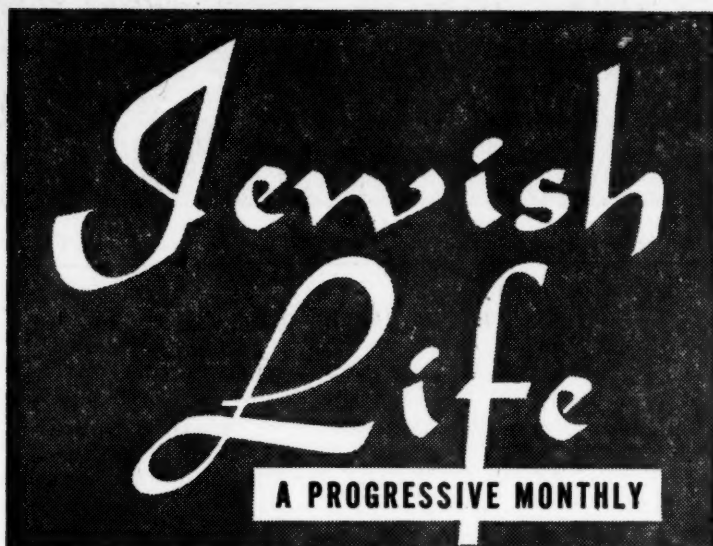




APRIL 1953 • 25¢

Stalin and
the Jewish
People

Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
Tenth Anniversary

the charge of
“anti-Semitism”

Jewish History Week

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO LADIES GARMENT WORKERS?

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . After a three-day conference ending March 15, attended by about 150 rabbis representing about 300 congregations, the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis passed a resolution stating that "We reject the concept that there is any incompatibility between freedom and security and that individual freedom must be curtailed in the interest of national security. . . . We have no need for the restraints on freedom of speech contained in the Smith act or the McCarran Internal Security act. We condemn the undemocratic methods used in the congressional investigations conducted by McCarthy, Jenner and Velde. . . . We are opposed to the imposition or loyalty oaths on the teachers. While we recognize that Communists are not fit teachers, we are convinced that the danger to our democratic freedom of uninhibited witch-hunts and spurious investigations is even greater than that of a few Communist teachers. All freedom involves risks. . . . We express our deep concern that the national administration, has seen fit to do away with all price and wage controls. We urge the immediate enactment of stand-by controls as a vital requirement for our national security." . . . Rabbi Leon Framm, of Detroit, joined several churchmen in condemning the threat of a witch-hunt of the churches by Rep. Harold Velde.

More resistance . . . One leading theme of the 20th triennial convention of the National Council of Jewish Women at Cleveland, March 19-20, attended by 800 delegates representing more than 100,000 women, was the threat to freedom from the anti-communist hysteria. While the sentiment of the convention and speakers was intensely anti-communist, the danger of the "almost psychopathic fear of Russia" was stressed. A man speaker before the convention, Mrs. Millicent C. Mackintosh, president of Barnard College, said: "Our whole life today is an undercurrent of emotion, an emotion which is so strong that it destroys objectivity and reason. . . . Ordinary community discussions of ideas are no longer possible because we are afraid of communism . . . Reform has become identified with communism." The convention also opposed legislation that is breaking down separation of church and state and attacked the McCarran-Walter act.

(Continued on page 32)

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CONTENTS

STALIN AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE by Louis Harap	3
THE "OF JEWISH ORIGIN" HOAX	4
TENTH ANNIVERSARY, WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING, APRIL 19	
TEN YEARS AFTER an editorial	5
DIARY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO by Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum	6
WHAT'S HAPPENING TO LADIES GARMENT WORKERS?	
"WE'RE WORSE OFF EVERY YEAR", first of a series by Rachel Roth	11
JEWISH HISTORY WEEK, APRIL 12-19	
JEWISH WORKERS' VICTORY—1890	15
HOW THE PRESS CREATES A FOG by David Arnold	17
THE TESTING OF PYRIN, chapter from Steel and Slag by Vladimir Popov	20
II: ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM by Morris U. Schappes	23
SAUL WELLMAN, WORKERS' LEADER by Abe Strauss	29
BOOK REVIEW	
MORE OR LESS CARELESS HISTORY by Morris U. Schappes	30
OBSERVATION POST by Sam Pevzner	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS edited by Louis Harap	2, 32

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STALIN AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

The leader of the Soviet peoples guided the state toward full equality for all nations and minorities. The Jews shared in this liberation

By Louis Harap

IT is no wonder that the illness and death of Stalin stirred the entire world to the depths. No one doubts that he was one of the pivotal figures of the last 30 years of world history. His impact on the world was so profound and many-sided that any assessment of his significance would demand an estimate of the entire era.

But we are here concerned with only one phase of his significance: the implications of his work for the Jewish people. This cannot be understood apart from his influence on the movement to liberate subject nations from the age-old bonds of oppression, of backwardness and from every form of chauvinism. For the Jewish question is part of the national question and was in these larger terms dealt with in the Soviet Union. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver gave this estimate of this Soviet policy: "In the past thirty years of its existence the Soviet Union has a good record in which no racial or religious intolerance was practiced." Rabbi Silver made this statement on February 17 in Los Angeles in reply to the hysterical charges of "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union. "I have no evidence that the Soviet Union is launched on an all-out anti-Semitic policy," he added. "I therefore am inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt, particularly so long as evidence to the contrary is so inconclusive."

A scrutiny of the evidence shows any observer, whose answer is not distorted by false propaganda, that the evidence is conclusively to the contrary—that every bit of evidence points not to "anti-Semitism" but to a strict policy of enforcing equality of all peoples, Jews included.

Stalin, together with Lenin, led in shaping the theory of the national question as well as the translation of this theory in actuality. Already in 1904, Stalin was fighting through labor struggles for the unity of the nationalities of Russia against the tsar. In the multi-national oil center of Baku, Stalin addressed the workers in a leaflet issued by the Russian Social Democratic Party in which he called out: "To strengthen its throne, the tsarist government has invented a 'new' remedy. It is sowing enmity among the nationalities of Russia, it is inciting one against the other, it is organizing pogroms of Jews, Armenians, etc. . . . Hold out your hands to one another and, united, rally round the proletariat, the true grave-diggers of the tsarist government."

Out of practice such as this and the experience of the entire revolutionary movement in Russia, Stalin formulated the basic Soviet theory on the national question. Stalin's

essay, *Marxism and the National Question*, published in 1913, and regarded by Lenin as "in the forefront" of Marxist writings on the subject, has been the basis for Soviet practice ever since. Stalin's position as the leading authority on this phase of the Marxist movement was recognized by the fact that from 1917 to 1923 he was Commissar of Nationalities in the new Soviet state. During this period and the following period, when he was the leader of the whole Soviet country, Stalin led in the conversion of the many nations and nationalities into equals among equals, something unprecedented in the history of man.

How did this general approach to the national question affect the Jews? To end oppression suffered by the Jews in tsarist Russia, it was necessary to wipe out anti-Semitism and to remove all obstacles to free Jewish participation in Soviet life. On these questions the position of the Communist Party and of Stalin was simple. Anti-Semitism must be extirpated along with every form of racist and national oppression. It is now a matter of history that the Soviet Union fought hard and long to wipe out the anti-Semitism engendered and exploited by ruling classes of Russia. Stalin expressed himself quite unambiguously. In an interview with a representative of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in 1931, Stalin uttered his classic denunciation of anti-Semitism:

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

In 1950, when the 13th volume of Stalin's collected works (writings from 1930 to 1934) was published in Moscow, a hitherto unknown letter of Stalin was included in which Stalin reaffirmed, said a reviewer in *Pravda* (May 15, 1950), that in the Soviet Union, "all expressions of national hate or hostility to foreigners is prosecuted by law" and Stalin "pillories anti-Semitism, pointing out that Communists, as internationalists, are determined enemies of anti-Semitism."

THE "OF JEWISH ORIGIN" HOAX

AMONG the many devices used by the commercial and reactionary press to distort the meaning of the trial in Prague, falsification of texts is not the least. A prime example is a falsification launched by *Commentary*, published by the American Jewish Committee, in its January number.

In that issue, one Peter Meyer purports to give an excerpt from the text of the indictment as published in *Rude Pravo*, Czechoslovakian Communist Party organ, on November 20, 1952. By an almost imperceptible yet vital falsification, Meyer seeks to build up a case of obvious anti-Semitism in the very text of the indictment itself. How does Meyer do this?

He lists the defendants by name and year of birth, and then informs us that next to certain defendants there are the words "of Jewish origin," while next to others there are merely the words, "Czech" and "Slovak." Therefore the argument has been made that the indictment itself is discriminatory against Jews in its very form, since a Clementis and a Frank, by being described as "Slovak" or "Czech," are being designated by national origin while the Jews are regarded as aliens, and are described in a different manner. Therefore, it is proclaimed the indictment is anti-Semitic on its face.

The fact is, however, that the original text of the

indictment in *Rude Pravo* of November 20, 1952, proves that exactly the opposite is true. Next to each defendant there is *exactly the same technical phrase*: "*puvodem Slovak*," "*puvodem Zid*," "*puvodem Cech*." This means: "by origin Slovak," "by origin Jewish," "by origin Czech." *The formula reveals that all are referred to in the same way, with no trace of discrimination.*

Further to underline the nature of Meyer's and *Commentary's* falsification is this fact, derived from no less a conservative source than Ismar Elbogen's *A Century of Jewish Life* (Jewish Publication Society, 1944, p. 546): "The Republic of Czechoslovakia was the only new state [after World War I] whose government was absolutely free of anti-Semitism and would not even countenance the boisterousness of students. Regardless of their language it allowed the Jews to acknowledge *Jewish nationality*" (italics added). Then Elbogen goes on to point out that in the census of 1921, over half the Jews in Czechoslovakia "had themselves recorded as of the Jewish nationality."

In short, each of the defendants is defined in terms of his nationality, as was the custom in the capitalist democratic state of Czechoslovakia and as is the practise in the socialist democracy too. As for Peter Meyer's deft piece of work, what a commentary on *Commentary*!

That this was no mere pious sentiment has been demonstrated by social fact. The doors of equal opportunity have been thrown open to the Jews in the Soviet Union. One of the first measures taken to ensure this equality was to correct the occupational maldistribution into which the Jewish people had been forced during centuries of persecution. After the revolution Jews were settled on the land in the Crimea and the Ukraine in the thousands. Jews entered many trades and into basic industry hitherto closed to them. Jews enjoyed an open entry into all the professions, as is demonstrated every year by the number of Jews, far higher than their ratio to the whole population, to whom Stalin prizes are awarded in the arts and sciences.

When Jewish Marxists in 1927 proposed that a territory be set aside for Jewish colonization on which a Jewish state could be built on a socialist foundation, the government agreed and assigned Birobidjan as such a Jewish territory. In 1934, voluntary immigration had established a sufficient base and Birobidjan was declared a Jewish Autonomous Region. Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin said at that time that the future development of the region "depends on the efforts of the toiling Jews themselves." In the absence of anti-Semitism, the traditional stimulus to Jewish migration, Kalinin also suggested that if 4,000 Jews a year in the 10-15 years went to Birobidjan, that would be a good record. The war, of course, intervened but the Jewish Autonomous Region is prospering and overfulfills its production plans.

The constancy and integrity of the Stalin policy was further demonstrated during the anti-fascist war. When Hitler's armies were advancing, a special decree was issued

to give first priority in transportation to the evacuation of Jews and many thousands of Jews were saved. In a saner time, this was readily admitted. In 1943, James N. Rosenberg, an American Jewish communal leader, said: "Russia has saved over ten times as many Jews from nazi extermination as all the rest of the world put together. Let that also sink into your minds, my fellow Jews." By his iron-nerved and masterly military strategy at Stalingrad, Stalin saved the Jews of Palestine from nazi massacre. And the monumental war effort of the Soviet people under Stalin's leadership saved European Jewry from annihilation.

The spirit of Stalin which animated Soviet policy of wiping out the centuries-old persecution of the Jewish people, as well as all national oppression, still reigns in the Soviet Union and has been extended to the people's democracies. The hysterical campaign against "anti-Semitism" in these countries is the unenviable feat of standing facts on their head. As the venerable leader of the Negro and American people, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, said in his tribute to Stalin on March 9, "Let all Negroes, Jews and foreign born, who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin. This son of a slave in Georgia, as Commissar of Nationalities fought prejudice and particularism, and helped build the first modern state which outlawed race discrimination."

As the years pass, the stature of Stalin as one of the great men of this century will emerge ever more clearly, and his leadership in the liberation of peoples, including the Jewish people, from centuries of oppression will take on greater clarity.

TEN YEARS AFTER

An Editorial

TEN years have passed since the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. That magnificent resistance has more meaning for us today than ever. For the Jewish people share with all the common people the dangers that are greater today than at any moment since the period of that heroic battle—the dangers of fascist enslavement and a devastating war.

The achievement of this resistance—and a *united* resistance it must be, as their battle taught us—is already tardy, but not too late. That resistance will not be effective unless *all* the democratic forces, the labor movement, the Negro people, the Jewish masses and all men of good will perceive their common interest to form a united front against the suicidal Dulles-Eisenhower “liberation” policy and the McCarthyism-McCarranism that this encourages.

Unity in the ghetto was tragically long in coming. The reasons were similar in many respects to those which are balking unity today. From the first, progressive working class groups raised the slogan of unity of all elements in the ghetto to fight against the nazis. Yet, all the groups dominated by middle class nationalistic principles—religious, Zionist and right wing social democratic—opposed unity and some of them actually opposed resistance to nazism. Of course the clever nazi propagandists encouraged this bourgeois nationalist ideology, exploiting and feeding particularly the red-baiting connected with such ideology. It was not until this Soviet-baiting and red-baiting were overcome that, tragically late, a united front resistance was achieved and at that the social democratic Bund still refused to join the front of unity until more precious weeks had passed.

If the ghetto fighters could speak to us, they would cry from the anguished depths of their experience that we should not allow such differences to keep us separated from common struggle, that we should act before it is too late. The Jewish people, like the American people as a whole, must not allow themselves to be confused by the deceptive propaganda of the common enemy. Together we must fight for an end of the Korean war and for peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union; against a revived, renazified Wehrmacht in West Germany; against United States big business domination of Israel, resulting in its economic ruin and its conversion into a war base against the Soviet Union; against the fascist drive of McCarthyism, and against the socialist “anti-Semitism” hysteria.

And in this struggle, the ghetto fighters would tell us that the core of their own resistance was the Jewish workers, who were trained for the battle by their labor struggles. The principle in our own resistance today is the same: the core of the fight to rescue our country from

a threatening fascism and war is the labor movement.

For us, too, the ghetto battle means that we must labor to restore the workers and the Jewish people to sanity from the hysteria about socialist “anti-Semitism.” The ghetto fighters would reject with contempt the assumption of innocence of individuals, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, who were exposed as agents of espionage or sabotage or murder in the socialist countries. For those in the ghetto knew very well the spies and saboteurs among their fellow Jews who tried to break their resistance. What would the ghetto fighters say of the defense put up by Jewish “leaders” for the Bedrich Reicins and Otto Fischls who were exposed at the Prague trial as having served the Gestapo and betrayed anti-fascists to the nazis? The ghetto workers would have no difficulty in understanding the Prague trial and the charges of murder of Soviet leaders against the Moscow doctors. For these criminals are of the same mold as the Judenrat and Jewish police in the ghetto, portrayed with such terrible clarity in the excerpts from the Ringelblum archives on the next pages, betrayers of their people and of their country. The ghetto fighters would exhort us to recognize such enemies within our own people.

We must heed the lessons of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising because our whole future hangs on learning them. We have much to learn from the new Poland, where the entire Polish people every year join to commemorate the uprising and to reaffirm its lessons. This year, when the Soviet Union and the people’s democracies are being wildly accused of conducting an “anti-Semitic” campaign, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising will be marked by the entire country. Plans are being made for a greater participation than ever of the non-Jewish population in commemorating the great event. The Polish Association of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy is cooperating with the Jewish Historical Institute to bring home to all the Polish people the greatness and significance of the uprising. Emphasis will be placed on the fact that the rising was an “organic part of the general liberation struggle of the people’s masses in Poland” and on the role of the treacherous Judenrat and its present-day counterparts.

The Jewish people of the United States will also commemorate the ghetto battle. Meetings will take place all over the country. In New York a great Tenth Anniversary meeting will be held at Manhattan Center on Sunday, April 19, at 2 P.M., at which the meaning of the Jewish resistance in Warsaw will be presented. Wherever they may be, the Jews of our country should take the occasion of this tenth anniversary, under the inspiration of the ghetto fighters, to reassert the determination to resist the powers of fascism and war.

DIARY OF WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

A searing eye-witness account of the treachery to the Jewish people of the Judenrat and the Jewish police, and of Jewish resistance

By Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum

In the Warsaw Ghetto the Jewish historian and, Left Poale Zionist Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum had the vision and faith in the future to gather for posterity the record of Polish Jewish life under the nazis. He organized and led the Oneg Shabbat, ostensibly a religious group, under cover of which a number of Jewish intellectuals and scholars created the famous Ringelblum archives. He himself was killed by the nazis in 1944 after the uprising. But the archives had been buried in the ghetto and were dug up after the war. Following are passages from Ringelblum's own diary, published in Yiddish in Warsaw in 1952 as Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto by "Yiddish Book" publishing house. —Eds.

CLASS NATURE OF THE KEHILLA

January 1942

PERIODS of convulsion have this good feature—they light up, as with a giant searchlight, that which has been obscured up to now. The beastly nature of the Jewish bourgeoisie, its cannibalistic quality, found unmistakable expression in the recent days of hunger. The entire activity of the Kehilla [Jewish community council] is a shocking wrong against the poor. And if there were a God in this world, He would have destroyed with great thunderings this nest of evil, hypocrisy and blackmail. The entire finance-politics of the Kehilla is one gigantic scandal. "All are equal"—that is the unhappy device of the finance minister. They levy indirect taxes, which fall as a heavy burden upon the poor.

And when there appeared a group of people in the "re-settlement" committee who demanded funds from the rich and applied penalties against those who refused to pay, everything was done to nullify this action. Even the assistance given to the poor is contributed by the needy themselves. Adults, for instance, pay 70 groshen for a meal, when the actual price is only 50 groshen, in order to cover the deficit of 20 groshen which is created because children pay only 25 groshen. The same is true of the ten per cent tax which is levied equally upon the rich and the poor.

The same is true of the labor battalions. Here also the rich pay in groshen, while the poverty stricken middle class and the very poor pay proportionately greater amounts. All medicine is taxed 40 per cent for the benefit of the Kehilla. This hits first of all the poor people, who suffer greatly from disease and must sell their belongings to

buy medicine. During "Children's Month" all consumers goods were equally taxed. The same with postage. When money is needed to fight epidemics, everyone is taxed equally, 2 zlotys for a bread card, etc. Many such examples can be given. The expenses of the Kehilla are covered by the poor Jews. The rich carry on enormous businesses and are entirely free of tax paying. This is the only Kehilla which pursues such criminal policies.

November 14, 1941

IT IS QUITE TRUE that at meetings of the House Committees the activity of the Kehilla is sharply criticized. But this is the fault of the "politics" of the Kehilla, of its obvious class character, of its tendency to throw the entire tax burden on the poor and to let the rich go scot-free. The Jewish Society for Social Welfare is the only institution of liberal thought where there exists a sincere criticism of the Kehilla and its acts of deception.

December 1941

OF THE GANG of war millionaires who concern themselves with only one thing: how to live better, to eat and drink the best (which sometimes costs them thousands of zlotys), two gentlemen, Emil Weitz and Jacob Silverstein, distinguished themselves. Both are from Torne, where they are still living. They come to Warsaw from time to time to conduct their business of brushes for the German army, from which they make literally millions. Their monthly sales recently reached two million zlotys. They boast of real miracles. They make brushes from sticks, rugbeaters and the like.

December 1941

IF GANZWEICH is seeking purification of the soul through literature and art, then Kohn and Heller are seeking the same through religion. They contribute to Hebrew schools and seminaries, they assist rabbis and other holy men. People have seen panegyrics written by Meyer Alter, brother of the Gerer Rebbe, in honor of Kohn and Heller. They seek purification in contributing to foster homes, children's-homes and the like, to which they throw in from time to time several hundred zlotys, sometimes a thousand. They never waste too much money for these purposes. But then, perhaps the blessings of the pious Jews will actually help, if not in this sinful world, then certainly in the next. Kohn and Heller do a good business. They have their own establishments in Luchnow, horse-cars, various concessions and so forth. Besides that, they have made millions by bringing hundreds of escapees from Lodz, at 3,000 to 5,000 zlotys a head. They say that Kohn and Heller are very reliable businessmen. If they promise to free someone from prison at a certain price, then they accept payment only upon release. Thieves' honor!

December 1942

WITH great shame it must be remembered that the Jewish Kehilla and the Jewish police are guilty of the death of a great number of Jewish intellectuals, writers, artists, and the like. The Jewish Kehilla under President I. Lichtenbaum did nothing to rescue the active community workers. All their energies were given to saving their near and even distant relatives. . . . It must be remembered that only on certain days did the Germans load the victims directly into the wagons. In that situation, of course, there was no escape even for the greatest sum of money. But in most cases it was not done that way. Those who had money ransomed themselves from the hands of the police. Most of the victims among the active community workers are the responsibility of Jewish hands. That is the tragic and somber truth. . . .

Sherinsky and Leiken and the commandant of the Selection Center, Shmerling, had no conception of the impor-

tance of the community workers. The convert Sherinsky was an anti-Semite, who thought only of pleasing the Germans. They had let him out of prison at the price of properly carrying out the instructions of the Germans. (Sherinsky, before the "re-settlement" had been in prison for hiding his fur coats outside the Ghetto.) Leiken, a lawyer, wanted to make a career with the Germans and showed great diligence in carrying out their orders. His first distinction and a reward of 300 zlotys he received from President Cherniakov for his brilliant achievement in seizing Jews for the labor camps. In the period of the re-settlement he had only one thing in mind: to fulfill the quotas which the Germans had set for that day. A small man, with a small head, power drove him out of his senses. He became wild, dealt murderously with the police and the Jews. Everyone who saw him during an "action" saw no regret in his face. On the contrary, the whole business pleased him. In such a creature, who aped Napoleon, you could naturally not find any understanding about rescuing leading community workers.

The same was true of Shmerling, a giant with a small beard and the face of a murderer. He understood only one thing: money. Whoever paid, went free. The Jewish intellectuals had no money so they went to Treblinka. I will never forget how he attacked me physically because I intervened for the pianist Helena Dickstein, the artist Regina Mundlack and the economist, Dr. Lipovsky. That was my first and last encounter with Shmerling. He would long since have been among the missing but he had a stroke of good luck. He broke his leg. Thanks to that he did not meet the fate of Leiken and Furst. There is a joke going the rounds that as long as he's sick he'll stay well. No one is permitted near him. He is guarded like the apple of their eye.

Together with Jewish writers, artists, etc., there have been destroyed great cultural works, which are lost forever. As soon as anyone was taken away, his neighbors broke into his quarters and destroyed everything. Books, paintings, manuscripts were thrown out of windows and either destroyed or burned. Thus Sh. Gilbert's works were lost.

THE JEWISH POLICE

November 1942

THE Jewish police had an evil reputation even before the "re-settlement." In contrast to the Polish police, who did not take part in the seizure of persons for the labor camps, the Jewish police did carry on this odious work. The Jewish police were well known for their shocking corruption and demoralization. The lowest degree of their debasement, however, was displayed by the Jewish police during the deportations. They did not utter a word

of protest against this loathesome function of leading their own brothers to the slaughter. The police were "morally" prepared for this filthy work and therefore carried it through to perfection. People are now wracking their brains over the riddle: how was it possible that Jews, mostly intellectuals, former lawyers (most of the officers of the police were lawyers before the war) would with their own hands destroy their brothers?

How was it possible that Jews would drag women and

children, the aged and the sick, through the streets, knowing full well that they were leading them to the slaughter? There are those who say that every society has the police force that it deserves; that the disease of helping the occupation authority to murder 300,000 Jews is the fault of the entire society and not of the police, which is an expression of that society. There are others, however, who point out that in the police force were found only the weaker types, who tried by any means to survive the hard times; who believed that anything was a means to the end, and the end was to live through the war, even if it meant sacrificing human lives.

WITH THIS KIND OF UNPRINCIPLED ATTITUDE, WHICH WAS observable from the highest to the lowest ranks, it is no great wonder that the Jewish police executed the orders of the Germans regarding the deportations with greatest zeal. It is a fact that most of the time during the "re-settlement" the Jewish police overfulfilled the "quotas" decided upon for the given day. This meant actually that they were preparing a reserve for the next day. Upon the faces of the police who carried out the "action" there was no sign of concern over such odious work. On the contrary, one could see men who were satisfied, happy, well-fed, loaded with booty from the plundering which they carried on together with the Ukrainian fascists.

The cruelty of the Jewish police often outdid that of the Germans and Ukrainians and Latvians. More than one hiding place was revealed by the Jewish police, who always wanted to be "more Catholic than the Pope": they always tried to get into the good graces of the Occupying Power. Victims who escaped the eyes of the Germans were caught by the Jewish police. On one occasion I closely observed a march to the wagons at the "selection center" and noticed that many Jews who succeeded in maneuvering themselves to the spot where the "excused" stood, were violently dragged back to the wagons. Tens, perhaps hundreds of Jews were destroyed in the course of these two hours by the actions of these policemen. The same thing happened at the time of the blockades. Those who had no money to ransom themselves out of the hands of the police were dragged to the wagons or placed in the ranks of those about to go to the selection centers.

The scene that I once saw across from the selection center during one day when each policeman had to bring in five victims, will remain forever the symbol of the Jewish police in Warsaw. I saw a Jewish policeman leading an old woman to the selection place with one hand while on his shoulder he carried an axe, as one carries a weapon. With this axe he broke into the houses. Coming closer to the selection center, where a sentry stood, the policeman became embarrassed, removed his "weapon" from his shoulder and carried it in his hand. Often in those days one could see solitary policemen leading women and children to the center. Those who were too weak to walk, they brought in carts.

In general the Jewish police displayed a savage brutality

beyond understanding. Whence this cruelty in "our" Jews? When had we nurtured so many hundreds of cut-throats, who seized children in the streets and hurled them upon the wagons? It was a common sight to see women thrown by their hands and feet into the "Kohn and Heller" wagons or on ordinary dray wagons. Unmercifully savage was their handling of people who showed resistance. It was not enough for them merely to overcome this resistance; severe punishment had to be meted out to those "guilty" ones who refused to go to their deaths voluntarily. Every Warsaw Jew, every woman and child can relate thousands of facts about the inhuman cruelty and ferocity of the Jewish police. Those who remain alive will never forget these facts and a proper penalty should be paid for these crimes. . . .

During the entire period of the "action" (that was the name given to the slaughter of the Warsaw Jews), the people kept quiet. They let themselves be led like sheep to the slaughter-house. I know for a fact that certain newspaper vendors, strong men who more than once showed their strength in times of danger, let themselves be led away like lambs. The same can be said of most of the people who were taken to the selection centers. This will remain an eternal mystery—this passivity of the Jewish population even in the face of its "own" police.

NOW THAT THE PEOPLE HAVE QUIETED DOWN SOMEWHAT AND are reviewing what happened, a feeling of great shame is arising over the fact that no resistance was shown even to our own police. When we think back over who was guilty in the mass-murder, we are convinced that much of the blame lies with the Jewish police. Many place the entire blame on them. At every opportunity the Jewish police are reminded of their guilt. Every policeman with whom you talk now is "holier than thou." He never took part in any "action." He was assigned somewhere else. Or better still, he himself rescued some people. It was the other policemen who rounded up the victims, not he. From these conversations one might think that those who did the rounding-up were themselves removed to various camps or to Treblinka, whereas we know that it was just the opposite. The most insolent of the police remained among the 300 who now "keep order" in the Ghetto. The less cunning ones, who didn't have enough money and protection, went either to Treblinka or to other camps.

Now the time has come for a reckoning, for reflection upon the past. People want vengeance from the guilty. A mysterious force is trying to disclaim the responsibility of the guilty ones during the "re-settlement." The Jewish police now are harassed at every step, in every possible way. The Polish population displays the same animosity to the Jewish police. The former Jewish police who now work in the car-barns are constantly badgered by the Polish workers. . . . In many shops there were protests against placing police as plant-guards or in the factory. . . . I know for a fact that former policemen in certain places wear their "caps" only as far as the Ghetto boundary, since in the Ghetto the policeman's cap is still honored; outside

the Ghetto they take them off, because they are afraid of the Polish population, which detests the Jewish police for the deeds they performed during the deportations. . . .

THE FOLLOWING IS A FACT: ON A CERTAIN STREET A JEW WAS killed; his corpse lay in the street. Two gravediggers came to remove the body. Two policemen came by. It so happened that on this day the police were running wild trying to round up their quota of five "head"; otherwise they were threatened with having their own families seized. Without further thought the police added the two gravediggers to their "quota," leaving the dead man in the street.

Another fact: A policeman broke into a dwelling during the period of the deportations. All the occupants of the house had hidden themselves, leaving behind only a three-month-old baby in a crib. The policeman immediately summoned the Nazi authority who was carrying out the "action" in this particular area. The German became angry at the type of victim he was being offered, beat the policeman and shot the child.

Many horrible things have been told about the policemen in the selection centers. As far as they were concerned, there were no human beings, only "heads" from whom one could extort ransom money. You could rescue yourself only for money, jewels, gold, etc. The price varied. At first, 1,000-2,000 zlotys, later it rose to 10,000 zlotys per head. The size of the amount depended upon a whole series of subjective and objective factors; at times the Jewish police had to draw in as partners the "special officers" (mainly German civilians), or the Ukrainians or Latvians who served at the selection centers.

The police had no mercy on any one, no matter how valuable or important, unless the ransom which they demanded was paid. It is known that often the police took additional payment upon the bodies of the women. The numbers of the policemen and the names of the women are known. At the time of the deportations from the Ghetto the police were unrecognizable as human beings. They were in a constant frenzy against those who refused to let themselves be taken away. They were constantly being threatened with the destruction of their own families. They had long been demoralized. The victims whom they caught, especially the women, often resisted. This created an impossible situation for the police, who raged and did terrible things.

December 1942

WHEN one thinks about the question "Why did the Jews allow themselves to be taken without putting up any resistance?" the answer always comes back to the ingenious perfidy of the Germans. Always they deceived everyone about the real purpose of the "re-settlement." In the first days of the re-settlement a higher officer of the SS came and gave his word of honor to the other officers that the Jews were really being taken to settle in the east and not to the crematoriums. Always they said that the "action"

was coming to an end. With the help of several hundred Jewish agents they kept the population in a constant state of expectation that the "action" would end tomorrow. I attended in August a meeting of representatives of various organizations concerning resistance. It was decided to postpone the decision because on the first the "action" would be over. Always new dates were being mentioned in order to weaken every attempt at resistance.

This refined, Germanic perfidy reached its highest point in relation to the Jewish police. For a long time the SS and the Ukrainians showed an unusual concern for the police and their families. They were always spared. They were always separated from the others and let go. Their conduct toward the Jewish police was always correct, almost cordial. They associated freely and even transacted "business" together; together they broke into homes and looted. There even sprang up a number of "contact men" who could "reach" certain of the SS. But this did not prevent these same SS men from deceiving their "associates" in a very refined way.

When the Jewish population became so small that fewer police were needed, the next step was the liquidation of the police and their families, even though all this time they had been bought off with the assurance that they and their families would not be touched. It was all done in a very refined manner. The men were duped into going to a certain place, where they were scheduled to carry out a blockade. In the meantime the SS and the Ukrainians came to the dwellings of the police and instructed the women and children to come with them supposedly for registration. The first group were "registered" for work in Lublin and their identification cards were taken away. Then the entire group of 800 women and children were sent to the selection center and loaded into the wagons. The Jewish police found out about this during the "blockade" and rushed to the selection center. Here they were stopped by the SS and told that anyone who approached the wagons would be shot. They stood there and wept as their families were taken away. The same thing happened with several hundred other police who were taken to another camp. Thus perished the hangmen of the Warsaw Jews—the degenerate and corrupt Jewish police.

JEWS AND POLES

August 26, 1941

HEARD an interesting fact which shows the relationship of the workers with the Jews. A Jewish worker was employed in the chocolate factory "Alpha." After the closing of the Ghetto, he and his wife and three children were left without a means of livelihood. He decided to sell all his belongings. The Polish workers wrote to him a few times but received no reply. One evening a Polish comrade came to his home. The Pole perceived the situation and together some other friends sent the Jewish worker a

cart and 350 zlotys to equip it. Thanks to his Polish friends, the man is now able to earn a living.

1943

THE horrible deeds of the Germans toward the Jewish population take prior place in our work. You will also find, however, not a little material showing humanity by the Germans. In the finished papers, as in the sketchiest notes, we have always been careful to be objective even about our enemies and to give an objective picture of the relationship of the Germans toward Jews.

GHETTO RESISTANCE

June 1942

THE bombing of Cologne has brought great joy to the general population here. In the first place, we saw in this act a new tactic of the English, who had up to now been asleep. We saw in this the beginning of a new period, perhaps the beginning of a second front in Europe, especially since the bombing was accompanied by much propaganda threatening to destroy systematically all the industrial centers of Germany. The joy of the Jewish population was something entirely different. In hundreds of cities in Poland and Russia thousands upon thousands of Jews are being massacred daily according to a preconceived plan and we see no one to avenge us. The bombing of Cologne, the destruction of thousands of homes, the thousands of dead among the civilian population have somewhat slaked the psychological thirst of the Jewish population. Cologne was an advance payment of the vengeance which must and will be exacted for the millions of murdered Jews. And therefore the Jewish population in tortured Europe regarded the bombing as an act of vengeance. After the affair of Cologne I felt a little better. I felt that even should I die at their hands, at least my death has been paid for in advance!

December 1942

OUT of 300,000 victims, why were there only several hundred suicides? The people, the great masses, and the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals did not allow themselves to be crushed and resisted passively as long as possible. To the question why the Jews did not defend themselves, it must be answered: We presented a strong, successful spiritual resistance. No other people would so long have maintained a spiritual steadfastness as did the Jews. And the best proof of this is the small number of suicides among the Warsaw Jews. For this very thing the Germans often complained to the Polish Jews. They even expressed themselves to the effect that the Polish Jews, unlike the German Jews, did not have a sense of honor and that is the reason for the small number of suicides.

The same is true about the relationship of the Poles toward the Jews. There is a belief that anti-Semitism grew considerably during the war; that the Polish people in the main are pleased with the misfortunes which have come upon the Jews in the cities and towns of Poland, etc. The observant reader of our material will find hundreds of documents which show something quite the contrary. In more than one report from a town he will read how humanely the Polish population conducted itself toward the Jewish escapees; of the hundreds of occasions when peasants hid and fed Jewish escapees for months at a time.

When we speak of the destruction of the Jewish intelligentsia, special mention must be made of the small group of Jewish writers. Sh. Gilbert, who despite his difficult personal position (he existed on packages sent to him by various organizations) was always full of hope and faith. He was taken away very early, at the very beginning. What happened to his writings is not known.

November 5, 1942

A TERRIBLE pessimism holds sway among the Jewish population. Martyrdom—that is the correct designation for the Warsaw Jews. The majority of the people are determined to resist. I think we will no longer go to the slaughter like sheep. The people want the enemy to pay dearly for every life. We will attack him with knives, sticks, coal-buckets. We will not allow any more blockades. We will not allow ourselves to be seized in the streets because we know now that today every labor camp means certain death. We would rather die in our own homes. Naturally, the resistance will take place only when it will be organized and if the enemy does not carry out his plan suddenly, as he did in Cracow, where at the end of October in a space of seven days, 5,500 Jews were stuffed into the wagons.

Thus is confirmed the well-known psychological law, that resistance can not come from a slave who is totally crushed. Apparently the Jews have come to their senses after the terrible events; our experiences have caused us to reckon up the sober estimate that going peacefully to the slaughter did not lessen the tragedy, but increased it. Everyone says the same thing: we should never have allowed the "re-settlement" to take place. We should have taken to the streets, set everything afire, torn down the walls of the Ghetto and fled to the "Aryan" part of the city. The Germans would have taken a terrible revenge. It would have cost tens of thousands of lives, but not 300,000. Now we are covered with shame and disgrace in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world, because our abjectness brought us nothing.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld)

"WE'RE WORSE OFF EVERY YEAR"

The drastic decline in wages and working conditions of workers who were formerly among the best paid. Government figures tell the story

*First of a series
By Rachel Roth*

ON Fifth Avenue smartly dressed ladies stand in front of shop windows admiring the elegant spring suits and cocktail dresses, the Southern resort styles. "Business is good," crows *Women's Wear Daily*. "I can't complain," says the dress manufacturer, confirming his yearly reservation for Miami Beach.

On Seventh Avenue aging, harassed dressmakers and cloakmakers stand in front of the tall loft building where the elegant garments are made, digesting their gulped cafeteria lunches and discussing conditions. "I made \$1,800 last year," says a middle-aged operator bitterly. "Thirty years in the industry. I'd be better off a banana pushcart peddler! All season I only worked three-four days a week. Even when I work, the price is no good. The boss says he has to make it cheaper, the union keeps settling for less and less per garment. So I work too fast for health. The boss is making money, why should we be getting worse off every year?"

Drastic Decline in Wages and Conditions

What is happening to the workers in the ladies garment industry? One-time aristocrats of United States manufacturing, they pioneered through their union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL), in wiping out sweatshops and establishing decent wages, healthy working conditions, vacations and welfare benefits and in fighting for legislative protection for labor. Once they were among the highest paid factory workers in America, with a strong union that protected them every day in the week, a union that had the industry well organized and that the bosses feared; a union that tolerated no trifling with working conditions.

Today the ladies garment workers are among the lowest paid factory workers in the country, far below the average in weekly and hourly earnings. Theirs is the *only* major industry where money wages have actually *fallen* in the last five years, while this country has undergone an unprecedented rise in profits, prices and taxes. Other factory workers can complain that they have suffered a loss in *real* wages because their pay has not risen in proportion to the increase in the cost of living. But only the ladies garment workers can complain of a *loss* in money wages, in hourly, weekly, yearly earnings.

While other workers fought for and won wage increases

to meet the increased cost of living, the ladies garment workers were not only forced year after year to forego such wage increases, but also had to take cuts in their piece rate earnings, along with intensified speedup.

In the first years of the new war economy the garment industry became known as a sick industry. People generally had less and less money to spend for clothing. But garment manufacturers were determined not to let the problems of the industry affect their own profits. It was the workers' wages that were sacrificed. In the garment industry a booming war economy has meant increased exploitation and hardship for the workers alone.

Once these workers were pioneers in establishing better working conditions: today the ladies garment industry is the only major organized industry in America where the majority of the workers do not even get a full-week's vacation pay or pay for holidays. Once proud of the strength and growth of their organization, now the garment workers see open shops flourishing all around them, weapons used by the jobbers to undercut their wages or put them out of jobs.

Deterioration in Situation

Once this industry was highly centralized in New York City and other major garment centers, which were kept under constant union surveillance. In recent years the industry has become increasingly decentralized. Today more and more bundles are being shipped out of the unionized garment centers, more and more shops are moving out of town to escape union surveillance—into southern, rural and even suburban communities difficult for the union to police.

More than 100,000 workers, over a fifth of the industry, are unorganized. As fast as one shop signs up with the union, another escapes. The turnover in the industry is enormous, with much of it consisting of established union shops going out of business and then starting up again under another name.

Many bosses continue paying substandard wages simply on payment of 5½ per cent of their payroll to the union benefit fund. Growing numbers of shops exist as "un-registered" contractors, acting as sources of rate cuts for the whole industry. In the rush seasons the 35 hour week is ignored—even though strict observance would mean more

jobs for more workers. Garment manufacturers are increasingly ignoring the working conditions specified in union contracts. And racketeering has become notorious again in the garment industry.

Most of the industry is now on piece work. But in the largest part of the industry, dressmaking, the workers do not even know the schedule by which their piece rates are worked out by the business agents and the bosses. All they know is that they must work harder and harder to make the same money or less than they made five years ago. Cloakmakers know how their piece work earnings have been cut—the garments have been regraded as a device to force them to do more work for less pay.

"Section work"—a speedup method of producing garments in sections on an assembly line where formerly the entire garment was made by one skilled operator—has been introduced in many shops with the cooperation of ILGWU's "Management Engineering Department." It is now being used by the manufacturers to cut the piece work rates throughout the industry and to throw old time workers out of jobs. In a period of full employment in America, more and more ladies garment workers are unemployed, working fewer hours a week, fewer weeks a year, and under tremendous speedup when they do work.

In the last dozen years thousands of Puerto Rican, Negro and Latin American workers have entered the garment industry and have been concentrated by the employers in unskilled jobs, in section shops, and in the low-priced lines—where wages are drastically lower than in the rest of the industry. Garment manufacturers are increasingly using these victims of wage discrimination in America as sources of cheap labor, depressing the wage standards of all the garment workers.

Listen to the Workers

You won't find this story of garment workers' conditions in the commercial newspapers or magazines. From Hearst to Henry Luce they are constantly praising the garment industry for its "model labor relations," crowning ILGWU's President David Dubinsky as "the model American labor leader," the "labor statesman" who conceives workers' progress in terms of industry's profits. The Voice of America recently staged a special world broadcast from the ILG resort, Unity House, depicting happy, prosperous, secure garment workers on peaceful terms with their bosses as the best fruits of the free enterprise system.

To get the true story of the ladies garment workers, you must talk to the workers themselves, as we did over many weeks last winter, in the crowded lofts and cafeterias and streets of the garment center. You can also find the real story in official government statistics. Hear it first from the workers themselves.

Hear Dora, who has grown up in the dress industry, a shop chairlady in her first strike at the age of 16, nearly 40 years ago: "I'm a fast worker, working on a good line, but last year I made \$1,275. Three years ago I was making

\$2,700. Back in '45 I made close to \$4,000. The work is harder and I make less every year. I am not so young anymore. I have no one to support me but myself. Another year like this and all my savings will be gone. And it is not so easy for the older workers like me to get jobs now. The bosses don't want us, we know too much, they can't push us around like they can the young ones."

Listen to Maria, a finisher, a handsome Italian woman swallowing a hasty sandwich under the racks of dresses in a higher-price dress shop. She reached for her container of coffee. Her finger is swollen and scaly from the needle. "I showed it to the man from the union office," she said. "I told him the work is harder now, the union should get us more money. He says, I can't do anything for you, it's union scale, get it yourself if you want more. But piece prices stayed the same the last ten years. We got a raise in pay three years ago, but I don't make any more than I did before."

"You Have to be a Slave . . ."

Hear Juanita, a younger Puerto Rican finisher in a section work factory where they have replaced the old skilled tailoring system with assembly line methods, turning out finished dresses every seven minutes: "They said you could make a lot of money in the garment industry. But you have to be a slave to make any money on this section work, the price is so cheap. Before one dress is out of your hands, another is in. You don't leave your seat, you can't even take time to drink water or go to the toilet or eat lunch. If you want to make out, you swallow a sandwich and go back to work. You have to kill yourself to make \$40 a week."

Or Sarah, a skilled dress operator for 35 years, working in a contracting shop that still uses the single garment tailor system. But she also makes only \$40 a week now! "We used to make a lot more but they pay us now on the basis of section work. We don't do section work, we make the entire garment, but the jobber fixes the price on the basis of shops that do section work. We complained to the business agent that the price was too low. He said we should be overjoyed to get it, the boss could hire 100 new workers and go on section work and get the same dress at half the price. So on the dresses we previously made \$47 a week, now we can't even make \$40."

Listen to Rebecca, a skilled operator for 20 years, who was making \$80 a week until her boss went out of business (he started up again later under a new name, with new workers, paying minimum wages). She had to go to work for \$25 less in a new shop: "We don't get paid for overtime, it's just another dress," said Rebecca. "We don't even have a first aid kit or drinking water in the shop. A woman fell in the shop and got hurt. The boss handed me a peroxide bottle with the top all rusted to clean the blood away from the wound."

Finally, listen to Max, working 35 years in the garment industry, still standing outside the loft building although

the lunch hour is over. He isn't working today. He hasn't worked this week or last but he comes down to the garment center at noon to *shmoos* with his brother cloakmakers—it's hard to break the habits of a lifetime, and maybe he'll hear of work tomorrow.

"The cloakmakers are beginning to feel hopeless," he said. "I make \$1,000 less this year than last, I only work three-four days a week all season. And they say business is good now. For the workers the future looks bad. The union is losing control over the industry. The bosses are wiping out everything we fought for and won. They hire new workers who don't know their rights. The union leaders say we got to do everything to keep the bosses in business. Years ago the union leaders helped the workers to fight the bosses. That's how we got the only good things we ever did get in this industry."

What Government Figures Say

These are the workers talking. Study official government statistics on the garment industry for the last five years and you see that their stories are typical for the industry as a whole.

In the last five years ladies garment workers have seen their wages fall from 18 cents an hour above the average United States factory wage to 18 cents an hour below the average factory worker's wage.

According to the official *United States Bureau of Labor Statistics* (BLS), average hourly earnings for women's outerwear workers in 1947 were \$1.42, compared to \$1.24 for factory workers as a whole. By July, 1952, the average for all factory workers had risen to \$1.65; women's outerwear still averaged \$1.47. Thus, while the average factory worker saw his *hourly earnings* over five years increase by 33½ per cent, the garment worker's total increase averaged only 3½ per cent.

The same picture of *falling wage standards* is revealed by BLS figures on *weekly earnings*. In the last five years the average weekly wage in women's outerwear virtually stood still while the average wage for all factory workers increased from \$49.97 in 1947 to \$64.88 in 1951. In 1947 the average in women's outerwear was \$49.60, just under the average factory wage. In 1951, the women's outerwear average of \$51.31 was 20 per cent below the average wage for factory workers. Five cents an hour increase for ladies garment workers in five years time—while all factory workers increased their earnings 41 cents an hour. Only \$1.98 a week increase in weekly earnings for ladies garment workers, while factory workers generally increased their earnings \$15.83 a week.

These BLS statistics show that the garment workers are now among the *lowest paid* of all factory workers. Their average weekly earnings are now from \$15 to \$25 a week below coal miners', meat packers', steel and electrical and auto workers'. In the last five years the garment workers in the United States as a whole have also dropped behind leather and furniture workers, and are now even falling

behind the low-paid textile workers. Yet, these were five years of post World War II boom and unprecedented profits for manufacturers, unprecedented price increases and tremendous increases in taxes on workers' pay-checks to pay the bill for the war program. If those years have meant increased financial hardship, lowered living standards and drained savings for factory workers generally as higher prices and taxes erased their wage increases, how much worse is the situation of the garment workers, whose money earnings have not increased as much as other workers' have?

Since 1947, the *taxes* on workers' paychecks have increased by 21 per cent, the *prices* of food, clothing and other necessities of life have increased by 21 per cent—but the garment workers' money earnings have increased by only three per cent. *This means that the real wages of ladies garment workers have actually decreased by more than 16 per cent since 1947.* Deduct taxes taken from the pay-check and adjust the remainder in terms of what today's dollar will buy as compared with 1947, and you find that the ladies garment worker makes only \$35.62 a week in real wages!

Situation in New York

The fall in garment wage standards is even more drastic in New York. There, in the hub of the industry, where the majority of United States garment workers are employed and account for most of the garment output, the long years of union organization have theoretically resulted in the industry's highest wages and best working conditions.

New York garment workers' average weekly earnings have actually *dropped* from \$66.46 in 1946 to \$63.34 in 1951, a *wage cut* of \$3.12 a week, or 4 per cent. Other New York workers won wage increases averaging \$15.50 a week, or 30 per cent. Furthermore, in 1946, the women's outerwear workers' wage was \$17.06 more than the average for all factory workers in the state. Today the New York women's outerwear wage is \$1.66 less than the average factory wage in the state. In these postwar boom years the *New York garment workers have fallen from 34 per cent above the average factory wage to 3 per cent below the average.* The New York garment workers are changing from aristocrats of industry to substandard factory workers.

Since the war, wages of New York City dressmakers have virtually stood still—from \$62.48 in 1946 to \$65.38 in 1952, a rise of 4.6 per cent. But the BLS consumer price index went up 36.8 per cent in the same period, and when the increase in taxes since 1946 is added, the cost of living has increased a total of over 50 per cent. This means that real wages of New York dressmakers have fallen by \$23.60 a week or 36 per cent since the war. Put differently, workers in the New York dress industry would need a wage increase of \$23.60 a week to bring the purchasing power of their take-home pay up to the 1946 level.

In the New York coat, suit and skirt industry, the highest

paid section of the garment industry, money wages fell from \$83.56 in 1946 to \$79.85 in 1952, a wage cut of \$3.71 or 4.4 per cent. Take out taxes and translate their take-home pay into dollars of 1946 purchasing power, and you find that the New York City cloakmakers have suffered a decline of almost 50 per cent in their real wages since the war. Cloakmakers would need an increase of \$39.60 a week to get back to 1946 standards.

It is obvious that the tradition of high paid New York dress and cloakmakers is no longer true. For since 1946, while factory workers all over the United States won wage increases averaging \$24.40 a week, dressmakers earnings virtually stagnated, cloakmakers earnings actually decreased.

In the years of cost of living increase since the outbreak of the war in Korea, New York factory workers generally won wage increases averaging about 22 cents an hour, or 15 per cent. The New York garment workers increased their wages three cents in three years, or 1.5 per cent. *Even the low paid textile workers won wage increases averaging 21 cents an hour in these three years while New York fur workers increased wages 28 cents an hour and leather workers 31 cents.*

High Unemployment

But falling wages are only half the garment worker's problem today. He is also faced with lack of job security and mounting unemployment. Average employment of production workers in women's outerwear industry in the United States has dropped from 308,700 in 1948, to 268,700 in July 1952. That means a loss of 40,000 jobs in the industry as a whole. At the same time, average weekly hours have dropped from 35.1 to 34.9. Since 40,000 garment workers haven't dropped dead, this means that all garment workers are employed fewer weeks per year and fewer hours per week.

In New York the number of jobs in the garment industry has been falling year by year, as is shown by these average monthly employment figures from the New York State Department of Labor: 1948—172,308; 1949—168,525; 1950 (July)—151,200; 1951 (July)—148,300; 1952 (July)—144,500.

In June 1952, 100,000 workers applied for unemployment insurance from the New York needle trades. *Three-fourths of all the factory workers in the state applying for unemployment insurance were from the clothing and garment industries.* At the height of the seasonal upswing, in October 1952, with employment at a record peak in industry generally, there were still nearly 50,000 applicants for unemployment insurance from the apparel trades and they still constituted over half of all the factory unemployed in the state.

The number of garment and clothing workers collecting unemployment insurance annually has been steadily climbing each year, from 74,704 in 1946-47, to 245,350 in 1949-50, the last year for which such figures are available. The average duration of unemployment benefits of needle trades workers hit a record peak of 12.5 weeks—three months.

This is an increase from 8.2 weeks in 1947. This means that *five out of every eight workers in the industry were unemployed an average of three months, and many more than three months.*

Garment work has always been seasonal. Hence wages earned during the peak of the season must tide the worker over the slack periods. Now, with a drop in the number of jobs, in addition to the seasonal factor, and with a drop in wage standards even during the busy periods, the garment workers are not even earning a minimal subsistence income over the year. The *Census of Manufacturers* shows a drop in annual earnings for women's outerwear workers from \$2,406 in 1947 to \$2,312 in 1950. This averages out to less than \$40 a week—for ladies garment workers to feed and clothe their families at today's high prices.

In coming articles we shall analyze the causes of the garment workers' plight. Are their problems the inevitable result of a "sick industry" or a "return to normalcy," as the manufacturers and ILGWU leaders claim? Or are the wages and working conditions of the garment workers being sacrificed to help the garment manufacturers solve their own problems?

(To be continued)

Violence on the East Side

ONE of the most serious fascist-like attacks of violence since Peekskill against a peaceful assemblage took place on New York's East Side on March 16. The attackers, as in previous instances reported in the past year (see *JEWISH LIFE*, September 1952 and January 1953) were apparently Ukrainian "nationalists," Polish fascists and Russian White Guardists, many of whom have come to this country as "DP's" in the past few years. Virulent anti-Semitism was also manifested at this latest outbreak.

A memorial meeting for Stalin was scheduled by the Ukrainian-Russian Committee to take place March 16 at Manhattan Plaza, 68 East 4 Street. The previous Saturday afternoon two "nationalist" Ukrainian language broadcasts urged a mass counter demonstration in front of the hall. Police assured the sponsors of the meeting that adequate police protection would be provided. While 35 persons waited for the meeting to start inside the hall, hundreds of persons picketed outside. Then about a hundred young men marched out of an adjoining hall in semi-military fashion, brushed past one policeman at the entrance and stamped up to the meeting hall. They wielded blackjacks, broke chairs, tore up decorations. Several of the audience were injured. Stone throwing was in evidence.

Eye-witnesses said that among the shouts of the pickets were, "Jew bastard . . . Jew murderers . . . Jew communists." Passing Jews were taunted.

The committee organizing the meeting has charged that police apparently cooperated with the storm-trooper hoodlums. The Ukrainian "nationalist" organ *Svoboda* said that detectives avoided attack by showing their badges. It was reported that Julian Revay, former government minister in the Quisling Carpatho-Ukrainian government under Hitler, was active in the "Protest Committee."

There were no arrests!

JEWISH WORKERS' VICTORY—1890

A Yiddish labor paper, "Di Arbeiter Zeitung," acclaimed in a militant and inspiring editorial the winning of a strike by workers' solidarity

INTRODUCTION

This stirring and clear-visioned editorial article is a fine example of Yiddish socialist journalism at its best in the early days of the mass Jewish labor movement in our country. The article celebrates and evaluates the victorious strike just completed by 4,000 New York cloakmakers, and points the need, first, for organizing the ladies' garment workers into a national union, and, secondly, for uniting the economic with the political struggle through a "workers' political party" that will lead the way ultimately to socialism. Di Arbeiter Zeitung, in which this article appeared, was a weekly socialist newspaper, the first issue of which had come out on March 7, 1890.

The strike itself was a bitter one, with a dramatic background. On May Day, 1890 (the first May Day to be observed internationally), 7,000 cloakmakers marched in the New York demonstration. Their union was already 3,000 strong, and had the support of thousands who had not yet joined. Alarmed, the employers organized a lock-out, led by the biggest firms: Jonasson, Friedlander, Friedman, Blumenthal, Stein, Oppenheim Collins, Goldschmidt and Blatt, and others. By May 10 the union began to counter with strikes and by May 19 there were 4,000 workers involved, the great majority Jewish but including also

Poles, Italians, Germans, Czechs, Hungarians, Irish and some native Americans.

Some of the big business press expressed sympathy for these strikers, whose conditions of work were notoriously bad. The cutters too, the aristocracy of the trade, for the first time joined the other crafts in a strike. The American Federation of Labor, the United Hebrew Trades and the New York unions supported the strike. The key demands were recognition of the union, the firing of all scabs and rehiring of all strikers, and wage raises to \$15 a week for operators and \$14 for pressers.

After two months of struggle, the leadership accepted a compromise agreement which failed, among other points, to provide for the dismissal of scabs. It was here that the hungry workers, in a scene vividly described in this article, voted down the agreement. The commercial press promptly turned against the strikers and the police denounced them as socialists and anarchists. But the strikers knew what they wanted, held on and won on July 23, 1890. As the Workmen's Advocate wrote on August 2, "these immigrants from lands of despotism have set an example of courage and valor . . . which many a labor organization of American born workers would do well to follow."

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

AS WE take up the pen to salute the cloakmakers on their brilliant victory and to express our joyous admiration of their really heroic struggle during the thirteen weeks of hunger and need, two wonderful, unforgettable scenes recur before our eyes:

The large auditorium in New Everett Hall, 31 East 4 St., New York, is a sea of flushed, resolute faces. The buzz, the noise of eagerness and impatience are in the air. There is a feeling that here is an army of brave men ready for a long, hard struggle. "To work or to strike?" That is the question which occupies everyone's thought, everyone's emotions, and which must be decided now. With ballot in hand, on which both words are printed, each one stands impatiently awaiting the important moment of voting. This was the day of judgment for the handful of enemies who had combined to tear down the banner of the Cloakmakers' Union. Everyone becomes quiet. With eager hand each one de-

posits his ballot, and immediately all eyes are riveted anxiously to the platform awaiting the answer. "One thousand five hundred and thirty-six for striking—and twenty for working!" The voice of the President booms, and is at once drowned in a noisy storm of hurrahs, loud applause and cries of enthusiasm.

A week later. The same Hall, the same crowd of people. But a different spirit reigns, a special animation lights up every face. Again hurrahs, again applause and loud exclamations, but this time they interrupt the friendly speeches of greetings with the godlike sound of the *Marseillaise*: words of Liberty, of Equality, of Fraternity. The victorious red flags flutter. Everything is joyous and filled with a holiday spirit.

The thousand five hundred and thirty-six votes were not in vain!

Only one week had elapsed between the two pictures,

but what a remarkable change! Who could have believed that these strikers, these poor, starved, emaciated Jewish workers, almost without a cent in their treasury, without a word of encouragement, abandoned by their former allies, the cutters, hounded by the diabolical taunts and provocations of the capitalist newspapers and the entire capitalist world, would stand together so firmly, proud and unafraid in the face of hunger and privation—stand together and triumph over the terrible power of organized capital! Who could have dreamed a few years ago that *Jewish* workers would be in a position to accomplish such wonders!

Just think of it, reader, and you will agree with us that they were held together by a bond stronger than a treasury full of money; that they were supported by a power greater than that of a capitalist press. You will feel that the only weapon in this marvelous struggle was the feeling of brotherly love, of that powerful solidarity and class-consciousness that now bind the workers of the whole world into one determined, mighty army against the rule of capital.

Yes, it was by their own strength alone that the workers triumphed. This might not have been so apparent, had the great victory come eight or nine days sooner, when the capitalist world was still helping the strikers with words and money. Now, we can be happy that victory did not come that way, for the heroic courage of the brave strikers would then have been obscured by what help was rendered them through public opinion. It might have been erroneously interpreted that their triumph resulted not from their own efforts but from the general sympathy of the newspapers. It might have appeared that it was not their own devotion to each other that held them together, but capitalist support.

This great triumph will become a new source of courage and strength for the Jewish labor movement. It offers the best proof that the Jews of America have understood their position, and have correctly gauged their duty in their new homeland. They do not consider themselves God's chosen people; they come forward as workers, as members and allies of the American working class. Therein lies the solution of the entire Jewish question in America. This struggle of the cloakmakers will shut the mouths of more anti-Semites, and accomplish more toward enhancing the name of "Jew," than all the charities of philanthropic bankers, and all the fawning of Jewish patriots who sing of the piety, orderliness and subservience of the Jewish people.

But in your present rejoicing, cloakmakers, do not forget that now, after your great triumph, is really the time more than ever to devote yourselves to your unions, and to prepare for further and greater struggles. Do not forget that your conquered enemies are even now trying to organize against your power by planning an association of all cloak manufacturers throughout the United States. Therefore you too should unite with your brothers in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and all other places where cloak makers are to be found, and build a strong *National Cloakmakers Union!*

But even that is not enough. While fighting, while going from victory to victory, you workers must ever bear in mind that the main goal of your struggle is the ultimate *liberation* of the working class, and the complete *annihilation* of the domination of capital. Do not forget that just as you strive for *bread*, you must also fight for *freedom*; that such spirit as you display in your *unions* you must also show in the ranks of the *workers' political party*. Go forward, hand in hand with your progressive brothers and help to smash the rule of the money-bags! Remember the immortal words of our teacher, Karl Marx, that "the economic liberation of the working class is not possible without its political liberation."

Throw yourselves into the struggle body and soul. Fight with strikes, fight with the ballot, fight with everything you have until the outbreak of that uncontrollable storm that will tear down the degrading and terrible structure of capitalism and clear the way for *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity!*

(Translated from the Yiddish by Mrs. Tania Brook Klein.)

Save the Rosenbergs!

MORE evidence that the Justice Department is trying to sit on the lid of world-wide demands for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg followed the disclosure that the department had not notified the president that Pope Pius XII had transmitted pleas for clemency. Recently it was learned that the French Association of Rabbis had sent a message to the White House on January 2, which the Justice Department had not made public. "The Rabbinate of France," said the message, "profoundly moved by the death sentence pronounced on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, but wishing to avoid any exploitation of this plea for political purposes, respectfully appeals directly to you to implore you to use your prerogative of clemency in their behalf."

"Troubled in conscience by certain indications, and convinced together with an important section of public opinion of the extreme severity of the sentence handed down by Judge Irving Kaufman, the French Rabbinate joins with all European persons—sincere friends of American democracy—in asking this measure of clemency in the very name of our common ideal of justice and generosity which we derive from the Bible. . . ."

Action goes on all over the world on behalf of clemency. In New York on March 18, 1,100 New Yorkers gathered at a stirring dinner to save the Rosenbergs which was chaired by the prominent Catholic layman and Professor of Law at Northwestern University, Stephen Love, and sponsored by eminent religious and civic figures. Messages were received from Attorney General of France Mornet, who had prosecuted collaborationist Petain, and many prominent individuals in England, Italy, Sweden, Finland, New Zealand, Australia and other countries.

It is of the utmost urgency that individuals send letters to President Eisenhower for clemency before the petition for a new trial is submitted to the Supreme Court on March 30. Organizations and individuals in every community throughout the country should be urged to send in appeals for clemency and to write Attorney General Herbert Brownell asking that he advise the president's reconsideration.

HOW THE PRESS CREATES A FOG

A careful look at the press treatment of "anti-Semitism" in Eastern Europe exposes the technique for creating slander and hysteria

By David Arnold

THE ROLE of the press in furthering the campaign that "anti-Semitism" is rife in the socialist countries is immense. But how reliable is this press?

The situation of the Jews in East Germany has been the subject of much excited press treatment since the Prague trial. When we examine this volume of news reports, we find that only a few facts emerge. The rest is a mass of unfounded, misleading speculation and even flat contradiction.

We begin with a Reuters (British news agency) dispatch in the *New York Times* of January 6: "A leading official of the Berlin Jewish community said the attacks 'were directed not only against Zionists but against all the Jews in East Germany.'" The next few days saw a spate of stories in the same vein: "A full scale purge is now under way against the 2,700 Jews remaining in Communist-ruled East Germany, West Berlin Jews said today" (Associated Press dispatch, *New York Times*, January 8). The *New York Post* headlined this same AP story, "German Reds Start Purge of Jews in Public Office" and went on to say, "Jewish informants in West Berlin reported the Communists who control East Germany have started purging Jews from public office and have jailed a number of them. . . . In most cases, the report said, those purged are sent to prison or demoted to subordinate jobs, where they are without influence. The new order also prohibits Jews from joining the Communist people's police."

The truth breaks through. On January 9, the *New York Times* carried a report from its Berlin office that "allied officials doubted today that any large-scale persecution of Jews was in the offing in East Germany, if only because there are almost none there to harass." This important information was not headlined but tucked away in the middle of a column.

The "purge" fever subsided somewhat until the announcement came from Moscow on January 13 of the arrest of the nine doctors. Then the fever went up rapidly. On January 16 came the arrest of Georg Dertinger, former foreign minister of East Germany and a non-Jew, on a treason charge. At the same time, it was announced that a group of 22 East German Jews, including eight Jewish communal leaders, had arrived in West Berlin. The *New York Post* headlined, "Fear Grips Jews in Red Reich." Joseph Lash, the *Post's* "expert" on foreign affairs, wrote from his New York watch-tower that "one refugee said, 'Every Jew

is in the shadow of imprisonment or persecution. Fear bordering panic is sweeping Jews in East Germany.'"

The Fever Rises

The fever continued to rise. On January 19, the whole press headlined the most sensational of all these "pogrom" reports on their front pages: "Red Raids Hit E. German Jews, 2,800 'Zionist Spies' Face Arrest." (*Daily News*); "Terror Raids Imperil Jews in East Zone" (*Herald-Tribune*); "Soviet Zone Police Raid Jews' Homes" (*Times*); "Red Purge Hits 2,800 Jews in E. Reich" (*Daily Mirror*).

These scare headlines were occasioned by a story from United Press Berlin correspondent Joseph Fleming. The *Daily News* began this story thus: "Flying squads of Communist police hunting 'Zionist spies' swooped down on the homes and offices of Jews throughout East Germany today, seized papers and identity cards and thus virtually placed the Jews under house arrest. Jewish and non-Jewish refugees brought word of the raids which were reported to have reached into virtually every East German home of the 2,800 survivors of nazi extermination camps."

The truth breaks through. But during this period of sensational headlined reports, contradictory reports were also coming in to the same newspapers.

On January 20, the *Herald-Tribune* printed an Associated Press story from Berlin of an interview with Heinz Galinski, anti-communist leader of the West Berlin Jewish community, who said "the reports circulating over the week end in some quarters so far appear to be without foundation. 'We have lost a certain amount of contact,' he said, but added that there has been no evidence that the Communist police have actually swung into action. Ten leading East German Jews who fled here last week said they thought an anti-Semitic purge was in the offing. The reports that the police have raided Jewish homes, seized identity cards and placed the Jews under house arrest were regarded by Mr. Galinski and his committee as conjecture. *Jewish homes in the East sector of Berlin, where 2,000 Jews live have so far been free from molestation by the secret police*" (italics added).

This story was headlined, "Jewish Leader Skeptical About German Raids" and the *Herald-Tribune* was the only paper in New York that carried this Associated Press dispatch. Interesting things happened to this story in the

Israeli Ambassador Says:

"No general anti-Semitism in USSR"

AFTER former Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union Samuel Eliashev left Moscow following the break in diplomatic relations, he was interviewed by the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent on February 23 in Stockholm, Sweden.

"Of special interest," wrote the correspondent, "was the fact that Dr. Eliashev would not describe Russian anti-Zionism as downright anti-Semitism. It was possible, he said, that the man in the street was unable to see the difference and that anti-Zionism would foster anti-Semitism, but so far responsible people had drawn a dividing line. Dr. Eliashev referred to Stalin's Peace Prize award to (Ilya) Ehrenburg and the remarkable circumstances in connection with the death of one of the two Jewish members of the Communist Central Committee, Lev Mekhlis. For three days, he said, the press was overflowing with the warmest appreciations of the dead politician and his burial was one of the most impressive displays for a long time."

A United Press dispatch dated February 23, also stated that Eliashev "found no apparent general anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union."

Herald-Tribune itself. It first appeared in the Early Bird (evening) edition with the above headline. By the next morning, however, the above headline was replaced with the headline, "Reds Now Turn on Christians in East Germany" and the Galinski story was buried at the bottom of the column of this new story. The *Times* did not print a word of the Galinski story at all, although it gets the AP service. Instead, it used as its lead story on the subject a United Press dispatch from Berlin which again said that "Jewish refugees told Western authorities they feared the 2,500 Jews remaining in the Soviet Zone would be thrown into concentration camps."

The truth breaks through. On January 29, the *Times* said this: "At present West Berlin lies under a miasma of rumors regarding the purges in East Germany, most of them without foundation." Then on January 31, the *Times* carried a story in which it stated: "Heinz Galinski, head of West Berlin's Jewish communal organization, summed up what the refugees reported. He told a press conference that the tactics of the Communists were different from those of the nazis. *There were no concentration camps, he said, and there had been no arrests,*" (italics added). Further, on February 9, the *Times* printed an interview of its correspondent Walter Sullivan with Julius Meyer, former president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in East Germany, and seven members of his executive committee who had fled from East Germany a few weeks earlier. "In the light of their interrogations," wrote Sullivan, "... *the Jewish leaders do not believe the Communist objective is the revival of traditional anti-Semitism*" (italics added).

The "Post" and the AJ Committee

The so-called liberal *New York Post* deserves a special chapter by itself in this record of press hysteria. On January 19, the same day that the *Post* received the Galinski story on the Associated Press wires, it completely ignored that story and instead had a head over a story by Joseph Lash on page 2, "Drive on Jews Spreads; Bulgars Try to 'U.S. Spies.'" The article began, "Bulgaria today was the latest Iron Curtain country to be struck by the sweeping Communist purge with a trial of 10 alleged American 'spies.'" Interspersed with the dispatch on the confessed Bulgarian spies were further rumors about alleged persecution of East German Jews. But the arrests in Bulgaria had nothing to do with even this rumor-mongering, for not one of the Bulgarians involved was Jewish.

On January 30, Lash again let his imagination run wild: "About 25 to 30 (Jewish refugees) are eluding Communist patrols and reaching West Berlin." But the February 11 column by Drew Pearson (in the *New York Daily Mirror*) described the "difficulties" in "eluding" the East German police: "It isn't hard to cross the Iron Curtain between Communist Germany and the free world. . . . If you want to cross the Iron Curtain at Berlin you merely ride the subway during the rush hour or walk down a side street."

And on January 26, United Press correspondent Joseph W. Grigg reported from Berlin that "*Most of the fugitives agree that there has been no outright persecution.* Some doubt that there will be anything like Hitler's ruthless pogroms" (italics added).

The American Jewish Committee which got the "anti-Semitic" hoax going a few years ago, has been doing its share to add to the murk of lies. It issued a release on January 28 reporting mass arrests of Jews in East Germany and that the East German government had made up a blacklist on January third in which it used "the old nazi race laws as the basis for determination of 'Aryans' and 'non-Aryans' in the compilation of the blacklist" (*New York Times*, January 28). An AJC release on January 24,

"New Statesman and Nation" Reports:

Jewish Organizations Used for Spying

A MOSCOW correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation*, liberal London weekly, wrote in the issue of February 21 in the course of an article on "The USSR and Israel", as follows:

"Judging not only from the Soviet press but also from a number of indiscretions coming from the American side, there is little doubt that American intelligence was using Jewish organizations in Eastern Europe for its own ends in a fairly big way, considering these organizations as one of the 'weak spots' in the Curtain."

as reported in the *New York Daily Mirror* of that date, had already stated "that Hitler's anti-Semitism has been adopted by the Kremlin and that 800,000 Jews have been driven from their homes and into Communist labor camps."

The truth breaks through. On February 4 in the *New York Post*, correspondents Seymour Freiden and William Richardson, in the course of a violently anti-communist article, reported that "*East Germans have thus far issued no decrees on anti-Semitism. Officially anti-Semitism is verboten*" (italics added). And in the *Times* of February 21, a Berlin correspondent wrote: "Hitherto Jewish leaders have been asserting that *despite various harassments no Jews have been arrested in East Germany*. Today, however, they reported that a Jewish woman had been tried in Erfurt on a charge of having taken part in a spy ring" (italics added). All the headlines about arrest of masses of Jews boil down to arrest of one Jewish woman on a criminal charge.

Confusing the Doctors Story

Another phase of the commercial press technique in arousing hysteria is the handling of statements issued by the socialist countries. Take the Tass statement announcing the arrest of nine Moscow doctors for shortening the lives of two Soviet leaders. Here are some of the press gyrations with this and related statements from the Soviet Union.

When the story broke on January 13, it was heralded in the New York papers with headlines like this: "Soviet Opens Purge of Jews" (*Journal-American*); "Moscow Purging Jewish MD's" (*Post*); "Moscow Acts to Purge Jews" (*Brooklyn Eagle*). It would be hard to guess from these headlines that the stories concerned six doctors who were Jewish and three who were not, all of whom had confessed to the truth of the charges.

One would also get the impression from this press that the Soviet papers were full of references to "terrorist Jewish doctors." This phrase was used in quotation marks by the International News Service (Hearst's press agency), thus giving the impression that it was quoted from the Tass statement. Even the liberal *Nation* was sucked into the swamp: in an editorial on January 24, it said, "Only some of the group (of doctors) were identified by the Russians as 'Jewish terrorists.'"

The truth is this: nowhere in the Tass statement—or in any other place in the Soviet press—is any individual referred to as "Jewish." The word "Jewish" occurred once in the Tass statement, thus, "Most of the terrorist group were connected with 'Joint,' the international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization." In fact, one of the doctors charged with having been connected with "Joint" was a non-Jew, Dr. G. I. Mayarov. Yet, on the basis of this one statement of fact, as confessed to by the doctors themselves, Joseph Lash wrote in the *Post* on January 14 that "The Kremlin's accusations against the Moscow doctors was filled with anti-Semitic phraseology."

The fact is that nowhere in the entire press in the Soviet

Union have any of the doctors been referred to as "Jewish." The *Times'* Moscow correspondent Harrison Salisbury on January 16 wrote: "*The alleged connection of the arrested doctors with Zionists was not emphasized. It has not been found necessary to say anything in the press about the religious origin of some of what the press calls 'fiends in human form'*" (italics added). The *Herald-Tribune* carried a United Press story on January 13 which stated: "Those arrested included eight therapeutic doctors and one neuropathologist. *Their nationalities were not mentioned*" (italics added).

We have given here only a brief sampling of the monumental contradictions, distortions and even false reports about socialist "anti-Semitism" with which the commercial press is bulging these days. This press manipulation manifests a contempt of the people and points to a design for deliberately deceiving the people into intense hostility toward the socialist countries and thus endangering peace. And they show the falsity of the charges of socialist "anti-Semitism."

Bill Cunningham Inquires:

"Were they the men he meant?"

OF MUCH EVIDENCE appearing in the American press that supports the guilty verdict in the Prague trial was a story, "Cloak and Dagger Thriller Revealed," in the *Boston Sunday Herald*, January 11, by Bill Cunningham, broadcaster for the Mutual Broadcasting System. Cunningham relates his meeting about three years ago a man who identified himself "as contact man for the Czechoslovakian underground that was fighting Communism behind the Iron Curtain." After a long "cloak and dagger" story, Cunningham quotes the "contact man" as having told him as follows:

"This can't wait," the man said when last I saw him, "this help to the underground. Our people have worked their ways into the Communist government all the way to the top. I can't tell anybody who they are nor where they are because some of them are the very government itself. They've worked all the way up to the very top places. They're in the government, the army, the public works, waiting only for the signal from us to reveal their true loyalty and do their uttermost to take over."

"They'll bring the army, the police force, the government bureaus and the whole nation will rise to support them. Some of them will die, of course, but they're ready for that. But they can't hang there forever waiting for us to act. They're bound to be caught if we wait too long and if they are, and are executed, our cause, or at least this phase of it, will be lost. . . ."

Then Cunningham adds: "I've wondered if those victims of the recent [Czechoslovak] purges were the men he meant."

THE TESTING OF PYRIN

Chapter from a novel

By Vladimir Popov

ALEXEI Ivanovich Pyrin was a reserved and untalkative man. His face, phlegmatically composed—his light, expressionless eyes—his low toneless voice, were not of a type that is easily remembered. Meeting him for the first time, people would forget him as soon as he was out of sight. Meeting him again, they would not recognize him.

Pyrin worked as master mechanic in the combustion bureau, where his interests were confined to the functioning of the control apparatus. For eight years he had served as dues collector in his trade union group; but all attempts to draw him more actively into social life had failed. He attended meetings regularly but had never been heard to speak at one.

Knowing his job to perfection, he easily eliminated all trouble arising in the most intricate apparatus. A passion for minute, painstaking labor inherited from his father, who had been a watchmaker, would often keep him in the shops long after hours, bringing to rights some particularly capricious mechanism. He took great pleasure in repairing clocks and watches. Simple jobs did not interest him; but he would sit up all night, if need be, over some complicated problem.

At the works, when he had a free moment, he liked to visit the shops and watch the different apparatus in operation. What especially attracted him was the new system of automatic thermal regulation recently installed in the open-hearth shop. Watching from a distance, he would smile condescendingly at the important air of the melter, pacing up and down beside the furnace. A good half of the melter's work was done for him by automatic appliances. And Pyrin would reflect:

"Think it's you that runs that furnace? No! I run it. It's my eyes, the ardometers, that see into the inmost secrets; my nose, the gas analyzer, that tests the smoke; my hands that regulate the amount of air, set and reset the instruments. A single appliance out of order and all your fine importance will go flying!"

But the instruments seldom went out of order and Pyrin was seldom remembered.

For several years, Alexei Ivanovich had shared an apartment with the Zambergs, who looked on him almost as one of their family.

VLADMIR POPOV is a Soviet novelist. The above excerpt is taken from the post-war novel, *Steel and Slag*, a Stalin Prize winner translated by Helen Altschuler, Moscow, 1952.

Zamberg was called to the colors at the very outset of the war. In parting, he requested Pyrin to lend a helping hand, should it be needed, to his wife, Faina Solomonovna, and the two little girls.

Pyrin nodded silently.

When evacuation began, Alexei Ivanovich and Faina Solomonovna firmly made up their minds to leave. Not even when three-year-old Nina, the Zambergs' younger daughter, came down with scarlet fever, did their decision change. But a few days later Lida, the elder daughter, also fell ill; and Faina Solomonovna began to waver. At first the evacuation trains had included special sleeping cars for the sick; but by the time Lida's illness was diagnosed, these were gone. Now the trains were made up entirely of freight cars. Tearfully, Faina Solomonovna decided to stay, despite Lida's pleas and protests. Pyrin decided to stay with them.

"It's fate, little Lida," he told his sobbing favorite. "We'll get along somehow. A watchmaker will never starve. He'll always be able to help others along."

They did not speak aloud of the real trouble that was gnawing at their hearts. It was too fearful for speech, too fearful even for thought.

After the German occupation of the town, Pyrin found employment in a private watch repairing shop. Only now did he realize how attached he had become to the comrades with whom he had worked so many years; how necessary to his well-being was the consciousness of useful labor, well and honestly performed. But he did not return to the works. He would not help the Germans.

SOON THE JEWISH CONGREGATION WHICH THE GERMANS HAD organized in the town issued announcements calling upon all Jews to register immediately. Pyrin was far more upset by this than Faina Solomonovna. Try as he might to dissuade her from registering, she insisted stubbornly:

"It's an order and I must obey. I don't want any trouble. Everyone's registering. Am I better than others? The congregation has a good leader—old Goltzman, the one that kept a store once, years ago. He's a smart old man. He knows what's what and he won't betray us."

And next day, slipping quietly out of the house, Faina Solomonovna went to the registration office. She came home happier, thinking the danger averted.

Returning from work one evening, Pyrin found the apart-

ment empty. Enquiring next door, he learned that the Germans had taken Faina Solomonovna and little Nina. Neighbors, however, had managed to rescue Lida. Blue-eyed and fair-haired, she did not look Jewish and they had persuaded the Germans that she was a Russian, Pyrin's housemaid.

Alexei Ivanovich hurried to town. In one night, a block of big three-story buildings, badly damaged in the air attacks, had been fenced in with barbed wire. There was only one entrance, guarded by a large detail of army gendarmerie with big metal badges on their black great-coats. One after another, army trucks crowded with women, children, old people, turned in here. It was the ghetto.

Alexei Ivanovich joined the crowd watching from the other side of the street. He could do no good, of course, waiting out there; but he could not go home. He remained until darkness fell when one of the gendarmes scattered the crowd by a burst from his automatic.

At home, Pyrin went to bed, but could not sleep. Lida had stayed with the neighbors, and he was glad of that. How could he have looked her in the eyes?

Every day, after work, Pyrin hurried to the ghetto gate and stood there among the crowd until it was too dark to see. Listening to the talk, he shared in all the fears and all the hopes of his fellow watchers. Some optimists declared that the Germans had set aside for the Jewish population an extensive territory to which the ghetto inmates would eventually be shipped.

ON SATURDAY, PYRIN'S EMPLOYER KEPT HIM AT WORK LONGER than usual. It was already dark when, breathless with haste, he reached his customary watching place. But even in the darkness he saw at once that the ghetto no longer existed. There was no crowd in the street, no guard at the gate, no sign of life in the half-ruined buildings.

Paralyzed with shock, Alexei Ivanovich stood for a long time staring in at the open gate.

A passing patrol hailed him. He did not answer. They might have killed him for it was forbidden under pain of death to appear in the streets at so late an hour. But, amicably inclined for once, they swung a rifle butt across his shoulders and let him go.

Pyrin moved slowly in the direction of the huge quarry where several mass shootings had already taken place. Halfway there, however, he turned sharply back towards home. Now he walked still more slowly, shuddering at the thought of what he must tell Lida. She must know the truth. And what would he tell Zamberg, when the Red Army returned?

At the Zambergs' open door, he stopped short in amazement.

On the couch, with Lida in her arms, lay Faina Solomonovna; in the crib lay Nina, fast asleep.

Faina Solomonovna described to him what she had gone through in the ghetto. She had been very fortunate. Finding one room with unbroken windows, the mothers

had requisitioned it as a hospital for sick children. This had saved Nina's life. In the last few days, too, life in the ghetto had become a little easier. Now and then, they had even received hot food.

"Well, it's all over now," said Pyrin, drawing a long breath of relief. But Lida's reproachful glance stopped the words on his lips.

"No, it's not over, Alexei Ivanovich," Faina Solomonovna answered sadly, avoiding his eyes. "We're supposed to go back there in five days. The Germans say they'll send us to Palestine. But I'm not going back. Here, look at this."

From the bosom of her dress she produced a sheet of paper, with a brief, handwritten text. Over the text was a tiny red star. Pyrin had often heard of these leaflets. This, however, was the first that he had actually seen.

"Comrades," he read aloud, and his voice broke over the word, once so accustomed, now so rare and dear. "The organization of the Jewish congregation was a despicable trap. Many of you were fooled into registering because the Germans were backed by the bourgeois-nationalist elements still persisting among you. And what won these bourgeois hangers-on was the promise of passage to Palestine—the capitalist country they have always wanted to live in."

"The dispersal of the ghetto is a second foul Gestapo trap. Why did the Germans disperse the ghetto? Because not all, by far, had registered. The Germans want all the Jews, to the very last, to put their heads into the noose."

"Put no faith in the fascist hangmen, no faith in the bourgeois nationalists!—T.C."

"What do the letters at the bottom mean?" Pyrin asked.

Faina Solomonovna shrugged silently.

"It's the Town Committee, mother," Lida said, faintly, but with unshakable confidence. "It's our Soviet authority, still in town. We must trust it, as we always did. You're right. You mustn't go back to the ghetto."

By morning, everything was settled. Faina Solomonovna, with Nina, would go to live with friends in another part of town; Lida would remain with the neighbors, for she still needed care after her illness, and Pyrin would live at home, as usual.

When Lida fell asleep, Faina Solomonovna said softly:

"Alexei Ivanovich, whatever becomes of me, you must save Lida. It's my only request to you, my last request, maybe. Have I your promise?"

He bowed his head, turned grey in these last days, but did not speak.

HERR VON STAMMER, THE GESTAPO CHIEF, HAD MISCALCULATED. Very few returned to the ghetto on the appointed day. Next morning, a new order was posted in the streets in three languages, Russian, Ukrainian, Yiddish.

All Jews residing in the town and its environs were ordered to report to the ghetto immediately, bringing their valuables and also the keys to their apartments with addresses attached. Those who failed to come would be shot. All persons concealing Jews would be shot.

The order was signed by the town Kommandant, Colonel Pfaul.

Faina Solomonovna stayed with her friends for several days. In the end, however, tormented by fear for these people who were sheltering her, she returned home. She was seized at once and thrown into the ghetto.

Again, every evening, Alexei Ivanovich hastened from work to the ghetto gate to stand with the watching crowd until darkness fell. When he got home, Lida would hurry to him. During the day, he entrusted her to the neighbors, who had to watch sharply to prevent her from slipping away to join her mother in the ghetto. Intelligent far beyond her 15 years, Lida never cried, never reproached. Only once, when Pyrin returned thin and worn from the evening's fruitless watching outside the ghetto, did she say:

"How I begged you and mother to take us away! What if Nina and I had died in the train? That would have been better than this. And mother would be safe!"

Alexei Ivanovich did not reply. What could he have said?

On Sunday, Lida insisted that he take her with him.

There were more people than usual in the street before the ghetto that morning and more gendarmes than usual on guard. The Kommandant's car stood just outside the gate. Clearly, something was in preparation.

As ten o'clock approached, the gendarmes began to drive the people off the street onto the sidewalk opposite. Exactly at ten the gate swung open. An armed convoy appeared, and behind it—

UNTIL THAT MOMENT, PYRIN HAD STILL CHERISHED SOME vague, unreasoning hope. But when he saw these unfortunates, he realized at once that they were being driven to the grave.

Dressed in strange rags they came: mothers with children, women without children, children without parents, old people.

Faint with horror, Alexei Ivanovich looked into every passing face, hoping, yet fearing, to see Faina Solomonovna.

Was that not she, stumbling through the slush in stockinged feet? Was that not she, with a half-naked child in her arms? Was that not she, supported tenderly by two old women who themselves could barely walk?

The soldiers hurried them on but still they looked into the crowd, seeking a parting glimpse of friends and loved ones. Someone in the crowd flung a warm jacket to one of the women, who was shivering in a torn bedroom wrapper. When she tried to catch it, a soldier pushed her roughly aside with the butt of his automatic. The jacket fell to the ground, and no one picked it up.

"Lida!"

The faint cry brought Pyrin to himself.

Faina Solomonovna was very near, with little Nina in her arms. Yes, those were her eyes, so big and dark. But the face? Shriveled, emaciated, the face of an old, old woman!

"Faina Solomonovna!" Pyrin cried. He pushed along

the sidewalk opposite the column of condemned, straining to hear her last words. Feverishly, he tightened his grip on Lida's arm.

"Farewell," Faina Solomonovna whispered. Unable to tear her eyes from Lida's face, she faltered and stood still.

A soldier swung up his gun and struck her with the butt.

Her head jerked back, and her arms dropped. Nina fell onto the slushy pavement. The mother knelt to lift her child, but the soldier flung the little girl away with a brutal kick.

"Mother!"

With unexpected strength, Lida wrenched her arm free. Raising her mother, she walked on by her side.

Pyrin hurried to Nina; but something roared deafeningly, and he dropped face down on the pavement.

WHEN HE OPENED HIS EYES, THE COLUMN OF CONDEMNED WAS gone. That was the first thing he saw. Lida, too, was gone.

Strangers helped him to his feet. Then he saw Nina, wrapped in a coat, in the arms of a girl in a light summer dress. Someone offered him a handkerchief, he could not understand what for. Then pain made him raise a hand to his ear. It was covered with blood.

"Can you walk?" the girl asked. Her face was pale and stern.

Pyrin nodded.

They turned down a narrow, unfamiliar street. The girl walked ahead, with Nina in her arms. She walked slowly, and Pyrin hurried, ah! how he hurried after her. Yet he could not catch up, could not come close enough to look at Nina. They walked endlessly, he thought; but when he glanced back, it was only two blocks.

In somebody's room, Nina was undressed and laid down in a bed, while Pyrin stared glassy-eyed at the tiny body already turning blue.

Thus did Serdyuk find them, at Maria Grevisova's. Seeing a stranger in the room, Serdyuk was about to leave; but the man's eyes held him.

Bending over the bed, he took the child's cold hand in his and sought the pulse. Then he laid it gently down, and bared his head.

Looking in at Maria's again, a few days later, Serdyuk found Pyrin there once more.

Alexei Ivanovich told them all that had happened. He told his story in low, even tones—so low and even that Serdyuk's hair bristled.

And Serdyuk knew that this man could be trusted.

Rabbi Silver Doubts "Anti-Semitism" Slander

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Zionisa leader, said in Los Angeles on February 17: "In the past 30 years of its existence the Soviet Union has a good record in which no racial hatred or religious intolerance was practiced. I cannot come to the conclusion now that the trials taking place there have to do with anti-Semitism."

II: ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM

Continuing the history of how Zionism played along with imperialist powers between two world wars and projected military use of DP's

Second of a Series

By Morris U. Schappes

WEHAVE been showing that from the beginning the Zionist political movement, exactly because of its bourgeois class nature, sought alliances only among reactionary and imperialist ruling classes. We have seen that official Zionist publications will speak openly of this type of alliance. Yet, when confronted by progressives who make this as a charge against their movement, Zionists squirm and try to deny it.

Thus Chaim Weizmann, one of the architects of the alliance of the Zionists with British imperialism and later the first President of Israel, speaks with disdain in his autobiography, *Trial and Error*, of "the common accusation that Zionism was nothing but a British imperialistic scheme, the Balfour Declaration a *quid pro quo*, or rather payment in advance, for Jewish service to the Empire." Weizmann finds the "deeper meaning of Zionism" in seeing it "as a force for life and creativity residing in the Jewish masses." Yet in the very same context, Weizmann himself, unwittingly proves our point that the bourgeois-nationalist character of Zionism led it into alliances with imperialism, which turned the "creativity residing in the Jewish masses" into safeguards of the strategic interests of imperialism.

The Pro-British Chaim Weizmann

Weizmann believes it is ample refutation of the charge to declare, "The truth is that British statesmen were by no means anxious for such a bargain." Yes, the Zionist leadership had to work hard to persuade the British rulers to agree to the alliance that was offered. But does this mean in any way that when the British statesmen were finally persuaded, it was by anything but the needs of British imperial strategy, and that Zionist negotiators knew this?

Weizmann admits in the very same paragraph that in March 1915 he, trying to win the support of C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, wrote to him "of the bond which such a Palestine would create between England and the Jewish people, and added: 'A strong Jewish community on the Egyptian flank is an efficient barrier for any danger to come from the north.'" Two years later, on April 25, 1917, in a discussion with the Foreign Under-Secretary, Lord Robert Cecil, he gave this idea more formal and official status. Weizmann puts it thus: "We had long pointed out to the British, and I repeated it again in my interview with Lord Robert Cecil, that a Jewish Palestine

would be a safeguard to England, in particular in respect to the Suez Canal."

Now Weizmann may argue that "perhaps the decisive" factor in winning British statesmen for the alliance was that these statesmen "were genuinely religious" and that the Zionist "concept of the Return" of the Jews to Palestine "appealed to their tradition and their faith." Yet he makes more sense when he notes in the same breath that one of the early advocates of the alliance, "Philip Kerr, afterward Lord Lothian, an enlightened imperialist, saw in a Jewish Palestine a bridge between Africa, Asia and Europe on the road to India." Did the "enlightenment" of these British imperialists consist merely in the fact that they saw the value of the alliance with Zionists? Was it an "enlightenment" that the "benighted" and oppressed colonial masses of Africa, Asia and India would also "appreciate"?

Continuing his inventory of the friends the Zionists made in those years as they were campaigning for the Balfour Declaration, Weizmann lists "the War Office" as "the one department of the war where they really dealt with political problems" and where there was "deep appreciation of the Zionist movement, even if they did not always agree with all of its phases." Also in the Foreign Office he found a "pre-disposition to look favorably on the Zionist problem." Then there was the Colonial Secretary, Leopold Amery, who "got his enlightened imperialist principles from [Lord] Milner" and "realized the importance of a Jewish Palestine in the British imperial scheme of things more than anyone else." (*Trial and Error*, New York, 1949, pp. 177, 176, 243, 179, 182.)

Conflicting Promises to Zionists and Arabs

In short, the more Weizmann explains, the less does he explain away, and the more does he confirm the analysis that the strategy of the Zionist movement was a strategy of alliance with imperialism.

In this strategy, the Zionists have been more consistent than in any other phase of their theory and practice—to the great misfortune of the Jewish people.

Not that it was easy for them to maintain the alliance with British imperialism and later to win and tighten the alliance with United States imperialism. The British had many alliances in the fire, and some of them were con-

tradictory. In the Middle East, British promises to the Arabs in the search for alliances with Arab potentates conflicted with promises to the Zionists. Anti-imperialist forces among Jews and Arabs of course saw that unity in the interests of both Jewish and Arab masses could be achieved only on the basis of opposition to imperialist penetration and domination of the Middle East. But the Zionist movement, far from being anti-imperialist, was actually an ally of the imperialism dominant in the Middle East in the period between the two World Wars. Moreover, British imperialist administrators were enlightened enough on the tactic of divide and rule to stimulate and incite sharp and even murderous conflicts between Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

British statesmen twisted and gyrate in their Palestine policy as the needs of empire dictated. The Zionist leaders, panting with loyalty to this uneasy alliance, never knew what the morrow would bring in the way of a re-interpretation of promises formulated in language that presumably could have had only one meaning and yet, at the dictates of imperial need, turned out to have meant quite something else. But no evil and no indignity heaped upon the Zionist leaders could drive them to seek allies outside the framework of imperialism.

Sometimes the Zionists muttered protests but more often they merely protested their own loyalty to British imperial interests. They were determined to prove to the British statesmen that they, the Zionists, and the Jewish people whose name the Zionists took in vain, were really and truly the best possible, the best conceivable and certainly the best available guardians of British strategic interests in the Middle East.

Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Maverick

Occasionally a Utopian Zionist like Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University, seemed to believe that British imperialism would be "enlightened" enough to agree to his "suggestion [made in 1935] for permanent neutrality for the Holy Land in all international conflicts." But on such an occasion a dignitary like Lord Melchett, head of the Jewish Agency in Great Britain and of Imperial Chemical Industries, would rush into print with the lofty counter-proposal that Palestine become in the Near East what Singapore is to the British Empire in the Far East, and that if Palestine were to become a "self-governing institution within the British Empire," Palestine "would provide the British Empire with a healthy and intelligent population in the Near East, always ready in case of necessity to take up arms in an imperial cause." (Philadelphia *Daily Jewish World*, December 17, 1935.) Poor Dr. Magnes learned slowly that uneasy lies the head that is allied with imperialism and later he became an exponent in his own way of Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist unity.

But Dr. Magnes was a maverick, and scorned by the real Zionist strategists. One of the most important of these, Menachem Ussishkin, had his own way of demonstrating

to the British that their true imperial interests lay in abiding by the Zionist alliance rather than in dealing with the Arabs. "A Palestine which is wholly Arabic," he wrote in the London *Palestine Review*, July 3, 1936, "means that sooner or later . . . Great Britain will be forced to leave just as it is gradually leaving Egypt. A Palestine which is largely Jewish means a political alliance cordiale, for very many generations, between the Jewish people throughout the world and the English."

This garland of shocking quotations could be extended endlessly were not space limited and were not the point already clear: that the bourgeois character of the Zionist movement determined that they be natural and jealous allies of imperialism.

During World War II

But did not Hitlerism and World War II make a difference in the strategy of the Zionist leaders? The answer, unfortunately and tragically for the Jewish people and now for the State of Israel, is *no*. Many a member of a Zionist organization is confident that his leaders at least did everything they could to save the lives of as many Jews as possible during World War II. Vain confidence! The Zionist leaders did "everything," but the most important thing they did not do, in fact they helped to prevent the doing of it.

With many millions of Jews trapped in Hitler's path in Eastern Europe, the speediest possible destruction of Hitler's armies meant the saving of untold millions of lives, including Jewish lives. To this end, Molotov and Roosevelt on June 11, 1942, reached an agreement that a Second Front would be opened in France in 1942. The carrying out of that agreement was in the interest of all the peoples in the war, and particularly of the Jews, for the mass slaughter of Jews in the ghettos and the gas-ovens took place mainly in 1943 and 1944. By July 22, 1942, however, British strategy and post-war imperialist aims dictated that the agreement for the Second Front in 1942 be violated and the project abandoned in favor of the North African invasion in 1943. General Dwight D. Eisenhower remarked then that July 22, 1942 "could well go down as 'the blackest day in history'" because of the scrapping of the plan to open the Second Front in France in 1942. (Captain Harry C. Butcher, *My Three Years With Eisenhower*, New York, 1946, p. 29, also pp. 11, 12, 23.)

Aware that the Second Front agreement was being scrapped, American progressives, including Jewish progressives, began a public campaign for the fulfillment of the agreement. What was the attitude of the Zionist movement to this campaign? Did they, who profess to put the interests of the Jewish people first, see that the abandoning of this Second Front would seal the doom of millions of Jews trapped in Hitler's power? No, the Zionist leaders and press opposed the agitation for the Second Front, using every red-baiting argument employed by reactionary forces in American life who were then hoping and saying that

the best thing would be to allow the nazi and the Soviet armies to slaughter each other endlessly, thereby winning both the war against nazism and the undeclared and basic class war against socialism. Again the bourgeois ideology of Zionism led it into support of reaction rather than the welfare of the Jewish people.

Problem of the Survivors

After the war, the Zionist movement extended its influence to hundreds of thousands of Jews, stirred and bewildered by the destruction of 6,000,000 Jews, one third of the world Jewish population, and about 80 per cent of the Jewish population of Eastern Europe. As soon as the war in Europe and the Middle East was over, the American Zionist leadership began also to reflect the fact that now it was American imperialism rather than British that was the most powerful imperialism in the post-war world. In July 1945, the Zionist Organization of America staged a conference addressed by leading American business men, who discussed how best to offer "an opportunity for American business men and industrialists to consider how Palestine and the Middle East offer possibilities for increasing postwar business relations with the U. S. A." (*Palestine* (Jerusalem) *Post*, July 22, 1945.)

While American business men were being encouraged to invest in Palestine, some tiny remnants who had survived the mechanized crematorium cannibalism of Hitler were crowding into the DP camps of Europe. Immigration barriers were high, both in the United States and in Palestine, where the British controlled legal immigration. The British immigration policy, dictated by the needs of Empire strategy in the Middle East, had prevented the possible escape of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Europe during the war years, and had caused the death of many hundreds who drowned in such vessels as the *Patria*, *Salvador* and *Srumba*. The righteous wrath of the Jews in Palestine was mounting high. But did the Zionists even then change their strategy of alliance with imperialism? Not at all!

One of the most amazing documents in this entire horrible strategy is that which appears in *Palestine*, organ of the American Zionist Emergency Council, in the issue of November-December, 1945, Vol. 2, Nos. 9-10. The Zionist editor of this official publication reprints a section of a pamphlet, *The Defense of the Middle East*, published in London and written by W. E. Hart, described by the editor as "a British military scientist." By way of preface to the excerpt reprinted, the Zionist editor summarizes what Mr. Hart wrote up to the point of the excerpt, namely, that "the serious threat to the Suez Canal in 1941 and 1942 demonstrated with particular force 'how even the most powerful and economically strong empire might be lifted off its hinges if attacked at its most vulnerable point at the most deadly moment?'" Both the British and the United Nations, Mr. Hart feels, are menaced by the critical nature of their Middle East position, since the Canal must be

guarded against attack both from the East and the West. Its defense must, therefore, include some such neighboring position as will rule out, or at least delay, any threat against Egypt from the East."

Who would attack "Egypt from the East" is not defined by the Zionist editor nor perhaps by military scientist Hart, but the editor does not stop to ask questions about such a trifle. Instead he paraphrases Mr. Hart's thesis that neither Turkey nor the Arabs can be relied upon to do this chore of protecting Egypt from the East, and ends his introduction on this high note: "Palestine alone remains a possibility, the exact nature of which Mr. Hart proceeds to discuss."

DP's as "Recruiting Material"

Now to Mr. Hart's own words. He outlines the lay of the land thus: "If the enormous spaces which are the forefields of Palestine and of the Suez Canal are not going to become a field of maneuver for an enemy, then the defense arrangements must provide for a maximum mobile power based on the eastern wing of the Middle East. Neither the provisions of the British peace-time garrison nor the permanently stationed British troops east of Suez can, even under most specialized and skillful leadership support such a role. Palestine must become the advance base of the Suez link, *because a battle fought in Palestine would have the same effect under modern conditions as a battle fought on the Suez Canal itself.*"

Examining this last statement, one may wonder whether this equation is not, as in simple algebra, reversible. For instance, if what Mr. Hart says is true, would it not also be true that "a battle fought on the Suez Canal would have the same effect under modern conditions as a battle fought in Palestine itself?" The answer is no: "military science" is not like algebra with its reversible equations. It is obvious, is it not, that if the battle is fought "on the Suez Canal itself," what might get hurt? Why, the Suez Canal "itself"! On the other hand, if the battle is fought in Palestine, what might get hurt? Why, the Palestinian population, including the Jews themselves. Now, from the point of view of an empire-minded "British military scientist" can there be any doubt that, confronted with such a choice, there really is no choice, that it is obviously the Jews that would be expendable?

But Mr. Hart is not yet done. Having defined the battlefield, he turns to logistics, or more simply, who is to do the dying on this battlefield of Palestine. "These strategic problems," he explains, "ought to help us to understand the most pressing and urgent problem of the Palestine of today, that is the immigration policy. *To discontinue full immigration into Palestine means to deny to the British Empire the finest recruiting material that could be found in the Middle East. . . . The cut in Jewish immigration into Palestine means a reduction in manpower necessary for the defense of the Middle East. . . .*"

Well may one gasp, rub one's eyes, and re-read this

passage. And one may reflect with bitterness that this is what one might well expect from a British military scientist who puts the needs of Empire strategy first. But a gruesome question comes to mind: what is this excerpt doing in *Palestine*, organ of the American Zionist Emergency Council? This cold-blooded and callous calculation that the Jews who survived Hitler are to be brought to Palestine to become "the finest recruiting material" for the British empire in the Middle East—what is this doing in a Zionist organ unless it is a repetition, this time in a ghoulish way, of the standard Zionist strategic offer that the Jews in Palestine would always be ready to die for dear old British imperialism? Is this what Zionist spokesmen in the DP camps of Europe were saying to the emaciated and Hitler-shocked inmates, "Wait, we Zionists will get you out of here to the Homeland, to Zion, to Palestine, where you will be 'manpower necessary' for British, imperial interests in the Middle East"?

Such was the "leadership" of the Jewish bourgeoisie that headed the Zionist movement. Talk about bourgeois indifference to the fate of a people, even to those remnants of a people, tragic and woe-begone, who escaped the gas-ovens and wearily laid their confidence in the Zionist leaders to "help" them! Parallels to such betrayal it would be difficult to find—except in the annals of similar class betrayals by bourgeois ruling classes of the peoples they rule.

Illegal Army and Terrorists

But there were some Zionist circles which by this time were sick and tired of the main policy of wheedling imperialist statesmen, whether Conservative or Labor in political complexion. *Mass* sentiment in Palestine was becoming anti-imperialist, and confused forms of active resistance began to develop, expressing themselves through the Hagana, the illegal Zionist military unit that later became the base of the Israel army. In addition there were those whose anguish led to a frustrating kind of desperation, and who turned to the terrorism of the Irgun and the Stern group. Undoubtedly many a sincere fighter, outraged to the core by the brutality of British policy, took to these forms of resistance with noble intent, unaware that the reactionary fascist-like ideology of the Irgun and Stern leaders could lead only to disaster.

Yet the aim of these movements and groups was not to go outside the strategy of alliance with imperialism; the aim was rather, by use of violence and even terrorism, to prove to British imperialism that the Jews were tough and therefore worthy allies of imperialism. Thus Moshe Sneh, in that period a military leader of the Hagana, protested on January 25, 1946, in *Haaretz*, that "our struggle, even in its extreme manifestations, does not have an anti-British character." And in its memorandum submitted in March 1946 to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, the Hagana repeated: "We do not know of any contradictory interest between us and England. We are not interested in weakening the position of England in the world, in the

Middle East or in Palestine" (cited in A. B. Magil, *Israel in Crisis*, New York, 1950, p. 169).

The terrorists of the Irgun and Stern group, despite all their bravado and ferocity, their attacks on British soldiers and their blowing up of the King David Hotel, had as their *main* political goal the persuading of the British *by force* that the Zionists were really their best allies, their absolutely finest recruiting material.

American Imperialism Takes Over

One change did take place, but it was *not* in the basic bourgeois nationalist concept that the Zionist movement hunts for allies in the camp of imperialism. The change was rather a gradual switch to another imperialism than Britain—to a bigger and, it was hoped, more reliable imperialism, United States imperialism itself, which since the war had reduced British imperialism to a junior partner-and-rival. The global perspectives of United States imperialism envisioned an "American century" in which the entire world would be dominated by American big business. In such a vision the Middle East held a strategic place and United States imperialism was now ready to step boldly into this area, elbowing aside the British and the French while uniting with them in opposition to any *anti-imperialist* movements in the region.

The British Zionist leaders, loyal to British imperialism, deplored the new push of United States diplomacy into the Middle East, but not so the American Zionist leadership. The American Jewish bourgeoisie was now the largest and wealthiest Jewish bourgeoisie in the world, having far outstripped the British and the French Jewish bourgeoisie, and was an integrated part of American monopoly capital, supporting its reactionary aims. The American Jewish bourgeoisie was also the most influential, since the very size of the American Jewish population of 5,000,000 made them a factor in American internal political relations that the few hundred thousand British or French Jews had never been in their own countries.

Moreover, it was not only the Zionist section of the American Jewish bourgeoisie that was interested in the new emphasis of American diplomacy in the Middle East. One section of the American Jewish plutocracy, for the most part gathered around the American Jewish Committee, agitated against Zionism. They polemized against the Zionist theories that the Jews throughout the world constituted a single nation, that the Jews in the United States and other countries outside Palestine were "in exile" and that all Jews from all over the world would have to be "ingathered" into a future Jewish State. However, this group, which includes the Morgenthau, Lehman, Warburgs, Kuhn-Loeb, Schiffs and so on, themselves a part of American monopoly capital, had from 1916 on supported Jewish colonization in Palestine in various ways. In 1926 they began to develop American financial penetration of Palestine through the Palestine Economic Corporation as a rival to British capitalist domination.

- As United States imperialism prepared to make the Middle East one of its main strategic centers, elbowing the British control of the area, this United States Jewish plutocracy intervened more and more in Palestine in the interests of American imperialism. Certainly if the United States was to become the dominant factor in the Middle East, the plutocratic Jewish group was not going to be left behind. Thus, these American Jewish Committee forces which because of their position as big capitalists had close contact with ruling circles in this country, became even more influential than the old Zionist leadership in working with American policy makers.

Hence the American Jewish bourgeoisie *as a whole* was now united in a coalition that agreed on making Zionism an ally of United States imperialism in the Middle East. This coalition was dominated by the American Jewish Committee element, and the "old Zionists" were somewhat uneasy and aggrieved at the way this new group had forced its way into the inside track as "spokesman" for "American Jewry" in government circles.

There was only one small group of the American Jewish bourgeoisie that was not in the coalition: that was the American Council for Judaism, which in 1943, led by Les-sing Rosenwald, seceded from the American Jewish Committee on this very issue of Middle Eastern policy. Rosenwald's loyalty to American imperialism had expressed itself in his being the only Jew on the America First Committee of ill-repute. His opposition, and that of his Council's, to United States policy in the Middle East led him later to support that section of American big business diplomacy which preferred an alliance with the Arab states in the Middles East to one with the Zionists and, then, the Ben Gurion government of the State of Israel.

Palestine and the Truman Doctrine

There is neither need nor room now to analyze how United States imperialism, beginning with the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1945-1946, outmaneuvered the British with regard to Palestine. Our point here is only that the Jewish bourgeoisie, Zionist and non-Zionist, worked strictly within the framework, determined by their *class* position, of alliance not with working class or national liberation movements, states, or governments, but with imperialism.

Less than a year after the Report of the Committee of Inquiry was filed, Truman made what was up to then his boldest Middle Eastern move. On March 12, 1947, he proclaimed the "Truman Doctrine." This doctrine announced that the fascist state of Greece was a democracy, that the terrorist state of Turkey was even a bigger democracy, that both these newly proclaimed "democracies" were outposts of "Western civilization," bastions of the "American Way of Life" and fortresses of "democracy" in the Middle East against communism. To finance these suddenly democratic bastions, Truman obtained the consent of Congress that American taxpayers should assign \$400,000,000

to Greece and Turkey, sums multiplied several times since then. Palestine was not mentioned in the Truman Doctrine.

While the American Jewish bourgeoisie applauded the Truman Doctrine, they were disappointed that Palestine had been omitted from it. Sixteen days after the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine, however, there arrived in New York a well-known Zionist military man from Palestine, Major Wellesley Aron, a founder of the Jewish Brigade in Palestine. Major Aron, whose mission here included raising funds under the auspices of the United Jewish Appeal, was welcomed by the Zionist Organization of America. A press conference was at once arranged to introduce Major Aron and his message to the American people. The following quotations from Major Aron's remarks to the press are from the official Z. O. A. release of March 28, 1947 (*italics added*).

Said Major Aron: "Greece and Turkey form today's outpost of democracy as the western world has come to understand that term. A Jewish State in Palestine would *on utilitarian, realistic grounds alone*, round off a *strategic plan* in conformity with what is taking place." What is this but an open bid for the inclusion of Palestine in the "strategic plan" of the Truman Doctrine?

Major Aron did not hesitate to pledge the lives of the Jews of Palestine in the service of United States imperialism as defined in the Truman Doctrine and its demagogic phraseology. Major Aron continued: "Six hundred and fifty thousand Jewish men, women and children in Palestine would fight to the last for the four freedoms, forming a valuable bastion of strength out of all possible proportion to the size of the area they inhabit or to their total numbers." Ah, the holy cause in which a future Jewish State, linked by the Truman Doctrine to the fascist states of Greece and Turkey, would allow its total population to die, if only the United States government would be willing to accept this offering on the altar of American imperialism!

"A Source of Military Manpower"

But Major Aron was not content to pledge the Jews already in Palestine. As a Zionist, he expected immigration, and so he unhesitatingly mortgaged the future Jews too, with the statement that "the present Jewish defense forces in Palestine will unquestionably grow in size during the coming years, *providing a source of military manpower* of a quality and temper unique in the Mediterranean zone." Is this language already familiar to the reader? Does it remind him of the British military scientist W. E. Hart's fervent assurance that the Jews in Palestine were the "finest recruiting material" and "manpower necessary for the defense of the Middle East" for British aims? The continuity and consistency is striking not only because the same phrases and images occur. More important is the fact that the policy is identical, with this one difference: in November-December 1945, the American Zionist leaders were publishing Hart's argument to persuade the British imperialists, while on March 28, 1947 they published Aron's argument to per-

suade the American imperialists of the usefulness of an alliance with the Zionist movement.

The year 1947 was fateful for the Jews and the Zionists. On April 28, 1947, the special session of the United Nations Assembly convened to discuss the Palestine problem, thus bringing the issue formally for the *first time* before an international body that included not only the imperialist forces but the anti-imperialist and socialist forces of the world. On May 9, Ben Gurion and Sharett (then named Shertock) arrived in New York and on May 12 they appeared at the UN meeting, consent to hearing spokesmen for the Jews having been won from the Assembly by the efforts of the anti-imperialist and socialist states.

Soviet Position on Palestine

On May 14, Andrei Gromyko, heading the Soviet delegation to the UN, made his historic address, in which, without reference to the Zionist movement, he stated the Soviet position on the situation of the Jewish people at that time: "The fact that not a single Western European state has been in a position to guarantee the defense of the elementary rights of the Jewish people or compensate them for the violence they have suffered at the hands of the Fascist hangmen *explains the aspiration of the Jews for the creation of a state of their own*. It would be unjust not to take this into account and to deny the right of the Jewish people to the realization of such an aspiration." (Full text of speech published in pamphlet form by JEWISH LIFE, p. 11; italics added; this is the only full text available in English in this country, the version in the *New York Times* being incomplete.)

This speech put the full weight of the socialist world behind the aspiration of Jews for a Jewish state and helped rally progressive and labor forces throughout the world for it, despite the continuing Zionist strategy of alliance with imperialism. Why did the USSR take this position? Had it abandoned its traditional hostility to Zionism as a bourgeois nationalist movement incompatible with the needs of the working class and of socialism? There were some American Zionists who mistakenly tried to interpret Gromyko's position as marking some pro-Zionist "flip-flop." However, it was not Zionism that Gromyko had supported, but the justified striving for national freedom and independence of the Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine.

This differentiation between Zionism and the Jews, and the real basis of Soviet support for a Jewish state were repeated by Ilya Ehrenburg in *Pravda* on September 21, 1948. Replying to a letter from a German Jew in Munich, Ehrenburg restated the Marxist opposition to all bourgeois nationalism and therefore to Zionism. As to Israel, Ehrenburg said: "the Soviet government was the first to recognize the new state, it protested energetically against the aggressors and when the armies of Israel fought to defend their land from the Arab Legionnaires commanded by British officers, the sympathies of our people were all for the wronged,

not for the wrongdoers. This is as natural as the fact that the Soviet people sympathize with the patriots of Viet-Nam and not with the French suppressors, with the patriots of Indonesia and not with the Dutch punitive forces." (JEWISH LIFE, June 1949, p. 25.)

Zionism and Prague Trial

But to return to the situation in 1947. It was exactly in this context of the intervention of democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist forces in support of the Jewish masses that there took place the private meeting in Washington testified to at the Prague trial. At this meeting of Truman, Acheson, Ben Gurion, Sharett and Henry Morgenthau, the latter three, in return for promises of support of Zionist aims, agreed to allow the Zionist organizations to be used as a channel for the operation of United States intelligence and to make the future government of the Jewish state in Palestine similarly an instrument not only of American policy in the Middle East in general but also of United States intelligence operations.

Is it conceivable that such commitments were made by Ben Gurion, Sharett and Morgenthau? Undoubtedly many members and supporters of the Zionist organizations are shocked at the very idea of such a commitment. But we would remind such well-intentioned persons first of the fact that, as revealed by Jacob De Haas as far back as 1928 in the quotation cited in the first of these articles, the Zionist movement had already served the British and United States intelligence services in the First World War. Secondly, there is the fact that the entire strategy of the Zionist leadership was based upon alliance with imperialism, which necessitates of course service to the sought-for imperialist ally.

Is it really so difficult to believe that the same Zionist leadership that could in public over and over again use the arguments of a Hart or a Major Aron for an imperialist alliance would not *consistently* make more detailed commitments at a private meeting? If in public the Zionist leadership is begging to become an instrument of the Truman Doctrine, what is more plausible than that in private, in working out the service that the Zionists and the Jewish state could render to the Truman policy, such practical commitments should be made? After all, is an alliance with United States imperialism to stop short of cooperation with United States intelligence? Against the 50 year background of Zionist efforts consistently and persistently to forge alliance with imperialism, the mere detail, no matter how shocking, of servicing an imperialist intelligence agency, is in fact nothing more than a detail in an overall policy. If the exposure at the Prague trial of this monstrous detail, however, can lead the Zionist membership to examine critically the overall Zionist policy of imperialist alliance, then the trial will indeed have rendered the Jews a signal service.

(To be continued)

SAUL WELLMAN, WORKERS' LEADER

By Abe Strauss

Detroit

The arrest in Detroit of six workers under the Smith act has evoked protests from thousands of workers and common people, both Negro and white, who have known the six as forthright fighters for peace and democracy. The local press, controlled by the auto barons, with the Detroit edition of the *Jewish Daily Forward* in the lead, has loosed a flood of slander to create a hysterical atmosphere for the trial. This press has vented particular fury on the well known Marxist leader Saul Wellman, who had \$40,000 bail placed on him immediately on his arrest.

What kind of man is Saul Wellman? When I was invited to interview him, I grasped the opportunity. Present also were his wife Peggy, who has been arrested for deportation, and their two lovely children. As I entered, Saul Wellman greeted me with a "*Sholem Aleichem*." I noticed that among the hundreds of books in his excellent library were a number of books in Yiddish by the classical Jewish writers. Saul Wellman is a native of this country but he is well versed in Yiddish.

When we sat down to talk, Wellman told me about himself. "My father and mother," he said, "were hard working people who came to this country from tsarist Russia in 1907. Yiddish was spoken in the house. My father was a forward thinking person. He was an active member of the Workmen's Circle. While I was still a child, my good father used to tell me stories about his experiences in the old Russia and of his flight to America.

"I was eight years old when my father told me about Eugene Debs and the Socialist Party. At that time I began going to the Workmen's Circle Children's School."

Wellman went on to tell me about his eager learning of Yiddish and how his environment impregnated him with the spirit of struggle against oppression. At the age of 12, he decided to join the militant Pioneer movement and at 16 he joined the Young Communist League. He soon took on leading positions and became an active fighter for the people's rights.

His attendance at New York City College was cut short in 1930, when he, together with other militant students, was expelled for taking part in the historic hunger march on Union Square. Wellman then learned the mechanic's trade and

worked as a machinist in a number of shops, where he organized locals of the Metal Workers' Industrial League. Later these locals became part of the International Association of Machinists and of the United Electrical Workers' Union.

Because of his union activities, Wellman was fired from his job many times. He then became a truck driver and was among the first organizers of the Wholesale Tobacco and Candy Drivers' Union. Within a period of three months, the truck drivers of 350 companies were organized.

Then in 1936 came the attack by Franco-Mussolini-Hitler on the Spanish Republic. Wellman enlisted in the anti-fascist International Brigade. He fought in a number of the historic battles of the Spanish civil war and became a commissar of agitation and education. He received a shrapnel wound and on another occasion he collapsed from exhaustion and lack of sleep. He fought in Spain up until the final battles and came home full of love and admiration for the heroic Spanish anti-fascists. On his return from Spain he resumed his anti-fascist activity by becoming an organizer for the Communist Party.

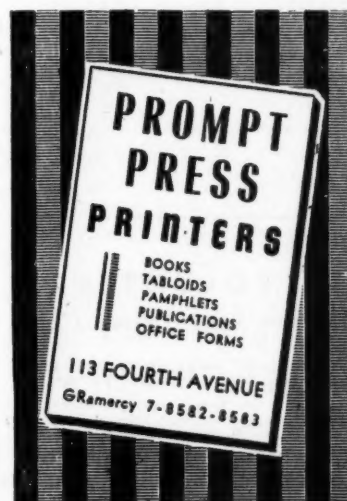
When the war against Hitler broke out, Wellman was the father of two children. Nevertheless, he enlisted in the army and fought with the famous 101st Airborne Division as a paratrooper. He was dropped behind the Nazi lines in Holland and fought with his division to free that country from the Nazis. In 1944, he took part in the "Battle of the Bulge," in which he was seriously wounded by a bullet in the heart. He was hospitalized for six months and was discharged from the army with a full pension.

Since the end of the war Wellman has continued the fight against fascism, racism and anti-Semitism. He moved to Detroit,

where the auto workers were inspired by the strength radiating from this dynamic working class leader. Together with his two colleagues, Philip Schatz and Nat Ganley, who were also arrested under the Smith act, Wellman became very popular with Detroit workers of all political views. One of their main purposes was to promote the unity of Negro and white auto workers in the gigantic factories of the auto city.

Wellman and I talked about the slander of "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. "It's really terrible," he said, "that people who call themselves leaders of the Jewish people should capitulate to the very same forces that built up Hitler and that they should now jump on the bandwagon for World War III. It's very sad. But the Jewish people, who have had to stand up under many other frame-ups and slanders, will also be able to bear the burden of this campaign and to come out right. A people will not be misled and betrayed forever. Our Jewish people have gone through too much to be taken in for long by these slanders!"

(Abe Strauss is the Cleveland-Pittsburgh-Detroit representative of the Morning Freiheit.)



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Book Reviews

MORE OR LESS CARELESS HISTORY

By Morris U. Schappes

The Firsts of American Jewish History 1492-1951, by Tina Levitan. Published by the author, 1233 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn 30, N. Y. \$3.

Do you for any reason want to know who or where in the United States is the first Jewish American born clergyman, bookdealer, cabinet member, chaplain, commodore, engineer, governor, historian, judge, lawyer, insurer, merchant prince, national organization, Nobel prize winner, orchestra conductor, poetess, radio station manager, slaughterhouse, statesman or Supreme Court justice?

Or would you like to find out the first American actor to be awarded a doctor's degree, the first American holiday inaugurated by a Jew, or book "of importance" published in North America, or chief rabbi of Orthodox Jewry, or department store, or Free Synagogue, or Hebrew author in America, or Hebrew Letter issued by the American government, or Jew in America, or liberal arts college under Jewish auspices, or "one price" store, or presidential residence owned by a Jew, or pediatric clinic, or real settings on the

American stage, or ready-made clothing for children, or star of "talkies," or talking machine invention, or visiting nurse, or woman rabbi, or YMHA, or Yiddish poet or Zionist organization?

If you are looking for such information, possibly for a parlor game, a crossword puzzle or even for a more serious reason, you may be tempted to try to find the facts in the 150 pages and almost 100 chapters of Miss Levitan's book about "firsts" in American Jewish history. In fact, the book is already in its third printing and has sold several thousand copies, so there must be some people who, as the interest in American Jewish history grows, feel the need of such scattered facts.

The curious reader seeking such information in Miss Levitan's work faces a danger: he is just about as likely to get misinformation as facts in these pages. I cannot recall any book in the field which has so many sheer errors and false statements of simple fact as this one. Even mistakes which have been corrected by historians turn up here in profusion, while some errors seem to be her own contribution.

As for the quality of her intellectual approach to American Jewish history, it is sufficient to report that Miss Levitan mistakenly speaks of Jews as a race, and can take a pathetic middle class nationalistic "pride" in the first American postage stamp bearing the picture of a Jew (Joseph Pulitzer, whose father was Jewish), and in the first army commander since Napoleon to invade the Reich from the West (Major General Maurice Rose).

Since Miss Levitan is very young and intends to persist in writing on American Jewish history, it is to be hoped she will master at least the elementary methods of accurately reporting historical research.

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It's Up to You!

ONE critical event tumbles on the next with little time for a breather to gauge its significance; action to stem anti-Semitism and the trend to fascism and war becomes more and more necessary. In times like these, JEWISH LIFE plays an ever more essential role in supplying information and guidance to the Jewish community.

But there is a little matter of money. We cannot go ahead unless we are assured of publication for the rest of the year by the fulfillment of the \$25,000 Fund and Subscription Drive. It's up to you!

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THE EDITORS

OBSERVATION POST

Spread some of that gold—don't be miserly and keep it for yourself.

IWO Appeal

In February the New York State Court of Appeals heard arguments on the appeal of the International Workers Order against the decision of Judge Henry Clay Greenberg and its affirmation by the Appellate Division to grant the Insurance Department of New York leave to liquidate the IWO. The appeal against this shameful decision was made by Osmond K. Fraenkel, famous civil liberties lawyer, for the IWO and by Milton H. Friedman, lawyer for the IWO Policyholders Protective Committee. Since the IWO is in excellent financial condition, a fact conceded by the Insurance Department and the Court, it is clear that the effort to liquidate the organization is nothing more than a brutal form of political persecution, a measure smacking of fascism perpetrated by Governor Dewey's Insurance Department, a brutal denial of the constitutional and property rights of 160,000 members. Should the New York State Court of Appeals affirm the decision of the lower courts, the IWO will bring its case to the United States Supreme Court. Public-spirited citizens are beginning to see the dangers to the right of assembly, to all fraternal and trade union organizations, if an administrative official like the Superintendent of Insurance can decide to liquidate an organization because he doesn't like the opinions of some of the leaders of these organizations. A vast protest movement should be developed, directed at Governor Dewey and the New York State Insurance Department, calling for a halt to the fascist-like effort to destroy a splendid fraternal organization which has performed great service for its members, Negro and white, and its contributions to American democracy.

Don't Miss It

Thousands must be turned away at the Tenth Anniversary Memorial Meeting of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising to be held at Manhattan Center, New York City, on Sunday, April 19 at 2 P.M. This is no ordinary occasion but an expression by New York Jews and others that the lessons of the Warsaw Ghetto are not forgotten in these trying times when the American Jewish Committee crowd and their Jewish Labor Committee and Zionist me-too'ers are fanning the flames of war hysteria against the people's Poland and the Soviet Union. The Judenrat of our own country must hear the voice of New York's Jewish workers and friends of peace proclaim that the Warsaw Ghetto fighters have taught us well on the dangers of the Judenrat.

By Sam Pevzner

Where Are You?

There will have to be a lot of doing if the 1953 JEWISH LIFE Fund Drive is to emerge from the doldrums. That improvement is needed is to put it mildly. There must be an explosive change in all areas and especially in those Jewish Life committees that have so far shown no results. JEWISH LIFE will not be able to publish through the coming spring and summer months if the drive does not become a *drive* in all sections of the country. Can you imagine what it would mean if JEWISH LIFE discontinued publication for lack of funds in this period—in this period when the need for and appreciation of the magazine has risen to unprecedented heights? A contradiction, isn't it? But true. From every corner of the land the magazine has received laudatory letters; the enemies of progress have complimented JEWISH LIFE by lambasting it. They fear this powerful ray of light penetrating the abysmal darkness spread by the lying hysteria about "anti-Semitism" in the socialist countries. We are at the height of our "popularity" but the fund drive limps along as if we were living in normal times. Let's stop limping and do some sprinting. At once!

Detroit Leads Country

Here is the record in the drive up to March 10th. Study it and draw your conclusions:

District	Quota	Raised	per cent
Detroit	\$250	\$125	50
Brooklyn	2500	790	35
Bronx	2000	475	23
N. J.	400	63	16
Phila.	400	55	14
Chicago	1250	168	13
Queens	400	25	6
Manhattan	1300	0	0
Cleveland	200	0	0
Boston	200	0	0

Manhattan, Cleveland and Boston: take a look at those goose-eggs. Bestir yourselves! Los Angeles and San Francisco are not included in the list because the West Coast conducts its drive at a later period. Last year the West Coast outdid all other districts and we are confident that it will stand high in accomplishment this year as well. The above record does not include the subscription phase of the campaign.

Details on the sub drive will be published next month.

On the Circuit

JEWISH LIFE editors are continuing to hit the circuit at an intensive pace. The demand for the editors to appear at forums on the charges of "anti-Semitism" against the socialist countries has kept them hopping to the point where they haven't time for their editorial work (maybe that was why the March issue was late). Of special interest was the appearance of Morris U. Schappes on March 4 on the campus of Columbia University for the Political Affairs Forum. Schappes' speech was reported on page one of the March 5th edition of the *Columbia Daily Spectator* with a picture of our fellow editorial board member. To give you an idea of the effectiveness of our policy of bringing the facts to the people, following are some excerpts from a thank-you letter sent to Schappes by a representative of the Political Affairs Forum of Columbia:

"Your talk, and especially the staggering documentation you presented, evoked considerable comment—some favorable to our general case, some expressing surprise that such a formidable case against the press slanders existed, and reflecting skepticism, at least, toward the 'anti-Semitic' charges—but none of it unfavorable. . . . This, I think is quite a showing, and a tribute to your knowledge and industry. As you see, you made page one of the *Spectator*, no mean achievement in itself."

A Gold Mine

This meeting on the Columbia campus shows that many doors are open for bringing the truth about the charges of "anti-Semitism." Jewish Life committees should seek out these doors and armed with the mass of material and documentation provided by JEWISH LIFE, the issues can be clarified and the lies attacked. The students' reaction at Columbia shows that JEWISH LIFE can be spread far and wide—and not only among those who agree with its position. There is a genuine desire to get at the truth. Let's get those subscriptions and increase our bundle orders. The March issue, especially, is a gold mine.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

And more resistance . . . In a sermon before his Temple in Cleveland in mid-March Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver reiterated his view that a conference should be held by Washington and Moscow to halt the cold war and the Korean war. . . . The American Jewish Congress protested to the State Department in early March the refusal of a visa to Sydney Silverman, British Labor, MP, to come here to speak at a dinner for the Rosenbergs. . . . The Jewish Community Council of Los Angeles late in January voted overwhelmingly to censure the board of trustees of the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital for having dismissed without a hearing seven doctors who appeared before the Un-American committee. The resolution was presented by the Committee for Medical Freedom. The community council refused to pass that part of the resolution calling for withholding of community funds from the hospital.

The deficit last year of *Commentary*, monthly published by the American Jewish Committee, was *only* about \$105,000, said editor Elliot Cohen in mid-February in reply to charges that the deficit had reached more than \$200,000.

Jewish leaders were "worried" by the fact that the first major rally to "protest communist anti-Semitism" in New York's Manhattan Center on February 16 was a "flop." The meeting was called by 31 organizations and the hall was one-third empty.

A bomb exploded in front of a car opposite the Denver synagogue in which hundreds were attending the Pioneer Women's dinner in celebration of Purim in mid-February. The bombing was the fourth in the last 18 months in the vicinity of the synagogue.

Professional anti-Semites gathered early in March in San Francisco for a two day conference to plan a campaign "to abolish the United Nations." The conference announcement, sent out by fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, said that the blue and white UN flag was "aping the Jew flag of Palestine."

"American Zionists are greatly worried," said Boris Smolar, columnist of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in his column for the week-end of February 27, about the trend in Washington to put main reliance on the Arab rulers for the anti-Soviet Middle East strategy and to reduce "aid" to Israel.

EUROPE

East German youth were warned against anti-Semitism and were specifically reminded that "racial hatred" was forbidden by the East German constitution. The warning was issued in the youth newspaper, *Junge Welt*, of February 15, which is circulated among the three million members of the East German youth movement. The youth were warned also that their enemy were "American Zionists who seek to undermine socialism."

The radio announcer who broadcast to the Soviet people the bulletins on the illness and death of Joseph Stalin was Yuri Levitan—a Jew.

News from Poland . . . The Jewish Cultural Association announced early in March that its membership was now 11,000, voluntarily recruited from Jewish workers. . . . A two-day Festival of Jewish Art in Poland was held at the Jewish Theater in Wroclaw in February. Amateur dramatic societies, orchestras and choral groups participated. Jews from all over Poland attended. . . . The "Jewish Book" publishing house issued 31 books during 1952 with an average edition of each book of 5,500. For 1953, 33 books are scheduled for publication with an average edition of 6,000. . . . Recently the People's Council of Krakow assigned 400,000 zlotys (about \$100,000) for restoration of the city's oldest synagogue. . . . Recent awards to Jewish workers: four Jewish workers received gold and silver medals for their work at the Pafaway railway car plant in Wroclaw; K. Pinkiert, director of the Dziezoniow radio factory, was decorated personally by Polish President Boleslaw Bierut for his work, and many others received recognition.

ISRAEL

An alarming picture of the economic situation in Israel was given by *New York Times* Tel Aviv correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt on March 18. Israel, he wrote, "is now confronted with an army of 24,000 unemployed. The government has restricted public works and private business is in decline. Industry is working only at about 30 per cent of capacity. This situation has been brought about mainly by the deflationary new economic policy begun 13 months ago, which has succeeded in its first objective of saving the Israel pound from runaway inflation. However, it has not yet succeeded in its larger objective of raising productivity and expanding production and exports. If the

unregistered unemployed are included, the real total of jobless is probably around 48,000. Close observers of business trends expect the number to continue to increase for some months." Schmidt adds that many unemployed demonstrations are taking place in Israel, including several protest marches by Arabs in Nazareth. Observers note that one large reason for the situation is the heavy armaments outlay.

The Israeli cabinet on March first reversed the provision in the "reparations" agreement with the Bonn regime that had prohibited West German ships to enter Israel ports. Such ships will now call at Israel ports with "reparations" goods.

The Israel Students Union, at its annual convention in February attended by 40 delegates representing about 4,500 students, decided to drop its membership in the International Students Union and will instead join the international student organization dominated by Washington.

A severe drought in the Negev, southern area of Israel, will permit only 12,500 acres—eight per cent of the total of the 175,000 acres of the grain sown—to be harvested. This will strain the already severe foreign exchange situation because grain will have to be imported.

The Jewish Agency announced in February that it has opened a hotel which will be used exclusively by immigrants from the Anglo-Saxon countries. The hotel is in a new quarter of Tel Aviv.

Only 701 immigrants entered Israel in January. The average per month in 1951 was 15,000. During 1952, 26,000 immigrated to Israel and 13,000 left the country.

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