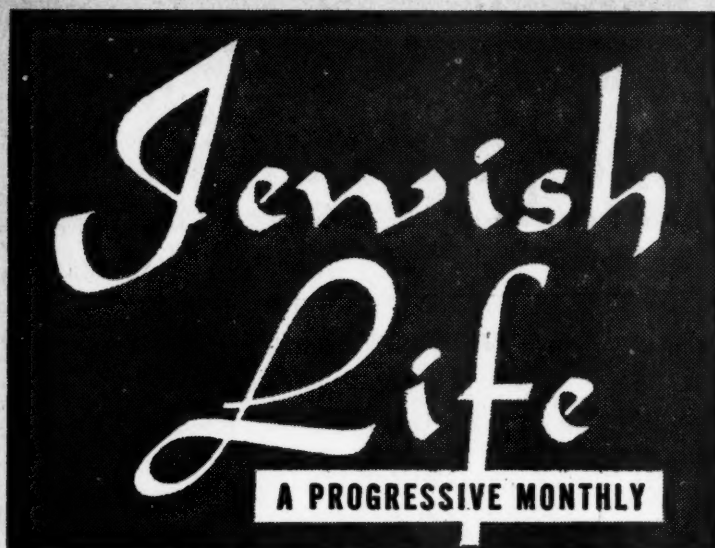




NOVEMBER 1952 • 25c

Sixth Anniversary Issue

THE ROSENBERGS MUST NOT DIE! *an editorial*

NOT WANTED: U.S. NUREMBERG LAW *by Theodore Jacobs*

BEHIND THE "REPARATIONS" PACT *by Leonard Piper*

THE AJC AND ADL WALK OUT *by Louis Harap*

NEW STEPS TO ISRAEL AS COLONY *by Victor Perlo*

ONE HAND WASHES THE OTHER *a short story by Yuri Suhl*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance news . . . A meeting of Jewish leaders was held in New York on October 8 to project a Jewish people's conference to be held on November 16 which will discuss representation at the World People's Peace Conference, to be held in Vienna on December 5. . . . Among 93 prominent Americans who signed a letter to the attorney general requesting bail for Martin Young, trade union leader held without bail at Ellis Island on deportation charges for over a year, were Jewish figures like Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg, Prof. Ephraim Cross and Prof. Robert A. Rosenbaum, of Oregon. . . . New York rabbis condemned McCarthyism in their Rosh-Hashonah sermons on September 20, while at the same time expressing anti-communist sentiments. Rabbi Edward E. Klein (Reform), successor of Rabbi Stephen Wise, said: "Brave voices are saying that you do not protect liberty by curbing freedom." Orthodox Rabbi Zev Zahavy said: "The voters must select their candidates with due care and consideration so that the curse of McCarthyism, as well as the evils of corrupt politics and narrow party favoritism will be dealt a stunning blow of defeat." Said Conservative Rabbi Israel Goldstein: "Unfortunately there are some politicians in American life who find it politically profitable to wage a campaign of 'fear and smear,' lumping liberals and Communists together." . . . Lee Friedman, president of the American Jewish Historical Society and head of the five-man board of trustees of the Boston Public Library, voted with the majority in a 3-2 vote against banning Communist publications from the library's reading rooms.

The Manhattan Tenant Councils sponsored a "Festival of Puerto Rican Culture" on October 12 which attracted a capacity audience of 1,000. Puerto Rican art, music, folk dances, poetry and literature were exhibited and performed. Rev. Herminio L. Perez said that the festival would combat the blackout of the positive side of Puerto Rican life as "an integral part of our fight for decent jobs and housing" and also to offset the current lies in the press that Puerto Ricans are "criminals."

News on anti-Semitism . . . The Book Review Section of the *New York Times* carried an advertisement on October 12 of John Beaty's *The Iron Curtain Over America*, which has been called "the most extensive anti-Jewish concoction to appear"

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Jewish Life

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE ROSENBERGS MUST NOT DIE!

ON OCTOBER 13, the Supreme Court refused to grant a hearing in the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. The nation is shocked. Of all the blackrobed men, only Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black favored granting a hearing. If the American people do not in sufficient numbers in the next few weeks make known their abhorrence of the judicial killing of the Rosenbergs, this Jewish couple may die.

About 18 months ago Judge Irving Kaufman sentenced the Rosenbergs to death for an alleged conspiracy to commit atomic espionage for the Soviet Union and Sobell to 30 years in prison for alleged participation in the "conspiracy," although no atomic espionage was charged to him. The trial was saturated with extraneous anti-communist accusations and the judge delivered an hysterical charge to the jury. Since that time many thousands of Americans have expressed their firm belief that the sentence was brutal and a product of the cold war and that the Rosenbergs were the victims of a political frameup.

The death sentence is unprecedented—the first ever to be passed in this country in peace*time by a civil court on a charge of espionage. Its vindictive brutality is evident from these facts: confessed traitors like Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose were let off with light sentences; others in this country, England and Canada received relatively short prison terms for alleged

atomic espionage; scientists have asserted the atomic bomb was no "secret" anyway; the court record is shot through with such dubious evidence that a conviction would not have been conceivable in non-hysterical times; and the information was alleged to have been passed while the Soviet Union was an ally. Any one of these considerations is enough to make the death sentence fantastically unjust. We urge all Jewish people, no matter what their belief as to the truth of the charges, to speak out for clemency.

The Rosenbergs can be saved. They must be saved! The fate of the Rosenbergs is in the hands of the American people. They must make known to President Truman that he should commute the sentence. Here what all of us must do.

Write to President Truman to commute the death sentence.

Write to Attorney General James P. McGranery not to contest any legal motions offered by the defense.

Cooperate with the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (1050 Sixth Avenue, N. Y. C., Tel.: BR 9-9694) and the local Rosenberg Committees in all measures to save the Rosenbergs.

Attend all mass meetings to save the Rosenbergs, particularly the Union Square Rally in New York on Wednesday, October 29, 4:30-7 P.M.

You can save the Rosenbergs! You must save the Rosenbergs! Act without delay!

IS STEVENSON A "LESSER EVIL"?

AS THIS issue appears, only a few days remain before the elections. A number of peace fighters and independent voters, who might have been expected to favor the peace ticket of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, are leaning toward a vote for Adlai Stevenson as a "lesser evil." Present indications are also that a majority of Jewish voters will cast their vote for Stevenson. This observation was confirmed by researcher Samuel Lubell in the New York *World-Telegram* of October 10. His survey showed, as was to be expected, that there was only a slight preference among Jewish Democrats of lower income for Eisenhower and a little greater shift among

those of higher income. The blatantly reactionary position of the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket has ruled the Republicans out of the reckoning of liberals and most Jewish people.

Is there any basis for hope in Stevenson, as some fighters for peace and progressives seem to believe? We hold that a close examination of Stevenson's speeches show this hope to be without basis. Let us scrutinize his position on a few main issues.

Peace. Some progressives have grasped at the straw offered in the Labor Day Hamtramck speech of Stevenson in which he seemed to leave the door open for peace negotiations with the Soviet Union. But this faint and highly

qualified utterance has since dropped completely out of sight. Instead Stevenson has more and more fed us the old hysterical routine on American-Soviet relations that places him along with the inevitable war propagandists. Besides, he has not once diverged in any detail from the cold war policies of the Truman administration that are leading us toward war. Stevenson has uttered not one word on ending the war in Korea by an immediate ceasefire. On the contrary, he has endorsed the war incendiary position of the State Department on Korea. Stevenson has not given the slightest indication that he favors a change toward a peaceful policy. His program leads to war as surely as that of the Republicans, despite secondary tactical differences.

Civil liberties. While Stevenson has attacked McCarthy, he has not said one word against the equally dangerous Senator Pat McCarran of his own Democratic Party. McCarran has taken the limelight from the Un-American Activities Committee with his current witch-hunt against unions and teachers; he is the father of the concentration camp Internal Security law and the McCarran-Walter racist immigration law. Yet Stevenson remains silent, even pleading ignorance of McCarran to an interviewer who asked his opinion of that destroyer of freedom. But in his series of speeches in Chicago, Detroit and Wisconsin after the McCarthy victory in the primaries, Stevenson made clear his approval of the whole program that is destroying civil liberties, from the "loyalty" program to the Smith act. He appeases McCarthyism by showing that the administration was a witch-hunter a few years before McCarthy instituted McCarthyism in 1950. In Massachusetts, Stevenson embraced as "my type of guy" Rep. John Kennedy, who was endorsed by the "Constitution Party" of fascist Gerald L. K. Smith and anti-Semite Upton Close. From Stevenson it must be obvious that we can expect nothing but a continuation of the destruction of the Bill of Rights.

Civil rights. Nor has Stevenson held out hope for action on civil rights. His pronouncements on FEPC still stress preference for state handling of the issue. In his own state administration of Illinois, Stevenson has not even taken advantage of existing laws against Jimcrow. Thus, schools in 13 counties of Illinois still practice segregation in spite of a state law enabling the governor to stop this cold. Nor does Stevenson seem perturbed over the fact that he and his chosen anti-Negro running mate, John Sparkman, are running on the Alabama ballot under a "White Supremacy" symbol. What can be expected from a candidate who in his September 20 Richmond speech praised the Confederate Constitution, which contains sanction of slavery, as an example of political sagacity?

The more closely one examines the position of Stevenson, the less his difference from the Republicans appears. He has totally endorsed the present administration, which has brought the world toward war and bankruptcy, which has renazified West Germany and plans to rebuild another militarist Frankenstein there, which has gone far toward nullifying the Bill of Rights at home and has brought

us to the edge of fascism. This is no "lesser evil."

Only the Progressive Party program offers a clear, uncompromising position on peace, civil liberties, civil rights and the repeal of Taft-Hartley. An essential part of the resistance to the Truman bipartisan policies is the achievement of the highest possible vote for the peace and labor ticket of Hallinan and Mrs. Bass. For such a party should the vote of progressives, the working people, the Negro people, the Jewish people and minority groups be cast. For their welfare is joined with the realization of such a program.

We are aware that there will be those who disagree with our view that Stevenson is not a "lesser evil." Yet, such people will agree that a vote for local progressive candidates on the Progressive Party or any other tickets will help avert war and militate against a police state at home.

"LANTERN" FOR JEWISH BOOK MONTH

JEWISH community centers throughout the country will again be celebrating Jewish Book Month, which this year extends from November 7 to December 7. While these occasions have generally in the past been used to emphasize the conservative traditions in Jewish life and culture, progressives have also advanced their own views on the progressive Jewish cultural tradition. Therefore it is to be hoped that Jewish Book Month will be celebrated this year by more groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, than ever before.

One book, however, the outstanding Jewish novel of the year, is in danger of being blanketed in silence. Within a half-year of the publication of V. J. Jerome's *A Lantern for Jeremy*, not a single one of the scores of Anglo-Jewish periodicals has even reviewed it—except JEWISH LIFE. Moreover, *In Jewish Bookland*, the review-organ of the Jewish Book Council of the National Jewish Welfare Board—which initiated and organized Jewish Book Month—has not even mentioned the book's existence.

Why this self-conscious boycott of a novel that will outlast many a volume that will be highly touted in some of these celebrations?

The answer is that this tender, beautiful novel of life in a little Polish town at the beginning of this century, is a challenge, without having a word of overt propaganda in it, to everything decaying, obscurantist, reactionary and nationalistic in Jewish tradition and Jewish life. Through the opening eyes of the nine-year-old Jeremy, the author delicately but firmly, with humor and warmth, shows us the humanity of the Jewish poor breaking through the sophistry, the false-piety, the bluster and the meanness of the masters of Jewish life.

The novel is rich in many values: a young Jewish woman tears down the traditional Jewish restrictions that would curtain her from the fullness of life; a group of small-town Jewish tanners for the first time in their lives strike against

the Jewish boss; Jeremy hears a Russian soldier billeted in his home sing his vast, moody songs and forms the idea even from the unknown words that this soldier too "comes of a people that sows in tears and waits to reap in singing." These and a hundred similar passages have moved us to sympathy, wonder, understanding and sometimes to tears.

What manner of man has wrought this work which the official Jewish "community" would have you never learn was ever written? Jerome is one of the 13 defendants in the current Smith Act trial in Foley Square, New York. But Kenneth Leslie, in his review in *The Protestant*, described Jerome well as "a certain type of communist, the type who is a party man because first he is a man, the type who carries with him his own tradition, redeeming and deepening that tradition as he re-reads it in the light of his creative living."

Jewish Book Month will take on a new, vitalizing dimension to the extent that *A Lantern for Jeremy* is read, discussed, excerpted for dramatic recitation (as Morris Carnovsky has done so brilliantly) in trade union halls, at fraternal meetings, at cultural affairs of all sorts, or even dramatized in parts by amateur theatrical groups. As Aaron Kramer says in a recent poem, "Whisper the word. . . ."

OUR SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

THIS month we celebrate our sixth anniversary. We do not celebrate it alone. The quantity of greetings printed in the issue indicates that we have won a devoted readership who look to the magazine for enlightenment and guidance. It is pertinent to point out that no magazine of Jewish affairs issued by progressives in the past decade has ever survived so long as *JEWISH LIFE*; and we intend, as one of our greeters says, to see the 25th anniversary of the magazine. We believe that we have established a unique place in the Jewish community as a source of information and analyses and as a spur to action on behalf of the Jewish people. We have fought for peace because the future of the Jewish people is bleak without peace. We have fought uncompromisingly for the truth without deference to the moneyed men of Jewry or to their careerist professional helpers. We have exposed anti-Semitism wherever we have found it and have tried to do our share in alerting the Jewish people to the dangers to them in these hysterical times. We have warned the Jewish people of the danger to them of such police state legislation as the Smith and McCarran acts.

Today *JEWISH LIFE* is more necessary than ever. The Jewish people in Israel are steadily losing their independence and are being sucked into the anti-Soviet war schemes of Washington; West Germany is once again becoming a focus of anti-Semitic infection under the renazification sponsored by Washington and is being built up as the keystone of the anti-Soviet military system in Europe. At home anti-Semitism grows as the anti-democratic tendencies and agitation for war spread and deepen. *JEWISH LIFE* is aware of its responsibilities to the Jewish people in these condi-

tions of crisis and will continue to meet these responsibilities.

We have worked through six fruitful years. Deeper problems and broader horizons lie ahead. You, our readers, can make few better contributions for the future than to build and support our magazine.

ELLIOT COHEN AND McCARTHYISM

IT is routine to find right wing views expressed in *Commentary*, high-toned magazine which the American Jewish Committee publishes, presumably in the Jewish interest, at a deficit of about \$150,000 a year. But responsible Jews cannot pass over in silence the article in the September issue, entitled "The Free American Citizen, 1952," by the magazine's editor, Elliot E. Cohen. This article is written in the super-intellectual, cynical-twisted style of this reactionary whom the AJC entrusts with the promoting of Jewish interests. His involved, super-subtilized article boils down to an intellectually refined defense of "rugged individualism." Cohen has a target in this article—any liberal, foreign or domestic, who may be disturbed by the degeneration of civil liberties in the United States or by the oppression of the Negroes or by the domination of the spiritual life of our country by vulgar and commercialistic values. Cohen cannot forgive Jean-Paul Sartre for having written *The Respectful Prostitute*, a play about Jimcrow in the South. Liberals' criticism of the United States, Cohen maintains, is based on a "myth."

What Cohen is exercised about primarily is that liberals and many others are quite disturbed about the threat to our freedoms from McCarthyism and the anti-communist hysteria. He speaks with scorn of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas' attempts to alert the people of our country to the "silence of fear" that is creeping on us and such factual, warning surveys of repression as those published by the *New York Times*. Cohen regards as "alarmist screaming" the concern of many liberals about developments that he scornfully sloganizes as "The Black Tide of Reaction. Bourbonism. The Pentagon Mind. Red Hysteria. Neo-Fascism. . . . MacArthur! McCarthy!" He even has the callousness to say that the postwar period has seen "few invasions or abridgements of civil rights and liberties."

Cohen's tactic in this article is to apply on a national scale the familiar hush-hush technique of the American Jewish Committee. He pooh-poohs the danger of McCarthyism. The effect of such playing down of the threat of fascism in our country is to facilitate its coming. It is not surprising that *Time* magazine was so overjoyed to see this article that it reprinted excerpts in a double spread in the September 8 issue with the welcoming editorial note that the article was a "windfall" and "good news."

If the American Jewish Committee has a sense of responsibility to the Jewish people and to democracy, it will not provide this highly costly forum to a man whose purpose is to disarm resistance of intellectuals and liberals to a threatening fascism. If it does, it shares in the treachery of the editor of *Commentary* to the Jewish people.

NOT WANTED: U.S. NUREMBERG LAW

The McCarran-Walter immigration law makes racism the law of the land. The tremendous wave of protest must be channelled to repeal

By Theodore Jacobs

ALTHOUGH the McCarran-Walter racist immigration law does not officially go into effect until December 24, the Jewish people and the nation as a whole are already getting a taste of its fascist character. Repeal of this law is a most urgent issue. There has been an attempt to require applicants for admission to the United States to state whether they are Jewish, preparations are under way for more widespread attacks on naturalized citizens and on non-citizens and there are even efforts to pass more racist legislation. The law holds the threat of concentration camps. A preview of what may be expected from the law is the case of Martin Young. This veteran trade union leader has been held on deportation charges at Ellis Island without bail for nearly a year in what seems to be a test case of the McCarran and McCarran-Walter laws.

Happily, repeal of the McCarran-Walter act is no mere slogan but a real possibility during the next session of Congress as a result of the broad opposition to the measure, which has come to be known as "America's First Nuremberg Law." Individuals, organizations and newspapers of the most diverse political leanings have condemned the law.

The broad, deep protest quickly compelled President Truman to appoint a commission to re-study the law and report by January 1, 1953. The hearings held on September 30 and October 1 showed that a mighty campaign can be mounted to wipe the infamous law from the books. Senator Herbert H. Lehman told the investigating commission that the law is based on "discredited racial theories of the infamous Nuremberg laws," demanded elimination of the discriminatory national origins quota system and warned of the dangers of the "intolerable distinctions" in the law between native-born and naturalized citizens. Walter White, secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, attacked the State Department, which he charged with responsibility for framing that section of the law which limits immigration of West Indians to a maximum of 100 per year. This, he said, "contradicted all of [the department's] protestations regarding human dignity and human freedom." The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born emphasized that deportation is being used as a means of political persecution. Among the 49 witnesses who protested the law before the investigators were representatives of national Jewish organizations.

The racist fangs of the McCarran-Walter law have struck out at the Jewish people. Hardly was the ink dry on the

act but the State Department issued an anti-Semitic order four months before the law was to take effect. Consular officials abroad were told to require Jewish applicants for visas to state that they were Jewish. This official anti-Semitism brought down such a storm of opposition from Jewish leaders and others who recognized the menace of the nazi-styled legislation that the State Department retreated a little. In mid-September the department announced that it had advised its consular officials to leave it up to each applicant to decide what he considers his "race and ethnic classification," as the application blank states. But this new ruling does not lessen the racist character of this question on the form.

The Law Bares Its Fangs

More evidence of the barbaric operation of the law came with the Justice Department's announcement in September that it may forbid Charlie Chaplin to re-enter the United States. "It is hard to imagine anybody less deserving of being an enemy of this country than this famous and accomplished man," wrote Bosley Crowther, movie critic of the *New York Times* on September 28. When Chaplin arrived in England, the British press from right to left condemned the Justice Department's move and cordially promised Chaplin a welcome as a permanent resident. The situation was reminiscent of the thirties when so many eminent Germans had to leave the nazi police state and our country opened its gates to give them asylum. Today it is the United States government that is hounding the Chaplins and other nations that are offering refuge.

The McCarran-Walter law oppresses not only non-citizens like Chaplin. It also reduces our 11 million naturalized citizens to a second-class status. They can lose their citizenship for "concealment of a material fact" or "wilful misrepresentations." This can mean almost anything that a witch-hunting administration wants it to mean and it is a catch-all that could pave the way for denaturalization of thousands of American citizens and serve as a threat to the rest. In fact, the groundwork for an impending wave of wholesale persecution of the foreign born is already being laid. Thousands of naturalized citizens are currently getting letters asking them to consult with immigration officials.

The McCarran-Walter law is a forerunner of even worse to come. On September 11, Milton Friedman, syndicated

columnist of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, reported that Senator McCarran is proposing a new bill "by which this country would unilaterally control the movement of migrants between the old world and the countries of the Western Hemisphere." A trip to Europe by five staff members of McCarran's Senate Judiciary Committee, ostensibly to investigate security matters and "escapees" from communism, Friedman added, was actually a "fishing expedition" for data to bolster McCarran's contention that the United States should control the international movement of refugees. Arthur Greenleigh, executive director of the United Service for New Americans, was quoted by Friedman as saying that the proposed bill "has the audacity to announce to the world that one country, and one country alone, is presuming to dictate to all other countries of the Western Hemisphere whom they may admit as potential citizens and under what conditions."

Of course, the McCarran-Walter law is dangerous not only in itself. It is part of the flood of repressive and witch-hunting legislation under the familiar slogan of fighting communism that extends an open invitation for more overt anti-Semitism and offers a free hand to the McCarrans and the McCarthys in the Democratic and Republican parties. Within the very week that the anti-Semitic visa scandal broke, it was revealed that the State Department had published and widely circulated anti-Semitic statements as part of a report designed to provide "research material" to "students of Soviet affairs." An unidentified deserter from the Soviet army was quoted as bemoaning the way in which the Soviet government attempts to root out all traces of anti-Semitism and complaining that "favoritism" exists for the Jew in Russia. Among statements in this report were some like this: "Jews never become soldiers. . . . The Jew is crafty. . . ." On August 22, Friedman disclosed that "an official, who would speak only when promised anonymity, was asked whether or not it made any difference if such intelligence sources were anti-Semitic. He replied that the important factor, which overshadowed any other consideration, was that they were anti-Communist."

A Threat to All

It is obvious that the racist immigration law is not only a threat to the Jewish people but to all America—to minority groups, to the foreign born, to the Negro people. It is weakening the whole democratic fiber of the country and is an opening wedge for official and widespread racism. Because the law directly threatens so many groups, it is possible to involve the broadest united opposition to it and to effect its repeal. This has appeared in the breadth of protest already manifested.

Here is a sampling of the groups that have come out against the law: The national CIO and many labor unions, the *New York Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the National Lutheran Conference, the American Civil Lib-

erties Union, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and many others. A number of leading personalities have expressed themselves in opposition. Practically every Jewish organization has come out for repeal, including the National Community Relations Advisory Council, the Jewish War Veterans, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, The New York Jewish Conference, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs and many, many others.

Action for Repeal

The wide support mobilized for repeal up to now is good but not enough. Statements in opposition are not sufficient. It is necessary to enlist the whole people in the campaign to repeal the law. Several English-Jewish weeklies have shown the way. The *Sentinel*, Chicago weekly, has initiated a petition campaign for repeal. Under the slogan, "Tear the yellow arm band off!" the paper has called upon people throughout the country to sign petitions demanding repeal. The example of the *Sentinel* has been followed by the Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* and the Los Angeles *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, which are also circulating petitions for repeal. A *Sentinel* columnist, Dr. George Fox, has made a proposal that can be followed all over the country. He suggested that a special council be formed in Chicago to organize the Jewish community for activity for repeal and he urged votes against every congressman who voted in favor of the law.

But this campaign to enlist the masses of the people must be broadened beyond the Jewish community. It is quite urgent that the trade unions be spurred to action in implementation of statements condemning the law. It is possible to arouse the broadest kind of response on the part of the American people and to relegate this law to the dust-heap where it belongs. The opposition already expressed shows that this can be done. Members of every variety of organization should call for action in which its membership is involved and a maximum of coordination of these efforts will help to cleanse the United States of this monstrous racist law.

Action on McCarran-Walter

There is no doubt that the opposition to the racist McCarran-Walter immigration law is great enough to achieve its repeal. But this opposition must be mobilized. We urge the following actions:

Get your union as a unit and your fellow unionists as individuals to urge repeal on your congressmen and senators.

Get your organization, Jewish, fraternal, etc., to do the same.

Obtain and get filled out petitions for repeal from the Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* (186 Joralemon St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.) or from the *Sentinel* (1702 S. Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.).

LEHMAN ATTACKS McCARTHY-McCARRAN

Following are excerpts from a speech condemning McCarthyism and McCarranism delivered by Senator Herbert H. Lehman before the AFL convention in New York on September 18. Although Senator Lehman made no mention of the Smith act, which is fully as much a threat to American freedom as the McCarran Internal Security and the McCarran-Walter racist immigration acts which he strenuously attacked, and although he expressed approval of the witch-hunt against the "Communists," this speech is a telling exposure of Jimcrow and McCarthyism-McCarranism. Senator Lehman's position is in sharp contrast with that of Adlai Stevenson, who has straddled on Jimcrow and remained silent on McCarranism.—Eds.

WHAT are these civil rights we talk about? They are basic rights, assured by our Constitution to all, but denied, in practice, to many of our citizens, denied because of race, color, creed, or national origin. . . . It is the fight for equality in political activity, in the use of public facilities, in educational opportunity, in jobs and employment. It is the fight against lynch law, against public prejudice, against pushing people around because of their race, their color, or their religion. . . . And every organization should lend its efforts to the speedy elimination of this blight from the entire fabric of our national life.

All branches of government—local, state, and national—must play their necessary parts in this undertaking. Whatever avenues of action are necessary to achieve our goal of no discrimination must be utilized. . . . The federal government has the final responsibility to see that the necessary results are achieved without undue delay. It is a federal responsibility because this is a question of the constitutional rights of many of our citizens and also of the most urgent international interest.

The chief roadblock to action in the United States Senate, the filibuster, must be struck down. Democracy must not be sacrificed on the altar of unlimited debate. . . . The Senate must revise its rules so that the will of the majority after reasonable debate may prevail and not be blocked by the dilatory tactics of a wilful minority. . . . I do not care to what party or faction the wilful minority belongs. This is a cause in which men of good will of both parties must enroll. . . .

So much for civil rights. There is also the question of civil liberties. Whereas civil rights are for the most part economic, physical and material and are rights denied to some Americans, civil liberties are largely intellectual, mental and spiritual, and are endangered for all Americans. . . .

And now, in the same way as civil rights are being persistently denied to some, civil liberties are being insistently attacked for all. We know, of course, that civil liberties, the most precious of our constitutional privileges, are also the most prone to invasion and assault. That invasion can be insidious. It can parade in the false armor of patriotism. But whatever its approach or disguise, it must be resisted.

Today the greatest and most immediate danger to our civil liberties is from what we call McCarthyism. The deadly and infectious quality of this danger was never so clearly demonstrated as by the results of the Wisconsin primary election last week. . . .

Cynical political leaders in our country, who want to profit from McCarthyism while pretending concern over its methods, excuse the iniquitous acts of the McCarthyites as arising from an excess of zeal in a good cause rather than from lack of principle or decency. These political cynics are not much better than the McCarthyites themselves.

And finally there are those timid souls who privately condemn McCarthyism but, who, fearful of political consequences, refuse to speak out in public. These men of little faith are less than fit for the sacred trust of public office which they seek or enjoy. . . .

This kind of threat to our civil liberties, this threat to our concepts of fair play and human dignity must be met and turned back.

Do not think, my friends of the labor movement, that this sort of attack is reserved only for a few government officials and college professors. This weapon can be used, it has been used to attack labor unions and their officers, too. It has been used to strike terror into the movie industry, the radio industry, the stage, the press, and now the schools.

It is responsible for such un-American legislation as the McCarran Internal Security act and the anti-immigration act, both passed in the last two years over the president's veto.

That legislation is on the statute books, ready to be used against you and me and all others who do not agree with some reactionary orthodoxy subscribed to by these false patriots. Just put an attorney general in the cabinet who wants to disregard the spirit of the Constitution in favor of the McCarran-Mundt-Nixon-Ferguson law, and you and all of us will have reason for deep concern.

The labor movement could well be an early victim. And then the schools and the churches. I am convinced that the repressive provisions in these laws now on the statute books are just as dangerous to American labor as the repressive provisions of the Taft-Hartley act. And I need not tell you about the Taft-Hartley act. Just as the Taft-Hartley act must be repealed—and it must and will be—these other punitive and repressive acts must also be struck from our statute books and replaced with sound and reasonable legislation.

All these provisions are of one piece. Study them. They are of the same inspiration. The same forces joined to put them over. Those who pushed hardest for the Taft-Hartley act were the most fervent in support of the McCarran Security act and the anti-immigration act. Almost the identical forces block the way to civil rights legislation. Civil rights, civil liberties and the rights of labor stand or fall together. We are not going to let them fall. We are going to win, for our cause is just and right.

BEHIND THE "REPARATIONS" PACT

How much will West Germany really pay? What will be the effect on Israel's economy? Should the Jews lend themselves to rearm nazis?

By Leonard Piper

AFTER months of negotiations the "reparations" agreement was signed at Luxembourg on September 10 by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer for the West German regime and Moshe Sharett for the Ben Gurion government. The agreement still remains to be ratified by the West German Bundestag (parliament). Also party to the agreement is the so-called Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, which "represents" world Jewry. The agreement provides that the West German government will pay Israel \$822,000,000 worth of goods and services over a period of 12-14 years. Of this amount, \$107,000,000 will be transferred by Israel to the Conference to compensate for claims by Jews living outside of Israel. Thus, under the agreement Israel is supposed to receive between 50 and 75 million dollars a year for the next 12-14 years.

The signing of the pact in no way lessens the objections to it raised months ago when it was first proposed.

The purpose of the negotiations, it was then pointed out, was to facilitate the acceptance of a renazified West Germany into the NATO arms set-up, in which a revived Wehrmacht would be the keystone. In his statement after the signing, Israeli Foreign Minister Sharett raised the renazified Adenauer regime to an exalted moral level: by signing the agreement, the Bonn regime will get "the chance of making a distinctive contribution to the establishment of law and justice in human society." What law, what justice? The justice of freeing nazi criminals like Generals Von Mannstein, Von Mackensen and Kesselring once more to command butcher armies? Or the law of Adenauer's right-hand man, Hans Globke, who formulated the Nuremberg laws to exterminate the Jewish people?

Aside from the fact that there are even now doubts that the "reparations" will ever be paid, as we shall indicate below, how can a Jew speak in these terms of a regime that harbors and promotes nazi elements? The agreement is a promise of payment for stilling the resistance of the Jewish people to the revival of nazism. This was shown a few days after the signing by an incident in the central committee of Ben Gurion's Mapai "socialist" Party. Under discussion was the question whether Mapai would rejoin the Second International, which it had left in 1950 because of readmission of the West German Social Democratic Party. Berl Locker, a Mapai leader, raised objections because the West German party contains murderers of the Jewish peo-

ple. But his remarks were interrupted by so much heckling that he turned to the Mapai leaders and asked, "What happened, is it no longer permitted in our party to speak out against the nazis?"

Will West Germany Pay?

The very world Jewish organizations that participated in the discussions leading toward the agreement and that are parties to it have in the past year issued reports that prove the alarming extent of renazification of West Germany. Yet they are cooperating in this whitewash of the Bonn regime. As the Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* editorialized on September 19, "The Bonn government may express repentance; however, its willingness to pay reparations to Israel is not motivated by contrition but by the need to offset western suspicion of its growing military power."

There are those who will say, "Yes, West Germany is renazified and is on the road to remilitarization with the dangers this entails for a new world war. But Israel needs the money and at least this agreement will help Israel out of its severe crisis." But is this actually so? There are several considerations to take into account. One cannot blink the fact that Germany has never in the past paid up its reparations obligations. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the West German regime will honor its commitments to Israel. Further, even Dr. Nahum Goldmann, the prime agent in the execution of this deal, has admitted that a change in the Bonn regime would jeopardize the agreement. And it is well known that Adenauer's hold on power in West Germany is unlikely to survive the next election.

West Germany built into the agreement an out that would facilitate its nullification if its commitments. Article 10 provides machinery for West Germany to reduce or modify the agreement under certain conditions. For instance, section "a" of Article 10 states that "If, during the currency of the present Agreement, the economic or financial capacity of the Federal Republic of Germany shall be adversely affected in a fundamental and lasting manner, the Contracting Parties shall consult with a view to adjusting to the changed circumstances resulting therefrom the further discharge by the Federal Republic of Germany of the obligations under the present Agreement."

This makes the future of payments quite precarious.

Even if some goods are forthcoming in the first year or so of the agreement, will this really help Israel out of its economic crisis? Will it really, as Ben Gurion said, "serve as an impressive contribution toward consolidating the economic independence of Israel"? There is, on the contrary, a very great danger that the effect will be the opposite. Very significantly, the West German legation in Karachi, Pakistan, according to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch of September 28, said that "Germany will supply Israel mainly with consumer goods." The effect will be to dislocate Israel industry itself and to flood the market with German goods. "The import of German goods," writes B. Balti, of Tel Aviv, "will affect Israel industries adversely and will hamper their development" (*Morning Freiheit*, September 22). This will also saddle Israel with dependence on German goods and subject her industrially to that extent to a neo-nazi Bonn regime.

Opposition Persists

The opposition to the deal with the Adenauer regime was very great from the start. One can assert quite soberly that it was opposed by the majority of the Jewish people everywhere, including Israel. As a *New York Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv noted a day after the agreement was signed, "Most observers agreed that a referendum on the question six months ago, before the talks were initiated, would have resulted in an overwhelming negative vote." That the opposition has not been dispelled by the actual signing of the agreement was indicated by a significant fact: seven of the 15 members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset voted against the agreement. When it is remembered that governmental pressure must have been applied, this vote hardly indicates majority approval of the agreement even now. In this country, too, opposition continues. At a meeting of the national General Zionist Council, a resolution was passed expressing regret that the agreement had been signed. One Zionist spokesman, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, told the group that "I must caution against the illusion that the payments or goods expected from Germany will solve financial and economic problems to any substantial extent."

The disquiet of the ordinary Jew over the deal is indicated in a letter by a Bronx housewife in the *New York World-Telegram* of September 24. "No amount of money," she wrote, "can repay me for the loss of my mother, sisters, nieces, cousins and friends who were marched out in a winter night in 1942, made to dig a trench and shot down like beasts." The shame of the agreement is all the greater when it is recalled that it was made with the heirs of these murderous nazis and is designed to help along their rise to power once again and once again to threaten the world with war. The feeling of the Bronx housewife was also expressed in a London journal, *Di Yiddishe Shtimme* (The Jewish Voice), which recalled the horrors perpetrated by the nazis on the Jewish people "Now," the paper says,

"they have covered up all of this. . . . We have made ourselves deaf to the cries of our six million dead not with cotton but with money and machines. . . . Have we sunk so low that nothing is sacred to us?"

The Jewish people are offered up on the altar of the cold war by this deal. And in cold war fashion, the Jewish "leaders" who made this deal take the occasion to agitate against East Germany. East Germany must pay, they cry. Said the *California Jewish Voice* editorially on September 19: "East Germany gets its notifications from the Soviet Union and evidently in their book victims of nazism are fit to remain victimized." This is a bitter untruth that comes with ill grace from Jews. For it is undeniable that East Germany has rendered the Jews the most sincere and most genuine restitution—that part of Germany has been actually cleansed of nazi influence, anti-Semitism is a crime against the state which is punished severely and Jews have been accorded complete equality in participation in all phases of the life of the country. The paper should rather, if it were truthful, point out that in this part of Germany, at least, nazism is not allowed to raise its head again, as it has been allowed to do so conspicuously in West Germany.

Who Is Responsible?

And just as our own State Department is responsible for the renazification of West Germany, so our State Department is the power behind this whitewash agreement with the Adenauer regime. No wonder Secretary of State Dean Acheson was pleased at the signing of the "reparations" agreement. For it was his State Department which applied pressure for it both on the Ben Gurion government and the Adenauer regime, as was openly reported. For this was one of the measures used to make palatable to the masses in the world and to the Jewish people the integration of a renazified Germany into the war build-up in Europe against the Soviet Union. We Jews, particularly, cannot afford to be deceived as to the real intent of these dealings. It is to strengthen the hand of those neo-nazis and reactionaries in Germany who want to take up the German expansionist cry of "*Drang nach Osten*."

The "reparations" deal is an integral part of the tragic policy, in which the Ben Gurion government and certain Jewish "leaders" in the United States are cooperating, to subordinate Israel and the welfare of the Jewish people to the cold war carried on by American Big Business, to rob Israel of her hard-won independence and ultimately to drag Israel into a world anti-Soviet war.

The real friends of restitution for the Jewish people for the crimes of nazism are those who fight daily against West German renazification and for an end to the coddling of nazi criminals. They are those who fight for freedom of Israel from subjection to the United States or any power. Most important of all, they are those who fight for a peaceful world, since only in a peaceful world can the Jewish people and Israel survive.

AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

The peril to the Bill of Rights embodied in McCarthyism is widely recognized in our country today. The Jewish people and many of their leaders are aware of this danger to them not only as Americans, but as Jews. For the side-partner of McCarthyism is anti-Semitism and the hounding of the Negro people and all minority groups. A large part of the Jewish people also realize that the McCarran "Internal Security act" is a legislative expression of McCarthyism. But it is necessary also to understand that the Smith act is at the basis of the whole attack on civil liberties. For as the experience of Germany should have taught us, fascism rides into power on the coat-tails of the deprivation of the rights of Communists.

As of now, about 85 persons have either been imprisoned, are appealing conviction or are standing trial under the Smith act. An effective fight against the fascist threat must include resistance to the Smith act itself. The masses of the people, including the Jewish people and their organizations, should therefore join actively in the campaign against the Smith act persecutions.

But what of those who have already been imprisoned under the Smith act? Is not the attempt to gain amnesty for them a necessary and integral fight against the Smith act? The actual jailing of the Communist leaders is the most dangerous victory of the drivers toward fascism and must be combatted. We must turn this advantage into a defeat for the destroyers of civil liberties by fighting for amnesty.

We print below a letter we received from Mrs. Peggy Dennis, wife of the jailed Communist leader, Eugene Dennis. The letter describes how the persecution of the Communists reaches into the jail itself by depriving them of privileges enjoyed by other prisoners and sheds a revealing light on the Smith act itself. This letter should prompt defenders of the Bill of Rights to join more actively in the fight to gain amnesty for the jailed victims of the Smith act. Amnesty has been won in the past and it can be won now.—Eds.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The newspapers on October 8 carried a news story that the Allied High Commission in West Germany has intervened on behalf of seven major German war criminals who are in Berlin's Spandau Prison. It was reported the Allied officials (British, American, French) requested that these Nazi prisoners "receive increased liberties" and that "the regulations regarding mail and visitors be eased for them."

These war criminals were found guilty by the International Military Tribunal of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity through the murder and enslavement

of civilian populations . . . and persecution (of them) on political, racial or religious grounds."

My husband, Eugene Dennis, is now serving his 16th month of a five-year jail term in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A. He was convicted, with ten of his colleagues, under the thought-control provisions of the unconstitutional Smith Act for being one of the national leaders, and the general secretary of a minority political party—the Communist Party.

(1) While every prisoner in a federal penitentiary is allowed to write three letters a week to seven different correspondents, my husband has been denied this right, and is limited to correspondence with his wife and nine-year-old son only.

(2) My husband's choice of reading material (books, magazines, newspapers) is subject to strict political censorship by the warden's office. Every book he may wish to order (at his own expense) must be approved. In these 16 months my husband has been allowed to order not more than ten books of his choice. His newspaper and magazine subscriptions are limited to the *New York Times*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *U.S. News*, and the *Nation*. All requests for liberal and progressive newspapers and magazines of his choice have been denied.

(3) My husband is allowed a two hour visit once a month from his wife and son—under the surveillance of a guard. Although there are numerous federal detention institutions closer to New York where I reside, my husband was sent to Georgia. Such a monthly visit on my part entails a 46-hour trip and costs approximately \$100. Even one such visit would be impossible for me to make, were it not for the constant assistance and contributions of friends.

(4) My husband is, at this writing, in the hospital of the Atlanta Penitentiary recovering from a serious gall bladder attack and yellow jaundice. He was in hospital for ten days with a constant temperature of 102-103 degrees and serious infection. I was at no time informed of my husband's illness, not even during the first three days when the authorities were urging him to undergo major surgery. I became acquainted with this entire situation only upon my arrival at the penitentiary for my regular visit to my husband.

Surely, there are decent-minded Americans who are more concerned with the conditions of treatment of American political prisoners whose sole "crime" is that of being a victim of thought-control hysteria and the denial of constitutional rights of freedom of speech and expression to the leadership of an opposition political party—than with the liberalization of liberties for Hitler's lieutenants in Spandau Prison who brought war and devastation and mass death to the peoples of the world but a few short years ago.

PEGGY DENNIS

THE AJC AND ADL WALK OUT

The basic issues in the controversy over the MacIver Report. Where do the interests of the Jews lie in this jurisdictional fight?

By Louis Harap

THE Jewish community was plunged into discussion in September when the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith walked out of the plenary session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council and out of the NCRAC altogether. What is the significance of this act? Does the welfare of the Jewish community lie with the AJC-ADL side of this affair or with the Jewish community councils and others who opposed the position of the AJC-ADL? Or with neither?

The AJC-ADL took a walk because the majority of the NCRAC approved by a 54-17 vote the substance of the recommendations of the so-called MacIver Report for an overhauling and reassignment of functions of community relations work by these organizations. The reader will perhaps remember (see this writer's article, "What is the MacIver Report?" *JEWISH LIFE*, October 1951) that Professor Robert MacIver had been commissioned by the NCRAC in January 1950 to study the community relations work of its component organizations. MacIver submitted his report in the middle of 1951. The organizations comprising the NCRAC, which is the coordinating agency of Jewish defense work, are the six major defense organizations (American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans and American Union of Hebrew Congregations) and 27 city Jewish Community Councils. The last-named are the agencies of the Jewish welfare funds organizations of the various cities. As every one knew quite well, all these organizations were wasting money and effort by their duplication of projects and functions and the NCRAC decided to do something about it and hence ordered this report.

Several reasons converged to push the NCRAC to the brink of this investigation. One was the long range plan of the welfare funds group, which is united in a national federation, to take over as nearly as possible all Jewish fund raising in the United States. A few years ago, in pursuance of this program, the welfare funds group made an unsuccessful attempt to take over the United Jewish Appeal. Now they moved to unify and control fund raising and allocation in the defense field. This task was made easier by the fact that for some time there had been profound dissatisfaction among the masses of the Jewish people with the way defense agencies had been handling the struggle against anti-Semitism. In the past few years there

have been tentative rebellions against the unsatisfactory, appeasing tactics of the defense organizations in dealing with cases of anti-Semitism.

What They Voted On

So long, however, as there was no participation by the masses of Jews in the discussion leading to the setting up of the inquiry into the NCRAC and its organizations, no basic reconsideration of techniques and objectives could be expected. Not unexpectedly, the NCRAC selected as its "expert" investigator a conservative, academic sociologist. What Professor MacIver therefore produced was on the whole a critique of the *administration* of the agencies in the NCRAC. Among other things, he recommended that duplication in projects and operation should be eliminated by assigning to each agency exclusive jurisdiction over a specialized field of activity. Thus the American Jewish Congress was to take over all legal and legislative work relating to discrimination; the Jewish Labor Committee would handle all activity involving labor groups, and the Union of Hebrew Congregations (later amended by NCRAC to include conservative and orthodox religious bodies as well) would deal with all religious matters and groups.

This reorganization and reallocation of activities meant, of course, that the AJC and the ADL would be shorn of many of their present activities and would have to surrender them to the other agencies. Further, financing and control would be centralized in the NCRAC. Hence control of their own program exercised by the AJC and ADL by virtue of their independent financing through the Joint Defense Appeal (which provided about 60 per cent of their six million dollar budget), would have to be given up. For the new plan held that all financing and allocation would be centrally controlled. The AJC and ADL would therefore have to submit to control by the welfare funds group, which wielded the majority in the NCRAC.

After discussion of the recommendations over about a year by the various agencies and welfare fund groups, the NCRAC met in plenary session early in September. Adoption of the MacIver plan in its essentials on September 8 caused the withdrawal of the outvoted AJC and ADL from NCRAC. As a result, these agencies are once more accused of destroying Jewish "unity." The AJC has on several occasions in the past, we are reminded, broken attempts of the Jewish community to form one united

Jewish organization—as in 1943, when the AJC withdrew from the American Jewish Conference and thus caused this body to dissolve.

But it behooves us to penetrate beneath the surface of the charges and counter-charges. This is necessary, for the situation of the Jewish people in these days is serious. Defense of genuine Jewish interests—which coincide with those of democracy itself—is a vital question today. Anti-Semitism in the United States is increasing in extent and in violence, as any observer can tell. Overt anti-Semitism, expressed in such ways as the desecration of synagogues and in physical hoodlum attacks, are recurring all over the country with disturbing frequency. The war hysteria and reaction that are rife in this country and in Western Europe are the breeding ground for this increasing anti-Semitism. Our own State Department practices anti-Semitism with the excuse that this helps “anti-communism” (see this issue, page 7). The World Jewish Congress recently reported that anti-Semitism in Western Europe has been rising. And a renazified and remilitarized West Germany is once again propagating hatred for the Jew, as the events following the suicide of the convicted Philip Auerbach in Munich show. It is therefore of the utmost concern to the Jewish masses, who give millions of dollars each year for defense against anti-Semitism, to be assured that the agencies to which they are entrusting this money are putting up a real defense. It is important to ask if this new development in the NCRAC will help in the fight against anti-Semitism.

The Issue of Democracy

The winning side in this NCRAC fight has charged that the AJC and ADL are undemocratic and wish to prevent the democratization of the Jewish community. This is true enough, as everyone knows. The AJC-ADL have attempted, with a high degree of success, to control Jewish communal life. The reaction of many people to their withdrawal from NCRAC is like that of Dr. Maurice N. Eisen-drath, president of the Union of Hebrew Congregations, who wrote in *Congress Weekly* (September 22) that “American Jewry is determined that it will be no longer dominated—at least, so far, in the community relations field—by its minorities [*i.e.*, the AJC-ADL group], however powerful they may presumably appear.”

But one must ask if the welfare federations, which control the community councils which gained dominance in the NCRAC, are any more democratic or less desirous of exercising control over the Jewish community. When and where, one must ask, have the masses of the Jewish people had the opportunity of discussing program and methods of defense within the welfare federations? The answer is that here, as in the case of the AJC-ADL groups, control has been exercised by a relatively small group of wealthy Jews. The Jewish community has had little, if anything to say about the program or policies of the welfare federations. These programs and policies have been handed down from on high, just as in the AJC-ADL group of wealthy Jews.

With his back to the wall, Frank Goldman, president of B'nai B'rith, told the truth about the situation in September when he called the vote in the NCRAC a “power grab.” For the majority in the NCRAC which made the decision is hardly more representative of the Jewish community or democratically controlled than the AJC-ADL group. There has not been a genuinely democratic determination of policy in either group.

The issue of democracy is fundamental. Because the outstanding fact of our age is that only by thoroughgoing democracy will the real interests of the people be served. And the failure of either the AJC-ADL or welfare federations to deal effectively with the danger of anti-Semitism is proof of the anti-democratic character of those groups. The fact is that *they are afraid of democracy*. The proof is that their basic principle in dealing with anti-Semitism is that the people must at all costs *not* be involved in this fight. Their conception of fighting anti-Semitism is to leave the task to a group of “professional experts” for whom policy is laid down by a small group of wealthy Jews at the top. Whatever “differences in ideology” the agencies may advance, they all agree substantially on this hush-hush technique of fighting anti-Semitism.

Basic Policy Change Needed

Influential Jewish leaders have therefore misplaced the issue by putting questions of duplication and efficiency at the center of their evaluation of the operation of NCRAC. Of course, no one agrees that millions of dollars should be wasted in duplication and inefficiency. Nevertheless, this is not the most important question. Rather, it should be asked, how effectively have the agencies fought anti-Semitism? Are they even beginning to meet the dangers facing the Jewish people? This question must also be answered: does not the best defense of the Jewish people lie not only in the direct fight against anti-Semitism and discrimination, but also in close cooperation with the Negro people, of the masses of the Jewish people in the general fight against reaction, the anti-communist hysteria and preparations for an aggressive war that lie at the basis of the intensification of anti-Semitism?

The masses of the Jewish people are disturbed over the growing tendencies toward a police state in our country, as they are concerned with the danger of war. This apprehension should be translated into action to see to it that Jewish organizations act effectively against these dangers, which hold such terrible potential consequences for the Jews. Those who are members of organizations affiliated with NCRAC or are welfare funds contributors can help to change the policies of NCRAC, with or without the AJC-ADL group. For if the Jewish people demand of their leaders a more effective fight against anti-Semitism, these leaders will have to listen in spite of themselves. This is the conclusion that the masses of Jews should draw from the MacIver Report and from the internal bickering for power in the NCRAC.

VISIT TO WARSAW JEWISH INSTITUTE

This historical institute preserves the surviving records and remains of a once great Jewish community destroyed by the nazis

By Dora Teitelbaum

IT IS A cool November day. I am hurrying to the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw to keep an appointment with a group of Jewish students. But I am detained, over and over. Now by the overwhelming grandeur of construction rising out of the devastation. Then by the awesome panorama of the Ghetto ruins. I cannot tear myself away. Is it a child wailing? What chants are those?

I cannot go—and yet I pull myself away. I am late and they are waiting.

We start our tour at once. Step by step the recent bitter struggle and triumph of the Jews unfolds. Here, in this first room, I come upon a grand exhibition of paintings by Jewish artists: bronze and marble statues; heads, busts, portraits, landscapes depicting various parts of the land. Here are vision, hope and love. There, in these murals, frescoes, still lifes, are the misery, struggle and labor activity of the Jews. A toilworn Jewish worker with muscular arms looks at me from a bronze statue—pensively, amiably, as though waiting good tidings. A huge oil portrait of a patriarchal Jew with a long beard and curled sidelocks confronts us over the staircase.

Here, in this corner, is a group of statues molded in copper—Jews strongly resembling ancient Egyptian mummies. Some say that the sculptor intended to compare life in the Ghetto to the bondage of the Jews in Egypt.

"Alas," my guide remarks, sadly, "a great many artistic creations perished together with their creators. Unfortunately, we could not salvage all their works. What a treasure of the people's art crumbled to dust!"

The upper stories of the Institute are filled with trunks, shelves, tables bulging with important documents, diaries, manuscripts, letters, last wills and testaments—an eloquent archive. The researchers and cataloguers handle these mementoes with reverence. They smooth out the crumpled pages, paste together and reinforce yellowed, timeworn letters and documents.

"Those trunks filled with documents were sent to us by the Red Army. All the material which it unearthed in the nazi headquarters and various institutions pertaining to the extermination of the Jews and to their resistance to oppression was handed over to us." This is our guide speaking,

DORA TEITELBAUM is a Yiddish poet. The present article is a chapter from a forthcoming book, a travelogue of her recent trip to Israel, the people's democracies and Western Europe.

a Jew himself. "Right here," he goes on, pointing to a room where long, sturdy shelves are choked with catalogued thick volumes in black covers with white numbers stamped on their backs, "is part of our classified work."

"What sort of books are those?" I ask.

He grows silent for a moment, then stares sharply at the rows of volumes, laid out like black crows, side by side. I feel an oppression and regret my question.

"Those are the archives of the murderers," he says. "They failed to destroy all the evidence. The Red Army overwhelmed them too quickly. Here is the entire chain of reports, originating with nazi bank-directors, the Krupps, the I. G. Farben cartels, the chemical trusts—on down to the gas chambers, the crematories. We have the complete record book of the executioners: from the cost of murdering them to the profit."

IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO THUMB THE PAGES OF THESE VOLUMES, read the commands, the orders and reports from the nazi offices in Frankfurt, Berlin, Duesseldorf, Essen, Bochum, Sachsenhausen, Birkenau, Mauthausen, Oswiecim, Maidanek and scores of other localities where the Hitlerites had once been.

But I force myself to read. Here is a letter from a firm in the Ruhr saying that it is prepared to deliver the required number of crematories, if only the price is satisfactory.

A letter from another firm refers to an order for human hair. Still another, pleading for quicker transportation of shoes and clothing, stresses a preference for non-bloodied products, because dresses and coats with bloodstains on them are "not conducive to good business."

The Germans are efficient. There are countless letters, dispatches, all numbered and classified: they know where everybody is, they keep a bookkeeper's distinction between the quick and the dead, between the profitable and profitless.

"Two children are unaccounted for," one camp official complains to another. Out of a sealed transport of 4,342 children, somehow two of them do not arrive at the destination. The columns will not add: the balance cannot be struck and the meticulous bookkeeper conducts a petulant correspondence on the problem.

A dispatch from the Maidanek concentration camp re-

ports on the number of dead and surviving in a transport of 6,000 prisoners. The account balances here—precision work.

And this one is a communication to the management of the gas-chambers urging it to conserve cyclon gas because the I. G. Farben cartel—a partner of the American monopolies, befriended by Dulles—had raised its price. *Gas sparen! Den Tod verlangsamen!* (Use gas sparingly! Slow down the asphyxiation process!)

Figures, letters, words, sentences—all in a jumble, a macabre dance. I cannot go far into them. I leave the room in a daze.

"Beyond that massive, iron door is the Ringleblum Archive. In 1946 we found ten iron trunks of documents in 68 Novolipka Street. And recently construction workers unearthed two milk cans containing the second section of the underground archive on the same site," my guide whispers to me as he unlocks the chamber.

Mounds of documents are there: bound and loose diaries, all sorts of manuscripts, pages plucked from the Holy Writ, last wills and testaments, confessionals. They are legible and illegible; they are elegantly written or plainly written. They are yellow with time, they are torn; they are faded copybook pages with inscriptions; crumpled notes glued together, cards, pieces of torn paper . . . lives and lives snuffed out like candles!

Well-known writers as well as laymen are witnesses and record in their own handwriting the tragic events. What hope they nevertheless retained in the future to save for it this testimony! They knew even in their death that nazis could not survive, that the justice of the people would overtake them.

I CHOOSE AT RANDOM A COUPLE OF BRIEF LETTERS AND COPY-books. I am impelled to do so for the reasons that drove them to record their experiences—to pass on their tragic evidence. I would rather spare myself, but nevertheless I read.

Here is a script, blurred yet legible, in which the writer admonishes his wife to inform the ghetto that the so-called work camps are nothing more than annihilation centers for the Jews. This is a faded poem that I hold. Composed by a Jewish lad of 17, it is a rallying-cry against the nazis. Here is a thick folio, listing the names of the victims slaughtered at one time or another at the assembly points, in private homes, even in the streets.

From a diary I copy this page: "We are surrounded by the Gestapo. Gunfire is heard outside. There's a knocking on the doors. We are wedged in between two walls. I'm afraid that little Rachel may start crying. . . ."

A voice of despair cries out of a note-book: "Accursed be the collaborators and henchmen of our enemies! Who could ever have believed that among our own Jews there would be traitors to betray their brethren to the nazi executioners!"

This blue copybook has brown stains on its front page. The handwriting, though blurred, is legible. It is evidently

the work of an ordinary person. In almost 100 pages he records the activity in Lodz during a few hectic days when the nazis, helped by Jewish concentration camp police, snatched 20,000 children from Jewish homes. I go with the writer on a tour of the homes where the kidnappings occurred; I hear with him the lamentations of the mothers who fight off the invaders with their bare hands; see them die in the struggle to save their children.

"It was a bright, sunny day," he relates. "Long rows of trucks were lined up, into some of which grandmothers were also hurled. Some of the children were happy at the prospect. Believing the Jewish henchmen that they were heading for an excursion, they failed to sense the cause of their grandmothers' weeping. . . ."

It is late when I leave the Institute. Stars, like scattered, glowing letters, gaze down with frosty indifference. One feels like plucking all the blazing star-letters to chronicle mounds of documentary material, the missives, the last wills of the perished millions, in order that they may be visible every night to all mankind as an everlasting reminder of the agony and unflinching heroism of the martyrs for all time to come!

The whispers of those dead go with me to my hotel. . . .

Nixon, Sparkman and Jimcrow

ELECTIONEERING promises on civil rights made by the Republicans and Democrats took on a sickly hue when viewed in the light of certain revelations.

In a September issue of the *Baltimore Afro-American* were printed reproductions of certain parts of the covenant signed by Republican vice-presidential aspirant Richard Nixon for his now-famous \$41,000 residence in Washington. A part of the document, dated June 5, 1951, reads as follows: "No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used or occupied by, or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased, or rented, or given, to negroes (sic!) or any person or persons of negro (sic!) blood or extraction, or to any person of the Semitic race, blood, or origin, which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians and Syrians."

About a week later it was revealed that Nixon had also signed a Jimcrow covenant on April 11, 1949, for his house in the Whittier district in Los Angeles. This covenant, however, was cleverly formulated so as to get around the Supreme Court decision of the year before that restrictive covenants were legally unenforceable.

Incidentally, Charles R. Allen, Jr., revealed in the *New York Daily Compass* of September 26 that Frank R. Seaver, one of the contributors to Nixon's "Millionaire Club," was an anti-Semite. Seaver is a wealthy oil man who is president of the Hydril Corporation and director of half a dozen other oil companies.

Could the Democrats make election capital of the Jimcrow revelation about Nixon? Hardly. For it was also revealed that identical Washington covenants as that of Nixon were said to have been signed by Democratic vice-presidential candidate John Sparkman, as well as Democratic Senators Blair Moody, Estes Kefauver and Harley Kilgore.

ONE HAND WASHES THE OTHER

A Short Story

By Yuri Suhl

BENYOMEN Glickman had hardly stepped off the boat when his first name had shrunk to Benny. His own *landsleit* and fellow cloakmakers had shrunk it for him. When he had protested, half seriously, saying, "Benny? What kind of a name is that? *Feh*, it has no taste," they laughed and said, "We're working piece work here. By the time you say Benyomen you can make at least five more stitches."

The presser of the shop, a tall Jew with a handlebar mustache and a booming voice said to him, "You think because you were circumcised once you are through already? Here, my friend, they keep on circumcising you a whole lifetime. First it's your name. Comes the slack season and they circumcise your job. Wait, wait, they'll circumcise your years too."

Everybody had laughed in the shop, as they had always done when the presser spoke, because he had a way of taking the bitter truths in their lives and making them laugh about it. And even as they laughed they nodded their heads thoughtfully, as if to say, "How right, how right."

Benny was baffled by such talk. He laughed because everybody else laughed but he really hadn't understood what the presser had said. *They?* Who was this *They*? If it was an enemy then let it step forward and Benny would face it and come to grips with it. Benny had a "pair of iron hands," a pair of broad shoulders and a pair of eager eyes but he could not fight a shadow called *They*, and what's more, he wasn't afraid of it. Let the presser talk. Must everything that happens to others happen to him too? Right now he had other things to worry about. Surtche was over there and he was over here. The sooner he became a cloak operator the sooner he would be able to bring her over and the happier he would be.

IT DIDN'T TAKE HIM LONG TO EARN FOR HIMSELF THE TITLE OF *sheeser*, because he was shooting out the bundles faster than any other operator in the shop. In the market his shopmates would boast about him to fellow cloakmakers:

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"We have an operator," they would shrug in a gesture of wonderment, "a regular machine gun."

"The paddle sizzles under his feet."

"He swallows bundles like a fish swallows water."

"And he's a greenhorn to the bargain. Not even a half a year in the country."

"So what? The bundles don't ask for your citizenship papers."

"That's right. For the bundles you need a pair of good eyes and a pair of strong hands. That's all."

"For the bundles, my friend, you need the strength of a horse."

"That's what he is, our *landsman*, Benny, a regular horse."

"I'll betcha he wouldn't get away with it in a union shop."

"Piece work is a curse on our heads."

"I agree with you but where is the union?"

"The union, my friend, is right now busy with the big shops so the small ones are making Sabbath for themselves. Sure, why pay time and a half for overtime when you can get enough hands to work piece work till ten at night. But wait, wait. The union will get to the little sweatshops too. In due time."

"As far as I am concerned the union can come tomorrow, I'm ready."

"You are ready, you say. But what about your *landsman*, the *sheeser*?"

"Benny, you mean?"

"Yeh, yeh, Benny?"

"Benny is also ready. Why do you think he rushes the breath out of himself, just for the sake of a few dollars? Not Benny. He wants to bring over his wife. Didn't we all do the same when we had to send money home? I know Benny as I know my ten fingers."

WHEN SURTCHE FINALLY CAME, BENNY HIMSELF SUGGESTED that she change her name to Sadie because Sadie goes better with Benny than Surtche.

And when they started having children it was boys, one after the other. With each new arrival he brought a bottle to the shop and made a "*Lechaim*" with his fellow workers.

And when the seventh and last arrival came, Benny's

bottle alone was not adequate enough for the big event. They gathered up a collection among themselves and bought another bottle. They put their arms around him and exuded warmth and admiration.

"*Lechaim*, Benny, I gotta hand it to you. You're a good man."

"Benny did it again!"

Now there were seven mouths to feed and seven bodies to clothe and Sadie did all the washing and the ironing herself and still they could make ends meet only during the season because of Benny's overtime. And when you work overtime every single day in the week, the dividing line between time and overtime disappears and becomes just time, one big stretch of time of which there was always more as long as the bundles demanded it. Days and weeks were nothing more than a bottomless repository of time which one used to keep up with the endless stream of bundles the foreman threw into your trough.

Then the season came to an end and the days and the weeks flowed over with time and there were no bundles to absorb it. But the seven mouths at home knew of no slack; and the seven bodies knew of no seasons other than the four seasons of the year. That is why during the season Benny would not leave the shop until the very last bundle was gone from the trough.

AND WHILE BENNY WAS "SHOOTING THE BUNDLES," AN ENEMY, the *They* of whom the tall presser had warned him a long time ago, was stealthily taking up positions in a very strategic area, his lungs. The more overtime Benny put in, the easier it was for the enemy to dig in quietly, without betraying his position. Then, one day, in the middle of the season, the enemy was entrenched securely enough to declare battle openly. On that day a fellow operator turned to Benny and said, "Whatsamatter, Benny, why so quiet? Sing something."

"Somehow it doesn't sing itself today," Benny replied, and even those few words came with difficulty. Just opening his mouth seemed an effort.

Later in the day another operator said to him, "Benny, I hate to give you a Jewish compliment but you don't look so good to me."

"If I look the way I feel, then one Jewish compliment is not enough," Benny barely managed to speak. "I feel like I sprung a leak somewhere and the strength is oozing out of me, drop by drop."

"In this case, Benny, I'd advise you to go home and go to bed."

The enemy was now beginning to impose a strict economy on his words so Benny pointed to the trough full of unfinished bundles, as if to say, "Go home and leave all the bundles?"

"Bundles we have plenty but years we have few. So why kill yourself with your own hands? Do me a favor and go home right now. To hell with the bundles!"

"I think I'll take your advice," he said, weakly, and rose, self-consciously, from his chair.

When he was gone the din in the shop had somewhat subsided. It was as though the heaviest piece of artillery had been silenced in the midst of a battle. Not only was the noise in the shop cut by one machine but the tension too was a little relaxed. Instinctively the other operators slowed down now.

"If Benny goes home in the middle of the day he must be plenty sick, believe me," one of them said.

"He was strong like a horse," another said.

"So it only goes to show that the bundles are stronger even than a horse."

"If you ask me it's his own fault."

"It's easy for you to talk. If you had seven locusts in the house you too would be a *sheeser*."

"So who tells him to have seven locusts? Two or three isn't enough? A cloaks operator can't afford such luxuries."

"Here, I agree with you, he acted like a horse," the tall presser said.

Some laughed and some did not respond to the presser's humor right now, when Benny's empty chair was "staring them in the eyes." They resolved, silently, to themselves, to slow down a bit. To hell with the bundles! Bundles there are plenty but years there are few. But their resolve did not last long. Within a matter of minutes it was broken by the law of the season. Plenty of time to rest when the season is over. Right now you have to shoot the bundles.

AS SOON AS BENNY ENTERED THE HOUSE, SADIE SAID, "I DON'T like the way you look. What happened?"

"And I don't like the way I feel, so we're even. Make the bed and call the doctor, please."

She called the *landsmanshaft* doctor. This meant that they paid only a fraction of the usual fee and had complete trust in him because a *landsmanshaft* would not mislead them.

"Here, doctor, lies my husband," Sadie said with a tear in her voice as she led the way to the small bedroom where Benny lay.

The doctor, a short, rotund man with a full face and a small mustache which he wore for professional reasons, placed his black satchel at the foot of the bed and began to wipe his thick eye-glasses.

"How do you feel?" he asked Benny casually, still wiping his glasses.

"I feel like I have a dozen bundles, right here, inside," Benny pointed to his chest.

"A whole dozen! You counted them." The doctor now put his glasses on again. "Are you sure you didn't make a mistake?" He laughed at his own joke and that helped to break the tension in the room. A moment later he was already sitting at the bedside examining his patient. As he moved the stethoscope all over Benny's big chest, Sadie followed the expressions on his face for a possible clue to his diagnosis. Finally, when the doctor was through and rose from the bed he sighed, and Sadie did not know whether the sigh was in any way connected with his findings, or just a natural expression after the strain of the examination.

"Well, Benny," the doctor said, in a matter-of-fact tone,

"I don't want to make the diagnosis until I take a sample of your sputum to the laboratory for a test. In the meantime you stay in bed and rest."

"In the middle of the season?" Benny said, pleadingly.

"In the middle of the season," the doctor's voice stiffened into a command. "Sickness doesn't know from any season." He turned to Sadie and said, with mock seriousness, "If your smart husband should try to go back to work tomorrow, tie him down to bed with a rope. And if you have any trouble call me and I'll tie him all right."

The doctor and Sadie laughed freely but Benny's laughter was cut short by a stab of pain. "Oi, doctor," he waved his hand disconsolately, "I'm deep in the ground with my bones already. I can't even laugh. It hurts."

"You'll laugh and laugh, yet," the doctor consoled him.

"Me you can tell the truth, Yankel," Benny said to the doctor, striking up an intimate tone. In Europe they had gone to *heder* together.

"You know, Benny, that you I wouldn't fool. I said you'll laugh yet and you will, provided you'll cooperate and take care of yourself."

Benny turned his head toward the wall. His face was tense and serious. Go fight an enemy if he's buried in sputum!

When the nature of Benny's sickness became known in the shop, the tall presser said, "They're circumcising his lungs."

Nobody laughed.

IN LATER YEARS, WHENEVER BENNY SPOKE OF HIS "HEAVY ILLNESS," he referred to his four months stretch in the Catskills as the time when he put "a new lining in his lungs," a lining composed of milk, sweet cream and fresh air. It was an expensive "lining" and his *landsmanshaft* society paid for it, first through the sick benefit fund to which every member was entitled and later through a successful theater benefit which the society ran for Benny Glickman.

On her monthly visits to him in the Catskills Sadie would say, "First God and then the *landsleit*. If not for them, where would I be with seven hungry mouths? In the street. A charity case, God forbid."

Benny was inclined to reverse the order: "First the *landsleit*," he would say, "and then it doesn't matter any more. It could be God too."

"Stop sinning."

"Who is sinning? I only like to give credit where credit belongs, that's all."

LONG AFTER HIS MACHINE HAD BEEN OCCUPIED BY ANOTHER operator, Benny still maintained a keen interest in the shop. Whenever one of his shopmates visited him, he would quickly pass over from the visitor's inquiries about his health to his own inquiries about the shop. "With me it's still the same," he would nod resignedly, "Yankel says I'm improving so who am I to contradict him? After all, he's got the diploma, not I. Tell me better what's new in the shop?" He would raise himself up a little into a semi-

sitting position, his eyes eager for a scrap of news.

"What should be new? The boss is still scowling; the foreman is still growling; and the bundles are the same as always. In the season you curse them for being too many and in the slack you curse them for not being at all. So here you have it in a nutshell."

One day his visitor was able to tell him that things were no longer the same in the shop. That is, the boss, the foreman, the workers, the bundles were still the same; and the shop, too, was still located in the same dingy loft on the top floor on Bleeker Street. And yet things were not the same anymore. There was a lot of union talk circulating in the shop.

"It's about time!" Benny said with determination.

"Benny, it's not going to be so easy as you might think. The boss has a fit every time he hears about it. He considers it the height of ingratitude that we should even think about the union. What is he, a total stranger? He's a *landsman*! One would think that every week he divides his profit with us. But what bothers me is that we have a few fools in the shop who prefer piece work to a union scale."

"What do they want, an early grave?" Benny said with bitterness. "If not for that accursed piece work, maybe I wouldn't be lying here now. Tell them that for me."

WHEN BENNY BECAME WELL ENOUGH TO GET AROUND AND TO look for a job, his first thought was to visit the shop and thank all his former shopmates for what they had done for him. He chose lunchtime as the best time for such a visit.

The workers gave him a most hearty welcome. "Look who's here!" they shouted with excitement. "If it isn't Benny!" They surrounded him, shook his hand, clapped his back, besieged him with a thousand questions about his health and assured him that he looked like a million dollars. One of them slipped out of the shop unnoticed and came back with a bottle of wine and some cookies. And so the unexpected visit was turned into a spontaneous celebration.

In the few minutes that were left before the whistle blew they managed to touch on a serious subject:

"Nu, Benny, what next? What are your plans?"

"Plans?" Benny shrugged. "Who has strength for plans? All I need is one good plan how to make a living. Yankel ordered me to say goodbye to the shop for good. From now on it's only an outside job."

They remained silent, some nodding gravely, some scratching their heads. Without realizing it he had dumped a new problem in their lap. As a cloaks operator he could have gotten his old job back. They would have made sure of that. But what did they know about outside jobs?

"What, for instance?" one of them asked, casting a glance around the group, as though he were speaking for all of them.

"I asked myself the same question plenty of times, don't worry. First I had an idea of becoming a trolley car conductor. So I heard that for a job like that they prefer an

Irishman or some other nationality, but not Jews. And I have been a Jew too long to suddenly become an Irishman. So that's out. Next I thought about window cleaning. So Yankel said that would not be so bad if I did only the ground floor windows. So what will I do with the top floor windows, get myself an assistant? So that's out too. So what's left? A fruit peddler. And for that you need a horse and wagon."

"So how much is a second-hand horse?" the tall presser asked.

They all laughed. Just then the whistle blew. He took leave of them hurriedly, knowing that they were eager to get back to work. They were working piece work. The union was still in the talking stage in their shop.

"Don't worry, Benny," they tried to cheer him up. "The world isn't collapsing yet. And you're not alone."

"Things will iron themselves out, Benny," the presser said, and they laughed again. But they were not joking. There was a serious ring to their laughter.

Benny soon came to know that these were not empty words. One Sunday afternoon a committee of two *landsleit*, one of them from the shop, drove up to his house in a second hand wagon drawn by an old horse with a long, unkempt mane. Jutting out from one side of the wagon was a piece of board to which was attached a brand new scale.

They called him out of the house and one of them said, "In the name of the society and the shop we present you with this horse and wagon. We are sorry that we couldn't afford a horse that is a little younger and a wagon that is a little sturdier but we hope it will help you get on your feet again. Here, Benny, use it in good health," the other one said, as he handed him the whip.

Benny was so overcome with emotion that he turned his head away and put his hand to his eyes, like a bashful boy trying to hide his tears.

"Look at our big hero," one of them said, clapping Benny on the back, "Come on, come on, shame on you."

"It's only a loan," the other one said, helplessly. "Little by little you'll pay it back."

"One hand washes the other," the first one added.

"True, one hand washes the other," Benny said, "But so far you've been washing mine ever since I got sick. When will I be able to do a little washing myself?"

"This should be your only worry," one of them said.

"This is America, Benny, you can never tell," the other said.

After an awkward pause of silence Benny turned a little to a side and cracked the whip, smiling, as though he were a boy trying out a new toy he had just received.

AFTER A FEW MONTHS AT HIS NEW OCCUPATION BENNY WAS an experienced peddler. He had even invented for himself his own call of gibberish with which to lure his customers out into the street. At the monthly *landsmanshaft* meetings which Benny attended regularly his *landsleit* would kid him good-naturedly:

"There goes our businessman."

"Nu, Benny, how's business?"

"Did you make your first million already?"

"Business is fine," Benny would reply, "Rockefeller has just asked me for a loan. In fact, I'm thinking of buying him out altogether." But in a more serious tone he would add, "You scrape together a living and that's all."

At one such meeting Benny learned from his former shopmates that things were happening in the shop. Now that the season was close at hand the union was pressing in on the small sweatshops, ready for a showdown. Circulars had already been distributed in front of the shop one evening and many workers, instead of going home, answered the call and went from work to union headquarters to a meeting. The boss was adamant and the shop, with few exceptions, was solid behind the union.

Finally the shop struck and it was a long and drawn out strike.

One day Benny rode his horse and wagon across the Williamsburg bridge all the way from Brooklyn to Bleecker street. It was about five in the afternoon when Benny pulled in the reins and shouted "Prrrrr! Stop!" right in front of his former shop.

"We have a guest," the first picket to recognize Benny announced.

"As true as I live," another picket called out, "it's our *landsmen*, Benny."

"Say, Benny," the tall presser came over to him, "what did you come here for, to picket or to scab?"

"Hey, you with the mustache," Benny cracked his whip overhead, "I'll give you a scab in a minute you will have me to remember!"

"So what, really, brings you here, Benny, all the way from Williamsburg, business?" It was the same man who had once presented Benny with the horse and wagon, together with another *landsmen*.

"Yes," Benny replied in a tone of mock seriousness, "Business. I am liquidating my stock today, giving it away not wholesale, not retail, but for absolutely nothing! That is, to the right customers only." He indicated the pickets with his hand and then pointed to a row of huge, bulging paper bags on his wagon. "Every one of those bags contains 20 pounds of fruit and vegetables. My contribution to the strikers," he said without any visible display of emotion.

"You're crazy, honest. Why did you do it, Benny? You can't afford it. You'll really liquidate your business that way."

"You really want to know why I did it?" Benny asked.

"Yes, I want to know."

There was silence as they all strained to listen.

"I did it because, as they say in French, 'one hand washes the other.'"

"Ha, ha, the French, he says!" one of them laughed. "My grandmother, may she rest in peace, said it in Betchootch 50 years ago."

"Now we know where the French got it from," the tall presser said, "Betchootch."

AN ANGRY SONG

By Matthew Hall

I'm tired of shinin' your shoes,—
I'm tired of singin' the blues,—

You want me to grin an' shuffle along,
You want me to bow when you treat me wrong,
But brother, I'm singin' an angry song,

I'm singin' an angry song
From deep down,
Deep down,
Deep down
In my heart, . . .

The troubles I seen
Can make a man mighty mean,
Yes, the troubles I seen
Can make a man mighty mean, . . .

Now, an angry song is made of blood and tears,
Yes, an angry song is made of blood and tears,
It's a river overflowin',
It's a mighty wind a-blowin',
It's a storm that's been a-growin'
For three hundred bitter years, . . .

I'm goin' to build a house called Freedom, . . .
An' it's goin' to have no back door,

It's goin' to be for all the People,
It's goin' to be for all the People,
It's goin' to be for workin' People
An' there'll always be room for more,

Now, don't you honey me up with sweet words,
No, don't you honey me up with sweet words,
Don't you honey me up with sweet words
Like that sweet word "democracy,"

Now, don't you ask me to fight for sweet words,
Now, don't you ask me to fight for sweet words,
Don't ask me to die for sweet words
An' then steal 'em away from me,

Funny how you're fightin'
to free colored people
all over the world,—
except the colored people
right here at home. . . .

How come?

Explain that to me,
Mister Brass Hat,
Mister President,
Mister Washington, D. C.

How come
you're so interested in fightin'
to free the Korean people—
(by killin' 'em)
An' you jus' ain't got no time at all
for freein' us black folk
right here in your slums? . . .

There's murder rampant across this land
An' a trail of blood that spills
Over your white marble columns
Into the halls of Congress,

An' there are polite ways of lynchin'
Where you make a noose of words
An' try to strangle us
With fascist laws. . . .

I was strong enough to build this land
With the sweat of my brow,
With my brain and my hand
At the bench and the plow,
An' I'm strong enough
To build a free life now. . . .

I'm singin' an angry song
Out of an angry heart
For the Willie McGees
An' all the others,
for fifteen million
Of my black brothers
I'm singin' an angry song,

I got a memory long as three hundred bitter years,
I fought before an' I'll fight again
'Til I wipe out the blood an' tears
An' build a land for the many,—an' not the few,
An' we'll build it strong
An' we'll build it true, . . .

*The above was excerpted from a longer poem which is
being set to music by the author.*

THE JEWS AND THEIR FRIENDS

By Maxim Gorky

ONCE upon a time in a certain country lived some Jews. They were ordinary Jews, fit for pogroms, for being slandered or any other state requirements.

For example.

Whenever the native population began to show signs of being dissatisfied with life, the authorities removed certain clauses from the state regulations and sounded the following hope-awakening call:

"Draw near, you people; approach the seat of power."

The people drew near; and the authorities began to remonstrate with them:

"What is the cause of the agitation?"

"Your Honors, we have nothing to eat."

"Have you any teeth left?"

"Yes, a few."

"You see, you always manage to conceal something from the authorities."

When the local authorities found that the agitation could be suppressed by knocking out the remaining teeth, they immediately resorted to that remedy. But if they saw that harmonious relations could not be established by this means they began to ask tempting questions:

"What do you want?"

"Some land."

Some of them who were so deep sunken in ignorance that they were not able to understand what was in the interest of the state, went further and kept repeating:

"We want reforms of some kind in order that our teeth and ribs and insides, at least, may be regarded as our own property and not be touched without cause."

The authorities reasoned with them:

"Oh, friends, why should you have these idle dreams? It is said that man liveth not by bread alone, also that one person that has been beaten is worth two that have not."

"And do they agree?"

"Who?"

"Those who have not been beaten?"

"Of course, dear friends. Did not the English ask us not very many years ago: 'Exile,' they said, 'all your own people to Siberia, and put us in their place. We, they said, 'will pay the taxes punctually, and will drink twelve gallons of vodka per person per year, and, generally speaking. . . ' 'No,' we said, 'why should we? Our people are all right, they are humble and obedient, they are not going to give us any trouble.' So now, you good fellows, instead

of getting excited like this, don't you think you had better go and shake up the Jews a bit? What do you say to that? What else are they for?"

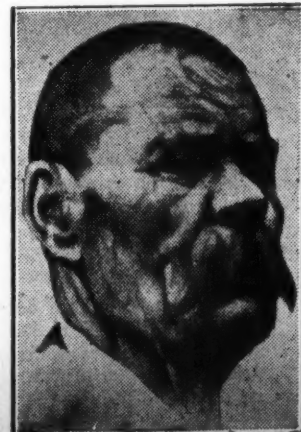
The people pondered and pondered; they saw that they could get no redress, so they decided to act upon the suggestion of the authorities.

"Well, fellows," they said, "with God's blessing we will smash them."

They ransacked 50 houses and killed a few Jews. But they soon tired of their labors and, their desire for reforms being satisfied, everything went on as before.

BESIDES THE AUTHORITIES, THE NATIVE POPULATION AND THE Jews, there lived some kind-hearted people in the state. Their function was to divert agitation into other channels and to quiet passions. After each pogrom their whole number came together, 18 men in all, and sent forth to the world their written protest, thus:

"Although we know the Jews are Russian subjects, we are nevertheless convinced that they ought not to be utterly exterminated and, therefore, taking all considerations into account, we hereby express our condemnation of this extreme persecution of living people. (Signed) High-Brow, Narrow-Chin, Long-Hair, Biting-Lip, Yea and Nay, Big Bellows, Joseph Three-Ear, Noisy-One, Know-All, Cyril Just-So, Flow-of-Words, Look-Wise, Quill-Driver, Lieutenant Colonel (retired), Drink-no-Beer, Narym (solicitor), Busybody, On-All-Fours and Grisha, In-the-Future, seven years old, a boy."



Maxim Gorky

These protests appeared after each pogrom with the only difference that the age of Grisha kept changing and that Quill-Driver signed on behalf of Narym, who was suddenly exiled to a town bearing the same name.

Sometimes the provinces responded to these protests:

"We sympathize and add our signatures," Pull-Apart telegraphed from Sleepy-Town, and Featherbrain from Daft Town; Samogryzoff "and others" from Okuroff also joined in. It was clear to everybody that "the others" were an invention, to make the message look more formidable, for there were no others in Okuroff.

The Jews were greatly distressed when they read these protests, and on one occasion one of them, who was a very shrewd man, made the following proposal:—

"Do you know what? You don't? Well, let us hide all the pens and ink and paper before the next pogrom, and see what these 18 people, including Grisha, will do then."

These Jews knew how to act together. Once decided, they bought up and hid all the paper and pens and poured all the ink into the Black Sea. Then they quietly awaited the result.

They had not long to wait: the necessary permission was received from the authorities, a pogrom took place, the hospitals were full of Jews—and the humanitarians were running about St. Petersburg looking for pens and paper. They could find none anywhere except in the offices of the authorities. And the latter would not give them any.

"What do you take us for?" they said. "We know what you want it for. No, you must do without it this time."

"But how can we?" Mr. Busybody entreated them.

"Well," they answered, "you ought to realize by now that we have given you plenty of chances to protest."

Grisha, who was already 43 years old, cried:

"I want to protest."

But there was nothing to protest on. A happy thought struck Know-All:

"Shall we write something on the fence at least?"

There were no fences in St. Petersburg, only iron railings.

But they proceeded to the outskirts of the town, where, near the slaughterhouses, they came upon an old fence. No sooner, however, had Mr. High-Brow made the first letter in chalk than, suddenly, as if dropping from the skies came a policeman and began to expostulate with him:

"What does this mean? When boys do this sort of thing they are whipped, but you, staid gentlemen, what are you doing?"

Of course he could not understand them, taking them for writers old enough to be writing their thousand and first article. They were nonplussed, and, scattering literally in all directions, went home.

So that one pogrom was not protested against, and the humanitarians were deprived of a pleasure.

People who understand the psychology of races say rightly: "The Jews are a shrewd people."

"SHOULD USA JEWS SWALLOW WORLD JEWRY"?

We reprint below a very significant letter which appeared in the conservative London Jewish Chronicle on September 26. It was written by one of Britain's leading conservative Jewish figures, Professor Selig Brodetsky. Dr. Brodetsky was president of the leading Jewish body in Britain, the Board of Jewish Deputies, from 1939 to 1949. From 1949 to 1951, he was chancellor of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, successor to the late Dr. Judah P. Magnes. Dr. Brodetsky's letter shows how broadly the opinion extends in Europe that the United States is attempting to dominate the world; and it further shows that Jewish organizations in the United States are arrogantly trying to apply this principle of domination to Jewish life itself throughout the non-socialist world.—Eds.

London

SIR,—Some weeks back you published a long correspondence between the Hon. Ewen Montagu, as representing the Anglo-Jewish Association, and Dr. Baum, speaking on behalf of the World Jewish Congress. I felt that a discussion of this kind was unworthy of the Jewish people and wrote a letter making this and certain consequent remarks. You then, quite rightly, stopped the correspondence—and I was pleased because it is so humiliating, as I said in my letter, for Jewish bodies to quarrel about their status.

You can, therefore, imagine my surprise to read twice on one page of your last week's issue a news item that can lead to another such discussion, namely "the inter-

national Jewish organizations—the Jewish Agency, the American Joint Distribution Committee, the American Jewish Committee and the World Jewish Congress." This is quite unintelligible. The Jewish Agency was once an international Jewish organization because all Zionists and many other Jews wanted it to be such, although I doubt whether the non-Jews in certain lands accept it as such.

As for the World Jewish Congress, it is not only rejected by the lands under Soviet influence, but is strongly opposed by many Jews in other lands, particularly in this country. The "Joint" was never an international organization, even when it voted money to be spent in countries where it is now taboo; and as for the American Jewish Committee, with all my personal friendship with its leaders, it is a diminutive "Board of Deputies" without any elections to give it any special status even inside the United States.

At the last conference of the Zionist Federation I objected to the habit of Israel's becoming identified with the U.S.A. alone—as if all the Jews elsewhere meant nothing and did nothing for the State of Israel. Are we now to have a new phenomenon, namely the swallowing of Jewry as a whole by a few U.S.A. organizations? You, Sir, objected to this in connection with the discussions with the West German government. Now you allow it to be repeated in exactly the same connection.

There is no reason why the U.S.A. should swallow the whole of humanity and even less reason why the U.S.A. Jews should swallow the whole of world Jewry.

SELIG BRODETSKY

NEW STEPS TO ISRAEL AS COLONY

Several recent events confirm the contention that the various forms of dollar "aid" to Israel are making a colony of the Jewish state

Third of a Series

By Victor Perlo

IN THE first two articles of this series, it was shown that United States big business, parading under a charitable front, is getting control of the Israel economy to the detriment of the people living there; and that the Bonds for Israel drive is used as an adjunct to this penetration.

During September a National Economic Conference for Israel was held in Atlantic City. Attended by leaders of the Israel government and of American Jewish financial and philanthropic interests, the conference aimed to promote the sale of Bonds for Israel, of which \$140,000,000 have been sold, with \$500,000,000 as the ultimate quota.

Events leading up to the conference as well as speeches and data emerging from it emphasize the conclusions of the previous articles. In addition, they bring out a vital point not yet taken up in this series—United States financial domination is intimately connected with United States military domination, with the enlistment of Israel in the front ranks of the Atlantic Pact warriors.

A few weeks before the conference, on August 10th, the United States and Israel governments signed an agreement guaranteeing United States investments in Israel, similar to one-sided agreements signed by the United States with 14 other countries. The investing companies are the only interests that get anything out of it, while the people of both countries pay.

Here is how it works. Suppose an imaginary Zephyr Razor Blade Company wishes to move its factory from the United States to Israel to take advantage of lower wages and taxes. The company applies to the Israel Investment Center, directed by Harold Goldenberg, former United States businessman. The center approves and the investment is made. Under the agreement Zephyr Israel Razor Blade can send out 10 per cent of its investment in profits to the United States each year, in dollars. The Israel government guarantees this drawing out of dollars through a law previously enacted. The United States government guarantees Zephyr further on payment of a small insurance fee. In case there just aren't any dollars in Israel to pay the profits, the United States government will pay

VICTOR PERLO is a prominent economic consultant and author of *American Imperialism*. His series has been extended to five articles in order to include consideration of recent events in the article above. Following the next two articles on an economic solution for Israel, the full political and social implications of the conditions revealed by Mr. Perlo will be summarized by another writer.

the profits to Zephyr out of American taxpayers' money and then proceed to pressure Israel for payment.

There is a further guarantee against expropriation by the Israel government. If such expropriation takes place, the Israel government agrees to negotiate diplomatically with the United States government for full and prompt compensation. If the two governments cannot agree, the Israel government agrees to submit the dispute to international arbitration. Since such international arbitration tribunals as the World Court are dominated by the great capital investing powers, this is tantamount to agreeing to pay such a price that no nationalization would be worth while. The United States government agrees to represent Zephyr in the negotiations, to shoulder all the risk and pay Zephyr the full amount of the investment, again at the cost of the American taxpayers.

This issue of expropriation or nationalization is not here raised as a question of socialism versus capitalism. The right to expropriate—known in this country as the right of eminent domain—is the ultimate recourse of any government against a company which disobeys the law of the land. By virtue of the agreement, this right of the Israel government loses its force. Zephyr can do what it wishes, ride roughshod over Israel's national interests without fear of financial penalty.

"Hard-Headed" Investments

Following signing of the investment agreement, the Zionist Organization of America called an extraordinary conference of its National Administrative Council, which established an economic program as follows: "Aimed to attract widespread interest and activity in private investment and initiative, the organization's economic program calls for close cooperation with the Palestine Economic Corporation as its investment arm." (*New York Times*, Aug. 25.)

As shown in the previous article, Palestine Economic Corporation is a merging of interests of leading United States centers of finance capital. The conference also created a new department to encourage investments in Israel by United States Zionists. Speakers stressed the vital role of Bonds for Israel in this program.

The specific role of Bonds for Israel was made very clear at the National Economic Conference for Israel held three weeks later. Rudolf G. Sonneborn, president of the Bonds

for Israel organization, set the keynote when he revealed that his thinking had experienced a "significant clarification." Israel, he said, is now "a worthy field for the investment of the most hard-headed and unsentimental, as well as for those of us to whom Israel holds a special meaning."

The previously mentioned Mr. Goldenberg told the conference that the success of private industry in Israel could be attained if the Bonds for Israel proceeds created the roads and other basic facilities to assure modern industrial development. (*New York Times*, September 14). The relationship is made even more explicit in the brochure *Economic Trends in Israel*:

"The Israel Government seeks to promote private investments in a variety of ways (Encouragement of Investments Law, credit facilities, etc.). However, to develop a country, a great deal must be done on a public or semi-public level (harbors, railways, agriculture). It is also necessary to start industries which are not immediately attractive to the private capitalist, but may become so later."

Thus, through purchase of bonds American Jews of moderate means are asked to put up the money for enterprises which will not yield a high rate of profit, but which are necessary for big-money American Jews to get a high rate of profit on their investments. And later, if the enterprises financed by bonds should turn out to be very profitable, it is hinted, they may be sold to the private investors. Add to the picture the Israel-United States investment agreement, which guarantees the big-money private investor collection of profits and principal, but which guarantees the little buyer of bonds nothing at all.

Economic Trends in Israel also confirms that the drive for foreign investments is anti-labor and works for lowering of living standards. Discussing the new currency rates initiated in February 1952, it says: "In a nutshell, the effect of these rates is to make consumer goods more expensive, thereby cutting consumption, and to encourage foreign investments and productivity of labor. Another measure designed to mop up part of the people's surplus spending power was a compulsory loan of 10 per cent on all cash holdings carried out through an exchange of bank notes in June 1952. . . . Serious efforts are now being made to reduce production costs by lowering wages (relatively speaking) and raising output through enhanced labor efficiency."

This last remark was in connection with the much-advertised export drive which is supposed to accompany foreign investments. As noted in the previous article, this export drive could not hope to sell large quantities of goods in the United States, hence could not yield the dollars needed to service the mounting United States investments, not to speak of continued imports from the United States. This also is confirmed by the brochure: "Israel will be able in particular to deal with countries short of dollars. It pursues a consistent policy of negotiating commercial agreements with such countries."

An excellent idea, but *inconsistent* with huge obliga-

tions for paying dollars on Bonds for Israel, Export-Import Bank loans, and United States private investments. The private investors do not have to worry about this little inconsistency—they are protected by the investment guarantee. But who will protect the Bonds for Israel buyer from the fruits of this untenable economic policy?

Israel As Colony

Official publicity handouts recently boasted of the first shipment of tires from General Tire and Rubber's plant near Tel Aviv. General Tire and Rubber is a \$200,000,000 per year enterprise with its home office in Akron. It is aggressively managed and growing rapidly, especially in the foreign field, where it is now the third largest United States rubber firm. It is a good example of the "hard-headed and unsentimental" investor Mr. Sonneborn is striving to encourage. The *Wall Street Journal* revealed on September 15, the real character of this investment.

General Tire, said the paper, has "ten affiliated plants located in Mexico, Canada, Chile, Spain, Portugal, Israel, South America [?] and Venezuela. Foreign operations, including United States exports, currently account for 17 per cent of General's profits. The figure might be twice as high if all General's foreign profits could be brought home and consolidated. . . . Rubber companies operating abroad make two or three times the profits they make on comparable United States operations, according to Cy O'Neil (president and chairman). Labor costs are cheaper . . . and taxes are lower; tires bring a higher price abroad; they wear out two or three times as fast on poor roads; sales costs are lower because competition is not as keen. . . ."

From Mr. O'Neil's point of view, Israel is no different from Spain, Mexico, or Venezuela, where long histories of subordination to foreign capital have brought the direst poverty to the masses of the people. Even the involvement of Israel capital as a "partner" is merely part of General Tire's usual technique, begun in Mexico in 1930, of teaming up with local capital so that the company can appear "not as foreign operators, but as co-workers with local people."

A slight correction—General Tire has one minor interest in the special character of its Israel investment: "General Tire expects to send 500 of the pure natural rubber tires to the United States, hopes sympathy for the Zionist cause will lead Americans to pay a little more for the 'Made in Israel' label" (*Business Week*, August 16).

The brochure tries to argue away the effects of a "development program" where most of the capital comes from abroad: "The above general outline of Israel's investment plans may suggest to some excessive reliance on foreign aid. . . . All countries of immigration have had the same experience. Even the United States—today the wealthiest community in the world—had to be built with foreign investments, and was still a debtor country as recently as 1914."

The comparison is wholly invalid. Foreign investments played an important role in this country's early history,

when modern concentrated industry and finance did not exist, and when small-scale agriculture, domestically financed, was the major economic activity. Moreover, the United States had already established its political and military independence of the main investing country, England. The basic modern industries of the United States, such as steel and chemicals, were built almost wholly with domestic capital.

Israel, by contrast, is talking of building its entire economy with foreign capital, and modern monopoly capital to boot. And Israel is a weak country, far from independent of the main investing country, the United States, politically or economically. Throughout this century United States capital has acquired political and military domination abroad together with economic control.

The Big Stick and the Dollar

Today, more than ever before, the big stick and the dollar go together and Israel is no exception. The government agency which handles United States investment guarantees in Israel is the Mutual Security Agency, whose main function is the distribution of military supplies to countries of the North Atlantic Pact and other military alliances. All the countries having similar investment agreements are in military alliance with the United States. All of them have United States military missions and most have United States bases and are occupied by United States troops.

On July 23, shortly before the investment agreement was signed, Israel and the United States signed an agreement under which Israel may purchase armaments from the United States government. As early as February 1952, the Israel government requested grants of arms. For this purpose, a United States military mission must go to Israel and the Israel government must sign an agreement formally tying itself to United States strategic aims. The delay here is not caused by the Israel government, but by United States diplomatic considerations of avoiding "favoritism" between Israel and neighboring Arab states. The American "friends of Israel," who are so busily promoting United States investments in Israel, are equally alert in promoting Israel's military involvement. On August 27th the American Zionist Council sent a memorandum to Secretary of State Dean Acheson urging favorable action on the Israel government's request for grants of arms. Rep. Jacob K. Javits said at the September Bonds for Israel Conference:

"The Near East today with its vast oil resources, strategic location and unsettled conditions must be very attractive to the Communists and we must do all we can to deal with its vulnerability.

"Israel has settled the question of where it stands as between the East and the West. . . .

"Israel's vital importance to the West is based on its

¹ It is typical of American-Israel relationships that an American, Mr. Javits, revealed what has been a closely guarded Israel government secret, the size of its army. Similarly, Israel government agencies got their statistics on the foreign financial balance of their country from data published here in the prospectus for Bonds for Israel.

strategic location, the character of its people, its military effectiveness and its capacity for industrial production. Its armed forces are estimated at 200,000 effectives and are given a high rating in Near East defense. Officers of Israel's army, navy and air force are studying in military schools in the United States and over 160 of such officers have already graduated from such military schools. It is clear that United States military authorities recognize and value the military capability of Israel. The Mutual Security Act would permit Israel to obtain arms and munitions for its needs in the United States and in view of the effectiveness of its forces it is certainly to be hoped that the United States will give Israel appropriate recognition in this respect."

From this we see that United States official interest in Israel is based on: (1) Israel's strategic position for the billionaire oil companies controlling other Middle Eastern countries; (2) the abandonment of "neutrality" by the Ben Gurion government and the open adherence to the anti-Soviet war preparations of the United States government; (3) the Israel Army, which consists of more than one-fourth of the entire male population¹; and (4) the fact that Israel-United States military collaboration is already well-advanced, with the large-scale training of Israel officers in the United States. To this should be added the temporary suppression last spring of the Israel Communist newspaper *Kol Haam* for reprinting a conservative British newspaper's report of the building of a large airfield in Israel capable of use by United States atom bombers.

Mr. Javits is wrong on one point, however. That is his assertion that the foreign policy course of the Ben Gurion government "apparently has the full support of the population of Israel." This would hardly follow from the fact that 400,000 of the people of Israel signed the petition opposing the rearmament of Germany and favoring a five-power peace pact, representing one of the highest proportions of the population in any capitalist country.

The United States government is pressing for a Middle East Defense Pact to add to its string of war bases for assault on the Soviet Union. The national liberation movements in the Arab States have made it impossible for any of the governments of these states to go along with this scheme. But the Israel government, which has not even been formally asked, has already requested permission to join this proposed military alliance.

The increased militarization of Israel can only impoverish the people further, as it has done in other countries converted into United States aircraft carriers and naval bases. It paves the way for the use of Israel troops in United States-sponsored military adventures, as Turkish troops are being used now in Korea. It makes more likely a third world war and assures Israel's deep involvement and probable destruction in such a war, should it come. By its economic consequences, it increases dependence on the dollar, and removes the last barriers to unlimited profiteering by American capital.

(To be continued)

JEWES MUST FIGHT JIMCROW HOUSING

While it is true that many Jewish organizations and individuals are actively participating in the fight against Jimcrow in many fields, including housing, there are Jews who are abettors of this racist practice. Below we report two instances of involvement of Jews in housing discrimination, both in the North and the South. Where these cases occur, it would seem a particular obligation of fellow Jews and other progressives to organize to persuade those guilty of racism in housing to abandon this self-defeating practice.—Eds.

Coney Island

Sea Gate is the "exclusive" section of Coney Island, Brooklyn, in more than one respect. It is actually fenced off on all sides. It has a gate which is guarded by a policeman who does not allow anyone to enter the area unless he is a resident or an invited guest of a resident. Even domestic workers are obliged to carry passes for entry. About 10,000 people live in Sea Gate and no shops are allowed to be set up there. The area was originally fenced off by very wealthy residents and in those days Jews were excluded. At present Sea Gate is populated mainly by middle and lower middle class people, 90 per cent of them Jews. Sea Gate has a Jewish center and a number of Jewish organizations. The home owners are also organized into

the "Sea Gate Association," which has made a deal with the city administration to permit the community special rights, privileges and regulations and to impose special taxes. The beach fronting Sea Gate, for instance, is fenced off and "guests"—i.e., those who live or room with permanent resident members of the association—are required to pay \$10 a season for the use of the beach. Even the number of times one can bathe at the beach is limited by regulation.

Last summer an ugly phenomenon appeared at Sea Gate, when a Negro family was evicted from a house in the community—because they were Negroes. A certain Philip Brody invited a Negro family, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Tucker and their three-year-old child, to share his apartment. The Tuckers were desperately in need of housing. When Mrs. Brody became ill and moved in with relatives in the Bronx, the Tuckers decided to occupy the apartment permanently. The landlord, Mr. Max Keresch, a member of the

Sea Gate Association, agreed to rent to the Tuckers. But when they came to sign the lease, Mr. Keresch reported that certain Sea Gate "aristocrats" had warned him against renting to the Negro family and he had yielded to the Jimcrow ultimatum. He refused to rent to the Tuckers even though they offered to pay a higher rent than originally asked.

The landlord then instructed the policeman at the gate to refuse entrance to the Tuckers. Friends of the Tuckers demanded that they be admitted. The landlord threatened to get a court order to prevent the Tuckers from entering and to evict them. The non-Jewish judge before whom the case was brought, appealed to the Jewish landlord not to go through with the eviction, pointing out that it was not so long ago that Jews themselves were subjected to the same kind of discrimination at Sea Gate. But the landlord insisted on his "rights" and the judge issued the eviction order.

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your splendid work for culture
among the Jewish American masses

FRIEDA AND WILLIE
ROSENBLATT
BROOKLYN

In the meantime a Committee Against Race Discrimination at Sea Gate was formed. Friends of the Tuckers picketed the house of the landlord, who replied with insulting language. On June 30, the furniture of the Tuckers was moved out to the street. A Sea Gate worker, Sol Krems, got the Tuckers moved into his house until they could find housing.

I interviewed Mr. Tucker at the Krems' house. He told me that he had answered all ads for apartments in Sea Gate but was refused with various excuses. One landlord indicated that he was willing

to rent an apartment to Mr. Tucker but that he feared reprisals from the Sea Gate Association, which could make "difficulties" for him. For its part, the association denies that it favors discrimination, but maintains that the affair is strictly one between the landlord and prospective tenant. But the facts are clear. Not one Negro family lives in Sea Gate and when the Tuckers wanted to move in, they were evicted, even though there was no question that the Tuckers were ready to abide by all the rules and regulations.

A campaign was carried on to force the Tuckers out of Sea Gate. The Negro family was warned by telephone calls and letters that they'd better give up the apartment or face the consequences. The Krems family also received anonymous threatening phone calls. Mr. George Gordon, owner of the house in which the Krems live, was warned by certain elements in the community against allowing the Tuckers

to stay there. But Mr. Krems and Mr. Gordon were not intimidated and allowed the Tuckers to remain until they could secure adequate housing.

The Committee Against Discrimination in Sea Gate is carrying on a campaign for the right of Negroes to live in Sea Gate. Before the court order was obtained, the committee had collected many signatures from Sea Gate residents on a petition to allow the Tuckers to remain. The committee has not given up the fight and hopes to find a landlord in Sea Gate with the courage to rent to the Tuckers. If the protestations of the Sea Gate Association that they are not discriminatory are genuine, they can help to find an apartment for the Tuckers and see to it that no other Negro family will be subjected to intimidation and obstruction in any effort to move in. Sincere Jews should not allow themselves to be put in the position of participating in discrimination.

S. D. LEVINE

Houston, Tex.

Among the Jewish citizens of Houston, Texas, are two gentlemen named Immanuel Olshan and Sidney Smiley. Mr. Olshan came here about 20 years ago from Birmingham, Ala., and is the owner of the Olshan Demolishing Company, dealing in used and new lumber and other building materials. He is a successful business man

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will soon be crowned with success.
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Best wishes to **JEWISH LIFE** on its
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Many happy returns of the day
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GREETINGS

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TO **JEWISH LIFE ON ITS
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and flirts with the arts by attending many concerts. Mr. Smiley, about 40 years of age, tall and handsome, also flirts with the arts and even plays the violin some. He is a life insurance agent and moves among people with higher incomes, presumably because their artistic tastes appeal to him. He is an active member of Temple Emanu-El and the Houston Lodge of B'nai B'rith.

Both families live on Wichita Street, Riverside Addition, which is fairly exclusive, being inhabited by families whose incomes exceed \$10,000. Some weeks ago an item appeared in the *Houston Post* which struck like lightning. A Negro family had purchased a home on Wichita Street and was causing much concern to the residents of that area. It went on to say that several of the residents had threatened violence should the Negro family move in. The man that showed most concern was a non-Jew.

Several days later the same paper reported that a meeting was called of the residents of Wichita Street to deal with the situation. The meeting, according to subsequent reports in the local newspapers, organized the Greater Riverside Home Owners Association. An organization must have a president. Is Mr. Smiley available? There is publicity involved; all the news-

papers will be writing about this and future meetings and publicity is "good for business." And so Mr. Smiley, a member of Temple Emanu-El, became head of an organization which has the sole purpose of preventing Negroes from acquiring residences on Wichita Street.

The association, according to subsequent reports in the newspapers, then found a simple solution to the problem. They would purchase the property in question back from the Negro, immediately, before he moved in. The publicity in the matter thus far was, in their opinion, sufficient to dissuade other Negroes from attempting to purchase any more homes in the surrounding area. But, alas, before the deal could be consummated, it was discovered that another Negro had purchased a home on Wichita Street. This

clearly appeared to call for action.

Mr. Smiley called another meeting, this time at Hermann Park, and invited the Houston Chamber of Commerce and other prominent citizens to participate. The meeting, attended by 3,000, said the *Houston Post* on July 15, was addressed by Mr. Smiley, Mr. Olshan, Frank Knapp, an attorney, George Howell and E. H. Jolley, president of the Houston Real Estate Board.

According to the speakers, the situation was caused by—the communists! The Negroes, they said, are not to blame. "The Negroes," they said, "don't know what they are getting into."

Let it be recorded for posterity: two Jews, children of immigrant parents, have joined the champions of racial inequality.

M. BEN-JOSEPH

Best wishes to JEWISH LIFE for its fine contribution to the Anglo-Jewish press

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OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

Our Sixth Birthday

With this issue JEWISH LIFE celebrates its sixth birthday. *Observation Post*, which speaks for our readers, knows that all of us—organizations and individuals—regard JEWISH LIFE as an indispensable tool in the hands of all progressive Jews in building a future without anti-Semitism, war or fascism. The Sixth Anniversary is the occasion, then, for all organizations and individual readers to express their feelings about the magazine and its role in the Jewish community. So while we haven't baked a gigantic cake, with each of you receiving the slice you deserve, you can get a slice of the magazine in the form of space for greetings. The December issue will also print greetings and therefore all organizations and individuals who missed up in sending greetings for the November issue can do so now for the next issue. Deadline is November 10th. And your greetings are little gifts for our birthday, don't forget that. And while it isn't cricket to ask for presents, we think you will understand. At least the printer whose bill we have to pay will understand.

Ho—Miami Beach Again

This never becomes monotonous. Again we have to commend F. Carroll of the Emma Lazarus Club of Miami Beach. So far she has sent \$70 for greetings on our Sixth Anniversary which came from members of various organizations. Hint: can't say as much about other places much bigger than Miami Beach.

IWO Wins Right to Appeal

The International Workers Order, of which the Jewish People's Fraternal Order is a part, announced on October 7 that the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court granted its motion for leave to appeal to the highest court of New York, the New York State Court of Appeals, against a decision sustaining the liquidation ruling of Judge Henry Clay Greenberg. The Order also announced that the famous constitutional and civil liberties lawyer, Osmond K. Fraenkel, has

entered the case for the organization and is now preparing the necessary documents for the hearing before the Court of Appeals together with co-counsel Frank Donner and Arthur Kinoy.

The officers of the IWO in releasing the news of winning the right to appeal stated that they "do so with full confidence that the highest court in New York will render its decision not on the hysteria which has surrounded the case to date, but on the cold facts, which can lead to but one decision, reversal of the liquidation decision against the IWO."

An Orchid from Paris

We get around, if you don't know it. Letters from all over the world are received by JEWISH LIFE praising its effectiveness as a progressive Jewish organ (don't worry, this doesn't blind us to the many weaknesses that do exist and that we must constantly work to eliminate).

A letter from Paris from a woman working in the publications distribution field tells us this after apologizing for not spreading more copies of JL: "I am sorry we can't do more, as your magazine is very fine. In fact, those dealing with reactionary Jewish leaders all over the world can have no more certain insight into their mentality, betrayal and future attacks against democracy than in your columns. In fact, the very excellence of your magazine makes its distribution more difficult, as reactionaries fear it like poison and are at great pains to block its spread. Yet we will see it through, as it is indispensable to all democratic forces."

Oil the Machine

On December 15 the new \$25,000 drive for JEWISH LIFE will begin. The last drive, being our first one, with many or-

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ganizational preliminaries neglected, failed to reach the goal by a long way—and the result was that JEWISH LIFE has been living in a state of crisis from month to month. The 1953 drive must be a success or the magazine will be standing on the edge of disaster. The fact is that the \$25,000 can be raised by progressive Jewish organizations, individuals, Jewish Life Committees and readers if all of them lay the groundwork at once for the launching of the drive when December 15 rolls around. Neglect in organizing the apparatus and laying the plans for the campaign *now*, during the month of November and the first two weeks in December, will cause a repetition of the campaign at the beginning of 1952. And, believe us, it will be a disaster.

Therefore, we call upon all Jewish Life Committees, organizations and readers to make November a month of intense activity in preparing the drive. Oil the machine so that it will *produce at once*, come December 15.

The drive will be a two-fold one. First

—the fund drive. Second—the drive for subscriptions. Quotas will be set for each phase of the drive. Unlike the last campaign the fund drive will not credit the income for subscriptions.

The editors of JEWISH LIFE request that you consider this appeal the *preliminary call* for preparing the 1953 fund and circulation drive. Don't wait for further instructions—begin to organize the apparatus for the drive at once. Let the JEWISH LIFE office know what you are doing—and if there is anything that we can do to help, drop us a line.

We suggest that on December 15 all of us start the drive with a bang—by sending in the first installment on that day. A good start assures a great finish!

Have Your Say!

Last month we asked all organizations to send news of their activities to *Observation Post*. Now we want to appeal

to our individual readers. JEWISH LIFE wants to hear from you. One of the most important sections of the magazine is the *Letters From Readers* because the editors of JEWISH LIFE have much to learn from you. We want to get your personal opinion on what you think is good in the magazine, what is lacking and what improvements you suggest. We want to know what you think on the important issues facing the Jewish people—and most of all, you make a significant contribution when you call our attention to a local development or issue. In short, we want JEWISH LIFE to be *your* magazine in every sense of the word. Don't hesitate to sit down and write when something bothers you. Our readers should be the most important contributors of the magazine. The pages devoted to *Letters From Readers* and *Observation Post* are your best avenues for such contributions. Use them!

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MORE CALIFORNIA FRIENDS

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December issue

GREETINGS

on your

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LOS ANGELES

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its Staff and Workers

on its Sixth Anniversary

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and fight for peace.

**DETROIT JEWISH LIFE
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GREETINGS

from

ELLEN

LOS ANGELES

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of the

MODERN-DAY MACCABEES!

SYD SYDEN

LOS ANGELES

Book Reviews

JEWISH PIONEERS IN UTAH

By Morris U. Schappes

Leon L. Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah*, American Jewish Historical Society, New York, 1952.

In Utah today, with a total population of about 600,000, there are only some 2,000 Jews, with about 1,600 of them concentrated in Salt Lake City. Yet Utah is a singular state (with little more than a half-century of statehood) and the connection of the Jews with it has some special features. Therefore this monograph of less than 200 pages is a welcome addition to our sum total of facts about the history of the Jews in the sparsely settled western states.

Leon L. Watters is himself an already aged member of a family whose connection with Utah goes back to 1866. For several decades he has been supplementing his own extensive recollections by the assiduous compilation of information about Utah Jews from old Utah newspapers, manuscript records and personal inquiries of these pioneers or their children. The period covered is from the early 1850s to the end of the nineteenth century.

The Mormon settlers had been in Utah less than a decade when the first

Jews began to drift in and out of the Territory in the 1850s. Stable Jewish settlement, however, was effected between 1864 and 1872, chiefly by Jews who came East from California and Nevada after the mining fever had subsided in these states. The first Jewish congregation, however, was not organized until 1881.

All these migrants to Utah were also, of course, European immigrants to the United States. Dr. Watters did not, unfortunately, systematically ascertain the countries of origin, but from some 31 pioneers whose birthplaces he does mention we get the following suggestive picture: from Germany (including Bavaria, Prussia, Westphalia, Hesse and the Rhineland), 22; from Poland (Russian, Prussian and independent), six; from Austria, two; from Bohemia, one.

Of the occupations of the pioneer Jews, Dr. Watters reports that "most . . . were engaged in mercantile pursuits." From an 1874 directory, he was able to list more specifically the following occupational distribution of the Jews in Salt Lake City: eight clothing store keepers and three tailors; eight salesmen; seven merchants; seven clerks; six cigar storekeepers and one tobacconist; five grocers; four jewelers;

four with mining interests; three drygoods and two wool dealers; three butchers (none defined as *kosher*); two liquor dealers and one brewer; two auctioneers; and one barber, coal dealer, hotel keeper, produce dealer, bookkeeper, furniture dealer, teamster, milliner (a woman) and one "capitalist."

It should be understood that the Mormon Church discouraged its members from entering business and mercantile pursuits. "To become a merchant was to antagonize the Church and her policies. Thus it was almost illegitimate for enterprising Mormons to engage in mercantile pursuits." Many a free enterpriser left the Mormon Church on that doctrinal issue. "All of the earliest merchants in Utah were non-Mormons" and to Mormons all non-Mormons, Jews and Christians, were "Gentiles." Utah is the one state in which Jews are Gentiles.

As Gentiles, Jews shared with Christians the disabilities that Mormonism sought to impose upon all merchants. Faced with the possibility of an organized boycott, all the Salt Lake City merchants, Jews and non-Jews, formally declared to Brigham Young, head of the Mormon Church, that they were prepared to leave the Territory if the Mormons would buy them out. Young scoffed at the offer and then organized a Mormon mercantile co-operative that almost drove the Gentile merchants, Jews included, out of business.

Because he restricts himself to the nineteenth century, Dr. Watters barely touches on one unusually interesting fact, that a pioneer Jew, Simon Bamberger, was in 1916 elected Governor of the State, with the infinitesimal Jewish vote obviously having nothing to do with the choice. Bamberger was also the first Democrat to be elected governor of Utah. (In 1915, Moses Alexander was not only the first Jew but also the first naturalized citizen to become the governor of any state in the Union when he was elected to that office in Idaho—another state with an inconsequential Jewish population and vote.) The interpretation of this event, as well as the entire twentieth century development of the Jews of Utah, still awaits its sociological and historical depiction.

The illustration are many and well-chosen (but the sources should have been cited); the index is elaborate but should have included place-names.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF: JEWISH LIFE, published Monthly at GPO 33rd Street, New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1952.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Editor, none.
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2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y. Albert E. Kahn, President, Croton, New York. Louis Harap, Secretary, 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y. William Levner, Treasurer, 36 Monroe Street, New York, N. Y.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

LOUIS HARAP
Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1952.

HARRY KEPECS

Notary Public for the State of New York.

(My commission expires March 30, 1953.)
[SEAL]

NOTICE: MORE GREETINGS ON OUR SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

will be published in the December issue
Send them in before November 10

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

since 1945. . . . Red swastikas and "Down with the Jews" were smeared on the wall of a North Hollywood Jewish center early in October. . . . After a recent assault by teen-age hoodlums on a Jewish War Veterans member on Chicago's South Side, the judge dismissed the case of the one hoodlum caught. The JWV protested. . . . A sailor home on leave for Rosh Hashonah and two Jewish companions were attacked by three hoodlums in Chicago shouting anti-Semitic epithets. . . . A new organization, "The New Confederates," was distributing pamphlets by anti-Semite Frank L. Britton, of Los Angeles, and provoking a movement to "Buy Gentile—Boycott Jewish Stores." . . . The campaign against the UN by reactionaries like Rep. John T. Wood and Senator John W. Bricker was joined recently by anti-Semites who are asserting that Jews control the UN and who call it the "Jew-N." . . . A rally in early September of Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian Nationalist Party" to agitate for MacArthur for President and Jack Tenney for Vice-President became an attack on the Jews and the "internationalist-Zionist-Jewish combine" by hater Don Lohbeck. MacArthur has so far ignored a telegram from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency asking for his position on his nomination by this "party."

News on Jimcrow . . . Mrs. Hampson Barnett, a Negro woman, is suing the Albany, California, hospital for \$25,000 for refusing to admit her while she was having labor pains. Mrs. Barnett's doctor had arranged for her to bear her child in this hospital, but she was refused admission when it was found that she was a Negro. . . . Some Greyhound Lines divisions in the South are getting around the recent Supreme Court decision against segregation in public carriers by operating reserved-seat "Limited" buses and telling Negroes who ask for a ticket that no seats are left.

EUROPE

Agitation about official "anti-Semitism" in Rumania following the dismissal of Ana Pauker was given the lie by the news that on July 18 at least four Jews were elected to the central committee of the Rumanian Communist Party: Joseph Kishinevski is a secretary of the committee's secretariat and is second in rank to General-Secretary Gheorgiu-Dej; his wife, Liuba

Kishinevski; Bercu Feldman, secretary of the Jewish Democratic Committee (reported in the Western press as "arrested"); and Meyer Greenberg, director of the Danube-Black Sea Canal. The new foreign minister, Sbugitch, who replaced Ana Pauker as Foreign Minister, is also a Jew.

The organ of the German Socialist Unity Party in East Germany, *Neues Deutschland*, recently published an article condemning the growth of anti-Semitism in West Germany. The paper said of the Auerbach case that "This case shows that the Bonn war incendiaries are following the path of racial hatred and anti-Semitism in the Hitler manner because they are scheming, together with their American patrons, to carry through Hitler's unfulfilled tasks."

Nation-wide protests in Belgium in early September forced the resignation of Minister of Justice Joseph Pholien because he reduced sentences of war criminals.

Anti-nazi demonstrations for four days in Vienna late in September compelled cancellation of Hollywood's film, *Desert Fox*, glorifying nazi General Rommel.

British fascists are again holding rallies. A recent rally in Salisbury was attended by 1500 people and the principal speaker savagely attacked the Jews and gave the Hitler salute. Several meetings were also held in different parts of London in September. Anti-fascists held counter-rallies, at one of which three Jewish protesters were arrested.

Dr. Max Becker, a Bundestag deputy of the Free Democratic Party, on September 23 charged that the German Party, which is part of the Bonn government coalition together with Becker's party and Adenauer's party, was copying the methods of the Nazi Party and taking over nazi organizations.

ISRAEL

Over 5,000 persons attended a peace demonstration at Haifa in September, the largest gathering in this city for a long time. Among the speakers were Communist Knesset Deputy Meyer Vilner, Histadrut executive member A. Druckman, and Shmuel Litvak, member of the Haifa Workers' Council. Vilner was enthusiastically

received when he called for a "fight for peace, for the security of the State of Israel and for Israel's independence."

The Communist Party of Israel decided to send its general secretary, Shmuel Mikunis, and Arab Deputy Tewfiq Toubi as fraternal delegates to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the first half of 1952, there were 25 strikes in Israel involving 9,841 workers with a time-loss of 26,909 man-days. Strikes involving 70 per cent of the workers were sanctioned by the Histadrut Trade Union Department. There were no lockouts in this period.

The customs office in September held up in the Haifa harbor shipments of about 100,000 Soviet books ordered by booksellers. Among them are many scientific works needed by professionals and students and works of classical literature. Indignation was widespread and booksellers were circulating petitions to have the ban lifted.

The official cost-of-living index went up three points during August to 165 (September 1951 is 100).

400,000 cases of citrus fruits were ordered by the Soviet Union in September. Soviet offers to pay for the shipment with wheat were rejected by Israeli officials and payment will be made in foreign currency.

The Israeli volleyball team returned in September with enthusiastic reports of their friendly reception in the Soviet Union, where they participated in an international competition. When the Israel team won over Lebanon, the Israel flag was raised over the Dynamo Stadium and the *Hatikvah* was played.

Jewish Life

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