



JANUARY 1952 • 20¢

IMPERIALISM RISES IN WEST GERMANY

by Gerhard Hagelberg

GENOCIDE AGAINST THE NEGRO PEOPLE

by William L. Patterson

NEW "AUTHORITY" ON SOVIET JEWS

by Moise A. Katz

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE ROSENBERGS

by Louis Harap

THE AJ CONGRESS CONVENTION

by Jack Greenstein

WOMEN'S GALLERY

*chapter from a novel
by V. J. Jerome*

Review of Ornitz' "Bride of the Sabbath"

by David Alman

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Opposition to negotiating with the Adenauer regime was expressed early in November by 400 representatives of the American Federation of Polish Jews and other Jewish organizations at a conference in New York. The conference especially condemned the "closed door" meeting of conservative Jewish leaders in October which agreed to negotiate with the renazified Bonn regime for "reparations" to the Jewish people. "The Jewish people do not intend to exchange Jewish blood for German marks," said the conference, and called for a referendum of the Jewish people to pass on any restitution agreement.

Among 40 prominent Americans who issued a statement in mid-November to the State Department urging the convening of a peace conference of major world powers, including China and India, were Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, of Cincinnati, Rabbi R. E. Goldberg, of Hartford, Rabbi David Graubart, of Chicago, and Rabbi Samuel Teitelbaum, of Evanston, Ill.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver delivered an Armistice Day sermon at his temple in Cleveland in which he strongly criticized the Truman foreign policy. He called German rearmament "incomprehensible and reprehensible," attacked the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, called the Korean "adventure . . . a mistake" and urged an immediate end to that war. He reasserted his belief that war is not inevitable and that the two economic systems can co-exist peacefully and called for recognition of new China, a meeting of top leaders and the conclusion of a peace pact. In his Thanksgiving Day sermon Rabbi Silver warned that American democratic institutions were endangered in the name of "national security" and "peace through strength."

Anti-Semitic acts . . . Twelve Jewish cemeteries in the vicinity of New Haven were desecrated in mid-November. Sixty-three tombstones were overturned and smashed and the graves desecrated. . . . Mrs. Donald Garfield of North Hollywood, Cal., was warned in an anonymous telephone call in November that "We just got rid of a bunch of Jews, the Rosenblooms, and now we've got another bunch to take care of." . . . Thomas L. Hamilton, Grand Dragon of North Carolina's Ku Klux Klan, hurled an anti-Semitic and anti-Negro harrangue at more than 2,000 spectators at a rally early in December. . . .

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Anti-Semitism is being used by the "Christian Medical Research League" in propaganda against socialized medicine.

The federal grand jury investigating the Cicero racist riots indicted four officials of the town of Cicero and three policemen on December 13. The two counts of the indictment accused the defendants of violating the civil rights statutes. Named in the indictment were Town President Henry J. Sandusky, Police Chief Erwin Konovsky, Fire Marshall Theodore Weselowski, Town Attorney Nicholas Berkos, and policemen Roland Brani, Frank Jancek and Frank Lange. . . . A mass meeting attended by 5,000 in the Chicago Coliseum on November 26 demanded that those responsible for the riots be jailed.

Noted Negro leaders and white trade union leaders addressed the meeting.

The executive order on "fair employment practices" issued by President Truman on December 3, was severely criticized as toothless and a "feeble attempt" by labor leaders and civil rights groups. It was pointed out that the order, which applies to federal contracts and sub-contracts, lacks the power to compel compliance and contains many loopholes. Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, told the press that he was "disappointed because of the weakness and lack of enforcement power in the order."

"A complete and shameless whitewash (Continued on page 32)

A Call:

\$25,000 Drive for Jewish Life

To all readers . . .

To all *Jewish Life* Committees . . .

To all progressive trade union, fraternal, social, cultural, youth and women's organizations . . .

To all friends of *Jewish Life* . . .

In more than five years of existence, *Jewish Life* has established its position as an uncompromising, fearless, authoritative progressive voice in the English-speaking Jewish community. It has championed peace and civil liberties. It has been the channel for the best aspirations of the Jewish people for an America cleansed of anti-Semitism, Jimcrow, war hysteria and insecurity. It has fought for a genuinely independent and democratic Israel. It has brought progressive Jewish literature to the English speaking Jew.

In these five years *Jewish Life* has made itself indispensable to the Jew who is fighting for unity against fascism and war as a condition for the survival of democracy and of the Jewish people.

Never was the need for *Jewish Life* greater than today. The war drums beat faster; acts of genocide against the Negro people mount every day; reports of anti-Semitic violence multiply; Cicero—Miami—Groveland. Leaders of major Jewish organizations conspire to stifle resistance against remilitarization of a re-nazified Germany. Labor faces severe attacks. Under these conditions, the maintenance—and growth—of *Jewish Life* assume the highest importance.

But if it is to survive and grow, *Jewish Life* must get immediate help from all individuals and organizations to whom democracy and Jewish welfare are dear. Something must be done to assure publication of *Jewish Life* for a year to come.

The Editorial Board and the Management Committee have therefore decided to initiate a drive for \$25,000 to keep Jewish Life going in 1952. We call upon all organizations and readers to participate in this drive to meet our annual deficit. The drive will last from January first to April first. We urge you to take all the technical and organizational measures to assure success in this drive.

- 1) Set up *Jewish Life* Committees in trade unions and other organizations.
- 2) Organize parties.
- 3) Solicit contributions from your friends.
- 4) Each Committee should set itself goals; each reader should pledge a maximum to be raised by parties and contributions.
- 5) Help increase the circulation of the magazine. Set yourself subscription quotas.
- 6) Every reader should become a committee of one to get subscriptions.

This call is urgent. Only if we succeed in raising this \$25,000 sustaining fund, is the future of Jewish Life assured.

We are confident that you will respond to this challenge rapidly, resourcefully and enthusiastically.

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IMPERIALISM RISES IN WEST GERMANY

Under American sponsorship, the earmarks of a reviving imperialism are appearing in West Germany to threaten the world with war again

By Gerhard Hagelberg

THE favorable response of Jewish leaders of the United States and Israel to the Adenauer declaration of September 27, 1951, offering "compensation" to the Jews for the crimes of nazism and absolving the German people of guilt for these crimes, must be interpreted as an acceptance of the West German government as responsible and trustworthy. These leaders are thus affirming that Jews can sit at one table with the Bonn regime without betraying the memory of their six million murdered brothers. The recognition thus accorded to West Germany in hard reality far outweighs in importance to the Jewish people the "reparations" which may or may not be made by West Germany.

What kind of government is this with which the Jewish leaders intend to negotiate? The facts are well known: The various departments of the Bonn government now harbor some chief instigators of the murder of millions of Jews.

Nazis Under Adenauer

1. In Adenauer's *own office*, the Office of the Federal Chancellor, the strategic position of chief of personnel is occupied by a Dr. Globke. During the Hitler period this man was a high government official, an *Oberregierungsrat*, in the Reich ministry of interior. As such, he was responsible for commentaries to the notorious Nuremberg laws.

2. A similar key position within the Bonn government is held by Dr. Behnke as chief of the administrative legal department of the ministry of the interior. Behnke, too, furnished commentaries for the guidance of the anti-Semitic terror, from which we select the following sample:

"If an official in the national socialist state in the years 1935, 1936 and 1937, directly or indirectly, bought from a Jew, he damaged thereby his own reputation and that of officialdom and betrayed the trust placed in him. It is a considerable dereliction of duty for an official to continue relations with a Jew who has become known to him in the course of his duty, and to accept his hospitality."

3. The Bonn minister of economic affairs employs a Dr. Kutscher as his executive assistant. In April 1944, this

GERHARD HAGELBERG is associate editor of the progressive German language monthly, *The German American*, who came to this country as a youthful refugee from nazism. This article is the first of a series of three. The next articles will deal with Social Democracy and the peace movement in West Germany.

Kutscher was legation counsellor in Ribbentrop's foreign office and in that capacity directed a conference of all "reporters on the Jewish question" of the nazi embassies, at which he declared:

"The Jews are the originators of the war. They have driven the peoples into the war because of their interests. The Jews are the misfortune of all peoples. A Jewish victory would be the end of all culture. Germany fights against the Jews, not only for itself, but for European culture. The Jew has dug his own grave with this war."

4. The selection of personnel for Adenauer's diplomatic service is in the hands of the former nazi consul in Haifa, Dr. Melchers, who is responsible for many deportations of Jews, according to the testimony of the Nuremberg trials.

5. The *New York Times* of October 29, 1951, reported that Dr. Otto Dietrich, the former press chief of the nazi party, who, next to Goebbels, bears the main responsibility for the execution of the whole anti-Semitic hate campaign, again occupies an official journalistic post in Duesseldorf.

This re-entry of big nazis into positions of power is only one phase of the alarming trend of post-war developments in West Germany. The Potsdam agreement, it will be recalled, was intended to remove Germany's potentiality for plunging the world into war again. To achieve this, it was agreed at Potsdam, the Allies determined that Germany was to be denazified, decartelized and demilitarized. But West Germany has, under United States control, been re-nazified, recartelized and now threatens to be remilitarized. These developments, taken together, mean that Germany is reviving as an imperialistic power which, as such, is moving into a position to threaten the world with another universal holocaust.

The establishment of a West German army and the constant build-up of foreign troops in West Germany make Germany the center of the preparations for another war. It is openly acknowledged that the remilitarization of West Germany is pointed directly towards the Soviet Union and the East European people's democracies. German reaction is historically marked by an unrivalled lust for aggression. The remilitarization of West Germany offers to the German imperialists the temptation to seek once more, this time with the help of the United States, the objectives they pursued in World War I and II.

The heavy industry of West Germany is being concentrated in the hands of the same cartelists who prepared World War II. Rebuilding of economic war potential,

which accompanies the process of remilitarization, presents to the peoples of Western Europe again the threat of subjection of their national economies to German imperialism.

Recartelization of West Germany

The oligarchy of industrial and financial magnates which before the war was closely connected with British and American interests is being reconstituted. While a number of leading West German industrialists, like Krupp, were imprisoned for a short time under pressure of world opinion, the "decartelization" program left untouched the foundations of the model German system of economic concentration exemplified by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements. It was revealed before the Kilgore committee that this program helped to modernize and streamline the structure of certain of these combinations, which had become topheavy through their acquisitions during 12 years of war and fascism. In fact, a number of American military government officials resigned when the real character of the "decartelization" program emerged. James Martin, the head of the Decartelization Bureau of American Military Government, who resigned his post in July 1947, declared on his arrival in New York:

"I have resigned in protest against the intrigues of the great American companies in Germany, in particular the General Electric Company, General Motors and the Standard Oil Company. The American people are led by monopolistic groups who have their own ideas of how to treat Germany. My efforts were frustrated by the American groups interested, who want to establish in the heart of Europe a Germany controlled by monopolists." (Retranslated from the German.)

Thus, for example, the coal mining syndicates were dissolved, but their staffs were used to establish the German Coal Mining Management and its subsidiaries which enjoy even greater power than their predecessors. Likewise, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steel Works), which formerly consisted of 14 companies, has been reorganized into 12 "work units." The big central German banks were officially suspended but their business was taken over by "regional banks," which are nothing but their former provincial branches. In addition to the old monopolistic banks, a new control center has been created with the Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau (Credit Institution for Reconstruction), which is the distribution agency of all American credits. This bank is headed by Hermann J. Abs, who was in 1937 chairman of the board of the Deutsche Bank, a director of I. G. Farben and dozens of other leading enterprises. Today Abs is the most powerful figure in German finance.

Coupled with the name of Abs is that of Dr. Robert Pferdmenges, reputedly the richest man in Germany, owner of the Cologne banking house of the same name. Prior to 1938 this banking house was called Sal. Oppenheim & Cie., and Pferdmenges "aryanized" it in the course of Hitler's persecution of the Jews. Employers' associations corre-

sponding to those which functioned during the Hitler period have been reestablished, headed by the Federal Association of Industry. Their activities were described by the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of March 8, 1951, as follows: "Very serious boycott threats have been made against firms which will not take part in such illegal price arrangements and which do not want to subordinate themselves to a business association."

The rule of the leading families in the Ruhr, Krupp, Thyssen, Kloeckner, Mannesmann, Haniel, Hoesch and Stinnes, has survived all war crimes trials and purges, although their names and personal power are today concealed behind vast monopoly organizations.

Interlocking of Government and Industry

The West German government is today dominated by the monopolies and their personnel are interlocked with that of the government organs. The first example here is Adenauer himself. For many years Adenauer was a director of the Deutsche Bank. Adenauer has also a family connection with American financial interests as a brother-in-law of the American High Commissioner for West Germany, John J. McCloy, formerly counsel for the Chase National Bank. Another brother-in-law of McCloy is a director of the banking house of J. P. Morgan & Co. A second example is Dr. Robert Lehr, who until his appointment as minister of the interior was a director of a number of corporations, including the Vereinigte Stahlwerke. Prior to 1933, Lehr was lord mayor of Duesseldorf and a trusted representative of West German heavy industry. There he met Hitler in 1932, under the following illuminating circumstances: "As lord mayor I was a member of the industrialists' club and accepted the invitation to the evening meeting at which Hitler gave his lecture. At the end of the lecture Herr Florian, who later became *Gauleiter*, arranged that I be introduced to Hitler."

A further example is that of Dr. Guenter Henle, son-in-law of the late industrialist Peter Kloeckner and vice-chairman of the board of Kloeckner Werke AG, the parent company of the far-flung Kloeckner group. Imprisoned for a short period in 1946 as a war criminal, Henle has been a representative of the Christian Democratic Union in the Bonn parliament since 1949. He is also chairman of the committee for steel questions and a member of the Schuman plan committee of the Bonn government and of the advisory council of the Federal German Railway. A West German newspaper wrote that "his opinion largely influences the position of the government in Bonn."

Also a member of the board of Kloeckner Werke AG is the above-mentioned Dr. Robert Pferdmenges, who is financial advisor to Chancellor Adenauer. Another advisor and West Germany's representative at foreign economic conferences is Hermann J. Abs.

A strong indication of the returning strength of West German big business is its attempt to restore its position in the colonial areas. The Duesseldorf *Handelsblatt* of Feb-

ruary 22, 1951, was a special issue dealing with Africa in which the chairman of the Afrika-Verein Hamburg-Bremen wrote: "It must be our endeavor to participate in every way, both scientifically and economically in these tasks in Africa." A number of subsidiaries and branches of West German companies have already been set up in South Africa. About 400 West German technicians have gone to North Africa on projects of interest to German business.

Producing for War

The West German economy is being converted to war production and as a consequence consumer industries and East-West German trade are being strangled. One of the main reasons why the United States government has given preferred treatment to West Germany is the strength of West Germany's economic war potential. Hearings before a Senate military affairs subcommittee in 1945 brought out that at least 75 per cent of German industry was intact or easily restorable at the end of the war. Like the "decartelization" program, so also the reparations and dismantling requirements of the Potsdam agreement were circumvented by the Western occupation authorities and used only to eliminate undesirable German competition. In fact, the West German war potential was not only scarcely reduced in the postwar period—it has increased in some branches.

The one-sided development of West German industry through the limitation of consumer goods and the expansion of those branches necessary for rearmament is indicated by the following figures. With 1936 as 100 per cent, the output of oil reached 283 per cent in the first five months of 1951, vehicle construction 192 per cent, engineering 150 per cent, electro-technical industry 315 per cent, chlorine 160 per cent and caustic soda 200 per cent. However, leather production was 24 per cent below prewar, shoe production 9 per cent below and the food industry in the first five months of 1951 declined 2 per cent from the 1950 average.

No better example of the restoration of the arms potential can be cited than the Krupp factory itself. According to information furnished by the works council of the Krupp plant in Essen in August 1951, the number of employees has risen from 3,700, at the time of Krupp's release from jail, to about 14,000.

As to direct war production, a compilation made by German trade unionists early in 1951 shows that 17 concerns made anti-aircraft motors and parts, over 30 produced tank parts, and 35 made artillery ammunition. Others put out gun barrels, camouflage nets, canteens, uniforms, bayonets, army gas cans and carbine parts. I. G. Farben was again producing explosives and rocket propellants. The sentiments of German big business, which knows how profitable war is, were expressed by the president of the Federal Association of German Industry in October 1951, when he declared, "As industrialists we support Adenauer's course 100 per cent" and demanded the "integration of German industry in the common European rearmament."

Armed forces are being re-established in West Germany

as well as militaristic organizations with the same aggressive aims that have always motivated German imperialism. The existence of a caste of professional officers experienced in war against the Soviet Union is another reason for the key role assigned to West Germany by the United States. Despite its disastrous defeat in 1945, the German general staff, just as after 1918, has continued under many disguises.

In October 1950, the secret activities of various German officers were brought under an official roof with the naming of Theodor Blank, an official of the Catholic trade union movement and representative of the Christian Democratic Union in the Bonn parliament, as "de facto defense minister of West Germany."

Build-up of Armed Forces

Discussions on West German remilitarization have taken place on various levels since January 1951. On January 25, 1951, the *Kasseler Zeitung* reported that on the occasion of General Eisenhower's visit to Germany, the Germans "handed the Allied military experts a detailed plan on remilitarization which included exact plans of recruitment and organization of the future German units."

In July 1951, it became clear that the divergencies between the plans for West German remilitarization developed simultaneously in Paris and in Petersburg (a town near Bonn) were to be resolved in favor of the latter, which offers greater latitude to the German general staff. The Germans proposed, with American support, (1) an army of 250,000 organized in 6 army corps of two divisions each; (2) reconstruction of the German general staff; (3) establishment of a war ministry headed by a civilian; (4) small naval forces in the North and Baltic Seas; and (5) an air force of 40,000 men with 2000 planes, including 600 jets. But this is only the beginning.

The cadres for the planned mass army are being organized in the various police formations, particularly the *Bereitschaftspolizei* (alert squads) and the frontier guard. *Die Welt* of February 10, 1951, gave the following figures for these units: "The total strength of the police in the Federal Republic will amount to 90,000 ordinary police in the various provinces, a first installment of 10,000 *Bereitschaftspolizei* (to be increased to 30,000 in accordance with the New York decisions) and 10,000 men in the federal frontier guard, according to a spokesman of the ministry of the interior."

Since then the Bonn government has requested permission of the Allied High Commission to increase the strength of the frontier guard to 90,000. The real character of this "Police force" has also been exposed. It consists of encamped troops, which according to a press interview of Interior Minister Lehr on February 16, 1951, can be stationed and used not only in the frontier areas but in emergencies also at any point within Germany. The *Duesseldorf Mittag* of February 17, 1951, reported that Lehr had told its correspondent that the frontier guard would be highly motorized and equipped with carbines, machine guns and automatic pistols. More recently, Lehr has demanded armored cars and

artillery. During a debate in the *Bundestag* on October 10, 1951, a prominent Social Democratic member revealed that 62 per cent of the frontier guard officers are former Wehrmacht officers and that leading positions are reserved for general staff officers. He further pointed to numerous instances of nazi behavior, such as the singing of "The Brown Armies are Marching."

"Legal" and "Concealed" Army Cadres

On October 26, 1951, the West Berlin paper, *Der Tagespiegel*, reported the organization of a new gestapo in the shape of the Secret Federal Defense Service which "collaborates with the secret service of the Western occupation powers," according to an Associated Press report on October 25, 1951. Interior Minister Lehr explained this development on the ground that "the danger from the left is greater than that from the right."

Earlier the "war correspondent" of the British-licensed *Die Welt* complained on September 21, 1951, in his account of maneuvers held in Germany, "The eighth nation participating in this war game is hardly mentioned—the 7,500 members of the German service organization." The *Kasseler Zeitung* of February 23, 1951, placed the total strength of "industrial police and guard companies," reinforced by units of the former Vlassov Army (assorted deserters from the Soviet Union who fought on the nazi side during the war) and displaced persons. At that time this force already numbered 125,000 men.

Equally important as these "legal" cadre formations are the over 70 militaristic youth and veterans groups which have been organized by nazi and Wehrmacht officers as a basis for their renewed activities and to preserve their commands in organized form. Among these are: (1) Bund deutscher Jugend (Federation of German Youth), led by former officers and Hitler youth leaders, reportedly heavily subsidized by big business and the American counter intelligence corps; (2) Erste Legion (First Legion), secret society, not unlike the Ku Klux Klan which describes itself as a "fighting community of German men." United Press reported in January 1951, that it had about 100,000 members, including "prominent politicians"; (3) Bruderschaft (Brotherhood), founded in 1950 as a rallying point for nazi officers; (4) Veterans associations of the Armored Corps "Grossdeutschland," "Afrikakorps," parachutists, Waffen SS, and catch-all organizations like the Stahlhelm and the Association of German Soldiers, which seek to lay the psychological groundwork for remilitarization. The *New York Times* of September 25, 1951, described them as "a powerful political force whose nationalist strains, once muted, now are brazen."

The New German Imperialism

We have thus given the reader some idea of the outstanding earmarks of the rebirth of German imperialism. In evaluating this development it would be, however, a grave error to assign sole or even primary responsibility

to the Germans. The overall characteristic of the new German imperialism, distinguishing it from the earlier models, is that *it does not and cannot play an independent role in world affairs*. The reconstruction of the German monopolies and the restoration of their foreign interests, the revival of the war economy and the establishment of a new army all have their inception in United States policy, are directed by and can continue only at the pleasure of the United States. They were constructed as an integral part of United States policy. Moreover, these measures are being advanced in the face of the open opposition of the German people.

The basis of this United States domination of West German development is the attachment by the United States of the West Germany economy. Through such schemes as the Marshall Plan and Government Appropriations for Relief in Occupied Areas a debt of more than 15 billion marks has been saddled on West Germany. This indebtedness, accumulated in six years, is 50 per cent larger than the entire long term debt of the whole of Germany in 1931 after the great American post World War I loans had poured in. Of a total foreign debt of some 35 billion marks outstanding today, Bonn owes to the United States between 27 and 30 billion marks.

But the relationship of German and American capital is not confined to one of debtor and creditor. It also takes the much closer form of partnership. American big business has a direct share in German enterprises exceeding one billion marks, invested primarily in key industries. The largest American investments are in the West German oil, electric, and motor industries—the very industries which have expanded most over their prewar level.

American intervention in all spheres of German life is indicated by the recent virtual bribery of a section of the West German press. Associated Press reported on August 21, 1951, an announcement of the American high commission that it was providing 15 million marks "to assist 'democratic' newspapers in West Germany and West Berlin to financial independence." The "altruistic" character of this credit was revealed in an article by the American journalist Ernest Leiser in the *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung* of October 13, 1951, which stated: "The assistants of the high commissioner have left no doubt that the loan will be given only to those papers which follow a pronounced pro-Western line." The credit is offered after, as Leiser put it, "American press experts have noticed in the recent period the unanimous attempt by the German papers to criticize the Allies; this development has reached a climax in the last weeks. Newspapers which still maintain a line in favor of the Allies or at least not against them, can be counted on ten fingers. It is these, which the American loan is designed to help in the first place."

The collaboration between the governments of the United States and West Germany and the preferred status to which West Germany has been elevated in American policy show that the United States has chosen the Bonn government as its principal ally in Europe in order to make West Germany the main base of its war preparations.

WOMEN'S GALLERY

Chapter from a Novel

By V. J. Jerome

INTRODUCTION

FOR nearly two decades V. J. Jerome has been known to the world as a Marxist theorist and critic. Few were aware that for years he had been forming a creative work that is destined to become a permanent part of the treasury of American literature. We are proud to publish a chapter from this novel, *A Lantern for Jeremy*, soon to be issued by Masses & Mainstream. The extraordinary qualities of this work can be gleaned from the brief excerpt printed below. Already one can discern the profound humanity of the writing, its tenderness and sensitivity, its illimitable respect for personality. And one can perceive the depths of understanding of the Jewish folk tradition shown in it. One sees also the austere and inexorable rejection of the aspects of that tradition that keep many Jews chained to superstition and to encrusted, inhuman ways of thinking, so cruel in their effect on generations of Jews. The firm foundation of that writing is deep, uncontaminated sympathy with the interests of the oppressed millions.

Jerome's novel is not separate from the body of his theoretical writing on culture and politics. On the contrary, these essays—*Culture in a Changing World* and *The Negro in Hollywood Films*, to name a few—form an unbroken skein with the novel. For all these writings are animated by that same love of humanity and faith in a future into which men will be led by the working class.

Yet the author of these writings may stand trial under

the Smith act soon after this issue is published, together with 16 other leading Communists.

What was Jerome's "overt act"? He "did issue a directive and cause it to be circulated through Political Affairs." What was this "directive" for which the Truman administration seeks to imprison Jerome for five years and to fine him \$10,000? It was an essay, *Grasp the Weapon of Culture*, an organic part of the body of which the novel is a part. In this essay we find the same condemnation of the decadent and the retrogressive as we see in the novel. The essay makes a scathing, pitiless analysis of everything that is degrading and reactionary in American culture today, whose depths of inhumanity and vulgarity were plumbed in the recent warmongering issue of Collier's.

Is there a man or woman, if not unhinged by hysteria, who will not say that a man who could write a novel like that from which "Women's Gallery" is drawn, is a man of the highest value to society? If any indictment is to be handed down, it should be of a government administration which arrests and tries to jail such a man as Jerome. For to imprison Jerome and his colleagues is to try to stifle the greatness of man, to try to destroy the fruits garnered from centuries of man's travail and genius. To jail the author of *A Lantern for Jeremy* is to exhibit barbaric contempt for the best qualities of the human spirit.

There is no better answer to the witch-hunters than a work like this novel. It laughs them to scorn.

LOUIS HARAP

I STAND beside Auntie in the women's gallery of the synagogue. She and the other women sit round Esther the Reader. They lean forward to listen to her chanting from the Book of Devotion. Esther the Reader's voice is thin and mournful. Why do Auntie and the other women hold their prayer books open? They don't know how to read. As they sway, praying, their little shawls sway with them. Their lips follow softly the words of Esther the Reader. When she wails, they wail, and their tears fall on the open pages.

"That we may be able to rear our sons," Esther the Reader singsongs, "for the study of Thy holy Law and the performance of commandments and good deeds—"

The prayers in the women's gallery aren't like the prayers we say in the men's synagogue below. Yoina Wisdom-tooth said in school that the prayers from the women's prayer

book don't get to Heaven anyway because they're not in the Holy Tongue. That's funny. Doesn't God understand Yiddish?

"O Lord of the World," Old Dvoira lifts her eyes to the ceiling and stretches her hands upward. "If they won't let my son Fulke draw water from the town-pump, what can he earn, O Little Father in Heaven, at only a groschen a bucket—and the brook so far away? . . ."

The wail of Esther the Reader rises:

" . . . and that we may be able to give to our daughters good and pious husbands."

Esther the Reader turns round and looks sadly at her daughter standing behind her. Frimmet has two long black braids which fall over the front of her green blouse, and her face is soft and smooth. Her dark eyes are like doves with their wings resting. But her fingers are clenched tight.

JEWISH LIFE

WILL THEY LET ME STAY UP HERE? LAST TIME MIRIAM THE Grocer's Wife scolded me: "A big boy almost eight and already studying the Pentateuch shouldn't be coming up to the women's gallery!" But Auntie said I shouldn't mind her, the busy-body, and I should come up between prayers for just a little while. I like to come up here. I hope they don't notice me, but let me stay—here, where Frimmet is.

Frimmet can read the Holy Tongue. The whole town knows how she can read Polish and Russian—and write, too. Teacher said: "If she had had the merit to be born a boy, she would have grown up to be a scholar. But as it is, of what use is her learning—a girl of sixteen? Better had her learning gone into her brother's head, so that he wouldn't be sitting in prison for horse-stealing."

I am sorry for her brother who is in prison, but I am glad that the learning went into her head. I am glad she can copy the address in English on the letters we send my father and mother in London.

The praying of the men below comes up in a voice full of voices. I look down through a slit in the balcony curtain. How high the chandelier is. How holy it looks. What a strong nail it must take to keep it from falling upon the people on the dais. Under their yellow prayer shawls the men stand swaying, like sheaves of wheat in a field. The prayers buzz about them like bees. The cantor stands with his face to the East Wall near the Holy Ark. I can see only his back. The women stop their praying, the better to hear him. Soon he will be blessing the New Moon. "That's when he's at his best," Uncle said. "When he blesses the New Moon, you don't hear a cantor singing, you hear a nightingale."

Auntie puts her hand on my head.

"Are you hungry, Jëremy? We'll be going home soon, treasure mine. You're sure, now, you told Uncle you were coming up here?"

She unties a red-and-yellow kerchief and takes out a large blue plum and a cookie.

"Here, darling, say separate grace for each."

Esther the Reader again reads from the Book of Devotion:

"... and I put myself in bondage to Thee, I, who am earth and flesh and like a worm, not a human being, and have come to cast my prayer before Thee. . . ."

Her voice is drowned by the loud wailing of the women.

FRIMMET STANDS AND DOES NOT PRAY.

"Why aren't you praying, Frimmet?" Miriam the Grocer's Wife asks.

Frimmet does not answer. Anger is in her face.

"Why do you stand there gaping like a clay Golem?" her mother asks. "Why don't you answer? Why don't you pray?"

"I'm not a worm! I'm not a worm, Mother!" Frimmet cries out. The doves in her eyes are wild crows now.

"Woe is me, daughter mine! Tear out your tongue. Let not God punish you for these words. Remember, you are a Jewish daughter!"

"Daughter, daughter, daughter!" Frimmet stamps her foot. "Sons, they're for the Law and commandments and

good works. But the daughters, we'll get them good and pious husbands! . . . I won't be a footstool to a husband!"

"You shame me before God and the world!"

"No, no, Mother! It's you—you—every time you and Father walk in the street and he walks in front and you behind him like a servant! and when you sit here—you and the other women—in a loft curtained off as though you were lepers!"

From the women on the other side of the gallery come voices:

"Hush! Quiet!"

"It's a shame—in the synagogue!"

"If I had such a daughter, I'd cleanse her mouth with a hot stone, the way we cleanse pots for Passover," Miriam the Grocer's Wife says.

Freide Malka turns round. She is taller than the other wives. Her sharp face is angry.

"I don't see what you have against Frimmet. Would that I had such a daughter! The soul shines out of her."

Frimmet lives next door to Freide Malka. When Freide Malka gave birth to Khaiml's little brother, Frimmet used to bring lunch to school for Khaiml, and sometimes she brought his father's meals to him at the tan-yard.

Miriam the Grocer's Wife says:

"A Jewish maiden should know what is a man's place and what is a woman's place on this earth."

God created Eve from Adam's rib and not from his head, Teacher said, so that she shouldn't carry her head high in pride. But I like the straight way Frimmet stands.

Auntie gets up from her seat near the stairs and takes hold of Frimmet's hand. Her words are soft:

"Come and sit beside me, little Frimmet, my dear."

Frimmet throws off Auntie's hand. She rushes toward the stairs.

"Woe is me!" a woman cries, "she doesn't step backward going out! She turns her back on the Holy Ark!"

"Stay in the synagogue!" Esther the Reader calls. "Stay, I tell you, till the Service is over!"

Auntie goes over to Esther the Reader:

"Don't be angry with her, Esther."

"No!" Esther the Reader cries, "let her go, let her go to her cursed Sisters-and-Brothers!"

She takes up her Book of Devotion and her voice weeps as she reads:

"And on Thy mercy, dear God, do I lean. . . ."

Her body sways to her wailing, and the women about her wail with her.

Frimmet is gone. . . .

That's their name, the Sisters-and-Brothers, Uncle said yesterday at table, because that's how they begin when they speak to the people—Sisters and Brothers! Who are they? Why do they call the people their sisters and their brothers? Why has Frimmet gone to them?

Miriam the Grocer's Wife says:

"Girls nowadays—that's how their heads are turned. They want beards and prayer shawls—no less. And she's all of sixteen years old!"

"Those Sisters-and-Brothers, they want to tell God how to make his creatures," says another woman.

"Be careful, Esther, or one of these days your daughter will open your chicken coop and let all your chickens fly out, while she cries Freedom."

"I understand," Miriam the Grocer's Wife says to Esther the Reader, for all to hear, "that your Frimmet would have the Tsar off the throne."

The women laugh. Auntie is quiet.

"No, he'll not be Tsar while there's life in me," isn't that what she says, your Frimmet?"

"And the Tsarina—will she have to get off the throne, too?" someone asks.

The laughter of the women grows louder. But Freide Malka says:

"I don't see for what great favors we should want to hold on so tight to the Tsarina—or to the Tsar, either."

Esther the Reader speaks:

"A silly girl, what does she know what she is saying? Do you think, God forbid, she means to be talking against the Tsar?"

From below, the sounds of worship come up in gathering waves and wash away the talk of the women.

ON THE STAIRS, AS I GO DOWN, THE WORDS OF THE PRAYER I say every morning rise up before me:

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, that Thou hast not made me a woman.

The wild crows of Frimmet's eyes swoop down on the words, scattering them. . . .

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS INDICTS REPRESSION

Following are excerpts from a speech by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas delivered at Brandeis University in November. Justice Douglas here indicts the forces making for suppression of freedom.—Eds.

BRANDEIS' conception of citizenship invariably got back to the First Amendment and freedom of speech and of press.

It was the final end of government "to make men free to develop their faculties." In government "the deliberative forces should prevail over the arbitrary." Freedom of thought and freedom of speech were "indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth." Free speech ordinarily affords "adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine." The "greatest menace to freedom is an inert people." Public discussion and debate is a "political duty." Fear of ideas breeds repression; "repression breeds hate"; "hate menaces stable government." The path of safety lies in the opportunity freely to discuss "supposed grievances and proposed remedies"; the "fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones." These were his views expressed largely in judicial decisions. . . .

Fear has many manifestations. The Communist threat inside the country has been magnified and exalted far beyond its realities. Irresponsible talk by irresponsible people has fanned the flames of fear. Accusations have been made loosely. Character assassinations have become common. Suspicion has taken the place of good will. Once we could debate with impunity along a wide range of inquiry. Once we could safely explore to the edges of a

problem, challenge orthodoxy without qualms, and run the gamut of ideas in search of solutions to perplexing problems. Once we had confidence in each other. Now there is suspicion. Innocent acts become telltale marks of disloyalty. The coincidence that an idea parallels Soviet Russia's policy for a moment of time settles an aura of suspicion around a person.

Suspicion grows until only the orthodox idea is the safe one. Suspicion grows until only the person who loudly proclaims the orthodox view, or who, once having been a Communist, has been converted, is trustworthy. Competition for embracing the new orthodoxy increases. Those who are unorthodox are suspect. Everyone who does not follow the military policy-makers is suspect. Everyone who voices opposition to the trend away from diplomacy and away from political tactics takes a chance. Some who are opposed are indeed "subversive." Therefore, the thundering edict commands that all who are opposed are "subversive." Fear is fanned to a fury. Good and honest men are pilloried. Character is assassinated. Fear runs rampant.

Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity—all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty—have difficulty getting reputable lawyers to defend them. Lawyers have talked with me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did they would lose clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed "subversive" by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy. . . .

GENOCIDE AGAINST THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Unchallengeable facts document the charge of the Civil Rights Congress that the government is violating the UN convention on genocide

By William L. Patterson

The Civil Rights Congress recently published We Charge Genocide, a petition to the United Nations. To celebrate this historic event, the CRC held a mass meeting in New York on November 15, 1951, at which William L. Patterson, CRC national executive secretary, delivered a stirring address, of which a part is printed below. Speaking for the Jewish people was Simon Federman, president of the Federation of Polish Jews, who recalled that the Jews, too, had known genocide. Federman affirmed solidarity of Jews with Negroes and all democratic Americans in the struggle against genocide of the Negro people.—Eds.

WE charge genocide!

We speak here tonight, conscious of a tremendous responsibility to our country and progressive mankind. For the Civil Rights Congress is the first to level this grave charge of genocide. And we level it at the government of the United States of America.

We cite crimes by this government, crimes we prove in this remarkable petition and book, *We Charge Genocide*. We charge monstrous crimes containing the germs of fascism and war no less than did the genocidal crimes of the nazis against the Jewish people of Germany and Eastern Europe. Thus the genocide we charge has a deadly parallel in history. If this book is to be a weapon against war and fascism today, we must issue it now, before those who use the unconstitutional Smith Act and the McCarran Law to destroy the Bill of Rights, can block all open channels to the American people.

The world cannot survive a repetition of that malignant and devastating anti-Semitism by which Hitler paved the way to the Second World War. Yet inherent in the present status of the Negro in the United States of America are all of the horrors that befell world Jewry and mankind.

The men are still in power in the United States who helped lift Hitler into the German Chancellory. Their mounting terror against the Negro people knows no limits. It is an inseparable part of their "cold war" and of the world war they contemplate. Officials of government and such national magazines as *Collier's* already brag with awful bravado of this war to come.

The jelly bombs dropped in Korea and the ever-present threat to use the atomic bomb there, prove that racism is an export commodity to be forced upon colored peoples.

This Bill of Particulars: *We Charge Genocide*, is the documented story of the frameup of thousands of innocent Negroes, the attempt to stamp the brand of criminality on Negro youth, of packed lily-white juries, the intimidation of lawyers and witnesses, police brutality and murder, legal lynching, Ku Klux Klan and mob violence, racist laws enforced by city, state and federal officials and courts, denial of the vote, Jimcrow in employment, the ghetto system, premature death from malnutrition and preventable diseases, the imposition of colonial-like relations in the Black Belt, segregation in and denial of education, Jimcrow in departments of government and the armed forces.

This is genocide. This was condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its Convention on Genocide in 1948.

Is it any wonder that the United States government has not ratified the Convention on Genocide? These men use the UN's name to sanction their bloody deeds in Korea yet they will not endorse the UN's Convention on Genocide. But since the Convention has already been ratified by the required number of nations, the United States is legally bound to observe its provisions—even without signing. That is why we will carry this record of genocide by the United States government to Paris and to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

A road runs from Scottsboro, Alabama, and the attempted murder of Haywood Patterson and eight other innocent black youth, to Cicero, Illinois, and the crime of that northern State against Harvey Clark, a Negro seeking to free his family from the evils of ghetto life. That road is strewn with the maimed, tortured, and dead bodies of innumerable innocent Negro victims. The old Southern lynching bees have now given place to new forms of violence that can be introduced everywhere. These forms of legal lynching conceal both the intensification of the terror against the Negro people—and the desperation of those who incite and sanction it.

Recent Genocidal Acts

I ask you to consider these new acts of terror committed in the past few years:

The savage pogroms of Columbia, Tennessee; Monroe, Georgia; Groveland, Florida; Peckskill, New York; the cases of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, Edward

Honeycutt, Milton Lewis Wilson, Rosa Lee Ingram and her two courageous sons, the Trenton Six, Robert Mallard, Maceo Snipes, Isaac Woodward, John Derrick, Robert Kelly and his mother, Clyde Brown, the Groveland Two—one of them foully murdered and one shot by a lynch-crazed sheriff—Wesley Robert Wells, Jerry Newson, Theodore Jordan, Fletcher Mills, Bayard Jenkins, George Claybon, the case of that great champion of peace, Dr. William E. B. Du Bois; my own case, the arrest and imprisonment of Benjamin J. Davis, the projected frameups of Pettis Perry and Claudia Jones; the insults thrown into the face of that great Negro artist, Josephine Baker in a club frequented by J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I.; the attempt to murder Paul Robeson at Peekskill, the failure of which immediately brought the State Department on the run to cancel the passport rights of that heroic black man in order that the very Europeans whom the rulers of the United States seek to seduce, might not hear from his lips the story of the crimes of government against his people in his native land.

These Are Crimes of Government

The crimes recorded in *We Charge Genocide* warn of a future of untold greater horrors. We must seriously study this situation. We must challenge this Operation Killer with deathless courage if it is to be prevented. This picture presents monopoly's way of life—and death. It is called American but has no relation to the interests, aspirations or the demands of the people. Those who by their terrible deeds have drawn this picture, daily speak of a "free world" and declare their worthiness for moral and political leadership. We say that a people who oppress another cannot themselves be free. Operation Killer cannot be reconciled with Operation Freedom.



Mississippi lynch mob led by "officers of the law."

We do not speak here of the crimes of little men whose removal from big places would bring about a basic change in the course of events. We speak of the crimes of *government*. We speak of crimes that are the policy of powerful men executed through the channels of government.

We speak of the crimes of men controlling the administrative, judicial and legislative branches of city, state and federal governments. They possess great power. Deliberately and in concert they use it today in such manner as to threaten the security of progressive mankind.

These men are masters of racist hatred, of lynch terror, of white supremacist arrogance. Their monstrous lynch intrigues, their racist lies and distortions of history are calculated to pit white American against black American, and also to create a spirit of Hitler-like nationalism and the murderous militarism which today accompanies it. Their schemes are clothed in democratic phrases and platitudes that ring with praise of peace and human dignity. . . .

They fear an end in the Near and Far East of the evils they have caused to persist at home. For the Eastern peoples are rising everywhere. There are untold billions to be gained through Jimcrowsism and segregation at home. But there are added billions to be drained from the blood of the more than a billion colored peoples of the East. War, for the rulers of the United States of America, is but an enlargement of legal and illegal lynching. There is money in both. They are trying to sell war as the only means of protecting their American way of life. The people want peace.

This record of crimes of government condemned by the United Nations as "Genocide" we have now addressed to that august institution. We believe that the responsibility to end the misery of ghetto life and the inhuman practices of the white supremacists does not lie with progressive Americans alone. Its effects extend beyond this country. No people can afford to compromise with those social forces that follow the course of Hitler—not even the people of Western Europe—not even for the dollars the Marshall Plan "loaned" their rulers. The UN Convention on Genocide opens the door for us to appeal for this international solidarity which can and must be achieved. . . .

Gradualism Is Bankrupt

We believe that white Americans who claim to be liberals can no longer argue the bankrupt and immoral theory of gradualism. It is no answer to the petitions of Negroes demanding their constitutional rights now. The road marked "gradualism" leads down a blind alley ending in a bottomless pit, a well of moral infamy and death. The Dixiecrats openly expose its falsity. . . .

I want to make it clear that we do *not* charge genocide against the whole of white America. If all of white America had willingly or unconsciously accepted the myth of white superiority and the lynch program of its protagonists, there would have been thought-control already. There then would be no need for the Smith Act, the McCarran Law

or J. Edgar Hoover's F.B.I. These are the institutions of men who have not won *all* of white America and who know well that they, can *never* even win a majority of the people. If all of white America had been won for the theory of white supremacy, our last vestige of national integrity and honor would have been lost. The world war these monsters cannot make, already would have drenched the fields and destroyed the cities of Europe and Asia. . . .

This petition to the United Nations does not excuse progressive Americans from the great responsibility to themselves and mankind to raise the fight here against genocide to levels never reached before. Perhaps what we can do will spare us neither war nor fascism. But since neither are inevitable, both can be stopped by the struggle waged against those whose policy breeds war and fascism. . . .

This book differs in a basic way from the *Black Book of Nazi Atrocities Against the Jewish People*. That book was written after the Second World War when some few of the nazi leaders sat before the court at Nuremberg. The damage had been done. *We Charge Genocide* is written *before* the monsters we condemn have been able to drop their Third World War from Eastern skies. Our petition carries a warning which, if heeded, can spare us the immeasurable horrors of that war. . . .

We Demand These Rights

Even if we have not yet achieved that government "of the people" of which the immortal Lincoln spoke, there are rights which the power and unity of the people can win today. Here are some of those rights.

Full and complete equal opportunity and rights for all

minority groups regardless of race, nationality, creed, color or political affiliation can be won.

The Ku Klux Klan and all other terrorists gangs can be outlawed.

The spewing of racist filth and anti-Semitism can be made a crime against the State.

Fair Employment Practices can be made a law assuring the inviolability of the right to work.

The inviolability of dwelling can be enforced. The ghetto system can be destroyed and all restrictions on residence based on color, creed, nationality or political belief ended by law.

Jimcrow and segregation can be rooted out of every branch and department of government and the practice of either made punishable by law.

Lynching can be made a crime against the Federal Government with death the punishment.

The poll tax system can be abolished.

The Dixiecrat weapon of filibuster can be destroyed.

With these and other changes, our government would begin to reflect the will of the people.

Whether the UN acts favorably or unfavorably, these are a few of the conditions for which we fight. The thinking of the white supremacist has sunk deep into the minds of white America. Its effect upon the thinking of even black men and women has been extremely harmful. But the victims of genocide, both white and black, can find unity in struggle. The battle against the racists is being mounted everywhere. Victories on a world scale have already been won. We face the last great bastion of the enemy of mankind. It, too, is not impregnable.

We charge genocide! And we dedicate ourselves to the task of wiping it out!

RACIST VIOLENCE IN MIAMI

JEWs and Negroes in Miami have been the targets of a terrorist campaign by the Ku Klux Klan for the past few months. Within one week in December, four bombings took place. On December third, The Miami Hebrew School and the Carver Housing Project were dynamited. A stick of dynamite thrown at the synagogue from a passing automobile shattered 44 memorial windows and caused about \$400 damage. Although the damage to the Negro Carver Housing Project was light this time, it was the third attack on the project in three months. The previous one had caused \$22,000 damage. Some weeks before, a sign in German was put up on the lawn of a Jewish center stating that an explosion would take place and was signed by the KKK. Jewish institutions had been bombed on several occasions before.

The Negro and Jewish people of Miami are up in arms. Following the bombing, 500 Negroes assembled to protest and demand police protection. The police were prevented by the Negroes from arresting two of their number. Jewish organizations in Miami are demanding police action.

The Jewish War Veterans have organized to patrol the synagogues and the police chief has deputized a number of them. However, the local rabbinical association is insisting that the police properly protect the synagogues. Police promised to check synagogues with patrols.

So brazen are the racists, that a week after the triple bombing, a stick of dynamite was thrown at another synagogue from a moving car but the fuse failed to go off.

The police are trying to take the heat of community indignation off themselves by making scurrilous charges that the bombings were possibly the work of "Communists." Miami police chief Walter E. Headley said that possibly the blasts were "Communist-inspired to incite racial hatred." This despicable statement was of a piece with Headley's insistence that the bombing of Jewish and Negro places were "unrelated." No doubt the white supremacists fear that the Negroes and Jews might unite in common defense. Unfortunately, however, no reports from Miami indicate any effort by Jews and Negroes to combat the common menace together.

THE AJ CONGRESS CONVENTION

The rank and file tried to break through the steam roller of bureaucrats of the national office and discussed some vital issues

By Jack Greenstein

THE rank and file membership of the American Jewish Congress, as well as great masses of the Jewish people outside its ranks, had reason to expect more than the results produced at the biennial convention of the Congress in November. At a time when the Jewish people and the world are faced with such critical problems as the headlong preparation for war, reflected particularly in the haste to rearm a renazified Germany, the threats to the independence of Israel and the growth of domestic racism and anti-Semitism, encouraged by Smith and McCarran act thought control—at such a time, the American Jewish Congress owed more than hollow platitudes to those who look to it for leadership. The purge of progressive and militant elements in Congress for the past two years has taken its toll. But it was very significant that the few opportunities for democratic expression of opinion on the convention floor at the Hotel New Yorker were grasped by many delegates who showed a healthy, questioning attitude toward policies of the national office. Some voiced opposition to positions taken by entrenched Congress bureaucrats like David Petegorsky, national director, and Justine Wise Polier, vice president.

Debate on Vatican Issue

Many delegates indicated their desire to have the convention give advanced leadership on *something* by an action taken in the closing hours. Rank-and-filers then forced a 45-minute debate on a resolution condemning President Truman's nomination of an ambassador to the Vatican. Despite the fact that this issue is not central to the major problems facing the Jewish people, it served not only to rip aside the "hush-hush" curtain which has increasingly fallen over Congress activity since witch-hunting became the major occupation of the leadership. This action also succeeded in forcing that leadership to clamber aboard the militant bandwagon.

So great was the haste of the bureaucrats to assume leadership of the Vatican issue in Congress lest they be left behind, that they forgot their own demagogic excuses for lethargy on half a dozen other issues of no lesser concern to the Jewish people. Petegorsky, for instance, had previously argued that Congress had been "hampered" in taking action on issues because other affiliates of the National Community Relations Advisory Council

(NCRAC) "wouldn't go along." (He failed to explain why no mass activity was developed on such issues as renazification, the films *Oliver Twist* and *The Desert Fox*—on which there was general or unanimous agreement in NCRAC). But this "obstacle" wasn't even raised in connection with the Vatican issue. Shad Polier, Congress vice president and chairman of the Committee on Law and Social Action, spoke of the need for Congress to take a stand, rejecting the arguments about the "inexpediency" of acting on "such a controversial issue"—phony arguments which Polier himself has often used in stalling progressive and concerted action on other vital issues.

For a while during that debate the convention sounded like the AJ Congress of old: giving militant leadership in an area where others maintained a cowed and "respectable" silence; giving expression to the progressive sentiments of the Jewish community. The question of peace even came to the fore during part of the debate, with some delegates pointing out that recognition of the Vatican was the logical consequence of the cold war and was reactionary *because* of this origin, not in spite of it, as others argued. This was one of the few moments in which the all-important question of war and peace was discussed—a fact which alone bespeaks the long retreat of the AJ Congress.

Pocket-Veto on Smith Act

That retreat became quite evident as Petegorsky opened the convention with what the *New York Post* termed "a pessimistic review of 'assaults' on civil liberties." Said Petegorsky: "We have gone a long way toward legitimizing guilt by association and punishing people for belief rather than for action." (The "we" referred to the United States in general, but could easily be applied to Petegorsky and the Congress administration.) One could infer that so concise a characterization of the Smith act would lead to a call for action to defend its victims and to wipe it off the statute books. But no such call came from Petegorsky.

Instead, administration aides worked overtime to keep a resolution condemning the Smith act bottled up in committee. The resolution was tabled at the committee's first meeting by a vote of 12 to 8. By the second meeting, after a forthright and sharp attack on the Smith act by invited

speaker Lloyd K. Garrison, former dean of the Wisconsin School of Law, two committee members switched votes and threw their support behind a motion to reopen discussion on the resolution, bringing the vote to a 10-10 tie. The resolution was referred to the incoming executive committee, a handy pocket-veto maneuver which Polier and others had argued *against* in the case of the Vatican resolution.

Garrison's speech was one of the highpoints of the convention. Although he did not call for action against the Smith act, a speaker from the floor who followed him with such a proposal received one of the greatest ovations of the convention. Deprived of the right to express themselves by ballots, the delegates indicated by their cheers a healthy desire to do something to reverse the ominous trends which their leaders so piously and demagogically deplored. Certainly, if the Congress is to retain any right to its claim as "staunch defender of basic principles and practices of American freedom," its members and local leaders must translate the high-sounding phrases into the kind of effective action upon which the Congress was built by Rabbi Stephen Wise.

The very question of Congress' effectiveness and activity was one which seemed to disturb the delegates. They told of lagging interest in local chapters, "lack of spirit" and the other products of national Congress policy in the course of the last two years. Rabbi Irving Miller, outgoing national president, was himself forced to admit that Congress had not grown in the past period, owing to the administration's preoccupation with "internal problems"—his genteel term for witch-hunts.

At this convention the administration's brand of McCarthyism was aimed primarily at the Southern California Division of Congress, a target of national office sniping and open persecution for over two years. The five-man delegation from Southern California was seated, not because the administration wanted this, but because a temporary injunction issued by California State Supreme Court Justice Frank G. Swain prevented the national office from dissolving the division or changing its status pending a court decision. The New York Young Men's and Young Women's Division didn't fare as well: these delegates were refused their seats by a trumped-up technicality.

"Operation California"

The administration's "Operation California" came to a head in early fall, with the adoption of a resolution by the national executive committee, ordering the dissolution of the division, confiscation of its funds and the transference of its membership to "at-large" status. During earlier visits to California by Petegorsky, Isaac Toubin, assistant national director, and a three-man inquisition board, the division had been charged with such "crimes" as campaigning actively against the renazification and rearmament of Germany, conducting struggles for civil liberties and for the rights of Negroes and Mexican-Americans—all in keep-

ing with the stated program of Congress. Even the executive committee's resolution did not—could not—charge the division or any of its leaders with violation of Congress policy or program.

At the convention the administration was forced to allot more time to the discussion on the California issue than had originally been planned, because of the interest aroused by the united and vigorous defense campaign launched by the members of California's 40 chapters. It was Justine Wise Polier whom the administration assigned to "do a job" on the convention floor. She went even beyond the executive's resolution—which was the actual question under discussion—to accuse the California division of violating Congress policy.

Following a sharp debate, during which the California delegation unfolded a story of malicious and crippling harassment by the national office that did Congress untold harm in loss of membership and prestige, a highly unusual and extremely interesting vote was taken.

Originally, the approval or rejection of the executive committee's resolution dissolving the Southern California division was to have been carried out by a simple voice vote. Whether through fear that Mrs. Polier's red-baiting had failed to clinch the case or a desire to wield the big stick lest delegates see too clearly the disparity between words and actions, the chair ruled that voting would be by a show of hands, section by section. *Out of almost 700 delegates, only some 325 voted.* Well over 200 in the convention hall at the time did not participate. The resolution was upheld but the administration could not help but see the results of the confusion they had sown and the many valid doubts among even carefully chosen delegates. And if, despite that atmosphere of coercion, some 60 delegates raised their cards in direct opposition, the leadership could well ponder what might have been the results of a democratic secret ballot.

Where Is Spirit of Rabbi Wise?

No cause for administration rejoicing was the result of an unscheduled debate and vote on a motion from the floor to take the election of the 150-member administrative committee out of the hands of the executive committee. The resolution called for the direct election of administrative committee members from the local chapters and divisions. Every "prominent" vice president and executive was thrown into the breach to talk down the simple democratic proposal, but to no avail. The resolution was adopted. Again the real spirit of Congress, though confused and disoriented by the avalanche of hysteria, had fought its way to the front.

The omissions in the discussions and resolutions perhaps best characterized the convention. We have noted the lack of a definitive stand in opposition to the Smith act, which places the AJ Congress even to the right of the CIO, which did take a stand against the Smith act. And there was an almost complete silence on the question of

peace. Equally serious was the omission of action on the Cicero pogrom and the brutal murder of Samuel Shepard, Negro frame-up victim in Groveland, Fla. So, too, was the soft-pedaling of the question of German renazification and rearmament, in line, no doubt, with the sellout planned by the October Waldorf conference of Jewish leaders on Adenauer's "reparations" offer. Four of the 12-member executive committee elected at the Waldorf conference are leaders of the American and World Jewish Congress.

In this connection, too, we must note that the newly-elected president of the Congress, Dr. Israel Goldstein, said at the reparations conference: "We cannot expunge from the record what the Jewish people have suffered at the hands of a German government acting in the name of the German people and commanding the resources of the German Reich." This was an echo of Adenauer's own absolution of the German people for the crimes of nazism. Such

an acceptance of the Adenauer-State Department line cannot serve the interests of the Jewish people or of world peace, both of which are threatened by the recreated monster of armed nazi might. Dr. Goldstein has enjoyed the reputation of a liberal. The very convention which elected him should serve to show, however, that a reputation can be maintained only through positive, progressive action.

The American Jewish Congress has come a long way since the death of its founder, Rabbi Stephen Wise. That way has been one of which he would be ashamed, which he would condemn as being destructive of the principles and spirit upon which he built the Congress. Yet the administration of the AJ Congress has not succeeded in eliminating the spirit which Wise implanted in the roots of Congress, in the local chapters among the rank-and-file members who are today seeking the very answers which the convention did not provide.

HOMELAND

By Binem Heller (Warsaw)

Translated from the Yiddish by Aaron Kramer

Fun dir, mayn heim erd, vet men mikh nisht traybn
Nisht mit geshrei, un oikh nisht mit gevein.
Ikh hob gelebt do toizant yor. Un blaybn
Vel ikh nokh doierhaftiker fun shtein.

Di vintn dayneh hobn mikh farknotn
Mit zamd un shtoib, mit shvartzerd un mit leim.
Di velder hobn mir geschenkt dem shotn
Un dos gehiltz oif boien zikh a heim.

Azoifil mol gebentcht hot mikh dayn regn.
Mit alleh guteh brokhes fun der erd.—
Kh'bin durkhgegangen, land mayns, dayneh vegn,
Mit dayneh lider un mit dayn gevein.

A diner shikht bloiz hut fardekt di beiner,
Vos mayneh ohves hobn do tzezeit;
Der regn bloiz opgemekt fun shtainer
Mayn yikhus-briv, vos tzit zikh vi a keit.

Nor in di taykhn dayneh un in kvaln
Hob ikh mayn blut mit Poilishn oisgemisht,
Un oif dayn erd bin ikh in shlakht gefaln—
Ikh zol fun ir nisht vern opgevisht.

Di trayshaft iz fun blut nit optzushvenken,
Nisht optzuvashn iz zi fun mayn hoit.—
Oif di ruinen vet men mikh gedenken
Un oikh in yeder shtot, vos vert geboit.

From you, my homeland, I shall not be driven—
not driven with a shriek, nor with a moan.
Here for a thousand years have I been living,
and here I'll stay—more durable than stone.

I have been molded by your every breeze,
molded with sand and dust, with earth and loam.
Your woods have granted me the shade of trees,
and logs with which to build myself a home.

How many times your rain has been a friend,
blessing me with the bounties of the field!
I've gone along your roads from end to end,
taking your songs, and your avenging steel.

Only a little sod concealed the bones
my people planted here; and yet your rain
has only washed from the ancestral stones
my pedigree, that stretches like a chain.

My blood has mingled in your every river
with Polish blood; and on your battered earth
I've died a soldier's death—that I might never
be blotted from the country of my birth.

My blood cannot wash out its dedication,
nor can my skin scrub off its love of you.—
I'll be remembered in the devastation,
and in each city that shall rise anew!

NEW "AUTHORITY" ON SOVIET JEWS

Tricky, deceptive techniques in a new book that attempts to give a scholarly veneer to the big lie that the Soviet Union is "anti-Semitic"

By Moise A. Katz

THE American Jewish Committee has been a fountain-head of the campaign of slander against the Soviet Union on the fabricated charge of Soviet "anti-Semitism." The numerous "studies" on this topic issued by the Committee in the past few years have now been capped with the publication of a book, *The Jews in the Soviet Union*, by Solomon M. Schwartz, under Committee sponsorship and published by the Syracuse University Press. The book has the appearance and trappings of an "authoritative," "scholarly," "objective" study.

In this book Mr. Schwartz fulfilled his assignment of showing to the world, at least to the satisfaction of his Committee employers, that the Soviet Union, far from being the land of liberated and reborn nationalities, endowed with full equality and growing means of free development, is actually destroying the smaller nationalities, and especially the Jews, and is pursuing a policy of rampant anti-Semitism. The book has a long and detailed table of contents and numerous notes and citations—in a word, everything was done to make the volume look authoritative.

But who is the "authority"? The book jacket states that "Solomon Schwartz enjoys an international reputation as an authority on Soviet Russian affairs." He may "enjoy" it and so may his employers but we must confess that we never heard about it, nor is it clear how he attained the status of an "international" authority.

And since when is Mr. Schwartz an "authority" on Jews in general and on the Jews in the Soviet Union in particular? The fact that he is an old contributor to the Soviet-baiting Menshevik *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik* might make him a kind of a "specialist" in Soviet-hating. But an "authority" on the Jews? We doubt if he was even interested in the Jews until he was hired to do this job. Mr. Schwartz acknowledges special "appreciation to Jacob D. Lestchinsky for his invaluable critical and bibliographical suggestions." But anyone acquainted with Mr. Lestchinsky's work on Soviet Jewry for the last 30 years (especially in the *Forward*) knows that he is not so much authoritative as notorious because he is a specialist in every kind of distortion and juggling of rumors and fabrications about the Jews in the Soviet Union and in the Eastern democracies.

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It is impossible in the compass of this article to expose the many distortions and tricky techniques used by Schwartz to turn on its head the truth about Soviet policy on the national question. That would require another book at least as long as Schwartz'. Here we give only a few examples of this method. He states a fact or cites a "quotation" torn out of context or paraphrases a statement by some carefully selected authority. Then Schwartz draws his own conclusion, which usually is irrelevant to or even in contradiction with the previous quotation or fact. Here are some instances.

Quotations and "Conclusions"

Mr. Schwartz quotes (p. 11) a passage from a reply made by Stalin in 1925 to a question about the extent to which separate nationalities have undergone assimilation in the process of building the universal proletarian culture. "Undoubtedly," says Stalin, "some nationalities may, and even certainly will undergo a process of assimilation. Such things happened before. But the point is that the process of assimilation of some nationalities does not preclude, but rather presupposes the opposite process of strengthening and developing of a number of powerful nationalities. This is why the possible assimilation of some individual nationalities does not weaken, but rather supports the entirely correct statement that universal proletarian culture does not preclude, but rather presupposes and fosters national culture, just as national culture does not eliminate, but rather supplements and enriches universal proletarian culture."

The meaning of this is quite clear and was and remains the guiding principle of the Soviet government on the national question. Mr. Schwartz does not try to dispute this statement of Stalin. But he adds his own interpretation. "It was, of course, the Communist Party's prerogative to determine which nationalities were condemned by history to 'undergo the process of assimilation,'" says Schwartz. Then the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is presented as the "hangman," the deliberate "destroyer" of weaker nationalities. Why? Because it suits Mr. Schwartz' purpose to show that the Jews are one of the nationalities that the Communist Party of USSR decided to "liquidate." But if this is the opinion of Mr. Schwartz, why does he quote Stalin, whose words have nothing to do with such a conclusion? Evidently, in order to strengthen Mr. Schwartz' "authority" through an authentic quotation from Stalin.

Or let us take another example. Mr. Schwartz quotes a toast by Stalin (p. 72) at a banquet for victorious Red Army commanders on May 27, 1945. Stalin said: "I should like to propose a toast to the health of our Soviet people and above all to our Russian people . . . because it is the most outstanding of all the nations of the Soviet Union. Our government committed more than a few mistakes. . . . Another people might have told the government: Get out, we'll put some other government in charge. But the Russian people chose not to do so, for it believed in the adequacy of its government's policy and it accepted sacrifices as necessary to help smash Germany. And this confidence on the part of the Russian people proved to be the decisive force ensuring our historic victory over mankind's foe fascism. Let us thank the Russian people for its confidence."

But Mr. Schwartz immediately draws from this simple and outright thanks of Stalin to the Russian people for their confidence and sacrifices, the following unexpected conclusion: "The strong intimation of disloyalty among the non-Russian peoples was all the more ominous for its lack of specificity." Where? Why? When?

Of course, Mr. Schwartz had come to this "conclusion" even before he began to manufacture his book. The purpose of most of his book was to demonstrate this *a priori* "conclusion." But the author felt the need of an authority to bolster his conclusion. So he quoted Stalin even though the quotation has nothing to do with Schwartz' own insinuations.

Those examples show how Mr. Schwartz uses quotation. Here is the way he deals with facts.

How Facts Are Doctored

Schwartz bemoans (in Chapter VIII) the destruction of the Jewish "community" after the Soviet revolution by the Communists. Naturally, especially by the Jewish Communists. A Jewish community, he tells us (p. 106), most certainly did exist with an extensive network of hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, schools, kindergartens, libraries and other educational, welfare and religious institutions. What then did "dictatorship of the proletariat in the Jewish street" mean for these indispensable communal functions?

The fact is, of course, that the real picture of the Jewish community and of its functions and institutions was very different from that given by Schwartz. The Jewish community was essentially a religious organization with the synagogue and the rabbi as its center. The educational and social institutions were a direct outcome of the special position of the Jews in tsarist Russia. The Jews had to impose taxes on themselves to support their hospitals and other charity institutions without any help from the state. Obviously a change was necessary after the Revolution since the state took over most of the functions of the former charity organizations. Schwartz himself describes how the young Soviet state tried to discover the best way to satisfy the Jewish communal needs as a part of its general social work.

These changes were administered by special Jewish Committees (commissariats). Many plans were made and many failed. Many mistakes were inevitable. But there cannot be the least doubt as to the sincerity of the efforts of the state organizations and of the Communist Party to help the Jewish population and for the first time to place the Jews on an equal footing with the whole population.

But what does Mr. Schwartz choose to tell his readers? He quotes S. Oguesky, one of the first officials of the Jewish commissariats: "When the Vitebsk Commissariat of Social Security took over (in 1918) from the Jewish Commissariat the supervision of the homes for the aged and infirm, it introduced the same regulations as governed all such homes and all were supplied with the same food. It so happened that the meat allotted to the Jewish institutions was almost exclusively pork. Of course it is no great calamity for people to eat pork. But the old Jewish people not only stopped eating meat, but stopped eating altogether; they refused to eat non-ritual food and simply had to starve."

"The Jewish Commissariat brought this matter up, stressed the impropriety of experimenting with the aged in this way and asked the local commissariat of social security to issue such meat to the elderly people as they could eat. But the Commissar (of Social Security), himself a comrade by the way and a former Zionist to boot, was adamant. The Jewish Commissariat protested the situation in the Vitebsk paper *Izvestia* in an article entitled 'Social Security or Social Murder?' The article pointed out that this kind of thing was intolerable but nothing was done."

Well, something was finally done and even Mr. Schwartz has to tell about it: "The Vitebsk Committee of the Communist Party was ordered by higher party authorities 'to prosecute the former chief of the provincial department of Social Security before the Party tribunal for having permitted elderly people to be starved and subjected to medieval treatment . . . and to have all his assistants tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal.'" (Italics mine—M.A.K.)

What Schwartz Ignores

One should remember that all this happened in the very midst of the civil war, when the Soviet power was attacked from all sides by foreign and counter-revolutionary armies and bands, and when enemies from within (such as the "former Zionist" who became commissar of social security) tried to sabotage everything the Soviet government undertook and to undermine the confidence of the population. Nevertheless, the Jewish Communists fought for the interests of the Jewish population and the Party put the culprits before a Revolutionary Tribunal. But the only conclusion which Mr. Schwartz draws is this: "The affair is an example of the imbroglio that the Communist intervention in the actual administration of the Jewish community produced."

The author had come, of course, to this inevitable "conclusion" even before he wrote his chapter on the Jewish community.

As could be expected, the objective Mr. Schwartz, who

paid so much attention to the Vitebsk affair, completely ignores the role of the Soviet government and of the Communists, Jewish and non-Jewish, in saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews and of whole Jewish communities from the blood-thirsty Petlurists, Machnovists, White Guardists and Polish interventionist armies at that same time. These facts would hardly be consistent with his "conclusions."

Mr. Schwartz runs quickly through the fateful period between 1919 and 1939. This was the period of rebuilding the country, of building the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics step by step, through many trials, errors and collective efforts. And this was the time when the Jewish masses with the help of the Soviet government began to feel and act as an equal among equals, with a newly found love for their country and pride in its achievements. At this time a Soviet Jewish school system began to develop, a new Soviet Jewish literature began to flourish, hundreds of thousands of Jewish *luftmentshen* became tillers of the soil, other hundreds of thousands became builders of the new socialist industries—and every avenue all over the country was opened to the Jewish masses. These changes were not automatic. They came about as a result of a conscious effort of the new socialist society. It was in this period that Birobidjan was created—the first Jewish Autonomous Region in the world, specifically organized with a view to becoming in time a Jewish autonomous socialist republic.

It is a fact that the Soviet socialist society and its government gave the Jewish people many more possibilities than the Jews were prepared or able to realize. Many Jews of the older generations could not rid themselves of their restricting traditions of a segregated minority. On the other hand, great masses of the Jewish youth eagerly grasped the opportunities to integrate themselves with the rest of the population not only politically and economically, but also culturally. Then came the anti-fascist war, the terrible physical destruction of millions of Jews by the nazis in all the occupied countries, including the whole area of the former Jewish "Pale" in European Russia. The Soviet government tried to save as many of the Soviet and Polish Jews as possible under the terrible stress of the sudden Hitlerite attack. We shall never forget the decision of the Soviet Government, signed by the late Michael Kalinin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, giving the Jews priority in the evacuation of areas threatened by the nazis. "Because the enemy deals so barbarically and annihilates completely the Soviet citizens of the Jewish nationality," said Kalinin, "it is ordered that they be evacuated before anyone else to the distant territories of the Soviet Union. All trains and all other means of transportation must be placed at their disposal for this purpose."

During the Anti-Fascist War

But Schwartz ignores everything that was done for the Jews in the Soviet Union in peace and war. On the contrary, he is perpetually on the lookout for signs of "anti-

Semitism." And he finds these signs in the most unexpected places and forms.

For instance, Schwartz says that during the first months of the war the Soviet press simply refrained from printing news about the fate of the Jews on the other side of the battle lines. The simple fact is that it "abstained" from printing reports not only about the fate of the Jews but also of all the other nationalities, because it devoted its exclusive attention to the *fight* against the nazis, instead of complaining against them. But Mr. Schwartz regards this as a sign of creeping anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. (Is it not a fact that in the first years of the war the *American* press and even most of the Jewish newspapers gave very few factual reports about the fate of the Jews behind the nazi lines? Some of the press, like the *Forward*, even printed deliberately false reports about Jews "running back" from the Soviet territories to nazi-occupied Poland, because they expected to be better fed under the nazis than in Soviet Russia. A "historian" who is so sensitive to reports about the Jews during the war ought to know such facts.)

But when Vyacheslav Molotov, then minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, sent a note to all governments calling their attention to the "universal pillage" and "monstrous atrocities" committed by Germans against the populations of the occupied Soviet territories and mentioned the Jews together with other nationalities—the atrocities against the Jews are mentioned three times in the same note—does that satisfy Mr. Schwartz? Oh, no, he discovered that the Jews are mentioned in eighth place, instead of first—and of course "that shows," etc. After the war a Ukrainian poet of Jewish origin, Sarva Golovanevsky, wrote a poem entitled *Abraham*, in which he expressed his bitter feelings about the terrible massacre of the Jews of Kiev by the nazis after they occupied the city. In this poem he evidently complained that the Jewish victims were not helped by their neighbors. The Soviet literary newspaper, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, criticized that poem, declaring that "this is a terrible defamation of the Soviet nation, which succeeded after a hard and bloody struggle and by dint of great sacrifice and effort in upholding the freedom and independence of all nationalities."

As we see, the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* insists that the Soviet nation fought for the freedom of *all* nationalities, including the Jews. But Schwartz draws his own conclusion: "this amounted to giving the nazi-contaminated population a clean bill of health," that is, it smacks of "anti-Semitism."

Why This Book?

Schwartz really goes to town when it comes to the annual Stalin prize awards, which many Jews received and are still receiving. Schwartz himself must admit that "since the surviving Jewish population accounts for no more than one per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union, the proportion of Jews among Stalin prize winners (13.1 per cent) must be considered very high."

But, of course, that does not satisfy a seeker after anti-

Semitism like Mr. Schwartz. He begins to "analyze the figures." First of all, only 5.2 per cent of the Jewish prize winners received *individual* awards while 11.5 per cent of non-Jewish prize winners got individual awards. This means—heaven knows what it means—but it's suspicious, and "more or less it is the result of some kind of half-conscious and unacknowledged discrimination." And more: most of the Jewish prize winners, especially in the field of technology, were given *team*-awards. Very suspicious! Says Schwartz: "since recognition was rarely granted them as individuals, it is clear that in these fields too, discrimination has begun to make headway."

There is method in all this madness. First, assert that the Soviet government and the Soviet people, who were the first to outlaw anti-Semitism and give the Jews full equality in every respect, are really "consciously," "half-consciously" anti-Semitic, and that the real purpose of the Soviet national policy is to destroy the Jews. Then try to adapt every quotation from a Soviet authority, every fact, every rumor or opinion, to the measure of anti-Semitism. Finally, when the facts do not conform to such a conclusion, twist the facts, put them on their heads, ignore them, if there is no other way, but insist on one central point: the Soviet Union practices anti-Semitism and is an enemy of the Jews.

This last point is tremendously important. It is a part of the constant repetition by the American anti-Soviet war press—facts and reason notwithstanding—that 1) socialism means slavery; 2) the freedom of the nationalities under the Soviet regime is really the worst kind of enslavement; 3) the worker under socialism loses the "freedom and dignity of man"; 4) the anti-imperialist declarations and struggles of the Soviets are really a new and, naturally, the worst kind of "Communist imperialism"; 5) the necessary struggle of the Soviet Union for peace is really a diabolical plan to conquer the whole world and we together with the whole "free world" must be prepared to fight with every means against the danger of Soviet "imperialism," "conquest" and "enslavement." To prepare for this fight, one must isolate the Soviet Union and deprive it of every vestige of sympathy among the peoples of the "free" world. The presentation of the Soviet Union as a sworn enemy and destroyer of the Jewish people is part of this preparedness for war against the Soviet Union.

The oil magnates and Wall Street bankers who rule the American Jewish Committee needed a black book of Soviet "atrocities" against the Jews to further this end. Mr. Solomon Schwartz, together with his advisers, duly prepared the book according to these specifications.

LIES IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES"

By Joseph Clark

Moscow, USSR

HARRY SCHWARTZ' article in the *New York Times* of October 19, 1951, is based on an alleged report by an anonymous "United States observer." It would be impossible to take up all of their lies and keep this brief...

Schwartz and his stranger conclude with the nastiest lie, "that anti-Semitism is very widespread, . . ." that there is "social isolation of Jews, discrimination in obtaining jobs. . ."

Discrimination indeed, when the number of Jews among the last Stalin prize winners was greater than the percentage of Jews in the Soviet Union! No matter what the field, science, education, music, the theater, industry, you find that the Jews, like people of all other national or ethnic origins, have absolute equality and that in all those fields there happens to be a much higher percentage of Jews in leading positions than their population percentage.

There were two Jewish speaking members on a Canadian labor delegation that visited the Soviet Union recently. When they inspected one of the big paper and cellulose plants on the Volga, they conversed with the director of the huge enterprise in Jewish. Incidentally

this director was astounded to hear that the propaganda of the west dares to charge there's anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

I have visited an election center, where the man in charge was Jewish. I've gone to the polyclinic where the director happens to be Jewish and to a Crimean sanitarium whose director was Jewish. I've been to a winery where the director is Jewish, to big plants where chief engineers and other leading officials were Jewish, to the Bolshoi Theater where the director of the orchestra is Jewish; I've interviewed the chief architect of Stalingrad, who happens to be Jewish; I've met Jews among the writers, musicians, actors, doctors, school principals, teachers, professors, government officials, collective farm officials, not to speak of skilled machine workers, steel workers, automobile workers, in Moscow, Stalingrad, Georgia, the Ukraine, the Crimea, etc.

I've been to lectures, dances, social affairs of all sorts and everywhere the cardinal principle of Soviet national policy is observed—complete equality of all people, absolute comradeship—no discrimination, no anti-Semitism at all.

Does anybody know from what sewer Schwartz will get his next "United States observer"?

SOVIET VIEW OF ANTI-SEMITISM

(The following is the article on "Anti-Semitism" in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia, volume II, 1950, pp. 512-513. It is here translated from the Russian.)

Anti-Semitism. One of the most extreme forms of racial chauvinism bred by the class exploiting social order and expressed in a hostile attitude toward the Jews, in the spread of hostility toward them, as well as in legal restrictions, expulsions and mass extermination of them. In the hands of the ruling exploiting classes anti-Semitism serves as one of the means in the struggle against the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Anti-Semitism became widespread in the Middle Ages when the clergy and the feudal lords tried in all ways to set the popular masses against the Jews with the aim of moving the masses away from the revolutionary struggle. The feudal and the mercantile elements were interested in stimulating anti-Semitism for the purpose of their personal enrichment, too.

The French bourgeois revolution initiated the emancipation of the Jews. As a result of the revolution of 1848 and the growth of the democratic movement the Jews formally received equal rights in a number of European countries. However, as the revolutionary movement of the proletariat grew, the bourgeoisie turned to anti-Semitism and other forms of racial discrimination as a means of struggle against the revolutionary movement of the popular masses.

In Russia the persecution of Jews was especially intensified toward the end of the nineteenth century when anti-Semitism began to be widely used by the tsarist government along with other means of struggle against the growing revolutionary movement. "All the calculations of the Black Hundreds were built on the opposition of interests of the various nations, poisoning the consciousness of the dark and forgotten masses," wrote V. I. Lenin (*Collected Works*, 4th ed., vol. 20, p. 215).

The Jews were restricted in their rights by the tsarist government, were not permitted to enter government service, were accepted into institutions of higher learning in limited numbers and could live only in the so-called Pale. All this lay heavily on the shoulders of the Jewish workers; the top members of the bour-

geoisie found ways to get around these limitations. In the years of the first Russian revolution [1905—Eds.] tsarism utilized "The Union of the Russian People" and other Black Hundred reactionary organizations and let loose on the Jews wild pogroms embracing a number of cities and villages. The persecution of the Jews became even more intensified during the period of the Stolypin reaction.

Anti-Semitism met a sharp repulse on the part of wide strata of Russian workers and peasants and the representatives of the democratic intelligentsia. Maxim Gorky branded anti-Semitism as an "act of the corruption of feelings and thoughts of Russian society." The Russian workers and the Jewish proletariat fought against anti-Semitism together. "Not the Jews are the enemies of the workers," pointed out V. I. Lenin. "The enemy of the workers are the capitalists of all lands. Among the Jews are workers, hard-working men and women—they are in the majority. They are our brothers in oppression by capital, our comrades in the struggle for socialism." (*Collected Works*, 3rd ed., vol. 24, p. 203.) In the USSR the victory of socialism destroyed the soil for anti-Semitism. The exploiting classes that had nourished and supported anti-Semitism were liquidated. In the USSR all nations and races "have equal rights in all spheres of the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country." (Stalin, *On the Project of the Constitution of the USSR*, 1949, p. 27.)

In capitalist countries today anti-Semitism is widely used by the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie to sow discord among different nationalities with the aim of diverting the masses from the struggle for their social emancipation. In spreading their wildly fantastic concoctions concerning the racial inequalities of peoples, the Hitlerites, immediately upon the establishment in Germany of their terroristic dictatorship (1933), placed the Jewish population outside the law and came down on them with savage persecutions. The anti-Semitic cannibalistic policy of Hitlerism took on an especially monstrous character during the period of the Second World War, setting itself the aim of the enslavement or annihilation of all peoples, first and foremost of the Slavic people.

The Hitlerites in just one camp of annihilation, Auschwitz, destroyed over

5,000,000 people, among them over 2,500,000 of Jewish origin, from among the populations of countries and territories temporarily occupied by them. The International Military Tribunal, after examination in 1946 of the criminal deeds of the Hitlerites, established that the Gestapo alone killed about 6,000,000 Jews. Only the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War against Hitlerite Germany and her allies and satellites, having put an end to the criminal Hitlerite regime, did away with its cannibalistic policy.

After the Second World War, imperialist reaction in Great Britain, the United States of America and other capitalist countries began intensively to stimulate anti-Semitism. The system of racial discrimination and terror against national minorities inherent in the United States, as it is in all capitalist multi-national states, became especially widespread in connection with the intensified fascisation of that state after the Second World War. Anti-Semitism along with racial discrimination against the Negroes, the Chinese, the Slavs and others, became the means for the propagation of the racist nonsense of the Anglo-American imperialists, following in the footsteps of their German predecessors.

Just as in the United States, so in Great Britain and in other capitalist countries, anti-Semitism finds its reflection in pogromist practices, in heinous articles published in the corrupt bourgeois press, in a system of social, official and other restrictions raised against the Jewish population. . . . Anti-Semitism, as one of the varied aspects of racism, is used by the Anglo-American imperialists for the purpose of struggling against democracy and progress and for the inflaming of a new world war.

A consistent struggle against anti-Semitism in capitalist countries is being conducted only by the parties of the working class, by the parties of the Communists. "National and racial chauvinism," says J. V. Stalin, "is a vestige of the misanthropic mores peculiar to the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism, as the most extreme form of chauvinism, is the most dangerous survival of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is useful to the exploiters as a shock absorber, pulling capitalism out from under the blows of the working class. Anti-Semitism is dangerous to the working class as a false path leading them off from the correct road and leading them into the jungles. Therefore, Communists, as consistent internationalists, cannot but be irreconcilable enemies of anti-Semitism. In the USSR, anti-Semitism is most severely prosecuted as a phenomenon deeply inimical to the Soviet order."

RICH AND POOR IN MOUNT CARMEL

An American woman, a Yiddish poet, reports her observations of the shocking class contrasts in a swanky suburb of an Israel city

By Dora Teitelbaum

MOUNT Carmel is cool, airy and much more quiet than elsewhere. The burning heat is milder here. The trees and the gardens fend off the intensity of the sun's rays. The Mediterranean looks up with blue, wistful eyes at the beautiful white villas, cushioned in flowers, and seems to hope, as do the dwellers in the poor, cramped quarters below, for a breath of fresh air.

New American Buicks, Oldsmobiles, Packards glide haughtily through the streets, as though they were on parade on Fifth Avenue. No hurry here. No crowding. No running. Here, none of that harried searching for a day's living. Here the sought-for has already been found. Here one walks calmly.

Here live the Jewish bourgeoisie, who came from Germany in the 30's with fortunes intact and settled in large-scale luxury. During the war they became still richer.

Here there is no lack of children's homes, nor schools, nor nurses, nor maids, nor servants and menials. Nor is there here any lack of cabarets, luxury-hotels, cafes or other places of amusement. Well dressed women in white gloves and large straw hats stroll slowly down the streets, leading their dogs and chattering in German about last night's luck at cards and the latest gossip about their neighbors.

One of the prettiest villas on the hill belongs to a German Jew—a dealer in building materials. During the war he became a millionaire. His garden boasts the most diverse species of flowers. He employs three gardeners. In one of the corners of the garden one finds a fountain, where live carp swim.

The mistress of the house is quite proud of her garden. She spends days on end there, and even enjoys trimming the plants herself, watching passers-by through her dark-tinted sun-glasses, as they stop to gape in awe at her estate.

She is very friendly to us since we are tourists and speak English. She turns her head and invites us to visit the house, which she herself designed and decorated. She puts aside the shears and flowers, removes her gloves and leads us through her garden, stopping at every tree, to tell us where she had it brought from and how much energy and money went into getting it to take root in the sandy

soil. Gaily she takes us through the 14 rooms of her house. She points out the furniture, the divans, the vases, the draperies in the halls, studies and guest rooms, recounting the origin of each piece and the difficulties with which it was brought to Israel.

Three people live here. Once her daughter lived with them, but now she is married, thank God, and has a home of her own, the woman tells us with a glow of thankfulness and satisfaction aroused by her own words.

Varied pieces of furniture from various times and climes have been assembled here in the home of the German merchant, much like the varied people of many lands and climates who have gathered in Israel. With this one difference: the furniture was brought to a home where it is watched over, cared for and polished; but people are not furniture. . . .

The house is full of the aroma of broiling meats, baking and fish. The dining room table is set, the china sparkles, as do the glassware and the crystal wine goblets. Two Yemenite girls in white serving aprons work in the kitchen, but they're not satisfactory, the mistress complains. They're no good, these "blacks," because they're dumb. The German maids whom she had long ago in Germany were much better, she confides in a whisper.

It is midday, and the mistress expects her husband and son to return home from their business shortly.

As we take our leave of her, she asks whether there are nicer homes than hers in America. She inquires about the latest styles in furniture, *portières*. She bombards us with questions, but I don't hear them. Before my eyes appear the rich villas which I saw in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland—now converted into rest-homes for workers, into cultural centers for the people and into children's homes.

Inside the villa a sumptuous lunch is being prepared, while in the garden the three gardeners sit up against the wall, eating their lunch of dry crusts and cucumbers.

NOT FAR AWAY IS A RESTAURANT. USUALLY FEW DINERS COME here. The residents of the hill do not eat here. The employees of local business establishments and offices and casual passers-by comprise the clientele.

But today the restaurant is jammed. A few score people are on line in front of the restaurant. The owner, a tall German Jew, is extremely busy today. He doesn't stand

DORA TEITELBAUM is a well-known American Yiddish poet who has been travelling in Europe and Israel.

at his usual place behind the till. A thin, cynical smile plays about the creases around his mouth. With self-satisfaction, he gazes at the crowd outside, as though the waiting throng were a newly-found proof of his superiority.

We ask him what has happened here and he tells us that he needs a dish-washer and that all these people have come in answer to his "help-wanted" advertisement. This is the third day that applicants have been coming. From morning till night they continue to stream to his door. Perhaps some three hundred have come, he complains, but it is obvious that this pleases him. Various men and women from Iraq, Egypt, Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia are on the line, hoping to be hired for the job which pays only a pound a day plus meals.

Many languages are heard among the waiting throng. Many stories are exchanged. Some stand about talking. Others keep to themselves, lost in thought, waking from their reveries every time that the door opens and the face of the owner appears.

A young blond girl with a fresh, fair complexion tells me

that she has been in the country for five months. She lives in the *md'abarah* (village) with her mother. In Bucharest, where she was born and lived for 25 years, she lived extremely well. She worked as a bookkeeper in a government office, took her vacations at the finest resorts; here she would be glad to take a dish-washing job. She would be able to eat at the restaurant and give her mother the pound a day. But who knows whether she will be the lucky one, she whispers to me, counting her competitors.

Another girl in her late thirties, bespectacled and hairy, tells me that she comes from Canada, where she was a teacher. She has a sister, brothers, parents and a large family, but she was unhappy at home. All her friends had been married, and one doesn't get any younger, she had reasoned. Perhaps in Israel she would meet new people. . . . The savings she came with have melted away and she has not been able to find work. She will have to return home. She sees no future for herself. Her words come slowly, full of melancholy and loneliness.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Hershl Hartman.)

PROTEST AGAINST PRO-NAZI FILM "DESERT FOX"

THE showing of the pro-nazi film *Desert Fox*, which glamorizes nazi General Erwin Rommel, has aroused a storm of protests and picket lines all over the country. Public pressure has forced the withdrawal or cancellation of the film at a number of theaters.

The biggest picket line turned out, appropriately enough, on New York's East Side. Large numbers picketed the Academy of Music Theater on East 14th Street for several evenings. Picket lines were held before theaters in Washington Heights, the Bronx and Queens. A Jewish War Veterans post in Queens presented Mrs. Samuel Rhonheimer, owner of a Flushing theater, with a "certificate of honor" for cancelling the film. Two Loew's movie houses on the East Side called off their planned showing of the pro-nazi film. A group of prominent Bronx Jewish leaders issued a strong protesting statement under the auspices of the Jewish War Veterans and planned to have a sound truck urge people to shun the film.

National and local Jewish organizations have issued strong condemnatory statements. From the Association of Jewish Chaplains of the United States Armed Forces came the assertion that they were "shocked . . . by the production of the film *Desert Fox*, perhaps the most cynically immoral picture ever to come out of Hollywood. . . . As chaplains who served with those military forces which at great sacrifice successfully resisted the nazi onslaught, we are dismayed at the . . . sordid motives of the producers who have capitalized on our own moral indifference."

Veterans' organizations have also blasted away at the film. The Americanism Committee of the Kings County American Legion passed a resolution at a membership meeting late in November that the pro-nazi film "should not be shown anywhere." The Veterans of Foreign Wars in New Jersey, together with a number of other organi-

zations, characterized the film as a "falsification of history and a whitewash of nazism." The Bronx County Jewish War Veterans issued an open letter to Spyros Skouras of Twentieth Century-Fox, producers of the offensive film, which they call a "whitewashing of the German general staff" and "an affront to the memories of the thousands of allied servicemen for whose deaths Generals Rommel and von Runstedt were responsible." "To glorify such as these for commercial profit," the letter goes on, "shows a shocking lack of morality under any circumstances. Coming at this time, it strengthens the hand of German extremists, who are clamoring for vindication of the 'honor of the German soldier,' for arms for Germany and for the return of the old officer class to power."

The New York Veterans for Peace, which initiated the protests on Broadway that finally resulted in the announcement that the Warner Brothers theater chain had cancelled all bookings of the film, issued a statement which went to the heart of the matter. "We veterans regard *Desert Fox* as an attempt to create acceptance among the American people for a remilitarized and renazified Germany."

This view was strengthened by the news that the movie was produced "with the authorization and cooperation of the State Department," as Darryl F. Zanuck, head of production at Twentieth Century-Fox, said. A spokesman for the company also stated that the German portions of the film were produced with the "knowledge and cooperation" of United States High Commissioner for Germany John J. McCloy, who also approved the script. Major Jewish organizations have protested the showing of the film in Germany.

Reports have arrived that Hollywood is planning two more films of pro-nazi tendency. If protest against *Desert Fox* is strong enough, the producers may think twice before going ahead on more pro-nazi films.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE ROSENBERGS

Was the death sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg caused in part by anti-Semitism? Judge Kaufman's actions and words spell danger

By Louis Harap

A LOWERING cloud of anti-Semitism hangs over the death sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for alleged atomic espionage. Many people—not Jews alone—feel uneasy about it. The pronouncements of presiding Judge Irving Kaufman at the sentencing were especially disquieting and aroused sharp criticism in Jewish circles, as we shall see.

Over a period of months before Judge Kaufman passed the death sentence in April 1951, the public had been fed copiously with speculation whether death would be imposed in the case. Despite this apparent preparedness of the public, the sentence evoked a gasp of horror. There was a general feeling that the sentence was savage and vindictive. More especially, however, the Jewish community, and more specifically, the East Side of New York, where the Rosenbergs had lived, was stunned. This was registered most vehemently, strangely enough, in the obsessively anti-communist and Hearst-like Jewish daily *Forward*.

On April 6, 1951, the day following the sentencing, the *Forward* editorial, entitled "Too Horrible," began: "When we editors got the news that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to death, a shudder passed through all of us. For a moment we sat as if stunned and found it hard to catch our breath. We are certain that every Jew who read the sad news felt this way. From our hearts came the words, 'Death sentence, too horrible!'" Although the *Forward* agreed "one hundred per cent with what the judge said," it thought that the sentence should have taken account of its effect on the two small children and the old parents of the Rosenbergs. "Every Jewish home will be shattered by this tragedy," concluded the editorial.

Disapproval of the Sentence

Vigorous disapproval of the sentence was expressed also by the other Yiddish dailies, the *Day* and the *Morning Freiheit*. (The *Morning Journal*, the only other Yiddish paper, had temporarily suspended publication at this time.) Nor could this disapproval be construed as a momentary emotional reaction. For we find that *Forward* editor Hillel Rogoff wrote on April 12, in an incredible red-baiting article, that he disapproved the death sentence. In a second editorial on the case the *Day* said on April 8, that "We hope that a way will be found to set aside the death sentence." And in an article entitled "The Death Sentence Should Be Changed," in the *Day* of April 16, H. Leivik, one of the

best-known living Yiddish poets and an intense anti-communist, wrote: "I feel completely on the side of those who are saddened by the death sentence," primarily because Ethel Rosenberg was the mother of two small children and because of the old parents.

There is no doubt that behind this uneasiness that pervaded the Jewish community was a feeling that somehow anti-Semitism had operated. The country had had trials of a number of confessed traitors like Axis Sally and others; a number of alleged atomic spies were deemed more important than the Rosenbergs. Yet no one had received the death sentence until two East Side Jews were tried. Why?

No Jew on the Jury

It has been said that no anti-Semitism intruded into the trial itself. But this is to overlook the fact that Irving Saypol, the Jewish prosecutor, did not permit a single Jew, of the 300 jurors in the panel, to sit on the jury. This, in a city that is one-third Jewish, is no accident. Irving Saypol, as is now widely known, was admonished by the Court of Appeals in August 1951, for his appeals to "racial prejudice" against a Jewish witness in the Remington case. In the Rosenberg case he was again guilty of "racial prejudice" when he did not consider a Jew to be a suitable juror. This is flagrant discrimination and an affront to the loyalty and devotion of the Jewish people to the best interests of the United States. It is a highly suspicious aspect of the government's approach to this case.

This suspicion grows deeper and more ominous when it is considered, as this writer knows from his reading of the transcript of the trial, that the government did not prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt. Under our law, a defendant is considered innocent unless and until proven guilty. Are the Rosenbergs victims of a political frameup, as they have asserted without reservation from the first moment of their accusation until the present, when they sit in the shadow of the electric chair? While the self-confessed spies Ruth and David Greenglass got off with freedom and a 15-year sentence, respectively, because they involved the Rosenbergs, did the government seize upon the Rosenbergs for conviction and death because they were not only Jews, but also radicals? Was the government here exploiting the case to advance anti-communist hysteria by strengthening the "Jew-communist-atom spy" stereotype in

the public mind? Some people may be shocked at this suggestion. But the Sacco-Vanzetti and Tom Mooney frame-ups, as well as Scottsboro and the routine frameups of countless Negroes are indisputable facts of history.

The anti-Semitic effects of the trial are beyond conjecture. The lunatic fascist fringe exploited the conviction promptly. Anti-Semitic stickers about the Rosenbergs were "seen in the Bronx. About ten days after the verdict, some thousands of cards were distributed on a construction job in Rochester, New York, blaming the Rosenbergs for the danger that the Soviet Union might rain atom bombs on this country. The Rosenbergs figure in the current line of the fascists that "The Jews Have Got the Atom Bomb," as a pamphlet distributed widely by Gerald L. K. Smith is called. In another pamphlet by Frank Britton entitled *Atom Treason*, the Jews David Lilienthal and Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, formerly of the Atomic Energy Commission, are linked with this "Jewish conspiracy" to control the atom bomb, along with Dr. Klaus Fuchs, the Rosenbergs and other alleged atom bomb spies.

Pressures for a Death Sentence

It cannot be accidental that in this case where the defendants were Jewish, the judge and the prosecutors were also Jewish. No doubt the government thereby hoped to preclude any charge of anti-Semitism in meting out the unprecedented death sentence. It was not generally noted, however, that the government made sure that those who would render the verdict itself, the jury, contained not a single Jew. But the law under which the Rosenbergs were tried called for a penalty of up to 30 years in prison or death. Once the jury gave the verdict of guilty, how could the judge be brought to break all legal precedent in a civil case involving espionage and impose the death sentence rather than imprisonment? It was known that the Justice Department wanted a death sentence as part of its campaign of intimidation of progressives. And did prominent Jews urge Judge Kaufman to impose the death sentence?

Where then did anti-Semitism enter into Judge Kaufman's considerations? Judge Kaufman wanted to convince those who would make anti-Semitic capital out of the fact that some alleged atomic spies were Jewish by showing them that Jews were also 150 per cent Americans. If a Jew imposed the extreme penalty on Jews for alleged espionage, then the anti-Semites should be convinced that not all Jews were "communist-atom spies." Judge Kaufman's thinking is here similar to that of many frightened Jews of the American Jewish Committee and of the upper middle class who try to combat the "Jew-communist" stereotype by joining vociferously in the chorus of red-baiting. The judge wanted to demonstrate what the New York *Daily Mirror* said editorially on April 3: "Some bigots will say the three spies are Jews and will denounce all Jews. They will forget to say that the judge, the prosecutor, and the prosecutor's assistant who did such a magnificent job for America, are also Jews." It would appear, then, that

the death sentence was imposed to appease the bigots.

Judge Kaufman's Appeasement

To clear up any doubt that this element entered into the judge's thinking we may quote the judge himself. The *Forward* of April 5, 1951, carried an interview with the judge in his chambers by Louis Shaefer, who had reported the trial for that paper. This is how Shaefer ends his story: "Upon leaving, I said, 'Judge Kaufman, this was a most pleasant afternoon for me personally and I am sure that all the readers of the *Forward* will be grateful to you for giving me this interview. At the same time, I would like to tell you that, while the Rosenbergs and the Sobells shame us, you and such a person as Irving Saypol deserve thanks for showing the world that there are also Jews of whom we can be proud.'

"This affords me great pleasure,' the judge replied. 'I was especially pleased when I read the same thought expressed in an editorial in last Saturday's *Journal-American*.'"

In the Jewish press there was a definite current of opinion that the severity of the sentence was owing to the judge's desire to bend over backwards to convince the country, and especially its anti-Semites, that not all Jews were "spies." M. Danzis, editor of the *Day*, in an article in that paper on April 12, entitled, "Judge Kaufman and the Rosenbergs," said: the Hearst *Daily Mirror* editorial cited above meant to the judge that "Judge Kaufman and Prosecutor Saypol should atone not only for the sins of the Rosenbergs, but of all other Jews. The death sentence imposed by Judge Kaufman left the feeling that precisely because he is a Jew did he go to an extreme and deal judgment with a heavy hand. This feeling flows from the experience which we often have with Jewish judges and with other Jews who occupy political positions." (Italics mine—L.H.) Danzis then recalls an experience he had with then Governor Herbert H. Lehman in the thirties. Nazi Bundsmen in Yorkville had terrorized Jewish business men into abandoning their businesses and Danzis visited the governor in Albany to plead with him to do something about the situation. Lehman quite frankly told Danzis that "because he is a Jew, it was difficult for him to take measures that someone else, a non-Jew, would apply. 'If I were to suppress the nazi hooligans in Yorkville,' said Lehman, 'they would say that I did it because I am a Jew. I therefore leave it to the mayor.'" Danzis concludes: "Therefore there is a suspicion that the fact that Judge Kaufman is a Jew has perhaps unconsciously motivated him to issue a sentence which, in the opinion of many, is considered to be unjust and brutal." (Italics mine—L.H.)

Essentially the same view was expressed by H. Leivik in the article cited earlier. "What caused the judge to impose the extreme penalty?" asked Leivik. "Is it not perhaps the fact that the judge is a Jew and the defendants are Jewish? The judge . . . struggled with his duty to be objective and did not have the strength to rise above himself, did not

have the power to free himself from the heated tensions in the land today. He was also afraid that, if he did not give the extreme penalty, he would be suspected of having not done so because he is a Jew. . . . Precisely because Jewish accusers and a Jewish judge stood against accused Jews, . . . the judge should have been free from the Jewish complex and should under no circumstances have passed the death sentence upon a mother of two children."

One more witness is Dr. G. George Fox, a rabbi and columnist of the Chicago *Sentinel*, who wrote in the issue of April 12: the judge's decision is "unjust. . . . I believe . . . that he was carried away to an extent by the hysteria which has overtaken our country." Then, discussing the anti-Semitic identification of all Jews as "communist spies," Dr. Fox added: "One does not have to bend his back backwards to avoid things that may bring on insecurity and perhaps danger. Anti-Semites will be anti-Semites whether the Rosenbergs are sentenced to 30 years or death."

"You Changed the Course of History"!

In this last statement Dr. Fox has put his finger on the futility of appeasement of anti-Semites by Jews, of which Judge Kaufman's imposition of the death sentence is a tragic example. The futility of appeasement was demonstrated in the case of German Jews, who thought that they could gain immunity from anti-Semitism and Nazi persecution by being more German than the Germans. Judge Kaufman tried to appease fascists and anti-Semites in America by being more hysterical than non-Jewish Americans. His action is in the tradition of the *Judenrat*, according to which Jews are used to persecute the Jewish people and to do the dirty work for anti-Semites.

For the judge's justification of the death sentence was based on one of the most preposterous reasons ever given in American jurisprudence for an extreme penalty. He embroidered Saypol's assertion that the Rosenbergs' "love of communism" led them to give the Russians "the one weapon that might well hold the key to the survival of this nation and the peace of the world—the atom bomb." In his unprecedented speech before delivering the death sentence, Judge Kaufman said: "I believe that 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 the Communist aggression in Korea with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 Americans, and who knows that but millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have changed the course of history to the disadvantage of our country."

This is hysteria run amuck. In the first place, the Rosenbergs should never have been convicted at all because their guilt had not been proved beyond reasonable doubt; second, according to the report of the Joint House-Senate Committee on Atomic Energy issued after the verdict, the Rosenbergs were judged by these experts to have been of

secondary or even lesser importance in atomic espionage; and third, the best scientific opinion questioned whether the atomic bomb was much of a secret anyway. Yet the judge pin-pointed total responsibility for the future of the world on the Rosenbergs—a patently absurd and dangerously hysterical assertion.

Ammunition for the Enemy

But by this assertion the judge was playing into the hands of the anti-Semites and the fascists. He was supplying them with ammunition that may yet prove of extreme danger to the Jewish people under the manipulation of anti-Semites and fascists and that works in very well with the fascist myth that "the Jews have got the atom bomb." The *Day* editorial of April 7, 1951, voiced this danger. "What we cannot understand in Judge Kaufman's speech when he issued the sentence," said the editorial, "is his association of the crime of the Rosenbergs with the lives of 50,000 with the American army in Korea. The crime of spying is great enough without this association. When they committed this crime, communist aggression in Korea had not yet even been conceived by the Communists in China or in Russia. To associate the name of the Rosenbergs with the losses in Korea at a time when fighting still continues there can lead to an intensification of the present hysteria in certain circles. . . ."

The editor of the *Day*, M. Danzis, carried this argument further in his article cited earlier. "It is not only the death penalty imposed by Judge Kaufman," wrote Mr. Danzis, "but also his entire interpretation of the trial, the interpretative speech that he gave to the jury, which left many people, and especially Jews, with a feeling of bitterness." Recalling the judge's saddling of responsibility for 50,000 American casualties on the Rosenbergs, Danzis asks, "Are these the calm, thoughtful words of a jurist? This is the question asked not only by a Jew. One cannot ignore the Jewish aspect of this unfortunate, tragic trial of the Rosenbergs. But this question was also asked by non-Jews."

Because all the principals in the trial were Jewish, Danzis goes on, "one must ask, has not Judge Kaufman, who is a Jew, grasped what a deadly, dangerous weapon he has by his statement to the jury placed in the hands of the enemies of the Jews in America and in the world? Did Judge Kaufman consider what would happen, for instance, if, God forbid, a third world war should break out and atom bombs should fall on New York, Washington and Los Angeles, and people would recall what the Jewish judge had said? It would then be easy to put the blame for the atomic war against America on the Rosenbergs and the others! . . . Has Judge Kaufman thought to what his speech can lead?"

The death sentence and the entire case of the Rosenbergs must therefore be seen in the context of the threatening atomic war and the fascist and anti-Semitic dangers that are an integral part of this threatening war. To fight to reverse the death sentence against the Rosenbergs is to fight against the anti-Semitic implications of the whole affair.

Letters from Abroad

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST BLOC

By B. Balti

Tel Aviv

Never have there been as many lies published in the Israel press as on the question of the Middle Eastern bloc. The press, beginning with Herut and ending with *Davar* and *Hador*, conceals the fact that an alliance with reactionary rulers, especially with the rulers of the Arab countries, is an alliance with the hangman of the Jews and progressives in Iraq, Nuri Said, with King Farouk and with Nahaam Pasha, with King Talal of Transjordan and with Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia.

The decision of the Ben Gurion government to enlist in the pact for an anti-Soviet war together with the feudal rulers of the Arabian countries, is explained as being imperative for the "defense of democracy." These papers libel mass demonstrations of the Arabs against the foreign imperialists and their reactionaries at home as contrary to democracy and progress.

H. Berger, of Mapai, in a speech in the Knesset used this technique when he said that "the anti-imperialistic wave in the Middle East is aimed at Israel." He made this statement to announce his support of imperialism.

At the conference in Rome to plan a peace congress of the Middle Eastern countries, the representatives of Israel and of all Middle Eastern countries decided to take united action against warmongers who wish to set the countries of this region against one another. The Arab Communists, who are the main anti-imperialistic force, propose a peace pact with Israel and a campaign against reactionary governments which have not as yet recognized Israel.

The truth is therefore the opposite of H. Berger's statement. "Those who demonstrate their friendship for Egypt," said Berger, "should know that the Communists are not behind Farouk and Nahaam Pasha." H. Berger doesn't have to teach anyone this. But Berger and his friends, together with Farouk and Nahaam Pasha, want to establish a military command in the Middle East. It is well known that the Egyptian police, acting under the orders of Nahaam Pasha, fired on demonstrators

protesting a Middle Eastern bloc. H. Berger aims to fool the people of Israel. He wishes to disguise pro-imperialists as anti-imperialists, dictators as democrats. Then he pleads for acceptance of the anti-people's policies of the Ben Gurion government.

When the Communist Party of Israel organized demonstrations against cooperation with the Middle Eastern bloc and in favor of solidarity with the masses of Egypt and Iran, the reactionary press came out with the wildest statements. Ben Gurion repeated such statements before the Knesset. When this reactionary press voices friendship for the British imperialists, as well as for King Farouk and Nahaam Pasha, who break up anti-imperialist demonstrations in Egypt with force, it becomes clear that this press aims to discredit solidarity of the masses of Israel with the anti-imperialist fighters in the Middle East.

This deceiving press tries to distort the fact that the Israeli masses want solidarity with the Iranian "Tudeh" Party, which is oppressed by the Mossadegh regime, and with the Iranian professionals (Unions), rather than with the Persian Shah; that the masses feel solidarity with the workers of Egypt and with the Egyptian peace movement, rather than with Nahaam Pasha and King Farouk.

The masses of Israel do not feel solidarity with Ben Gurion's partners in the Middle East. The Israeli Communists and democrats feel friendship toward the thousands of demonstrators in Egypt, who protested against the proposed alliance with the Middle Eastern bloc. Among these were not to be found Farouk, the king backed by Wall Street; or Nahaam Pasha, the prime minister backed by England. When the Arab Communists of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon demonstrated in protest against the invasion of Israel, they expressed their solidarity with the masses of Israel and not with Ben Gurion. When the British Communists demonstrated against Bevin's attacks on Israel, they identified themselves with the masses in our land and not with Golda Meyerson, who wanted to unite with Bevin by her advocacy of partnership with King Abdullah of Transjordan.

The people of Israel know that peace with their Arab neighbors and unhampered development of Israel can be realized only by their solidarity with the masses in the Middle East and by fighting for independence and world peace.

The paper *Haaretz* has been the most energetic propagandist for the British foreign office. Sometimes one would think that this paper is printed in London instead of Tel Aviv. *Haaretz* openly advocates that the Israel army be placed under the command of British generals. They point to the period of the second world war when the Jewish Brigade was under British command and propose that the Israel army now be sent to Iran and Egypt to help Mossadegh and Nahaam Pasha. This is certainly a form of international solidarity—solidarity with the oppressors of the people under command of warmongers against the anti-imperialist forces fighting for liberation.

"A.T." wrote in *Al Hamishmar*, organ of the Mapam, on November 3, 1951, an article full of lies about demonstrations organized by the Communist Party to protest unity of Israel with the Middle Eastern anti-Soviet bloc and with the renazified Bonn regime and to urge solidarity of the anti-imperialist masses of Iran and Egypt. "A.T." interprets these demonstrations as "support for the rulers of Egypt" and shows that these rulers are reactionaries. This is an unrewarding task, for "A.T." is tilting at windmills.

This is what Communist Party leader and Knesset Deputy S. Mikunis said in his speech at the demonstration: "When we speak of the struggles of the people of Iran and Egypt, we do not refer to Mossadegh and Nahaam Pasha. We support the Iranian and Egyptian masses, the workers, peasants and students, who are fighting against the British and American imperialists."

This statement is quite clear. It was reiterated by "A.T.'s" fellow-member of Mapam, Dr. Moïshe Sneh, in his article in *Al-Hamishmar* of November 2, 1951, and also by L. Hazan at a mass meeting of the League for Friendship with the Soviet Union. In the same issue of *Al-Hamishmar* in which "A.T.'s" article appeared, another article called for all-out help for the liberation movements in the Middle East.

"A.T." ends his article thus: "The song of solidarity with the rulers of Egypt today is premature and untimely." We do not know who sang this song. "A.T.'s" article shows that there is something amiss in the right wing of Mapam, which is propagandizing for Israel to enlist in the reactionary camp preparing for a third world war.

WOMEN'S ACTION ON "OLIVER TWIST"

Progressive women played a vigorous and effective part in the campaign to drive the anti-Semitic film *Oliver Twist* from screens in several parts of the country. A leading role in this campaign was taken by the Emma Lazarus Foundation of Women's Clubs. At the beginning of August 1951, shortly after the film began its New York run at the Park Avenue Theater, Emma Lazarus clubs in New York formed three delegations, one in each borough, to protest to the theater manager. The national office distributed 20,000 leaflets on the film in various parts of the country. During October and November, club delegations visited local theater managers and

asked them not to book the movie, in some cases with success.

When the women learned that school children in New York were being given reduced rate tickets and were even taken to the film on school time, they protested to Board of Education President Maximilian Moss. This official said that this was against instructions. But the women obtained proof that the practice was continuing and had a lawyer take the matter up with Moss. The practice then stopped.

The experience of the club in Philadelphia is especially instructive. We print below a letter to the national office relating this experience.—Eds.

November 8, 1951
Philadelphia, Pa.

Emma Lazarus Federation of
Women's Clubs
160 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Sisters:

It is with real satisfaction that I can relate the following story in the matter of the *Oliver Twist* film.

After Sister Leah Nelson visited us in Philadelphia about ten days ago, I personally felt the importance of fighting the showing of the film in Oxford Circle and I tried to convey this feeling to the women in our club. We all agreed that action should be started immediately.

The owner of the four theaters in this vicinity is Martin B. Ellis. I phoned him at his office and told him how we felt about the film. He admitted that the movie was due at the Regal Theater soon but said that it had been okayed by the *Jewish Times* [local English-Jewish weekly] after

the deletions and couldn't understand our objections. I explained that the character Fagin dominated the film and that he was an anti-Semitic caricature of a Jew, that the deletions had not changed these facts. Mr. Ellis said he would look into it and call me back the following day. I tried to get him the next day but couldn't; nor could I reach him for a few days.

In the meantime, I contacted the following organizations in this community: American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, ORT and the PTA groups. None of them could act officially until they got permission from the city executive bodies. However, many did act as individuals and phoned the Ellis office telling them of our objection in this community to the showing of *Oliver Twist*. Evidently, this did have an effect on Mr. Ellis since he had his office phone me to talk the matter over with me again and to dissuade me from taking any action. Of course, I insisted that we in this community did not want the film and told him we would distribute a leaflet

against the film right outside the theater if it were shown.

The picture was to open at the Regal Theater this past Wednesday, November 7th. I got a committee to work their telephones to reach friends and neighbors. The Ellis office must have been bombarded with phone calls, for on Tuesday evening, the district manager of the theaters up here, Mr. Nevenson, came to call on me.

Mr. Nevenson showed me the review of *Oliver Twist* in the *Jewish Times* by Philip Klein, which is a complete whitewash of the film. I told him I did not agree with this, and that many other papers including the *Jewish Exponent* [another local weekly] didn't either. We had quite a discussion, in which Mr. Nevenson admitted he would like to withdraw the film, but that they had already distributed discount passes to the schools and that they were having special matinees for high school children. The picture was to have run for four days. Of course I told him this was much worse since we did not want our children subjected to propaganda of this kind. I also informed him that a delegation from the Emma Lazarus Club and other organizations in the community were going to see the manager of the Regal Theater to try to prevent the showing of the picture.

Six of us saw the manager of the theater, and we were treated with great courtesy. This gentleman was non-Jewish and said he could appreciate the way we felt and that he certainly did not want to promote bad feeling in the community. We showed him the leaflet we had ready to distribute. The manager assured us he would do all he could to withdraw the film and see that it was not shown the following day. We left his office at 9:00 P.M. At about 10:00 P.M. that evening he phoned me to announce that the movie had been pulled out. He had phoned Mr. Nevenson and Mr. Ellis and had told them it was better to lose everything on the film rather than promote antagonism in the community. Mr. Ellis also promised that he would not show *Oliver Twist* in any of the 25 theaters he owns.

We all feel that this is a great victory in the fight against racial prejudice and it proves that if action is taken results can be obtained.

I have advised all of the organizations in this community of our action, initiated by the Emma Lazarus Club and of the results. The other Emma Lazarus Clubs are going to attempt similar actions in their sections of the city.

Please excuse the lengthy details, but I did think you would be interested, especially in view of the outcome.

With warm fraternal greetings from the sisters in our clubs and in the city, I am

Sincerely,
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OFF THE PRESS...

Edited by Hershl Hartman

With this issue we are happy to inaugurate this new department of commentary on the current Jewish press by a new member of our editorial board—Eds.

Jewish women were called upon to voice their opinions on the question of German reparations in an article by Barbara Schwartz, women's editor of the *Chicago Sentinel* (Nov. 8) posing some sharp questions about the "representative" closed-door conference at the Waldorf-Astoria. Referring to the total absence of women's organizations or women representatives, the editorial asks whether the Nazi concept of women was taken over by the conference sponsors "or are they afraid of the position they know women will take with regard to Germany?" "Women would not make concessions to the country that took so many of their sons from them," Barbara Schwartz writes, correctly linking the reparations question to the peace issue: "A woman does not approach war by statistics alone. She considers each digit mentioned as a human being—for who is closer to life and death than a woman?" She ends with the question she herself answers in the body of the editorial: "Can this gathering be concluded a representative one? Can their conclusions bear actual weight?"

Australia's "Smith Act," defeated in the September 22, 1951, referendum, aroused the Jewish community to a level of understanding which could well serve as a model to the American Jewish organizations which have maintained a unanimous and disgraceful silence while the Truman administration destroys constitutional rights. The pages of the *Australian Jewish Herald* carried appeals by such organizations as the Zionist Labor Party and a broad Jewish committee urging a "no" vote. Herbert Evatt and A. A. Calwell, major leaders of the Australian Labor Party, addressed the Jewish community, pointing out that Hitler's anti-communism had led to the murder of six million Jews. The *Herald's* columnist "Sentinel," on the eve of the referendum, wrote: "As a Jew I am too sensitive to the lesson of history to believe that discrimination against minority opinion can be contained in watertight compartments. The communists are clearly intended as a first target, but there

is no guarantee at all that other minorities, including Jews, would not ever be called on to suffer." Letters to the *Herald* warned that "if we call history as a witness, we find that anti-communism and anti-Semitism are inseparable phenomena," and that Hitler confiscated Jewish property in June 1933 under an "anti-communist" law passed six weeks earlier. An attempt by A. R. Bashki, secretary of the Victoria Jewish Board of Deputies, to "sell" the Tory version of the Smith Act, was sharply condemned in the *Herald*.

Anti-Semitic terrorism in Ocean Park and Santa Monica, California, brought a call for protests by S. W. Singer, columnist in the *Atlantic City Jewish Record* (Nov. 9). Singer points to the "blessing of the city officials" on anti-Semitic vandalism in the two California towns, reporting that Atlantic City residents "have been bombarding Governor Earl C. Warren with letters and wires of protest" and urging the community to follow suit.

Two letters to the editor of the Canadian *Jewish Western Bulletin* (Nov. 1) show a commendable awareness of two basic problems facing the Jewish community which are almost totally ignored in most local Anglo-Jewish weeklies: white supremacy and the fight for peace. In the first letter two couples point out that a "Fiesta Night" program conducted by the local chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women contained an "offensive caricature in the form of 'a black face' act which we felt was in very poor taste. We as Jews should certainly refrain from caricaturing other racial (sic) groups." . . . Perry Friedman, a Vancouver youth, reveals in his letter that he was refused permission to put up a poster in the local Jewish Community Center announcing a report by a young Jewish-Canadian on the World Youth Festival in Berlin. Pointing out that the Festival "was a blow against those who are trying to rearm another Hitler fascist army," the writer appeals: "I, as a youth, urge you to support peace. Give us a fair chance to live our lives that we may grow up, raise families, without the fear that when we reach a certain age we will be conscripted into the army to kill and be killed."

Workmen's circle magazine, *The Call*,

is in accustomed company again—fingering progressives to the delight of anti-Semites. Stoutly defending his defense of *Red Channels* against protests by WC members, anti-communist "expert" Walter K. Lewis argues that the pro-fascist blacklist has not been effective in depriving artists of a livelihood. Presumably to correct the oversight, Lewis proceeds to finger author Millard Lampell, adding unashamedly that he has known "Mill" . . . "personally for more than ten years." Clearly implying his disapproval, Lewis cites the recent Columbia Pictures production of Lampell's *Saturday's Hero* despite his listing in *Red Channels*. Lewis' little "job" was quite timely. As his column in the October issue of *The Call* was being read, a group called "Wage Earners Committee" was picketing the Hollywood opening of *Saturday's Hero*, charging it was made by "communists." Not at all coincidental was the fact that Columbia Pictures is headed by a Jew, Harry Cohn, and that two of the three alleged "reds" named by the picketing group are also Jews: Lampell and producer Sidney Buchman. The "Wage Earners Committee" is led by two notorious anti-Semites: Dr. James W. Fifield, Congregationalist minister whose Coughlin-like radio forums on station KFAC, Los Angeles, have aroused the Jewish community, and Myron C. Fagan, whose anti-Semitic pamphlet *Red Treason in Hollywood* is a best seller among every racist outfit in the country, listing almost every Jew in the film industry as "Stalinist Agents." Fagan's booklet served as a model for the *Red Channels*, which the Workmen's Circle columnist defends. Strange bedfellows? Not for the *Judenrat* aspirants in social-democratic leadership. Maybe Lewis and anti-Semite Fagan will collaborate on a new guidebook for Jew-haters whose "anti-communism" makes them kosher allies for Workmen's Circle leaders.

Civil liberties and their destruction concern *The Reconstructionist* (Nov. 16), which points out that "the indignation and protest which greeted earlier violations [of civil rights] a few years back, have now yielded to a reluctant resignation," especially among large sections of Jewish leadership, we may add. It warns: "The menace of totalitarianism is nurtured by our conformism and submissiveness." The editorial recommends "sustained and systematic resistance . . . pressure by an interested public opinion . . . greater awareness [in] clubs, women's groups, centers and synagogues." Unfortunately, *The Reconstructionist* fails to indicate the source of "our" conformism and totally ignores the Smith Act and its effect on civil rights and "sustained . . . resistance."

Book Reviews

SAMUEL ORNITZ' NEW NOVEL

By David Almon

Bride of the Sabbath, by Samuel Ornit. Rinehart, New York. \$3.75.

There are moments in reading Samuel Ornit's new novel when one's own pulse quickens under the impact of biting and bitter truths, and there are other, longer moments, when disappointment at Ornit's confusion prevails.

Although the novel deals with the East Side of pre-World War I, we cannot forget that it was written after World War II by one of the Hollywood Nine who was imprisoned for non-conformity with those preparing for World War III. In spite of its frequent insights into anti-Semitism and resistance of Jews to oppression, *Bride of the Sabbath* does not show itself sufficiently aware of what impends today and does not point in the direction of new paths of resistance that have arisen in the 35 years since Saul Kramer, the protagonist of the novel, slipped into a "liberal" stupor.

It is impossible to be a Jew and not know at least one Saul Kramer, just as it is impossible to be a Saul Kramer and not know at least a hundred Jews. The son of working people, brought up by Orthodox grandparents, himself a sweat-shop product, Saul gradually moves away from everything associated with the Jews. What he fails to see (and what Ornit himself sometimes forgets), is that he is trying to escape two milieus, that of the Jew and that of the working class.

Before he is 21, Saul becomes a translator for a Protestant parole agency and later their court representative, having ear-

lier been involved in the work of a Protestant-supported settlement house. He has changed his name to Saal Cramer and moved out of the Jewish community to a more "neutral" neighborhood; he has acquired a British accent by imitating the speech he hears in George Bernard Shaw's dramas. The writing of two books occupies his mind: a novel about the Irish of New York, and research into the "non-economic" common origins of tuberculosis, crime and insanity.

Saul is, of course, much too "liberal" to define his aims consciously or to shun the company of Jews or even of radicals and socialists. Three women fill his life; they seem to represent three separate paths. The first is Pauline Kaplan, who is openly hateful of her people. She has known and been attached to Saul since childhood. She is more astute than he is in that she makes no bones of the fact that she must have wealth in order to "escape." For this reason she will not marry him when he is prepared to marry her. But later it is he who refuses to become her lover because this "gesture" satisfies his illusion that he is now somehow different from her.

The second woman is Becky Rosenberg, a working woman who is a conscious Marxist, whom he deserts on the very day he proposes marriage to her. Her realistic view of the world and of himself and her indignation at his "liberal" support of the civil rights of a strikebreaker and thief are warnings to him that life with her would require changes in himself.

The third is Nancy Fitzgerald, a young dancer, a devout Catholic, whom he marries. Nancy weds him in the belief that

she is barren and also because she cherishes the notion that she will eventually present Saul to Jesus as a convert. But on discovering that she is pregnant, she leaves him and then becomes reconciled when he easily agrees that she may rear the child in the Catholic faith. A miscarriage occurs and Nancy then accuses Saul of having practiced, when a child, a ritual monstrosity on the body of Christ. She leaves him to become a nun.

In actuality, however, Saul has confronted these choices before. His grandmother's orthodoxy was easily rejected, but Uncle Mendel, a radical journalist, had to be denied with some struggle. His orthodox grandfather abhors Uncle Mendel's radicalism and preachments of unity of all workers without altering his religious convictions and is simply ignored by Saul. As a matter of fact Saul can find no one among the Jews after whom he would like to pattern his life, except perhaps by going back 2,000 years, to pattern it after Jesus. Nor does he find an admirable example among non-Jews if they are class conscious or radical. He can emulate only those who avoid positive action by talk of being "tolerant," "liberal," "humane."

Ornit's portrayal of the Saul Kramers is very real, as are his portrayals of other ghetto types. His exposition of Anglo-Saxon theories of superiority over Jews, Negroes and other minorities, his analysis of the effect of Fagin stereotypes on Jewish youth are all done with great skill and passion. It is also plain that Ornit does not share Saul's withdrawal from a life of struggle and resistance. Ornit describes the court in which Saul works as an instrument of class justice in which all—judge and clerk and prosecutor—are chosen for the degree to which they can be relied upon to shield the rich and smite the poor. Profit, not negligence, spawns the tenement ghetto.

As we know, Ornit in his own life chose to go to prison as a defender of freedom and peace rather than exchange them for a turncoat's reward. Just as Ornit in the book castigates the "hush-hush" crowd who would blanket oppression under cover of silence and grovelling, so he has chosen to make his hatred of oppression and war a platform of his daily existence.

We are forced to return, however, to the fact that Ornit has not illuminated the road which Jews must take. His novel cannot be said to inspire resistance. Far from finding his way, Saul is lost by the end of the book midway between becoming a Catholic and a Tolstoyan Christian, with a remote and obscure urge to build an inexplicable future on undefined ruins.



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Perhaps Ornitz narrowed his field of observation too finely, for there is in *Bride of the Sabbath* a marked tendency to focus upon and emphasize the religious aspects of anti-Semitism, all of which is of great interest, but only as the reflection of more basic forces. This leads the author into some curious, and I am sure, unintended byways. He argues, to cite one instance of a recurrent theme, that Jesus was a Jew; that it was Jewish women who guarded Jesus' mutilated body; and that the Romans took over what they could not conquer, thus turning upon the Jews in Jesus' name. Without going into the merits of that argument, it is certainly clear to Ornitz that the Jewish people over a period of many centuries have shown no overwhelming inclination to "recapture" Jesus. But what is important here is not the pro and con of "conversion" or "recapture" or "orthodoxy," but the tendency to be so absorbed in anti-Semitism in its theological aspects as to obscure the reality of post-crucifixion history. And the kernel of that history is that the difference between Jew and Christian did not create anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism magnified these differences, distorted them and invented monstrous absurdities and blood-curdling myths.

Ornitz is surely aware of this. But he leans so heavily on the image of Christ as a Jew that he obscures the image of the Jew as a victim of latter-day money-changers. Where is Saul's opposite in *Bride of the Sabbath*? One has a right to demand at the very least a progressive historical direction emerging from the novel. And *Bride of the Sabbath* is the history of a community of Jews over a period of time. Therefore one asks: were there no prophets among them worthy of sufficient attention to reply, by their works, to Saul's confusions? The arguments of Uncle Mendel and Becky Rosenberg are merely passing drifts in the novel.

The lack of a convincing reply to Saul is made more prominent by other aspects of the novel. Ornitz displays a regrettable tendency to mock the Yiddish language by literally translating idiomatic expressions into English and thereby reducing them to absurdities.

Ornitz even adopts an anti-Semitic legend as gospel truth. Jewish businessmen, he tells us, first introduced the use of Christmas trees in the United States. Christmas trees, as Ornitz should have known, were used as far back as pre-Christian pagan days and were brought to the United States as part of the traditional Yuletide ritual by Christian folk.

Scattered throughout the novel are many comments relating to the oppression of Jew and Negro. As observations they are sharp and accurate. But when Ornitz introduces Negro characters, he creates

them without distinction or force and under circumstances which tend to obscure the nature of their oppression and resistance. In the course of Saul's defense of a Negro charged with theft, he visits a Negro attorney to persuade him to represent the accused man. During this conversation Saul is portrayed as a model of tact, patience and understanding in contrast to the Negro attorney's hostility. So "impressed" is the Negro by Saul, that he jokingly remarks later that Saul must be a "passing" Negro. On the other hand, the portrayal of the attorney is that of a passive individual, concerned but inactive, defeated and paralyzed by Jimcrow and poverty. Ornitz would have us believe that it is Saul, the confused and basically frightened liberal, who awakens the Negro to resistance.

Ornitz' approach to this episode is consistent with his choice of the case itself. The accused Negro is technically guilty of theft but morally innocent because he did not understand the customs of the North, to which he had recently come. This selection of an atypical law case smacks of chauvinism. Further, by choos-

ing a case of "guilt" Ornitz obscures the fact that in the main the Negro in the United States is behind bars not for crimes he has committed, but for the crime of Jimcrow, frameup and oppression. One cannot account for the systematic imprisonment of Negroes by calling it a "mis-carriage of justice." It is the result of the large scale crime of frameup against an entire people by a supremacist government.

Certainly it was not Ornitz' intention to perpetuate myths. He is obviously deeply concerned with cementing the common bond between Negro and Jew. But this can be done only by recognizing the decisive and militant, not casual and passive place of the Negro in our country. Failing such recognition, Ornitz not only distorts reality by citing non-typical situations, but also slips into such apparent chauvinism as the use of phrases like "coon-shouting" and others.

These defects of *Bride of the Sabbath* do a disservice to the reader and to Ornitz himself, for he is a keener student of life than he permits any of his characters to be. It would have been far better if there had been more Ornitz in the novel.

Letters from Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$2.00 for a sub to be sent to a friend of mine who has just returned from six months in Israel.

Have a high regard for J.L. and hope it can continue so ably to report and analyze the problems and developments of the Jewish people here and abroad.

Los Angeles

N.V.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$2.00 contribution to the magazine. "Life" must go on.

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B.D.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

of the long-established and well-known discrimination policies of the Stork Club" was the way Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, characterized the police report on the disgraceful Jimcrow treatment accorded singer Josephine Baker at that night club on October 16. "There was no basis for further action by this department in the matter," said Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan.

The association of Reform Rabbis of the City of New York on December 14 expressed opposition to the recommendation made by the New York State Board of Regents on November 30, that each school day begin with a prayer. The rabbis were concerned that the use of such a prayer "may lead to serious violations of the separation of church and state which . . . has been the bulwark of our democratic public school system."

EUROPE

A report from Bonn early in December stated that Dr. Nahum Goldman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and Zachariah Schuster, European representative of the American Jewish Committee, held a conference with High Commissioner John J. McCloy on the question of carrying through the Adenauer proposal for "compensation" to the Jews for the crimes of nazism. On December 8, Dr. Goldman urged the British Section of the World Jewish Congress in London that Israel should negotiate with the Bonn regime on the "restitution" offer.

A large mass meeting was held in Paris in mid-November to protest the "Jewish Peace" with the renazified Adenauer government.

Anti-Semitic stickers reminiscent of the nazi occupation have appeared in various French cities, especially Marseilles, calling for boycott of Jewish stores and merchants. "Frenchmen," read the stickers, "buy only in French stores. Beware the Jew. This is their war. Remember their crematoria."

The French government without warning or explanation banned the pamphlet, *Racial Discrimination*, issued by the World Federation of Trade Unions, which denounces racism in all parts of the world.

Renazification news . . . The retiring assistant United States high commissioner

of West Germany, Benjamin J. Butenwieser, said in Bonn on November 30, that he was distressed at the number of anti-Semitic incidents in West Germany and the low percentage of Germans who wanted "to do the right thing." Germany's economic recovery, he said, had helped the rich more than the poor. It will be remembered that Butenwieser was asked not to deliver a scheduled address before the Anti-Defamation League in May 1950, because it asserted that nazism had been destroyed. . . . A striking commentary on the genuineness of Adenauer's intention to combat neo-nazism is seen in a speech made by Dr. Hans Christian Seeböhm, minister of transport in Adenauer's government, on December 3. Seeböhm asserted that the Germans do not recognize the borders of 1937, that the nazi era was part of the tradition of "Germany's historical greatness," that his audience should salute "all the symbols" under which Germans have died (meaning the swastika). . . . Publication of several books on Hitler and reprint of a nazi book on "*Lebensraum*" were announced in November by Hans Grimm, nazi writer and now head of the Klosterhaus Publishing Company. . . . Dr. Herbert Dittman, a former member of the ultra-nationalist German students' dueling society and a former member of the Nazi Party, was recently named chief of the appointments department of the foreign office of West Germany. . . . An international conference to be attended by about 100,000 ex-members of Hitler's black-uniformed SS-Guards in West Germany next spring was projected at a Berlin meeting early in November at which were sung nazi songs with the refrain, "Germany awake—Death to the Jews."

News from Poland . . . A street in Warsaw was renamed after the classic Jewish writer, I. L. Peretz, in November. . . . The press has paid warm tribute to 12 Jewish women who volunteered to work in the coal mines to increase output. . . . Dr. J. Katz-Suchy, who was slated by the *New York Times* for a "purge," has been appointed director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

ISRAEL

Over 330,000 signatures to the petition of the Israel Peace Council demanding a five-power peace pact and opposing rearmament of Germany were reported by mid-December.

The Israel government offered the port of Haifa as a naval base and as headquarters of the Middle East Command to the United States and Britain, according to a report from London in mid-November. The offer was rejected, the report goes on, because of fear of offending the Arab states.

Kol Haam, Tel Aviv Communist daily, forecast in early November that the "last remnants" of Israel's independence will be lost if she agrees to join the anti-Soviet bloc "since the Negev, Haifa, Elath and other areas will have to be handed over to the Anglo-American military headquarters' staff." Such a step, said the paper, would in effect represent an unofficial declaration of war on the USSR and would be a war-like act against a power that has shown friendship for Israel.

Meyer Vilner, Communist deputy in the Knesset, late in November vigorously criticized the oppression of Arabs in Israel and demanded especially protection of the rights of the Arab minority in districts under Jewish military administration. Vilner said that press censorship systematically suppressed news of oppression of Arabs.

100 Jews from India held a sit-down strike in front of Jewish Agency offices in Tel Aviv late in November with the demand that they be returned to India. They charged that they had been objects of discrimination in Beersheba because they were dark-skinned and had been assigned to manual labor rather than be allowed to practice their traditional occupations. The Agency is investigating the charges.

600 of 800 seamen of Israel's merchant marine struck on November 12 against the Histadrut, administrator of shipping lines, because the Histadrut, as their labor organization, removed their elected leadership and has refused to grant the union its own hiring hall. The Ben Gurion government has flown strike-breakers in from Italy and has also sent draft notices to strikers, including four of their five officers. Two Israel ships in New York were tied up by the strike.

Proposals for tax revision which would lower income taxes in the higher brackets was announced on December 5 by Finance Minister Eliezer Kaplan.

The Israel Cabinet in mid-November appointed a committee to negotiate with the British-owned Palestine Potash Company the resumption of Dead Sea potash production. This plant has been idle since April 1948, despite need in Israel for fertilizer. The Communist Party demands nationalization of the potash deposits.

