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Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

First article of a series

by Victor Perlo



FOREIGN CAPITAL OVER ISRAEL

SLIGHTLY SOUTH—AND TO THE RIGHT ◀ *by Charles E. Allen, Jr*

ANTI-SEMITIC FURY ON EAST SIDE ◀ *by Theodore Jacobs*

FRIENDSHIP WINS AT HELSINKI ◀ *by Joe Gerstein*

TWO HUMANISTS: THE DOCTORS JACOBI ◀ *by Morris U. Schappes*

THE BOXING MATCH ◀ *a short story by Chaver Paver*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

All Congressional candidates received an open letter sent on August 2 by the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act asking them to declare publicly their position on the McCarran act. The letter was signed by 100 leading educators, religious leaders and professional people from all over the country. Among the signers were Dr. Algernon D. Black, head of the Ethical Culture Society, Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Dr. Robert Gordis, Rabbi Leo Jung and Rabbi Uri Miller. The letter pointed out that the McCarran act "is responsible for the intolerable situation in which government agencies, in a manner all too reminiscent of nazi Germany, are already preparing concentration camps, are holding thought control hearings, are denying passports to citizens and are deporting and refusing admission to aliens."

Two hundred colleges and universities have already indicated their desire to cooperate in a \$5,000 nationwide contest on the best essays by senior class students on "The Meaning of Academic Freedom." The contest is sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women. The contest is open only to senior students of the class of 1953, should be 2,500 words and the closing date is December 31.

A "loyalty probe" of tax-exempt philanthropic foundations, including bodies which deal with "race relations" and try to remove prejudice through education was voted \$75,000 by a House subcommittee in June. It is believed that the targets of the new proposed witch-hunt will be the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. The full House committee and the House have yet to approve the step.

Five Negroes attempting admission to the University of Florida had their suit in the Florida Supreme Court unanimously denied on August 1 on the ground that equal facilities at a Negro college were available.

Refusal of managements of swimming pools in Paterson, N. J., to allow Negroes to use them came to a head in July and an extremely broad protest movement has developed to break down swimming pool Jimcrow in the textile city. Jewish organizations are participating in the fight.

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An "American Confederate Army" was founded in Orlando, Florida, in mid-July to sign up "anti-communist" groups into an organization that would "bear arms, if necessary," to uphold Jimcrow in the South if the courts should outlaw segregation. Organizer is Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Bill Hendrix. "Membership shall be limited to white Christians," he said. He especially mentioned the Anti-Defamation League and the NAACP as "hate groups" of which the "Army" would gather membership lists. Thurgood Marshall, of the NAACP, demanded in mid-July that the Justice Department investigate the violence-threatening outfit. Hendrix had received 11,208 votes of the 738,497 votes cast in the recent gubernatorial primaries in Florida.

Six nazi swastikas were painted on buildings in Los Angeles' Eastside Jewish community in mid-July. . . . A few days later 200 Jewish graves were desecrated in Mt. Carmel cemetery. Previous smaller desecrations also had occurred at the cemetery. The Jewish War Veterans are pressing for apprehension of the culprits and leaders of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the Civil Rights Congress are calling for a unified campaign of Jewish organizations, together with other minority group bodies, to combat these nazi-like actions. . . . On Friday night, July 4, a stone was thrown into a window in the Fairfax Temple in Los Angeles while the congregation was there, but no one was hurt.

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

TOWARD A NEW YEAR

ROSH HASHONAH, the Jewish New Year, which falls in the last week of September this year, is traditionally a time of stock-taking and thought for the year to come. And the Jewish people have much to ponder in looking back at the past year and forward to the next. The past period has witnessed a strengthening in some respects of the enemies of the Jewish people and of democracy: anti-Semitism has increased in frequency and virulence under stimulus of the war hysteria not only at home, but in Western Europe, as well; and the neo-nazis in West Germany have tightened their hold on that segment of Germany with the signing of the "contractual agreement" under Washington's pressure; and it is in this past year that Jewish "leaders" lent themselves to the rehabilitation of a renazified Germany through the "reparations" negotiations. However, the year also saw an increasing awakening on the part of many Jewish leaders to the profound dangers of the trend to a police state embodied in the Smith and McCarran and McCarran-Walter acts—though not yet to a sufficient degree of activation on these issues. The New Year should prompt the Jewish people to press their leadership to aid in the amnesty campaign for the victims of thought control.

All these trends are focused on the fight to keep the peace, for all of them spring from the frenetic drive of Washington to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. The road for the next year should be clear to the Jewish people: in the interests of their security and the security of democracy upon which their welfare depends, the Jewish people must extend themselves to the utmost to join with all democratic forces in the fight for peace, whose crux is the conclusion of a peace pact among the big five powers.

A Happy and Peaceful New Year to our readers and their families!

THE WECHSLER CASE

THE people have been confronted with a startling and ominous confirmation of fears expressed by all cool-headed people of good will that the "anti-communist" repression would not stop with the communists, but was essentially directed at the freedom of the whole people. In August, the intensely red-baiting editor of the *New York Post*, James Wechsler, was banned from a TV program, "Starring the Editors," sponsored by the Grand Union Company. The banning occurred after Hearst's *New York Journal-American* "exposed" the fact that when he was 18, Wechsler was for a short period a member of the Young Communist League. When it is considered that the *Post*

under editor Wechsler has itself done a good share of the kind of red-baiting that feeds McCarthyism, one can discern from this incident the distance that though control has travelled in this country. This is the time to recall that Hitler suppressed every dissenter, even alternative fascist groups like the Stahlhelm or the "radical" group in his own party.

The liberals and the American people generally must quickly draw conclusions from this arrant repression. The Jewish people and its leadership must be awakened to effective action to combat this McCarthyite threat to freedom. Such action would call on the masses of the Jewish people to enter the fray by making their sentiments known to legislators and such repressive business organizations as that which banned Wechsler from TV. Nothing less than all our American liberties are at stake.

REPEAL THE MCCARRAN-WALTER LAW!

IN JULY 1933, Hitler's regime passed a law "regarding revocation of naturalization and annulment of German citizenship." To our shame, Congress has approved, over President Truman's veto, the equivalent of this measure in the McCarran-Walter immigration law. The *New York Times* editorially condemned this law as "racist, restrictionist and reactionary" and it has been aptly called "America's Nuremberg Law." Many of the dearest wishes of the lunatic fascist fringe have been realized in this law. The American people cannot, must not allow this law to remain on the books and to push America deeper into the fascist slough.

The broadest opposition to the bill was registered. Among many others, Jewish organizations unanimously opposed the bill. Representatives of the major Jewish organizations appeared before the Democratic Platform Committee to urge inclusion of a plank calling for repeal. Benjamin Browdy, former president of the Zionist Organization of America, urged upon the Democrats a fight for repeal. And liberal senators like Herbert H. Lehman, William Benton and others have pledged to fight for repeal.

Despite the extremely broad opposition to the bill, its passage indicated that the people were not drawn sufficiently into the campaign against the bill. If they had been, the bill could have been defeated. This fact gives us the cue to the fight for repeal. Jewish organizations and all democratic organizations in the weeks of the national campaign and after the opening of the next session of Congress must involve the masses of the American people into an irresistible clamor for repeal. With the Jewish people and all democratic Americans mobilized to wipe out this disgrace to America and this concession to fascism, the law can be repealed.

SLIGHTLY SOUTH—AND TO THE RIGHT

A racist, reactionary plan to form a new party of Republicans and Dixiecrats was not used—for both parties are now right coalitions

By Charles E. Allen, Jr.

ON the basic issues of the day—world peace, civil rights, civil liberties and labor—the major party conventions in Chicago demonstrated the vital role played by the Dixiecrats of both parties in coalition with their northern colleagues. Because Eisenhower was chosen by the GOP, rather than Taft and because the Dixiecrats failed to bolt as they did in 1948, the conventions have been hailed as a defeat for the extreme right-wing. Actually one main lesson of Chicago is that the white supremacists from Dixie achieved their goals in *both* parties. The Dixiecrats did not take a walk because there was no place to go; on the contrary, they chose to remain because they are quite satisfied with the Democratic Party.

It was solely on the issue of full civil rights to the Negro people that the Southern Democrats threatened to join forces with the GOP on a national ticket. On the issue of world peace the Southern Bourbons found agreement on all sides that the United States must continue the cold war against the Soviet Union and the hot war against the people of Korea. Both agreed that preparations for war instead of peace should continue with a strengthened North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a rearmed, neo-nazified West Germany, the blockade of China, and the other proposals leading straight down the path to a world war.

There were tactical differences of course. When Republican keynote speaker Douglas MacArthur lashed out at the Truman administration for not waging full-scale bombing of China, the Truman Doctrine forces in Korea obliged by bombing the Yalu River power plants, walked out of the peace tent at Panmunjom and issued "destruction warnings" to the men, women and children of 78 cities in North Korea. The *New York Times* on August 3 recognized the dilemma facing its favorite candidate when it observed: "The Eisenhower leaders have been somewhat at a loss in how to attack the administration" on foreign policy. During the campaign, the GOP will argue that Eisenhower is personally more qualified because of his experience as the head of NATO and, as a clincher: he will be "tougher" with the Soviet Union.

Civil rights—particularly the *immediate* rights of the Negro people—received the most hypocritical abuse at the

hands of the old parties. The GOP would not give even lip-service to the idea of an enforceable Fair Employment Practices act; on top of this disregard for Negro equality the Republicans nominated one of the original witch hunters, Richard Nixon, co-author of the infamous Mundt-Nixon act, to be their vice presidential aspirant. It was the final victory of the arrogant Bourbons at the Democratic convention which touched off a wave of revulsion among the Negro people of America that may well prove fatal to the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket in November. In a speech delivered in Harlem on August 3, Representative Adam Clayton Powell said that his people had been "sold down the river" at the conventions by the "Uncle Toms" of both old parties. Powell, a Democrat, declared that he would not campaign for his party's national ticket and warned that the failure of the Democrats and Republicans to adopt a strong civil rights plank might result in a boycott of the polls in November by Negroes.

Civil Rights and the Old Parties

Both candidates of the Democratic party are ill-equipped to lead any struggle against white supremacism. Sparkman of course was such an obvious concession to the Dixiecrats as the vice presidential choice that the *New York Times* headlined his selection as such. Stevenson himself is a "states' righter." And the state of Illinois—home of the Cicero and Cairo anti-Negro riots of the summer of 1951—has no F.E.P.C.

What the trade unions rightly call the "slave labor" Taft-Hartley act, was praised in no uncertain terms by the GOP. They announced clearly that once in office they would not only keep T-H but probably would "strengthen" it. In spite of the conspicuous presence of the Reuthers, the Careys and the Murrays at the Democratic convention, it is no secret that Stevenson has opposed repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and favored "amendment" only. It is also no secret that his running-mate, the "liberal Southerner" Sparkman, originally voted for Taft-Hartley and opposed the enactment of a minimum wage bill while he was a loyal Dixiecrat senator.

When the Democrats capitulated to the Dixiecrat wing, the move was not simply a politician's compromise to maintain "unity," "harmony" for the campaign. It was the terrible knowledge that in 1952, unlike 1948, the Dixiecrats had a definite plan to merge with the GOP to win the na-

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nional election which motivated the party bosses to embrace the white supremacists. Most important, the plan could—if applied according to the scheme—be carried through.

The "Mundt Plan"

Ever since February 24, 1951, when Karl Mundt, Republican senator from South Dakota, officially invited Southern Democrats into the Republican Party, the proposal for the realignment of Dixiecrats with the GOP has been popularly referred to as the "Mundt Plan" or more often as "Realignment." Briefly, Mundt offered the reactionaries of the United States what he called an "election formula whereby people of both political parties on each side of the Mason-Dixon line [could] join their forces and votes in a great national front to elect a president and a Congress dedicated to restoring the Federal government to its proper sphere." By juggling the electoral college and through a formal merger of Dixiecrats and Republicans in Congress, Mundt called for the creation of another party.

Actually the details of the Mundt proposal originated with the crudest bigots and racists of both parties. The story of how the elements of fascism got together to launch a program which eventually gained such sympathy in both parties that it affected the outcome of a national convention (the Democratic), also lays bare the fascist mentality present in both parties. It is additionally a blueprint for legislating fascism in the United States. Besides Mundt, this plot to capture the presidency and the Congress gained political and financial support from such well-known figures as Herbert Hoover, former Republican Senator Albert J. Hawkes of New Jersey, G. Donaldson Brown, ranking official of du Pont's and General Motors, Leander Perez, chairman of the States' Rights (Dixiecrat) Party, James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and the "moderate" Southern senator, Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

The essence of the plan for Realignment was first expressed by a wealthy textile manufacturer from Louisiana named John U. Barr. Barr is also a vice president of the viciously anti-Negro and anti-labor Southern States Industrial Council (the NAM of the South). On June 7, 1945, Barr privately financed and circulated a racist call which he titled "An American Plan for Action." Barr's own words clearly stamp his fascist mind: "If our nation is to be saved from the ravages of minority groups . . ." said Barr, and if his fellow white supremacists aimed "to end the vicious influences of Eastern minorities," then it fell to the South to join forces with "like-minded citizens outside of the South." Barr pointed out the arithmetics of realignment when he said that the "solid South" assured the Democrats of 179 electoral votes at every national election. His idea was to transfer these electoral votes—just 87 electoral votes less than the 226 needed to win a presidential election—to the Republican party. Barr asserted: "If the South ever [defects], . . . that's the end of control by racial groups."

A Racist Program

Just so his colleagues would not miss his point, Barr turned up as an active member of the States' Rights crowd in the 1948 Democratic convention and was instrumental in leading the now-historic bolt which lost four states for the Trumanites in the 1948 elections. At the convention he circulated another racist petition. This was called "For White Men and Women Everywhere" and pleaded with "genuine Democrats" to eliminate from the party "the Negro loving, pink and red mongrels who falsely called themselves Democrats."

He warned the party bosses that they should cooperate with the white supremacists of the South or risk serious defections from the Democratic Party. He specifically called for a Democratic convention "below the Mason-Dixon line" and declared, "If you are tired of the threat of FEPC . . . weary of the CIO and the Reds who want to marry us into the arms of the Negro," then the Democrats had better "do something before it is too late."

Although Barr himself is an established member of "respectable" society in New Orleans, his language is that of the gutter crackpots of native fascism. His vicious anti-Semitism is shown in thinly veiled terms as "Red mongrel" and "Eastern minorities"—right out of the lexicon of Hitler.

Up North, shortly after the 1948 conventions a friend of John U. Barr was working on a plan sponsored by an obscure group calling itself "The Citizen's Political Committee" with offices in New York City. Although not expressed as crudely as Barr's general proposal, the plan set forth the legal ways and means for enacting the Dixiecrats' program. According to the Committee chairman, J. Harvie Williams, a one-time member of Remington-Rand Corporation, "Our plan for realignment is a simple one. It involves nothing more than a formal alliance between Republicans and Southern Democrats in the Senate, in the House and in the electoral college."

Although Williams calls his scheme "simple," it actually has been worked out in painstaking detail and in consultation with politicians of long experience in both parties. Williams—who now makes his living as a professional political planner for the Republican party (he worked on the Taft campaign and is preparing for the national campaign)—favors the so-called Coudert amendment to the United States Constitution. This would change the method of selecting electors for the electoral college so that the rural areas of the country rather than the more populous urban centers would largely determine who would cast a state's votes in the electoral college.

The "Citizen's Political Committee" also approves of the Lodge-Gossett amendment to the Constitution which in effect is calculated to perform the same task. This amendment has gained considerable headway in many state legislatures and conceivably could become law within the near future. But the reason which prompts Williams and his political cohorts to alter the electoral college system is far more meaningful than the mechanics of the change. Ac-

cording to the supporters of realignment, American voters are composed of two contending forces: "the native white English-speaking stock and the alien foreign blocs of the urban North." The problem then is to take away the voting power of the latter and so manipulate the national elections that the "white English-speaking stock" can control both Congress and the executive.

In a "confidential" memo for his backers Williams elaborated further on the "urban blocs" when he wrote: "The alien blocs of these [urban] centers are the backbone of the CIO's political strength. When 'socialism' is seen as the modern expression of feudalism, with labor leaders in the role of landlord and the wage earner in the role of serf, we will better understand why appeals to traditional Americanism fall on so many deaf ears."

The "Realignment Convention"

This plan—ultimately presented by Karl Mundt—originally called for a "Realignment Convention" which was scheduled to meet prior to the GOP and Democratic conventions in 1952. There it was to draw up an unofficial ticket and platform which then would be adopted by the Republicans in their convention. Dixie Democrats would "walk out" of their national convention and—as Democrats—return to their respective states to vote for the Republican slate under Democratic electors! Williams' group had worked out to the last detail the problem of merging seniority in both House and Senate so that even though a Republican was elected president, the Southern Democrats in Congress would retain their committee seniority and their political patronage. In the event of a Realignment victory there were to be no reprisals taken against Dixiecrats merely because they remained Democrats.

According to a "secret" memo of the Citizens' Political Committee on May 5, 1950, those who supported the final plan included: Senator John Bricker of Ohio, Representative Joe Martin of Massachusetts, Harry Byrd of Virginia, Richard Russell of Georgia and others. Eventually, the "Citizen's Political Committee" in January of 1951, became a national organization with offices in Washington, D. C. It was renamed the "Committee to Explore Political Realignment" and was headed by Albert W. Hawkes, reactionary industrialist and former Republican senator from New Jersey. This is the same Albert Hawkes who since 1948 has been one of the leading financial supporters of the anti-Semitic National Economic Council headed by the notorious Merwin K. Hart. The new Committee presented substantially the same program of J. Harvie Williams. In fact the same money and the same political figures backed both groups. Williams served as the director of research for the Hawkes-led group.

The significant thing about the 1952 old party conventions is not that the bi-partisan scheme as outlined above was not formally put into action. The elaborate plans of the fascistic realignment forces were by-passed because they were not necessary. With the seating of the dissident dele-

gations from the South, the elimination of an enforceable FEPC plan in the platform and the nomination of John Sparkman (read Richard Russell) for the vice presidency, the Democratic Party pledged allegiance to the Dixiecrats. Even with this capitulation, the "Solid South" has become a questionable factor as seen from the state electoral convention fights in Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia where the Bourbons threatened to vote for the GOP ticket.

Regardless of the presidential outcome, a victory for the Democrats or the Republicans will keep the realignment coalition in power in Congress. On all the fundamental issues—peace in the world, human rights of Negroes and other minorities and the task of gaining higher living standards—this coalition will throw up heavy blocks in Congress. As for the executive, either Eisenhower or Stevenson will fully satisfy the racial arrogance of the Dixiecrats, continue in effect the war program of the Truman Doctrine, and Wall Street can be assured that the Taft-Hartley enslavement of labor will remain on the books.

People's Counter-Coalition

The overriding question of the day and of the 1952 elections is how to preserve democracy in the United States and develop an effective challenge to the realignment coalition—the coalition which has won decisive control in both major parties. This challenge can come only from the growth of a counter-coalition based on the issue of peace, civil liberties and social advance. The Progressive Party program provides the most effective answer to the reactionary coalition. But the democratic coalition cannot be limited to those who embrace the full program of that party. Labor, minority groups and millions of individuals deeply concerned with the wrecking job done upon the edifice of democracy by the reactionary two-party combination, regardless of their readiness or reluctance to leave the two-party system, must be able to find a welcome in the broad coalition which can stay the hand of American fascism.

Jewish citizens of the United States must see the dangers to themselves inherent in the national programs of the two major parties. They are programs carved out by the racist-minded—the realignment gang—which is animated by a spirit of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro prejudice. The elections of 1952 may offer the last nation-wide opportunity to halt the establishment of concentration camps and anti-Semitic persecutions which are in the making if the realignment gang is victorious. Therefore, the Jewish worker, small businessman, professionals and others can serve the best interests of his people and of American democracy only by helping to establish a coalition for peace and civil liberties, by voting Progressive or at the very least by pressing upon local candidates of either party to take a stand in behalf of peace and democracy. The realignment gang's dream of fastening fascism upon America can be shattered—but only if the masses of the Jewish people, the Negro people, labor and true democrats join their forces in 1952 for a program in the interest of the people.

ANTI-SEMITIC FURY ON THE EAST SIDE

Fascist DPs enact a nazi-like anti-Semitic attack on peaceful ALP election rallies on the East Side. The community is resisting

By Theodore Jacobs

"KILL the Jews!" "Jew B——s!" "Hitler was right!" The poisonous shouts filled the air with terror as the murderous gang of anti-Semites chased their victims down the street, swinging at them with nail-studded boards and clubs. To a passing couple who had escaped from nazi-occupied Austria in 1938, the scene was reminiscent of what they had experienced under Hitler.

But the place was the United States, 1952, in the heart of New York's East Side, one of the largest Jewish communities in the world. Anti-Semitism in all of its fury was unleashed on July 31, and then again on August 7 by fascist hoodlums who broke up two street meetings held to discuss election issues by the American Labor Party, which is the Progressive Party in New York State. Two persons were injured in the first attack, three in the second, and with marked injustice, ALP leader Sol Tischler was struck in the face by a police captain and arrested on a charge of "insulting an officer" when he protested against the lack of police protection given the meetings.

There were several aspects of the brutal assaults for Americans to consider carefully:

1. The attacks were not only anti-Semitic outbreaks against the Jewish people. They were at the fascist level of using violent anti-Semitism to interfere with free elections by attempting forcibly to silence those speaking for peace and freedom and to intimidate others into silence.

2. The hoodlums were identified as pro-nazi DPs, including ex-members of General Anders' anti-Semitic Polish army and Ukrainian fascists brought to this country under the official government policy of recruiting "refugees from communism" to help defend the "free world." They were the same kind of DP's described in the August issue of *JEWISH LIFE* as practicing anti-Semitism aboard the very ships bringing them to this country and vowing that they would "finish the job that Hitler started."

3. By refusing to provide adequate protection for the street meetings, even after the first attack was reported, the police in effect gave the fascist gang encouragement to carry out their pogrom-like assaults and mobilize for a further campaign of terror on the East Side.

The full and terrible impact of what happened is best told by victims and witnesses in their signed affidavits submitted by the ALP to New York Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan.

In describing the first assault, which occurred during a regular weekly street meeting at Seventh Street and Avenue A, Paul Goldberg said, "The meeting was peaceful with a few hundred people listening. Then a few persons started booing and shouting and were joined by others until about 200 of them were raising a tremendous noise. They shouted vile anti-Jewish remarks such as 'goddam Jews' and 'we need Hitler here' and moved up closer and closer to the platform. Suddenly a half dozen of them rushed the speaker's platform, upsetting it and throwing the speaker off. They started pushing and punching the speaker and two women. I came to their defense and was set upon by seven or eight men who beat me up pretty badly with their fists and who kicked me. They chased me two blocks, ripping my shirt to pieces and hitting me with sticks. I was laid up in bed for two days and required a doctor."

Affidavits Tell the Story

Esther Rand, chairman of the same ALP club and also a speaker at the meeting, told how she was "twice thrown to the ground in an attempt to wrest from me the American flag which I was carrying back to the car containing the equipment of the American Labor Party."

Fearing further trouble at the meeting scheduled for August 7, Jack Rand went to the 9th precinct police station on August 4 and requested Police Captain Al Panarella to see that protection was provided. The captain promised that one patrolman would be at the meeting and two patrol cars would be in the neighborhood. "I protested that this would be insufficient," Rand said, "and the captain said he knew his business." On the afternoon before the meeting, Rand returned to the police station to check on arrangements and learned that no police would be at the meeting. He protested but was glibly assured everything would be all right.

The second meeting began peacefully with Esther Rand speaking for about a half hour. "The meeting was undisturbed by anything whatsoever until about 8:25 P.M.," she reported, "when I noticed the same kind of booing and whistling which I had heard the previous Thursday, and then saw a group of men cross the street diagonally from the northeast corner of the park. I called attention of the large audience to this group, and pointed out that it was their obvious intention to break up the meeting. There was

no police officer present. Because of the danger that this group presented to the safety of the people at the meeting, I therefore adjourned the meeting."

Standing in the crowd, Jack Rand noticed many of the same group who had participated in the previous attack gathering near the platform and making such remarks as "Those lousy Jews," and "What's the matter with Hitler?"

Imported Fascists

Another description of the build-up for the attack was provided by Frances Goldin, who said, "There was a group of young men from about 20 to 30 years of age. One was obviously the leader of the group. . . . He spoke English very well, with only the faintest trace of an accent. He was urging the men with him to become more aggressive. He would say, 'Come on, why don't you use your voices?' and 'When I start whistling, you all start whistling and yelling. Don't let those commies speak. If they don't stop, we'll cross the street and break up their meeting. We can't let them get away with this. We handled them over there and we can finish them off here.'

"If the ringleader had been arrested," she continued, "the entire group of hecklers would have disappeared, since they obviously were organized and goaded on by this man described above. . . . Since the men seemed somewhat reluctant, the leader said, 'Move—they killed your mothers and fathers and brothers in Europe—let's get them now.' He yelled out 'B——s, swine, we'll kill you. We don't need you, don't come back.' By now the crowd was yelling and throwing things at the speaker's stand, which was being dismantled. The crowd of men could hardly speak English, and if they did, with a marked accent. They were screaming 'Zhid, Stalinec, b——d, we'll kill you all.'"

The ALP members hastily piled their equipment into their car and drove off as a gang of 50 hoodlums attacked the vehicle and managed to break the radio aerial. "A few men and women witnessing the attack rushed to help the people in the car and were attacked by this gang," said Julius Nachman. "They pulled out weapons such as bats, sawed off cue sticks, and rocks and brutally attacked several of us. We had to run for our lives and managed to save ourselves by heading toward a more populated area further east. . . . There were no police officers in view during the meeting and none at all while this vicious attempt to bodily injure and murder people was occurring, even though we were screaming for the police."

One of those most seriously injured was Irving White. "As the car sped away they converged on one participant," White said. "I ran with two other men to help him and with the odds so much against us we ran down to Third Street and turned left to Avenue B. The gang continued to pursue us, throwing rocks and large pieces of wood. As we came to a candy store on the corner, we ran inside but one of our men was cut off. As I looked out of the entrance of the candy store to see what had happened to him, a displaced person by the name of Nikolai Melnyk

(identified as a Ukrainian immigrant and later arrested) swung at me with a four foot piece of wood about three quarters of an inch thick with some rusty nails in it. This tore through the shirt I was wearing and made three deep scratches in my chest. This necessitated my being treated at Bellevue Hospital, where I received an anti-tetanus shot. . . . Another one of the men threatened me with a knife. This individual, as did the other person who assaulted me, shouted vile epithets such as 'we will kill you Jews.'" The same man who struck White was accused of being the one who hit Mrs. Bella Tischler in the stomach with a board.

The East Side is Aroused

After the attacks Sol Tischler, chairman of the 4th South ALP and president of Local 140 of the United Furniture Workers, CIO, went to the police station to complain. Instead of getting help, he reported being struck in the face by Captain Panarella and was arrested. Tischler's case came up in court August 13 and was postponed to October.

The hoodlums acted with an arrogance apparently strengthened by a feeling that the law was on their side. Actually, they had good reason for such confidence. Had they not been eagerly sought in Europe's DP camps as choice immigrants in accordance with official United States immigration policies? Had they not been put in control of the DP camps and permitted to persecute Jewish DPs aboard the very ships bringing them to the United States? Were they not hailed by most of the newspapers as anti-communist heroes on their arrival in America? The atmosphere prevailing in the country provided a logical setting for their assaults.

Aroused over the reality of Hitler-like terror in New York and determined to prevent further outbreaks, residents of the East Side are uniting to fight back. An ALP delegation, led by Ewart Guinier, New York County ALP treasurer, visited Police Commissioner Monaghan to demand the removal of Police Captain Panarella and to protest lack of police protection. Monaghan told the ALP delegation on August 15, that "we shall see that there is adequate protection made for a peaceful meeting." Police Inspector Conrad Rothengast assured the delegation that he would take personal responsibility for protection of all future meetings.

Jewish citizens, supported by many of their Polish and Ukrainian neighbors who deplore the action of the fascist DPs, joined other East Siders of all faiths and nationalities in planning the mass demonstration scheduled for August 21 on the same corner where the attacks took place. The ALP planned to distribute 25,000 leaflets in English, Yiddish and Ukrainian in connection with the August 21 meeting. Just as the first attack at Peekskill could not go unchallenged, the anti-Semites could not be allowed to get away with their "little Peekskill" effort to break up peaceful ALP street meetings in connection with the election campaign. There is too much at stake, not only for Jewish Americans, but for American democracy.

"PEACE WITH ANY AMERICA"

A peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union does not require a change in the "American way of life." A nation's ideology is its own affair.

By Ilya Ehrenburg

Following is the text of a speech by the noted Soviet journalist and novelist, Ilya Ehrenburg, delivered at the World Peace Council meeting in Vienna in July to consider the new dangers to world peace by the signing of the Bonn "contractual agreement." The speech contains a special message to Americans.—Eds.

THIS spring, when I was in Copenhagen, a Danish girl said to me: "Everybody's talking about war and I have three children. The papers write that it's the Russians' fault, they want to destroy the American way of life. I don't live the Russian way or the American way, I live my own life. I don't say it's anything special, but I don't want anybody to stop me. I don't understand anything about politics, but this can't go on. . . ."

"This can't go on. . . ." These words wake an echo in everyone. It may be that during the past years the danger of war has not increased, it has also not grown less. When the doctor says of a man exhausted by a long illness that his condition shows no change, this is ground for concern. Not only is the war of which a handful of criminals dream dreadful—dreadful likewise are the fervor of waiting, the mutual mistrust, the lies, the hatred, the blank walls cutting off one people from another, the clash of arms, the younger generation growing up haphazard, the death-dealing inventions ranged against the increasing defenselessness of man.

Every expression can be interpreted variously, but it appears there is no expression that admits of so many or so varied interpretations as "way of life." For President Truman, the American way of life is the policy of the State Department or the intrigues of the Pentagon. For the plain American citizen the concept "American way of life" is the life he likes, work, family, an automobile, American football, jazz, an exciting film, a speech in the club or a sermon in church, fun on Sunday and cares on Monday. Every person has a right to like or dislike such a way of life, to rate it high or to rate it low, but if this way of life pleases the Americans, nobody has any right to interfere with it. And nobody is interfering with it. For millions of plain Americans, the expression "American way of life" is associated with streamlined automobiles and good roads, prefabricated houses, refrigerators and television sets—whether he owns these or sees them in the shops, with the possibility of shaking hands with a senator or even with the president, with an easy unaffectedness, with the Sunday

idealism that mollifies the business ruthlessness of every day, with democratic manners that smooth over social inequality, with the fantasy of a lucky chance that may transform the homeless beggar in an all-powerful millionaire. It is time the plain American should understand that the Russians are not massing to deprive him of his little Ford, that the Chinese have no intention of meddling with television programs in the USA, that the Koreans do not lust after the Smiths' refrigerator, that the Poles are unconcerned whether the aforesaid Mr. Smith shakes or does not shake the hand of Dulles or even Truman, and into the bargain dreams of making not only millions but billions.

Every people cherishes its way of life. The plain American, who likes the American way of life, must respect the manners, laws, customs, tastes of other peoples. You cannot inoculate an ideology with a bomb.

I do not know to whose taste may be the regime of Syngman Rhee, against which even the ministers he nominates rise in revolt. But let us assume that this regime arouses pleasure in certain Americans. Very well, they have the right to praise him, but they will be wrong if they reckon that burning Pyongyang with napalm will convince its inhabitants of the superiority of the American way of life.

I have been to America, much I liked; and much I didn't like. I have met Americans who have been to my country—much they liked and much they didn't like. There are things that can be argued about and from argument, it is said, is born truth. The American authorities declare every few days that they do not like the system in the Soviet Union. That's their business. To us, Soviet people, there is much in America itself we find distasteful; for example we frankly wish that Americans disliked black deeds and not black skins—that they respected the dollar a bit less and men a bit more. However, that's the Americans' own business. The plain American must understand that it is impossible, in the name of his own liberty, real or fancied, to try to deprive other peoples of their liberty. The "Voice of America" announces regularly to all and sundry that in America has been set up a "Society for the Liberation of Russia," with a man at its head who only recently was United States ambassador in Moscow. In my country there is not and could not be a Society for the Liberation of America. However much we may desire the elimination of race discrimination in the USA, we know that this de-

pende not on the growth of Soviet armaments but on the growth of the American conscience. Hitler, too, talked of "liberating Russia." He wanted to liberate Russia from the Russians. The plain American should bethink him whither leads the greed of the deceiver or the rivalry of the deceived.

You have a right to choose that way of life which pleases you, you have a right to choose between Democrat and Republican, between psychoanalysis and physiotherapy, between two boxers or two film stars, between the Rocky Mountain prairies or the Florida beaches, but you have not a right to choose between war and peace. No foreigner will call on you to answer for voting for one or another president, for this or that law, but all the peoples of the world will hold you responsible, though you be a good and peaceable man, if the authorities of your country venture to let loose a third world war.

It is not true that we, the Soviet people, hate America. We respect the American people, their genius, their achievements in science, their inventiveness, their industry. I add, speaking personally as a writer, I value very highly many American writers, despite the fact that their viewpoint is often so different from mine. I add, speaking as a man, I have been in the United States and met there many people both wise and good. No one in the Soviet Union has ever encroached upon nor ever will encroach upon the American way of life. Let every people live according to its lights. Let every people find the path to peace, whereby the ideals, interests and tastes of one people shall not interfere with any other people's living, thinking, creating. It is impossible to impose on China the regime of Chiang Kai-shek, on the grounds that 19 American states voted for Chiang Kai-shek at the United Nations: one has to remember not only that the population of China is nearly twice as numerous as the population of all 19 American states combined, but also that the citizens of every state, whether larger or small, have the right themselves to decide the regime they want.

To avoid the peril of war, one must sit together at one table and come to terms. The Soviet people wants peace with any America, the America of the Progressives and the Republicans and Democrats. It wants peace with the American workers and with the American capitalists, it wants peace not only with its friends but with its enemies. It wants peace not because it is faint-hearted or weak, but precisely because its heart is large.

The plain American may say that there are sharp discords between the American and Soviet viewpoints on many questions. I am not a diplomat, I am not a specialist in questions of atomic energy, nor an expert in international law. I am first and all the time a writer. But I know that many times the representatives of my country have proposed to the Americans that talks be started, and I know that many times the Americans have refused to talk. I am told, it will be hard to agree. This is true, agreement is not easy. For this is required mutual goodwill, desire to find agreement. When nazism threatened Europe and America,

the Soviet Union and the United States agreed. Throughout the terrible years, our soldiers and the soldiers of America fought side by side for peace. This, for our part, we have not forgotten. Very well, then, too were ideological discords and differences of taste and conflicts of interest. Would then, a third world war be any less an evil than Hitler?

You, citizens of America, tell your responsible leaders to give up "bragging and threatening," to sit down round a table with Soviet representatives, with the representatives of the other great powers and honestly try to reach agreement. Thereby you will save your country, your children, your future, too. I believe in the head and the heart of the American people. Later this year will be held a great Peace Congress, high hope of all the peoples. Let the people of America realize the importance of this Congress and send there a delegation that shall voice the will of every class and every party. I desire only to say that, in the persons of the Soviet delegates, they will find friends, able to appreciate the distinct path of every people and desiring not to enforce on others their way of life, but to save the life, culture and future of all humanity.

British Jewry is Worried

APPREHENSION at the signing of the Bonn "contractual agreement" between the Western Powers and the Bonn regime has been registered by the Jewish Board of Deputies, conservative representative body of British Jews. At the last meeting of the Board on July 20 before the summer recess, a resolution was passed embodying this position.

"The Board of Deputies of British Jews," said the resolution, "views with grave concern the contractual agreements signed in Bonn between the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France and the Bonn government of West Germany, insofar as they concern the rearmament of West Germany."

"The Board believes that these agreements will lead to the revival of aggressive militarism in the whole of Germany, inevitably resulting in the intensification of neo-nazi activities. This will imperil democracy and world peace and bring with it the spread of racial hatred both in Germany and other countries."

"The Board, therefore, is of the earnest conviction that before the Bonn contractual agreements are ratified, endeavors should be continued to bring about a peaceful settlement between East and West."

It is significant that one deputy objected to the formulation of the danger of a revival of militarism "in the whole of Germany" because it implied that the West was responsible for German rearmament. This deputy offered an amendment stating that the agreements had "followed upon the rearmament of East Germany." The amendment was defeated in this generally conservative body by a vote of 96-61 and the original formulation was allowed to stand.

At a special meeting shortly thereafter, the Jewish Representative Council of Glasgow declared itself "solidly behind" the Board's resolution and added its own apprehension at "that part of the contractual agreement which infers that nazi war criminals will be released."

FRIENDSHIP WINS AT HELINSKI

The peace sentiment aroused by the Olympics and the democratic participation of oppressed peoples at the games were the real victors

By Joe Gerstein

THE international Olympic games at Helsinki which held the world enthralled from July 19 to August 3, was not only the most exciting sports event of modern times. It also proved to be a remarkable demonstration of the popular desire for peace in all parts of the world. The friendly competition of athletes of diverse political viewpoints, of athletes from both the capitalist and socialist countries, spontaneously caused people to ask, why can't nations compete peaceably as the athletes were doing? In particular, the friendly competition of young athletes from the two giant nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, insistently raised this question in people's minds. Not since the historic meeting of American and Soviet fighting men on the Elbe in Germany, had such cordial relations prevailed between men and women of the two countries.

The reports about friendly competition at Helsinki sent a thrill of hope to people all over the world. One highlight of the competition occurred when Bob Richards, a member of the outstanding United States team that turned in such a magnificent performance, made the vault that won him a gold medal in this event. Soviet pole vaulter Peter Denisenko rushed over to Richards, grabbed him in a bear hug and lifted him off the ground. "This display of good sportsmanship and friendship by the Russian," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Allison Danzig on July 23, "was reciprocated wholeheartedly by the American and after the victory ceremony Denisenko again turned and seized Richards' hand and congratulated him. The Americans and Russians have been hitting it off together ever since their arrival here but the display of good fellowship between these two pole vaulters saw Olympic spirit soar higher than it had at any other time."

Later, Richards commented: "The Olympics has helped the cause of friendship. This is the greatest thing in the world. We're all together as athletes and differences are forgotten. I honestly can't see why people all over the world can't get along like the competitors here do." Millions of people were saying the same thing to themselves.

Friendly Competitors

The hostile pre-Olympic press reports about competition with the Soviet team had not led United States athletes to expect such cordiality. "From what I'd heard, I expected

to get my ears chewed off," commented Clifford Goes, chairman of the United States rowing team after visiting members of the Soviet crew. "Instead, they couldn't have been nicer. They are a swell bunch of fellows." After the Annapolis crew had won the eight-oar championship, the Soviet team tendered the Americans a victory banquet at which they exchanged gifts and toasted international understanding. Coxswain Manring, of Cleveland, expressed thanks for the Soviet hospitality by saying, according to an Associated Press dispatch of July 24, "This has been a wonderful experience for all of us. We are glad to come here and meet your people and find they are just like us." Such friendship disturbed those who hold war between the United States and the Soviet Union inevitable. Hearst's International News Service, put out a story which noted



Flag raising ceremony at the opening of the Olympics.

with alarm, "The Russian and American crews may be getting along just a little too well."

But the tremendous peace sentiment at Helsinki could not be hidden. When Emil Zatopek, Czechoslovakia's triple Olympic champion whom the press hailed as the greatest runner of all time, addressed a mass peace rally in Helsinki and called for an end to the Korean war and for world peace negotiations, he was enthusiastically applauded.

It was inevitable that an event that engendered such widespread peace sentiment, should also have been a fine demonstration of democracy as well. One striking aspect of the games was the brilliant performance of many athletes from oppressed peoples. There was no room for Jimcrow or anti-Semitism or any form of racism at Helsinki. Athletes from the various parts of the world greeted with admiration and respect the prowess of their competitors regardless of origin. The performance of the great Negro athletes from the United States who live under the shadow of Jimcrow at home, was greeted with enthusiasm. So also were athletes from colonial nations, such as the relay team from Jamaica that set a new world's record in the 1,600 meter relay. Jewish athletes from many countries of the world took part without the badgering of anti-Semitism.

All was not perfect, to be sure. Both the cold war and the undemocratic policies of the governments controlling some of the nations represented at the Olympics took their toll. Oppression of colonial peoples and lack of opportunity among them were reflected in the far too small colonial representation. For example, there were only three athletes from Indonesia. There were no non-whites on the team from the Union of South Africa, a fact that was significant of many decades of oppression and the outrageous

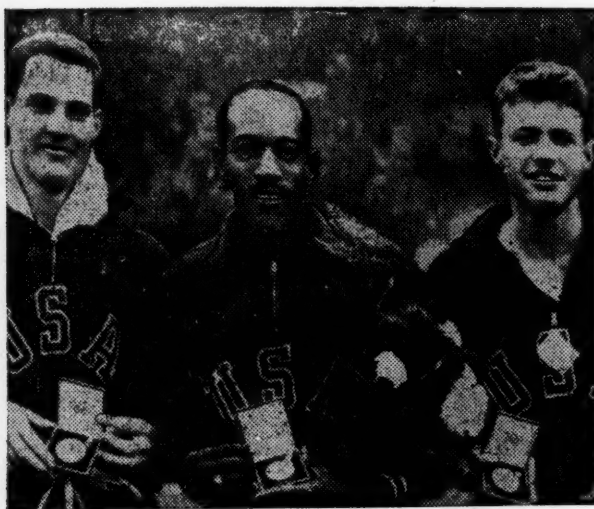
discrimination that is being carried forward so ruthlessly by the Malan government. Although a team from the Chinese People's Republic was finally accredited to the games, the decision was delayed so long that it was not possible for the Chinese team to arrive in time for the start of the competition. And there was an important sports journalist missing from the corps of writers covering the Olympics. The United States State Department refused a passport to Helsinki to Lester Rodney, sports editor of the *Daily Worker*. They feared the vigorous report of the peace aspect of the games that Rodney would have given to the American people.

Negro Achievement

However, the general atmosphere was democratic, particularly with respect to oppressed people and minorities. Among the high moments at the games were the thrilling accomplishments of the outstanding Negro athletes who formed a large portion of the United States team. Of the 60 members of the men's track and field group, 15 were Negroes. Gold medals were won by Andy Stanfield, who set a new record in the 200-meter dash; Mal Whitfield, who also smashed a record in the 800-meter run; Harrison Dillard, who won the 110-meter hurdles, and Jerome Biffle in the men's broad jump. Stanfield and Dillard also figured prominently in the victory that gave the United States a gold medal in the men's 400-meter relay. The Negro track stars also took numerous second and third places, as in the case of the silver medal won in the decathlon by Milt Campbell, 18-year-old high school student whose neighbors raised \$1500 to send him to the Olympic tryouts in California. Of the four United States women who scored a surprise victory in the women's sprint relay, three were Negro athletes. All five United States boxers who won gold medals were Negro fighters, including Nate Brooks, flyweight; Charles Adkins, light welterweight; Floyd Patterson, middleweight; Norvel Lee, light heavyweight; and Eddy Sanders, heavyweight.

To many athletes from other countries who know about the oppression of the Negro people in the United States, the large representation of Negroes on the United States Olympic team must have seemed incongruous. The explanation lies in the democratic manner in which the team was chosen. Athletes were not hand-picked by a committee meeting behind closed doors. Qualifying meets were held and those athletes who turned in the best performance were automatically designated for the team. When a man comes first in a race, no amount of Jimcrow manipulation can hide the fact.

Because they understood the situation in the United States and in the colonial countries, athletes from the Soviet Union took special interest in extending their hospitality to representatives of oppressed peoples. The *New York Times* report of this fact made it sound like a devious plot. *Times* correspondent George Axelsson wrote on July 27, "Those peoples made out by Soviet propaganda to be vic-



Harrison Dillard (center), great United States sprinter who broke the Olympic record in the 110-meter hurdles, with his American team-mates Jack Davis (right) and Arthur Barnard (left), who finished second and third, respectively, in the event.



Jim Fuchs, American shot-putter, shows his injured hand to the Soviet discus star, Nina Dumbadze.

tims of imperialism and subjugation, therefore colored peoples generally but even whites, such as South Africans, have come in for Russian hospitality." What can the *New York Times* find wrong with extending a warm hand of friendship to oppressed peoples? Or is it that the *Times* feels it necessary to try to cover up genocidal oppression to which the Negro people are subjected in the United States? Would the *Times* say that Soviet propaganda "made out" the fact that the Olympics could not even be held in some sections of the United States, where Negro athletes would not be allowed to stay in the same hotels, swim in the same pools or even compete together with white athletes?

Jewish Participation

The appearance of the Soviet team at Helsinki also struck a blow at those who peddle lies about "anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union." An initial check indicated that there were at least five Jewish athletes on the Soviet team. Boris Gurevich, a lightweight wrestler, won a gold medal in his event. Yakov Punkin, another wrestler, was also on the team. Women's shot-put star Tamara Tyshkevich took a fourth place and the winning Soviet gymnastic team included Mikhail Perelman and Joseph Berdiev. Here we have another evidence that assertions about an official policy of "anti-Semitism" by the Soviet government are a lie.

Numerous other Jewish athletes participated from many lands. Israel fielded a 25-man team, including a basketball squad, a track and field team, a rifle team and one swimmer. The Egyptian basketball team included Zouri Harari, who according to the London *Jewish Chronicle* of June 17, had also been chosen for the 1948 Olympics but was kept out of those games by King Farouk's order to exclude Jews

from the Egyptian team. The famous woman fencer Llonia Elek was on the Hungarian team. The team from India included Isaac Mansoor and David Sopher, members of their country's water polo team. From Australia came Raymond Weinberg, the national champion in the 120-yard hurdles, and Morris Curoota, who ran the 400-meter hurdles for his second Olympic participation. The British team included Peter Elliot, 22-year-old diver who had also taken part in the 1948 games, and fencer Allan Jay, who holds the national junior and senior epee titles.

Eighteen Jewish athletes were counted on the United States team. Henry Wittenberg, defending light-heavy-weight wrestling champion from the 1948 games, finished second this time. Wittenberg, who is a policeman in New York, is the National Amateur Athletic Champion in his division. Henry Laskau, American Athletic Union walking champion, was disqualified for not having one foot on the ground at all times. Martin Engel took part in the hammer throw and Don Sheff of Yale was on the swimming team. There were also 14 Jewish athletes on the United States fencing team.

Much of the American press regarded "beating the Russians" as far more important than the good will that the Olympics were establishing among the peoples of the world. As a result of the spirit of friendship, the equal participation of minority groups and the stirring note of peace, millions of people all over the world took heart for the future.



Soviet-American friendship looks to the future: United States basketball star Clyde Lovelette (right) and Soviet basketball star Otar Korkilia (left) smile together at the coming generation. After the United States team won the championship game from the Soviet team, members of both teams threw their arms around one another and hoped they would play together again.

FOREIGN CAPITAL OVER ISRAEL

Ben Gurion's concessions to American capital have depressed living conditions in Israel and given control of the economy to U.S. magnates

By Victor Perlo

ALMOST two billion people living in countries that have been colonies or great-power spheres of influence are striving for emancipation. During the past decade there has grown a world-wide realization of some vital facts. True national independence requires more than formal political independence. It also demands a balanced economic structure. Starvation cannot be cured with charity but only through social change and independent economic advance. No country can flourish while its resources are in the hands of foreign corporations which drain the country's wealth. Progress requires curbing or eliminating foreign corporations while broadening the scope of economic activity under domestic control. This new understanding is expressed in the demands of the progressive political forces in all countries. It is reflected in the actions of almost all governments, even the most reactionary, which are impelled by popular pressure to go through the motions of attempting to meet the urgent needs of the times.

The United States government, supported by European colonial regimes like Great Britain, France and Holland, appears on the world scene today as the main opponent of this drive for emancipation. Washington exerts pressure on other governments to make everything cozy for United States corporations, to increase their grip on other peoples' economies, to permit them to extract profits without hindrance. It opposes social progress on a world scale. The people thus invaded by United States corporate wealth are told that somehow the concessions they make to the invaders will redound to their benefit. The argument is an international version of the theory by which Herbert Hoover once tried to convince Americans that Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans to great corporations would "trickle down" and ease their depression-born hunger.

Hardly anybody is buying this "trickle-down" theory today. Even such Washington-dominated governments as those of Saudi Arabia and Liberia have recently demanded revision of concessions and the latter has denounced the failure of the iron ore concession to yield the "indirect" or "trickle down" benefits that were supposed to come. Recently, in the UN Economic and Social Council, the underdeveloped countries by a wide-margin led the passage of a resolution calling for *United Nations* handling of financial aid and loans to underdeveloped countries, in preference to leaving it to private corporations and their sponsor governments. The United States government, which can usually

twist arms to its side in the UN, vainly opposed this resolution.

Only one government of a small country is operating against the trend and basing its policy on the "trickle-down" theory: the Israel government.

About this Series

IN this issue we open an important series of four articles in which the economic situation of Israel is subjected to a close analysis by the noted economic consultant and author of *American Imperialism*, Victor Perlo. The first article shows the deleterious effects on the Israel economy of the unprecedented concessions made by the Ben Gurion regime to foreign, chiefly American, capital. The second article discusses Bonds for Israel and shows this plan as a device that is increasing the profitable grip of United States financiers on the Israel economy; far from solving Israel's foreign currency shortage problem, Bonds for Israel is worsening it. The last two articles will deal with the way out for Israel. The third article will show the possibilities of trade with the USSR, the new democracies and the Middle East and the last points to the solution of Israel's internal economic problems.

Concessions to Foreign Capital

Early in the career of the new state, its leaders called for private United States capital to develop the country. United States advisers such as Robert R. Nathan called for multi-billion dollar investment programs.

In 1950, the Knesset enacted the law to encourage foreign investment by granting to foreign investors (1) exemption from customs duties on imports of machinery and raw materials; (2) exemption from payment of taxes on property for 5 years; (3) permission to charge double the ordinary depreciation rates for three years and completely to write off investment in five years, thus avoiding payment of taxes on a large part of profits, and (4) a ceiling of 25 per cent on income taxes and permission to withdraw from Israel 10 per cent of the investment in foreign currency as profits, amortization and interest in each year.

Jewish people in the United States are told that American Jewish capitalists support the state of Israel, want to give it unselfish help. Surely they would not take advantage of such generous provisions for their capital offered by the Israel government!

But in September of the same year, with these concessions already in effect, a delegation of 50 American Jewish capitalists, representatives of Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish organizations, went to Jerusalem to confer with the Israel government on its economic development problems. Premier Ben Gurion put forward his \$1.5 billion development program, of which \$1 billion was to come from the United States in the form of Bonds for Israel, private investments and United Jewish Appeal funds.

The visitors promised the billion—but with their fingers crossed and at a price. Reporting to the subsequent meeting of the national executive committee of the Zionist Organization of America, the late Judge Morris Rothenberg explained: "I don't know whether we will raise a billion dollars. . . . And I may say that there was much criticism of the present government with regard to investments. They were told very frankly that they had not done enough to create the proper climate for investments and I think Mr. Eliezer Kaplan and Mr. Ben Gurion and other members of the government took it very much to heart.

"In a private session which we had with Mr. Kaplan, he confessed that they had not done enough to encourage investments, but he pleaded in extenuation that they had so many problems, so many immediate pressing problems, the matter of day-to-day existence, that it was impossible to remove all the red tape which he admitted existed and he said that they would do their best to create a more favorable climate for investment." (*New Palestine*, October 1950.)

Israel Cabinet Complies

Immediately the Israel cabinet made the required revisions. One was to increase the 10 per cent limit on extraction of profits in foreign currency. Another permitted foreign companies to invest in Israel without putting up a dollar of

United States money. The investor can bring in his own machines. For working capital he can bring in any kind of goods to sell on the Israel markets in order to get the Israel pounds to pay wages, buy materials, etc. Often these imports compete with Israel goods in plentiful supply, such as textiles.

An article emanating from the Jewish Agency and published in *The New Palestine*, October 1950, then the official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, warned that from the operations of this provision, "Israel can well lose millions of dollars of vital exchange during the coming year." Speaking of the new concessions as a whole, the article said: "These new concessions, added to those allowed in the new Investment Law, make Israel one of the few places in the world where private American investors (1) will be subject to no more taxes in Israel than in the United States; (2) will be allowed to convert Israel profits into American dollars in worthwhile amounts; and (3) will be able to obtain foreign exchange with which to purchase raw materials and equipment for production."

In addition, special tourist shops were set up with unrestricted trade in foreign currency. The *New York Times* report in October 1950, commented: "The decisions on non-payment for imports and the tourist shops imply that the government is ready to tolerate uncontrolled business side by side with controlled trade."

"Austerity" and Profits

In short, while "austerity" against the people of Israel is continually tightened, there are no controls at all against the operation of foreign capital. *The announced purpose of "austerity" to strengthen Israel finances is turned into its opposite. It becomes a sieve through which the wealth of Israel is drained. Investments bring no foreign currency, but goods which drive Israel firms out of business.* Foreign investors pay virtually no taxes, hire labor at "austerity" wages, take out at least 10 per cent profits on capital goods for which they set their own value. The uncontrolled tourist shops, as shown by the experience of Western Europe with United States Army installations, become a powerful center for breaking down price control, creating black markets and ruining the national currency.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The "great friends of Israel" who did so much of the investing showed no restraint. Much more money was taken out of Israel than came in. The United States and other foreign investors took full advantage of the right to set up enterprises within Israel without supplying any foreign funds. They took full advantage of the 10 per cent plus withdrawal of profits provision and of the loopholes permitting the escape of millions. The huge sums supplied by American and other Jews to help Israel became just so much additional money for the foreign capitalists to get out of Israel. The foreign currency holdings of Israel—reserves of dollars, British money and other monies needed to pay for imports—fell from \$80 million at the end of 1949 to \$2 million at the

end of February 1952. For a country, such a small reserve isn't even till money. Israel was left utterly bankrupt, unable to pay for its next shipload of food or petroleum imports.

One might think that the Israel government would learn from the disastrous results of its past policy. But its political dependence on foreign, especially United States bankers was too great. It met the crisis with still more concessions to foreign capital. The Israel pound was devalued from \$2.80 to \$1.40 or \$1.00 for transactions involving foreign capitalists. Now they could buy Israel labor for half or one-third the previous price. But the pound was left unchanged in value for imports of essentials, so that Israel workers—paid in cheap money—must buy food with dear money. Price controls were largely abandoned. Prices zoomed 50-100 per cent. Only foreign investors are sure of getting imported raw materials. Israel firms cannot get enough and the Israel government discriminates against them as being "less efficient."

As an example, in June 1952, the Lodzia Textile factory announced that it might be forced to close down because of irregular and insufficient supply of raw materials despite the fact that its exports cover the cost of imported raw materials. This company has capacity to supply Israel with all its requirements in socks and 60 per cent of the underwear but can operate at only half capacity because of the raw material allocation. (*Jewish Agency Press Digest*, week ending June 20.)

Wage Cuts and Profiteering

The American capitalists who visited Israel also impressed upon the Israeli officials the need for fostering increased productivity—in the peculiar, one-sided way known by American workers and by workers in Marshall Plan factories in Europe. Again, immediately after the conference, the government set up jointly with Histadrut and the Manufacturers Association an "institute for production efficiency," encouraged labor-management agreements setting output quotas and tied wage increases to increased productivity.

American union labor knows full well that this is a glorified formula for speed-up, reduction in real wages and soaring profits. An Israel government survey found that the food rationing system provided 2,400 calories late in 1950, about four-fifths of the amount needed for basic nutrition. However, 24 per cent of the families (a larger per cent of the people) consumed less than 2,400 calories. These people could not afford to buy the full ration or were not used to the particular foods provided. The survey found the situation worse than a year earlier (*New York Times*, September 17, 1951).

Since then the situation has deteriorated still further. Francis Ofner wrote from Tel Aviv to the April 30 *New York Post*: "Israel's half-million wage earners are expected to have an even smaller purchasing power in the near future. This will follow the government wage freeze and

inadequate cost-of-living allowances, which 'purposely' do not keep pace with the general rise in official prices."

The housing situation is even worse. With the tremendous influx of immigrants and with new construction limited to houses in the upper price range, decent housing has become a monopoly of the upper fringes. Even those workers who had apartments under the Mandate have been forced to give them up in order to get the "key money" (payment for transferring an apartment) which they needed to supplement wages in order to eat. In makeshift *ma'aborot*, 250,000 immigrants are still housed, 36,000 of them under canvas. All new immigrants are being placed in tents. Only 8,200 dwelling units are under construction, and prospects for next year are even bleaker, since no new projects have been announced. In May and early June discharged soldiers and war invalids conducted a country-wide strike to protest the betrayal of promises that houses would be supplied them. The *Business Digest*, Israel's economic semi-monthly, on May 14, conceding that Israel is a country where proper accommodation is restricted to the rich, states: "The government's own 'popular building scheme' so widely advertised six months ago, is taking on the appearance of a large hoax; with several million pounds advance payments in its coffers, government makes no sign of starting construction of the houses, for which they have no budget, no materials, limited resources."

From these descriptions of the conditions of the Jewish workers, one can only imagine the misery of the Arab workers, jimcrowed in the trade unions and subject to a 50 per cent wage differential. The Arab people are also subjected to special taxes and are fined by military courts if they move their residences without special permission.

All these sufferings are presented as necessary sacrifices on the part of Israeli workers to strengthen the Israel economy. However, the facts show that the operations of foreign capitalists in Israel do not build up the country or improve its finances. They only increase the exploitation of Israeli workers, increase profits and deepen further Israel's financial crisis. This is illustrated by the workings of two United States enterprises, which have been quite well advertised in the United States.

Israel as Cheap Labor Market

The Barton Company, a well known United States firm, will manufacture candy in Israel for sale in 52 shops in New York, Detroit and Newark. Machinery will be sent from Switzerland and Belgium while the concern's New York offices will supply recipes, raw materials and technicians. Mr. Stephen Klein, president of the company, interviewed in Tel Aviv, expected to sell \$100,000 of Israel candy in the first year. "Mr. Klein said Israel's recent economic reforms, which reduced the exchange rate for export industries from \$2.80 to \$1, had made the project possible. At the new rates, union salaries in Barton's enterprise here will be \$18 for a 47 hour week as compared with

a minimum of \$30 for 40 hours a week in the United States." (*New York Times*, April 24.)

Far from developing the Israel economy, this project is nothing but a runaway shop on the Puerto Rican pattern. Raw materials are shipped to the low-wage area, processed there, and then shipped back to the source of the materials for sale. Under the incentive to foreign capital regulations, Barton's need not turn over a single dollar to the Israel government. It can get Israel money with which to pay wages by selling imported goods at high prices—and if it takes in more than needed to pay wages, it can then reconvert the profits into dollars and take that out of the Israel reserves. Through the Washington-sponsored wage freeze, productivity and devaluation measures it can get a lot of labor cheaply and realize unusual operating profit.

Even more significant is the case of the two leading United States investment trusts operating in Israel, Palestine Economic Corporation (PEC), and American Palestine Trading Corporation (AMPAL), which jointly own the Israel-American Shipping Company. For publicity purposes, this line represents the acquisition by Israel of "its own" shipping line. What if it is owned by United States companies? They are "friends of Israel."

But as the fleet grows, so does its foreign currency cost to the State of Israel. The net payment balance on shipping and insurance account increased from 100,000 Israel pounds in 1949 to 2,500,000 Israel pounds in 1951. In reality this is no more an Israel fleet than the Panama-registered tankers of Standard Oil are Panamanian—it is merely another case of United States shipowners using foreign registry as a device for paying a fraction of United States wages. In this case they pretend to do it as a favor to Israel.

Among the directors of the two investment trusts are officers of the United Jewish Appeal, the American Jewish Congress and the Zionist Organization of America. But these wealthy American Jews do not partake of Israel "austerity." Each investment trust reported record profits in 1951. One of the PEC's properties in Israel is the Bay-side Land Corporation, Ltd., owner of the best-located industrial land in the Haifa Bay area and builder of the largest single factory development in Israel. PEC obtained this property with an investment of \$341,250. In 1951 it obtained from this investment an undistributed profit equivalent to \$225,369 (80,489 Israel pounds) in addition to dividend payments not shown separately in the PEC accounts. Thus the rate of profit was at least 66 per cent. The "charitable friends of Israel" do not shy away from typical colonial profiteering.

Foreign Capital Controls Israel

Israel statistics indicate that about \$250,000,000 of foreign private capital has been invested in Israel since the establishment of the State. The foreign investments have included almost all of the large, decisive economic projects. Together with the positions held by foreign capital under the Mandate, they assure control of Israel economy by out-

side interests. Foreign capital completely controls the banking industry, electric power, oil and shipping, and is influential in mining and in ownership of water for irrigation, to speak only of the key sectors of the economy.

About 40 per cent of the private foreign investments have been by United States capitalists, with the remainder scattered among many countries. United States capital has taken over the leading position from British capital. This results not only from the amount of investment. The \$350 million of United States government loans and grants, plus the hundreds of millions contributed by United States Jews and used to purchase Bonds for Israel, assure the primacy of United States capital. Corporate reorganizations within Israel have shifted the balance from British to United States capital in mining and banking and have started the process in electric power.

The new masters, the United States capitalists, occupy a peculiar position. As "friends of Israel," they are quite at home, dictate economic policies to the government, and even step in and run key sections of the government. The Israel government's Investment Center reviews for approval all investments, domestic and foreign. It thus controls the direction of economic development and the interests which shall control it. Mr. Harold Goldenberg is director of the Investment Center. He is a wealthy Minneapolis business man, former vice president of the Palestine Economic Corporation and chairman of the UJA campaign cabinet. He is the owner of a detergent factory in Israel.

Thus this United States capitalist, closely connected with leading financial groups, who has helped collect hundreds of millions from American Jews to "aid Israel," is now himself directly profiting from investments in Israel and at the same time controlling in the name of the Israel government the flow of capital into new industry!

The course of Israel's economic policy has resulted from the orientation of the Israel government on United States and other foreign capital. American Jewish capitalists have successfully pressed Israel for new concessions to the point where Israel is an oasis of milk and honey for foreign capital in a world where the peoples' resistance to colonialism is threatening to dry up the flow of profits abroad in many countries. The much-advertised investments in Israel by American capitalists, far from building up the country, divert Israel workers into sweatshop enterprises and increase its dependence on imports. Far from stabilizing finances, they have brought Israel to bankruptcy. Far from easing the conditions of the immigrants, they have brought increasing poverty to the people, old settlers and immigrants alike.

The American capitalists most instrumental in bringing these disasters to Israel are the very ones most influential in collecting funds from millions of American Jews under the guise of "helping Israel." They have established control over the Israel economy and move toward more detailed control over Israel government operations by instruction from the outside and holding key Israel government posts.

(To be continued.)

THE HONEST WORKER WILLIE MCGEE

By M. Avi-Shaul

Translated from the Hebrew

Dying, the honest worker Willie McGee
Said thus: "Say not, 'There is no judge nor judgment!'"
And his eyes were fountains and his words came clear and bold.

The sum of seven dollars and twenty-five cents
Did he bequeathe to his wife and four children, saying:
"This is all my share for my toil,
My children, the light of my eyes; Rosalie my joy, don't bow down!"

Thus said the honest worker Willie McGee.

He marched on erect, like the sun in his glory,
For he knew, his mighty hammer never slumbers
In the hands of the proletariat, that majestic and powerful hand—

The hand of the black and the brown and the white.
He marched on the eighth of May, at midnight:
The man who had tasted the taste of death in his lifetime,
Who foresaw the victory of the morrow like a fountain in chains,
And his head is therefore proud and clear, his gaze is not dimmed.

Lynch monsters! In vain did we shower them with our anxiety,
In vain did all the corners of the world rise,
In vain did bold eyes gaze at them,
Vain was the warning of millions of open eyes.
O Washington, thou city of slaughter, remember
Thy hangmen—Laurel in Mississippi:
Face to face with their rotten seats of judgment
On the death-chair they seated Willie McGee.

Therefore, O judges of Washington in Mississippi,
We raise the hammer of Willie McGee.
Tomorrow: the blows of the hammer smash fetters,

The rotten chairs turn into ashes like Sodom,
Tomorrow: the blow of the thunderbolt hammer comes down

And your scaffold crumbles into a heap of rubble.
Say not, there is no judge nor judgment!
Thus said dying the honest worker Willie McGee.

Tomorrow: Awake, O Mississippi, thou mighty and constant:

Mississippi of the cotton pickers and reapers of corn.
The barefoot who dip their bread in their tears!
Burst forth, O mighty flood, and expand from the stupor of hovels,

For thou art noble and powerful on the lap of Mother Earth

Like the bounteous channels of the Volga, the Yang-Tse and Amur—

Roll on, purge Washington and Jackson from their vile filth.

Thus commanded the honest worker Willie McGee.

Tomorrow: Laurel town is gaily beflagged,
The children of McGee are borne on waves
And revealed before the breakers of Mississippi
Are white tables set by black hands,
Red furnaces stoked by golden eyes,
Green wheels set in motion by white muscles,
Barns treasuring the seeds of their black sweat.
Arise, possess, O Mississippi!
Thus willed the honest worker Willie McGee.

M. Avi-Shaul is one of the leading progressive poets in Israel. He is an active leader of the peace movement in Israel, the author of many books of poetry, prose and drama and is a contributor to Kol Haam, Communist daily in Tel Aviv.

COMING IN OCTOBER

A SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE ELECTIONS

The Issues and the Candidates

Don't fail to get this indispensable tool for the election campaign

THE BOXING MATCH

A Short Story
By Chaver Paver

THE Commandant himself made the selection from the fresh transports of Jews brought in daily to the death camp. Flanked by a swarm of guards swinging bludgeons, in his parade uniform, with the many medals proudly displayed on his chest, he walked leisurely in front of the long rows of anguished, broken Jews, and with a quick experienced glance appraised each victim—the weaker ones for the gas-chamber, the stronger ones for slave labor. A motion of his white-gloved hand to the right meant death in the gas-chamber, a motion to the left, a few weeks of life yet for hard labor in the camp.

Through with this routine, he made a second selection, a more careful one now. Those that had been sent to the left were again lined up, and the Commandant halted before each one he considered a good possibility, inspected him closely, felt his muscles, and picked out the strongest of the strong to be taken to a special barracks. These were used as material for the "boxing matches."

Commandant Friedrich Zibler before the war had been a professional boxer in his native Hamburg, and a good Nazi party comrade from the old days when they had to beat up communists and Marxists at street demonstrations. For his good services to the cause he had been assigned the responsible post of head of a death camp.

But here in the death camp, the poor man was bored by the monotonous daily routine of exterminating people and the "boxing matches" were life-savers for him. Without them, God forbid, he would have gone crazy. He staged these matches not only for entertainment but also for educational purposes. He secured experienced cameramen who took films of the matches and those films were mailed to the propaganda ministry in Berlin, which distributed them to moving-picture theaters all over Germany to show how a sub-human race behaved in sports.

The truth must be said about our Commandant that he was quite fair to his victims. He gave them boxing gloves and ordered them to resist, to dodge his blows and even to hit him back. The trouble with the Jews though was that they tried to cheat him. They collapsed after the first few blows and pretended they were knocked out. But Zibler was no fool either; he always had the camp doctor at these fights to see that there should be no cheating.

CHAVER PAVER is the pen-name of G. Einbinder, a well-known Yiddish fiction writer and dramatist. The above story is the first he has written in English. He lives in California.

IN THE LATEST TRANSPORT, THE COMMANDANT'S EXPERIENCED eye spotted among the new arrivals a highly prized victim—a very tall, broad-shouldered young fellow with a fiery black beard and thick curly forelocks who held himself very proudly and defiantly. His fiery almond-shaped black eyes looked at him threateningly as if they were saying, "Wait, you beast, the hour of reckoning will come yet."

Those proud and defiant Jews in the transports always puzzled our Commandant. He knew very well the whole process they had to undergo before reaching his death camp, a process which had begun two years back when the German army invaded Poland, a process planned by the best brains among German scientists and statesmen systematically to break the Jew physically and mentally so that when he reached the death camp, not a shred of resistance and human dignity was left in him. But the odd thing was, our Commandant noticed, almost in every fresh transport there were quite a few who looked hardly touched by that process. Such people were usually those the Commandant picked for his boxing matches. For such people our Commandant had a passion. He wanted to prove to himself that what the planned process couldn't accomplish with them in two years, he, Friedrich Zibler, in his death camp could accomplish in a few short days.

Friedrich Zibler felt very good that day. This bearded, insolent young fellow would be a worthwhile target for his skill. He would prolong the fight for many, many rounds and order the cameramen to make a real feature of this show and take shots of each move the Jew made in the ring, showing how step by step under the impact of his powerful blows, the bearded fellow lost his false pride and stupid defiance and became frightened, forlorn and despairing like any other slave in his death camp.

IT WAS NEAR SUNSET. THE ORCHESTRA OF SLAVES MADE UP OF former professional musicians was playing Zibler's favorite selection, Beethoven's *Turkish March*. All the 2,000 slaves of the camp, men and women, with closely shaven heads, in dirty grey and yellow striped jackets and trousers and with wooden sandals on their bare feet, were lined up around the ring in rigidly straight lines, watched by heavily armed guards. On the roof of the Commandant's headquarters stood the cameramen taking shots of the preliminaries.

Always before the Commandant himself made his appearance in the ring, short preliminary matches of a grotesque nature took place. Very short Jews were picked out from among the slaves and matched against the tallest of the camp guards. The very tall, husky, well-fed guards didn't hasten to finish off their bewildered, half-starved victims. They prolonged the fun.

The preliminaries also included the fight of naked slaves. They matched a young one against an elderly one, stripped them entirely naked, and ordered them to pound at each other with all the vigor left in their bodies. Instead of clown's hats, the naked boxers were decorated with *streimlich*, traditional rabbinical fur hats made of animals' tails. The slave orchestra had to play Jewish wedding songs while the naked boxers, lashed on by the hilarious guards with their long smarting whips, swung unwilling blows at each other.

The nazis reeled with laughter. The two thousand slaves reeled with laughter too. The guards saw to it they should laugh and put feeling into their laughter.

Then at a signal from the Commandant, the hilarious roaring of the nazis and the dry, hollow laughter of the slaves ceased. The blaring of the orchestra stopped abruptly. The two naked slaves were dragged out of the ring. The slaves stood at attention amid a foreboding silence.

The Commandant, a mighty athlete, leaped up on the platform and clasping his gloved hands, condescendingly and conceitedly waved them to the crowd as it greeted him with noisy applause. The slaves applauded him too; the guards saw to it they should applaud and put some feeling into their applause.

The bearded young Jew leaped up on the platform too. With a menacing agility he leaped up on the platform. The hearts of the 2,000 slaves sank, for they detected wrath and stubbornness in that menacing agility. The 2,000 slaves were very much worried about today's spectacle. They had learned that this tall, broad-shouldered young man was famous for his strength in his native town of Sosnowice and that he knew boxing too. The son of a rabbi, he had gone contrary to his father's wishes to study for a rabbinical career. The rebellious son was fired, as were many of his generation, by the dream of Palestine—to settle the country with strong, hardy men. To make himself fit for the hard life of a pioneer, he had steeled his body by heavy labor on peasant farms, by sleeping outdoors, by walking barefoot a whole summer and part of fall, by satisfying his hunger with a minimum of food and also by athletics—swimming, horseback riding and boxing.

THE INMATES OF THIS CAMP HAD SOUGHT VAINLY A WHOLE day to come in contact with him and ask him not to resist the Commandant too energetically in the boxing match. If he hit Zibler with too powerful a blow, the guards would afterwards massacre them. They succeeded only in smuggling to him in the special barracks, where he was kept well-guarded, a note from his aunt, who was the only survivor of their large family. "Moishe, for the sake of all the

Jews in this camp, don't hit him back too hard. Allow yourself to be beaten," said the note.

Two thousand pairs of eyes now looked toward that black-bearded young man and silently cautioned him. His aunt, tall, bony, with a sack-cloth shawl over her shaven head, with weeping lips, stood among the crowd too and talked to him with her tortured black eyes. Her eyes seemed to say: "Only we two have remained alive of all our kin. Let us cling to life, no matter how. Maybe with the help of God, we will survive this gruesome nightmare—we, the last two remaining members of our large family. . . . So don't lose your head."

A guard removed the Commandant's brown swastika-besprinkled silken robe and he remained standing before the crowd in his bronze nakedness, a very compact muscular blond giant.

Another guard took off Moishe's robe, a blue and white striped robe besprinkled with many stars of David, and he remained standing before the crowd in his pale nakedness, a tortured brunet giant. All the ribs on his lean body could be counted—broad massive ribs. In the broad massive ribs of that tortured lean body lay a mighty power, a lightning swiftness. He looked proud and handsome in his tallness, in the slenderness of his hips, in the towering height of his shoulders.

They stood facing each other, the powerful Jew and the mighty blond beast, on the platform amidst the fearful silence of the 2,000 slaves. Zibler, in all his boxing matches at his camp, had never fought his adversaries with hatred in his heart. He didn't hate these inferior people, he despised them. But toward this thick-bearded giant, he felt a burning hatred. That Jew looked at him as if he, the Commandant, were the contemptible being, one of an inferior race, not he, the slave.

With the other victims, he usually played around at first, exhibiting the fine points of his art and only in the last round would he start to deliver his deadly blows. This fellow he wanted to hurt right away. . . . He aimed at his eyes—those detestable, insolent Jewish eyes. . . . He let go his right fist with all his force and fury. But quicker than lightning, the other dodged—and the Commandant's intended blow hit the air.

The eyes of the Jew were blazing now with the most expressive contempt. They looked at him as upon a repulsive rodent. The nazi aimed again at those accursed, haughty, mocking eyes—and again his furious blow hit the emptiness. Zibler threw a swift glance at the crowd and it seemed to him the 4,000 eyes of the slaves were mocking him too.

THE SUN WAS SETTING. . . . THE WALLS OF THE BARRACKS AND the gas chambers were a glowing red . . .

For a fraction of a second, Moishe took his eyes off the nazi. They wandered, Moishe's eyes, to his unfortunate brethren who stood rigid and frozen, looking with the fear of death toward the ring. Moishe's eyes also wandered away in that fraction of a second to the western sky. . . . Was this

the last time in his life he'd see how the sun was setting?

In that fraction of a second, the Commandant got him with the impact of a thunderbolt right on the chin. Moishe collapsed on the boards of the platform. His limbs fainted. Only his mind remained conscious. His tortured limbs wanted to lie where they were and never rise again, to dissolve and live no more in that vicious world. But a voice from somewhere spoke to him. It commanded him to rise, to mobilize all his strength, to stand against the murderer and laugh again straight in his face.

Moishe was again on his feet and his eyes had regained supreme strength, the strength to disdain death. He now looked at the nazi with an entirely different look—not the look of mocking, but of deadly hatred.

The boundless hatred shooting from that Jew's eyes burned the Commandant as if his flesh had been seared by hot coals. He threw himself upon Moishe, no longer the carefully calculating boxer, but a desperate murderer. . . . He was met by a lightning blow on the ear.

The hearts of the 2,000 slaves rose when Moishe landed that lightning blow on the nazi's ear. Moishe's heart too rose. He felt in his body the strength not only of his own self but of all his tortured people.

The Jew Moishe became a whirlwind of wrath. Every cell in his starved giant body yearned to take part in the act of vengeance and dispatched into his very broad shoulders, into his massive ribs and into his swift hands every last bit of energy and strength still in reserve.

The 2,000 slaves, seeing the unresisted blows Moishe rained on the murderer of their whole people, too rose above death. They cared no longer about the terrible tortures they would undergo at the hands of the maddened guards. They didn't shout exultantly but breathed deeply and Moishe felt in their deep breathing that they were blessing him. He felt in their deep breathing waves of love flowing toward him.

The guards were uneasy. Friedrich Zibler was bleeding from both ears, his mouth and his nose. They didn't know how to act without a command. The cameramen had stopped shooting; they had to stop, for the shots wouldn't have been any credit to the Third Reich . . .

IN THE WESTERN SKY, THE LAST BIT OF LIGHT WAS FADING. . . . Dark was closing.

Before the guards collected themselves and started firing at him, Moishe must deliver the last blow of reckoning. He leaped, the very tall, tortured Moishe, with his pale nakedness and his steely broad ribs—he leaped, in his body the collective strength of all his brethren, and loosed the last blow. . . .

The nazi reeled and fell to the floor, not knowing what had hit him. . . . He would never know what had hit him. . . .

And then? Then it became very dark—and also very light. . . .

The guards were firing at Moishe from all sides. . . .

"Never Again Concentration Camps"

By Paul Robeson

I happened to be in Germany in 1945 at the end of the war, singing to American troops. Already one heard of the need to attack the Soviet Union and to make friends with the remains of Hitler Germany. Our concert company had to refuse to sing on two occasions until pro-Hitler fascists, guests of the top military, left the hall.

I stood at Dachau, where the dust remains of many victims still were visible. But the Hitler storm-troopers were basking in the sun, protected by American soldiers. The policy later evolved was beginning then—a definite high United States military policy of making common cause with the remnants of Hitler fascism.

In Eastern Germany today we see a different picture—a rebuilding of a new Germany based upon the people's power, with the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies as a constant guide. . . .

At present we are learning too slowly because the masters of the commercial press, radio and other channels of communication have sought to silence the truth and to distort the facts to suit their greedy advantage. The truth about Hitler Germany, the anti-fascist war and Germany today are unpleasant to the atom-

framers of United States foreign policy. Because the truth shows that in the seven years which have passed since the end of the war in Europe, the mantle of leadership in every anti-human plot and scheme has passed from the chancellory of the Third Reich to the Pentagon and the White House in Washington.

The world recoiled at the horror of Dachau, Belzen and Lidice. But some Americans today contemplate without a quiver, holocausts of even greater magnitude to be perpetrated against the colored peoples of the Far East. We read the reports of the indescribable brutality of United States troops in Korea—the levelling of villages, raping of women, the casual murder of old men and children—and somehow we avoid the unhappy conclusion that we are permitting a sizeable portion of our children to be raised as a generation of storm-troopers.

But world humanity will not avoid this conclusion. They will hold us just as guilty as were the German people for the murder of eight million men, women and children in the concentration camps. . . .

If we are to defeat the plan to place us by the hundreds of thousands in the concentration camps already in being in our own land, we must never tire of bringing the truth home to the people.

TWO HUMANISTS: DOCTORS JACOBI

Some little known facts about the communist origins of one of America's greatest doctors. The pioneering work of his wife and fellow doctor

By Morris U. Schappes

DR. Abraham Jacobi had been dead 11 years already when the centenary of his birth rolled around in 1930, but at the New York Academy of Medicine a grand commemorating dinner was held in his honor. Lillian Wald, speaking on that occasion after returning from a visit to the Soviet Union, described glowingly her impressions of a Russian Maternity and Child Welfare Center housed in a mansion formerly used as an aristocratic female academy. She remembered that "in the center of the chapel are four or five columns, each one dedicated to some one great person who has contributed most to the welfare of children, and it pleased me greatly to see on the very first one the name of Dr. Jacobi engraved."

When he died on July 10, 1919, the obituaries in the medical, general, German and Jewish press were long and deservedly general, but there were special evaluations of his great career in the socialist press. *The New York Call* paid tribute not only to "one of the world's greatest physicians" but to "one of the staunchest champions of the rights of the child and its mother . . . [and] also the great friend of the undernourished, the poorly born, the poorly housed, and, in his half century of work as a man of medicine, he was always in the forefront in the campaign for a cleaner and stronger humanity. Dr. Jacobi, the sociologist, was not as well known as Dr. Jacobi, the physician, yet it was his knowledge of the underlying principles of living conditions which made him such a potent force in the world of medicine."

The *Jewish Daily Forward* remembered him as the German revolutionary Forty-Eighter, "an ambassador from the Communists Marx, Engels, etc. in the world today," but deplored that in recent days "the comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx became the comrade-in-arms of those who demanded war."

Likewise the left-socialist *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, which had consistently opposed the imperialist World War I, noted that the "one-time Communist" had at the end of his long life turned into an American nationalist and was even indifferent to the revolutionary Spartakus movement in postwar Germany. Yet both the *Volkszeitung* and the *Forward* proudly commended his memory to progressive mankind: "There was a Man!" said the *Volkszeitung*; "Mankind will honor his memory," wrote the *Forward*.

But it was only in the *Volkszeitung* and in the conservative *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, among all the articles

in biographical dictionaries, encyclopedias, periodicals and newspapers, that the significant fact was recorded that in 1852, Jacobi had been one of 11 Communists involved in the famous Cologne trial in Prussia!

And now there has appeared a biography which mentions none of the foregoing facts, including his being a Communist and his being tried as a Communist in Cologne! Is the omission due to the effect of the "cold war" and McCarthyism upon publisher or author, or to ignorance, or indolence in digging out the facts?

The Two Doctors Jacobi

Of course *The Doctors Jacobi* by Rhoda Truax (Little, Brown, Boston, 1952, \$3.50) is worth reading, for it can introduce to a wide public two figures who deserve to be better known exactly because their lives were so distinctly devoted to the service of humanity both through medicine and through struggle for social reform. Furthermore, the book is written with the facility and narrative fluency of an author who has already issued six novels on medical themes and a biography of Dr. Joseph Lister.

It was a happy idea of Miss Truax's to write about *both* Doctors Jacobi. Dr. Mary Putnam, daughter of the publisher whose establishment is still active, first met Dr. A. Jacobi in 1871 and married him at the New York City Hall in 1873. Dr. Mary Jacobi had an independent and notable career (1842-1906), even though she did not attain the international stature of Dr. A. Jacobi. Unfortunately, Miss Truax gives a larger portion of her brief 250 pages to Dr. Mary Jacobi than to Dr. A. Jacobi. The reason is probably not far to seek: the existence of a *Life and Letters* and a collection of the writings of Mary Jacobi made it possible for Miss Truax to content herself with skillfully rewriting this easily accessible material, while for Abraham Jacobi greater research resourcefulness than the author seems to command was required for the amplification of the picture of his long life of 89 years.

Pioneer Woman Doctor

Like the other intrepid spirits who pioneered as women in medicine, Mary Putnam had to overcome many man-made obstacles. Having been graduated in 1863 from the New York College of Pharmacy and in 1864 from the

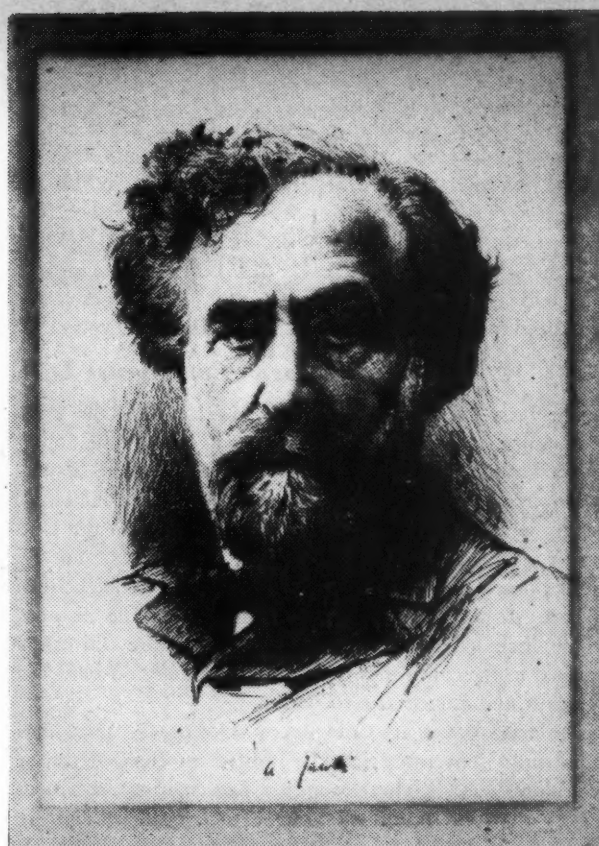
Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, she decided that she needed much more medical training, especially if she was to do what other women doctors had not yet done, not only practice medicine but do medical research work. In 1868, she battered down French medical male exclusiveness, becoming the first woman to be admitted to the Paris Ecole de Medicine. In Paris during the days of the Commune, among her closest friends were the Communards Elie and Elisee Reclus, and she herself "did not hesitate to give her wholehearted support . . . to the Commune."

Her articles in *Scribner's* helped interpret the French situation to Americans. When she left France to go to England and then home, she worked mightily to get petitions and letters sent to Thiers in behalf of her Communard friends. She rejoiced when her efforts helped effect a reduction of their punishment from imprisonment to exile. At home she became a well-known physician, teacher and research worker, inspiring other women to emulate her. Her interest in social problems was by no means lessened by her medical achievements; rather did her prestige aid her in her work as reformer. When in 1886, she lectured on health to working women in the Knights of Labor hall, she "emphasized the need for organizing in order to eliminate conditions which caused ill-health faster than medical science could repair it." Later she became a leader of the Consumer's League, which sought to improve the conditions of women department store workers and women toiling in garment-making sweatshops. She fought for reforms in primary education; she lobbied for social legislation in many fields; she was a spokesman and writer in the cause of woman's suffrage. She lived a life of social usefulness.

"The Father of Pediatrics"

Abraham Jacobi, we learn from Miss Truax, was one of the undisputedly great men of American medicine, renowned especially as the "father of pediatrics," of child care. The permanent effect of his early Marxist thinking (unmentioned by the author, but to be summarized below) was to condition him always to seek the social context of ill-health, to stress the relationship between poverty and tuberculosis, to use his continually increasing eminence to urge doctors to "go into politics," to promote public health legislation, to see the connection between the sick-bed and the sicknesses of society. In his medical practice as well as his public activity he espoused the children of the poor, the working women, the overworked wives of working men. His relentless social conscience made his medical genius ever so much more effective.

Anti-Semitism, if it could not stop Jacobi's rise, did impede him. Miss Truax barely mentions the subject, and then very gingerly. We are assured that he was "welcome wherever culture and intellect were valued above ancestry." True, but ancestry was valued above culture and intellect not only by some of the members of the Putnam family, but by the chieftains of the American Medical Association,



Dr. Abraham Jacobi

the presidency of which "was not lightly bestowed upon a foreign born Jew," or any Jew. Not lightly indeed! By the time he was 70 in 1900, Dr. Jacobi had been president of the New York Obstetrical Society (1868), the New York County Medical Society (1870-72), the New York State Medical Society (1882), the New York Academy of Medicine (1885-89) and the first president of the American Pediatric Society (1888); he had also been awarded honorary degrees by the University of Michigan and by Columbia—but the presidency of the A. M. A. was not to be his. Did they think he would die and relieve them of the problem? By the time he was 80, he had been chairman of the American Commission to the 14th International Medical Congress in Madrid in 1903, and been awarded honorary degrees by Yale and Harvard in 1906, but still the presidency of the A. M. A. was denied him—until he was finally elected in 1912!

Of course his Presidential Address on "Infant Mortality" aroused controversy: he called for unconditional postnatal assistance to mothers, arguing that "the term *charity* should be supplanted by *responsibility*." Anticipating red-baiting, Jacobi added: "It is useless to call that socialism or communism." Then he proceeded to advocate laws providing that "a clean bill of health precede matrimony," and to urge the desirability of birth control under present social conditions. For this last, a Dr. Austin O'Malley denounced

him as "a revolutionist against the government of God" and reminded the public that this same Jacobi had in 1851 "been imprisoned for high treason against the government of Germany."

To this earlier period in Abraham Jacobi's life it is now necessary to return in order to summarize information either unknown to or unreported by Miss Truax. Of the trial Miss Truax disposes in two incorrect sentences: "No charges were brought against Jacobi during the eighteen months he spent in the prisons of Berlin, Cologne and Bielefeld. Then he was charged with lese majesty and sentenced to six months more in the Minden state prison."

The Cologne Communist Trial

The facts are the following: on May 10, 1851 the Prussian police arrested Peter Nothjung, a journeyman tailor and a leading member of the Communist League. Papers found upon him led to the arrest of 10 others, including Jacobi, who, having been graduated as a doctor at the University of Bonn, had gone to Berlin to take his state examinations. At 21, he was the youngest of the 11 defendants. It took 18 months for the prosecution to frame its case, which included the use of forgeries that were ultimately exposed in the courtroom through the brilliant aid rendered by Marx and Engels from London.

The trial began in Cologne on October 4, 1852, and lasted until November 12. The indictment charged the 11 defendants with high treason for participating in a conspiracy of the Communist League to overthrow existing monarchical institutions and to establish a purely communist republic. The jury included three members of the highest nobility of Prussia, as well as some of the biggest manufacturers, bankers and capitalists in Cologne. Through this trial the Prussian king used the specter of communism in order to frighten the German bourgeoisie out of the last traces of its independence and to prevent the bourgeoisie from forming any democratic alliance with the workers.

The trial was extensively reported in the *New-Yorker Criminal Zeitung*, November 5, 12, 19, 1852, by its Cologne correspondent, "A. H." On the stand Jacobi proudly declared that he was a "socialistic and revolutionary democrat," that he had been chairman of the Turnverein (gymnastic society) at Bonn University, but that he knew nothing of the existence of the Communist League. The prosecution charged that all these innocent-seeming associations like the Turnverein, workers' education clubs and choral groups were under the secret influence of members of the Communist League, and offered in evidence a letter by Jacobi in which he rejoiced that the workers were turning to the "radicalism of Marx."

Another letter of Jacobi's offered in evidence, written by him on October 7, 1850, is worth quoting as revealing both Jacobi's thinking and what the prosecution regarded as evidence of conspiracy to overthrow the government: "The classes which today are mainly to the fore are two: the propertied and the propertyless. Private property exists now above all in the robbing of others; a few have, because

overwhelming numbers are threatened with destruction by hunger. Is that being human?—What is ownership for the bourgeoisie? An ownership of the sweat of millions upon millions of people once human, an ownership and a stock-piling of the wealth of mankind, an ownership of violence and oppression of the great starving majority, an ownership of vileness, of mean egoism. What is the ownership of the proletariat? An ownership of toil and affliction in everlasting rotation, from early morning to late at night, year in and year out, from the cradle to the grave, an ownership of hunger and privation, an ownership, consequently, of ignorance, crudeness and wickedness, an ownership of the reality of an inhuman condition, while the bourgeois imagines he has the appearance of being human. But this dehumanization is itself conscious of its dehumanization, or is becoming ever more so; that is why it strives naturally to negate its dehumanization; that is why it is destructive, while the bourgeoisie is conservative; that is why the proletariat is the destroying, the disintegrating element in this monstrosity of the inhuman community of man."

Now this page is unmistakable Marxian not only in content, but in the very phrasing. In fact, the idea and formulation derive from Marx's *Die Heilige Familie*, published in 1945.¹

Visits with Marx and Engels

The trial ended November 12. As Engels pointed out in his article in the *New York Daily Tribune*, December 22, 1852, "there was not a single overt act of a treasonable nature proved against" the 11 defendants. They would have been acquitted, Engels continues, "had not the Government . . . brought it to the knowledge of the privileged classes, that an acquittal in this trial would be the signal for the suppression of the jury; and that it would be taken as a direct political demonstration—as a proof of the middle-class Liberal Opposition being ready to unite even with the most extreme revolutionists. . . . "By "the retroactive application of the new Prussian code," seven of the 11 were convicted; three were sentenced to six, three to five, and one to three years' imprisonment. Four were found not guilty, among them Jacobi, but he was not released from prison. As was indicated in a letter dated November 18, 1852, signed by Marx, Engels, Ferdinand Freiligrath and W. Wolff and published in the London *Times* and *Daily News*, it was a measure of the nature of Prussian justice that Jacobi, after having been kept in prison for 18 months on a charge on which he was found not guilty, was now being detained to stand trial for having made some uncompromising remarks about Frederick William IV in a private letter to a friend several years before!

It was not until the summer of 1853 that Jacobi was released from prison at Minden, near where he was born into

¹ For defining this source I am indebted to Mr. Harry Martel of New York, who traced it to *Die Heilige Familie* in the *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, Erste Abteilung, Band 3 (Berlin, 1932), pp. 205-206, 212.

the family of a Jewish small shopkeeper at Hartum-in-Minden. Fearing rearrest, he fled to London, and at once sought out the exiled revolutionaries, particularly Marx. Jacobi was known to Marx not only by name as one of the defendants, but through his doctoral dissertation in Latin, *Cogitations upon the Life of Things in Nature*. Marx had read it and, as he wrote to Engels, was "much pleased with it," using the English expression. (In 1930, the American medical historian Dr. Frederick H. Garrison called this dissertation "fearlessly agnostic, materialistic even.")

Fortified with a letter of introduction from Marx to Engels in Manchester, Jacobi descended upon Engels at 4 A.M. on July 9, 1853, spent the night on a couch in Engels' parlor, and then tried to establish a medical practice in that city. But in a few weeks, Jacobi had decided to go to the United States. Marx at once wrote to the Communist Joseph Weydemeyer in New York that Jacobi would soon arrive and commended him to his attention.

Marxist Connections in America

Early in November 1853, when Jacobi arrived in New York after a brief sojourn in Boston, he repaired at once to Weydemeyer's. Weydemeyer rejoiced to see Jacobi, among other reasons, because a slanderous attack had just been published against Marx's book, *Revelations about the Cologne Trial*, which Weydemeyer had succeeded in having published here in German after the Prussian police had confiscated the entire stock of an edition printed in Switzerland. Now here was Jacobi, one of the defendants himself, on hand to help write an answer. Thus it happened that Jacobi's first public appearance here was made November 25, 1853, in the *Belletristisches Journal and New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, which carried a long article signed by Weydemeyer, Jacobi and Adolf Cluss (a Communist engineer and friend of Marx then employed in the Washington navy-yard!), refuting the charges against Marx and defending his political and personal conduct. Jacobi also joined Weydemeyer's new organization, the *Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund* (General Workers' League).

Jacobi's subsequent contact with Marx and Marxists in the United States was sporadic and on the wane. In 1857, Marx wrote to Engels that he was asking Jacobi to use his influence to get the *New York Times* to assign Marx as its foreign correspondent in London (Marx's relations with the *Tribune* were then strained and he was looking for a change). In 1864 Marx gave letters of introduction to Jacobi to two German refugees on their way to the United States. In 1867, Jacobi gave a friend of Weydemeyer's a letter of introduction to Marx in London. In the fall of 1868, however, Marx writes that he has lost sight of all his American contacts except one person in St. Louis.

Did Jacobi have any reaction to the Paris Commune, particularly since Mary Putnam must have told him her personal observations? Did he have any contact with the International Workingman's Association (First International) in this country? Only extensive investigations in

the German and general press of the time (his personal papers and a manuscript autobiography were destroyed when his house burned down in 1918), as well as among the papers of his possible associates will be able to answer these questions. Through his work in the German Hospital,² Jacobi was in close touch with Dr. A. Douai of the I. W. A. Together with Douai and F. A. Sorge, leader of the Marxists in the I. W. A., Jacobi was in the early 1870's one of the 40 or more promoters of the Bund für deutsche Freiheit und Einheit (League for German Freedom and Unity), a broad united front of liberals, Marxists, and general Forty-Eighters.

Except for occasional work along lines of civic reform, Jacobi avoided political activity and drifted away from any contact with the labor movement. It was rather as an independent liberal that, together with his intimate friend, Carl Schurz, Jacobi opposed United States annexation of the Philippines, or that he took a stand in behalf of refugees from tsarist persecution. His main energies were however consistently devoted to work for public health and social welfare legislation particularly in behalf of women and children. It is for this work and for his great political achievements, both the product of a character molded by his early revolutionary activities, that he is honored.

² Jacobi was also active, for 59 years, at Mount Sinai Hospital (one of his few contacts with any Jewish institution).

Israel's Discriminatory Citizen Law

ON July 14, the new citizenship law went into effect in Israel—and the Arabs were united in their protest against its obviously discriminatory provisions. The law has different requirements for citizenship for Jews and for Arabs, of whom there are about 170,000. All Jews in the country automatically become citizens without any ado, unless they register their wish to retain citizenship in the country in which they held it before. But quite different requirements are set down for the Arabs. Arabs must *prove* that they were citizens of Palestine under the British Mandate or that they were included in the official register before January 1952, that they held continuous residence in Israel since the establishment of the state and that they have a knowledge of Hebrew. It is perfectly clear that there is one law for the Jews in Israel and another for the Arabs. In plain terms, this distinction shows arrogant Jewish nationalism and is flagrantly undemocratic in relation to the Arabs.

The Arabs in Israel are in fact outraged at this piece of chauvinism. On July 14, Arabs all over the country demonstrated their anger by closing their shops in Haifa, by strikes in Acre and a half-day general strike in the all-Arab city of Nazareth and by mass protest meetings. Several mass meetings of Jews were also held in protest.

Of the about 1,061,000 foreign born Jews in Israel, 21,499 Jews of 54 different nationalities decided to refuse Israeli citizenship and retain their original allegiance. Of the 5,000-6,000 Jews from the United States, more than half are estimated to have rejected Israel citizenship.

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Book Reviews

OUR TIES TO SHOLEM ALEICHEM

By David Alman

Wandering Star, by Sholem Aleichem, translated into English by Frances Butwin. Crown Publishers, New York. \$3.00

It is the rare American Jew who is not conscious of the historical ties that bind him to 19th century European Jewry. Some may seek to suppress or erase this continuity; others may seek to embrace it. In any case, it is impossible to deny it.

It is one of Sholem Aleichem's great gifts that he sharpens the awareness of such ties, not for maudlin or sentimental purposes, but to make it explicit and bring it to the surface. Only a major talent like Sholem Aleichem can arouse this sense of continuity, even in his minor works.

The awakening of interest among English-speaking Jews—and non-Jews—in this great writer has been greatly stimulated in recent years by the publication of English translations by Julius and Frances Butwin (and since the death of the former by his wife Francis alone). And now Frances Butwin offers us the first English translation of one of Sholem Aleichem's full length novels. *Wandering Star* is a story of the Yiddish stage.

This novel is not simply a romantic tale of actors and actresses. This picture of the theater is steeped in reality. The theater passes through a thousand market places. Like an apple or an orange, it is bought, sold, stolen, recovered, destroyed. The actors and actresses stem from different roots but are never wholly torn from their origins. For this reason one never loses sight of the real for the props.

Wandering Star gives us a picture of the Yiddish stage in the various countries of Europe at the turn of the century. It is a poor theater whose boards creak and whose travels and travails are endless. The excitable, brink-of-disaster businessmen who control this theater, milk it as one milks a cow. They fear the new and unexplored, are derisive of innovations and are content to repeat over and over again the same few pieces in their repertory for fear of losing business. Their travelling theaters are built around one or two stars whose talent is undeniable. But ruin faces them every step of the way. Money is always scarce. Star-stealing is common. Disorder wrecks efficiency.

Having said all this, Sholem Aleichem nevertheless shows us a theater of vitality. New faces continuously come to the fore. A bitter stage hand fills in for a sick actor and overnight becomes a splendid comic, although he neither cracks jokes nor smiles. A young girl is all but kidnapped by another traveling theater-group and becomes a great singing star. Despite all these difficulties, nothing can take away the joy of the actors in their profession or the audience's enjoyment of the theater, as Sholem Aleichem makes clear.

The actors, actresses, stage hands, directors, singers of the wandering theater are drawn from every sections of life. If they are attracted to the stage, it is not because of its "glamor" but because the wandering life offers them an escape from the poverty and the anti-Semitic fetters with which their lives are bound in the tsarist Pale.

In the course of his story, Sholem Aleichem also gives us a glimpse of the more established "big city" Yiddish stages, with their less permanent casts and more permanent repertoires. The main theater centers are Vienna and London and they become more stable as they grow richer. But the big city theaters do not differ basically in content from the travelling theaters. Both rely for the most part on low comedy and melodrama and carefully avoid themes which might give undue offense to the authorities. For all the stability and glitter of these wealthier city theaters, they conduct themselves, if only behind the scenes, in the same catch-as-catch-can way as their poorer relations.

Towards the end of *Wandering Star* the author deposits his roving troupe on the shores of the United States. It is not so much a new country to these experienced hands as it is another country. The language is different and the pace is different and the opportunities are somewhat greater, but economic laws and dramatic rules and Barnum's predictions prevail here as everywhere. And here, as elsewhere, one also finds the hungers of mankind.

Sholem Aleichem's portrait of the theater is a portrait of anarchy, governed by dog-eat-dog laws and ridden with unhappy, often embittered people. But his picture of the world at large is also

one of anarchy. Largely because of Sholem Aleichem's insight into both the make-believe stage and the stage of life, every reader, however remote he may be from the theater, finds some major element of his own life reflected in the book. Illness, poverty, physical hunger, joblessness, restless strivings, deception and disappointment haunt the people of Sholem Aleichem's story. But more than that, they are also impelled by idealism and creativity. If many of them go through life in erratic, jagged ways, they are led that way as often by the ill-defined nature of their hope as by indifference or caprice.

While one finds in Sholem Aleichem's pages the same anguish that one finds on the pages of lesser writers, it is characteristic of his people that they are never resigned to misfortune. They curse their enemies and believe in themselves. If they have a shred of honesty, they use it as a weapon to exert their moral superiority over those who have none at all.

Sholem Aleichem's awakening in the English speaking Jew the consciousness of his ties to European Jewry is achieved in two ways. One way is that of tradition and custom and idiom, which are easily discernible. The more significant way, however, is through the sense of oneness with the history of oppression which Sholem Aleichem imparts. He comments on the severe restrictions on the education of Jewish youth in Europe and one immediately thinks of our own perhaps less oppressive quota systems. He observes the practice of placing the mass of Jews under the patronage of powerful non-Jews, and one is reminded of how some seek this "protection" today. In short, Sholem Aleichem unearths in the soil of 19th century Europe the roots of contemporary forms of oppression, of compromise and retreat.

Wandering Star is a welcome addition to the small body of Sholem Aleichem's writing available in English. It will be many years, perhaps, before we in the United States come to know Sholem Aleichem fully and thus acquire a substantial understanding of this superb artist, who painted unexcelled word pictures of his time. The neglect with which he has been treated by the publishing Babbitts here is not accidental, nor is his absence from courses in our schools. But if Sholem Aleichem is denied to us, ways must be found of making him available. Picture a generation of Americans brought up without Mark Twain, and you get some conception of an American Jewish generation brought up without Sholem Aleichem. Sholem Aleichem was prolific and even more versatile than his few translated works reveal. Let us have more of him.

NEWS OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

Poland

A STATEMENT protesting against the "contractual agreement" of the Western Powers with the Bonn regime was issued in July by the executive of the Association of Religious Jewish Communities in Poland. The statement, which was signed by Dr. Julius Datner, chairman of the executive, and Rabbi Ber Percowitz, also pledged support to the peace campaign in Poland and appealed to religious Jews all over the world to work for peace to protect the Jewish people. The statement also pointed out the danger to world peace in the attempts of the Ben Gurion government to come to an understanding with the Bonn regime.

A great youth rally held in Warsaw in July which honored youthful "shock-workers" was attended by hundreds of Jewish youth from all parts of Poland. Among the Jewish delegates were many who had increased their output from 100 to 200 per cent.

The Soviet youth delegation at this rally visited the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and inscribed the following in the visitors' book:

"In the name of Soviet youth we greet the Jewish people of Poland and wish them further success in their work on behalf of their fatherland."

The Polish Yiddish publication *Folk-Shtimme* published in June the names of a number of Jewish workers who made outstanding records in Poland's nationalized industries. The paper calls for an increasing number of Jews to enter heavy industry.

The Warsaw press published in July an appeal from a Warsaw prosecutor for witnesses against Frantisek Zukowski, who is charged with personally having murdered Jews during the Nazi occupation.

Hungary

A NEW grant for Jewish educational purposes was made by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in July. The condition of the grant was that such Jewish education be voluntary and that Jewish parents have the right to refuse to permit their children to receive religious education. The grant will support the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary and the secondary school attached to it, over 20 other Jewish schools and the financing of part-time religious

education in Budapest and in 19 provincial centers.

Rumania

AN interesting light on the rumor-mill that has been working since the removal of Anna Pauker from her post for political reasons, could be gleaned from the London *Jewish Chronicle*. In the issue of July 11, that paper said that, "according to unconfirmed reports," Berku Feldman, one of the leaders of the Rumanian Jewish community, had been removed from office. In the following issue (July 18), the paper carried a dispatch from Bucharest stating that a memorial was held in Jassy to commemorate the pogrom of June 29, 1941. Attending the meeting were representatives of local Jewish communities, representatives of the municipal council and the Soviet consul. Hundreds of Jews were killed in this pogrom carried out by the Nazis and Rumanian collaborators. Among the speakers at the memorial was Berku Feldman, secretary of the Jewish Democratic Committee, said the paper.

The Bucharest Jewish State Theater returned in July from an extended tour of 16 cities and towns of Transylvania with the play, *I Am Home Again*. They played everywhere to full houses and plan to tour the Jewish communities of Moldavia with the play. A second Jewish theater company has begun a tour of the spectacle, *The People Sing*.

Bulgaria

A CONFERENCE of Jewish communities of Bulgaria, the fifth since liberation, was held in Sofia in July. David Erachamov, chairman of the Bulgarian Jewish Committee, reported that there were 22 kehillot (Jewish councils) in Bulgaria. Delegates from Sofia, Jambol, Plovdiv, Stalin, Stank, Dimitrov, Vidine and other communities, as well as from various Jewish labor cooperatives and cultural organizations attended the conference. The report stated that several thousand Jews are participating in the building of the new Bulgaria. Some Jews had won the highest awards for contributions toward the well being of the country in the cultural, literary and artistic spheres, and especially in the theater and movies.

The Jewish community of Sofia has a weekly newspaper, *Yevreyski Vesti*

(Jewish News), a library containing 16,000 books, a literary club at which Jewish writers and artists hold meetings to discuss their literary and cultural problems, a home for Jewish children and a Jewish historical organization that is gathering material on the part played by Jews in liberation movements from 1923 to 1944.

Among the Jewish "shock-workers" of Bulgaria is the middle-aged Jacob Ulzari. He has won the Silver Labor Medal and invented a device which reduced the work required to perform a certain job from 72 hours to 16 hours.

East Germany

KARL ELIE, a former Gestapo agent, was convicted by an East Berlin court of actively participating in the murder of 30,000 Jews in Poland during the war and sentenced to five years and ten months in prison. The highest Soviet court in East Germany, however, ordered that Elie be re-tried because it regarded the sentence as "inadequate."

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Letters from Abroad

SOCIALISTS AND THE VIENNA KEHILLA

By Dr. Leo Katz

Vienna

A sharp protest was issued by the Jewish Kehilla (Council) of Vienna in July against the nazi language being used in certain Austrian newspapers. One should greet this action of the kehilla as a sign that Jewish groups realize that one must not wait to conduct a struggle against anti-Semitism until the gas wagons are rolling. It is nevertheless necessary to look closely at the origins of this statement and at the leadership of the kehilla and to make more general observations on the nature of the struggle they are conducting.

The kehilla is controlled by Social Democrats. In fact, kehilla leaders held important posts in the Social Democratic Party in former years. However, the Social Democratic Party officially keeps secret its connections with the kehilla in the interests of its general politics.

Today there are about 10,000 Jews in Vienna. Most of them are Viennese of many generations and the property of many of them had been "aryanized." With few exceptions the stores, factories and homes of these Jews have not even yet been returned. Here is one story concerning restitution that indicates how Social Democrats operate today in Vienna, where the city government is controlled by that party.

When the nazis occupied Vienna in March 1938, they shut down the bakery of a certain Jew called Fisher. Immediately a nazi approached Fisher and demanded that the bakery, which was worth about \$20,000, be sold to him. Fisher offered to sell the bakery for \$4,000, this being the amount needed for visas and fare to a Latin American country. The nazi agreed and the contract was signed. The nazi then proceeded to have Fisher sent to the gas chamber and thus "inherited" the factory without paying a cent.

When the Red Army entered Vienna, the nazi fled. The Vienna city administration appointed a manager for the bakery until the owner was found. Fisher's daughter soon arrived from a Latin American

country and instituted court action for restitution of her father's property. She soon made an agreement with the manager, who was an anti-nazi returned from a concentration camp, and both together conducted the business.

When the nazi "owner" realized that the nazis were once again coming into their own, he returned to the American sector of Vienna, where the factory was located, and demanded that "his" property be returned to him. Instead of waiting for a court decision on the matter, the Social Democratic city administration decided that Fisher's daughter and the manager had no right to the bakery and that it belonged to the nazi. When it was argued that the nazi had not paid for it and had sent Fisher and his wife to their deaths, the administration replied that this question had to be decided by a court. The administration had Fisher's daughter and the manager arrested because they refused to give up the bakery and turned it over to the nazi. The case is still in the courts but the story illustrates how some Social Democrats behave in Vienna.

Good as it was that the Vienna Kehilla protested against the nazi language of certain newspapers, there was unfortunately one aspect of this protest that was not motivated by concern for the Jews. This is the story.

The only Jew in a position of importance in the Social Democratic Party of Vienna today is Oscar Pollack, editor-in-chief of the central organ of the Social Democrats. He has close ties with the American occupation and his paper publishes some of the worst slanders against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

The Social Democratic party governs Austria today in coalition with the Social Christian Party. Former nazis are to be found in both parties, as well as executives of banks and trusts. Both parties are involved in corruption running into thousands of millions of shillings each year. The apparatus of both parties and many individuals live off this corruption. When one party discovers that the other is steal-

ing more than it is, a graft exposure ensues.

In the course of such a quarrel presently going on and involving several hundred million shillings, the Social Christian Party newspaper attacked Social Democratic editor Pollack in the following language: "The Jewish fellow knows what corruption means. It has been in his blood for generations. It has been inherited by his race from generation to generation. For after all, he stems from a race whose god is money, whose religion is usury, whose spiritual aspiration is shady dealings." This is only a sample of the language taken almost bodily from the *Sturmer*.

Such language appears daily in the press of the Social Democrats' partner in the government coalition. For the editors of the Christian Party paper were officials in the Heimwehr and later went through the school of nazism.

But the Social Democrats find it hard to protest this language. Their hands are tied because they would get the answer: what is the Social Democratic city administration doing and what about those leaders of yours who worked in the nazi apparatus?

In the interest of truth it must be reported that Oscar Pollack had used the kehilla to protest the nazi language of his competitors. It is all to the good that the protest was made. But this protest should be followed by continuing and energetic action against the resurgence of nazism.

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OBSERVATION POST

Schappes in California

JEWISH LIFE's "emissary" to California, Morris U. Schappes, spent three of the busiest weeks of his life there. He was given such a jammed schedule by the Los Angeles JEWISH LIFE Committee that credence can be given to the rumor that it forgot to allow time for sleep. On Morris' arrival he informed the L.A. committee that the magazine would be forced to combine its August and September issues for lack of funds. On hearing this the committee wired, nothing-doing-we-must-have-issue-every-month, and followed up with money to enable us to get the August issue from the printer and the promise of more coming. Among other things, Schappes set up a West Coast editorial committee of JEWISH LIFE. This has long been a vital necessity because Los Angeles has become one of the largest and most important Jewish communities in the United States. It is our hope that the L.A. editorial committee will contribute regularly to the magazine, thereby making it an even more effective instrument for progressive Jewish activities on the West Coast. Schappes' tour will be reported more extensively in the next issue.

Facts and Figures

Out of 3,000 letters sent to JL subscribers appealing for funds, 178 have responded so far with donations totaling \$1269.85.

Considering the number who answered so far, the result is gratifying. But 178 out of 3,000 is a small average—and we know that all our subscribers are loyal partisans of the magazine. Those who haven't responded to the appeal yet should get on the bandwagon or the magazine won't roll off the presses in the coming period.

By Sam Pevzner

Story with Moral

Recently we met an enthusiastic JEWISH LIFE partisan from Tucson, who had just returned from a visit to his old home town in Massachusetts. He was there only a few days but in that period he signed up ten subscriptions for JEWISH LIFE. We then approached one of the progressive Jewish leaders in that Massachusetts city and asked him: "Nu? Where were you fellows all these years 'with these subs?'" The leader looked abashed and admitted "it was a shame"—because every one of the subs was from an individual with whom the progressive leadership had contact, yet they never "thought" of getting subs from them. Thus it is, we fear, that there are thousands throughout the land who would be receiving the magazine if they were only asked. Let's reach these thousands in our own personal little campaign starting with Labor Day. What complicated directives are there for this campaign? We'll tell you. You ask every friend, relative and person interested in Jewish affairs to subscribe. You do this every day in the course of your work, recreation and organizational activity. Thus you will soon find yourself entering the ranks of JEWISH LIFE Builders without too much effort, tararam or complicated organization. The "getting is in the asking." Get those subs!

Congratulations—Detroit

The Jewish Life Committee of Detroit issues a monthly *Bulletin*—and two copies (June and July issues) have already crossed this desk. The June issue dealt with the meaning of the McCarran-Walter bill (now an act) to the Jewish people and the July issue discusses the contractual agreement with Bonn. The material is taken from articles in JEWISH LIFE. We think this is a splendid idea—and congratulate Detroit

on its initiative. Each *Bulletin*, of course, points out that one must read JEWISH LIFE to be informed on the "pertinent issues" facing the Jewish people. Naturally!

Emma Lazarus Clubs

Through the years the Emma Lazarus Women's Clubs have developed a tradition of great significance. Every year a ceremony is conducted at the Statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island where the spirit and meaning of Emma Lazarus are refreshed and rededicated. The 1952 ceremony was held on July 22, and 200 members and friends of the Emma Lazarus Clubs of New York attended. Miss Liberty has been under severe attack lately and no doubt her eyes were downcast at the thought of the McCarran-Walter act and the deportation hysteria which has seized the powers-that-be. But the assemblage of the Emma Lazarus Clubs no doubt restored a gleam of hope in Miss Liberty when resolutions were passed right at her feet calling upon the attorney general to call off the deportation proceedings against hundreds of good Americans and to permit bail for Peter Harisiades and Martin Young, at present held imprisoned on Ellis Island. Another resolution Miss Liberty heard passed, was one calling upon the three presidential candidates to answer the question whether they will work for the repeal of the McCarran act, if elected. The group also decided to urge the postmaster general to issue a commemorative stamp marking the 50th anniversary of the inscription of Emma Lazarus' "The New Colossus" on the Statue of Liberty.

One of the most significant developments among the clubs is the establishment of close relationships with the Negro Women's Clubs—the Sojourners for Truth. Joint projects have been established and the bond that is fast developing between the Jewish and Negro women's organizations is a model to all other organizations interested in cementing unity between the white and Negro people for peace, civil rights and security. Last month both organizations sent a joint resolution to the 15th International Conference on Public Education at Geneva, Switzerland, urging the conference to give special consideration to the ending of job and educational discrimination faced by Negro women and calling for full educational equality. The resolution also asked the conference to call for the freedom of Rosalee Ingram and her children.

The indispensability of JEWISH LIFE to the members of the Emma Lazarus Clubs in carrying out its program is recognized by the leadership of that organization—and it is our hope that its circulation will be increased many times in the coming period.

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Letters from Readers

Poetry and Politics

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Permit me to express my deep appreciation for publishing some of my poems from the booklet *Songs of My Choice* in your unique publication JEWISH LIFE.

You have given me the opportunity to make a small contribution towards the present-day struggle for peace and freedom.

I am especially thankful to the managing editor, Mr. L. Harap, for his encouraging letters sent to me after reading my booklet and for being instrumental in bringing it to the attention of the editorial board. Also for his fine, warm introductory remarks to the published poems. It gives one courage to carry on. Many thanks to you all.

I am enclosing a check for \$5. (\$2 for my yearly sub. and \$3 as a small contribution).

ABRAHAM ROSENFELD

Denver, Colo.

Lies for Sale

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I was amused to read in the Southern California Anglo-Jewish press concern for Rumania's deposed head-of-state, Anna Pauker, and the weird intimation that she was removed because she was Jewish and pro-Zionist. That's like saying Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was removed as United States Secretary of the Treasury because he was Jewish.

The weirdness of all this was emphasized by an advertisement I received in the mail subsequently from the Beam's Stationery Store, 141 1/2 N. Larchmont, Los Angeles, containing an ad for "*Behind Communism*, by Frank L. Britton, author of *Atom Treason*. The ad shows on one side the hammer and sickle, on the other the Star of David. It has a picture of Stalin and a "description of Stalin's Jewish brother-in-law . . . his Jewish son-in-law" and a picture of Lenin and comment on "his Yiddish wife."

In this book, which presents the "total problem confronting Christian civilization," you meet "such personages as Bela Kun, Rosa Luxemburg, Lev Trotsky . . . the Rosenbergs, the Hollywood Ten, Judith Coplin, Hans Eisler."

Finally, there is a grotesque photo of Anna Pauker, described as the "supreme dictator over Rumania's 16 million Chris-

tians, daughter of a kosher butcher. It is no accident that the rulers of the Kremlin placed her in control of Rumania; they also placed a Jew, Jacob Berman, over Poland. Another Jew, Matyas Rakosi, has been installed as Communist dictator of Hungary, and Rudolph Slansky was put in charge of Czechoslovakia. . . ."

"The truth (sic) contained in this sensational book will cause you to grit your teeth in anger." No union label.

Another ad hailed John Beaty's racist, anti-Semitic, reactionary, fascist-minded book, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, with blurbs by George Van Horn Mosley, Hedda Hopper, Col. Alvin M. Owsley (past national commander, American Legion)—reactionaries all. Likewise, no union label.

J. F.

Los Angeles

Appreciation

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I had the fine opportunity to listen to one of your editors, Morris Schappes, at a garden party where he spoke on famous Jewish women. Since ideology is universal, I was at one with the group, although I am a Gentile. His lecture induced me to

buy a sample copy of JEWISH LIFE. I am impressed by its fine contents.

Please send me a copy of *A Lantern for Jeremy* and one year's subscription for the \$3.50 enclosed.

R. G.

Los Angeles

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I have recently become a reader of JEWISH LIFE. I find the magazine helpful, interesting and enjoyable.

F. F.

Bronx, N. Y.

In Memoriam

FANNIE UNTERMAN

Died March 3, 1952

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Streicher-like pictures of Fagin, the anti-Semitic caricature in the movie *Oliver Twist*, and questions like "What is a Coccum Gonnof?" (Yiddish expression for "sly rogue") are being used in the advertising for a current run of the film in Canada. Protests are reported from Vancouver and Toronto.

Andrija Artukovitch, who actively helped in the extermination plan of Jews under the nazis and was minister of justice in nazi puppet government of Croatia, was freed by Federal Judge Pierson M. Hall, of Los Angeles, in mid-July. Hall ruled that there was no technical basis for extraditing Artukovitch to Yugoslavia to stand trial for war crimes. It was revealed that Rep. Harry R. Sheppard, of California, had introduced a "private bill" to allow Artukovitch to remain in the United States and apply for citizenship.

EUROPE

A series of seven laws that take Austria back a long step to nazism, were passed by the Parliament on July 18. The first group of three laws amnesties about 20,000 nazis, including many involved in anti-Jewish murders, restores their civic rights and will restore their property confiscated in 1947. One law amnesties all nazi civil servants (30,000 of them) who were dismissed and gives them three years' back pay. The second group of four laws, though intended to mollify public opinion by apparently compensating those who lost their liberty from 1933 to 1945, actually benefits few of those involved and grants them even less than nazis. One of these laws actually provides for a reopening of claims by nazis for property awarded to Jews under former restitution laws. The neo-nazi laws were passed in an effort to woo neo-nazi votes in the coming elections. The Austrian Jewish communities have strongly protested the laws, as have some American Jewish organizations.

One of the last official acts of United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy on July 10 before leaving his post in West Germany, was to grant clemency to two nazi war criminals.

The nazi generals who are heading up West Germany's rearmament plans have let it be known that they do not believe that a West German army can be recruited unless all nazi war criminals are freed.

The Adenauer government was drawing up in July a list of war criminals it wants released.

Barnett Janner, Jewish M.P., demanded early in August that the British foreign office should reject the appointment by the Bonn regime of Susanna Simonis as director of welfare for German women employed in England. Simonis held a similar post in Japan during the nazi regime. The demand was rejected.

War criminal ex-Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, now serving a life term on war crimes charges, was elected president of the Stahlhelm, powerful West German veterans organization.

The murder of six million Jews was an Allied fabrication, said an influential West German paper, *Informationsblatt*, in July. The Allies built gas chambers and crematoria after the war to justify their postwar German policy, the paper said.

A Paris newspaper reported in July that Washington had ordered that nazi concentration camp experts be imported to the United States to help set up the concentration camps in this country.

ISRAEL

The petition for a five power peace pact and against German rearmament, for which the Israel Peace Committee obtained 401,679 signatures—43 per cent of Israel's adult population—was submitted to the presidium of the Knesset on August 5. The presidium, controlled by the Mapai government party, rejected the petition. The following day a demonstration for peace took place in Jerusalem addressed by speakers from Mapam and the Communist Party.

As a result of the economic "reforms," said Finance Minister Levi Eshkol on July 29, Israel has travelled in the past six months from over-employment to an unemployed roll of 10,500.

S. Hoofien, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank Leumi, said at a Tel Aviv meeting in mid-July, that there must be drastic cuts in the standard of living of Israelis, as "necessary" to economic recovery.

The Arab Communist weekly, *Al Ittihad*, was banned for one month in mid-July for publishing a report that atomic bomber

bases were being built in Israel. Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett made what the Communists called an "evasive" denial of this report.

The Organization of Israeli Journalists in June decided to withdraw from the International Organization of Journalists and indicated that they would soon apply to join the newly-formed Washington-dominated International Federation of Journalists.

An Israeli commercial delegation is scheduled soon to leave for Moscow to arrange a trade treaty, chiefly for export of citrus fruits. The delegation expects to buy timber from the Soviet Union for packing cases. Lack of packing cases last year cut down citrus exports.

In the course of debate in the Knesset on the government's projected law to give concessions to foreign oil companies for prospecting and exploiting Israel's oil resources in mid-July, Dr. Moshe Sneh, Mapam leader, opposed the bill. He charged that the bill would "sell out" Israel to the "most dangerous, most ruthless, most aggressive power in the world." He proposed instead establishment of an Israel national oil company and conclusion of a barter deal with the Soviet Union wherein the Soviet Union would supply the national oil company with drilling machinery in exchange for Israel products.

A great victory was won by the combined list of Mapam, Communist Party and non-party people in the election in the labor council of oil refinery workers at Haifa; all seven members of the labor council were elected from the combined list.

Jewish Life

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