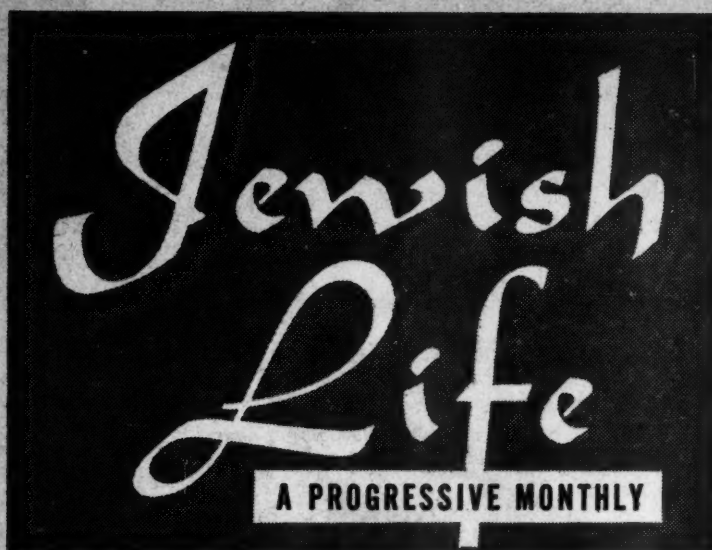




DECEMBER 1951 • 20¢

Adenauer's "Peace Bid"

I: JEWISH LEADERS BEND THE KNEE

by Louis Harap

II: EAST GERMANY AND NAZI GUILT

by Gerhard Hegelberg

III: A CASE HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM

by Dr. Leo Katz

A MAN OF DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

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NEGRO LABOR TAKES FREEDOM ROAD

by William R. Hood and M. E. Travis

WHAT WAS THE ROSENBERGS' "CRIME"?

by William Reuben

ZASLAVSKY SAYS: BIROBIDJAN LIVES

an interview

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

417 noted Americans signed an appeal to President Truman in early November asking that he exert the full strength of his office "to a supreme effort to bring the fighting in Korea to an end and achieve a truce that will lead to a full restoration of peace." Among the signers were Dr. Ira Eisenstein, the Society for the Advancement of Judaism; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society; Rabbi Joseph A. Garfinkle, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Rabbi Michael Alper, New York; Rabbi Dr. A. Jessurun Cardozo; Prof. Ephraim Cross, New York City College; Rabbi Albert S. Goldstein, Bronx; Sol Rotenberg, Philadelphia; Professor William C. Rubinstein, Madison, Wisc.; Prof. Milton Rokeach, Lansing, Mich.; Dr. Edward K. Barsky, New York.

A new wave of terror against the foreign born was launched by the Justice Department in October. A number of non-citizens were arrested for deportation in many parts of the country.

The Pacific Region of the Canadian Jewish Congress in October defeated a resolution by a vote of 25 to 21 to terminate "the affiliation of the United Jewish People's Order and like left wing organizations." . . . California State Supreme Court Judge Frank G. Swain early in November granted an injunction to the Southern, California Division of the American Jewish Congress to prevent the national office of Congress from carrying through revocation of the division's charter and dissolution of the division. The injunction is in force until the suit of the division against the national office is settled in court. The national office of Congress action is part of a campaign to sterilize the organization of all militant and progressive elements.

Anti-Semitic outbreaks . . . During the month of October, when the Anti-Defamation League was reassuring the country at its annual meeting that anti-Semitism was declining, a series of anti-Semitic incidents cropped out all over the country. . . . Persistent overt anti-Semitism continues unabated in Miami. During October: a nazi-like KKK sign in German was found at the door of a Jewish center (see page 25), which had been dynamited four months ago by the Ku Klux Klan;

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telephone threats to bomb the center were received after the sign appeared; the Miami Hebrew Congregation temple was the target of an attempted bombing when several sticks of dynamite failed to detonate because of faulty fuses; at latest report four persons were arrested for questioning on this incident; then eight or nine tombstones of the Jewish section of a cemetery were damaged by fire of 22-caliber rifles. . . . The holy objects of a Philadelphia synagogue were desecrated in an extreme example of willful hoodlumism, with damage estimated at \$3,000. . . . Bricks thrown at a Succoth (thatched hut) in Brooklyn struck a 13-year old boy and paralyzed his left arm. . . . In Cleveland chauvinist hoodlums attacked Negro and

Jewish high school students for several days; the hoodlums came from a section known for race-baiting and Christian Fronters. In the same city vandals continued to do damage to a new Hebrew school. . . . Students at Harvard received violently anti-Semitic pamphlets in the mail from an organization called "The Vigilantes." . . . It was revealed in Boston that 19 instances of anti-Semitic violence had occurred in Greater Boston in the past 11 months in which 22 Jews and one non-Jew were injured. During the election campaign in Boston, anti-Semitic epithets like "Jew organizer" and "Jew shyster" were hurled at two Jewish city council candidates. . . . These incidents by no

(Continued on page 32)

I: JEWISH LEADERS BEND THE KNEE

The Jewish leadership in collusion with the State Department and the Bonn regime are trying to stifle mass protest against nazi rearmament

By Louis Harap

ONE of the most shocking events in Jewish life since the war ended was the elegantly designated "Conference on Jewish Claims against Germany" held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on October 25-26. There a select group of 20 representatives from Israel, the major Jewish organizations in the United States, and Britain, France, Canada, Argentina, South Africa, Australia and Western Germany met to work out steps for a sellout of the Jewish people. There is no other way to characterize negotiations with the renazified Adenauer regime on the basis of a spurious statement of German "repentance."

If these Jewish "representatives" expected plain sailing, they were in for a surprise. A storm of protest and criticism at this betrayal broke over their heads, particularly in the Yiddish press, through letters to the editor, and from various other sources. The Jewish community was especially incensed over the fact that a meeting of such moment for all Jews should be held in secrecy behind closed doors. And of course, in view of what these "leaders" were up to, it is not hard to understand why they decided to discuss the matter out of earshot of the Jewish masses. For the actual reality behind the conference was the attempt to strangle opposition to the rearmament of Western Germany by dangling before the Jewish people the vague promise by Adenauer of "restitution" to Jewish survivors in Israel.

The Plot Unfolds

The conference was in fact the climax of a conspiracy that was being hatched for some months by our own State Department and the Ben Gurion regime, the Jewish Agency, the American Jewish Committee and the World Jewish Congress. Rumors had been flying about of secret negotiations of Jewish "leaders" with representatives of the Bonn government. On March 12, the Ben Gurion government laid a tangible basis for the deal by its note to the four occupying powers requesting that West Germany pay Israel a billion and a half dollars to aid in the resettlement in Israel of Jewish victims of nazism. In addition, representatives of the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee were holding secret meetings with Adenauer's representatives.

It seems that Dr. Nahum Goldman, co-chairman of the Jewish Agency and an officer of the World Jewish Congress, was chief State Department errand boy for the whole deal.

The Paris *Naie Presse* reported in October that a secret deal had been concluded in Paris among I. Altmeier, representative of the Bonn regime, M. Fischer, Israel consul in France, and Dr. Goldman concerning recognition of the Bonn regime by Israel. Rabbi Nurok, of Israel, also revealed that Dr. Goldman had, at the recent World Jewish Congress meeting in Geneva, spoken "with enthusiasm" of the "peace bid" of the Adenauer government.

From the Israeli press came word that the Adenauer statement of September 27 was known in New York before its publication and that the new policy had been sanctioned by the United States, British and French foreign ministers in their recent Washington talks. It was there agreed that Washington would assume responsibility for the payment of West Germany's debt to Israel in the form of production of commodities for which Germany cannot earn dollars.

The reaction in Israel against this deal was immediate and strongly negative. Sidney Gruson reported in the *New York Times* (October 25) that great scepticism had greeted Adenauer's offer there. "The failure of the West Germans to follow up their offer with concrete details," reported Gruson, "has only hardened resistance on the part of a large section of the population to any formal dealings with the Bonn government here. Three political parties—Mapam, Herut and the Communists—have come out against any negotiations." Late in October, 200 Israeli intellectuals, writers and artists called upon the Knesset to put the matter of negotiations with the Adenauer government to a referendum before dealing with those who helped murder six million Jews.

State Department Collusion

Behind the conspiracy is seen the fine hand of the State Department. As the *Naie Presse* reported, the State Department decided that in the interest of speeding German rearmament, steps must be taken to overcome "the opposition of the millions of Jews in the United States and other countries and, through them, to overcome the opposition of millions of non-Jews in the world." The report stated further that the State Department made clear to Dr. Nahum Goldman that "if they want material aid for Israel from Washington, they must cooperate in the plan to make Jews forgive the Adenauer government."

There is no secret about the real intention of the Ade-

Adenauer statement. Here is what *The Reconstructionist*, strong supporter of the Truman policy even to approval of the alliance with Franco, had to say in its October 19 issue about the Adenauer statement: the statement "was elicited from the German government by our own State Department as one of the conditions to full acceptance of Western Germany in the concert of powers allied against encroachment by the Communist axis." In other words, the State Department demanded that the hostility of the Jews and democratic-minded non-Jews all over the world to a remilitarized Germany should be cancelled out by a propagandist declaration by Adenauer.

The situation was well put by Milton Friedman, Washington correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, in his syndicated column in mid-October. "German Chancellor Adenauer," he said, "has a sense of timing which recalls the remarkably efficient timetables of the early successes of the nazis. His statement on German restitution to Jews came as negotiations were under way for 250,000 German troops to march again under nazi generals. The statement came at the delicate stage of Germany's plot to restore itself as a military power. It came at the time that the German veterans' paper, *Die Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung* [the German Soldiers Journal] preached war and revenge."

What Adenauer Really Said

In order to get the full impact of this plot in which Jewish "leaders" implicated themselves with the State Department and a renazified West German regime, one has only to read with attention the Adenauer statement. On German "guilt" for the crimes of nazism, Adenauer said: "The Federal government, and with it the vast majority of the German people, is conscious of the immeasurable suffering that was brought to bear upon the Jews of Germany and in the occupied territories during the period of National Socialism. *The great majority of German people abhorred the crimes committed against the Jews and had no part in them.*" (Italics mine—L.H.) The meaning is quite clear: *Adenauer is here absolving the German people of guilt for the crimes of nazism.* Continuing in this vein, Adenauer says that because of the crimes "perpetrated in the name of the German people" (italics mine—L.H.)—not, in other words, by the German people—the Germans have the "obligation to make moral and material amends" to the Jews.

But even here Adenauer leaves himself an "out." He proposes that Israel should receive "restitution" within the "limits [of] German ability to pay." This limitation is imposed by the fact, he says, that West Germany has the "bitter necessity of having to provide for the innumerable war victims and to care for the refugees and expellees." In other words, before the Jewish victims of nazism receive "restitution," many of those who sucked the life blood of occupied countries and were expelled from Eastern European countries after the nazi defeat, must be cared for. The United Press reported on November 5, for instance, that

\$476,000 had been assigned by the Adenauer regime for the legal defense of those Germans who had been charged or tried by foreign courts in connection with occurrences during World War II. In other words the nazi criminals have prior call on West German funds to the Jewish victims.

Negotiating with Renazifiers

Words are cheap enough, and Adenauer's words are especially cheap, if placed thus beside the actualities of the Bonn regime. With whom are these Jewish "leaders" negotiating? There is no need to go into the overwhelming accumulation of evidence that the nazis are coming back to commanding positions in West Germany and even threaten to take power under the protecting arm of the American occupation. Anti-Semitism is reaching dangerous dimensions once more, as surviving Jews in Germany are warning us. The facts are well known. Only in the past few weeks the World Jewish Congress itself issued a report showing the most ominous trend back to nazism (see *JEWISH LIFE*, November, pp. 25-26). One could take seriously any intentions of the Bonn regime to recompense the Jews for the crimes of nazism only if that regime were to strip nazis of power and to take decisive measures against anti-Semitism. But there is no sign of any such thing. All signs point to the contrary. On October 16, three weeks after Adenauer offered his olive branch to the Jewish people, he unashamedly admitted in the Bundestag that 134 members of his foreign ministry are former nazis and of these, 130 were in the foreign service of Hitler. The *New York Times* of November 7 published a letter from Heinz Pol stating that "the former right hand man of Ribbentrop, Ambassador Erich Kordt, is today with the tacit approval of the Bonn government the director of a 'school for diplomats.'" And on October 29, more than a month after the Adenauer statement saw the light, Drew Middleton reported in the *New York Times* that the advance of West Germany toward sovereignty following the official ending of the state of war has seen a stepping up of neo-nazi activity. The infamous Otto Dietrich, former press chief of the Nazi Party, is back in journalism in an official trade publication in Duesseldorf. And Middleton reports that the influx of nazis into the government is so great that, as one French official said, "soon there won't be any anti-nazis left in the government."

The enormity of the betrayal of the Jewish people by the "leaders" who have been engineering this deal becomes fully apparent, then, when one keeps in mind the elements in the situation we have indicted above. 1. West Germany is flagrantly becoming renazified and fascism is returning; 2. Adenauer not only failed to acknowledge the guilt of the German people for the crimes of nazism, but actually absolved the majority of the German people of guilt; 3. Adenauer made only the vaguest of promises to pay "restitution" within the "ability to pay" after war criminals were taken care of; and finally and most important of all: 4. the purpose of the whole deal is to break down opposition

among the Jewish people and all democratic-minded people to German rearmament, so that the way will be opened for World War III. In other words, the conditions are shaping up for war and fascism which will lead once again to genocide of the Jewish people and concentration camps, unless the peoples of the world force a reversal of these policies. Jewish "leaders" who abet such a program are of a piece with the *Judenrat* Jews and the concentration camp "Kapos."

Attempt to Stifle Opposition

Washington has, in fact been having a hard time convincing not only the Jewish people, but the masses of the people of Germany and of all Europe, that the renazified West Germany should be rearmed. Under pressure from the Jewish masses in this country, the major Jewish organizations, up to a few months ago, had well-nigh unanimously expressed their opposition to German rearmament. The Israel government issued strong statements condemning rearmament in a renazified Germany. But Washington has been feverishly trying to break down the opposition on all these fronts of democratic-minded people, Jewish and non-Jewish, all over the world.

With diabolical cleverness the State Department then proceeded to try to divert this opposition by throwing up a propaganda and totally insincere smokescreen of West German "repentance" for the crimes of nazism and dubious promises to make "restitution" to the Jews. If Jewish opposition were broken down, this would surely facilitate weakening non-Jewish opposition. Editorial writers could point to Jewish acquiescence to a new Wehrmacht. And the Jewish "leadership" has obediently joined this conspiracy to deceive the people, both Jewish and non-Jewish, into letting down their guard against the rearmament of a renazified Germany.

The reaction of the Jewish "leadership" was in fact so prompt and uniform on this so-called first step, as to leave little doubt that it was coordinated. With the exception of the *Morning Freiheit*, the Yiddish press headlined Adenauer's "acknowledgement of German guilt." The entire Jewish "leadership" in one voice uttered the lying statement that East Germany had not acknowledged responsibility for the crimes of nazism. It is not necessary to expose this lie here since Mr. Hagelberg sufficiently shows the complete falsity of these statements in the next article in this issue. Of course, the Jewish leaders were obliged by the glaring obviousness of West German renazification and of the vagueness of Adenauer's promises to express "reserve" as to the implementation of the Adenauer statement. But all this, as we used to say in the army, is "eyewash." For the purpose of the whole conspiracy is served by committing the Jewish people to recognition of the Bonn regime by dealing with it on measures for "restitution." There can be no doubt that the price exacted by the State Department for this deal was the withdrawal of Jewish organizations from the protest movement against West German rearmament.

These organizations have in fact been silent on the issue for some months now. By pretending that they are dealing only with "Jewish material claims against Germany," the Waldorf conference and the Jewish "leadership" try to leave the impression that the campaign against renazification remains open. But in fact, the effect of negotiating with the renazified Adenauer regime is to play down and neutralize this campaign and certainly to prevent the development of a campaign by the Jewish and democratic-minded people against West German rearmament.

The Jewish Masses Will Not Follow

But it is one thing for "leaders" to announce a policy and quite another to make the masses follow. There is ample evidence that the people of Israel are profoundly disturbed by this conspiracy to deal with the Adenauer regime. What more impressive evidence of this opposition than the fact that by the end of October, over 200,000 Israeli citizens had signed the petition being circulated by the Israeli Peace Committee demanding that Germany be prevented from rearming and that a peace pact among the five great powers be reached?

And the uneasiness of the Jewish masses in the United States over the attempted deal with Adenauer is reflected not only in the repeated notes of caution with which Jewish "leaders" have enveloped their statements on the Adenauer declaration. It has appeared especially in the Yiddish press, which is a sensitive register of mass sentiments of Jewish working people. These mass feelings are making the Yiddish editorial writers squirm in their attempt to allay the alarm of the Jewish masses. While the conference was in session, Jewish survivors of nazi concentration camps now in Pittsburgh passed a bitter resolution calling on the rabbinate throughout the world to excommunicate these treacherous leaders. Protest meetings of Jewish organizations have also been held.

It is not too much to say that this conspiracy which the Jewish "leadership" has entered with the State Department, is a matter of life or death for the Jewish people. A rearmed West Germany means World War III. And a rearmed, renazified West Germany poses the utmost danger of Jewish annihilation. In short, the Jewish "leadership" is trying to draw the Jewish masses into a literally suicidal policy.

What is the answer to this conspiracy? It is to refuse to negotiate with an Adenauer regime which is stained with Jewish blood through its nazi officials and its encouragement of a revived nazism. It is to demand that negotiations be held only with a *denazified and unified* Germany. And it is to continue to fight with ever mounting intensity against the remilitarization of a renazified West Germany. The grand objective of the Jewish people is identical with that of all democratic-minded people—the effacement of all traces of nazism in West Germany and the prevention of a new world war. And the pivotal issue in this struggle for peace is to keep Germany disarmed.

II: EAST GERMANY AND NAZI GUILT

Since 1945, East Germany has openly and repeatedly acknowledged guilt for the crime of nazism. Yet Jewish leaders deny this obvious fact

By Gerhard Hagelberg

IMMEDIATELY following the declaration on September 27, of West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer on his government's attitude towards the Jewish people, leading representatives of Israeli and American Jewry issued statements almost unanimously greeting this gesture as the "first" acknowledgement of German responsibility for the nazi crimes against the Jews. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett described the declaration as "the *first* attempt on the part of postwar Germany to face the issue of the grave moral and material responsibility resting upon it." Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, was moved to cable to Adenauer the committee's welcome of his "forthright statement . . . as a significant *first* step towards Germany's assumption of moral and legal responsibility." Dr. Nahum Goldman, co-chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared, "The statement indicates for the *first* time that responsible German leaders are aware that the German people as a whole cannot escape responsibility for the unspeakable crimes against Jewry committed by the nazis." *The Reconstructionist* of October 19 characterized it as the "*first* official recognition of German responsibility to curb anti-Semitism." And *Congress Weekly* of October 8 openly said what everybody was hinting at:

"His [Adenauer's] statement nevertheless records for the *first* time official German acceptance of responsibility for those crimes. . . . It is unfortunate that the government of the East German Republic has not likewise acknowledged its share of responsibility for that part of Germany under its control, which is under an equal obligation." (Italics mine throughout—G.H.)

Finally, the October conference of Jewish organizations on the question of West German "restitution" categorically stated that "no acknowledgment of responsibility or readiness to make any amends has been made by Eastern Germany."

GERHARD HAGELBERG is associate editor of the progressive German language monthly, *The German American*. He fled nazi persecution of the Jews in 1939 as a youth and came to this country in 1943.

If this is true, it is a shocking indictment of the country which today calls itself the German *Democratic* Republic (GDR). If it is not, then the Jewish leadership has done a profound disservice to the interests of the Jewish people. As we shall show, the facts regarding the attitude of East Germany toward the Jewish people and recognition of guilt for the crimes of nazism conclusively establish the falsehood of the Jewish "leaders'" charge:

These Are the Facts

1. Adenauer's declaration comes six years after the end of the war and then only when the task of quenching the opposition to remilitarization has become the order of the day; far from acknowledging German responsibility, it seeks to absolve the German people of guilt. But the leaders of East Germany took an unequivocal position as soon as political life was reestablished after the defeat of Hitlerism. On June 11, 1945, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, in its first appeal to the German people, declared:

"Monstrous are the atrocities which the Hitler bandits have wrought in other lands. To the hands of the Hitler Germans sticks the blood of many, many millions of murdered children, women and old men. In the death camps the human destruction was carried on factory-like day after day in gas chambers and crematoria. Burning alive, burying alive, dissecting alive—that is how the nazi bandits wrought havoc. . . .

"Not only Hitler is responsible for the crimes committed against humanity. The ten million Germans who voted for Hitler in free elections in 1932 . . . bear part of the guilt. All German men and women who without a will of their own and without resistance watched Hitler's seizure of power . . . bear part of the guilt."

These are the words of men who, together with the German Jews, were the first inmates of nazi death camps.

2. The necessity for an understanding by the German people of their guilt was explained by Walter Ulbricht, today the deputy prime minister of the GDR, at the first conference of functionaries of the Communist Party of

Berlin in 1945. "The recognition of war guilt," he said, "is the precondition for the thorough extirpation of nazism, the eradication of the nazi war ideology, for the overcoming of Prussian militarism, for the determined struggle against nazi racism and every form of race supremacy."

All Elements Acknowledge Guilt

3. Nor were such expressions confined to the leaders of the Communist Party. The chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Otto Grotewohl, today prime minister of the GDR, in direct contrast to Adenauer's latter-day "repentance," declared on August 12, 1945:

"We do not stress the guilt of the German people in order to obtain a milder judgment from the victors, but because the German people can learn from this guilt concept why it must repair the damage. The concept of guilt and atonement are the sole clear basis for the development of German policy. The political responsibility affects the entire people."

4. The Communist and Social Democratic Parties, together with the two middle-class parties, the Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party, in the manifesto of the United Front of Anti-Fascist Democratic Parties in the Soviet Zone of August 12, 1945, affirmed that "the German people must bear the responsibility for the consequences of the Hitler regime."

5. Since the establishment of the GDR this attitude has been imbedded in the constitution and in the fundamental laws which protect the rights of Jews as German citizens from all infringements. Article VI of the constitution provides:

"All citizens are equal before the law. Incitement to boycott against democratic organizations, incitement to murder against democratic politicians, manifestations of religious, racial and national hatred, militaristic and war propaganda, and all other activities directed against equality, are crimes within the meaning of the penal code. Whoever is punished for the commission of such crimes cannot be active in public service nor in leading positions in economic and cultural life. He loses the right to vote and to be elected."

Real Program of Re-education

The Law for the Defense of Peace of December 15, 1950, declares in Article I: "Whosoever slanders, agitates or instigates boycott against other peoples and races, in order to disturb the peaceful relations between the peoples and involve the German people in a new war, will be punished by imprisonment, and in serious cases by hard labor."

6. In a discussion of the problems of the Jewish population in the GDR in March, 1950, between representatives of the Jewish community and President Wilhelm Pieck and Deputy Premier Otto Nuschke, the chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, Pieck expressed the determi-



This poster with the words, "Remember the Jewish Sacrifice," was among those distributed by the East German regime in May.

nation of the government that "anti-Semitism, if it arises, will be quelled by the state."

These statements were not empty rhetorical flourishes and their implementation was rigorously pursued. *The Reconstructionist*, which in its October 19 issue expresses its particular concern for the democratic reeducation of the German youth, might be reminded of the first cultural conference of the Communist Party of Germany in February 1946, at which Wilhelm Pieck, in discussing the conditions for a rebirth of German culture, declared: "We recognize in the first place that we must cleanse our whole cultural life of all fascist and reactionary rubbish, remove from our libraries and museums everything marked by the fatal nazi ideology, the delusion of racism, the glorification of reactionary Prussianism, jingoism and militarism."

Significantly, the cultural event at this conference was a performance of the classical drama of religious tolerance, Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, which had been banned by the Hitler regime. In the tremendous educational campaign carried out in the years since then, particular emphasis has been placed on reacquainting the German people with the contributions made by German Jews to its culture, from Mendelssohn and Heine to Einstein. As soon as the equipment was available, films dealing directly with anti-Semitism were made, such as *Marriage in the Shadows* and *The Affair Blum*.

Special Measures for Jewish Victims

Since the resolution of the municipal council of Berlin in October 1945, conferring on Jews special privileges, such as are accorded to all political victims of fascism, the East German authorities have recognized the special status of the few thousand Jewish survivors of the Hitler terror. As victims of fascism, the Jewish people became entitled to considerable material advantages despite the economic chaos in the immediate postwar period. They received priority in housing and free hospital accommodation, special rehabilitation treatment, financial aid, larger amounts of rationed food and special job protection, so that in the

event of layoffs a Jewish worker would be the last to be released.

Under the social security legislation of January 28, 1947, victims of fascism and their survivors, among whom all Jews in East Germany are included, received benefits up to 50 per cent higher than those to which other categories are entitled. The decree of the municipal council of East Berlin of March 18, 1947, provided for a monthly pension of 170 marks for men who are disabled or over the age of 65 (the equivalent of wages of a semi-skilled worker), 85 marks for widows and 68 marks for orphans. A law passed on February 10, 1950, which guarantees the legal position of victims of fascism in the GDR, raised these amounts to a minimum of 120 marks monthly for widows and 100 marks for orphans who have lost one or both parents, to be paid until the completion of their education and at least until they are 19 years old. At the beginning of 1947, the Association of the Victims of Fascism was established in East Germany, which is legally empowered to control the execution of this legislation. In addition to this material aid, the government provided the means for the reconstruction of Jewish cultural and religious life by rebuilding the synagogues and museums destroyed by the fascists.

Is there still anti-Semitism in East Germany? The effectiveness of the effort to eradicate anti-Semitism was discussed by Gerhart Eisler, head of the information service of the GDR, in an interview published in the April 1950, issue of *JEWISH LIFE*. In reply to a question regarding the "Jewish problem" in East Germany, Eisler declared that such a problem did not exist there, although there were still some anti-Semites. He illustrated the situation by a story of a conversation between a Jew from West Germany and a Jew from the GDR. "Well, do you still have anti-Semites in West Germany?" asked the latter. "Of course, nothing has changed. And are there anti-Semites in East Germany?" "Yes." "That's what I thought. There, too, nothing has changed." "Ah, but no," the other replied, "something *has* changed. Before, when I met an anti-Semite, it was I who was afraid. Today, when I meet an anti-Semite, it is he who is afraid!"

Equality for Jews

Another comparison between the two zones is afforded by the attacks on Jewish cemeteries. As there are not many living Jews to maltreat, it has become the favorite sport of the West German fascists to insult the dead. Basil Davidson of the London *New Statesman and Nation* reported that in September 1950, he had received from the Jewish community in Duesseldorf a list of 82 Jewish cemeteries desecrated since 1946, of which only one was in East Germany. What happened in this one case was told by the correspondent of the conservative London *Jewish Chronicle*, on June 9, 1950. "While I was in Berlin," he wrote, "the Jewish cemetery in the Eastern sector was desecrated by a group of young Germans. . . . The authorities, unlike those in the West, took immediate and formal action to discover and arrest the perpetrators of this shameful act. . . . This

action contrasts unfavorably with the leniency shown to kindred criminals in the West." The Jewish Telegraphic Agency further reported that East Berlin's mayor sent a letter of regret to the Jewish community, in which he stated that "criminal elements" in East Berlin had been "encouraged by the open toleration of anti-Semitic behavior in West Germany."

Indicative of the atmosphere in the GDR is the role played by prominent Jewish figures. Among the recipients of the National Prize in 1951 are the famous writer Anna Seghers; Albert Norden, journalist and head of the press department of the information service; and Siegbert Kahn, director of the German Economic Institute. In October the philologist Professor Victor Klemperer celebrated his 70th birthday amid great public acclaim. Arnold Zweig plays an active part as the honored head of the progressive writers of the GDR. The chairman of the assembly of the Jewish community in Berlin, Dr. Hans Freund, is the presiding judge of one of the highest courts.

Perhaps even more significant are the relations of Jews with their fellow-workers in the factories. In *JEWISH LIFE* of March 1950, Jean and Louis David told of an interview with a young Jewish worker who had returned to Germany after the war. "Felix is the chairman of the Free German Youth in the factory. As he showed us through the factory, we could see the affection the young workers felt for him. . . . We asked Felix if he felt any anti-Semitism in the factory. He answered the question carefully, 'These workers know that I am Jewish. I think they are glad that I as a Jew chose to come back to work in Germany.'"

A New German Jewry

Testimony to this new situation is given by the Jewish community of Berlin which, in a letter to the Third World Youth Festival, wrote: "It is very good that Berlin has been chosen as the capital of the youth this summer. Youth from all over the world, especially Jewish youth, will see for themselves that the new Germany is rapidly cleansing itself of all semblances of anti-Semitism and fascism."

The birth of a democratic Germany did not occur of itself. It resulted in the first place from the positive approach of the Soviet occupation authorities, under whose guidance not only the nazis but the economic causes of fascism and anti-Semitism were removed. The Russians did not regard all Germans as hopeless reactionaries. Rather, they rendered harmless the big landowners and big industrialists, the principal supporters of the Hitler regime and German anti-Semitism. They helped German anti-fascists to carry out denazification themselves and to train new teachers, judges and administrators. The forces in the leadership of the German Democratic Republic consider the struggle against anti-Semitism a part of their fight against renazification and remilitarization in the West, and for a united, democratic, independent and peace-loving Germany. Their determination to put down the last vestiges of anti-Semitism is quite consciously part of their effort for national survival.

III. A CASE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

In East Germany, anti-Semitism is dealt with instantly and decisively in the interests of the people's state

By Dr. Leo Katz

Is there anti-Semitism in the East German Democratic Republic?

The old tradition of anti-Semitism existed of course in both East and West Germany and was reinforced by 12 years of Hitler rule. The important question to ask, is then: *what has been done since 1945 to re-educate the German people in general and the youth in particular?*

It is well known that anti-Semitism is now being permitted to spread in West Germany and in the western sector of Berlin, just as in the days of the Weimar Republic, when the nazis spread their anti-Semitism all over Germany. Today the neo-nazis in West Germany are engaging in anti-Semitic agitation while they hold official posts under control of the United States forces. Discrimination against the Jews exists and there are ghettos of Jews in Munich and Stuttgart. The Jewish doctor in West Germany is made to feel that he is inferior and in Bavaria it is impossible for him to obtain a hospital post.

On the other hand, it is common knowledge that anti-Semitism is outlawed in East Germany and that anti-Semitism is considered a crime against the state. Nor does the traveller detect anti-Semitism among the people. The youth are being re-educated in the spirit of brotherhood of peoples. However, it would be a miracle if anti-Semitism did not exist in East Germany. Therefore, a struggle is being conducted against anti-Semitism and the following illuminating incident proves both how this is being done and how hard it is to conduct this struggle.

Traditional spring carnivals are held in Germany each year at which masks are worn, just as the Jews wear masks at Purim. In fact, the Jews derived this custom from the Rhineland. Last spring, a friend of mine in East Germany who was preparing for the festival went shopping in Berlin for masks for children in East Berlin. The proprietor (58 per cent of all stores in East Berlin are still privately owned) showed him several masks. Then the storekeeper told my friend that he had a special sort of mask and showed him one that was a caricature of a Jew along the lines of the *Stuermer!* Such masks had been made under Hitler.

My friend became very angry. The storekeeper refused to tell him where he had obtained the masks. My friend called a people's policeman, all the masks were confiscated and the storekeeper was arrested for spreading anti-Semitic propaganda. Under questioning he explained that the masks were not holdovers from the Hitler regime but had been received only a few days earlier. He also said that he had obtained them from a factory owned by the East German Republic.

The following day the matter was taken up by the prosecutor's office and by responsible leaders of the German Socialist Unity Party. The factory was located in the province of Thuringia. Letters were immediately sent to the provincial government, court and party committee requesting that they explain how it was still possible to have and sell masks from the time of Hitler. The answer came quickly that the masks were being made and sold at present.

Representatives from the central committee of the party in Berlin immediately went to Thuringia. A meeting of the factory workers was called and the matter put before them. The meeting decided to have the "artist" who designed the masks arrested, as well as the engineer who ordered their production, the factory director (who turned out to be a former nazi) and one worker-member of the Socialist Unity Party who had approved the project.

The workers decided that production of the masks be halted, that all masks be destroyed immediately and that all masks purchased by stores be confiscated. The workers expressed their gratitude that the nazi nest had been discovered in time.

In about a month the party received word from its local organization that the trial of those implicated in the affair had been held and that the court had decided that all the arrested men be freed and that they should return to their old jobs.

When a party representative went immediately to Thuringia, he was assured by the local prosecutor that everything had been done according to law.

At this point the highest body of the Socialist Unity Party tackled the problem of how it was possible for a state factory to produce anti-Semitic caricatures, for a

court to set the guilty ones free and a prosecutor to justify the action of the court. Clearly this matter had deeper significance than was at first realized. Several top leaders of the party then went to Thuringia and studied the background of the accused, the judge and the prosecutor and other responsible people involved. After a few days, an order went out to arrest the whole gang. The prosecutor and factory director managed to flee to the Americans in West Germany.

For the investigation had disclosed that not only were the guilty persons former active nazis, but that they were part of a widely organized network which had maintained close contact with the United States forces for years. The anti-Semitic caricatures were produced as part of a plan to keep the nazi spirit alive and to spread anti-Semitic poison in the Republic. These people had been ordered by the Americans to infiltrate the Socialist Unity Party because of the role that active nazism plays in the preparations for war.

This story shows that the struggle against anti-Semitism has uncovered a network of fascism and espionage. The story also shows that anti-Semitism is not an isolated phenomenon in the East German Republic, but is a basic part of fascism. It also shows the active role the Americans are playing in stimulating anti-Semitism in Germany. The Socialist Unity Party is a vigilant enemy of anti-Semitism because it is aware that its own fate and the fate of democracy in Germany and of all humanity depends on a successful struggle against nazism and the war policy of Washington. The fight against anti-Semitism is part of this same struggle.

Sabbath on Remilitarization

In the course of an article, part of a symposium on "Remilitarizing Germany," published in the New York Jewish Forum, October 1951, Representative Adolph J. Sabbath wrote the following:

I THOROUGHLY condemn and protest the remilitarization of the present German government because of its failure to repudiate nazism with the inevitable danger of its leaders again taking over the reins of government. These possibilities are still very much in evidence. Only after complete assurance that Germany and the German people have completely dissociated themselves from the appalling record of nazism can we and our allies justifiably support the entry of a new Germany into the family of nations.

A MAN OF DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

Alexander Bittelman, "a 20th Century Thomas Muir," faces imprisonment and exile because he struggles for the American and Jewish workers

By Joseph North

WHEN the "Black Hundreds," the tsarist counterpart of the Ku Klux Klan, stormed the Jewish ghetto of Berdichev in the early years of this century, a brooding Jewish boy, a printer's apprentice, and scarcely in his teens, risked his life and his freedom to defend his people.

Nearly half a century has passed and that boy of Berdichev—Alexander Bittelman—still stands solidly in the van of his harassed and persecuted folk, selflessly defending their just cause. But to champion the oppressed, to right wrong, is crime in contemporary America: the F.B.I. has picked up where the imperial Okhrana left off. And so the federal authorities dragged Bittelman behind bars, confined him on Ellis Island, maligned him in the press and over the airwaves, harassed him endlessly in courtroom after courtroom and used every pettifoggery, spiteful trick to deprive him of his right to bail. Finally, they recommended that he be banished from the land which he adopted as an immigrant youth in 1912 and to which he has devoted his life.

Nor is that all. Frenzied by his obdurate stand, they further indicted him, with 16 of his co-workers, on charges of violating the Smith act, charged that the venerated Jewish leader had conspired to advocate the forcible overthrow of the United States government. His "overt act" consisted of two articles written for the Marxist magazine *Political Affairs*. Nothing more.

It is an ancient story. The scriptures, too, tell of another dangerous Jew named Jesus whose imperial judges charged that he "stirreth up the people." Increasingly there is resemblance to the trials of the past, to the day of Galileo and Bruno, as advancing fascism turns the clock back in our United States.

Echo of History

I have just finished reading the record of the trial of Thomas Muir, the celebrated Scotchman, who had—like Bittelman—fought for his people and who, too, was sentenced by the Crown to "transportation"—deportation—to an Antarctic isle for 14 years. The royal indictment, a century and a half ago, reads as though it guided Rep. Smith, the Virginia Bourbon, in his draft of the 20th Cen-

tury thought-control act. Here is a section, indicative of the whole: "... the said Thomas Muir did, in the course of the months of September, October or November, aforesaid, wickedly and feloniously distribute and circulate, or cause to be distributed and circulated . . . a number of seditious and inflammatory writings or pamphlets: particularly a book or pamphlet entitled *The Words of Thomas Paine, Esq.*"

The parallel to the provisions in the Smith act are astonishing: do we live in the 18th Century or the 20th? Muir "addressed meetings or convocations of persons brought together by no lawful authority" . . . he made "seditious speeches and harangues" . . . "wickedly and feloniously" he urged Britons "to open their eyes" to the injuries "which have been heaped" upon them, and assert their rights "to have them redressed." And, wickedly and feloniously, he warned his people that they had "lost the constitutional means of redress for their grievances." Most serious of all the charges against him, he bade his countrymen "to associate in your own case with one voice. The voice of united millions demand reform in the national representation."

That has a dreadful ring to tyrannous authority—"the voice of united millions." For that he was banished. The phrase sounds almost exactly like that of Bittelman when he told the federal examiner in his own "transportation" hearings: "I called upon the American Jewish masses to unite in a democratic coalition and to join the labor and democratic forces of the whole American people in the common fight for peace, democracy, equal rights and economic security. . . ."

"Q. Is it your contention then that the government seeks to deport you because you have opposed its hostile policies to the Jewish people and also because of your opposition to its general course of war and fascism?"

"A. That is correct."¹

And so, Bittelman, a 20th Century Thomas Muir, faces exile. And, with the refinements of a later, more advanced age, five years of imprisonment to boot.

How drearily the tyrants repeat their lines through the ages: how similar the language and deed of the administration today as it apes the emperors of 1792. His majesty's

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¹ Extended excerpts from Mr. Bittelman's testimony before the immigration commissioner on August 17-18, 1949, were published in *Jewish Life*, October 1949.—Eds.

advocate described the Scot as "a spider spinning his filthy web to entrap the unwary."

The words could have been Hitler's, or J. Edgar Hoover's as he speaks of Bittelman or the others indicted with him.

Because that is the image today's tyrants spread among the people, it is imperative to shout the truth about men like Bittelman and bring it to the millions.

Story of Jewish Leader

Those who know Alexander Bittelman know a man of erudition, culture, experience and deep humanity. Slight, gray-haired, quiet in voice and manner, an eminent Jewish leader and Marxist scholar, one cannot find a trace of the dark attributes the government imputes. An average American would find in Bittelman a wise, sensitive man with whom he could sit down and talk over his problems, his life, his many harassing questions and whose counsel he would find sage. Tens of thousands of workers have done just that in the 35 years that they have chosen Bittelman a leader among them.

The young printer of Berdichev walked off the gangplank onto the Golden Land in 1912 to discover a nation in the throes of giant working-class battles. The hungry weavers of Lawrence, Mass., stood on the picketlines for a decent livelihood; the miners of Colorado were striking not only for better wages but for their very lives against Rockefeller's marauding gunmen. Great free speech fights were exploding at all points of the compass and the jails were jammed to the bars with prisoners.

Young Bittelman found work as a printer in a Lower Manhattan shop and drew the munificent wage of \$4.50 a week which scarcely kept body and soul together. As soon as he learned enough of the language he sought a new job that paid better and, like so many young East Side immigrants, he studied on his own, sat into the dawn poring over textbooks of algebra and geometry. "The only education I had had was in the *heder*." Soon he applied for entrance at Cooper Union Institute, to study mechanical engineering, and there he excelled in the study of physics and mathematics. But the rigors of poverty prevented him, after two years, from completing the course.

By 1914 he had heard the horrifying news of Ludlow, Col., where Rockefeller's deputies set fire to the tent colony of strikers, machine-gunned their wives and children and murdered 42. In Centralia, Wash., the reactionary leaders of the American Legion attacked the union local and killed 14.

The eager, sensitive young immigrant who had heard the stories everybody in the Old Country believed of America's limitless opportunity, its prosperity, was shocked. He had already seen the lot of his fellow Jews in the sweat shops of New York and "I looked at the peddlers in the streets." His rosy, old-world view of America vanished rapidly. He found anti-Semitism here, discovered that not all Americans enjoy equal rights. "The Jewish masses, like the masses of Slavic and Italian origin, were in a position of second or

third class citizenship, economically, politically and socially. Only the most formal equality existed and not always even that." He saw that Jews, socially, were treated "as third or fourth rate people by the ruling-classes of the United States, the so-called 'superior' white Anglo-Saxon 'race'!"

But most shocking was his discovery of the plight of the Negro people. "I had, in a general way, known that Negroes were mistreated in the United States. But I had not the least idea of the whole brutal system of national oppression under which the Negro people live in the United States." This had "a most profound effect upon my thoughts and feelings toward American democracy."

Years in Socialist Party

He had already joined the Socialist Party here, for back in Berdichev his father had enrolled him, at 14, in the youth section of the "Bund." Soon Bittelman was writing for the left-wing Jewish press, speaking from street corners in Harlem, then a large Jewish center and in a few years the boy of Berdichev had become prominent in the left wing Jewish labor movement. His co-workers discovered in him the qualities of leadership—a clear, cool head, devotion, courage. What he had seen in America, what he knew of old Russia, brought him "to understand more clearly what Marx and Lenin meant by saying that, in the final analysis, the bourgeois state is a dictatorship of the capitalist class and that the democracy of a bourgeois state is democracy mainly for the ruling capitalist class and not for the masses."

His first experiences in the Socialist Party brought him mistrust "of its petty-bourgeois, opportunist leadership." "I began to be attracted very strongly by the political struggle of socialist and labor leaders like Debs, Haywood, Ruth-



Alexander Bittelman

enberg and Foster." In 1919 he first heard Foster at a Madison Square Garden meeting raising support for the 350,000 striking steel workers whom Foster led.

As a consequence of his life in tsarist Russia, his sobering enlightenment in America, he became a founder of the Communist Party in 1919, and has been a leading figure in that party ever since.

Modest in manner, there is about him a directness of thought and expression which is at home in all the fields of learning. He is more than conversant with the lore of his people—the writings of its sages and knows as well the works of Balzac, Shakespeare, Goethe and keeps abreast of modern literature. Acquaintance with him riddles the concept spread by the authorities of Communist leaders as scheming, conniving fanatics. Here is a whole man.

It is as specialist in economics and as a Marxist-Leninist authority that he excels. In all these years he has remained in the center of Jewish life and it is as a leader here that he is best known to masses in America. Here he took his stand, fought day in and day out through the years to advance the rights of the Jewish people. He spoke, wrote, organized, worked tirelessly toward that end. He wrote voluminously in the Jewish working class press all his years here, was editor of various publications from his early youth.

If the government permitted the truth of his writings to be known, the people, en masse, would find that this Communist leader taught that the problems and struggles of America's Jews were an inseparable part of all America's people. Anti-Semitism cannot die if Jimcrow lives; the Jews cannot advance if Labor is shackled nor can they find peace if warmongers prevail.

What He Believes

He spoke these truths, uncompromisingly, from the dock in the deportation hearings. Bittelman recounted the articles he wrote while he headed the Morning Freiheit Association, which published the *Morning Freiheit*, a post he held until recently and all through the war years. They described the sufferings, problems and struggles of the masses of the Jewish people. His writings dealt with the need to win the war against the fascist Axis. "They advocated post-war collaboration of the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in accord with the policies of the late President Roosevelt, for the establishment of a just and durable peace." They sought the final uprooting of fascism and anti-Semitism "to make impossible a repetition of Hitlerism and the annihilation of six million Jewish lives."

"Q. Did you advocate in any of these articles or pamphlets violent overthrow of the American government?"

"A. No, I did not. I was combatting the violence of government agencies against the working people and the labor movement. I was combatting the violence of the KKK, of anti-Semites and Negro lynchings, of the infamous Palmer raids and deportation attacks."

There was much plain speaking from the stand during

his deportations hearings as he faced the federal authority: "I charged the government with main responsibility for the growth of anti-Jewish discrimination and anti-Semitism in the United States."

Calmly, the defendant told his inquisitors: "I accused the American government of following a hostile policy toward Israel. I maintain that this hostile policy is dictated by the American oil monopolies and the strategic theories of the warmongers who see in Israel a base of military operations against the Soviet Union. I charged the American government with trying to make Israel a puppet of Wall Street.

"Q. What were the policies toward Israel that you advocated?"

"A. I am fighting for the right of Israel to live and develop as a truly free and independent state, able to collaborate with the peace forces of the world and with the progressive forces of the Arab peoples for peace, progress and democracy."

Dangerous thoughts, indeed, in an America where the monopolies conspire to conquer a world and to do so must establish fascism in our country. And so Alexander Bittelman, unyielding, incorruptible, the daring leader of the Jewish people told the government why he wrote as he did and that is why he is in peril of deportation and five years in the penitentiary.

He says—and they cannot silence this frail, indomitable man—that the interests of the Jewish people lie in peace, that World War III would only multiply the horrors they suffered in World War II. He says that the government's policy of reconstructing nazism in Germany spells catastrophe to the aspirations of his people, to all the peoples. He warns—and no threat of exile or prison will stop his voice—that a plot is afoot to persuade them to accept the Adenauer renazification, for the conspirators reckon that if the Jews, who suffered so enormously under Hitlerism, accept it, then the warmongers have won a big advance toward World War III.

These are his ideas, and this is why they seek to silence him. His voice, his freedom, is in the interest of America's 150,000,000.

With the thunder-clouds about his head, he is calm, certain of the truth and of the future. For he stands with men like Thomas Muir, who proudly told the Crown at his trial, "Gentlemen, from my infancy to this moment I have devoted myself to the cause of the People. It is a good cause—it shall ultimately prevail—it shall finally conquer."

HANUKAH GREETINGS

from the EDITORS

**THE LESSON OF THE
MACCABEES IS RESISTANCE**

ZASLAVSKY SAYS: BIROBIDJAN LIVES

Two Canadian Jewish trade unionists learn from an interview with David Zaslavsky that Jewish life goes on undisturbed in Birobidjan

WHEN a Canadian trade union delegation to the Soviet Union returned in mid-October, two Jewish delegates, David Biderman and Pearl Wedro, reported in an interview their findings about the Jews in the Soviet Union. Their talk with David Zaslavsky, Jewish editorial writer of *Pravda*, particularly, refuted rumors about the "liquidation" of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan.

"We went wherever we wanted to go and were shown all we asked to see," said David Biderman and Pearl Wedro. "We planned our own itinerary. When changes were necessary, because our plans conflicted with the length of our stay, we ourselves made the revisions. We spoke freely and frankly to young and old people, ordinary citizens and top officials; we asked questions and made inquiries."

They made special inquiries about the Jewish people of the Soviet Union. "After just one day there," said Mr. Biderman and Miss Wedro, "the absurdity and falsity of the charge of anti-Semitism was so apparent that we realized it would be insulting to even ask if anti-Semitism exists in the Soviet Union. The whole country breathed the spirit of the friendship of peoples."

"In every factory, in the mines, lumber camps and in cultural institutions and many other places we met Jews in various positions—and they did not try to conceal their Jewishness."

"We had the special pleasure of meeting the world-famous Jewish Soviet publicist, David Zaslavsky, of the editorial staff of *Pravda*, with whom we discussed many problems, including that of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Zaslavsky told us the following:

"You have visited many different parts of our vast country. You saw for yourselves. I am certain that wherever you went, you experienced no anti-Semi-

tism or any sign of it. Undoubtedly you must have met many Jews of differing occupations who have been honored for their contributions to the country and to the building of socialism. You have seen for yourselves that in our country it is impossible to even think of any sort of discrimination. This is a socialist country!

"Jews in the USSR can develop economically and culturally according to their own choice and desire."

"It is a lie which only *Forward* sources could fabricate, that the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan has been abandoned, that its abandonment has been considered or that plans are afoot to limit the development of the

Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan. There are Yiddish newspapers in the Jewish Autonomous Region, Yiddish schools, theaters, and so on.

"No change of any kind has taken place in the national Stalinist policy with regard to the Jews or with regard to any other nationality."

"We recount the words of David Zaslavsky as no more than a confirmation of what we ourselves saw with our own eyes and have no doubt as to the truth of what he says of Birobidjan."

Mr. Biderman and Miss Wedro met dozens of Jews during their stay in the Soviet Union. They also visited the famous Moscow synagogue and chatted with Rabbi S. Schliefer.



Jewish Canadian trade unionists David Biderman and Pearl Wedro interviewing noted Soviet Jewish publicist, David Zaslavsky (center), on their recent visit to the Soviet Union.

THE FIGHT AGAINST "OLIVER TWIST"

The protest movement in New York against the Streicher-like portrait of Fagin gathers strength while Jewish leaders say hush-hush

By John Devine

LET there be no illusions about the film *Oliver Twist*.

This is rampant anti-Semitism on the screen in broad, unmistakable strokes. The portrayal of Fagin is the age-old caricature of the "Jew-devil" in appearance and morality. Patterned after George Cruikshank's illustrations for Charles Dickens' novel, Fagin fills the screen with the garb, the long seedy beard, beady eyes, stooped shoulders, hopping, shuffling gait and above all, the monstrous nose of the anti-Semite's Jew, but recently made infamous by Goebbels and Streicher. The actor Alec Guinness speaks with an unheard of Jewish accent and gestures in the "traditional" manner, shoulders raised, palms spread. Fagin's morals, again, are those attributed to the Jew by the anti-Semite: avarice, cowardice, covetousness, selfishness, obsequiousness, slyness, meanness, hypocrisy, scheming, yes even murder-plotting. The role was summed up pungently by the *Jewish Ledger* of Rochester, New York, on September 14: "It is as subtle as a swastika splashed in paint on the portals of a synagogue."

Anti-Semitic Intent

A sharp challenge was flung in the face of the Jewish people and of all decent Americans when this flagrantly anti-Semitic film opened in this country recently. The film has had a history of rejection. It was banned through protest in Germany, Austria, Canada and even refused approval in the United States at one time. Finally, it was foisted on the American people when Robert Young, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and a major investor in the motion picture industry, took over the Eagle-Lion distributing firm in the United States. A most unusual clause in the contract stated that *Oliver Twist* must be shown here. *Variety*, entertainment business trade magazine, quoted Young as saying, "the time had come for Americans to see it."

Young's connections with Wall Street and Washington (his Reconstruction Finance Corporation dealings have been under investigation) were no doubt helpful in getting approval for *Oliver Twist*. After 859 feet of the film had been cut, the Production Code Administration gave *Oliver Twist* its seal of approval in February, 1951, but only by majority vote, instead of the usual unanimous vote. The film cuts satisfied representatives of the American Jewish

JOHN DEVINE is chairman of the Provisional Committee on *Oliver Twist* and chairman of the Yorkville chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

Congress, which had earlier resisted the picture, and blunted the opposition of the Anti-Defamation League.

Oliver Twist's travels through the United States have not been without difficulties. City after city has protested and the film's stay shortened, despite a do-nothing policy by leading organizations or even open intervention against those protesting.

The New York run of the film at the Park Avenue Theater has been the longest and most protested. It opened on July 30, 1951, and received virtually unqualified praise from the big press reviewers, although several indicated some sensitivity about the Fagin role. Archer Winsten of the *New York Post* said he "could not recommend it to a general New York audience without reservations."

Efforts made to enlist support of Jewish "defense" agencies in protesting *Oliver Twist* and in urging a boycott proved fruitless. Mr. Leo Pfeffer, counsel of the American Jewish Congress, stated flatly and sharply to this writer on August 1 that his organization would do nothing about the film.

Walter Reade Theaters, owners of the Park Avenue, in telephone conversation later the same day, used the prestige of the American Jewish Congress to justify their exhibiting *Oliver Twist*, saying the AJ Congress had approved the film. The theater manager, to many protesting callers, used the same defense. The ADL indicated dissatisfaction with the picture but refused action because it considered in hush-hush fashion that protest would "call attention" to the film and build box office.

Protest Gathers

The Yorkville Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, having exhausted sources of support among organizations committed to defense of the Jewish community, then decided to initiate protests and picketing shortly after the film's opening. A regular once-a-week Friday evening picket line was established, which cut slightly into attendance at the theater, but brought the attention of other organizations to the need for protest. Support for the pickets by theater patrons was evident while hostility ranged from the openly anti-Semitic to the callously suggestive, "You're not Jewish, what do you care?" A representative of the Walter Reade Theaters, who had been sent to observe, offered the opinion that the anti-Semitism in the film would not have the same effect as in Germany.

Numerous organizations went on record against the film

and many sent members to picket. The New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, American Labor Party, Teachers Union, International Fur & Leather Workers Union, Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs, Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the Civil Rights Congress protested to the theater ownership and to United Artists Corporation, through which the film is now distributed. Mr. Robert Benjamin, president of the J. Arthur Rank organization in the United States, designated to answer complaints on *Oliver Twist*, admitted to a delegation from the Fur & Leather Workers Union that the nazi-like caricature of a Jew in the movie would stimulate intolerance and bigotry, but complained that his hands were tied contractually by Robert Young and his firm is "forced" to exhibit the film.

As a result of picket line and protest activity, the Provisional Committee on *Oliver Twist* was formed, with representatives from many groups participating. The work of this committee has stepped up the campaign against *Oliver Twist* and particularly has called attention to the most recent development in the affair. Discount tickets for the film have been distributed in New York schools and colleges and school children have been taken to see the picture during school hours. Protests against this participation by the Board of Education in promoting an anti-Semitic film have been registered with Superintendent of Schools William Jansen and with the members of the Board of Education. Picketing has increased to five nights weekly, and the picket line reached a high point on October 25, when more than 250 people marched in front of the theater for an hour.

Why Is It Shown Now?

The position of the "defense" agencies remains adamantly "hush-hush." As reported in the Brooklyn Jewish *Examiner*, "some Jewish organizational officials candidly admit that behind the current 'silent technique' [on *Oliver Twist*] is an unwillingness to resort to tactics that might associate Jews in the current situation with Communist activities. As one leader informed the *Examiner*, 'these days we have to be careful. I admit we're falling into a trap devised by our enemies—of paralyzing ourselves by fear of labels. But what can we do? We're helpless'" (August 17).

Sentiment within the Jewish community, however, has undergone a change. A number of rabbis who were asked to join the protest against *Oliver Twist* when the film opened, pleaded a hands-off policy. Now some of them wish to be kept acquainted with developments and several have spoken to their congregations about the protest activity. The more alert groups among the Jewish people have come into the campaign to boycott *Oliver Twist*.

How can the showing of the film now be explained? The more open and active anti-Semitism today reflects the direction in which the nation is being dragged by those in power. The "American Century" and "responsibility for world leadership" concepts that are being pumped into the American body politic, carrying with them the ideology

of race superiority, lately the nazi stock-in-trade. The anti-Semitism of *Oliver Twist* helps to reinforce the pattern of the drive to war and trend to an American fascism. The Supreme Court approval of the Smith Act created the atmosphere in which an *Oliver Twist* can be forced on the people, while many are too intimidated to protest. And anti-Semitism dies hard where profit is supreme. The motion picture industry is big business, and money is to be made from *Oliver Twist*. Thus there are distributors, theater owners, theater managers, many Jewish, contributing to the exhibition of an anti-Semitic film like *Oliver Twist*.

The Film Can Be Stopped

It is clear that those charged with the "defense" of the Jewish people, those responsible for exposing and rooting out anti-Semitism, are shown inadequate for the task. J. I. Fishbein, editor of the Chicago *Sentinel*, said in his July 26 editorial, that the failure to take any action on *Oliver Twist* "is further proof—if indeed additional proof is necessary—of how desperate is the need for establishing a Jewish defense agency that will express the real wishes and aspirations of the Jewish people."

Oliver Twist is not an isolated incident. Failure to stop this film will lead to more and worse *Oliver Twists*, as is already evident by the glorification of the nazi beer-hall putscher, Rommel, in *The Desert Fox*. *Oliver Twist* is, to a certain extent, to the Jewish people, what *Birth of a Nation* is to the Negro people. Thus unity of the Negro and Jewish peoples, together with all other democratic Americans, must be won. For all the people, not alone the Jews, suffer the consequences of anti-Semitism, as witness the degradation of the German nation under Hitler.

The job remaining to be done is to make certain that this degrading motion picture receives angry protests sufficient to stop its further distribution. Sufficient protests both to chain movie houses and local theaters can make sure that the film is not shown in the neighborhoods or to the children.

Oliver Twist can be stopped and new *Oliver Twists* can thereby be nipped in the bud. The people can do it by making their protests known to movie distributors.

It's Official Now

FOR several years the Ben Gurion government has acted in concert with the anti-Soviet war bloc, but professed to be following a policy of "non-identification" or "neutrality" in international affairs. On November 5, however, after an eight hour debate, the Knesset voted 60-36 in favor of abandoning this profession of neutrality and officially aligning the Israel government with the anti-Soviet camp. Mapam, the Communists and various members of other parties voted against this policy.

Ben Gurion will apply, for a new United States loan soon.

NEGRO LABOR TAKES FREEDOM ROAD

The National Negro Labor Council convention marks a step forward in the struggle of the Negro people for liberation together with white labor

The importance to the Jewish people of the great gathering of Negro and white trade unionists at the first convention of the National Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati on October 27-28, can hardly be overestimated. That the security and future of the Negro and Jewish peoples are part of one struggle has been demonstrated again and again in the past few years, when attacks on the two peoples have emanated from the same source. The setting up of a permanent council of Negro trade unionists, in unity with white labor, to fight for the rights of Negro workers and labor in general, deserves the support of Jews, as well as all Americans, because the basic interests of the people are thereby advanced. Below are excerpts from the speeches made at the convention by William R. Hood, Negro secretary of Ford Local 600 of United Auto Workers and president of the council, and M. E. Travis, white secretary-treasurer of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and a vice president of the council.—Eds.

I.

By William R. Hood

THIS is an historic day. On this day we, the delegated representatives of thousands of workers, black and white, dedicate ourselves to the search for a New North Star, the same star that Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner and John Brown saw rise over the city of Cincinnati over a century ago.

We come conscious of the new stage in the Negro people's surge toward freedom. We come to announce to all America and to the world, but Uncle Tom is dead. "Old Massa" lies in the cold, cold grave. Something new is cooking on the Freedom Train.

We come here today because we are conscious at this hour of a confronting world crisis. We are here because many of our liberties are disappearing in the face of a powerful war economy and grave economic problems face working men and women everywhere. No meeting held anywhere in America at this mid-century point in world history can be more important nor hold more promise for the bright future toward which humanity strives than this convention of our National Negro Labor Council. For here we have gathered the basic forces of human progress: the proud black sons and daughters of labor and our democratic white brothers and sisters whose increasing concern for democracy, equality and peace is America's hope. . . .

Symbol of Negro Liberation

The Negro Labor Council is our symbol, the medium of expression of our aims and aspirations. It is the expression of our desire and determination to bring to bear our full

weight to help win first-class citizenship for every black man, woman and child in America. We say that these are legitimate aims. We say that these aspirations burn fiercely in the breast of every Negro in America. And we further say that millions of white workers echo our demands for freedom. These white workers recognize in their struggle for Negro rights the prerequisites of their own aspirations for a full life and a guarantee that the rising tide of fascism will not engulf America.

And we say that those whites who call the National Negro Labor Council "subversive" have an ulterior motive. We know them for what they are—the common oppressors of both peoples, Negro and white. We charge that their false cry of "subversive" is calculated to maintain and extend that condition of common oppression. We say to those whites: "You have never seen your mothers, sisters and daughters turned away from thousands of factory gates, from the airlines, the offices, stores, and other places of desirable employment, insulted and driven into the streets many times when they tried to eat in public places—simply because of their color. You have never been terrorized by the mob, shot in cold blood by the police; you have never had your home burned when you moved out of the ghetto into another neighborhood—simply because you were black. You are not denied the franchise; you are not denied credit in banks, denied insurance, jobs and upgrading—because of the pigmentation of your skin. You are not denied union membership and representation. You do not die ten years before the rest of the people because of these many denials of basic rights."

Therefore, you who call this National Negro Labor Council "subversive" cannot understand the burning anger of the Negro people, our desire to share the good things our labor has produced for America. You do not understand this. So you sit like Walter Winchell, one of our attackers, in the Stork Club in New York and see that great Negro woman artist, Josephine Baker, humiliated and not raise a finger.

The Negro Labor Council is dedicated to the proposition that these evils shall end and end soon. The world must understand that we intend to build a stronger bond of unity between black and white workers everywhere to strengthen American democracy for all. If this be subversive—make the most of it! . . .

A Bill of Particulars

A most significant event took place in Chicago in June of 1950. Over 900 delegates, Negro and white, gathered there to chart a course in the fight for Negro rights. They came from the mines, mills, farms and factories of America. Many of them were leaders in the organized labor movement: seasoned, militant fighters. They voiced the complaints of Negro America.

The delegates were told that as you looked throughout the land you could see Negro men and women standing in long lines before the gates of the industrial plants for jobs, only to be told that no help was wanted—while at the same time white workers were hired. Negro women are denied the right to work in the basic sections of American industry, on the airlines, in the stores and other places. Those who were hired into industry during World War II have for the most part been systematically driven out—often in violation of union contracts. Vast unemployment since the war has struck the Negro community a severe blow.

In thousands of factories throughout the land Negroes were denied upgrading and better job opportunities. Too often the unions did not defend or fight for the right of the Negro workers to be upgraded.

We heard there in Chicago that Negro workers were denied any opportunity to participate in the great number of apprenticeship training programs either in industry or in government, in such fields as the building trades, machine tools, printing and engraving, and other skilled fields.

We found out there that thousands of lily-white shops exist throughout the land where no Negro has ever worked.

We discovered that federal, state and city governments maintain a severe policy of Jimcrow discrimination, beginning with the White House and moving on down to the lowest level of municipal government.

Our black brothers and sisters from the South told of unemployment, low wages, wage differentials, Jimcrow unions, peonage, sharecrop robbery and miserable destitution. They described the perpetuation of conditions that are cruelly reminiscent of slavery in Twentieth Century America.

Black firemen and brakemen came to tell of the collusive

agreements between railroads and the Railroad Brotherhoods to throw Negroes out of the railroad industry after a hundred years or more and of the denial of union membership in these unions and no representation. A number of AF of L unions were singled out for their policy of exclusion and job "monkey business" as regards black workers. We also learned that the CIO had joined the war crowd of colonial oppression and exploitation and was running fast from its early position of the thirties when John L. Lewis was at its head and it really fought for Negro rights.

Many of the delegates were stunned to hear of the thousands of denials of civil rights in public places in every state in the union. We were saddened and angered when we heard about the frameups of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six and of countless other Negroes because they were black and for no other reason. We were horrified to hear of the many police killings of Negroes from New York City to Birmingham, Alabama.

Negro families were still hemmed into the ghettos, charged higher rents, chained by restrictive covenants, mob terror and finally even bombed if they were not lucky or able to move out in time. The rats are given ample opportunity to wreak their damage upon human beings, their destruction through disease and death. . . .

The Great Alliance

And so, even today, as the National Negro Labor Council charts the course ahead to help the whole Negro people and their sincere allies, we sound a warning note to American reaction and bigotry. For if 15 million Negroes, led by their alert sons and daughters of labor, and united together and joined by the 15 million organized white workers in the great American labor movement say that there shall be no more Jimcrow in America—then there will be no more Jimcrow!

If 30 million Americans—15 million Negro people united with 15 million workers—join with the Jewish people to say there shall be no more anti-Semitism, and mean it, then there will be no more anti-Semitism!

If 15 million Negroes, inspired by their true leaders of labor, united with their natural allies in the trade unions, demand an end to the persecution of the foreign-born, then the persecution of the foreign-born will end!

If these 30 million—black and white alike—say: "Leave DuBois and Robeson and Patterson alone, for they speak for our freedom"—they will be left alone!

If this same combination speaks with one united voice for peace—America will make peace! . . .

Since June of last year, Negro Labor Councils have sprung up throughout the country—North, East, South and West. The response of Negro workers to the opportunity to unite their strength has been overwhelming. The only question most of them have asked is whether or not the council is a hard-hitting organization. . . .

We believe it to be the solemn duty of trade unions everywhere, as a matter of vital self-interest, to support the

Negro workers in their efforts to unite and to play a more powerful role in the fight of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based upon economic, political and social equality. We believe, further, that it is the trade unions' duty and right to encourage the white workers to join with and support their Negro brothers and sisters in the achievement of these objectives. . . .

The Negro Labor Councils are above all organizations of

struggle. We stand for the unity of all Negro workers, irrespective of union affiliations, organized and unorganized; for the unity of Negro and white workers together; for the unity of Negro workers with the whole Negro people in the common fight for Negro liberation; and for the alliance of the whole Negro people with the organized labor movement—the keystone combination for any kind of democratic progress in our country. . . .

II.

By M. E. Travis

I WAS deeply moved when I received the invitation to appear here. This conference was called by — and is devoted to — Negro workers, who came here to discuss the crucial issues which grow out of their life-and-death struggle against white man's justice. Because you have asked me to speak here as a white trade unionist, I feel a grave sense of responsibility. . . .

What I have to say here today flows directly from the deeper understanding of my responsibilities as a white labor leader as a result of what the Negro and Mexican-American members of my union have taught me.

I didn't come here to tell the Negro workers of America, or their leaders, what to do. I didn't come to orate about the problems of the Negro people and hand out a fancy custom-built set of answers designed to wash away all these problems—like "Tide," the washday wonder.

Here on the stage, and out there, is a great abundance of genuine Negro leadership. Here are the real leaders of the Negro workers in America. They know what must be done, and they are ready, willing and very, very able to do it.

What I've got to say is aimed at the white trade unionists—rank-and-file white workers and their leaders—here and around the country.

How have we always talked about Negro-white unity in the past? We've talked about it on the basis of white joining to help the Negroes win their just rights. The big white brothers, holding out a generous, fatherly hand, to lift up the Negroes. And of course, as long as that approach was used, the Negroes, somehow never got lifted up. . . .

Whenever and wherever there has been genuine unity of Negro and white workers, unity of the kind we are talking about here—unity around a program of action—whenever there has been that kind of unity, the whole country has moved ahead. . . .

Now this is a big and important idea, an idea which white workers must be made to understand clearly—and quickly. What this means is that the fight for Negro rights is not a matter of big brotherhood or paternalism or generosity on the part of white workers. It's a matter of life or death for the white workers themselves. . . .

The white labor leaders—and some of them head very big unions—somehow find it possible to make a lot of noise about how we have got to overcome discrimination in this

country. But the Jimcrow locals are still there. The policy of "last hired and first fired" is still there. The segregated toilets are still in the back of the shop. The dual wage scale still prevails. The lily-white international executive boards are still in business. . . .

The fact is that these white labor leaders have done nothing in the real fight for the rights of Negro workers—and they don't intend to do anything. They will concoct a hundred window-dressing campaigns to make a noise intended to fool some people into believing they are doing something.

But they ignore the real job—the fight for Negro rights in the shop and in the community around the shop. When it comes to providing leadership for the in-fighting against employers, these hypocrites are missing. . . .

What I'm saying is that the white workers and white union leaders have a responsibility to fight as trade unionists for the rights of Negro workers as *trade unionists*. More than that, it's a matter of cold self-interest, self-preservation of themselves and their unions for them to press that fight just as hard as they can.

Now is the time for the white workers to make it clear—once and for all that they welcome the idea of unity with Negro workers. Now is the time for them to make clear that they look upon Negro-white unity as a matter of mutual responsibility. After all, *any* alliance, by its very nature, means responsibility on both sides.

The white workers who are here at this conference have a special responsibility. They have the job of going back to their homes, to their unions, and campaigning for Negro-white unity—not among the Negro workers—but among the white workers.

There has never been any doubt in my mind that Negro workers welcome the idea of unity with white workers. And if there was any doubt anywhere, the very fact of this conference should end it, for good and all. The job that needs to be done is among the white workers—and that's our job.

The National Negro Labor Council which is being founded here is primarily a movement of Negro workers—Negro freedom-fighters. It is being led, and will be led, by Negroes. They will unite the Negro workers around a program of action, which is the way it should be done.

CICERO AS SYMPTOM

The racism and corruption at the source of the Cicero riots are signs of a decadent society. But regenerating forces are actively at work

By Carl Hirsch

THOSE historians of the future who want to probe American morality of the year 1951 will find a gold mine in Cicero, Illinois. They will learn that a so-called civilization existed in that town which stood ethics on its head. Murder, prostitution, political corruption and debauchery were glorified and legalized in the Cicero of 1951. And the practice of brotherhood, neighborliness, democracy were classified as crimes, its practitioners stoned and ostracized.

For us, Cicero, 1951, and its strange moral standard, is no museum curio. It is an alarming symptom of the sickness of this society. It is the delirium which accompanies the advanced stages of a most serious social ailment.

Cicero is typical of a condition within the present-day capitalist social order generally. And, for that matter, typical of any previous society which has run its course and succumbed to decay. Moral disintegration was typical of the last days of the Roman Empire, of the ante-bellum South, of the courts of Louis XVI and Tsar Nicholas II. In recent times, the classic destruction of moral values took place in Hitler Germany.

The nazis developed the process systematically and efficiently. The majority of the German people had to be terrorized or neutralized to allow for the program of war and full-blown fascism which was to follow. Whole sections of the people were marked for imprisonment and enslavement. Additional sections of the people were to be murdered wholesale. Neighboring peoples were to be subjugated. The Hitler regime was compelled to provide a moral justification for all of this—and did so in the race theory which was developed. The German mind was carefully prepared for the slaughter of Jews. Building on the ancient myths of anti-Semitism, the nazis developed the portrait of the Jew as belonging to an alien race, inferior and criminal.

In Hitler's *Mein Kampf* we find this typical passage: "The black-haired Jewish youth lies in wait for hours, satanic joy in his face, for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood and thus steals her from her people. . . . It was and is the Jews who brought Negroes to the Rhine, always with the same aim and idea, of destroying, through the bastardization that must inevitably result, the white race which they hate—of bringing it down from its high cultural and political level and themselves gaining mastery over it. . . ."

CARL HIRSCH is Chicago reporter for the *Daily Worker*.

And it is re-stated in this passage from Streicher's *Der Stuermer*: "Moreover, the Jew has in his veins a large element of Negro blood; his frizzy hair, his wolf lips, the color of his eyeballs prove this as effectually as the insatiable sex greed which hesitates at no crime and finds its supremest triumph in the brutal defilement of women of another race. This bestial lust obsesses even a barely mature Jew-boy."

This theme, portraying degenerate sexuality and criminality in the Jewish youth, was to become the basis for monstrous criminal acts against the Jewish people of Germany. And this identical propaganda theme has been used in this country for generations in order to justify the lynching of the Negro people.

Racist Poison in Cicero

In the Cicero case, we can see once again how this hideous racist slander was carried to its desired result—mob violence. The poisonous racist doctrine of *Mein Kampf* was peddled throughout the Cicero community on the eve of the orgy of violence in mid-July, when 6,000 persons joined in an assault against one Negro family. The town was blanketed with racist filth issued by an organization called the White Circle League. One such letter reads:

"A nation's strength is due to racial purity. America will sink to early decay unless amalgamation and miscegenation is rigorously restricted. . . . The negro [always with a small "n"] is as different from the white man as is the leopard from the panther and the negro reveals this throughout America as we observe him muscling in on the white man's neighborhoods and social institutions and also in industry. . . . Nature prevents the development of the mongrel. . . . Nature suffers no mongrels to live."

And in another White Circle League leaflet: "The negro knows that he should stay on his side of the fence. He knows that the realistic white man knows too much about his scheming, tricky, lawless, immoral, lazy, looting, savage nature and character."

An atmosphere was created in Cicero in which women and children were led to believe that their virtue and their lives were endangered by the rental of an apartment to a Negro family. The fury of the racist rioting is explained partly by the obsession which seized Cicero's menfolk, that they were fighting for the sanctity of their homes.

In the aftermath of the July events in Cicero there is little sign that these deep-set delusions have disappeared.

There is little remorse. The Cicero realtors, businessmen, industrialists have hired publicity men and subscribed funds to a campaign for "rebuilding Cicero's damaged reputation"—by which they mean justifying the mob's action.

In Cicero's local newspapers and in the Chicago papers have appeared a number of statements and letters from Cicero residents supporting the racist violence. A typical letter, signed by J. W. Miller, appeared in the *Chicago Daily News*, reading as follows: "As a 30-year resident of Cicero, I would like to point out that this town was built up by clean, industrious people who love their homes and do not want another Mecca Building [South Side tenement] in their midst. The attempt by an organized minority to force themselves on a hostile majority is an obvious attempt to create hatred and disorder." Other letters openly laud the mobsters who, they say, "protected Cicero from the infiltration of the criminal element." They speak of Cicero's determination to protect its white women and children. They speak of the "fair name of Cicero."

Powerful Underworld in Cicero

Now, what was Cicero's reputation—prior to the July events? And why was there no indignation registered against the despoiling of its "fair name" by white gunmen, pimps, dope dealers who for more than 35 years have made this town their headquarters?

The Kefauver Committee stated in its report that "Cicero is the seat of lucrative gambling operations by a number of members of the Capone Syndicate. . . . The records of the chiefs of police in this town, where gambling joints could be identified merely by walking down the street, are records of neglect of official duty and shocking indifference to violations of the law. Equally shocking is the acquiescence of the people of the town, as evidenced by the acquittal of these men and their continuation in office."

Now, what has happened to the good people of Cicero—and of so many American towns like it? How did they lose their good sense—and how can it be restored?

Moral decline is not something that began yesterday in capitalist America, nor was it first discovered by the Kefauver Committee. A dog-eat-dog social order must necessarily destroy sensibility and moral values. And the moral decline keeps pace with the crisis within the system. As profit-greed mounts, as the drive for aggressive war is intensified and as the need to impose fascism becomes stronger—so the corruption increases.

There is no more sinister process of corrupting America than the infiltration of fascist ideology. America today is being fed the systemic poison of racism in larger and larger doses. Americans are not yet so far gone that they will accept genocide. They will not accept the mass murder of America's 15 million Negroes as so many Germans tolerated the killing of six million Jews. But are the Americans ready to accept Peekskill or the lynching of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven or Cicero? The answers are still in the making.

The People's Indignation Is Rising

Certainly, much that is encouraging has happened since the Cicero mob violence and since a county grand jury compounded the evil by indicting five people who supported the Clark family, rented them the Cicero apartment and provided them with legal counsel. Only a mass outcry from outraged people across the nation eventually led a judge to quash these indictments.

Spurred by this victory which came as a result of unified protest, there are the makings of unity of organizations, "right" and "left," in forcing the mobsters' prosecution.

A mammoth mass protest meeting is being planned at the Chicago Coliseum for November 25. A petition campaign is in progress demanding action against the organizers and instigators of the Cicero mob. Another petition campaign is calling for the impeachment of State's Attorney John S. Boyle for dereliction.

In the Jewish community, numerous protest actions have been taken by a broad range of groups. A deputy sheriff has been speaking at American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith meetings, giving his dramatic eye-witness view of the Cicero rioting and graphically presenting the fact that it was an anti-Semitic outbreak as well as anti-Negro.

The Chicago Negro Labor Council has opened a campaign for a Chicago anti-mob violence ordinance. Delegations to the state capital and to congressmen have compelled statements by Illinois Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and by Senator Paul Douglas condemning the mob.

Community citizens' committees have been formed in many areas, leaflets have been issued in large quantities and protest ads have been inserted in local papers. The Cicero case has sparked the indignation of many thousands of Americans, who suddenly understood the fascist nature of this shameful episode. Many more could see clearly that the Cicero mob had trampled old and sacred American traditions. Towns such as Norwalk, Connecticut, and Cleveland, Ohio, held official "Harvey Clark Days," honoring the Negro war veteran who was victimized in Cicero. Clark himself has received hundreds of letters, some containing money, from every corner of the nation, letters from strangers who expressed their solidarity. Scores of trade unions, mass organizations, civic groups have expressed themselves in vigorous condemnation of the Cicero mob. Newspaper editorials, delegations to Washington, mass rallies, petition campaigns have underscored the demand for prosecuting the mob and for making Cicero a safe place for democracy to thrive.

The aroused clamor from the people has forced the Department of Justice to intervene and to set up a special federal grand jury which is now beginning its work. But this alone gives no assurance that the guilty will be brought to justice. Only a steady and persistent campaign by the masses of the people will achieve this end. Because the destiny of the Jewish people is closely tied to that of the Negroes, it is especially incumbent on Jewish organizations to participate fully in the fight to bring Cicero on the road back to democracy.

WHAT WAS THE ROSENBERGS' "CRIME"?

Were the Rosenbergs condemned to die for "espionage" or because of alleged radicalism? Is the Justice Department using a nazi tactic?

By William Reuben

WHAT is the "crime" that has lodged Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the Death House at Sing Sing prison?

Ostensibly, their government prosecuted and convicted the progressive New York couple, devoted parents of two small children, on the charge of having committed espionage in behalf of the Soviet Union. But, in the November issue of *JEWISH LIFE*, after examining the "evidence" of the government's case, we suggested that the Rosenbergs' only "crime" may have been their holding of radical ideas.

In last month's article, it was pointed out that the government failed to offer a shred of documentary evidence linking the couple to acts of espionage; that only two exhibits placed in evidence by the government had any direct link to these defendants: a Spanish Refugee Appeal collection can and a petition signed in 1941 by Ethel Rosenberg and 50,000 other New Yorkers nominating Peter Cacchione, the successful Communist Party candidate for New York City councilman; and that the government's case was based on the oral and unsupported testimony of David and Ruth Greenglass who escaped prosecution and the possible death penalty for their own admitted acts of espionage by testifying against the Rosenbergs. In other words, we showed that the government's case was, to say the least, flimsy. This suggests that, to grasp the real meaning of the Rosenbergs' conviction, we shall have to see what lies beneath the surface presentation of the government's case.

Real Meaning of the Case

A broad hint of the underlying meaning of the case was given recently by the New York *World-Telegram's* red-baiting "expert," Nelson Frank. Last September 11, in an article dealing with the then impending National Labor Relations Board election at General Electric's Schenectady, N. Y., plant, Frank observed: "No one in the country has done more to put the fear of law into the Communists than Federal Attorney Irving Saypol, who by getting a death sentence in the Rosenberg Communist-espionage case let Moscow's local pals know America was playing for keeps."

What, we may surely ask, is the connection between an NLRB labor election in which right and left wing-led

WILLIAM REUBEN is special reporter for the *National Guardian* and provisional chairman of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. In his article last month Mr. Reuben outlined the facts of the case.

unions were contending for the right to represent GE's workers and this country's highly publicized first atom bomb spy trial? There is, of course, no connection. But what the *World-Telegram's* "expert" on Communism has obligingly, though unwittingly, done is to give away the true import of the Rosenberg case: the attempt on the part of the government to make "Communist" and "espionage" synonymous terms; and the threat that anyone who affiliates with a group or organization that can be smeared as "Communist" must do so with the awareness that a death sentence can be held over his head for such affiliation.

When the Rosenberg trial got under way, Attorney Saypol in his opening remarks assured the jury that: "The evidence will show that the loyalty and the allegiance of the Rosenbergs were not to our own country, but that it was to Communism, Communism in this country and Communism throughout the world. . . . The evidence will prove to you, not only beyond a reasonable doubt, but beyond any doubt, that these defendants have committed the most serious crime which can be committed against the people of this country." As we have seen from our examination of this "evidence," it is absurd for the prosecutor to contend that the government's case, which rested on the oral and unsupported testimony of witnesses who had lengthy jail sentences hanging over their heads, would prove "beyond any doubt" the guilt of the defendants. Thus we may well assume that "the most serious crime" to which Saypol alludes is not encompassed by the formal charge of espionage, under which the defendants were brought to trial.

The Open "Secret"

Underlying the government's demand for a death sentence and the expressed reason given by Judge Irving Kaufman for imposing that sentence was the claim that the Rosenbergs stole the "secret" of the atom bomb and turned it over to the Russians. How do the facts square with this contention?

Last December, in the opening paragraph of a news story datelined Washington, D. C., Hearst's International News Service reported: "The Atomic Energy Commission Friday bared secret documentary proof that Russia has known the scientific secrets of atom bomb manufacture since 1940, the year the United States began attempts to develop the missile." The AEC has thus shown it to be a myth that there is a "secret" to the atom bomb.

But perhaps this most authoritative government body is in error. What do scientists say about this? Last January, less than two months before the Rosenbergs' trial began, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the foremost United States scientific authority on atomic weapons, made a speech in which he was quoted by the *New York Times* as having "declared that there were no 'unpublished' secrets concerning atomic weapons and no 'secret laws of nature' available to only a few." Authoritative scientific publications also have repeated this same point of view. An editorial in the September 1949 issue of *Atomics*, a monthly periodical dedicated to the presentation of scientific facts about all phases of atomic energy, offers one typical statement of the many hundreds that could be-quoted. Entitled "The Russians Have It," the *Atomics* editorial was prompted by the first announcement of an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union. Said the editorial:

"Naturally, this news is of great interest but it should not be startling since it is only what every reputable scientist, knowing the principles of nuclear physics, has been predicting ever since we dropped the atomic bomb on Japan four years ago. *Since the discovery of uranium fission in 1938 there has been no basic secret regarding an atomic bomb.* True, it was not until July 16, 1945, when the first experimental atomic bomb explosion took place at Alamogordo, that American scientists actually know that an atomic bomb would work. *Only during the 21 days between that date and August 6, 1945, when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, did we possess the secret of the atomic bomb. This secret was simply that we knew the bomb would work.* Scientists of other nations did not know it." (Italics mine—W.R.)

No Basis for the Sentence

Yet, the government sought, and the judge imposed the death sentence on the Rosenbergs for reasons that not only have no basis whatever in scientific fact, but also that had no relationship to evidence produced in the courtroom.

In his summation, Saypol declared: "We know that these conspirators stole the most important scientific secrets ever known to mankind from this country and delivered them to the Soviet Union . . . which today seeks to wipe us off the face of the earth. It would use the produce of these defendants, the information received through them, from these traitors, to destroy Americans and the people of the United Nations."

Judge Irving Kaufman made pronouncements beyond the evidence that were just as unprecedented as the prosecutor's, though even more wildly extravagant. In pronouncing the death sentence, the judge said to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg: "I consider your crime worse than murder." He said it was impossible to extend them leniency because "I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and

who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country."

These pronouncements sound like a summing up of the hysteria and misinformation on which the Truman administration has relied for the past five years. But it can hardly be argued—even if the Rosenbergs were presumed to be guilty of every one of the wild charges made by their accusers—that giving away a "secret" *that never existed* constitutes "the most serious crime" a citizen of this country can commit. Just as the vulnerable and impeachable oral testimony fails to support any such contention, so too do the statements by judge and prosecutor about the bomb, contradicted at every turn by known historical and scientific fact, fall flat.

"Communism" in the Case

We must look elsewhere to find this "most serious crime" of which the defendants' guilt, as Saypol assured the jury, would be proved "beyond any doubt." The place to look is the very cornerstone of the government's case, upon which its entire gaudy and intricate edifice is based: the theory, as expressed by Saypol when he summed up the government's case, that: "Communism has a very definite place in this case because it is the communist ideology which teaches worship and devotion to the Soviet Union over our own government. . . . It is this adherence and devotion which makes clear their [the defendants'] intent and motivation in carrying out this conspiracy to commit espionage."

Although the defendants were ostensibly on trial for having committed espionage, the first question, apart from those eliciting background information, put to the government's first witness, Max Elitcher, was this: "Do you recall a conversation some time in 1939 with Sobell [co-defendant Morton Sobell] regarding the Communist Party?" In the atom bomb spy trial "Communism" thereby became the initial subject introduced for the jury's consideration! The defense objected to this question, but Saypol told the court that he wanted "to prove association, to prove intent, to prove motive for the crime which will be proved." In allowing the witness to answer, Judge Kaufman explained to the jury: "I am admitting this testimony on the theory of motive, but the government will have to establish that there is some connection between Communism and committing the offense charged in the indictment."

"Expert" Proof?

And how did the government prove this "connection"? Elizabeth Bentley was produced as the "expert" witness on the workings of the Communist Party of the United States. She obligingly recited her now-familiar thesis that all Communists are spies for Moscow.

Judge Kaufman characterized Bentley's testimony as follows: "I assume that this is the causal connection that we have been talking about between membership in the party

and intending to give an advantage to a foreign government, to wit, the USSR, as charged in the indictment."

Thus, this "connection" was established merely by Bentley's say-so. And the "expert" who established it for the government testified that, as a member of a special "underground unit" of the Communist Party, she not only had never seen the party's constitution, but also had no way of knowing what went on in regular party channels and branch meetings!

During Bentley's testimony, Judge Kaufman interrupted to ask: "Now, with particular reference to the instructions concerning help or aid to Russia, did I understand your testimony that the Communist Party officials instructed the members of the party orally and in writing, in a general way, to do everything possible to aid Russia?"

"That's correct, yes," responded the witness. But, so vague is this notion of doing "everything possible," that Bentley could have given the same answer, had she been asked the same question about officials of the Republican or Democratic parties, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill or General MacArthur, since the period under consideration was the anti-fascist war. Bentley also contended that it was "implicit" in Communist Party membership to carry out orders from Moscow, that expulsion followed failure to do so 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 for which this testimony was taken," the judge explained to the jury, ". . . is to show a link, as the government contends, exists between aiding Russia . . . and being members of the Communist Party."

Although for Judge Kaufman this "link" was shown simply because Bentley said it existed, the government assumed by the introduction of this prejudicial and inflammatory testimony the burden of showing that the defendants on trial were members of the Communist Party; of producing some proofs that membership in the party in fact was synonymous with "aiding Russia"; and, further, of establishing that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg subscribed to such policies. All of this would have to be done if this premise were to be legally binding on the Rosenbergs. But none of it was even attempted.

What Was the Real "Crime"?

Actually, the government produced no witness nor any evidence to establish that Ethel or Julius Rosenberg were, or had ever been, members of the Communist Party. The defendants themselves refused to answer the myriad prosecution questions regarding their political affiliations, availing themselves of their privilege under the Fifth Amendment. Yet, like the government's failure to produce any evidence indicating that there was any "secret" to the atom bomb that could be stolen, the prosecution pilloried the defendants, inflamed the jury against them and capitalized on just about every prejudicial and hysterical allegation that equates an acceptance of communism with being loyal only to the USSR and a traitor to one's own country.

Consideration of all of these factors—the neck-saving witnesses, the theory of the "secret" of the atom bomb and the concept that all Communists are spies—must be juxtaposed with the context of the times in which the Rosenbergs' trial took place. It must be remembered that Julius Rosenberg's sensationally publicized arrest came within three weeks of the outbreak of the Korean war and that—in striking contrast to all the confessed conspirators—the Rosenbergs could be crucified as "Communists" because of Rosenberg's dismissal from the Signal Corps in 1945 on charges that he was a Communist.

A "Reichstag Fire" Device

Almost 20 years ago, after the Reichstag fire, D. N. Pritt, K.C., famous British lawyer, wrote: "Far more important for the German government than that the guilty incendiary should expiate his crime was the securing of a legal pronouncement in favor of the alleged complicity in the fire of their most feared and hated political opponents, the Communist Party of Germany. . . . The terror, the persecution and attempted political and economic annihilation of the Jews, the working class movement, and the progressive thinkers of Germany, thus received some shadow of apparent legal justification."

The Truman administration, which has already borrowed so much from the nazis, may be using this nation's first atom bomb spy trial as an up-to-date version of what the Reichstag fire was designed to achieve for the Hitler government. If the courts uphold the conviction and sanction the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, this will help to establish an invalid and fantastic connection *in law* between committing espionage and being a radical. And, as Mr. Nelson Frank of the *World-Telegram* reminds us and as the record of the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg so clearly reveals, "espionage" and "Communist" are fast becoming in present-day America interchangeable terms. Progressive America had better fight back.

And this is a fight that can be won. That the American people will respond once they learn the facts, has already been demonstrated by the unprecedented response of readers of the *National Guardian* to the announcement of the formation of a Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. Based solely on the *National Guardian* series of the case, hundreds of people from all walks of life, from 32 states and from Canada to Alaska have sent in money and pledges of help. And the campaign has just begun. Not only can the fight be won. Americans who value their freedom—no matter what their political views—cannot afford to lose this fight.

For Justice to the Rosenbergs

A campaign to correct the injustice to the Rosenbergs is being carried forward by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, of which William Reuben is provisional chairman. The committee is appealing for funds. Send contributions to William Reuben, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, New York.

NEW YORK'S "CESSPOOL OF BIGOTRY"

A persecuted union teacher challenges the Board of Education to clean out racism and corruption from the schools and to respect freedom

By Cyril Graze

The witch-hunt against New York teachers which last year resulted in the dismissal of eight teachers, was resumed in October. But Superintendent of Schools William Jansen got more than he bargained for when he hauled Cyril Graze before the inquisition. For Mr. Graze, who has been chairman of the Teachers Union Committee on Academic Freedom for ten years and a leader in the exposure of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism in the school system, arose in "Olympian fury" to defend his elementary rights against invasion by the inquisition. Mr. Graze hurled an inspiring challenge at the witch-hunters. Below is the statement issued by Mr. Graze.—Eds.

DR. WILLIAM JANSEN evidently feels that the most effective way of curbing the resistance of teachers to his bankrupt and autocratic policies is to strike at the leadership of the Teachers Union. In so doing, he is paying tribute to the union as a militant defender of teacher rights and will only enhance its prestige in the eyes of teachers.

More specifically, I charge that in my own case, this is Dr. Jansen's answer to my activity over ten years as chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee of the Teachers Union and my leadership in exposing the prevalence of bigotry in the schools.

At a meeting of the Board of Education on March 16, 1950, I charged publicly that there was "a cesspool of bigotry at the Board of Education." In response to Dr. Jansen's demand for an explanation, I sent him a detailed letter containing abundant evidence of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro bias in the schools—much of it existing with the knowledge of Dr. Jansen himself. Fearful of any public discussion of my statement he presumably "closed" the matter at the time with a letter to me in which he stated: "I am placing the correspondence in your file where it will speak for itself."

Dr. Jansen clearly believes that he can now retaliate against me for my charge and at the same time avoid any public discussion of it by raising the smokescreen of "communism." I called for a public investigation of my accusation—a call that, in one form or another, had already been made by many other responsible individuals and organizations. I repeat that request now and I state that I stand ready to prove the truth of my charge up to the hilt.

The Superintendent's letter asking me to appear at the office of Mr. Saul Moscoff [who was conducting the inquiry] stated that the latter was conducting an inquiry

"to determine whether certain employees of the Board of Education have been or are presently engaged in subversive activities." In response to this letter, I have presented material to Mr. Moscoff revealing the presence of anti-Semitism, anti-Negro bigotry, graft and corruption in the school system, and I have requested that his inquiry seek the answers to certain questions related to such subversive activity.

I have denied the right of the Superintendent of Schools to ask any questions dealing with my social philosophy or my political views or associations and shall continue to challenge his right to do so. For over ten years, as chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee of the Teachers Union, I have vigorously defended the principle that teachers have a right to their own private beliefs. I intend to continue defending that principle against any infringement whatsoever.

If Superintendent Jansen and Mr. Moscoff are really interested in conducting an inquiry into genuinely subversive activities—not the private, political beliefs or associations of teachers—there is plenty to be looked into. I am presenting them with five challenging questions, the answers to which will show who is really guilty of undermining democracy and public education.

Who Are the Real Subversives?

1. In recent months, it has been widely publicized throughout the country that there are certain notorious groups, at least ten in number, that have been characterized on the basis of abundant evidence as being "enemies of public education in America." The charges have come from the National Education Association as well as the Public Education Association and other equally well-known organizations. Among the groups so charged are the National Council on American Education, headed by the pro-fascist Allen Zoll, and the American Education Association—an organization of New York City teachers with a long history of anti-Semitism. There is abundant evidence that these groups (and others akin to them) are exerting a sinister influence on school policy in New York City. Any honest inquiry into subversive activities in the New York City schools must therefore secure answers to these questions:

a. *Who are the people and what are the agencies that are carrying out in New York City this nation-wide attempt to destroy public education? What part in this campaign*

is being played by Allen Zoll, the American Education Association, the Brooklyn *Tablet* and Board member George Timone? What are the facts behind Allen Zoll's statement that he helped secure George Timone's reappointment to the Board of Education. (See the publication *Expose*, November 1, 1951.)

b. What are the facts behind the statement in Gerald L. K. Smith's newsletter (March 22, 1946) that "Mayor O'Dwyer is being congratulated by Christian nationalists for naming a strong follower of Father Coughlin, Mr. Timone, to the Board of Education"?

2. *Over a period of years, school officials have been given detailed evidence of biased teaching and classroom conduct on the part of a number of teachers in the New York City schools.* Most well-known of these is May Quinn, past president of the aforementioned American Education Association, who is still permitted to teach though she has on at least two occasions been guilty of spreading anti-Semitism and anti-Negro bias in her classroom.

a. Why have school officials failed to act against May Quinn, Gladys Laubenheimer, Eudora Fletcher, Gladys Mann, all of whom are teachers and supervisors guilty of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro bias and activities?

b. Who were the connections between May Quinn and Father Coughlin?

c. Who are the protectors of May Quinn and what is the source of their power?

3. *Studies have been published, including those by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and by the Teachers Union, revealing the widespread presence of anti-Negro and other discriminatory material in school textbooks.* The scandalous indifference to this question by school officials is highlighted by their equally scandalous indifference to the distribution to students of discount tickets for the anti-Semitic motion picture *Oliver Twist*.

a. Who is responsible for distributing to the schools the discount tickets to *Oliver Twist*?

b. Why do school officials still permit the use of textbooks containing anti-Negro and anti-Semitic propaganda or that have vile misrepresentations of other minority groups, such as Mexicans, Asians, the foreign-born?

Whitewash of Graft Scandals

4. At a meeting of the Board of Education on October 4th, Board member James Marshall charged that the "scandals and frauds rampant in the department" (the Bureau of Plant Operation and Maintenance at Board headquarters) had been "whitewashed." "The rottenness," he said, on referring to the graft scandals, "has not been wiped out—it has been merely glossed over."

a. What are the facts behind Mr. Marshall's accusation?

b. Why have school authorities failed to root out the guilty parties in the multi-million dollar fraud?

c. What individuals and what groups are responsible for holding up action on this graft scandal?

5. Jewish teachers—Abraham Lederman, Celia Lewis

Zitron, Abraham Feingold, Louis Jaffe, etc.—whose professional records were conceded by Superintendent Jansen and the Board of Education to be exemplary have been dismissed after many years of outstanding service to the children and schools of New York City, while on the other hand, other, and non-Jewish employees of the Board of Education—*charged with serious offenses in the course of carrying out their professional duties—have gone unpunished or given a gentle slap on the wrists.*

Among the latter, in addition to May Quinn, Gladys Mann, Gladys Laubenheimer and others mentioned above, are John F. Arthur, inspector of masonry and carpentry, found guilty of "approving work that did not meet the specifications"; Franklin P. Oliver, a clerk in the Bureau of Plant Operation and Maintenance, who pleaded guilty to seven specifications; John J. Hill and John M. McKenna, Board of Education inspectors charged with accepting "gratuities" from contractors. (In the last two cases, the trial examiner recommended that one be dismissed from the service and the other suspended without pay for a year. Nevertheless, the Board of Education dropped the charges against those two men and restored them to duty.)

What Are the Answers, Dr. Jansen?

a. Why have the Board of Education and Superintendent Jansen shown such solicitude for non-Jewish employees under charges, as contrasted with their harsh attitude toward Jewish employees?

b. What has been the role of George Timone in bringing about this contrast?

c. To what extent has the pressure and intervention of religious organizations and publications like the Brooklyn *Tablet* been responsible for the exoneration of guilty employees and the dismissal of excellent teachers?



This sign appeared in October, at a Jewish center in Miami, Florida. It reads: "Deutschland Ueber Alles; Explosion Postponed; Down with the Damned Jews and Dirty Negroes; Hail Hitler and the KKK."

GLORIFICATION OF A NAZI

By Morris U. Schappes

In *Fagin* (in *Oliver Twist*), the American people are being shown a gruesomely false picture of the Jews in order to prepare public opinion to support the "butchering," to use Fagin's own word, of the Jews. In *The Desert Fox*, we are presented with a glorification of the German generals who slaughtered millions of people in the last war, including six million Jews, and who are prepared to resume the slaughter, this time under the command not of Hitler but of Eisenhower and Truman. It is important for us to grasp the connection between these two films and the drive to remilitarize a renazified West Germany for use in World War III.

Is "glorification" too strong a word? Is perhaps Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, the "desert fox" of the Afrika Korps, merely being treated "objectively" in this 20th Century-Fox film based on a British officer's "historical" account? If you think my word "glorification" is exaggerated, then take the judgment of Bosley Crowther, film critic of the *New York Times* (October 28): the film "builds up the illusion of [Rommel's] having been one of nature's truest noblemen. . . . The general and his personal companions are put in the most favorable light. . . . Great sympathy, respect and even idolization for a general who fought for Hitler" are aroused by the film.

Mr. Crowther is shocked by such a film, but he pulls up short with the disarming plea, "Let's not explore for sinister motives." On the contrary, it is necessary to conduct such an investigation if the viciousness of the film is to be understood and effectively resisted. Mr. Crowther says it is "a soft-hearted film." No, it is a hard-headed film; hard-headed as the Pentagon plan for a world war and the Atlantic Pact preparations for it.

The film lies with cunning deliberation. Rommel is made to say: "I'm a soldier, not a politician." But the fact is that Rommel was an early nazi and part of Hitler's personal bodyguard when Hitler was a beer-hall brawler and gutter anti-Semite. Goebbels regarded Rommel as "an ardent nazi" (Louis P. Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries, 1942-1943*, pages 28, 38-39, 372). This brutal, vicious anti-Semite was

a "politician" indeed. There is a reason why the film omits this and makes Rommel out to be only a "great soldier," whose "one function in life [is] to obey orders."

For it is this myth that the German general staff and soldiers were merely innocent, home-loving fathers and sons who "obeyed orders" that is being used to justify the renazification and rearmament of Germany now. There was a time, during the war, when Eisenhower declared that "the world would not be safe until the German General staff was exterminated or exiled." But in October 1946, when informed that Generals Keitel and Jodl had been sentenced to death by hanging by the Nuremberg court for their war crimes, Eisenhower said, "I was surprised that they found it so easy to convict a military man." (Victor H. Bernstein, *Final Judgment, The Story of Nuremberg*, p. 232.) Already then Eisenhower was trying to get the American people to draw a line between "soldiers who obeyed orders" and nazis, in preparation for the time when he would assure the nazi generals that he is ready to "forget and forgive" their unforgettable and unforgivable crimes.

It is fitting that this Hollywood product ends on the words and voice of that Tory fox, Winston Churchill, whose breaking of the agreement with Roosevelt and Stalin for the opening of a western front in 1942 prolonged the war and contributed decisively to the slaughter of one-third of the world Jewish population. As the "heroic" image of Rommel looms on the screen, the voice of Churchill rasps out that Rommel "deserves the salute" and "deserves our respect" although "his ardor and daring inflicted grievous disaster upon us." And now as Prime Minister Churchill will try to carry out this "chivalrous" policy to its end in World War III.

Do millions of people suspect that these German generals and soldiers may not be such effective allies, since after all they were defeated ingloriously on the field of battle, especially on the Soviet Eastern Front? This film also has the "sinister motive" of lying about the cause of this military defeat. Rommel and von Rundstedt and other nazi "heroes" in the *Desert Fox* try skilfully to convince the

audience that they could easily have won the war—if only that lunatic Hitler had let them fight it as they wanted to! Presumably Eisenhower and Truman will be sane enough to allow the German generals this time to win the next war. Rommel is dead, but long live the surviving German General Staff—that is the meaning of *The Desert Fox*! General Hans Speidel, former chief of staff to Rommel, represents the Adenauer government in military dealings with Eisenhower.

Among the many crimes perpetrated by this film is this: sympathy for Rommel's African campaign is built up so early that the audience is almost led to regret that this wonderful General Rommel is not allowed to win out and forge ahead. One staff officer in Africa says bitterly to Rommel, "To Berlin we are only a sideshow." Rommel complains that he is not getting the oil and tanks and supplies he needs for victory.

It should be remembered that among the consequences of a Rommel victory would have been the capture not only of the Suez Canal but of Palestine, with the resulting annihilation of the Jewish population there. And if Rommel did not get the supplies he needed for such a triumph, the reason was—although the film suppresses it—that Stalingrad was draining German troops, oil, tanks, and other supplies away from all fronts. Tactically, the Afrika Korps was defeated, and Palestine saved, by the British at El Alamein; strategically, the Germans were defeated and the Jews saved by the Red Army at Stalingrad.

Anti-nazi and peace-loving Americans, and especially Jews, should speak up at once to stop *Desert Fox* and to brand as a traitor to the memory of everyone who died in the last war all who had a hand in producing this film, including the Jews involved in it. (One of them, Harry Brandt, at whose Globe theater the film had its opening in New York, is cabinet chairman of the Joint Defense Appeal of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League.) The American Jewish Committee has "deplored" the film, and the American Jewish Congress has even declared that "Hollywood has rendered a grave disservice to the cause of freedom through its distortion of fact and history." Yet little action can be expected from these groups, which after all support the Truman-Eisenhower program of reviving German militarism for use in the planned war. It is the democratic masses of the American people as well as of the Jews who are all threatened by this film. Only their mass actions can stop it and thus hinder the Truman administration's bi-partisan drive to win the people for a war they do not want.

A JEWISH CLASSIC SET TO MUSIC

By Lydia Edwards

The Dybbuk, an opera, staged by the New York City Opera Company; music by David Tamkin; English libretto by Alex Tamkin, adapted from the play by S. Ansky; choreography by Sophie Maslow; directed by Irving Pichel; scenery by Matislav Dobujinsky.

Since its inception, the New York City Opera Company has been a healthy addition to the city's musical life. It has been giving fresh imaginative productions of standard works as well as introducing new ones every season. It employs young artists, Negro and white, and scales ticket prices down to a reasonable level. It is therefore quite logical that David Tamkin's musical setting of *The Dybbuk*, composed some 20 years ago, would find its way to the City Center and there be produced on a high level of performance.

The play by S. Ansky is known to millions through the stage and movies and has been translated into many languages. It was adapted for this opera by Alex Tamkin, brother of the composer.

The plot of *The Dybbuk* revolves around Leah, daughter of a rich merchant, who prevents her from marrying Channon, a poor Talmudic student, and arranges instead a match with a man of wealth. Channon loses his life by mastering the powers of the Devil in order to win riches. On the day of Leah's wedding, Channon's spirit enters her body as a dybbuk. Sender, her father, takes her to the rabbi Azrael, through whom is revealed Sender's earlier pledge to sanction the marriage of the two lovers. Azrael then declares Sender guilty of a broken promise, sentences him and, by threatening Channon with excommunication, exorcises the dybbuk from the body of Leah. Though her spirit is once again freed and the hated marriage can not take place, she calls upon her lover and is united with him through death.

One may have certain reservations regarding the symbolic framework of the play, especially in view of the contemporary role of the phony "religious revival" in art which tends to turn people away from realism. However, it must be said that the production does bring out something of the social content of the plot. The triumph of romantic love over a feudal marriage arrangement, even though

Leah meets her beloved in death, and Sender's exposure as a calculating father caring nothing for his daughter except in terms of an advantageous match, suggest the class forces at the time the action takes place.

The bare outline of the story is not unfamiliar, since it clearly has its roots in human relationships which are the same or similar in cultures of differing social and national origin. Yet in its historical setting, ritual and delineation of character, *The Dybbuk* emerges as a specifically Jewish work of art.

One therefore rightfully expects that the operatic version would draw, in the first place, on the immense riches of the Yiddish, Hebrew and Palestinian folk musical treasury. This is, unfortunately, not the case. The score bears little or no resemblance to the content of the text. One feels impelled to ask the composer a few basic questions. Is there not a profound connection between this folk story and the music of the people who gave it birth? Is not the wonderful cantillation of Jewish ritual music, a vital link between song and the imagery of language and therefore artistically inevitable as the basis of the melodic line?

The contradiction between the text and music becomes completely obvious in the use of the *kaddish*. Here is one of the most poignant examples of Jewish music, yet the composer apparently found it impossible to weave it into the fabric of his score. The reason can only be that it could not be so interwoven, because its disparity with the rest of the score would stand revealed. The important point here is the traditional and folk character of the play. Can we imagine *Porgy and Bess* without a music infused with the genius of the Negro people?

Since no theater piece moves forward at an even tempo, but changes its pace according to the demands of the text, there are moments when the music could have had a stunning effect. For example, the discussion among the Talmudic scholars in the first act cried out for the unique inflections of Hebrew song-speech. This does not necessarily mean a schematic transfer from one language to another; it can be creatively used to round out and sharpen character development. Again,

in the graveyard scene, when Leah sings of her belief in the spirits of those who have died before their time, the music fails to underscore the positive affirmation of her conviction.

Alex Tamkin has fashioned a beautiful libretto from the play. Thanks to its being done in English, this comes across to the audience with tremendous dramatic impact, and, ironically, carries the music along to a certain extent. But it is still the play which does the job. While the effect of the music is at times theatrical, it never rises above the level of skillful Hollywood vulgarity. Instead of illuminating and heightening the emotional effect, this treatment acts as a brake on the development of the drama.

The second act ballet of the beggars staged by Sophie Maslow has received unqualified critical acclaim. Unquestionably, the dance fully realizes what it sets out to do: to portray the unfortunate creatures as the sores of the village and even more, the symbol of Evil in the graveyard. However, in so doing, they became caricatures, divested of their social relationship to the life conditions which created them, and emerge instead as degraded human beings with faces of witches and demons, evoking neither compassion nor anger at their oppressors. Every medieval village had its beggars but a portrayal only in terms of contempt for their misery obscures the suffering of humanity which has continued into the twentieth century. Since the enduring quality of great classics resides in part in their contemporary significance, the ballet as conceived and brilliantly executed plays a negative role.

It would be wrong to assume from the above that the total effect is a negative one. Except for the Talmudic scene, which is stylized to the verge of caricature, the staging, acting and singing are superlatively affecting. The principal roles carried by Franz Vroons as Channon, Patricia Neway as Leah, Mack Harrel as the rabbi and Lawrence Winters, the noted Negro baritone, as the messenger are nothing short of magnificent. The lesser roles suffer chiefly from the abominable acoustics of the theater and tend to be drowned out by the noisiness of the orchestral textures. Special mention must be made of the diction of all the singers. English has always been considered one of the most difficult languages to sing. The validity of the traditional notion is certainly challenged by the performance of the cast, who can be understood throughout.

(Lydia Edwards is a mezzo-soprano who sang leading roles with the City Center opera company for several seasons.)

Letters from Readers

WHAT SHALL WE TEACH OUR CHILDREN?

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Passover came. And as usual the family got together at our parents' home. The first *seider* night at my wife's parents' home and the second *seider* night at my parents' home. The youngest child sang the "Mah Nishtanah"; we drank wine; rushed through the reading of the *Hagadah*; had a good meal; gave the children presents for finding the "Aphiko-man"; sang "Adir Who" and "Had Gad-yaw"; then kissed our parents and relatives good night and took our weary but happy children home.

A good time was had by all. But, my wife and I ask ourselves, is this the best that progressive Jewish American parents can offer their children in celebration of Passover?

The celebration of Jewish holidays is such a perplexing problem to progressive Jewish Americans that my wife and I have decided to write to the editors of JEWISH LIFE in order to stimulate discussion, in order to help ourselves emerge from this cultural jungle with some clear principles and a guide for cultural living as progressive Jewish Americans.

This problem plagues us particularly as Christmas rolls around each year. We are having our annual intellectual battles with our Jewish friends who celebrate Christmas, but have never been able to resolve our differences on the basis of mutually acceptable principles. So, they continue setting up their Christmas trees and we proceed with setting up our menorah.

As far as our family is concerned, we believe in celebrating certain Jewish festivals, such as Passover and Hannukah, because these commemorate great libera-

tion struggles of the Jewish people. But the traditional celebration of these events is so predominantly religious, that we are at a loss as to how we should celebrate them.

It appears to us, therefore, that a research project should be started which will come to grips with such problems as re-writing the *Hagaddah*, composing new songs, poetry and stories dealing with the rich history of the Jewish people. We think there is enough creative talent among Jewish progressives to remove the wraps of religious obscurantism from Jewish culture and make it living for all of us.

Mr. and Mrs. R. S.

New York City

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In the August issue, Albert Kahn's article, "Maiming the Young," shows how the impact of the present environment of war hysteria, prejudice and discrimination creates emotional disturbance among our children. Since JEWISH LIFE is read by many Jews who cannot read Yiddish, it is important that the magazine should deal with the problems of the Jewish child and discuss how parents can help their children to overcome social ill-will.

Mr. Kahn tells us in his article about the slanders against the Jews. The Jewish children and their parents do not always know how to cope with some of these slanders. I know, for instance, of painful experiences that many children have to endure during the Christmas and Easter holiday seasons, when they are taunted with the charge that the Jews are responsible for the crucifixion of

Jesus. I witnessed such an accusation when I taught at Parkchester in the Bronx in 1949, and again in 1951, in the vicinity of University Avenue and 175th Street, where I saw how children who came from the Grand Concourse had these accusations hurled at them.

Second and third generation Jews in this country are doing their utmost to give their children instruction in singing, dancing and music. However, these Jewish parents overlook the fact that their children can derive social and emotional security by being firmly rooted in the heroic Jewish heritage. Parents do not seem to realize the harm they do their children by allowing them to carry the burden of Jewish difficulties without making available to them the weapon of knowledge of the progressive Jewish tradition.

Parents do their best to bring up their children to be self-reliant, secure and happy. But this happiness depends to a great extent on the kind of education they receive. While general education is publicly provided, the parents are responsible for the Jewish education of the children.

Our children are both Americans and Jews. The anti-Semitic trend, which is spreading so rapidly, reminds our children that they are Jews. Our children

Read it in

Masses & Mainstream

December Contents:

- RICHARD O. BOFFER: Pettis Perry: The Story of a Working-Class Leader
- V. J. JEROME: Two chapters from his novel, *A Lantern for Jeremy*
- PABLO NERUDA and SEAN O'CASEY: Poems
- SENDER GARLIN: The Challenge of John Swinton
- IRA WALLACH: *Collier's Kampf*
- YVONNE GREGORY: Cincinnati Notebook
- HOWARD FAST: Waterfront Morning
- SAMUEL SILLEN: Our Time
- LORRAINE HANSBERRY: Reviews "A Medal for Willie"
- BOOK REVIEWS: Elizabeth Lawson and Sidney Finkelstein
- DRAWINGS: Hugo Gellert and Ed Strickland
- RIGHT FACE
- INDEX TO 1951

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cannot be happy nor have integrity or self-respect, if they cannot defend themselves against anti-Semitic slanders.

When children have to learn the hard way what it means to be a Jew, they realize how little knowledge their parents have given them about their past and about their status at present. The parents should teach their children the great heritage of the Jews in such a way as to relate it to the American scene so that the progressive streams in the Jewish and American traditions are blended in the children's minds. Such knowledge will enable them to relate what is best in their

Jewish background with the best in the American environment and to derive moral and social strength from similarities which they discover in both traditions.

But how can parents give all this to their children? There are progressive Yiddish schools in New York City and in many other cities. These schools can bring to the children the history, literature and language of the Jewish people and can help to adjust children to the unstable environment in which we are living today.

POLA KOLTUV

New York City

The Editors invite comment from our readers on this topic. How would you formulate the problems suggested by the above letters? What do you think is the answer to such questions? We shall be glad to have you write in your ideas.

RESPONSE

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed two dollars for your current drive and best wishes.

Harold Ashe, the first canary to sing for the recent un-American so-called hearings on Hollywood, saw fit to explain that Sidney Burke's original name was Berkowitz.

Frank Tavenner, eminent counsel for the committee, persisted in addressing John Sanford as Julian Shapiro, despite the fact that Sanford corrected him repeatedly and despite the fact that Sanford has been known and written as Sanford for years.

By official consent (court passes) the hearing room was packed by professional parroters (anti-Semitic as always) and the press had to report that at least two jingoists had to be ejected for anti-Semitic outbursts against witnesses.

To round out the picture, just recently Walter Winchell, leading keyholist and leading anti-un-American—and Jewish, himself—spewed over the nation via his syndicated column the original (very Jewish-sounding) name of an arrested progressive.

Which brings us to witch-hunt axiom, vintage twentieth century: Scratch an anti-communist (even a Jewish one), as differentiated from a non-communist, and you will find a person who is anti-minority generally, and in this instance anti-Semitic specifically.

Thus the status of liberty, freedom and western Christian civilization locally and currently.

Los Angeles

E. L.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I am enclosing \$5.00 to JEWISH LIFE, which is very important to me. I could not be without it. I wish I could contribute more.

New York City

Mrs. G. N.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$2.00 for a subscription to JEWISH LIFE for a friend. I am also interested in sending a subscription to a friend I have in Israel.

Just a word about the magazine. For people living away from New York City or one of the other large Jewish communities, it is difficult to get an accurate idea of just what is happening in the Jewish community as a whole. For me, JEWISH LIFE provides just such news and views which enable me to understand what is going on today when the Jewish people face such critical times.

Acushnet, Mass.

B. T.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Read your appeal for funds—am responding. Enclosed find five dollars. I would like to make a donation of three dollars and order a subscription for the other two dollars.

Keep up the good work. Would like more articles analyzing Jewish organizations and methods to lead these groups along progressive paths. Also news of progressive Jewish organizations.

Thank you very much for a fine magazine.

B. T. C.

Chicago

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$5.00 to cover renewal and contribution to your excellent magazine.
S. T.

Chicago

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I like your magazine very much. Thank you very much for a wonderful job.

Mrs. H. K.

Ft. Wayne, Ind.

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Book Reviews

A CENTURY OF IMMIGRATION

By Morris U. Schappes

The Uprooted, by Oscar Handlin. Atlantic—Little, Brown. Boston, 1951. \$4.

Sub-titled "The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People," this book tries to create sympathy for the 35 million immigrants that streamed into the United States from Europe between 1820 and 1920, when anti-immigration racist legislation suddenly reduced the stream to a trickle. At a time when the McCarran type of anti-alienism is written into law and deportation drives disgrace the Statue of Liberty, such sympathy is needed. If the book can do anything to develop it, we might welcome the publication. But its usefulness is so limited by the author's evasiveness that the effectiveness may well be questioned.

The author is Oscar Handlin, associate professor of history at Harvard and a specialist in immigration studies. Recently his name has been pushed forward by the American Jewish Committee, which has tried to set him up as an authority on American Jewish history and life, but with indifferent success. Yet the ideology of the American Jewish Committee is all over the present work, reflecting a true marriage of Committee backing with the charm and "weight" of Harvard.

Unlike most immigration students, Dr. Handlin dwells not upon the effect of the immigrants upon our country, but rather upon the effect of our country upon the immigrants, "the uprooted." Discarding the scholarly support of footnotes, references and quotations, Dr. Handlin, relying presumably on the authority of Harvard and his own previous work, addresses himself to the general reader in a style that is smooth and warm. Writing from, so to speak, within the immigrants' experience, Dr. Handlin describes vividly the process of uprooting, the crossing to the United States, the bewilderment, the confusion, the heartaches, the misery, the "dividends of pain" involved in earning the daily bread here; the dehumanization of the newcomer; the clinging to religion for consolation; the crowding into "the ghettos"; the building of mutual aid societies; the rise of political bosses who "represent" the immigrant groups; the disruption of

family relations; and the rise of restrictive legislation that impresses upon the immigrant and his American-born children that they are still regarded as "aliens," unwanted and unequal.

Yet, although the book is rich in such human detail, it is impoverished in its total meaning. When it comes to essentials, Dr. Handlin is a master of evasion, and even his skilful narrative-descriptive prose cannot, although it almost does, hide this fact.

First, Dr. Handlin evades the fact, with an ingenuity that is almost amusing, that the immigrants came to a *capitalist* system in the United States. The word "capitalism" is not mentioned. One is reminded of the contest conducted by the *New York Herald Tribune* last spring under the heading, "Wanted: A New Name for Capitalism," because of the bad smell the system and word have developed. Dr. Handlin's substitutions are not as silly as most of those entered in that contest, but they are all evasive: "the economy," "a market economy," "the system," "the productive system," "the entire system," "the environment," "a social context of contracting opportunities." We are told that "in America bread never came without complications," but not that capitalism created these "complications." We learn that "in America, pauperism . . . came of itself to good and wicked alike," but the implication is that this is a "natural" or climatic result rather than a capitalist process.

At stake is not merely the frank use of a word instead of a reactionary Aesopian evasion. What is involved is fundamental: the experiences of the immigrants were conditioned by the fact that they came to a capitalist country; their experiences in a socialist economy, would have been essentially different. To hide this fact is to make sound understanding of the problems of the immigrants in our country impossible. But then the American Jewish Committee (and Harvard) prefer not to talk about the capitalist system.

Related to this fundamental evasion is a second one: Dr. Handlin plays down all anti-alien movements up to the turn of the last century. The Alien and Sedi-

tion Laws of 1798 are not mentioned, and the nativist movements before the Civil War are skimmed over without adequate revelation of their violence or extent. Since he is writing what his publisher calls a "paean to America," Dr. Handlin dare not face the basic fact that the capitalist ruling classes, even while they were importing immigrant labor, were generating anti-alien attitudes to divide the people they had to rule.

Thus Dr. Handlin would have us believe what is totally contrary to fact, that "once landed, the newcomer found himself equal in condition to the natives," and that "it was the unique quality of the nineteenth-century immigration that the people who moved entered the life of the United States at a status equal to that of the older residents." In passing it is noteworthy that just as here he denies the roots and extent of anti-alienism, Dr. Handlin has elsewhere, under the impulse of American Jewish Committee ideology, been busy denying the well-documented existence of anti-Semitism in the United States before the twentieth century.

A third evasion, and one which involves the active distortion of American history, is executed by Dr. Handlin when he tries, in the spirit of the American Jewish Committee, to win approval for these unfortunate uprooted by making the immigrants out to be a conservative and reactionary mass. Presumably Dr. Handlin is trying to counter the McCarran stereotype that all immigrants are radicals with the equally false stereotype that all immigrants are conservatives! It is not part of Dr. Handlin's or the American Jewish Committee's ideology that, in a democracy, immigrants have a *right* to make their own political choices, including the right to be a radical.

Therefore Dr. Handlin does violence to American history by ignoring the decisive contribution the immigrants made to the history of trade unionism and of progressive political movements. He makes the immigrants out to be a bewildered and passive mass. But he thereby avoids the historical evidence that significant sections of the immigrant masses resisted the fierce exploitation to which they were especially subjected. These masses had come here with ideals of plenty and freedom that they tried hard to realize. Spurred by the unexpected harshness of class oppression here and fired by these ideals, the immigrants often fought by organization for the improvement of their wages and working conditions. With what results was already being demonstrated some 40 years ago by I. A. Hourwich, who showed in his *Immigration and Labor* that the wage-standards of organized immigrant

workers were superior to those of comparable native but unorganized workers.

The role of the immigrant masses in progressive politics from the days of Jefferson, and Jackson with the early Jacksonian labor parties, and Lincoln, down to latter-day radical movements cannot be wiped from the slate of American history. Nor can you bury the role of immigrants

in the early trade union movements, in the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, the AF of L, the CIO and the present progressive independent unions. It is both reactionary and futile to attempt to win approval of American immigrants on the ground that they are safely conservative. Such an attitude leads, as it has led the American Jewish Com-

mittee, to condone the importation of fascist and anti-Semitic DP's from Europe.

Sapped of vitality by its basic evasions, this book can be useful only to those who, already understanding American capitalism, can integrate the helpful details and occasional insights into their understanding.

We are still in crisis

These past few months, as the returns have kept coming in from our appeal for contributions, we have felt closer than ever to our readers. Their warm and often moving expressions of devotion to the magazine have heartened us. We have felt more than ever a solidarity with many good people all over the country who are fighting with us for the welfare of the Jewish people and for American democracy. And their donations have helped us thus far to weather our financial crisis.

But that crisis is not by any means over. We are still in urgent need of more funds to keep *Jewish Life* alive. Many of you remain to be heard from. Won't you fill out the coupon below without delay and send your money along to *Jewish Life*, 22 East 17th Street, Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

THE EDITORS

JEWISH LIFE

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Enclosed please find check (money order) for \$..... as my contribution to the survival of the magazine.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

means exhaust the catalogue of anti-Semitic events for the month.

An anti-Jewish attack was made by the *Santa Monica* (Cal.) *Evening Outlook* in October. The paper charged that the forum conducted by the town's Jewish Community Center had become a platform for the "left wing" and that "there is no one on the program discussing public affairs who is not decidedly hostile to the American system of free enterprise." Among the speakers were Senator Hubert Humphrey, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Max Lerner and Dr. Robert Hutchins.

Jewish organizations maintained complete silence concerning the proposed appointment by President Truman of General Mark Clark as first ambassador to the Vatican, which would violate the separation of church and state. But Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver came out in favor of the appointment and several rabbis opposed it.

A survey on employment of Negro teachers in the New York City colleges undertaken by the Teachers Union revealed that at all four city colleges there are a few Negro clerks and some part-time teachers paid on an hourly basis. On the permanent teaching staffs, there is one Negro of 500 teachers at Queens; three or four at Brooklyn of a staff of about 500; five at City College of a staff of about 1200; and one at Hunter of about 350.

Los Angeles is the second largest Jewish community in the country, with a Jewish population of 323,000, according to a survey by the city's Jewish Community Council announced at the end of October. The survey showed that 36 per cent are proprietors, managers or officials; 21 per cent are craftsmen and manual trades workers; less than one of every four households have synagogue membership; some Yiddish is spoken in one home out of four; and 61 per cent have been in their present homes less than five years.

EUROPE

News from Poland . . . One of the largest textile mills in Lodz was named after Szaja Charman, a young Jewish worker murdered by the police in 1929 as he addressed a mass meeting on the anni-

versary of the Russian revolution. Very few Jewish workers are employed in this mill. . . . In connection with the 100th anniversary of I. L. Peretz, great Yiddish writer, the Polish Ministry of Education wrote all national cultural councils suggesting celebration of the occasion. Peretz, said the letter, expressed "passionate struggle for truth and social justice, for a newly-liberated life and for a new humanity." . . . Members of the Dresden State Theater company now visiting in Poland have taken part in cleaning rubble from the former ghetto. . . . At a ceremony in October, a monument at the grave of the beloved Yiddish writer, I. M. Weissenberg, was dedicated. The inscription reads: "He came from the people and he wrote for the people."

The Jewish State Theater of Jassy (Rumania) toured the country in October with great success with the play, *Hershele Ostropolier*, by M. Gershinson.

Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen of Rumania issued a Rosh Hashonah message in October in which he criticized the western powers for rearming Germany and the present rulers of Israel for having forgotten the six million by their support of "the American-British aggression against the will of the Israeli people."

The pro-Zionist Federation of Jewish Societies of France has appealed for the formation by Jews of self-defense groups against anti-Semitic outbreaks and against attacks on Jewish homes and institutions.

A mass demonstration of 15,000 Jews in Paris was held in a cemetery to protest renazification and German rearmament. Jews of all walks of life and political views attended.

Charles Law, a Canadian Jewish youth who attended the Berlin Youth Festival, reported in October about his trip and said that he found many Jews in important posts in East Germany. "We found," he said, "that two secretaries of state and the deputy chief justice of the East German Republic are Jewish—that 25 members of the People's Chamber (parliament) are Jewish—that the majority of the artists who are national prize winners, like Hanns Eisler, Johannes Becher and F. Wolff, are

Jewish. We found that special privileges are given to the victims of fascism and that great steps had been taken towards the eradication of anti-Semitism, especially among the youth."

And in West Germany . . . The Jewish cemetery of Hohenleunkirch, near Duesseldorf, was desecrated in October. . . . A group of West German school athletes desecrated 140 graves of a Jewish cemetery on the way home from a sporting event. . . . The Stahlhelm, nationalist veterans' organization formed early this year, claims a membership of 134,000. . . . General Otto Remer, head of the fascist Socialist Reichs Party, admitted in Munich that he maintains contact with fascist groups in other European countries. . . . Jack Raymond reported in the *New York Times* on October 15, that West "German anti-Semites refer sarcastically to United States Jews as responsible for many of the severities of the occupation."

ISRAEL

Over 200,000 Israeli citizens had by the end of October signed the Israeli Peace Committee's petition against German rearmament and for a five-power peace pact. Meetings are being held all over the country on the peace petition.

Persistent reports appeared in October that Israel planned to restrict the flow of immigrants because of the drastic difficulties in the food and economic situation.

A strike of locomotive engineers for a wage rise in mid-October paralyzed traffic in Israel. The strike was supported by the Haifa Labor Council and opposed by the Railmen's National Union. The Ben Gurion government then broke the strike by use of army men as strike-breakers.

Mapam accepted an invitation in October to attend a conference in Berlin of the council of the World Federation of Trade Unions at which groups in trade unions not affiliated with the WFTU would come together. The executive of the Histadrut has charged that acceptance of this invitation violates the rules of the Histadrut. However, Mapam maintains that the invitation was sent to Mapam as a left wing party and not as representatives of the Histadrut.

A UNESCO survey of the world press states that 17 daily papers appear in Israel at present: 11 of these are published in Hebrew (circulation 180,000); five in German (circulation 6,000); one in Arabic (circulation 6,000); and one in French (circulation 4,000).

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