Indirect financial or legal aid to religious agencies is likewise an 'establishment of religion' and thus is unconstitutional. The principle of separation of church and state in education . . . prohibits indirect aid through free transportation, free textbooks, and the like. . . . 'Auxiliary services' to children [such as school lunches and health services in parochial schools] are indirect aids to the schools they attend." Despite a couple of instances of fashionable and routine red-baiting on the part of Prof. Butts, the book is quite useful for its purpose.

An Old-New Program

Separation of church and state, however, does not apply only to education. How often this "wall of separation" has been breached can be seen by recalling the "nine demands" put forward in 1873 by the "liberal religionist," Francis Ellingwood Abbot, president of the National Liberal League. The demands were: that church property "shall be no longer exempt from taxation"; that "the employment of chaplains in Congress, in the legislatures," the armed forces, prisons and other public institutions "shall be discontinued"; that all "public appropriations" for sectarian institutions "shall cease"; that Bible-reading in the schools and other government supported religious services "be prohibited"; that the president and governors shall stop appointing days for "religious festivals and fasts" (like Thanksgiving); that "the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments" shall be discontinued and that the "penalties of perjury" replace it; that all Sunday-laws be repealed; that "all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian' morality shall be abrogated and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights and impartial liberty," that all our constitutions and "our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis. . . ."⁴ This is one of the basic documents reprinted and interpreted by the editor as an aid to the struggle for guarding and strengthening the "wall of separation between church and state."

¹ *The Place of Religion in Public Schools, A Handbook to Guide' Communitis*, by Virgil Henry, New York, 1950. \$2.50.

² See Moses Miller, "Keep Church and State Separate," *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1947, and Benjamin Paskoff, "Church and School," *JEWISH LIFE*, February 1948.

³ *The American Tradition in Religion and Education*, The Beacon Press, Boston, 1950. \$3.

⁴ Joel Blau, ed., *Cornerstones of Religious Freedom in America*, The Beacon Press, Boston, 1949, \$3, pp. 208-209.

This program of Dr. Abbot's, which is still sound today, suggests that what is needed is not only a defensive campaign, but a positive, active offensive "in favor of the complete secularization of the state," as that "tough old atheist," Benjamin F. Underwood wrote in 1876 (*ibid.*, p. 213). Certainly as the people grow stronger and win their full rights, they will conduct such an offensive.

Meanwhile, parents, teachers and students, as they take steps to beat back the offensives now launched against secular public education by the McGraths and their associates, need to acquaint themselves with the basic arguments on the subject, with the laws, the court decisions, and the great American utterances they can use as weapons. The biggest single collection of such materials is *American State Papers and Related Documents on Freedom in Religion*.⁵ This 900-page volume is issued by the Seventh Day Adventists, who have suffered extensively because they, like observant Orthodox Jews, are punished by Sunday laws that disregard their adherence to the Sabbath. It is full of invaluable documents and informative discussion notes, from the early colonial laws to the full texts of the Supreme Court deci-

⁵ Compiled and edited by William Addison Blakely, Review and Herald Publishing Association, 4th rev. ed., 1949, Washington, D.C. \$4.

sions in the Everson and McCollum cases. There is material on the agitation that led to the stopping of the delivery of mail on Sundays, on federal and state legislation bearing upon the observance of Sunday as a religious holiday, on provisions of all the state constitutions on religious matters, on federal and state court decisions on these matters as well as on education.⁶ Here indeed is an arsenal to help prevent what the editor aptly calls "religious infiltration through the secular front."

In this infiltration and in the frontal attack that McCarthy may be signalling it is well to recognize that today the people become discontented with monopoly misrule. The field of education is therefore under pressure of big business in many ways—through loyalty oaths, the dismissal of scientific teachers, of those who openly advocate civil liberties and peace. The educational system is also under attack by the clerical allies and spokesmen for big business. In the past, it was the masses who fought for and won the right to free, public, and *secular* education. They will have to continue this fight today.

⁶ Useful material on the relations of American Jews to these problems is to be found in this writer's book, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, in Documents Nos. 11, 43, 61, 62, 74, 92, 98, 136, 150.

ADENAUER'S FRAUDULENT "REPENTANCE"

WEST German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer perpetrated a gigantic fraud against the Jewish and democratic-minded people of the world when he tried to give the world the impression on September 27 that his regime acknowledged German guilt for the genocide of the Jews. He who reads beyond the headlines will see that Adenauer did not acknowledge German guilt. Instead, he sought to absolve the German people of responsibility with these words: "The great majority of the German people abhorred the crimes committed against the Jews and had no part in them."

Why did the West German regime wait six years before making even such a statement? The fact is that this statement is intended to divert the almost unanimous sentiment of the Jewish and democratic-minded people against the revival of the nazi Frankenstein through the rearmament of the German Wehrmacht. This statement is a further sign that the Truman administration's insistence on German rearmament has become more intense.

This statement of Adenauer, announced with such fanfare, is empty. This is quite obvious from the elementary fact that neo-nazism goes its merry way unimpeded in West Germany. If the Adenauer regime were sincerely repentant for the crimes against the Jews, there would be a convincing way to show this, by *deeds*—summary elimination of all nazi and anti-Semitic influence in West German society.

The extent of the revival of nazism in West Germany has been pointed out innumerable times and volumi-

nously documented. On pages 25-26 of this issue we print excerpts from the most recent of such reports, compiled by the World Jewish Congress. From all the facts, it is clear that the trend in West Germany is toward increasing influence and control of the state by former nazis who today once again are agitating for nazi principles. Is this the "repentant" Germany of which Adenauer is speaking?

In contrast with West Germany, the East German regime has for some time acknowledged the guilt and full responsibility of the German people for the nazi genocide against the Jews. Said President Wilhelm Pieck of the (East) German Democratic Republic immediately after its establishment: "The new Germany admits its responsibility for Hitler's outrages and for the terrible sufferings of the victims of nazism. . . . We will make up through positive deeds the evils we have perpetrated." And Premier Otto Grotewohl said unequivocally: "We consider anti-Semitism to be a crime against humanity. Every manifestation of anti-Semitism in Democratic Germany will be punished as severely as possible." These statements have been made real by deeds.

The Jewish people and democratic people everywhere should not be confused by this smokescreen thrown up by Adenauer. German rearmament means war and disaster for the Jewish people. The campaign against remilitarization of Germany is more urgent than ever. In self defense the Jewish people must resist German rearmament.

FREE JEWISH WORSHIP IN USSR

A MOSCOW SYNAGOGUE

London

During the course of a three-week stay in the Soviet Union, I was interested to see whether accusations of anti-Semitism and discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union made by the press in Britain and elsewhere had any foundation or not. Therefore, when outlining what I wanted to see, I asked to be able to look into the Jewish problem.

I was informed that looking into the problems of the Jew in the Soviet Union was rather like looking into the problems of the Russians in Russia. The Jewish people are equal in every respect with all other peoples of the Soviet Union and have every opportunity for advancement in all spheres. However, it was arranged that, together with other delegates of Jewish origin, I should visit one of the three synagogues operating in Moscow.

One evening before our visit to the synagogue, whilst walking in a park, we had a chat with a Jewish jeweler from Chelyabinsk who was in Moscow for a course of study in connection with his work. He confirmed the freedom of Jewish people in the Soviet Union. Two of our delegation had dinner at the Israeli Legation where they were told that, as far as could be seen, there was no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

We spoke to several Jews in different walks of life—as a matter of fact the photographer who came round with the delegation was Jewish—and all expressed the same view.

Our visit to the synagogue was most interesting. The Rabbi, Schliefer, is a friend of, and studied with, Rabbi Abramski of London, now living in retirement in Israel. He asked me to convey his best wishes to Rabbi Aramski.

He also sent a message from Moscow Jewry to the Jewish people of London. It conveyed friendly greetings, told of the free and equal rights Jews enjoyed with the rest of the people of the Soviet Union, and appealed to London's Jews to exert every effort to achieve good relations between the two peoples and the peace of the world.

He told us that the synagogue numbered its congregation in scores of thousands, fairly evenly spread over all ages.

Barmitzvahs were too numerous to keep account of, but a few days before there had been over 20 at one service. There were services every evening from six o'clock to midnight in order to satisfy the demand. The synagogues were entirely self-supporting.

There was no difficulty in obtaining Kosher foods, nor was any bar placed in the execution of their religious rites and customs. Some contact had been kept with Birobidjan in matters connected with the synagogue—exchange of books, etc., but not lately. One or two people were in correspondence with people in Birobidjan.

There were, I estimate, some 200 people, mainly in the thirties and forties, present in a brightly lit, spacious hall. The rabbi said that the attendance at the service was rather small that evening as, being summertime, many people were away on their holidays. In Moscow generally we found the place empty because of this—there were no opera, ballet or Moscow art companies as they were all either touring the provinces or resting.

The rabbi was a fine, upstanding figure, cultured and dignified. Various members of the congregation were present at the interview and answered our questions free-

ly, frankly and cordially. From their very attitude it was clear to me that these people know a life of security such as has seldom been accorded the Jewish people during centuries of persecution and oppression. I was indeed very impressed by their sincerity and dignity.

G. HOBBS

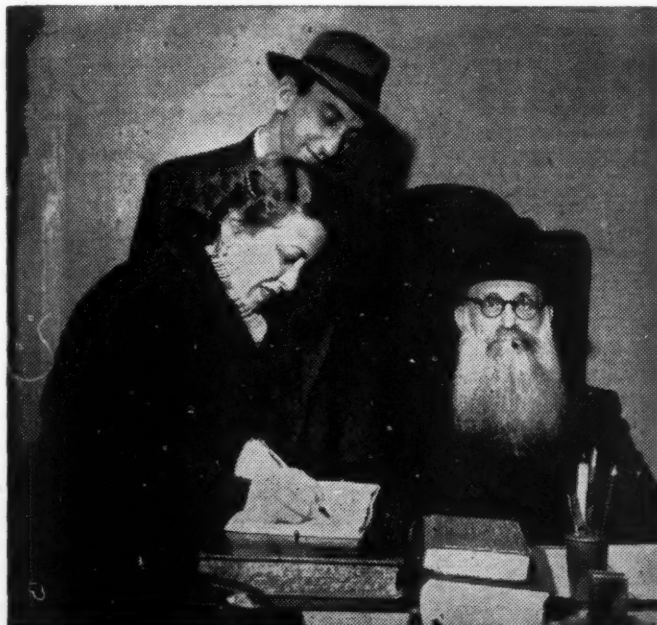
VISITS WITH MOSCOW JEWS

After the return to England of student and women's delegations to the Soviet Union this summer, the London *Jewish Chronicle* published informative letters and articles during September on freedom of worship for Jews in the Soviet Union.

An interview of a *Chronicle* reporter with three Jewish members of the women's delegation, Mrs. Nancy Silverman, wife of the Labor M.P., Sydney Silverman, and vice-chairman of the national executive of the Zionist Women's Labor Organization of Great Britain, Dr. Betty Ibbetson and Mrs. Renee Peckar, was published in the issue of September 7. Mrs. Silverman said that she asked to meet the Yiddish writer, Itzik Feffer, but was told that he was in Riga.

In the same issue there was a letter signed by the three women, which read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, members of a delegation of 20 women who have just



Moscow's Chief Rabbi S. Schliefer receives Emil and Faigel Gertner, of Canada, who visited the Soviet capital recently.

concluded three weeks' stay in the Soviet Union, made two visits to a Moscow synagogue in 6pasoglinistshevsky Perulok. We had a long interview with Rabbi S. M. Schliefer and we are sure that your readers will be interested in this short report of our findings.

"On the occasion of our first visit, a Tuesday morning, a congregation of some 50 men were taking part in one of the ten daily services. The rabbi spent about an hour and a half answering our questions and it is clear that there is complete freedom of Jewish worship and all traditional observance. The conversation was carried on in Yiddish.

"The congregation, which is one of three in central Moscow, employs a staff of 40. It is completely self-sufficient, receiving no grant at all from the State. It supports itself on the half-million voluntary subscriptions placed annually in its offering box.

"We also had the pleasure of attending a Friday night service, where, although it was at the height of the holiday season, some hundred men and ten women were present.

"The rabbi and officials sent their greetings and hoped an exchange visit with a representative of British Jewry could be arranged. His parting words were: 'Such visits can only help to foster friendship and peace. The search for peace is the task of mankind and a task for Jews above all others.'

In the issue of September 14, there was an article, "Iron Curtain Synagogue," by

one of the student delegates, Geoffrey Speyer. From Speyer's article we quote the following:

"There were Jewish cemeteries in Moscow and one new synagogue had been built in 1945. . . . In Georgia, the Intourist guide pointed out several Jewish collective farms in the Caucasus, near Govi, Stalin's birthplace, but unfortunately there was no time to visit them or to come into contact with Jewish families. . . . We were told by the rector of the university [of Kiev] that there were 900 Jewish students there."

In the next issue, September 21, another letter by the three Jewish women delegates appeared, which stated:

"We were interested to read Mr. Geoffrey Speyer's account last week of his visit to a Moscow synagogue, as it was evidently the same one that we visited early in August.

"Our discussions seem to have gone along very similar lines, but there were one or two discrepancies in his report from the information in our possession. We had the advantage of being able to carry out a long conversation in Yiddish and it is probable that this explains the differences.

"On the question of Hebrew and Yiddish publications, we were informed that in the days of the tsars, restrictions were placed on the right of Jews to live in Moscow and therefore there never was a publishing house in that city. Hebrew books were and still are imported from Vilna. As far as Yiddish publications are concerned, one member of the congregation told us that a friend of his had brought local Jewish newspapers when he came

last winter on a visit from Birobidjan.

"We were assured that kosher food is obtainable and supervised by the officials of the synagogue and that special supplies for Holy Days, such as *matzot*, were available by arrangement with the appropriate government institution. I think that Mr. Speyer will agree that this is quite consistent with the general freedom of the individual to practice his personal religious and traditional observances.

"Other evidence of this we saw in our visit to the *miqvah* in the basement of the synagogue—on the occasion of our second attendance. Then we took part in the most devout Friday night service and had the pleasure of meeting the young cantor and hearing an exceptional voice. The synagogue was brightly lit and we were impressed by the friendly interest of the passers-by, who stood at the wide open door and quietly listened.

"These are the human touches that we will remember when we are influenced to be carried along by the daily hysteria of anti-Soviet propaganda and in remembering such things we will be furthering the better understanding between our two communities."

READ IT IN—

Masses & Mainstream

OCTOBER ISSUE

PSYCHOANALYSIS

versus

THE NEGRO PEOPLE

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У строителей Цимлянского гидроузла

Решение задачи, стоящее перед строителями Цимлянского гидроузла, является одним из самых трудных в истории советского строительства. Это связано с тем, что в этом месте реки Дон протекает по глубоководному каналу, который был проложен в 1920-е годы. В настоящее время канал нуждается в капитальном ремонте, так как его дно сильно заросло илом и водорослями. Для этого необходимо построить высокий дамбный гидротехнический сооружение, которое позволит осушить дно канала и провести необходимые работы. Строители уже начали работы по возведению дамбы, и в ближайшее время будет завершено строительство ее основного участка. Это позволит значительно ускорить процесс очистки канала и обеспечить его нормальную эксплуатацию в будущем.

По примеру московских стиховедов

Стихи, которые мы читаем в нашей жизни, часто являются результатом творчества талантливых поэтов. Однако не все знают, что в Москве существуют специальные учреждения, которые занимаются изучением и сохранением поэтического наследия. Эти учреждения называются "Московскими стиховедческими центрами". Они занимаются сбором, изучением и публикацией стихов, которые были созданы в Москве в различные периоды ее истории. Благодаря их деятельности, мы можем узнать много нового о жизни и творчестве наших предков. Кроме того, эти центры также занимаются организацией различных мероприятий, посвященных поэзии, что способствует развитию культуры и искусства в нашем городе.

СЕГОДНЯ В НОМЕРЕ:

Рассвет туману М. В. Соловьев (1 стр.).
Сонетчик и его стихи в борьбе за любовь свою. Мухомов Аполон. — Песни о любви и дружбе. М. Мухомов. — Радость первого труда. Платонов И. (2 стр.).
НА ПАРТИННЫЕ ТЕМЫ: А. Бондарев. — Вспомнить надо в 1947. — Переписка с Валентином (2 стр.).
Рассвет туману Мухомов Аполон (1 стр.).
ОБЩЕЕ ПЕЧАТНО: Глубина, острота мысли, яркость работы (2 стр.).
НА ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЕ ТЕМЫ: Ю. Арсеньев. — Сказка и миф (1 стр.).
ФЕЛЬДОН: М. Рубин. — Смерть в Казань (1 стр.).
Война и любовь. Мухомов Аполон (2 стр.).
Вспомнить надо в 1947. — Переписка с Валентином (2 стр.).
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У строителей Цимлянского гидроузла

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ЛАУРЕАТЫ СТАЛИНСКИХ ПРЕМИЙ



Е. Г. Абрамов, В. А. Захаров, Б. М. Пулков, Б. Н. Воробьев, Г. П. Рубинштейн.

The front page of Pravda of September 5, which shows pictures of Stalin prize winners in science, among whom (indicated by arrow) is G. P. Rubinshtein, noted Soviet scientist. He is one of hundreds of Soviet Jewish citizens who received prizes in April.

NEO-FASCISM IN WEST GERMANY

We reprint below excerpts from a richly documented report issued in September by the World Jewish Congress on "Anti-Democratic Trends in Western Germany." This report in its entirety constitutes a devastating indictment of the renazified Adenauer regime in Western Germany.

However, the report lacks essential elements: who is responsible and what can be done about it? Neither of these aspects of the situation receives any attention whatsoever in the report.

Further, informative as the report is, one is disturbed to learn that, according to reports, the World Jewish Congress, as well as the American Jewish Committee, conferred with Adenauer and presumably influenced the issuance by Adenauer of the spurious statement of "repentance" of the German people (see page 22). The Congress report itself supplies convincing evidence of the insincerity of Adenauer's statement and of its purpose of facilitating German rearmament. The Congress report is useful in the fight against renazification. But it is not enough: it must be followed by action, instead of being nullified by encouragement of fake "repentance."—Editors.

Six years after VE-Day we are confronted with a serious wave of neo-nazism in Germany. It has come to the surface as a result of the elections in Lower Saxony. Some have tried to minimize the results of the elections by asserting that statistically the coalition of Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer still has the necessary political backing to remain in power. However, the question today is not whether the existing governmental coalition may some day be replaced by other democratic forces, such, for instance, as the Social Democratic Party. The problem today is that the anti-democratic forces appear to be growing stronger every day and a situation is developing like that which existed in Germany in the 1920's and finally led to the "legal" accession to power by Hitler in 1933.

Viewed as a whole, the present situation is much worse than indicated by the results of the Lower Saxony elections. What is going on in Western Germany is not only the return of anti-democratic forces to political and economic power, but, as was expressed in the German press, a process of purging public life of opponents to National Socialism and militarism, in contradiction to all previous tendencies. If

this process continues unchecked, the result will be a country in the middle of Europe, which though it may give lip-service to democracy, will in reality be full of contempt for democracy and convinced that the democratic forces in the world have proven their incapacity and inability to settle the global problems by their principles of democracy. . . .

Because each of the major parties was striving to be the all-embracing one, they accommodated themselves to the sentiments of their prospective voters and they opened their ranks to persons of all reactionary shades: nationalists, militarists, racists, anti-Semites. "Neo-fascism and authoritarianism are winning and democracy is losing," an American observer warned at the beginning of this development. The competition among the big political parties in the wooing of followers has led to concessions in the un-democratic direction and yet it has not hindered the appearance of new prophets who have succeeded in building up their own groups and parties because they have a better understanding of how to appeal to a population which, as a consequence of the Hitler area, is still used to thinking along totalitarian and authoritarian lines. . . .

The result of the elections in Lower Saxony shows that about 400,000 voters, or 11 per cent of the total vote cast, voted for the Socialist Reich Party, a party which openly stated that its political goal is "national, racial (*voelkischer*) socialism and 100 per cent realization of that which was good in National Socialism." This is the result of certain long-term trends which could have been noticed during the last two years and, in fact, were noticed by careful observers and made the subject of serious warnings. . . . "We shall have a neo-fascism," Dr. Dorls predicted. . . .

The parties which make up the coalition government of Dr. Adenauer have individually not only concluded electoral agreements with rightist and non-democratic parties, they have even changed their own political complexion according to the political exigencies in the district where they want to succeed. . . .

During the last two years, observers of the situation in Germany have had to take issue with certain rightist parties and groups which made one suspicious of the democratic way of thinking in Germany, the German Party, the German Rightist Party, the German Reich Party, the German Union, the League for Germany's

Revival, and the Fatherland Union, to name only a few. In addition, a considerable number of rightist groups and splinter parties have sprung up. . . .

Serious reproaches have been directed against the federal government because the promises given by Minister of the Interior Lehr, that there would be a clear separation of police and military institutions, have not been kept. Of the 13 leading officials of the federal border guards, six are former members of the general staff of the *Wehrmacht*, six others are former high-ranking officers of the *Wehrmacht*, and only one previously served on the police, and he is now leaving. Four or five of the above-mentioned officers held the rank of general in the *Wehrmacht*. Just as an army cannot be led by police officers, so former officers of the *Wehrmacht* cannot build up new and important formations of the police. It is therefore evident that what is really being formed is not a police force but a military one. . . .

Another considerable danger to Western German democracy is presented by the return of a tremendous number of public teachers who served under Hitler and taught the Nazi ideals to young Germans, and now, after having been denazified or otherwise pardoned, have been again qualified for teaching the young. As early as February 1949, a report from a Swiss observer stated that at that time "former Nazi dignitaries, 'racial' scientists and psychologists, liberal interpreters of the Nuremberg racist laws, burners of books, 'blood and soil' philosophers, disciples of Dr. Ley's notorious Labor Front and glorifiers of Hitler had been reinstated in their positions and invested with all their former dignities." This trend has continued ever since. . . .

Denazification, which practically came to a halt at the end of 1949, has been formally abolished by the legislation of the individual *Laender*. The proceedings of the Allied Military Tribunals have also come to an end. However, there remain quite a number of German war criminals who were not punished by denazification tribunals or by Allied tribunals but handed over to the German authorities to be brought to justice. Among them are several former higher-ranking officials of Herr von Ribbentrop's foreign office, who were not included among the defendants, in Case No. 11 (i.e., the trial of German diplomats by the Military Tribunal in Nuremberg) but were handed over to the German authorities for prosecution. . . .

As far back as January 1949, a report of the United States Military Government stressed the fact that "during the past few months" there had been a tendency on

the part of several periodicals to stimulate sales by featuring militaristic, nationalistic, and anti-Semitic material. According to many senior United States officials, "the development betrayed a more serious situation than mere insertion of such material in German newspapers; it reflected both the readers' interest and the connivance of the publishers and editors." . . .

One of the most complicated problems is the political attitude of the German youth. It had appeared to careful observers that one of the few real hopes for the development of democracy in Germany rested in the German youth. But the younger generation in Germany has no confidence in the older political leaders and does not want to be represented by them. The trend is to younger leaders who in many cases are more radical whether in the leftist or rightist direction. . . .

The accounts of the campaign meetings before the Lower Saxony elections have shown that youth figured prominently among those who voted for the SRP and Major General Remer's slogans. The Socialist Reich Party has two youth organizations of its own: The *Reichs Front* for those between 18 and 35 years of age, and the *Reichsjugend* for those under 18 years of age. The recurrence of the word "*Reich*" in all three names led an observer to ask some of the young members what they and their buddies understood the term "*Reich*" to mean. The answer was: "*Reich* does not signify a geographical area but the concept of a Central European order, which coincides with the fundamental German idea of Germany's European task."

This "definition" shows that in the minds of well-organized and uniformed German extremists, there still linger the mixture of tirades of the National Socialist Training Letters (*NS-Schulungsbrieft*), of antiquated imperialistic phrases and of some of the German pseudo-mysticism. The members of the youth movements of the SRP still believe in a combination of mystic "German socialism of the right" and the "marching order of the German

infantry." They deny that they are nazis; they insist that they are not even nationalists. "They want to embrace the world with the homeland in their heart." But there are only a few steps from this to the old song of the Hitler Youth: "Today Germany belongs to us and tomorrow the whole world." . . .

In the arsenal used by the propagandists of neo-nazism, anti-Semitism occupies a place of honor. The revulsion against anti-Semitism which existed among the German masses in 1945 after the opening of the nazi concentration camps in Germany has disappeared and made way for a new anti-Semitic propaganda using the hardships of the German population after the war as the principal argument. The propagandists repeatedly tell the masses that the plan of the "Jew Morgenthau" is responsible for Germany's present plight, that the bombing of German cities was the result of the influence of American Jews like Baruch and Frankfurter and that these Jews are also responsible for the program of denazification against the small fry who in reality were never nazis.

Democratic-minded Germans who have carefully studied the ideology and the aims of the existing anti-Semitism in Germany, express the opinion that the desecration of Jewish cemeteries is indicative of the terrorism which is being exerted upon the mind of the German people by the neo-nazi and anti-Semitic circles. Since the end of the war, there have been 240 cases of desecrations of Jewish cemeteries and in every case, it must be pointed out, a considerable number of individual tombstones were damaged. The German police have been reluctant to find the actual perpetrators of these crimes. They have contented themselves with saying that playing children or grazing sheep inadvertently did the damage. However, the democratic-minded Germans mentioned above see in these acts well-designed attempts to keep alive the anti-Jewish feeling in the populace and to express by such anti-Semitic acts their solidarity with the spirit prevalent in third *Reich*, in which anti-Semitism was the main propaganda weapon.

Lately, there have been two important statements by two prominent persons in Germany dealing with the significance and influence of anti-Semitism in Western Germany today. The first was by Professor Dr. Franz Boehm, Protector of the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt-on-the-Main and was published as a reprint of two articles by Dr. Boehm entitled, "Anti-Semitism and the Germans" and "A German Task: Open Letter to the Anti-Semites Among Us."

According to Dr. Boehm, the political extremists who today use anti-Semitism as a means of terroristic propaganda can do so only because millions of peaceful Germans are infected with anti-Semitism. If the activists did not know that this secret sympathy stands behind them, they would have to choose another "ism" more suitable for political action and propaganda. The "diplomats" who for reasons of foreign policy want to make the world believe that anti-Semitism is extinct in Western Germany and that the people are no longer contaminated by this disease, are doing a disservice to their country. Hitler would never have succeeded with his propaganda of "Germany, awake," if he had not added the words, "Judah, perish!" The propagandists of today know this and act accordingly.

The second statement was made by Hans Joachim Schoeps, professor of the history of religion and moral sciences at the University of Erlangen, who, as he stressed, is the only university professor of the Jewish faith in Western Germany and who after the end of the war returned to the country from abroad. As he sees it, the situation in Western Germany is characterized by the fate of the leading Gestapo officials who were instrumental in the deportation and extermination of German Jews to the gas chambers, and who are now being acquitted by the German tribunals and receiving flowers from the public in the courtrooms and financial indemnification from the state for the period they spent under arrest before the trial.

Furthermore, Professor Schoeps stressed the fact that not only the old nazis have returned to their positions, but with them the old ideology. Consequently, in Bavaria, with the cooperation of the authorities, a new anti-Semitism is developing, which must be a cause of grave concern. Therefore, Professor Schoeps sees the time coming when he will have to advise the 15,000 German Jews who survived nazism and are now living in Germany to leave the country while there is still time, because once before the propaganda against individuals marked the beginning of a situation which ended in the death of six million Jews. . . .

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Letters from Abroad

WHY A FOOD CRISIS IN ISRAEL?

By I. Elsky

Tel Aviv

A conference of a Histadrut delegation with Israeli Minister of Agriculture Pinhas Lavon in September on the serious food situation in Israel; a meeting of labor leaders with Premier Ben Gurion on the same question; and notes of alarm in the press at home and abroad—these are signs that the situation in this country is critical.

Vegetable stores are completely empty. After standing in line for hours, a woman may sometimes get a beet instead of tomatoes or other vegetables. Carrots have not been seen for weeks. There is no meat but public pressure forced the government to distribute non-kosher meat from Mexico despite the rabbinate. There is no butter. The July ration was not distributed until August. Margarine, butter substitute, has not been distributed for over a month. There is no sugar, of which the July ration was also distributed in August. Flour and noodles are unobtainable and there are no biscuits, even for children.

We face real hunger whose primary sufferers are the workers who do heavy labor and the children.

There is a new element in the situation: a large section of the population is beginning to suspect that something is basically wrong, that things are not "in order." The Israeli citizen was previously convinced that the shortage of many products resulted from the lack of dollars, whose consequence is inability to import many materials. However, a lack of carrots and tomatoes and their appearance only when they are imported from Cyprus, cannot be understood by the citizen. The excuse of drought has not been accepted. Whatever the effect of the drought, vegetables were not destroyed in large quantities since the vegetable farms are continually irrigated.

More and more the average citizen is placing the responsibility for the situation on the government. This broadening criticism has forced even the respectable *Davar* (Histadrut organ) to lose its poise and say angrily: "It is hard to make peace with the fact that in this critical situation the population shows such a lack of seriousness and responsibility in estimating the situation."

The nervousness of the *Davar* editors is easy to understand. Among the excuses currently heard is that the large immigration has caused the shortages. But there is no shortage of land and immigrants should be a blessing for the country by helping to increase production of many foods, especially farm products.

But the government policy was to favor the capitalists and not to help the colonist and kibbutz farmer with seeds, machinery and cheap credit. The government policy of enriching the capitalists gave free reign to boosting prices of industrial goods and machines. The kibbutz farmer has been shamefully robbed in the exchange of his produce for industrial commodities, clothing and shoes. While the colonist and kibbutz farmer get 50 *prutos* for one kilo of tomatoes, the worker in the city cannot buy this for less than 500 *prutos*. While the price of an egg was recently raised seven *prutos* owing to an increase in the cost of production, the colonist received an increase of only one *pruto*.

Such a policy enables the middleman between the farmer and worker to stuff his pockets with gold. The farmer, who must pay inflated prices for every item in the city, whether for personal consumption or for his farm, cannot keep his head above water and must go bankrupt. The farmer learns that his hard work doesn't pay and in many cases he abandons his farm because he cannot pay his debts. He can neither support himself nor buy on the black market needed products which the government fails to provide at official prices.

The situation for the Arab farmer is even worse because he is paid half the price paid to the Jew. It therefore doesn't even pay for the Arab farmer to pick the products in the field.

The conclusion from all this is that the government policy of giving a free hand to speculators has encouraged the creation of a group that robs both the farmer on the land and the common people in the city.

Only energetic struggle against the black market could make it possible for the farmer to buy industrial products and the city worker to buy agricultural products at low prices.

One reason given for the drop in agricultural production is lack of chemical fertilizers, machinery and water pipe. *Davar* noted on February 8 that "Many farms have halted production owing to shortage of potash."

It is a sad day when Israel, which possesses in the Dead Sea possibly the richest source of potash in the world, must

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 253).

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WILLIAM LEVNER,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1951.

DAVID CANTOR

Notary Public for the State of New York.
(My commission expires March 30, 1953).

[SEAL]

halt its farm production, must be without a single tomato, carrot or potato just because the government has given these resources to a foreign monopoly! Can one regard this policy as anything but one of betrayal of our own people, of our country?

Today the Communists are not alone in seeing that the blame for the present hunger rests on the government, which spends the largest share of its own money and of the money contributed in campaigns all over the world not to build houses, not to strengthen agriculture or industry, but to build strategic bases for American imperialism.

Business Digest, an anti-Soviet publication in Israel, recently wrote that "instead of buying wheat, we are developing ports, railroads, airports, etc." And in the same *Al Hamishmar* (Mapam organ) in which A. Tarshis denounced the Soviet *Literary Gazette* for saying that strategic roads are being built in Israel, S. Zerach writes that the "West imposes upon its allies the duty of converting its tools into swords and of devoting their energies to war and not to construction for peace. The West imposes the task of building strategic roads and airports to meet the needs of imperialism, instead of buildings for immigrants, industry or agricultural establishments." We are now moving in that direction in Israel.

Minister of Agriculture Lavon himself told the *New York Times* correspondent that one reason for the food crisis is the lack of steel pipe and other materials. Why this shortage of pipe? It is an open secret that the United States and Marshallized countries will not sell pipe and other necessary items because their industries are being placed on a war footing. It is even becoming more difficult to buy food from American countries because they are stockpiling more and more for war purposes.

In the interest of Israel the people of the country must free themselves from dependence on the United States and strengthen relations with all countries that will sell Israel the necessary products without political conditions. In the first place this should be done with the people's democracies and the Soviet Union.

Only a people's government based on the majority as represented by the working class parties in the present Knesset, would be able to carry out a program of leading our country out of the hunger crisis. This would be a program of ruthless struggle against the black market, of full utilization of the natural resources of Israel, of developing industry and agriculture, of creating decent conditions for the immigrants. Only such a government would be able to put an end to the hunger regime in Israel.

ISRAEL'S NEW CABINET

For three months after the Knesset elections in July, Israeli Premier Ben Gurion negotiated with the General Zionists and Mapam in the effort to form a coalition government with either one. He failed in this effort and on October 7, he presented his "new" cabinet to the Knesset—a coalition government of Mapai with the religious group, the same parties with whom Mapai had formed the previous government. The fall of that regime had led to the elections and the religious parties registered a drop in votes in July. In other words, Ben Gurion ignored the mandate of the voters and brought the situation back to where it was before the elections, when the Mapai-clerical coalition and its program were rejected.

The "new" cabinet has 13 ministers, nine from Mapai and four from the religious bloc. Mapai retains control of the most important posts—defense, foreign affairs, finance, labor, trade, industry and justice, police, agriculture and education.

The religious bloc has the ministries of interior and religious affairs, communications, health and social welfare.

The presentation of the cabinet to the Knesset was followed by a 12-hour debate in which the coalition came in for severe criticism. Mapam delegates, left wing Zionist group, charged that Ben Gurion had sabotaged efforts to achieve a people's government based on the workers' parties, which had gained an absolute majority of the votes. The new government, said the Mapam delegates, would be the "complete slave of western imperialism."

At the other end of the political spectrum, the General Zionists, party of big business and landowners, taunted Ben Gurion with the charge that his own Mapai Party had been split over the failure to form a coalition with the General Zionists, who demanded the portfolios they had been by the previous one. The decision to form a coalition with the clerical bloc, said the General Zionists, had been approved by the Mapai central committee by a majority of only six votes.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

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The Knesset finally gave the "new" cabinet a vote of confidence by a vote of 56 to 40. It is significant that the three Arab Mapai-affiliated parties, with five votes, gave the coalition support. But the Arabs asserted that they would not remain silent if the Arabs in Israel were not treated better by this government than they had been by the previous one. The *New York Times* report of October 10 adds a significant sentence: "Arabs in the first Knesset, other than the Communists, never took such an attitude." The Arabs in Israel are approaching the end of their tolerance of treatment as second-class citizens.

The new Ben Gurion government, it is apparent from all these considerations, gives little more promise of stability than the previous government. The older government fell because it did not have a realistic program and did not meet the urgent needs of the Israeli people in this critical period. The revival of the old coalition with the clerical groups gives no promise of building the country in line with the will and needs of the people, but on the contrary, will work in opposition to those needs. The Israeli people showed the kind of government they wanted by giving a majority of their votes to workers' parties whose needs can only be met by a policy of peace. The new cabinet can only deepen and sharpen the present economic and political crisis in Israel.

"SHUND" ON BROADWAY

By Nathaniel Buchwald

At the Royale Theater an "English-Yiddish musical revue," *Borscht Capades*, recently opened. This hodge-podge of vaudeville acts came to New York after playing to packed houses in Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami Beach and other cities with a large Jewish population. Sharp criticism in the Yiddish press directed against the obscene material in this show caused the producers to clean it up before bringing it to New York. The putrid matter that scandalized Jewish people in other cities has been removed.

What has remained is a tedious vaudeville program in the tradition of cheap Yiddish theater, what is known as "*shund*," a combination of banality and vulgarity typified in much of the Second Avenue theater. However, it is not even first-hand Jewish *shund*, but an imitation fabricated by native-born American Jewish entertainers brought up on *shund* at home, on the street and in the Yiddish theater. In the process of their assimilation, they absorbed the ignorance of and contempt for the Yiddish language and Jewish cultural tradition. They are the inheritors of Jewish *shund* and they peddle their shoddy merchandise among Jews of their own generation. The program notes explain that *Borscht Capades* was gotten up with an eye to catching the interest of American Jewish youth and adapting the material to their tastes and concepts of Jewishness.

In this sense, *Borscht Capades* is a tragic "success." The sins of the old generation of *shund*-makers and consumers have now fallen upon their children. Vulgar Yiddish shot through with gutter-English, contempt for the "non-Americanized" Jew and the cult of *shund*, which the Jewish daily *Forward* has for 50 years nurtured in the Yiddish-speaking community, have helped create the cultural climate in which the makers and the consumers of *Borscht Capades* were reared. In this "revue" we see the dividends of a half century of cultural vulgarization.

One is nauseated by the relish with which the Yiddish language is vulgarized and ridiculed in this show. A Yiddish word or phrase which has a matter-of-fact meaning for Yiddish-speaking people is transformed into something "funny" simply because it is Yiddish. If non-Jews did this to Yiddish, one would quickly apply the appropriate term—anti-Semitism. But when Jewish entertainers do this and Jewish audiences relish it—it becomes a mani-

festation of cultural decadence and self-degradation.

We have seen similar and worse programs in the Yiddish vaudeville theater. But one does not feel the resentment and shame of Yiddish *shund* so intensely among one's own people as in a Broadway theater. This refuse of cultural degradation is here exhibited on Main Street, as it were, to evoke jeering delight.

As a vaudeville program, *Borscht Capades* is just what the name suggests. "Borscht" is in the jargon of the trade a term denoting the entertainment which one finds in the "Borscht Circuit" of the Jewish hotels in the Catskill Mountains. Despite a prevailing tone of cheapness, bade taste and vulgarity, a "Borscht" program sometimes also includes items of good taste and quality. Certainly, among the entertainers who cater to the "Borscht Circuit" one often finds talented people. The now famous Danny Kaye is a graduate of the "Borscht Circuit."

So it is with *Borscht Capades*. The show has a few talented performers and several numbers which entertain you without offending. Phil Foster, for example, is a delightful monologist. His material is based on recollections of the older Jewish life and Jewish home in America. Although not always in good taste, his patter is not vulgar and his material is not cheap. Raasche is a female singer with a sweet voice and much charm. She sings "Songs that My Mother Taught Me"—mostly familiar, well-worn items that one finds in the commercial editions of Jewish songs. Her interpretations of Yiddish folk songs are pedestrian, still her numbers are a drink of pure water in a contaminated environment.

Dave Barry is a competent vaudevillian who can impersonate a variety of types and tell off-color anecdotes quite smoothly. But his number on "fractured Yiddish" turns one's stomach. The calamitous master of ceremonies is the pint-sized and big-mouthed Mickey Katz who is perpetually pushing himself into the limelight. There is not a number on the program that he does not ruin by sticking his nose in. This is the same Mickey Katz who has achieved notoriety with his filthy "Jewish records" that befoul the air in Jewish neighborhoods.

Otherwise the show is banal, "corny" and dull. Jack Hilliard sings what one expects from a singer in a Yiddish vaude-

ville program. The numbers rendered by the Barry sisters are as trite and the rendition as "corny" as in their Yiddish radio programs. Patsy Abbot is a specimen of the type of the cheap comedienne bred in such profusion by the Yiddish *shund*-theater. The dances presented by Ted Adair are worse than run-of-the-mill. His dance suite "From Egypt to Israel" is all "corn." Joseph Rumshinsky provided the music for the dances.

The only difference between *Borscht Capades* and other cheap vaudeville programs in the Yiddish theater is that the pretension is bigger and the prices of tickets are higher. It is a show rooted in the tradition of the Yiddish *shund*-theater. It is a legacy of a half century of cultural degradation in Jewish life in America.

The second "English-Yiddish musical revue" now on Broadway, which opened a few days earlier than *Borscht Capades*, is *Bagels and Yox*, at the Holiday Theater. Although "bagels and lox" really tastes good, it cannot be said that its theatrical namesake is in good taste at all. *Bagels and Yox* is actually a thoroughly tasteless parody of Yiddish culture.

The audience greets the performers with gales of unrestrained laughter. Among these performers, who are skilled at their trade, there are a few really talented people like the opera singers Marty Drake and Mary Forest. Drake did his utmost to keep from degrading his performance to the general level of mish-mash that is this revue. He has a voice of power and warmth and a magical, lyrical quality. But what is he doing in this company? The same applies to Mary Forest, whose singing adds an undeserved luster to the affair.

The treatment of Yiddish in the revue is a disgrace and an insult to Yiddish speaking people. The gales of laughter of the "allrightniks" (get-rich-quick people) in the audience followed every mention of a Yiddish word. Anyone unacquainted with Yiddish could only conclude that Yiddish is "too funny for words" and hardly a language at all.

Bagels and Yox is a combination of ignorance, vulgarity and irresponsibility. The producers of the show have outdone the worst of Second Avenue. This revue reaches the lowest cellar of the cheapest "*shund*" and is an insult to the Jewish people.

I. B.

IN MEMORY OF MY BROTHER
MARK EISENBERG
Died in Leningrad
October 29, 1933
MARY OSTROW

"OLIVER TWIST" AND ANTI-SEMITISM

By Morris U. Schappes

As I walked out of an afternoon performance of *Oliver Twist* at the Park Avenue Theater in New York, with a sizable part of the audience consisting of school children, I felt sickened and revolted by the almost grotesque anti-Semitism. Yet others defended the film.

There was the gentle 22 year old lad, now nine years in our country, whose own father had been murdered by the nazis, and who argued with me on a street corner that *Oliver Twist* was a classic that could do no harm, and that Fagin was presented as simply an isolated, individual, bad Jew, and what was the danger in that? In fact, the pickets outside the theater, he said, were doing more harm to the Jews than Fagin. . . . Then there was the university student in a large city in upstate New York who sought me out to protest that Nathaniel Buchwald's review (*JEWISH LIFE*, September) was just hysterical: the United States was not Germany and Fagin had not been identified in the film with any Jewish religious or ceremonial objects, so the effect could not be anti-Semitic. . . .

If such persons see Fagin but are blind to the menace of the film, one reason is that they seem to be unaware of the climate of increasing anti-Semitism in which we are living. Let us just rehearse some representative facts taken only from the period when *Oliver Twist* began to be shown in this country.

June 14, in Houston, Texas, General MacArthur raised the anti-Semitic slogan, "the Cross and the Flag." July 14, Walter Winchell's syndicated column, commenting on the arrest of 17 victims of the Smith Act, made this anti-Semitic contrast: "The U.S. Marshals, all clean-cut people, looked like Americans should. . . . Betty Gannett, one of the arrested Reds, is actually named Rifka Yarashevsky." In mid-July, in Cicero, Ill., the riot to prevent a Negro couple from moving into the city was marked by the cry to drive the Jews out of it. July 29, in Detroit, a plane twice dropped leaflets showing beak-nosed caricatures of Jews and calling on "Americans" to drive them out of the country.

In August, Bill Hendrix, Grand Dragon of the Florida Ku Klux Klan, announced his candidacy for Governor on a platform that would include driving the Jews from Miami Beach. August 6, near Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (not far from Peekskill), anti-Semites wrecked the 15-room house of a

Zionist youth center training farmers for Israel. Late in August, KKK speakers in South Carolina denounced Zionism, Anna Rosenberg and Jews in general. About this time, stickers were seen in the Bronx subways with anti-Semitic attacks on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In rural Colorado, 28 per cent of those asked the question agreed that Jews "naturally tend to be dishonest so that they can make money."

In September, anti-Semitic pamphlets were being distributed in Ogunquit, Kennebunk, Biddeford and Old Orchard Beach, Maine. In Northampton, Mass. the B'nai Israel synagogue was desecrated, dollar signs being scrawled over some pictures and rude crucifixion scenes daubed on walls.

In Cleveland, a Jewish center was broken into and wrecked. From Santa Ana, Calif., Robert H. Williams, a hooligan red-balter, sent thousands of anti-Semitic pamphlets through the mails urging that Jews be arrested and congregated in areas where our high command expects atomic bombs to fall, denouncing Eisenhower as a Jew and a front for the "Zionists." The Alsops in their syndicated column thought it necessary to look into such a sewer as Williams because they say "very bluntly that the sewers are threatening to well up into our public life."

It is this sewage that has poisoned the minds already of millions of people in our country. The false-face of the greedy, ruthless Jew is stamped on the minds of millions. It does not need much to provoke anti-Semitic actions. I remember the well-dressed hoodlums on Eighth Avenue deriding the May Day parade, and wearing "Jewish-noses" on their beaks, and I saw the shops later where such merchandise is sold. And in the East German Democratic Republic, when underground nazis went in for fascist propaganda, they considered it sufficient for their purpose to manufacture just such anti-Semitic masks as Streicher had popularized among the German people. Such masks, without comment or explanation, are anti-Semitic propaganda.

In our own country, this image, this mask has flourished so far only in the underworld of anti-Semitic propaganda. Now Fagin, who is that mask embodied, is being shown in "respectable" theaters, to the general American public, to school-children who have been advised to go not only by the May Quinns but also by teachers influenced by the "aesthetes" who write

movie reviews for the general American press. The sewer has backed right up into the movie theaters.

Fagin is the most horrible image of fiendish inhumanity to cross the screen in 30 years. It is not only the outer features: the nose (and how the camera focuses on that nose, from all angles, but usually in profile!), the huge beard, the way he plays with his beard, the hopping gait, the large flat-brimmed hat, the kaftan, the shawl, the hand-gestures, the accent (not Yiddish), thick, lisping, guttural. These outer features fuse with a moral degeneracy that not only leads to the kidnapping of children to be trained as thieves, but to the murder of Nancy by Bill Sikes.

There are those who argue that Sikes is a villain and a murderer, and Sikes is an Englishman, so why is not *Oliver Twist* as much anti-English as it is anti-Semitic? But Sikes is a mindless, crude brute who is incited to the murder by Fagin's plots and lies; and to counter Sikes there is the lovely English family that rescues Oliver from Fagin. Not only is Fagin the master-mind and organizer of thievery, villainy and murder; he is also the arch-hypocrite. As the police, backed by a huge crowd, are about to rush upon Fagin after battering down the door to his hideout, Fagin draws himself up and calls out, "What right have you to butcher me?" On the basis of what has come before, the audience is supposed to know quite well why Fagin should be "butchered"; and are not these audiences being cunningly prepared for more butchery of Fagins, of Jews?

The deliberate anti-Semitism of the producer and director of *Oliver Twist* is unmistakable. "Faithfulness to a classic" is a faithless defense. As shown in *JEWISH LIFE* last month, Dickens himself later realized the anti-Semitic effect of his portrayal, and in a half-hearted, bumbling, ineffective way tried to make amends. Had the producer and director wished to be really true to Dickens's own later understanding of the situation, they could easily have stripped Fagin not only of the appellation, "Jew" (which they had), but of *all* his other external features. Fagin, or a villain by even another name, since the name itself is a common Jewish name, could have been presented as an English rogue; his degeneracy and wickedness would not have helped turn millions into anti-English genocides. Considering all the stupid liberties with "classics" that are common in the industry, one can hardly believe that it was sheer devotion to the original text, despite Dickens's own partial repudiation of it, that motivated the producer to make the film, and the American censors to approve it.

What is needed is more activity, by Jewish mass organizations and by trade unions, to drive Fagin from the screen.

"Please urge your readers..."

WE received a letter from a Los Angeles reader on October 1. It was simple, direct and deeply felt.

He wrote: "Please urge your readers to send more money so we can have your monthly magazine. I would feel the loss of your magazine greatly as I look forward to it every month. Please accept my five dollar contribution. Thank you."

We are following the advice of this reader, who no doubt expresses the sentiments of most of you. We are asking you to contribute to the survival of the magazine.

More of you responded to our appeal last month. We even had people come into the office to give us money collected from groups. These individual and group contributions show that we have at last begun to make you understand that you must save the magazine, because we have no one but you to call upon.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

ISRAEL

(Continued from page 2)

because deportation proceedings were under way. (Artukovic had been on \$1,000 bail on these proceedings.) Milton Friedman, Jewish Telegraphic Agency correspondent in Washington, asked President Truman at his press conference on September 20 about the case. The president said he knew nothing about it and appeared not at all interested and evaded comment.

A survey by the Harlem Committee of the Teachers Union on the number of regular and substitute Negro teachers in the New York public schools revealed that, although the Negroes form about 10 percent of the city's population, only two and one-half percent of the school staff are Negroes. First returns on 104 schools with about 10,000 teachers showed: of 6,495 staff members in 52 academic and vocational high schools, only 40 regular Negro teachers are employed, that is, about one-half of one percent; half of these high schools have not a single Negro on the staff; of the 160 Negroes in the elementary and junior high schools, about 92 percent teach in areas of Negro concentration, such as Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and South East Bronx.

The lead article in the September issue of the *American Legion Magazine* (circulation 3,000,000), called "America's New Privileged Classes" (meaning the "communists"), by Eugene Lyons, asserts that the expulsion of "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz, now executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, from his Yonkers pulpit several years ago shows that "communists" can "twist" public opinion to protect themselves and punish their enemies. The intense red-baiting article was given advance publicity in the pro-fascist *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald*.

EUROPE

The Jewish community of France was warned in late September by the Organization of Resistance and Mutual Aid (called "Union") that fascist organizations are planning to take provocative steps against religious places, cemeteries, communal institutions, etc. "At a time," said the statement, "when attempts are being made to rearm the Hitlerite murderers, so as to launch another world slaughter, French fascists are again coming into the

open." The statement also warned against intrigues of Jewish reactionaries to prevent mobilization of Jews to fight against anti-Semitism, fascism and war.

Resolutions against the renting of schools to fascist organizations and against the Japanese treaty were sent in September by the Union of Jewish Service Men and Women (Ujex) of Manchester, England, to the local city council. The hush-hush elements that dominate so-called "defense" groups in England as in the United States, demurred that the Ujex resolutions had not been "cleared" with the local Jewish "Council." The Ujex insisted that they had a right to decide their own resolutions.

Renazification notes . . . A Jewish cemetery at Castoprauxel, near Dortmund, British zone, was reported desecrated on October 7. Twenty-five tombstones were overturned and several graves torn up. . . . At the organizing meeting of the new neo-nazi organization *Freikorps* on August 17, at which the 25 points of Hitler's original program were adopted, ex-SS-General Herman Pamp, vice chairman of the new body, said: "The usefulness of the concentration camps of the Third Reich cannot be denied." . . . Several Swiss traveling in Bavaria recently recounted that they heard the infamous Nazi *Horst Wessel Lied*, which refers joyfully to the "shedding of Jewish blood," played in a Bavarian cafe. On protesting the song, they were told that an American officer had ordered the playing of the song.

An anti-Semitic pamphlet, entitled *On the Eve of Catastrophe*, which is a revised version of a scurrilous leaflet published under the occupation, is now being distributed throughout Italy. The Rome Jewish community protested to the police, who replied that they could do nothing since the law allows only "obscene" literature to be confiscated.

Only 25,000 Jewish displaced persons remain in Europe, the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress reported on October 6. This number dropped from 250,000. By the end of the year the total Jewish population of Germany would be 30,000. Germany had a Jewish population of 600,000 in 1933.

Jewish soldiers in the Rumanian army were relieved from duties during Rosh Hashonah, Yom Kippur and the first and last two days of Succoth.

Over 100,000 signatures to the petition for a five-power peace pact were obtained in Israel by the beginning of October. The petition also protests against the rebuilding in West Germany of a Nazi army. . . . At one of the largest mass meetings ever held in Tel Aviv, Itzhak Greenbaum, outstanding Zionist leader and former member of the Polish Sjem, joined in the denunciation of the trend to war. "Our place," he said, "is on the side of those ready to fight for peace. . . . Should another war break out, it will bring us a greater catastrophe than occurred in the last world war." Also speaking at this meeting were scholar Dr. S. Eisenstadt, poet Abraham Shlonski, Arab Communist Knesset deputy Tewfiq Toubi, and Mapam leader I. Barzilai. Shlonski told the audience: "I am ready to sign every petition, regardless of who takes the initiative, which calls for a peace pact of the world's five great powers and is against German rearmament."

A demonstration by about 400 immigrants demanding wooden huts before the winter rains begin took place at the end of August. Ten people were injured after the police attacked the demonstrators. Jewish Agency officials received a delegation of 15, who were told to discuss the matter with the heads of the departments concerned. . . . In mid-September, another demonstration of immigrants against the terrible conditions in the camps resulted in some injuries, among them a 60-year-old man and a 14-year-old boy. . . . Members of three immigrant camps went on hunger strike in protest against conditions and against treatment by the police. . . . Immigrants complain that as many as five to eight people share a room; there are no sanitary provisions, no doctors or clinics for children or adults. All appeals to the government have been futile.

A new tire and rubber plant, representing an investment of \$3,000,000 and largely owned by the General Tire and Rubber Company, of Akron, Ohio, was formally opened in Tel Aviv on September 16.

Foreign trade figures for the first six months of 1951, issued by the Israeli government statistical bureau, show that imports for this period were 52,534,370 Israeli pounds, which is about 26,000 pounds less than for the corresponding period last year; exports for this period were 52,534,370 Israeli pounds in the first six months of 1950, to 11,146,197 Israeli pounds in the corresponding period of 1951. Highest percentage of imports was from the United States in the first half of 1951, amounting to 18,110,000 Israeli pounds.

