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by Victor Perlo

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Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Two national parties of the pro-fascist fringe emerged late in August. Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian Nationalist Party" is running General MacArthur for president and is already on the ballot for Texas and Missouri, while fascist Smith threatens to get his party on the ballot in 17 other states. MacArthur has thus far failed to repudiate this party. The other group is the "Constitution Party," of which anti-Semite Upton Close is the spokesman. It is running General MacArthur for president and Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia for vice president. Also endorsed by this "party" are Senators Joseph McCarthy, William E. Jenner of Indiana and John W. Bricker of Ohio, and Price Daniels for Texas senator. Thirteen states were said to be represented at the organizational meeting of the "party" in Chicago at the end of August. The announced chairman, Mrs. Suzanne Silvercrys Stevenson of Connecticut, and co-chairman, Percy L. Greaves, Jr., of Maryland, resigned on September 1 after an alleged anti-Semitic statement of the party's purposes was made by Upton Close. This party will not place its candidates on the ballot but has announced its intention of trying to persuade members of the electoral college to ignore the mandate under which they were elected and to vote for MacArthur.

The State Department issued a new ruling in August requiring prospective Jewish immigrants to note their "race and ethnic origin" on visa applications for entry to this country in accordance with the racist McCarran-Walter immigration law, which does not go into effect until December 24. Despite vigorous protest by Jewish community and other liberal and progressive elements in the country, the State Department has refused to withdraw the racist ruling.

Anti-Semitic comments were contained in a "report" distributed by the State Department purporting to be the observations of a former Soviet citizen on his country. One such statement was that "Jews never become soldiers." When protests against this open anti-Semitic material were made to the State Department, according to Milton Friedman, Washington syndicated columnist for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency an official who got a promise of anonymity said "that the important factor, which overshadowed any other consideration, was that they (such reports) were anti-communist."

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A conference of Jewish organizations to discuss the question of peace was held in Chicago on September 14.

New York University officials finally yielded in August to a widely supported one-year campaign to drop questions on "race" and "religion" on school registration forms.

Back pay of \$680 for two Negro food workers was won by the Washington Heights Community FEPC Committee (New York City) from Hyman Pollack, owner of an upper Broadway food store. The two workers had been receiving sub-standard wages for three years and then fired. Community support obtained by the Committee forced Pollack to pay the back wages.

Anti-Semitic hoodlumism . . . The B'rith Sholom Synagogue of Philadelphia was pelted with eggs and stones and religious objects were damaged in August. . . . The Mishkan Israel Synagogue in Linden, New Jersey, was broken into in August by vandals, who broke all the electric light bulbs and scattered burnt matches through the building. . . . A partially-built Jewish community center in Greenbelt, Md., was damaged in August. A sign was defaced to read, "Jewish Communist Center," part of a wall was kicked down and a water hose was riddled with holes. Most of the center's members are government workers. . . . The Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* complained editorially on August 15, that law enforcement officers were "less-than-

(Continued on page 30)

THE 1952 ELECTIONS

THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE ELECTIONS

An Editorial

WHEN the Jews of Germany confronted the "referendum" called by Hitler for November 1933, the main Jewish organizations advised the German Jews to vote "Yes" for Hitler's foreign policy. Although American Jews do not at this moment face the fascist extremity as did German Jews in 1933, there are unmistakable signs that we may reach this terrible eventuality if we do not avert it in time. Are we American Jews going to vote under devastating delusions this year like the German Jews in 1933?

In order to help provide the Jewish people with a basis upon which to cast their vote, we have devoted the greatest part of this number to important aspects of the election. We have not been non-partisan. We are strongly partisan in the defense of democracy and peace and we have tried to place the most momentous issues confronting us in these terms. We find on the domestic scene that the suppression of civil liberties is far advanced; the rights of labor have been crippled by Taft-Hartley; oppression of the Negro people and discrimination against the Jews and other minority groups flourishes; and, above all, a hot war in Korea and frantic preparations for an atomic war go forward under bi-partisan sponsorship.

Should the Jewish people vote "Yes" to such policies? There is still time to head off the fate that overtook the Jewish people and the world at large at the hands of the nazis. The Jewish people can help avert this disaster by their vote and by their election activity. For the Jews are deeply involved in the issues not only as Americans, but as members of a minority group that is a target of reaction, together with the much more sorely oppressed Negro people and with other minority groups. In every case we have tried to show the position taken by the respective parties and candidates on the vital issues. Not only is there no conflict of interests between the those of the majority of the American people and those of the Jewish citizens. The real welfare of the Jewish people is closely integrated with that of the American masses. If we can help awaken the Jewish people to perceive their genuine interests in these elections, we are therefore not only acting in self-defense, but we are thereby also performing an important service

for workers and the majority of the American people.

As the campaign shapes up—as could have been anticipated—the Jewish people, like a majority of labor and minority groups, are in danger of succumbing to a costly illusion. This is that Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson is a "lesser evil." The reactionary and aggressively warlike position of Republican candidate Dwight Eisenhower has been amply exposed by his speeches to date. His support of McCarthy, his refusal to advocate an enforceable federal FEPC, his reaffirmation of Taft-Hartley and, above all, his bellicose suicidal "liberation" agitation—all these have tended to frighten the American people. Labor and minority groups, as well as most liberal groups, are consequently turning more and more to Stevenson and many people even with leanings to the left are tending to accept Stevenson as a "lesser evil."

In this number, however, we have examined Stevenson's position on the main issues and have found that he is in fact not a "lesser evil." In each case, Stevenson has tried to make it appear that he is less reactionary than the Republicans. When scrutinized, his program is found not to differ in essence from that of the Republicans. Despite his sparring with the Republicans on foreign policy, he himself has recognized the essential similarity of his view with that of Eisenhower—and peace does not lie that way. And despite his strong words on McCarthy, he does not challenge the equally dangerous McCarran or the "loyalty" program or the Un-American Activities Committee. We would therefore urge our readers to study with especial care the actualities of Stevenson's position lest they fall prey to the skillful demagogic manipulation of issues of which Stevenson seems to be a master.

Our examination of the issues leads us to the conclusion that the program of the Progressive Party meets the pressing needs of the majority of the people. However, for those who may not agree with this view, we hope we have made clear that party labels are not the important thing, but rather the position on issues. We therefore urge our readers to support local candidates, regardless of party, who meet these issues squarely.

THE ISSUES:

PEACE—OR ANNIHILATION

Above all we need peace. Organize to let the candidates know this

By Sam Pevzner

THE Jewish people of the United States and throughout the world hunger for peace. The age-old greeting "*shalom*" no doubt expresses today the innermost longing of the Jewish masses, as of the common people all over the world. This longing for peace emerges from the horrible experience of World War II. Never will the murder of six million Jews by the nazis fade from the folk memory. The death camps, the gas wagons, the blood-soaked ghettos, the heroism and the betrayals, the mass executions, the fiendish efforts to blot out an entire people—this is the special side of war to the Jews.

The Jewish people, in common with all their fellow Americans, know that modern war, with the A- and H-bombs, napalm and supersonic instruments of havoc can only mean death, destruction and a world laid waste.

It is not lost on the Jewish people that the fruit of war and preparations for war is the resurgence of anti-Semites and anti-Semitism throughout the world. Nazism and militarization are being revived in West Germany to the tune of anti-Jewish acts and agitation. Likewise in our own country anti-Semitic propaganda and acts of violence are increasing.

Furthermore, it does not require too much imagination to see what war would do to the new state of Israel, fought for and built by its working people. It would not take long to wipe this little nation off the face of the earth with the new weapons of destruction which would be used in another war. The people of Israel desperately need a peaceful world to build their land, to solve their economic problems and to secure the country by developing neighborly relations with the Arab states.

No fully organized expression of the concern of the Jewish people for peace yet exists. But their sentiments are registered through spokesmen who occasionally break through the curtain of fear and intimidation to voice opposition to some aspects of foreign policy in which Jewish interests are directly flouted. The disquiet of the masses of Jews has been expressed through the advocacy of peace in the speeches of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who is conservative in general and in Zionist affairs. Last March he told a Montreal audience that "We must get used to the idea that we have to live with communism. If we should have a bloody war, then what's left of the world after that would then have to sit down and live with communism."

The overriding necessity that the different social systems

must live side by side, if war is to be averted, is doubtless seen by the majority of the Jewish people. There is no other way to peace in the present-day world. Labor leaders too, whose unions have a large proportion of Jewish workers have been forced to speak up for a turn to a policy of peaceful co-existence by the unrest and dissatisfaction with the war program among the workers. At the last convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, President Jacob S. Potofsky declared that "the times call for more negotiation, more understanding. Different political ideas, regimes and rulers," he said, "have been able to live side by side in peace. War is not necessarily inevitable because of divergent views, however repugnant."

Organize the Peace Demand!

Among the Jews of America, as well as their non-Jewish fellow-citizens, large questions about foreign policy have arisen as a result of the "contractual agreement" with West Germany, the lenient treatment of nazi leaders and anti-Semites and the racist policies of the State and Justice Departments with respect to immigration. Above all, there is the widespread desire that the war in Korea be ended without delay.

Yet, the fact is that the peace sentiments of the Jewish people, as of all Americans, are not organized into a single, united peace organization or movement. The yearning for peace is expressed in many forms, through a variety of spokesmen and on a variety of issues. But many Jewish organizations and individuals who rebel against the results of the war program do not necessarily recognize that the real culprit is the foreign policy itself as a program for war and support for fascism.

It is evident that the desire for peace—or at least the desire to fight the effects of the war program—cuts across party lines among the Jewish people as well as among all others. Hence, broad sections of the Jewish people regardless of party alignment can be convinced to vote for candidates who will express their peace aspiration fully or partially. Many such people are not yet ready to join existing peace movements. But they would grasp the opportunity to express themselves for a peace policy at the ballot box. Such an opportunity must be opened to the voters through the pressure upon local candidates of all parties to support measures for peace, to speak up for an immediate truce in

Korea and for negotiations of the big powers on the key international issue of Germany.

Recent Gallup polls and a survey by the Princeton Research Service indicate that the majority of the American people want peace in Korea. Continued fighting in Korea and the refusal of the American military leaders to arrive at a truce fill the people with justified trepidation. For they fear the danger of a spread into world war.

The Major Parties on Peace

But the foreign policy program of neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party is responding to the demand for peace. Instead, each calls the other the "war party" and both are right. Both parties support the resurrection of German militarism, both justify the continued fighting in Korea, both oppose the aspiration of the colonial and subjected peoples of Vietnam, Malaya and Africa for freedom and independence, both support the effort to militarize the Western European countries and Japan regardless of the impending bankruptcy of their economy and of the opposition by the people. In his Labor Day speech at Grand Rapids, Adlai Stevenson admitted that he had no differences with Eisenhower on foreign policy: "Now in all I have said here, I do not believe there is any fundamental issue between the Republican candidate for president and myself. As far as I know, he like myself, approves the basic direction our foreign policy has been following."

The difference between the two parties is essentially only that of electioneering slogans. The Dulles-written speech of Eisenhower before the American Legion advocating the preparation of an "offensive impact" against the Soviet Union, the eastern democracies and China for their "liberation" was a little too crude. It caused a shudder to pass through the capitals of Europe and the American people. So in a later speech Eisenhower tried on a sheep's mantle by saying that he meant "liberation" by peaceful means.

For his part, Stevenson has been more clever in utilizing the peace aspirations of the people as a vote-catcher. Thus he tells a Hamtramck, Michigan, audience that he "will never fear to negotiate in good faith with the Soviet Union, for to close the door to the conference room is to open a door to war." Such a statement is all to the good and is no doubt welcome to the American people. But the important question is how Stevenson or anyone else can negotiate in good faith if he supports a program of renazification and remilitarization of West Germany, if he says or does nothing to halt the war in Korea, if he supports a program which aims at making war and not peace—all of which are components of his party's platform. The kind of double talk which says "I'm for peace—but I'm for war policies," no matter how witty or clever that double-talk may be, will lead to no solution other than war. As for negotiation, Stevenson cannot avoid responsibility of the Truman administration, on whose record he is running, in its refusal to accept the many proposals for negotiations on Germany offered by the Soviet Union.

Progressive Party Program

The only party which does not make peace a façade for warlike acts and policies is the Progressive Party. Peace is the heart of the Progressive Party platform, which states that the fight for peace will determine the state of affairs in relation to the important domestic issues, especially civil liberties, economic security and racism.

The Progressive Party calls for a "cease-fire in Korea today, without any ifs, ands or buts" and that all disputed issues be settled after the fighting and killing stops.

It urges: "stop the rearmament and renazification of a disunited Germany" by agreement at the conference table. Certainly this plank strikes a responsive chord in the heart of all Jews who have again and again shown their bitter opposition to the return of the nazis to power.

The platform supports "the demands for independence and freedom of colonial peoples all over the world" and urges that we "proceed to hold a conference of the five great powers, as the only peaceful means for securing an over-all settlement of differences."

The peace program of the Progressive Party is further implemented in its platform with the demand that we "abolish trade barriers to peaceful trade between America and the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe" and that an "international agreement outlawing the use of the A-bomb" with effective control and inspection be effected.

While a vote for the program of the Progressive Party will be the most effective action for peace in this election, it is by no means the only one. Support of local peace candidates of any party will make an important contribution. Active cooperation with the current campaign to besiege Washington with demands for an immediate truce in Korea will help. A large Progressive Party vote can influence the hastening of a peaceful settlement in Korea. Whatever progress has been made up to date in this direction has resulted from the powerful, though unorganized, expression for a truce on the part of the American people. A large Progressive Party vote will inform the ruling group that the people will brook no delay in reaching a truce.

Action on Peace

AN OPPORTUNITY has been afforded the American people of letting all political candidates of all parties know how they feel about the major issue of peace, and particularly its most imminent aspect—the war in Korea. More than 100 prominent people have sponsored a poll of the people under the auspices of the American Peace Crusade on the issue of an immediate cease fire in Korea. People of all parties will be asked to vote on this question and the results will be presented to all candidates for public office so that they may know what the people desire on this question. Circulation of this peace ballot will be a powerful action for peace. Ballots can be obtained from the American Peace Crusade, 125 West 72nd St., N. Y. C.

II: RESTORE THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Repulse the attack on civil liberties which endangers everyone

By Louis Harap

"WE DEFEND the civil liberties of the Communists," said Alan F. Westin in *Commentary* (July), "to preserve our own rights and to advance the national welfare. Our civil freedoms in 1952 will remain 'unconfused' as long as we recognize that . . . eternal vigilance is *still* the price of liberty." Westin was here replying to an earlier article (in March) by Irving Kristol advocating what has been called "intellectual McCarthyism." It is significant that the flood of mail critical of Kristol's position was so great that *Commentary* was obliged to placate its angry readers by printing this article of Westin, obviously an anti-communist, reaffirming the Bill of Rights. Here is further evidence that the people are becoming increasingly aware that vigilance for liberty has become dangerously relaxed. The lesson of nazism is slowly being relearned: the target of the anti-communist hysteria is not just the communists but the masses of the people, who are thereby terrorized into rigid conformity with the war policies of the ruling group.

The anti-communist net has already been cast so widely that no one is immune from the smear, no matter how reactionary. A recent instance is that of Brig. Gen. Elliott R. Thorpe, retired, of Westerly, R.I., who was counter-intelligence chief under MacArthur during the war and who is a Republican. Last November, Thorpe made a speech in which he dared to suggest that the pro-Chiang Kai-shek policy and the Japanese peace treaty were not in the interests of peace. In July, Thorpe was nominated for Congress on the Republican ticket with the unanimous endorsement of his party. But the *Daily Worker* had carried an account of this speech and this gave the Pentagon an excuse to "investigate" the general, whose "crime" was non-conformity. The general was so shocked and unnerved by this nazi-like thought control, that he withdrew from the congressional race.

No one is immune. The price is vigilance and the penalty is fascism, re-enactment of the nazi horror. It is not enough for the Jewish people, who are under double jeopardy as Americans and as Jews, to rise in condemnation of nazism in Germany: they are special victims of fascism *wherever* it occurs. What happened to General Thorpe is only one drastic moment in an accumulating tendency towards fascism in America. As J. I. Fishbein, editor of *The Sentinel*, Chicago weekly, wrote on September 7: "We Jews ought to bestir ourselves from the fool's paradise in which so many of us have been living, long enough to take stock of the serious implications . . . of what is happening all around us."

There are growing signs of resistance in the general and

also the Jewish community, although not yet nearly enough, considering the extremity of the peril. The National Council of Jewish Women has been conducting a campaign for freedom in the past few months under the slogan, "Speak up! Freedom needs exercise!" The Rabbinical Council of America, embracing 500 conservative rabbis, unanimously passed a resolution on June 25 at its annual meeting warning that the "greatest threat facing our democracy is from within in suppressing honest criticism of ideas and institutions."

Growing Awareness of Danger

Many more and varied expressions of warning could be cited to show the increasing awareness in the Jewish community of the dangers. On one issue, particularly, there has been a vocal, unanimous outcry—on the McCarran-Walter immigration bill, aptly called "America's First Nuremberg Law." This law is frankly racist. It favors the "Nordics" of Europe against Asians, Jews, West Indian Negroes and other "non-Nordic" stocks and it removes traditional safeguards of due process of law for both citizens and non-citizens. Although the law does not go into effect until December 24, its racism is already creeping out. The visa division of the State Department now for the first time requires that Jews must state their "race" on applications for visas, since execution of the law is interpreted as requiring that aliens state their "race and ethnic classification." The State Department has met the indignant protest by a defense of the racist action.

The fact that colored peoples are special victims of this law shows how closely the fight for equality of the Negro people is linked with the fight for civil liberties. The great potential of the militant Negro people in combating this law, as well as the deterioration of civil liberties generally—which the Negro has never fully enjoyed in our country—would make immensely more powerful the movement to arrest the breakdown of traditional freedoms.

This monstrous racist law would not have been possible if the country had not been softened up by the assault on civil liberties through the anti-communist hysteria. Major Jewish organizations opposed the law and are now pledged to work for repeal. Passage of the law over President Truman's veto further awakened the people to the dangerous condition of the country. What is absolutely necessary now is to involve the masses of the people in the fight for repeal.

There have been signs of awakening also among trade

union leaders. Many state and national labor bodies have pledged themselves to fight for repeal of the Smith and McCarran acts in the past half year. It is significant that this labor campaign was heralded by Frank Rosenblum, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a union with a large Jewish membership.

Early this year Rosenblum made a speech in which he called for resistance to the fascist trend with the statement that, "beginning with the Taft-Hartley act and the Smith act and embracing the McCarran act and similar measures . . . is a dangerous trend toward fascism. . . . This reactionary movement . . . would substitute fascism for democracy even though they seek to create the impression that it is being directed against the communists." About the same time Hugo Ernst, another Jewish labor leader, indicated the close connection between the attack on civil liberties and the war program when he wrote: "Time was when it was considered safe to speak of peace, but that time has just about gone."

Position of the Parties

Encouraging as such evidences of resistance are, they have not been followed up by sufficient effort to enlist the masses of the Jewish people and the American people generally in active and militant participation in the campaign to make a reality of the Bill of Rights. This is all the more reason why the current election campaign gives a prime opportunity for the people to register their determination that civil liberties must be restored. Politicians have their highest sensitivity to the popular will during the election period and can be made more responsive to public sentiment.

It is not enough, of course, to wrest a change of program out of the candidates. Promises exacted under stress of campaigning will only be realized if the people continue their pressure for these programs after the elections. Yet a movement to compel candidates, both local and national, to bring back civil liberties, can be the beginning of the end of the threat of fascism. Organizations of the people should let the candidates know that McCarthyism in all its forms and in *both* major parties must end. Most effective of all would be co-ordinated action by a maximum of organizations toward this end. Jewish organizations—national and local—have a special responsibility to the Jewish people to participate in such a campaign of pressure on candidates for pledges—vigilantly watched for realization—to save democratic freedoms.

The platforms and campaign speeches of the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties have thus far held out little hope that the major parties intend to reassert civil liberties. By his toleration of Senator Joseph McCarthy and his back-handed defense of McCarthyism, General Eisenhower has utterly failed to show any will to rescue the country from the ravages of McCarthyism and the thought control hysteria. And his "liberation" program would meet such wide resistance that it would promote greater terror against the people.

Stevenson Is No "Lesser Evil"

The case of Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson is not so simple. This extraordinarily astute politician has thrown up a deceptive façade of devotion to traditional American liberties. In his speech before the American Legion convention Stevenson made some biting and pertinent comments on McCarthyism and followed this up in his speech before the Liberal Party of New York by saying that no man had the "right to strangle democracy with a single set of vocal chords." So far, so good. But Stevenson had not one word to say about the manifestations at least as serious as McCarthy within his own party. Democracy is also being "strangled" by no less dangerous "anti-communist" actions of the Truman administration and by fellow-Democrats like Senator Pat McCarran (who has announced his support of Stevenson) and others.

Condemnation of pro-fascism among Republicans is not enough. The danger comes equally from Democrats. Nor has Stevenson uttered one word about the pro-fascist legislation like the Smith, McCarran and other laws that are speeding the country into fascism. Unless Stevenson commits himself to the wiping out of McCarthyism in all its forms, any hope placed in him by well-meaning defenders of civil liberties is a tragic illusion.

How can the American people affirm their devotion to civil liberties in this election when the national candidates of the major parties show disregard, each in his own way, for the danger to democracy? On this issue, as on other major issues, the Progressive Party has taken an unmistakable position—repeal of all pro-fascist laws and an end to the witch-hunting committees. Nothing would set back those who are trying desperately to bring on a police state so much as a large vote for the Progressive Party.

But the fight for civil liberties does not stop here. Even among supporters of the major parties and local candidates of these parties, many are genuinely aware of the fact that American democracy is confronting its greatest danger from the accumulation of the anti-communist hysteria and its attempt to submerge the Bill of Rights. Such local candidates should receive support of all Americans and all organizations, including the Jewish, should organize such support.

A Plank on Civil Liberties

"A WAVE of frenzied legislation, including the Smith act and the McCarran act, are making a mockery of the Bill of Rights. . . . (We) urge the Congress to repeal the Smith act and the McCarran act as legislation inimical to American traditions of freedom and democracy. (We) urge the House of Representatives to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, an action long overdue. . . ." (*From a resolution passed unanimously at the 18th biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in May.*)

III: NO COMPROMISE ON FEPC

Pressure on the candidates can get an enforceable federal FEPC

By Alice Citron

IN no election in past years has the civil rights issue taken on such practical importance for the politicians of the major parties as in the current campaign. The reason is not far to seek: the Negro people are getting weary of deprivation of elementary human rights presumably guaranteed by the Constitution. The level of Negro struggle for these rights today has never been so high since the Reconstruction days. Since the politicians realize that the Negroes may hold the balance of power in large states such as New York, Illinois, California and others, they must give heed to the Negroes' militant demand for civil rights.

Discrimination in jobs, housing and other spheres is also practiced on the Jews and other minority groups—although at a qualitatively lower degree of intensity than against the Negro. Consequently the Jewish people and their organizations are deeply concerned in the fight for FEPC. Jewish organizations are working closely with Negro groups in this fight. Unfortunately they refuse to conduct a united struggle with progressives and thereby weaken the forces in the field. They also try to prevent full participation by the mass of citizens in this fight and further lessen the opportunities for victory. Nevertheless, the Jews are lending their voice to the strong call of the Negroes for action.

The Negro people and minority groups scored a temporary gain against discrimination after 1940, when our country was geared to a war economy. While at first white workers were rapidly absorbed into industry, Negroes, as well as Mexican American, Puerto Ricans and Jews, were still refused admission. The clamor for jobs by the Negro people then swept the nation. Other national groups joined the chorus but the Negro people were most energetic in protest against job discrimination against *all* groups. President Roosevelt issued his extraordinary Executive Order which established a Fair Employment Practice Commission on June 25, 1941, shortly before the scheduled date of a march on Washington by Negroes.

Even then, the going was tough. From the outset the federal FEP Commission faced attacks by employers and Congress. Unquestionably this Commission was the most heckled and harassed of all agencies operating during World War II. Rep. John Rankin fulminated, "This is revolution, if you please, and dictatorship of the most dangerous and revolting character." The Commission had to battle for every advance. Early in 1943, the entire Commission resigned in protest when its efforts to investigate

ALICE CITRON taught in Harlem public schools for many years.

the flagrant discrimination practiced on 24 railroads were stymied by the War Manpower Commission. A newly appointed Commission began hearings on Jimcrow in railway hiring a few months later.

These hearings revealed a shameful record of perfidy by government officials, railroad magnates, white supremacists and reactionary trade union leaders. A few striking facts will give some notion of this. In 1910, 98 per cent of the firemen on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad were Negroes. By 1943, however, Negro firemen held 20 per cent of the jobs. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen made no secret of their flagrant Jimcrow policies. They had written into an agreement with the companies that Negroes were to have a small percentage of the jobs, lowered seniority rights and positively no promotion to jobs as engineers.

The Commission was insistently petitioned by the Southern Negro Railway Workers to act to break Jimcrow. At the hearings not a single official of the Railroad Brotherhoods participated. The railroad companies argued, "Railroads must adapt their operation and employment and employment practices to the social solution of questions as worked out by the prevailing mores and legal systems of the states they serve." As the railroads bickered delayed or refused to recognize the hearings, Senator Richard Russell declaimed that he was "glad that the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Southern railroads defied this organization (FEPC) and told it to go ahead and do its worst." After some months 14 Southern railroads and seven unions were cited by the FEPC for discriminatory practices. Congress leaped into the breach and the Special Committee of the House voted to investigate the Commission—not the railroads.

This look into the wartime FEPC shows that even during a war against racism the Negro had to fight a stiff battle to open up new jobs. It is important to note that every gain in employment by the Negroes also helped break down discrimination against Jewish workers and other minority groups. But in 1946, FEPC was finally killed and for the time being ended government enforcement of the right to work on an equal basis.

The Hottest Domestic Issue

Today the demand for an FEPC is as insistent as during World War II. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People has rightly called the demand for FEPC and civil rights the hottest of all domestic issues. As the record of the postwar period clearly

shows, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have done anything about FEPC. The joint annual report of the NAACP and the American Jewish Congress on civil rights for 1951 points to the complete failure of federal, state and local governments to take any action on discrimination against minority groups. The report correctly charges that Congress did less in 1951 than in the previous five years on civil rights legislation. No action was taken on the Senate cloture rule and all bills to regulate fair employment practice were rejected in Congress. To add to the disgraceful picture, FEPC bills were defeated in 17 out of 18 states. Plainly, both parties spat on their 1948 promises to the minority groups. *Congress Weekly* of June 1 remarked that "President Truman temporized on the widespread demand for an executive order which would establish an effective fair employment practice agency modeled on the FEPC of World War II."

Position of the Parties

Even now, in the midst of the presidential campaign, the "temporizing" still goes on. In spite of the fact that FEPC is the "hottest" domestic issue, the Republican Party plank on this topic is an outright states rights declaration. It is no secret that Republican standard bearer Eisenhower finds this plank acceptable to him. Vigorous efforts are being made by Republican Senator Irving Ives of New York, to disclaim the sell-out on FEPC by his party and to give the impression that Eisenhower is favorable to a federal FEPC. The *New York Times*, which is backing Eisenhower, disputes this: "Senator Ives' interpretation of the Republican platform plank on civil rights is at odds with the meaning generally ascribed to it at the time it was adopted in Chicago."

Does the Democratic Party hold out more promise? The largest coalition of groups to appear before the Democratic platform hearings at Chicago centered around FEPC and civil rights. This group was under leadership of the NAACP with active participation by top leaders of the major Jewish organizations. Some weeks before the convention opened, these groups had discussed at the Ninth Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University the position on civil rights that they would press on the Democratic Party. The Institute is composed of 54 organizations and Walter White of the NAACP is chairman. On the executive board are the top representatives of leading Jewish organizations. The Institute pledged to work for an FEPC with "teeth" and an end to the Senate filibuster on FEPC. "Legislation" they said, "which merely condemns discrimination without containing provisions for its elimination will not achieve its end and will encourage disrespect for the law." At the hearing of the platform committee the Negro leaders were joined by such Jewish leaders as Ely Aaron of the American Jewish Committee, Philip M. Klutznick of the anti-Defamation League and Max Kopstein of the American Jewish Congress.

But they didn't succeed. The Democratic plank is appa-

rently more "liberal" than the Republican: it pledges the "right to equal opportunity for employment" but fails to pledge explicit support for an enforceable federal FEPC. The fact that Dixiecrat Sparkman agreed to run on the ticket and that the Dixiecrats approved the platform is an indication of how weak the civil rights plank is.

Nor can there be any illusion that the standard bearer of the Democrats can be depended upon to bring about the just demands of minority groups. Governor Stevenson had won office from a Republican incumbent on a platform of setting up FEPC in Illinois. The outcome, as usually told, is repeated by the mass circulation Negro magazine *Ebony*: "We have seen him fight stalwartly for a state FEPC and lose in every legislative session—simply because of Republican opposition." But Stevenson's platform promised that he would issue an executive FEPC order—which he has never done. Attorney Henry L. Kohn, member of the Illinois Interracial Commission who was active in the fight for a state FEPC, has confirmed the fact that the State of Illinois has contracts with Jimcrow firms. Illinois State Rep. Charles Jenkins has expressed the opinion that Governor Stevenson has the power to issue directives to various department heads insisting upon a fair employment policy from the firms doing business with the State. But Illinois still has no FEPC.

Is there an alternative for supporters of FEPC? The Progressive Party is the only party in the presidential race which plainly and clearly calls for an FEPC act with enforcement powers that would end discrimination against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Jews and all other minority groups. In any case, deeds speak louder than words. The naming of Mrs. Charlotta Bass, outstanding Negro woman leader, as vice presidential candidate is unmistakable evidence that the leaders of the Progressive Party really mean business on civil rights.

The Jewish people can serve their interests best by forthrightly supporting the struggles of the Negro people. They should help in the formation of the widest committees and activities possible to put all local candidates to the test on FEPC. The pledge of the American Jewish Congress at its 1951 convention to work for "the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a Fair Employment Practices act, providing proper powers of enforcement," must become the kind of reality that no candidate on any level will be able to evade. By our deeds will the Negro people judge us. Only by alliance with the Negro people will Jews be able to safeguard their own rights.

A Plank on FEPC

"**E**NACTMENT by the Congress of the United States of a Fair Employment Practices act, providing proper powers of enforcement. . . . Amendment of the rules of the Senate of the United States so as to permit the closing of debate, after appropriate opportunity has been provided for discussion, by a majority of the Senators voting and present." (From a resolution adopted at the biennial convention of the American Jewish Congress, November 1951.)

IV: NO JIMCROW IN GOVERNMENT

The Negro people are demanding representation to all levels of government

By Louis E. Burnham

THE battle for equality in political representation for the Negro people will in the long run be won in the area where, during Reconstruction, the Negro and the nation made their biggest strides on the road toward political democracy—the South. Some day, in the not distant future, the steadily rising Negro vote in the South—joined with the votes of white workers and farmers—will send to Congress as many as 40 stalwart sons and daughters of the Negro people to voice their demands for freedom, equality and justice. Today there are but two Negroes among the 534 members of the House of Representatives and neither of them is from a major center of Negro population in the Black Belt South.

This picture of lily-white legislative power is, of course, absolute on a state level in the South. Among 1795 state legislators in 11 ex-slave states, not a single Negro can be found. We must look to the metropolitan areas of the North, the big cities from Massachusetts to California, into which Negroes have poured in the migrations of two world wars, to find the 30 Negro state legislators serving their people.

How often we forget that the battle for representation today is a fight for the *restoration* of political power wrenched out of the Negro's hands 75 years ago at the point of the gun and the end of the Klansman's rope. One example will suffice to underscore this point. As late as 1878 in South Carolina, where the Reconstruction reached its greatest heights, there were 62 Negroes and 78 whites in both houses of the state legislature. In other words, 74 years ago twice as many Negroes sat in the legislature of one Southern state as there are in all the state legislative bodies in the nation today!

Negroes' Vote Can Be Decisive

The issue of Negro representation does not confine itself to the South, of course, although its main focus remains in that heartland area of Negro population and oppression. The fact is that the Negro vote in the South, though growing rapidly, has not yet reached decisive proportions; while in many Northern centers the Negro vote constitutes the actual balance of power between the two old parties. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois points out that in 11 Northern states (Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and California) the voting differential between Republicans and

LOUIS E. BURNHAM is the editor of the progressive Negro monthly, *Freedom*.

Democrats is four per cent or less, while the Negro population ranges from three to sixteen per cent. And these states cast nearly half the electoral votes for president.

Furthermore, this probable Negro vote of 2,500,000 in Northern urban centers in 1952 is not a passive factor, simply waiting to be cast for the highest bidder. It has for some time been actively organizing itself, both within the major parties and on a non-partisan basis, to press for the satisfaction of the Negro's basic demands for full economic, social and political equality. This explains why the issue of FEPC has become a central issue of the campaign. It accounts for the elaborate post-convention shadow-boxing which both Eisenhower and Stevenson have felt compelled to engage in on the question of civil rights.

Demand for Representation in Government

Not the least of the demands of this aroused Negro electorate is the insistence on fuller representation at all levels and in all branches of government. Even before the Republican convention Eisenhower was faced with a question from a Negro reporter in Denver concerning the appointment of a Negro to a cabinet position. He responded with some kind and ambiguous reference to Dr. Ralph Bunche. More recently, faced with the same question from the lips of a Negro Republican congressional candidate in Cleveland, Eisenhower ventured the political platitude that color would not influence his appointment of high officials of the government. Merit would be his yardstick, he said.

Fine! What person reasonably conversant with American life cannot name a dozen or more distinguished Negro attorneys who merit appointment to the Supreme Court above Tom Clark and the other reactionary mediocrities who have been chosen by Truman? Or name any executive department of the government: Justice, Agriculture, Labor, Interior. Never has a Negro served as even an under-secretary or chief counsel in one of them. An imposing list of candidates could be provided at a moment's notice and certainly none of them could be *less* qualified than the five-percenters, mink coat specialists and tax evasion experts who have been the hallmark of the Truman administration.

Let us hasten to point out that the issue of Negro representation is not limited to such top appointments which Negroes universally demand. It embraces the entire field of political service and, as a matter of practical politics, it stresses the wiping out of the lily-white barriers which have existed for years in both elective and appointive positions

in every major Negro population center of the North. For instance, New York State has never had a Negro among the 56 members of its state senate. Similarly the densely populated Cedar-Central Negro section of Cleveland has never had a Negro spokesman in the upper house of the Ohio legislature. In Detroit, Negroes are one-fifth of the population, but never in the history of the Motor City has one of their number sat on the nine-member city council.

Negro Candidates

The picture changes but little from city to city. Everywhere in the North it has long been the accepted practice that wherever possible—through gerrymandering and machine control—the Negro voice should be sounded in legislative halls through white trumpets. Thus in many instances the effective disfranchisement of the Negro voter in the North differed from the South by a matter of degree.

It is this practice which is the target of an unprecedented number of Negroes who are running for elective office throughout the North on all party tickets. In 1950, a Negro attorney, Charles Stokes of Seattle, Washington, became the first of his group to sit in the legislature at Olympia. In 1952 eight Negro men and women, an all-time record, are seeking positions in that same legislature. In the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn the demands of a rapidly growing and sadly neglected Negro community of 300,000 have forced the Republicans to designate Rev. George W. Thomas as candidate in the 10th Congressional District. In Cleveland's 21st district a Negro attorney, Lawrence Payne, will run as a Republican candidate for Congress for the first time. And in New York and Michigan the state senate chambers are likely to take on a new look because two Negro attorneys, Julius A. Archibald and Mrs. Cora M. Brown, respectively, have won Democratic nomination, which are tantamount to election.

Many more instances could be cited, but these suffice to indicate the trend. The organized voice of the Negro people is demanding and beginning to get representation in positions which have hitherto been denied. Of course, the most dramatic and noteworthy response to the Negro people's demand for representation is the selection by the Progressive Party of the outstanding woman leader, Mrs. Charlotte Bass, as its vice-presidential candidate. And throughout the country, in areas and for posts which remain lily-white on the two old parties' slates, the Progressives are offering the voters a chance to hear and vote for many outstanding Negro leaders for the first time. Typical of this emerging Progressive Negro leadership is Horace V. Alexander, dynamic young vice chairman of California's Independent Progressive Party, who is waging a vigorous campaign in Los Angeles' 26th Congressional District. In many instances where popular pressure has forced major party designations of Negro candidates who stand a good chance of winning, the Progressives, in the interests of Negro representation, have left their slate blank.

Some Questions Answered

Faced with these political developments in the Negro communities, many white allies of the Negro people raise a series of questions: are you asking me to vote for Negro reactionaries against white liberals? Why vote for a Negro just because he's a Negro any more than for a white candidate just because he's white? Why should I use my ballot to increase the stranglehold of the two old parties on the legislative machinery, even if it means electing a Negro to a newly-won office?

Let us begin to answer these questions by asking another. Are you for "home rule" or not? Do you really believe in representative government when it comes to Negroes, or do you think that Negroes, despite their wishes, might just as well be represented by any white candidate the machines choose? Did you, during all the years that predominantly Negro communities were represented by white officials, protest against voting for white men "just because they were white?" If not, why do you now protest against the support of Negroes "just because they are Negroes?"

Once we are clear that the principle of the fight for Negro representation is valid in all cases where Negro majority areas are denied Negro candidates, then a number of problems of another character arise. The quality of the Negro candidate will depend precisely on the degree to which progressives, white as well as Negro, have busied themselves in guaranteeing his or her nomination and election. The key question is *not* to leave the matter to the Republican and Democratic hacks but to make it an issue for the white and Negro rank and file of all parties.

Even with these guarantees, will there be exceptions to the rule? Will there be Negro candidates whom progressives, Negro or white, might not feel free to support? Undoubtedly there will be a small minority of such instances. But such cases must be decided on their individual merits and should not be elevated into a "principled" objection to the sound and long-overdue program of eliminating the practical exclusion of the Negro people from effective positions in the national and local government.

This much is certain: the eyes of the Negro people are set on full political participation in all parts of the country and they do not intend to turn back. They need and look for the support of all their allies, all fighters for peace and freedom. They will welcome, especially, the cooperation and support of the Jewish people who also face, in and out of government, the increasingly bitter consequences of a fascist-oriented, war-minded foreign policy. In many areas where the Jewish and Negro people form large and powerful segments of the population, special efforts should be made to establish on a non-partisan basis a common approach to the problems of political representation, the enactment of progressive social legislation, the fight against anti-Semitism and white chauvinism and the battle for democracy and peace.

V: REPEAL THE SLAVE LABOR LAW

Restore the Wagner act to prevent a police state "Labor Front"

By Rebecca Berg

THE taking over of the independent trade unions must proceed in such a fashion that the workers and employees will not be given the feeling that this action is against them, but on the contrary, an action against a superannuated system which is not directed in conformity with the interest of the German nation. . . ."

This directive, issued on May 2, 1933, by Dr. Robert Ley, director of Hitler's Labor Front, helped set the stage for German fascism. In order to proceed with his fanatical plans for world conquest, Hitler needed completely to subjugate the German people through the destruction of their working class organizations.

American Big Business watched these developments in Germany with great interest. They felt no horror over the mounting terror, did not protest rearmament. Instead, they were stricken with fear and trembling because an era of social gains was developing under the New Deal banner at home.

In 1938, a gentlemen named H. W. Prentiss, then chairman of the executive committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, was saying: "American businessmen might be forced to turn to some form of disguised fascistic dictatorship. . . . Too much democracy is the greatest pit-fall facing the American people." What did Mr. Prentiss and the NAM fear? In 1935, a great law had been enacted in the interests of the working people of America—the Wagner act. This law removed the straitjacket from labor's right to free collective bargaining, to strike against the employers, to improve the standard of living. Under the aegis of this law the mighty CIO was born and gigantic strides were made to organize the unorganized. Backed by its organized strength, labor was demanding social security laws, unemployment insurance and federal housing. Only when Hitler threatened competition for world markets, was Big Business sidetracked from implementing Prentiss' threat. While peoples of the world were fighting and dying to defeat Hitler fascism, the big industrialists were busy making billions of dollars in profits and eliminating their competitors.

The end of World War II brought a great surge of unrest among the American working people. Flimsy controls were lifted, prices skyrocketed and profits soared. Workers' wages, held down through the war years, were hopelessly

inadequate to meet the rising living costs. In 1946, the labor movement was united in its struggles against its employers in the steel, auto, electrical and mining industries. Plant after plant shut down as workers demanded a small share of their bosses' exorbitant war profits to provide a decent life for themselves and their families.

This heroic unity was calamitous for the plotters. The NAM's super braintrust, created by the biggest corporations in America, called the "Special Conference Committee," which included American Telephone and Telegraph, Standard Oil, General Motors, U.S. Steel, DuPont, Bethlehem Steel, General Electric, Westinghouse, International Harvester and U.S. Rubber, went into action. They called in their top lawyers to write the legalistic double talk that would destroy the Wagner act.

Charles E. Wilson, then president of General Electric and later head of the Defense Production Administration, set the tone when he said, "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words, *Russia* abroad, *labor* at home."

No Fight on Taft-Hartley

So labor got the Taft-Hartley law. The non-communist affidavit provision was made the smokescreen that blinded the eyes of American labor. Part of the labor movement swallowed the red herring whole and union after union split down the middle over this issue. Although many labor leaders issued strong statements against Taft-Hartley, they were intimidated by the anti-communist hysteria and failed to put up the necessary fight to defeat the slave labor bill. They failed to protest strongly enough its deadly provisions that would destroy free collective bargaining, break strikes through vicious injunctions, destroy union treasuries built with workers' dues, effectively prevent the organization of the unorganized, bring back the open shop and pit worker against worker.

The tragedy was that few saw the danger that the stage was being set in *precisely the same fashion as in Germany*.

Organized American Jewry in particular failed to identify itself with the struggle to prevent the passage of Taft-Hartley and today does not concern itself with the fight for its repeal and the return of the Wagner act. Many Jewish organizations and individuals who have spoken out boldly against the Smith and McCarran laws, against the curtail-

REBECCA BERG is the pen name of a labor research worker.

ment of civil liberties and against the growing evidences of anti-Semitism and white supremacy have thought of Taft-Hartley solely as a "labor" issue.

Even such unions as the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other unions with large Jewish memberships did not act against the danger of Taft-Hartley to the Jews. Labor leaders like Jacob Potofsky, David Dubinsky and Louis Hollander were afraid to raise their protests lest they be termed "leftists." They acted much like their Social-Democratic predecessors in Germany 20 years before. By joining in witch-hunting methods, they actively helped to change the CIO from the courageous, militant organization it started out to be.

In the five years since the Taft-Hartley law was jammed down the throats of the American workers, the plot hatched, as we have indicated, in 1938, has begun to shape up. The green light was given to employers to use violence, slander and company unionism to smash organizing attempts and to break existing unions. The *U.S. News and World Report* reported June 6 that although the labor force has grown by over five million since 1946, trade union organization has stood still. Unions attempting to organize have met with increasing obstacles. The National Labor Relations Board (labor calls it the "Taft-Hartley Board"), reported in the *New York Times* (August 30) that unions are losing more than 32 per cent of elections to represent workers in collective bargaining with their employers.

Millions of dollars in fines and damage suits have been meted out against unions through the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction. No union is spared no matter how "respectable" its leadership has tried to be. The Typographical Union (AFL) estimated that it spent \$11 million in defending itself against Taft-Hartley suits; the Mine Workers Union (Independent) paid \$6,470,000 in fines and damage suits; over \$30 million in damage suits were thrown at the Oil Workers (CIO) in one year alone, and in January of this year, the Supreme Court upheld a \$750,000 judgment against the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (Independent). What were the crimes? They dared to fight to save their unions and to raise a demand for wage increases from their employers.

A few unions like the United Electrical Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union with the vision to help create the great industrial union concept that became the CIO, fought back bravely against the dangers of this developing conspiracy—and they became immediate targets. Aided and abetted by the plotters' agents in the unions, the government, the press and even the churches, sister unions fell for the plot and began a policy of cannibalism against these unions under the guise of "fighting communism."

Within this framework it was possible for profits to pile up and for workers' real wages to go down. Wages were frozen under a phony "stabilization" program that allowed corporate profits to rise from \$30.5 billion in 1947 to \$44.8 billion in 1951. At the same time cost of living soared from

139.3 in December 1946, to 192.4 in July 1952. Even according to watered-down government statistics this is an increase of almost 40 per cent.

In 1950 the evil plotters moved from the home front to the "world" scene. Under the excuse of a fake charge of "communist" aggression our husbands and sons are fighting and dying in Korea. The dream of world peace so bravely fought for in the '40's has been shattered by the sober fact that we have suffered 116,655 casualties since July 1950. We now face the elections when the threat of World War III is a real possibility with both major parties hogtied to participation in this war program. The intimidation of labor through Taft-Hartley is part of this program.

The Elections and Taft-Hartley

Neither major party gives promise of restoring to labor its full rights. The Republican platform takes an outright reactionary position on Taft-Hartley in an appeal to the most anti-labor elements. Straight out of the NAM booklets, which sold Taft-Hartley in 1947 at a cost of \$3 million, they advocate the retention of the Taft-Hartley act, "which guarantees to the working man the right to quit his job at any time." Presidential candidate Eisenhower promises to do nothing on Taft-Hartley and Richard Nixon, his running mate, was one of the authors of the bill.

The Democratic platform takes a more devious position to satisfy those labor advocates tied to the war apron strings. While "strongly advocating" repeal of Taft-Hartley, they promise labor "a new legislative approach toward the entire labor-management problem." Democratic presidential aspirant Adlai Stevenson has switched from his original position of "amendments" to Taft-Hartley to outright appeal. The catch is that a position for repeal should carry with it the automatic restoration of the Wagner act. But an analysis of Stevenson's Labor Day speech indicates that he prefers to be vague on what this "new" law should be. This could mean merely changing the name from Taft-Hartley, which after all has a Republican ring, to a "Democratic" combination, while retaining most of the vicious features of the law. As a matter of fact Stevenson might even add more dangerous features such as the president's "right to seize industries." Was it not the government's two-year seizure of the railroads that allowed the employers to rake in unprecedented profits while it prevented the railroad workers from striking for a long overdue wage increase?

Progressive Jewish individuals and organizations should actively participate in a movement to arouse the American people to the dangers inherent in the Taft-Hartley conspiracy, whose ultimate aim is creation of an American "Labor Front." This fight must not be confined to the labor movement. Setting up a "Labor Front" in America through the fear of "subversion" can only be motivated by fear and hatred not only of labor but of all the people. A large vote for the Progressive Party, which pledges re-enactment of the Wagner act, and for local pro-labor candidates, will help prevent such an outcome.

THE CANDIDATES:

I: GENERAL AND WITCH-HUNTER

The main Big Business backers of Eisenhower have close ties with nazis

By Arthur Dlugoff

SINCE returning to these shores to run for president, General Dwight D. Eisenhower has proved himself a master of empty generalization and of double-talk. The populace's abhorrence of the idea of a militarist—and a reactionary one, at that—running for the presidency has expressed itself in the pitifully small turnouts in many places where Eisenhower turns up to speak. The people are catching on to his reactionary program. On the main issues he has taken the stand of a mossback and a war-inciter. On FEPC he sees eye to eye with the Dixiecrats, who are among his most active boosters. As for Taft-Hartley, he thinks it is the "best" law we have on the books to date and it should have been used against the steel strikers.

Out of the bushels of writing matter that could be produced on the candidacy of Eisenhower and his witch-hunting vice presidential running mate, Senator Richard Nixon, let us confine ourselves here to the too little known nazi connections of a few of his main backers. When Eisenhower made his notorious statement in January 1951 to the nazis, "Let bygones be bygones," he was only giving public expression to these connections with his nazi-tainted supporters. Here are some of them.

John Foster Dulles. On foreign policy the voice is Eisenhower's but the mind behind it is Dulles', particularly in the inflammatory war-breeding program of "liberating" the socialist countries from the government of their choice. Dulles is the man with a thick background of cooperation with nazi big business. As head of the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell of Wall Street, Dulles represented the J. Henry Schroeder firm, affiliated with big nazi industry. In 1939, Dulles represented Franco's Bank of Spain in a suit to recover \$10,000,000 in silver from the United States, which had purchased the silver from Republican Spain. Dulles represented many American firms who helped build up Hitler's war machine. In 1939, Dulles called the policies of Germany and Japan "dynamic" and advised Americans not to worry about fascist aggression.

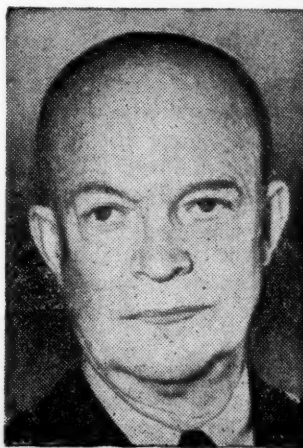
Now Dulles has come forth with a new "dynamic" policy, one of "liberating" Eastern Europe, China and the Soviet Union. Eisenhower is echoing this policy. After Eisenhower restated Dulles' suicidal position in his American Legion address on August 25, the press of Europe, from right to left, condemned this "liberation" program. The conservative

ARTHUR DLUGOFF is a young research worker and writer.

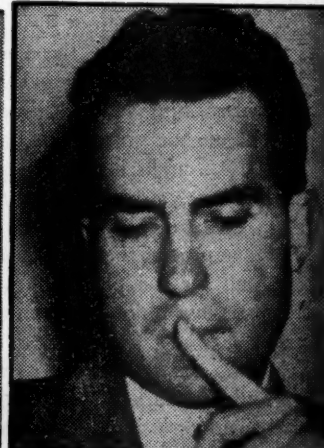
Paris *Le Monde* called the speech "violent." The conservative London *Daily Mirror* said that Eisenhower was "almost out-MacArthuring MacArthur." And the liberal *Manchester Guardian* dubbed the general "St. Ike the crusader against the Communist dragon and liberator of captive peoples."

Winthrop Aldrich. This chairman of the board of directors of the Chase National Bank, a brother-in-law of Rockefeller, was in great part responsible for the Republican nomination of Eisenhower through his financial power. Back in 1933, the late United States Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, noted in his diaries under the date of September 1, that Aldrich and other bankers visited him and they felt that "despite Hitler's attitude these bankers feel they can work with him." The Chase National Bank helped finance the recovery of German cartels after World War I. This bank was the financial instrument in Standard Oil's dealing with I. G. Farben until the Justice Department exposed this connection in the middle of World War II.

General Lucius D. Clay. This man is notorious as the pardoner of Ilse Koch, the sadistic Buchenwald fancier of lampshades made of human skin. While Clay was directly responsible to Eisenhower in postwar Germany, he deliberately sabotaged the decartelization of nazi industry as provided by the Potsdam agreement. *The Nation* noted (on June 7) that the "understanding and sympathy" between Eisenhower and Clay was so close that "General Clay was



Dwight D. Eisenhower



Richard Nixon

actually used during the pre-declaration period [that is, before Eisenhower announced his candidacy] as a sort of alter ego for Ike."

Philip D. Reed. He is chairman of the Morgan firm, General Electric, which also controls German G.E. (Allgemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft)—and is a member of the Citizens' Committee for Eisenhower. While in Berlin in 1946, Reed was the first big American industrialist publicly to call German decartelization both harmful and unnecessary.

Howard C. Peterson, Jr. Philadelphia lawyer and banker, he is chairman of the national Eisenhower "citizens'" committee. For many years Peterson was a member of the law firm of Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine and Wood, which represented I. G. Farben and its affiliates in this country.

Thomas J. Watson. The president of the Morgan firm,

International Business Machines, was one of Eisenhower's earliest backers. Watson has the distinction of having been the first American business man to be decorated by Hitler himself. He is a trustee of Columbia University and induced Ike to become president of that institution in order to prepare for the coming presidential bid.

These are only a few of the nazi-associated big business men backing Eisenhower. And they have in Eisenhower's running mate, Richard Nixon, a living symbol of the employment of anti-communist hysteria in the Hitlerian manner to gain their reactionary aims. How should the American people, in defense of democracy, and our Jewish citizens, respond to the candidacy of a ticket that threatens this country with extreme reaction and war? To ask the question is to answer it.

II: THE NUGGET AND THE PEACH

A fable about the Democratic aspirants for grown-up voters

By Charles R. Allen, Jr.

ONCE upon a time long ago there were two powerful men. One was so powerful that he was the head of the whole land. He was called the President. The other was not so mighty. But he too was a great figure. He was called the Secretary of State. And the two men fashioned plans for a terrible war which was called "cold" because it shut out the warm rays of peace.

After the Secretary had started the "cold" war, he became the first lord of a State deep in the South of the land. And he was hated throughout the land because he cut off the little colored children from their white playmates in school. One day he spoke to a baron who ruled over a city called Chicago. To this mere baron, he said: "Don't you people in Illinois know that you've got a gold nugget out there?" The baron said, "No, who?" When the baron was told, he shrugged his shoulders for he had never heard the name. And the lord from the South said that Nugget should be put to work. Soon after this talk between the lord and the baron, Nugget became the first lord of Illinois, where Chicago was.

Now one day the President decided not to remain as the head of the whole land. He wanted to live out the rest of his life in comfort and ease in the Pendergastian fields where he had played as a young man. But before he left he told everybody that Nugget ought to take his place.

There was much pleading and begging by the captains

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR. is a former assistant editor of *The Nation*. His recent two-article series in the *New York Daily Compass* (August 31, September 2) on the concentration camp being built in Allentown, Pa., attracted wide notice.

and barons and finally Nugget agreed. Now this made everyone very happy. Especially the President. And when the President found out who was to be Nugget's playmate, he rubbed his hands in glee and said: "There's not a better man alive . . . he's a peach and that's all I care about."

Peach was from a State deep in the South of the land. It was called Alabama. Some one said that a Peach should come from Georgia. But somebody else said that a peach is a peach no matter where he comes from.

So Nugget and Peach together sought the highest offices in the land. The lusty vassals of the barons were the press, the radio and television. Soon they launched an endless attack upon the eyes and ears and brains of the people. They told many stories about how liberal and independent Nugget was and how liberal and moderate Peach was. As if by magic everyone began to speak in hushed tones about liberal, independent Nugget and liberal, moderate Peach. Everyone spoke as if they believed these tales.

Now, a liberal meant that a man believed in all the good things in life. Like the right to speak what one thought. The right to live where one wanted to. And the right to work. And the right to happiness and freedom no matter what color your skin was. And Nugget knew that the people loved these rights dearly. Certainly Nugget was a liberal.

Nugget once showed how much he wanted anyone to live where he pleased. A mob of hoodlums from Nugget's own state burned and terrorized the home of a young couple because their skin was black. And Nugget moved swiftly to put down the white destroyers. He called out the army—four days after the house was burned and sacked. Maybe



Adlai E. Stevenson



John J. Sparkman

this showed what Nugget meant when he told the people that they "must move ahead slowly and with caution" in doing away with such evil deeds.

Sometimes Nugget would say things which the lords of the South did not like. He would talk about equality among all the people, white and black, Jew and non-Jew. Oh, these lords did indeed fear such talk. But they did not have to worry because the Fair Employment Practices law that Nugget talked about really said, leave it to the states. Like Illinois, where Nugget was ruler and there was no FEPC. Anyway, Nugget told the people: "they must not expect these things overnight."

Now the workers of the land were bound in slavery by a thing called Taft-Hartley. At first Nugget liked Taft-Hartley so much that he only wanted to "amend" it. But

then he realized that the workers would not help him to become president. So Nugget made a big noise and said that Taft-Hartley must go. Even at that no one really knew what he wanted to take Taft-Hartley's place. But Nugget showed that he was for the workers too when he said: "I don't think it is a slave labor law."

Nugget loved peace. He said so. But he also said that the people had to sacrifice so that some unseen thing called "the enemy" could be "confronted with a preponderance of force." And Nugget wanted everyone to think and speak without fear. That was why he refused to approve a law which allowed witch-hunters to hunt without a license. Nugget said their methods were wrong. But he "had no quarrel with [their] objectives."

But if Nugget was liberal and independent, then Peach was all this—and moderate. As a big Peach in Washington, the capital of the land, he had fought against the workers with Taft and Hartley. And once Peach made a speech which showed how liberal and moderate he was. The Peach said: "I am against all civil rights proposals—always have been and always will be. We Southern senators [allies of Peach] are pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation." When he said this, the people marvelled at how liberal Peach was. And someone asked: "How moderate can a Peach get?"

And so Nugget and Peach went about the countryside speaking before the people. Until one sunny day a little child came to the people and told them to find out who the Nugget and the Peach really were. After great difficulty the people broke open the Nugget and the Peach to find out who they really were. To their wonder they found a strange thing: inside the Nugget was a peach, and inside the Peach was a nugget.

III: HALLINAN AND MRS. BASS

Salient facts about the standard bearers of the Progressive Party

By C. B. Baldwin

WHAT are the qualifications for high political office? The right kind of smile? Well, we had Harding in 1920—and the Republicans are offering a Harding in uniform in 1952, a man whose every speech reveals his inability to comprehend the specific problems facing the American people. Wit and pleasing speeches? These are qualities that can be built into speeches, particularly when your opponent proves to be so cumbersome and should never have entered the ring.

What is more important is what the candidates them-

C. B. BALDWIN is executive director of the Progressive Party.

selves represent, both in their ideas and their persons. The contributors to the Republican and Democratic parties chose their candidates at boss-run conventions. Winthrop Aldrich of the Chase National Bank led the cohorts who chose Eisenhower, decorated by Nixon. The political bosses and the Southern machines combined to choose Stevenson, sealed the bargain with Sparkman. But rank and file delegates, the men and women of labor, farmers, Negro and white, men and women of every race and religion and every national group participated equally in choosing the Progressive Party's candidates—Vincent Hallinan of San Francisco and Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass of New York.

Son of Worker and Daughter of Negro People

Who are they? Vincent Hallinan is a San Francisco attorney. His father worked as a conductor on the old San Francisco cable cars—worked as an older generation of immigrants worked, 365 days a year, 14 to 16 hours a day. The father was a stranger to his children—he was off to work every morning before they awoke, and returned after they were in bed. He was an Irish immigrant, a member of the old Irish Land League that fought to retain their land holdings against the encroachments of English landlords. All his life he thought of going back to Ireland to continue the fight.

He handed on his fight to his son. Vincent Hallinan is an Irish rebel. He is the cousin of Eamon DeValera, first Irish President, and helped to raise money in this country during the turbulent 1920's to help the cause of Irish freedom. But not only Irish freedom. The people of India sent emissaries to this country looking for help. Vincent Hallinan raised money for them, too. And he learned in those years what it meant for colonial people to be fighting for freedom.

As a lawyer he made his mark taking the cases of poor people against the giant corporations. His first great victory was a single-minded attack on the stacked jury system of San Francisco. He won the fight to break down the blue-ribbon jury system—and served a sentence in jail years ago for contempt of court as a result. But the significant thing is that he won. He became a highly successful lawyer, raised a wonderful family of six sons and then decided to retire to take it easy with his family.

When the Progressive Party was formed with peace as its keynote, Hallinan and his wife, Vivian, immediately threw themselves into the campaign. This was for them the fruition of years of thinking about individual cases of injustice. And then Harry Bridges, the militant leader of the longshoremen on the West Coast, was for the fifth time subjected to another harrassing trial for deportation. Bridges sought out Hallinan, asked him to defend the union's leaders. Hallinan promptly accepted and fought the case to a standstill in the federal court. In fact, he fought so hard that has was rewarded by another jail sentence for contempt of court. As his oldest son remarked, "If Vin hadn't got that sentence, I would have thought he hadn't been fighting hard enough."

Hallinan is a fighter. His whole career, sharpened by a recent trip abroad with Mrs. Hallinan, has taught him in the soundest terms what it is that he is fighting. And he is joined in this campaign by an equally hard fighter—Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass. For 40 years Mrs. Bass was the editor and publisher of *California Eagle*, the oldest Negro paper on the West Coast. During those years, as she says, she stood on a watch tower watching the rising tide of hatred. But she did not only watch. She fought. She stood off the Ku Klux Klan in Los Angeles. She forced big corporations to hire Negro workers. She stood lonely vigil overnight to guard a Negro's house threatened by mobsters. She rescued Mexican

American boys from brutal assaults by police in the infamous "zoot suit riots" in Los Angeles. She fought anti-Semitism so actively that she was given a special award by Hadassah and was recognized by other Jewish organizations. She has walked picket lines to help labor organize.

Struggle is her very life. But then she, too, thought it was time to retire after 40 years of continuous struggle. She found she could not. The rising tide of hatred grew greater—Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven, the bombings of the Mr. and Mrs. Moore in Florida, Cicero in Mr. Stevenson's home state, unparalleled police brutality not only in Birmingham, Alabama, but throughout the country. She led delegations to Florida to protest the Moore bombings—Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida invited her to lunch, but, as she says, did nothing. She visited the Pentagon to protest frameups of Negro GI's and to demand equality.

For over 30 years a Republican—she was chosen, in fact, to lead the Willkie campaign of 1940 as Western Regional Director—she left the Republican Party in keen disappointment over its policies. She voted for Roosevelt in 1944. But with Truman she saw the Democratic Party in the hands of the Southern bourbons and the Northern machine bosses playing the game of the big profiteers. She was a charter member of the Progressive Party, welcomed as a leader from the start.

In 1952, Mrs. Bass, like Vincent Hallinan, responded to a real call and a real need—people's leaders who have worked with and fought with and for the people in their day-to-day struggles, come to campaign on a people's platform. She speaks with authority to the great numbers of Negro citizens who know that neither Republican nor Democratic candidates, neither Stevenson with his Sparkman nor Eisenhower with his Nixon, are worth their vote.

In 1952, the Progressive Party is indeed fortunate in having two such candidates—a man who has never put personal advantage over fighting the good fight on behalf of others, a woman who, as Dr. W. E. B. DuBois said, bears two crowns—she is a woman and a Negro. By their side the Republican and Democratic candidates appear as synthetic creatures of the forces behind them.



Vincent Hallinan



Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass

SOME LOCAL CAMPAIGNS:

I: CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES

Progressive candidates are fighting for justice to minority groups

By Richard Levy

WHEN the California politicians became aware of the fact that the Jewish population of Los Angeles County had doubled in the period from 1942 to 1951; when they added the estimated 350,000 Jews to approximately the same number of Mexicans and further totaled the more than 200,000 Negroes in the area—almost one million unrepresented minority constituents—their frightening computations demanded Sacramento's typically "democratic" solution for the problem. The law-makers gerrymandered the heart out of contiguous population areas. West side Jews of the Beverly-Fairfax area, comprising 66 per cent of the district's total population, found themselves cut right down the middle with a portion voting in Hollywood's 57th Assembly District and the remainder in the 61st Assembly District.

Happily, neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have as yet discovered a method of gerrymandering the issues facing the American voter in the 1952 elections. Locally and state-wide, a number of key questions have emerged for critical tests in the November elections. National problems have particular applicability for Los Angeles' huge Negro, Mexican and Jewish population. What are some of the issues?

Living standards for many are already below subsistence levels. Negroes and Mexicans particularly are deprived of the right to make an adequate living by discriminatory hiring policies in industry. State and local FEPC statutes remain unrealized goals despite several well-conducted past campaigns. The Los Angeles clothing industry, second in size only to New York's, has been in a depressed condition for well over a year, thereby affecting the livelihood of tens of thousands of Negro, Mexican and Jewish workers.

2. State Propositions 5 and 6, which would write the Levering test oaths into the California State Constitution, offer local citizens the historic opportunity of defeating conformity legislation by popular vote.

3. Violence against peaceful Los Angeles residents abounds on all sides. The Dunsmuir bombings were directed against Negro and Jewish inhabitants. Police brutality has been so flagrantly employed against Mexicans and Negroes that several police officers were recently convicted of this crime and sent to prison. Negroes have been framed on rape charges. The swastika has been painted on homes and synagogues. Jewish cemeteries have been desecrated.

4. National repression of civil liberties has had local

repercussion upon the minority population of Los Angeles. The threat of mass deportations of citizens and non-citizens alike created by the McCarran-Walters act hangs ominously over the Mexican population. The House Un-American Activities Committee has seen fit to direct particular attention to Southern California's labor leaders, cultural workers, physicians, attorneys and other professionals. Over 80 persons were subpoenaed for the September 29th hearings in Los Angeles. And the 13 Smith act victims in Los Angeles were recently convicted and are appealing their case.

Through struggles on these local issues and on such national questions as the Taft-Hartley, the Smith and McCarran acts, the Negro, Mexican, Jewish, Chinese and Japanese people are realizing the all-pervading role of the Korean War and of the attempt to organize the NATO countries for aggressive war against the peaceful peoples of the world. The Japanese people well remember the concentration camps of World War II. Despite Jewish leadership's irresponsible bargaining for restitution with Adenauer's renazified Bonn regime, the Jewish people cannot erase from their minds the dread memories of Dachau, Oswiecim and Treblinka. Negroes have experienced the shameful inequalities of our Jimcrow army. All minorities applaud the dawn of freedom for the colonial people who resist the armed might of weakening imperial control.

Negro and Mexican Representation

Los Angeles Jewry must understand the simple fact that the key to victory on the issues affecting their welfare and their very survival lies in the election of Negroes and Mexicans to national, state and local offices. Particularly are the Negro people today leading the most effective movement for peace and for strengthening democratic liberties for all the people. Though our nation was born out of the fundamental principle that no people can be governed without its own consent, 20,000,000 Negroes and Mexicans are living in the United States with practically no representation in local and national offices.

This principle has special significance in Los Angeles' sprawling 26th Congressional District where, despite gerrymandering, 185,000 Negroes, Mexicans and Jews live, comprising 42.6 per cent of the total vote of the district. The residents of the 26th Congressional District have the highest

proportion of unemployment, suffer most from discrimination and police brutality, and pay the highest rents for some of the worst housing in Los Angeles.

Congressional candidate Horace V. Alexander of the Progressive Party represents the best interests of the people in the 26th Congressional District. He is a veteran of World War II with two years of duty in the South Pacific, a past vice-president nationally of the NAACP Youth Division and California State vice-chairman of the Independent Progressive Party. He has worked as farmer, machinist and instructor. This dynamic young leader has conducted an energetic campaign on the issues in opposition to the Democratic party's "liberal" demagogic hack, Sam Yorty, who will represent both the Democratic and Republican parties in the November election by virtue of California's cross-filing procedures. Alexander has waged uncompromising battle against police brutality, Jimcrow and anti-Semitism. His election will insure representation for all the people of the 26th Congressional District.

Similarly, the question of Mexican-Jewish cooperation dominates the 19th Congressional District campaign. In the primaries, all IPP-supported Mexican candidates came in second in the congressional and state assembly races, indicating growing acceptance of the principle of Mexican representation. In the 51st Assembly District, Gilbert M. Canales received 27.8 per cent of the Democratic votes and in the 19th Congressional District, Arthur O. Casas polled 12 per cent of the total Democratic vote. IPP's current plans call for running a Mexican candidate in this district against Chet Holifield for Congress and a trade union candidate against William Munnell for Assembly.

The Senatorial Race

In the Senatorial race, Reuben W. Borough's (Independent Progressive Party state chairman) campaign against William F. Knowland, the "Senator from Formosa," creates special opportunities for campaigning amongst the working people who hate Knowland. Knowland won both the Republican and Democratic primaries against "liberal" McKinnon. The main job at the present time is to capitalize on the anti-Knowland sentiment by letting people know that there is an opportunity of voting against Knowland. Trade unions, such as the ILWU, some AFL locals are asking their memberships to vote against Knowland, even though they will not endorse Borough. One of the weaknesses of the campaign to date has been the lack of anti-Knowland activity in the Jewish community. Knowland's unsavory senatorial record presents real opportunities to unite the Jewish people in opposition to his re-election.

In Proposition 5 we have the California counterpart of Georgia's Representative Cox's House Resolution 364 to investigate foundations and other comparable institutions. Both Levering and Cox well know that progressive American organizations do not enjoy tax exempt status. Among the targets of their venom can only be such Jewish organ-

izations as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress. Los Angeles Jewry has a vital stake in the defeat of Propositions 5 and 6.

Finally, the 22nd Congressional District (San Fernando Valley—Jewish population almost 50,000) presents challenging tactical problems for the progressive community. In the primaries, the emphasis was on the defeat of Jack B. Tenney, who ran a poor second in the Republican race and a miserable third in the Democratic primary. Progressives supported "liberal" Dean E. McHenry on the basis that Tenney had to be defeated. Big-wigs of the Jewish community supported Republican veteran Joseph F. Holt on the dubious theory that it was necessary to defeat a fascist even if it meant supporting another one. Holt, former manager for Nixon, used the slogan, "I can fight communism better than Tenney. Didn't I prove it in Korea?"

Jewish People Must Find Its Allies

Dean McHenry was on record against the Smith Act, loyalty oaths, and for peaceful solution of the war. During the course of the primary campaign, he backed up as speedily as circumstances would permit. He proposed loyalty oaths in "sensitive areas," and supported aid for Franco, while deploring the necessity of doing this to defeat communism. McHenry is supported by almost all the liberals of the 22nd Congressional District including a huge section of the Jewish community. McHenry's weakened position is partly the result of the failure of the Jewish community to demand that he take a stand in opposition to Holt's reactionary program. McHenry will react to pressure. Valley Jewish residents are in a peculiarly advantageous position to provide those pressures on questions of peace, civil liberties and the cost of living.

Most positive of all developments in Los Angeles was the strengthening of the principle of Negro representation in the 26th Congressional District and the 55th Assembly District. Of equal importance was the firm establishment of the principle of Mexican representation in the 19th Congressional District and in the 41st Assembly District. Negro and Mexican candidates insisted upon forthright positive steps toward peace and freedom. As a result, encouraging perspectives have developed for trade union, Negro, Mexican and Jewish rank and file coalition around minority candidates who will represent all the people of their districts.

Within this framework, the Jewish people must realize that the election of Negro and Mexican candidates offers the most tangible guarantees for peace, for creation of a democratic Germany, for a halt to the alarming spiral of overt anti-Semitic manifestations, for repeal of the McCarran-Walters racist immigration act, the McCarran concentration camp act and the Smith act.

Should the Jewish people enter this mainstream of the struggle, they will be seeking their allies in their basic aspiration for economic and physical security. Without these allies, the Jewish people can accomplish little in their age-old struggle for peace, equality and freedom.

II: BATTLE ON THE WEST SIDE

The big issues are before the voters of a large Jewish community

By Arthur D. Kahn

SPRAWLING along the Manhattan West Side is New York's 20th Congressional District, running from 20th to 110th Street. This heterogeneous area includes some of the city's worst slums and most pretentious apartment houses. The core of the district is the middle class Jewish community, which makes up 30 per cent of the population but a higher percentage of the registered voters. Second largest group are the Irish Americans, many of them longshoremen, transport workers or railway workers. In addition to comparatively stable Italian, Greek and Yugoslav communities, there is a new, very large Puerto Rican community of undetermined size. The district's two isolated Negro communities are among the oldest in the city and make up about four per cent of the district's population.

The area has many problems. Most of it has no access to a city hospital. The public schools are dilapidated and a high school is needed. The excessive rents charged for the furnished rooms and apartments which abound in the area have tended to inflate all rentals. In the past year there has been a tremendous influx of Puerto Ricans, who have been subjected to racist attacks and to police brutality.

Although the Jewish community shares the general problems of the area, it is by and large more comfortable financially. However, the problems arising from the cold war have brought an atmosphere of anxiety here, too. Most of the area's Jewish people are engaged in the clothing and fur industries, which have been hard hit. And like other Jewish communities, the people here are worried about the growing anti-Semitism and the spirit of McCarthyism. The question of Germany disturbs them deeply.

The problems of the area are complicated by the skillful demagoguery of its present congressman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., who capably uses his name and his father's tradition to confuse his constituents. He is the candidate for re-election of the Democratic and Liberal Parties. The Jewish community in his district is a leading stronghold of the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party, which in 1950 garnered one and a half times the vote of the American Labor Party.

Accordingly, F. D. Roosevelt, Jr., is cleverly using a "liberal line." He utilizes his father's name subtly to promote the confusion that it is possible both to support

the cold war and be a liberal. In his candidacy the entire betrayal of the "liberals" is symbolized.

Will the Jewish people and the other groups in the area accept liberal talk plus support of the cold war or will they demand a fight on the issues which confront them?

Roosevelt's ambition to become governor of New York and perhaps to go on to higher office is well known. But there are indications in his own district of a growing dissatisfaction with politicians and political groups that pretend to be the heirs of the New Deal tradition while flagrantly violating it.

Supporter of Franco

The Junior Roosevelt plays for the vote of the Jewish people. He seeks to counterbalance his unqualified support for the cold war with speeches about "aid" to Israel. The *New York Times* (March 10) reported him as declaring at an Israel bond rally in Miami that "Mr. Truman had done more for permanent world peace during the last seven years than had been done in the past century." A few months earlier he had called for aid to Franco on the plea that Franco's "persecution of opposition groups . . . cannot be compared to the terror of dictatorships like Hitler's." This stand on Franco has alarmed the Jewish community, which is very hesitant about aid to a fascist dictator who practices terror, whether equal to Hitler's or not. Thus on May 27, the Liberal Party, many of whose leaders are Jewish, temporarily omitted Roosevelt's name from their slate of congressional candidates, offering as one reason his "support in Congress of a United States loan to Spain."

On the question of Germany, Roosevelt has remained silent. Yet this question has the greatest importance for the peace of the world and is profoundly troubling his Jewish constituents.

Roosevelt made statements in Congress in favor of appropriations for housing but he is actually not concerned about housing for the lower income groups who need it most. In his own district he publicly supported a program to evict over 8,000 families to make way for the Park West housing project where rentals and other requirements would exclude all but about four per cent of the present residents. Significantly, this area comprised one of the two Negro communities in the congressional district and has a large concentrated Puerto Rican population.

ARTHUR D. KAHN is the author of *Betrayal* and *Speak Out: America Wants Peace*. He is American Labor Party candidate for Congress in the 20th Congressional District in New York.

In a transparent maneuver for votes he entered his own personal bill for FEPC in the House that was condemned by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell as an obvious maneuver to get the jump on the Negro congressman. But in speaking recently as chairman of the Harriman-for-President Committee, F. R. Roosevelt, Jr., noted that his candidate favored an "enforceable," as distinguished from a "compulsory" FEPC, a distinction that paves the way for surrender to the Dixiecrats.

People Must Be Awakened

Roosevelt's arrogance toward his constituents is almost unparalleled. He refuses to see delegations or reply to letters. His record for absenteeism is one of the worst in the Congress. But the increasing anxiety among the Jewish voters is manifesting itself. At the ADA state convention in April, a motion was entered to strike out his name from the list of candidates receiving endorsement on the ground that his voting and attendance records had not been satisfactory. Even more significant was the statement of Alex Rose of the Hatters' Union, the state vice-chairman of the Liberal Party, who declared last spring: "Some people who think there is a short cut to the governorship by walking out on principles and friends are in for a disappointment."

The American Labor Party campaign in the Jewish community is directed toward exposing the demagoguery of the Democrats (the Republicans are a weak minority in the district) and their failure to deal with the problems troubling the Jewish people. We have been receiving large and thoughtful crowds at our street meetings. I have noticed a meaningful silence when I say: "Those of us who are Jews know that the way to peace is not by putting guns in the hands of nazis. M. Roosevelt, Jr. doesn't know that."

Particularly significant has been the response in the Jew-

Howard Fast for Congress!

AS WE went to press, it was announced that Howard Fast, world-renowned progressive novelist, is a candidate for Congress on the American Labor Party ticket. He is running in the 23rd Congressional District in the Bronx, the district in which Leo Isaacson won a seat in the House in 1948 under the American Labor Party banner. The district is wholly working class. About 70 per cent of its residents are Jewish and 20 per cent Puerto Rican and Negro.

At a press conference on September 8, Fast said that he would campaign against German renazification and fascist developments in our own country and for a new trial in the Rosenberg case—issues of vital concern to the Jewish people of the district—as well as on pressing local issues. He will conduct an intensive door-to-door canvassing campaign and stump on street corners. This was the first time he has sought public office. "The times we live in," he said, "call for many more such non-professional entries into the political struggles for peace, freedom and democracy in America."

ish community to Negro speakers, who have been listened to with significant attention and respect, an indication of the Jewish people's concern about the attacks on the Negro people and on civil rights in general.

We have no illusions that the Jewish people are going to undergo a radical political change in this coming election. We are proceeding, however, on the premise whose correctness is constantly being demonstrated, that the Jewish people, including middle class Jewish people, are experiencing great anxiety and are looking for serious answers to their questions and for something better than "the lesser evil." The ALP goal is to double its 1950 vote and to aim at victory in 1954.

III: COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

Their campaign to get on the ballot was a victory against hysteria

By Max Gordon

THE campaign to place Communist candidates on the ballot in the 1952 elections takes on great significance for the Jewish people and all those concerned with the preservation of democracy. For it has been amply proved that fascism requires for its success a hysterical anti-communist atmosphere that frightens the whole people into rigid conformity. The fact that several Communists succeeded in receiving far more signatures than legally required to put

MAX GORDON is on the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker*.

them on the ballot is encouraging. It indicates that all the shouting and tumult of the press, radio, politicians, movies and all propaganda media of Big Business have not been entirely successful in frightening the people into silence. While this happens, there is still hope for democracy.

A Communist national legislative conference held in September announced that three well-known Communist leaders had submitted overfulfilled petitions to place them on the ballot in local contests. Former N. Y. C. Councilman

Benjamin J. Davis, great national Negro leader serving a five-year sentence as a victim of the thought-control Smith act, is running for State Assembly in Harlem's most heavily concentrated Negro district, the 11th A.D. Simon W. Gerson, assistant to Manhattan Borough President Stanley Isaacs from 1938 to 1940 and at present New York State legislative director of that party and currently on trial under the Smith act, is running for Congress in Brooklyn's 13th Congressional District. Otis Hood, prominent New England Communist leader, is running for the Massachusetts State Assembly.

It is still possible at this writing that additional Communist leaders may be named through independent petitions in other states where such nominations are due somewhat later. In addition to formal nomination through petition, however, Communists in some states have started to campaign as write-in candidates because of oppressive laws in their states which make it virtually impossible for an independent to get on the ballot. Most prominent of these write-in candidates is Gus Hall, the party's national secretary, who, like Davis, is sitting out the campaign in jail, a victim of the Smith act. Hall is candidate for United States senator from Ohio, a state which requires half a million signatures to get on the ballot. Running for governor with Hall on the write-in ticket in Ohio is E. C. Greenfield, Communist leader in that state.

The very fact that Communist candidates are in the field and are, together with their supporters, conducting intensive campaigns—in person where they are able and by proxy where they are not—is a powerful contribution to the struggle to prevent whittling down of such democratic rights as we still enjoy. For it has long been recognized by genuinely democratic forces and it was proved by Hitlerism that the rights of Communists are the touchstone of the rights of all citizens. Take these rights away from the Communists and a great leap has been taken toward fascism.

By campaigning boldly and openly for their political position and program, the Communist candidates and their backers are demonstrating to the nation that they will not be driven "underground" and are rejecting the dictum of Mr. Truman's Justice Department and of the raucous McCarthyite political storm-troopers who would have the people believe that the Communist Party is an "illegal conspiracy." By combating this hysterical untruth, the Communists are helping to restore democratic sanity.

Many People Are Not Intimidated

The responses to the petition campaign are of considerable interest. Hood required 500 valid signature to become a candidate for State Assembly. This made it necessary to aim for at least a thousand to avert disqualification because of invalidation of some signatures. Hood's supporters viewed this as a herculean task, equivalent to the moving of mountains greater than New England possesses. Yet, it took eight campaign workers less than a week to collect these thousand signatures in a politically alert neighborhood

which knows Hood well as a Communist leader because he has run for office there for the past 15 years! Campaigners reported that some voters said they were glad to see the Communists campaigning again because the workingman needed someone to speak up for him; virtually all were friendly and willing to discuss issues. The state attorney general's office and some veterans' groups visited the homes of all signers and sought to get them to withdraw or to declare that their signatures were obtained through fraud. Their efforts netted four signers who said they did not know what they were signing. The attorney general's office, which kicked large numbers of Democrats and Republicans off the ballot for actual wholesale fraud in completing petitions, was forced to permit Hood's name to remain as candidate.

Campaigners for Gerson, whose petition received 4,300 signatures—with 3,000 valid ones needed, and for Davis, for whom 3,100 signed—with 1,500 needed—reported similar reactions in their widely dissimilar areas. In Gerson's campaign almost one out of every five voters with whom canvassers spoke signed. This, too, is a politically keen neighborhood which knows Gerson well as a Communist leader.

"The response surpassed anything any of us had expected," Gerson's campaign manager, Billie Frumkin, reported after the campaign was completed. "Even where our canvassers did not succeed in getting a signature, the people were anxious to discuss with us the issues we raised—peace, cost of living, civil rights and democratic liberties."

The Davis campaign manager, Jesse Gray, reported virtually the same reactions in his area. In order to ensure as close to a fool-proof petition as possible, canvassers approached only those who had registered to vote in 1951. There were 14,000 of these in the 11th A.D. More than 3,000 signed even though many of the 14,000 could not be reached for one or another reason.

The results are impressive when it is recalled that for large sections of the citizenry their signature could mean loss of a job. These include government workers of various kinds, teachers, workers in so-called "security areas" and in industries in which workers are "screened." Workers on relief and even many living in public housing projects expressed fear of reprisals if they should sign.

Certainly not all signers agreed with the whole Communist Party program. Many did agree with one or another major aspect of this program, especially its emphasis on the need for a genuine peace. But, in addition, many signed because they opposed the persecution of Communists and because they believed Communists had a right to run for public office.

The Communist candidacies have far greater significance than that of just a few more runners in the field. They show that Big Business has not gained its objective of utterly suppressing all dissent. This concerns everyone in our country who cares about the maintenance of democracy. The Communist campaign is therefore one important front of the counter-offensive against the forces of would-be fascism, whose main instrument is anti-communist hysteria.

WHO GAINS FROM ISRAEL BONDS?

Are Bonds for Israel really helping the new state to emerge from its crisis? Here are some facts to show who profits from them

*Second of a Series
By Victor Perlo*

THE first article in this series discussed the pressures exerted by American Jewish capitalists on the Israel government and that government's measures to open up the country's resources and labor to United States investors. Who are the key figures among these American Jewish capitalists and whom do they represent?

Some of the foreign investments in Israel are made by companies without prominent Jewish participation—e.g., Coca Cola, Philco, General Tire and Rubber. But American Jewish capitalists are usually put in the limelight, appearing as disinterested friends of Israel. Actually they represent leading groups of United States finance capital, supported by similar groups in the British Commonwealth. Consider the leading United States investment trust operating in Israel, the Palestine Economic Corporation (PEC). The directors are Jews prominent in charitable and civic affairs. However, their underlying interests include:

Lehman Brothers: a merger of Jewish and non-Jewish financiers, one of the 17 Wall Street houses on trial in Federal Court for conspiring to control and divide among themselves the nation's securities markets. This firm's influence is expressed on the PEC Board by Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Robert Szold.

Kuhn Loeb: one of the eight main centers of finance capital in the United States, financier of key railroads, represented on the PEC Board by two Warburgs, Hans J. Meyer and Albert Schiff.

The Mellons of Pittsburgh: represented on the PEC Board by Leon Falk, Jr., a director of the Mellon National Bank and Trust Co.

The Boston Group of the Cabots and Lodges: represented on PEC by Samuel Zemurray, president of United Fruit Company, leading industrial holding of the Boston financial group.

Cleveland financiers, represented on the Board of PEC by Moses P. Epstein, vice-president of Industrial Rayon, in which the principal positions are held by the M. A. Hanna interests of Cleveland.

Leading Jewish financiers are quick to emphasize that they are Americans first, Jews second. It would be more appropriate to say that their first loyalties are to the great combinations of United States finance capital, in which they are often only secondary figures. Jewish financiers place

VICTOR PERLO is a prominent economic consultant. The last two articles of his current series will deal with the way out of Israel's crisis.

their investments as "friends of Israel" but they place them for groups which are notorious exploiters of colonial and semi-colonial peoples all over the world.

"Benevolent" Investors

Kuhn Loeb is a leading shareholder and organizer of American Metals, Lehman Bros. participated in the financing of Rhodesian Selection Trust. These combines make huge profits from the enslavement of Africans in the mines. Samuel Zemurray is famous as the builder of the United Fruit monopoly, which established its position in Central America on the bayonets of United States marines and which specializes in the organization of "revolutions" against any internal reform movements in Central American countries.

The Kuhn Loeb and Lehman groups, most influential in PEC, control American Potash and Chemical, operator of a notorious company town potash and borax mine in the California desert at Trona. For the past 16 years this concern has been in almost continual proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board for unfair labor practices and at the present time is involved in an attempt to get the militant Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union out of its enterprises.

Who is so naive as to believe that Jewish and Arab workers at the largely PEC controlled Palestine Potash mine on the Dead Sea will be treated more gently than their American brothers at Trona?

Nor can one expect better from Sir Robert Waley-Cohen K.C.B. (Royal Dutch-Shell group—second largest international petroleum trust), James DeRothschild and Viscount Samuel—all veteran British colonialists allied with PEC in Israel enterprises. The same applies to the South African Jewish capitalists in holding company deals with PEC. These gentlemen share in and excuse the evil odor of the Malanazi regime of South Africa.

Increasingly, PEC ventures are conducted jointly with corresponding Canadian, British and South African holding companies. Despite the Jewish individuals, the forces are similar to those linked in the Anglo-French-American Iraq Petroleum Company and in the British-American-South African metals trusts—giant international colonial cartels.

PEC boasts of these ventures in its 1950 annual report:

"The ambition of the Palestine Economic Corporation is to be the nucleus around which business activities of similar groups throughout the world, interested in private capital and private initiative, may gather."

United States finance capital, in Israel as throughout Asia and Africa, aspires to be senior partner with the old powers in colonial exploitation.¹

Proof of the exploiting objective is supplied by the ruthless pressure of American Jewish capitalists to cut down the living standards of the Israeli people and to force still greater concessions to foreign capitalists and by the profits taken out of Israel already. The full amount of these profits is not made public but an idea of the amount and trend can be obtained from balance of payments statistics. In practice most payments for purposes other than the purchase of commodities, when made by a country dominated by foreign capital, represent open or concealed transfer of profits. Total current payments by Israel on non-commodity accounts increased from 6.4 million Israel pounds in 1949 to 14.2 million Israel pounds in 1951. The latter figure represents 85 per cent of Israel's exports in 1951. In other words, for every dollar's worth of goods exported, 85 cents had to go to pay profits and related foreign claims and only 15 cents was left to buy goods abroad.

It is traditional for big financiers to collect little people's money as a source of profits for themselves. During recent years this has been done on an immense scale through United States government loans and grants to "reliable" foreign governments, paid for through taxes by the American people as a whole. Some of these loans are used simply to provide dollars to the foreign countries so that they can pay out the profits of the United States corporations operating there. Others are designed to fit the foreign investment theory projected by the National Association of Manufacturers. In this scheme, certain kinds of projects, like railroads and power plants, are often singled out for financing by United States government loans. Only moderate rates of profit can be expected from enterprises of this type but they are necessary for the operation of mines, plantations and other colonial-type enterprises on which high rates of profit are made and which are reserved for private investment.

Bonds for Israel

The \$135,000,000 of Export-Import Bank credits to Israel and sundry United States grants in addition have been used in both of these ways. But the financiers interested in Israel have an added, special source of funds. Thousands of American Jews interested in helping Israel trustingly place these funds at the bankers' disposal. At present these funds are raised mainly through Bonds for Israel. Already over \$125 million have been sold through a high pressure promotion campaign featuring mass rallies and support from leading public figures.

¹ For more details on the interconnections of foreign investors in Israel, see the excellent account in Chapter VII of A. B. Magil's *Israel in Crisis*, International Publishers, New York, 1950.

Actually the Bonds for Israel campaign is the biggest financier's bonanza since the foreign bond promotions of the 1920s, which cost the small American investors billions and put huge profits into the coffers of Wall Street investment houses.

Today it is usually difficult for investment bankers to collect a wide profit margin on the sale of new bonds and stocks. When an investor buys a newly-issued corporation security, 98½ cents of his dollar go to the borrowing company, only 1½ cents go to pay expenses and profits of the investment bankers. These are average figures for 1950 compiled by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Distribution costs on state and municipal bonds are even less, typically under one cent on the dollar.

The original underwriting agreement for Bonds for Israel provided a banker's discount or commission of 3½ cents on the dollar, which was more than twice the prevailing commission rate on corporation securities. However, the State of Israel, by March 31, 1952, had advanced more than twice the official commission to the American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel, the underwriter, and its holding company, the American Committee for Aid to Israel Immigrants.

Where Your Money Goes

Recognizing the "inadequacy" of the commission, the agreement was revised in April 1952, to allow for commissions of 6 per cent. In addition the State of Israel must pay: "all charges, expenses and fees in connection with the issuance of the bonds, their registration under the Securities Act of 1933 and state securities statutes, the preparation, printing, publication and distribution of prospectuses, newspaper prospectuses, advertising, all taxes and stamps required in connection with the sale of the bonds and all sums payable to the fiscal agent, the district banks and the community banks."

In short, the State of Israel must pay all the expenses of the high pressure advertising campaign and all technical fees, over and above the 6 per cent discount. The latter is exclusively for the provision of profits to underwriters, brokers and other dealers, and to the lawyers of the Development Corporation.

This means that the Israel government gets less than \$94 out of every \$100 Bond for Israel bought by an American. But it pays 3½ per cent interest on the full \$100, including the part it doesn't get. And when the bonds become due, Israel must pay back not only the money it received, but the more than \$6 per \$100 it never got in the first place. Because of this, the real or "effective" rate of interest Israel has to pay on the money it gets is not 3.5 per cent, but more than 4.1 per cent. The total actual cost will not be known until all the details of expenses are released, including the payments to the fiscal agent, which happens to be the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank.

Running the Bonds for Israel syndicate is the same inter-

locking directorate found in "charitable" and foreign investment activities. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former secretary of the treasury and now a New York banker, is chairman of the board. He was in 1949 chairman of the board of Palestine Economic Corporation. President of the Bond syndicate is Rudolf G. Sonneborn, now a director of Palestine Economic Corporation.

In fact, a large part of the proceeds, after reaching Israel, are turned back to the same fund raisers for use in their private investments in Israel.

The first \$50,000,000 of funds from the Bond Drive allocated by the Israel government include the following:

\$1 million to Potash Works Ltd. (Israel government, Palestine Economic Corp. and British capital).

\$1,400,000 to Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd. (organized by PEC together with South African, Canadian, and British capital). This company also received \$5,000,000 out of the Export-Import Bank Loan. Through these two sources the owners receive the use of \$6,400,000 put up by the American people, as contrasted with their own original investment of only \$1,250,000. Suppose that Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd. makes an operating profit of 20 per cent on the total investment of \$7,650,000, a conservative expectation. That would be \$1,530,000. Then, if it pays 5 per cent interest on the borrowed \$6,400,000, or \$320,000, that would leave profits of \$1,210,000 to the owners of Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd., or an amount each year equal to 97 per cent of their own investment.

\$560,000 for construction of a road for transportation of Potash Works Dead Sea minerals.

\$560,000 for Sephen Ltd., masonite factory, controlled by AMPAL (American Palestine Trading Corporation).

\$112,000 for expansion of Assis Alcohol Manufacturing Ltd., owned by PEC.

How many of the other projects are actually controlled by foreign capital cannot be determined from available information since the names of the factories cannot always be connected with the controlling holding companies. For example, the published data do not disclose whether the \$10,100,000 from the loan funds allocated for electric power are turned over to Palestine Electric or handled by some other company which might be controlled by Israel capital. Again, the largest single industrial loan out of the first \$50,000,000 was made to the government-owned Israel Mining Corporation for operations in the Huleh area and in the Negev. But in May 1952, the Belgian Continental Mines and Metals Company signed an agreement with an Israel Mining subsidiary to participate in development of the Negev copper resources. The Jewish National Fund of America in 1950 bought up from the Israel government the 60,000 dunams (15,000 acres) of the Huleh region. And recently terms for granting Israel oil concessions to foreign companies were announced. Thus the stage is set for the Israel government to use this part of Bonds for Israel not for genuinely national mineral development but to assist foreign companies in organizing the exploitation of Israel's resources for their profit instead of Israel's.

Bonds and the Dollar Deficit

The dependent character of the Israel economy has its most pronounced expression in the truly fantastic deficit in international payments. In 1951, exports and other current receipts yielded 24.6 million Israel pounds. Imports and other current payments cost 136.8 million Israel pounds. The deficit, therefore, was 112,200,000 Israel pounds, or \$314 million. The deficit increases from year to year. In 1949, it was 73.5 million Israel pounds, in 1950 it was 93.6 million Israel pounds. The 1951 deficit amounted to one-fourth of the national income. It is as if the United States went into debt by \$50 billion each year.

The theory of huge foreign borrowings is that they will put the account in balance. Goods formerly imported will be produced in Israel so that dollars and other foreign currencies will not be needed to pay for them. Surpluses will be produced in many products so that exports can be increased, leading to increased receipts of foreign currencies.

Promotional literature for the bonds stresses this point, estimating that for various projects the savings per year will amount to from 30 to 100 per cent of the amount of the loan.

But this is an illusion. In the first place, it assumes that all of the surpluses can be sold in foreign markets at recent peak prices. Since most of the products to be made are highly competitive, this is a dubious assumption at best. Moreover, the natural market for the products would be largely in Middle Eastern countries, which are cut off from trade with Israel by their own insulated semi-colonial economies, as well as by the aggravated relations between Israel and neighboring countries.

Furthermore, even if the products were sold, very few would be sold for dollars. Israel, on account of its huge purchases and borrowings from the United States, will have a mounting annual payment in dollars, with no prospect of earning the dollars. As the recent experience of European countries shows, a "general" balance of payments, even when it can be achieved, is useless to prevent financial crises if it is accompanied by a big dollar deficit.

Back-breaking Dollar Burden

The mounting burden of dollar payments will take the following form. The figures are illustrative rather than precise but they are conservative estimates. \$14.5 million per year will be needed for interest and repayment of capital on the \$135 million Export-Import Bank loans. At least \$17.5 million per year will be needed to service the Bonds for Israel, assuming they are all sold and making *no allowance* for set-aside of funds for repayment. A minimum of \$30 million per year must be figured for spare parts and replacements of United States machinery imported under the various loan programs.

The bond drive is paralleled with the campaign to lure private United States capital. If investments of \$500 million

are obtained, there will be a minimum cost of \$50 million per year for the profits which the Israel government formally permits to be taken out. This is very much a minimum since United States corporations are expert at getting around currency restrictions and also additional dollars will be allotted for materials and equipment wanted by the United States investors.

Adding the specified items shows that the minimum dollar servicing costs on account of all dollar capital imports will be \$111.5 million. This approximately equals the value of imports from the United States in 1951. Thus the dollar burden will be doubled.

What actually happens is that as the dollar deficits resulting from previous investments increase, new loans instead of building the economy and improving the dollar balance, are used as stop-gaps to pay the debts resulting from the old loans.

Thus the United States Congress granted \$64,700,000 to Israel for refugee relief and resettlement, economic development and Point Four technical aid. Through successive diversions approved by Washington, by mid-May 1952, all

but \$8,800,000 of this fund had been shifted to payment of debts and for current supplies of basic consumers goods.

When the Marines landed in Nicaragua over 40 years ago, they forced a puppet government to take a loan from the Wall Street firm of Brown Brothers as part of the financial shackles placed on the newly acquired unofficial colony. Objectively, Bonds for Israel plays a similar role in relation to that country today.

Using Jewish figures as a front, a number of Wall Street financial groups are getting control of the Israel economy. To the relatively small funds they invest are added hundreds of millions of dollars loaned to Israel by the United States government or by American purchasers of Bonds for Israel. Part of the money spent by Americans for bonds is siphoned off by the promoters through excessive commissions, another large part is turned over to United States investors in Israel and the whole is used to strengthen the position of foreign investors and guarantee payment of profits to them.

(To be continued)

PATERSON UNITES AGAINST JIMCROW

THE citizens of Paterson, textile city in New Jersey, have united through a broad group of local organizations to end Jimcrow in that city.

The movement started in July when the management of several swimming pools refused to permit the Red Cross to use their facilities for Negro children in the Red Cross "learn to swim" program. One pool was finally found that would allow unsegregated swimming lessons—the small pool of Camp Veritan, a Jewish children's day camp. As soon as the Jimcrow situation became known, there was a widespread public protest at this Jimcrow outrage. The letter pages of the *Paterson Call* were filled for days with indignant letters and on July 7 the *Call* published a forthright editorial condemning the Jimcrow action and urging the city administration to "restore to all the children of our city their inalienable right of freedom from discrimination" and to build a municipal swimming pool.

A great variety of organizations participated in the campaign. Among them were the American Legion, the 12,000-member Local 669 of the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO), Council of Negro Women, Americans for Democratic Action, B'nai B'rith, Women's Peace Council, Negro Elks, the Progressive Party, leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties, the Communist Party and Negro and white church leaders. Mayor Lester Titus was obliged to take a position condemning the Jimcrow practice. So far as could be ascertained, Paterson's citizens were well-nigh unanimous in condemnation.

The united opposition to Jimcrow in this instance proved to be the beginning of a general fight against Jimcrow in the city. On August 12, a conference was held in which about 30 labor, civic and political groups joined in discussion of the question and projected a program for meeting the situation. The conference was keynoted by Christopher J. Frawley, executive director of the Passaic County CIO Council, who warned that fascism would gain ground if Jimcrow were allowed to flourish unopposed. A number of Jewish organizations participated in the conference.

The discussion panels emerged with resolutions adopted by the conference on these issues, among others: censure of the management of swimming pools that refused their facilities to Negroes; circulation of petitions for immediate action by the city government on a swimming pool; working for a city ordinance revoking the license of any establishment discriminating because of race, creed or color; campaigning for equal job opportunities, elimination of slums; appointment of Negroes to city boards and commissions, and urging of political parties to accept Negroes as candidates for public office. It is significant that no red herrings turned up at the conference.

Paterson has provided the country with an inspiring example of united community action against Jimcrow. It is good to know that Jewish organizations have played their part in such a movement. Other cities should emulate the example of Paterson.

EN ROUTE TO ISRAEL: A LETTER

The following letter was written by a member of the Jewish Young Folksingers on her way to participate in the international festival of Jewish choruses held in Israel in August. We believe that our readers will be interested in the candid account of her experiences en route.—Eds.

Sunday, August 3, 1952.

Dear

I hardly know where to begin this letter. I'm writing to you from the bar of the "S.S. Negba." We are due to reach Haifa in another two days so I will try to tell you some of the things that have happened up to this point.

From the very start, the arrangements for this trip have been marked by disorganization, inefficiency and discomfort. The plane that was supposed to leave Idlewild at 12 midnight did not depart until 4:30 A.M. We flew on the *Flying Tiger* line, which was chartered by the El Al. We stopped first at Sidney, Nova Scotia, where we were supposed to stay for an hour, but we couldn't leave until four hours later because we were not expected for lunch and the two waitresses had over 60 people to serve. One by one the passengers left, the place was in chaos and I'm sure they will not remember the Jewish choir group with any love.

Our next stop was Shannon, Ireland. Things went smoothly there. The plane ride itself was fine except for a few rough spots over the ocean. On our plane we met and sang with young people from other choruses. After Shannon we went to Luxembourg. We spent a half day there and after much confusion concerning who would carry and pay for the baggage, where to have lunch and who pays for it; train tickets to Paris;—we finally took the train for Paris.

There, more confusion arose concerning hotel rooms and moving of baggage. Before I go any further, let me say that the hardships were felt by the older and sick people. Chaim Suller has been wonderful, very level headed and helpful not only to our people but to people from other choruses as well.

Paris was a wonderful experience for us. Ruth and I lived with a wonderful family in a typical worker's home. We were moved by the warmth, honesty and heartiness of the people we met. Most of the people from other choruses and even some of our people had nothing but complaints

about the life of Paris. They were disgusted with lack of cleanliness, facilities (even in expensive hotels), the attitude of the French people towards Americans, helpless in a land with a different language and customs.

Many people were away on vacation, so we couldn't reach any of the youth contacts we had. But we were living with the secretary of the Jewish People's Chorus and her 17-year-old daughter and had many discussions with them. It seems that up to last year there was a Jewish Youth Chorus of some 40 young people. But now, the chorus and the progressive Jewish youth are completely merged with the general youth movement. They feel that they have no need for a separate Jewish Youth movement because in the Jewish community, the progressive forces are dominant and because the youth movement is so well organized and advanced. Those are the reasons they gave us and the adults do not grieve that their children do not speak Yiddish. They have children's *shules* but after that they are glad to be part of the French youth movement.

Boarding the ship at Marseilles was a panic, really. Our Zionist friends had the shock of their lives. Over 500 people were being packed into Israel's finest ship, equipped comfortably for 250. People were being sent down into dormitories that were like narrow dungeons, smelly, dirty, double-decker narrow cots, no room for baggage. Women fainted and got hysterical. One of our men had a heart attack but he is much better now.

I think our group were wonderful on the whole. We made arrangements, the younger people taking the worst places. The other groups, I feel, suffered more from the shock of the discovery that their beloved Israel government was using them

in a business swindle, taking their money with no consideration for their comfort. Several people left the boat—refusing to go any further.

After a few hours delay, the boat shoved off. Most of the young people aboard (including us) have never slept in the "holds." We took our mattresses (hard straw) and dirty sheets and blankets and have been sleeping on one of the upper decks in our dungarees. I love it. It's very beautiful on the Mediterranean. We made many friends among the crew and through them got our first glimpse of Israel life. The crew are Jews and non-Jews from many different countries. They have various points of view about Jewishness and their reasons for being in Israel. But most are very clear in their understanding that the hardships of the worker's life in Israel are due to a capitalistic, corrupt government.

Conditions for the crew are very bad. They have non-Jewish officers to keep the crew in check. The crew have many ridiculous rules to follow and are fined when they break them. We met some terrific guys from Eastern Europe. They had various reasons for coming to *Eretz*, but most of them came because they had been soldiers in the war, their homes uprooted, their families killed and they hoped to build a democratic Israel. Some are very sorry they left their lands. They recognized in us a different kind of American and have been very friendly and helpful to us.

Aboard this ship there is a Belgium Youth Chorus, a group of wonderful, beautiful young people—teen-agers and early twenties with a young teen-age boy-conductor. They were organized especially for this festival. Some were in organizations and others were not. They are 70 in number and sing beautifully. They sing Hebrew, Flemish and French songs. They have a wide variety of points of view but on the whole are a progressive group, wanting peace and friendship in the world. There is an Irish choir here. There are several American groups. One from Canada. The Zionist Youth Council organized a chorus of 75 for this trip.

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OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

Miami Beach Speaks Out

Our mag received a letter from Miami Beach which enables us to hope that we are soon going to lay the ghost that haunts our doorstep every month, come printing bill time. Little by little there are groups forming which consider the building and maintenance of JEWISH LIFE an A-1 priority job in the Jewish community. The heroine of this story is the Emma Lazarus Club of Miami Beach. A letter from one member tells the story: "Received your letter pertaining to financial help for JEWISH LIFE. We decided to do something immediately. Last week we arranged a lecture on the McCarran act with a prominent attorney. I am enclosing the \$75,000 that we collected. I can assure you that we also do a good job in distributing the JEWISH LIFE. . . . Gradually we are getting new contacts and I am confident that in the near future we'll enlarge our bundle of JL."

More Miami Beach: The Morris Holtman Reading Circle also sent a contribution of \$15.00. Good reading to you, dear friends!

Other Emma Lazarus Clubs and organizations, please note above constructive approach to solving our mutual problem of getting JEWISH LIFE out of the thick financial fog. We need such activity in every Jewish community in the United States. And we need it fast!

Conversation Piece

When Morris U. Schappes spoke in San Francisco, he had a conversation with two men from Petaluma—and of course, if Morris spoke, he spoke about JEWISH LIFE. Result, the two men raised 21 subscriptions and \$41.00 in contributions for the magazine at a party in honor of a friend who was leaving for South America. And they write that "we also formed ourselves as a committee for JEWISH LIFE, to work toward the building of the magazine in the future." We welcome our new JL committee among the Petaluma farmers. We wonder if the brothers and sisters from Farmingdale-Lakewood-Toms River area in New Jersey are reading this. If so—are you going to let your fellow farmers in California beat you in building JEWISH LIFE? Genug gefregt!

More on California

The tour of Morris U. Schappes in California was eminently successful—and *Observation Post* wishes to commend the Jew-

ISH LIFE Committee in Los Angeles for the splendid job it did. Many new subscribers were gained and \$2000 was raised as a result of the tour. If it weren't for the California contribution, the July and August issues might not have been paid for.

Morris spoke at many meetings and gatherings. Interesting features were the celebration of the birthday of Emma Lazarus at the Haym Salomon statue in General Douglas MacArthur Park, Los Angeles, and the presentation of books on Jewish themes to the La Cienega Branch of the L.A. Public Library by the Emma Lazarus Clubs. Morris spoke in both instances.

One inspiring element of the support given to JEWISH LIFE during the tour was the participation of the Yiddish speaking groups. The Ykuf, reading circles, choruses and Yiddish speaking branches of fraternal organizations helped make the tour a success. In this respect California has much to teach the rest of the country—and a hand to the JEWISH LIFE Committee for getting the whole progressive Jewish community behind the campaign to build our magazine.

Calling All Cities

You have read about Los Angeles, Miami Beach, Petaluma. Now we call upon New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston and all other points to shed the summer languor and build their JEWISH LIFE Committees. You are the main base (together with California) for the magazine. Without your consistent support in building circulation and raising funds JEWISH LIFE could not go on. There must be immediate attention to the raising of funds through affairs, parties, meetings and individual contributions. And the effort to enroll subscribers should be intensified a hundredfold. Please consider this an urgent call to action. Let us establish effective, working JEWISH LIFE Committees in all communities at once.

Due to mounting costs (which, it is unnecessary to say, are beyond our control) we are forced to raise the price of JEWISH LIFE on November 1st. The subscription price will be \$2.50 per year and individual copies 25 cents. All present subscribers should take advantage of the next few weeks to renew their subscriptions regardless of the expiration date of their present sub (renewals will extend for one year after present expiration date). This will save them 50 cents. Also, run a special drive until November 1st to get new subscriptions at the old \$2.00 rate. Get on the

bargain train, everyone—and meanwhile you help the magazine meet some of its present financial problems.

Attention—Organizations

Observation Post is here to help popularize your activities and accomplishments. Let the whole country know what you're doing. Your community activities, your special accomplishments, your plans may be helpful to other organizations interested in the same things. Therefore, we request that you send *Observation Post* news of your organization. Assign one member to be the *Observation Post* correspondent. We don't ask for articles (though they are welcome), we don't ask for literary works (if you have them send them in)—we ask for a brief letter telling us the facts. It isn't a big job but a very important one. At the same time you help JEWISH LIFE become a reflector of life in the progressive Jewish community throughout the land. Send *Observation Post* the name of your correspondent. Don't delay.

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JEWISH LIFE

Letter from a Reader

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

First, let me thank JEWISH LIFE particularly for having planted the seed, nourished the plant and brought forth a new type—as far as knowing the facts and understanding the meaning of Jewish life are concerned. This applies to me and many others.

Now, in the election season of 1952, we ask for some more help. Generally it is on the problem of progressive and liberal Jewish people in the Jewish organizations these last five years. We recognize the various instances where the democratic and pace-loving consciousness of American Jewry has been expressed on general as well as national issues. There have been stands taken against anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attacks. Definite positions have been taken for FEPC, in opposition to the McCarran act and the Smith act.

However, the average Jewish person has been retarded in the realization of what is threatening them as Jews and as American citizens.

Many Jewish progressives and liberals say they have tried to work in the best interests of their Jewish organizations only to be pushed down by the reactionary elements. So, they have been more or less hanging on, feeling dissatisfied but unable to see how they can effect any positive changes.

Then there are a surprising number who negate the role of the Jewish organizations altogether by leaving them. Some have joined certain non-Jewish religious denominations which have very good, genuinely democratic, free speech forums. Here, they say, they can speak up and do something worthwhile.

Can you give some experiences and ideas that relate to the problem of progressive Jews who have tried but have been blocked by the *Judenrat*?

Specifically, now, we are concerned with the elections.

How can we work to show up the Eisenhower-Nixon (article in JEWISH LIFE excellent), Stevenson-Sparkman combinations as equal dangers to us as Jews and Americans?

Los Angeles, Cal.

K.S.

Editorial Note: One part of the answer to this letter is the current issue, which is primarily given over to the elections. To the point about the difficulty of promoting activity in the genuine interests of the Jewish people in Jewish organizations in the face of obstruction by reactionary leaders, we cannot affirm too strongly that it is a mistake to give up the fight and join more congenial organizations instead. We are aware that it is not easy to fight the tough battle of overcoming the powerful, undemocratic tactics of the reactionary leadership of many Jewish organizations. But the battle must be continued with patience and steadfastness. If Jewish progressives sincerely and tactfully give expression to the real sentiments of their fellow-members and fight for such positions, it is possible in time to win adherents among them even against the tactics of the leaders.

Important Announcement

AS THE reader knows, printing costs have not been exempt from the general rise in prices. We have tried for some time not to pass this increase on to our readers. But we can do it no longer. Our financial situation does not permit this.

After due consideration, we have decided to raise the price of JEWISH LIFE.

Beginning with the November issue, subscription rates will be as follows:

One year subscription, \$2.50

Outside the U.S. and Possessions, \$3.00

Price per copy, 25c

The November issue will be priced at 25c. All subscriptions and renewals received after October 31 will be accepted at the new rates.

However, we have a *special offer* to make to our readers. Those whose subscriptions expire after October 31 may renew at the \$2.00 rate, if their renewal is received before November 1. Their renewal will take effect whenever their subscription expires in the course of the year. Take advantage of this money-saving offer and renew before October 31!

THE EDITORS

JEWISH LIFE

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

zealous" in protecting the Jews of the Williamsburg area from anti-Semitic physical attacks, which have been frequent in this section recently. The paper reports that stones are thrown at Jewish passersby and bearded residents are attacked on their way from synagogue.

Joseph Beauharnais, formerly head of Chicago's racist "White Circle League" who helped instigate the Cicero and other anti-Negro and anti-Semitic riots last year, is back again as chairman of a new racist organization, "Nationalist Party." He had been fined \$200 for promoting the anti-Negro riots. His new organization agitates for "race purity" and calls the Negroes "beasts." Governor Stevenson was urged to take action under the laws of Illinois.

After 17 hours of debate on September 8 at a plenary session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC), coordinating agency of Jewish defense organizations, representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League decided to withdraw from NCRAC. The body had approved reassignment of fields of work among the Jewish agencies and control of planning of all community relations work, by a vote of 54 to 17. (Watch next issue for report of this development.)

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EUROPE

The council of the four occupying powers of Austria—the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union—on August 29 vetoed the laws passed on July 17 by the Austrian Parliament which would facilitate return to nazis of property stolen from Jews and taken from nazis since the war's end. Other laws vetoed were one to amnesty all nazis and another to give compensation to nazis. United States Commissioner Walter Dowling stated that this country has no objection to amnesty but opposed this before compensation is paid to nazi victims. Soviet council representative Lieut. Gen. Vadim P. Sviridov delivered a scathing condemnation before the council on August 29 of the failure of Austria to democratize the country in accordance with Allied directives.

A new synagogue to replace one destroyed by the nazis will be consecrated in October in Erfurt in East Germany. Acting Minister-President Otto Nuschke will be present on behalf of the East German government.

A rumor published in the *New York Times* on June 25 that noted Czechoslovak novelist Franz Weiskopf, former Czech ambassador to the new China and a Jew, was "under arrest," was proved false when a letter dated July 14 was received from Weiskopf by his old friend A. B. Magil stating that he (Weiskopf) has just finished a book on New China which will be published soon.

A State Prize was awarded in August to Jacob Rotbaum, director of the Polish Jewish State Theater, for his production of the play *Man with a Gun*. Also awarded prizes were Jewish actor Joseph Viretzki and playwright Hillel Buzgan.

Renazification notes . . . *Desert Fox*, Hollywood film glorifying nazi General Rommel, is being shown in West Germany with "great success" over vigorous protests of Jewish organizations. . . . Hitler's former personal interpreter, Dr. Paul Schmidt, was elected head of the Munich Linguistic and Interpreters Institute in August. . . . Anti-Semitic leaflets sporting swastikas were distributed in south-east Bavaria in August. . . . Seven tombstones of the Jewish cemetery at Niederzissen, the Rhineland, were overturned in early August. . . . Nazi Herbert Dittman, director of the West German Diplomatic School, who was dismissed after a report on nazis in the West German Parliament was is-

sued recently, was replaced by Peter Pfeiffer—also a former Nazi Party member.

ISRAEL

The Knesset passed a bill on August 26 by a vote of 54 to 13 permitting the government to issue licenses for oil prospecting to local and foreign companies. The bill was opposed by the Communist Party and Mapam. The opposition attempted to amend the bill to exclude foreigners and to give exclusive rights to a national group in order to avoid oil imperialism in Israel.

Dr. Israel Herzog, chief rabbi of Israel, held an interview in Johannesburg with racist South African Premier Dr. Malan which was described as "cordial." Upon leaving, Dr. Herzog bestowed the customary "blessing" on Dr. Malan in Hebrew and invited him to visit Israel.

Elections to the Labor Council of Beersheba and Ramleh, both populated by new immigrants, had the following results: in Beersheba: Mapai, 11 seats, Mapam, 4, General Zionists, 1, Progressive, 1; in Ramleh: Mapai, 9 seats, Mapam, 5, Communists, 2, Achdut Ha'avoda, 1.

An "economy" measure initiated in Israel with the opening of the school year in September, cuts school time from two to four hours a week and teachers are asked to teach two more hours a week without overtime pay.

Compulsory military service in Israel was extended six months by a Knesset vote on August 26. In opposition were the Communist Party and Mapam, who charged that the measure was designed to supply more troops for an aggressive Middle East anti-Soviet army. About 1500 persons demonstrated against the law in Tel Aviv on August 31.

Prime Minister Ben Gurion announced on August 17 that Israel would support plans for Middle Eastern "defense" organization sponsored by the United States and Britain. . . . When British Admiral Mountbatten, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, visited Israel in August, protest demonstrations in Haifa told the admiral to "go home" because "he was not wanted in Israel."

A debate was held in the Knesset on August 20 concerning the acceptance by the Ben Gurion government of military "aid" from the United States. Mapam deputy Dr. Moshe Sneh asked Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett how such military aid could help Israel in case of an attack by Arab countries if the United States would at the same time send arms to the Arabs. Dr. Sneh also charged that acceptance of arms aid would subject Israel to control by a United States military mission.

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 Schneiderman, William—Feb., 18
 Schreiber, Walter—June, 27
 Schwartz, Solomon *The Jews in the Soviet Union*
 (review)—Jan., 17; Feb., 9
 Schumacher, Kurt—Feb., 23
 Short stories: The Boxing Match, by Chaver Paver
 —Sept., 19; The Pious Cat, by I. L. Peretz—
 July, 13
 Silver, Abba Hillel—May, 4; June, 7
 Silverman, Mrs. S.S.—May, 28
 Slavery, Jewish attitudes toward (1860)—Apr., 23
 Smith Act—Nov., 8; Jan., 14; Feb., 17; Apr., 13;
 June, 15
 Sobell, Morton—Nov., 5
 Social-Democratic Party of Germany—Feb., 23
 Soviet Union. *See* U.S.S.R.
 Stalin, Joseph, on national question—Jan., 17
 Stalin prizes, awards to Jews—May, 18
 Stevenson, Adlai—Oct., 7
 Stone, I. F.—May, 5
 Stuyvesant Town housing project—March, 19

Taft-Hartley Act—Oct., 12
 "Tarbut" (Assoc. for Progressive Culture)—July, 18
 Textbooks, chauvinism in—Apr., 21
 Thackrey, T. O.—May, 5
 Timone, George A.—Nov., 20; Apr., 21
 Trade unions, and Negroes—Dec., 16; and peace
 movement—May, 8; of social workers—March,
 22; and 1952 election—Oct., 12
 Truax, Rhoda, *The Doctors Jacobs* (review)—Sept.,
 22
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Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Germany—
 May, 5
 U.S.S.R., Jews in—Nov., 23; Dec., 13; Jan., 17;
 Feb., 22; March, 25; May, 28; July, 27; Aug., 29
 United Hebrew Trades—Aug., 23
 United Jewish Appeal—May, 17
 United States, and Israel—Dec., 3; Feb., 14; June,
 11; Oct., 25; foreign policy—Nov., 11; Ilya
 Ehrenburg on—Sept., 9
 U.S. Supreme Court—Nov., 8; May, 25

Vatican—Jan., 14
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Wages, in Israel—Sept., 16
 Warren, Fuller—Feb., 4; March, 20
 Warsaw ghetto, anniversary of—Apr., 3, 11; May,
 14; June, 25
 Weinstein, Louis—March, 14
 White, Walter—March, 21; Apr., 17
 White chauvinism—Feb., 3; *See also* Chauvinism;
 Racism
 Wise, Stephen S.—July, 10
 Women, in Israel—June, 14; July, 19
 World Jewish Congress—Nov., 25; Dec., 3
 World Peace Congress—Aug., 6

Yiddish language, in Israel—July, 18; vulgarization
 of—Nov., 16, 29
 Yiddish literature, in Poland—July, 23
 Youth, in Germany—Nov., 26; Jewish—Nov., 17

Zapotocky, Antonin—Feb., 20
 Zaslavsky, David—Dec., 13
 Zausner, Philip—March, 15
 Zionist Organization of America—Aug., 16

