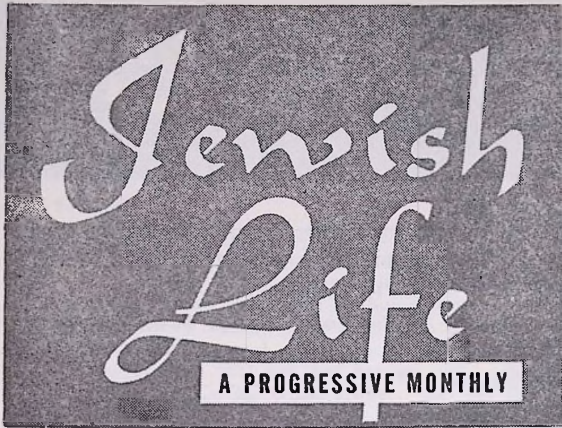


DECEMBER 1952 • 25c



## HOW ISRAEL CAN PROSPER

*by Victor Perlo*

**SAVE THE ROSENBERGS—NOW!** *an editorial*

**THE U. S.-NAZI MURDER, INC.** *by Gerhard Hagelberg*

**THE RACIST LAW BEGINS TO GRIND** *by Alec Jones*

**WHAT PROGRAM FOR U. S. ZIONISM?** *by Louis Harap*

**LOS ANGELES ROUTS UN-AMERICANS** *by George Lewin*

**JEWISH PARTISANS OF THE WOODS** *excerpt from a novel  
by Chaver Paver*

**Review of Tenenbaum's "Underground"** *by Morris U. Schappes*

# From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

At HOME

Eighty prominent Americans issued a statement to the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization on October 29 charging that "freedom of thought, speech and association are being denied to all foreign born in this country" and that the McCarran-Walter act is adding new restrictions aimed at naturalized citizens. Among the signers of the statement were Rabbi Michael Alper, of New York, Dr. Abraham Cronbach, of Cincinnati, Prof. Ephraim Cross, of New York, Ben Gold, furriers' union leader, and Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg, of Hampden, Conn.

On November 6, it was reported from Washington that tabulated votes for General Douglas MacArthur for president on fascist Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian Nationalist" and on the "Constitution" party tickets in three states (Arkansas, Texas and Washington) was under 10,000. Complete returns are not yet in.

A resident of Chatham, N. J., Harold Keith Thompson, is registered as an agent of the Socialist Reich Party, neo-nazi party which was thought to have dissolved recently. Thompson says he has a number of financial supporters in the metropolitan area who are contributing to support of families of imprisoned war criminals.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman delivered a speech against McCarthyism at the 39th annual meeting of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at Chicago on October 26. Although manifesting intense anti-communist sentiment, Senator Lehman stated that "The forces gathered under the banner of the McCarthy brand of anti-communism are among the most vicious in America today." Was it not a "strange circumstance," he said, that such anti-communists "were nowhere in evidence when we were confronted with the threat of fascism ten years ago."

"The Tablet," Brooklyn Catholic Diocesan organ, boasted in its October 4 issue, that four teachers under attack recently for their defense of Constitutional rights, Louis Jaffe, Bernhard J. Stern, Louis Reilin and Morris Lipschitz, were lecturers in the course on techniques of intercultural education, the anti-bias study which the Tablet was highly influential in getting discontinued a few years ago. The Tablet wrote on October 11, 1947, that the word

(Continued on page 32)



VOL. VII, No. 2 (74)

DECEMBER, 1952

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## OUR PRICE RISE: A REMINDER

Beginning with the November issue, the price of JEWISH LIFE went up. This price rise applies to renewals as well as to new subscriptions and individual copies.

The new rates:

Single copy, 25c  
 Subscription or renewal per year, \$2.50  
 Outside U.S. and Possessions, \$3.00

# *The Sands Are Running Out—* Save the Rosenbergs—NOW!

**W**E must make every minute count if Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are to be saved from the electric chair.

As American citizens, it is our duty to ensure that the irrevocable injustice of the death sentence is not committed by our government. Every American should therefore urge President Truman to exercise his power of clemency and commute the barbarous death sentence on the Rosenbergs. But this will not happen unless a deluge of letters and telegrams descends on the White House. Nor will this happen spontaneously. Every individual must constitute himself or herself a committee of one to make sure that five, ten, 20 telegrams or letters demanding clemency are sent to the president.

Already there are signs that Americans of every political persuasion and faith are awake to the shame to America that impends if this death sentence is carried out.

Even many who believe the Rosenbergs guilty are urging clemency. Thus editor Hillel Rogoff of the intensely anti-communist *Jewish Daily Forward* wrote on October 16: "We have not changed our minds. . . . We express our hope that the president will save the Rosenbergs from the electric chair." The *Jewish Day* editorialized on October 16: "Believing in our democratic system of justice and in the just application of our laws, we feel that we are entitled to appeal to the president that he should commute the death sentence to a prison term and prevent America from appearing in the eyes of the world more brutal than other democratic countries which have dealt with similar crimes." Jacob Glatstein spoke out for clemency in the *Orthodox Jewish Morning Journal* of October 19.

From the many Protestant clergymen who have spoken out for clemency, we cite the *Churchman* editorial of November 1: the death sentence "is both excessive and cruel. . . . We believe that the execution of these two individuals will only hurt the name of the United States."

Many distinguished Americans have added their voices to the appeal for clemency.

From all parts of the world, newspapers, organizations and distinguished individuals have protested the death sentence.

With all the earnestness at our command, we urge you to:

1. Immediately send President Truman a letter or telegram urging clemency.
2. Get your friends and organizations to do likewise.
3. Cooperate in all meetings and activities of the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and all local committees.
4. Collect funds and send immediately to the Committee, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

*The sands are running out. Help save the Rosenbergs—now!*

# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

AS NOVEMBER 4th recedes, perspectives on the election results become clearer. Why was General Eisenhower elected by an unexpectedly large majority of the votes cast? In the answer to this question one can discover the mood and aspirations of the American people.

Can one say that the victory for Republican reaction means popular approval for the right wing program whose end product is war and fascism? Quite the contrary. As is now generally agreed, Eisenhower's promise to "go to Korea" more than any other single element accounts for his large vote. For the senseless war in Korea was uppermost in the minds of the people and they wanted it ended. However vague and cruelly deceptive Eisenhower's promise was, the people interpreted it as a pledge to end the war quickly. He raised the hope of the people and caused them to vote for him. But in actual fact Eisenhower offered no plan or program to end the war: he only created the illusion that he would end it. For his part, Stevenson lost considerable votes by his persistent refusal even to hold out any hope whatever of achieving a cease-fire. This, at least, was clear enough to the American people and they voted accordingly. *They voted for peace, not war.*

Much as the two major parties wished to keep the Korean issue out of the campaign, the insistence of the people was too great to be denied. For this some share of the credit must go to the Progressive Party, which urged an immediate cease-fire as the primary issue. Despite the small vote for the national Progressive Party candidates because of the widespread acceptance by progressives and liberals of Stevenson as the "lesser evil," the Progressives performed a great service for the people by their valiant promotion of the Korean issue. Again, it can be said that fear of liberals that Eisenhower might bring war more quickly than Stevenson—that is, peace sentiment—accounts for the small vote for the Progressive Party.

Can the Eisenhower vote be interpreted as popular approval of the police state strivings of his grimly reactionary, anti-labor and McCarthyite associates? Again, the contrary is true. After the smoke of battle lifted, what one saw was a strong protest against McCarthyism. Thus Senator Joseph McCarthy himself was re-elected with the lowest vote of any Republican state-wide candidate in Wisconsin. Indiana's version of McCarthy, Senator William Jenner, ran 200,000 votes behind Eisenhower's 300,000 majority in that state. In Washington State, Republican Senator Harry P. Cain, another member of the McCarthy clan, was defeated

by a Democrat, Representative M. Jackson; in Missouri another one of this group, Senator James P. Kem, also a Republican, was replaced by Democrat Stuart Symington. And in Illinois, a Democratic Un-American Committee member, Representative Richard B. Vail, was defeated by Barratt O'Hara, a liberal Democrat who campaigned for an immediate cease-fire in Korea. These results from various parts of the country register, if anything, a trend away from acceptance of McCarthyism.

The wily Republicans were successful both in labeling the Democrats as the "War Party" and in exploiting the general dissatisfaction with the Democratic administration. So overwhelming was the people's desire for peace that the promise offered by Eisenhower overrode the people's aversion to the "states' rights" policies of the Republicans and that party's anti-labor, pro-Taft-Hartley position. The Democrats offered no real choice on these issues. As a result of the people's failure to see through the colossal demagoguery of Eisenhower's campaign, the country is now saddled with a new white supremacy alignment of Republicans and Dixiecrats who take the place of the traditional Democratic-Dixiecrat administration.

But even on the issue of civil rights there were encouraging signs that the fight against Jimcrow is making headway. The vice presidential candidacy of Mrs. Charlotta Bass of the Progressive Party was itself a momentous contribution to this fight. In various parts of the country, also, Negroes broke through Jimcrow in government. In New York, Julius A. Archibald became the first Negro state senator; in Detroit, Mrs. Cora Brown became the first woman Negro Michigan state senator; the first Negro was elected to the city council of Englewood, N. J., and a Negro was elected to the school board in Augusta, Ga.

Despite the victory of the reactionary Eisenhower and his caboodle of extreme right wing politicians, it would be a most serious mistake to take a defeatist attitude about the possibility of turning back the trend to fascism and war that began with the death of Roosevelt. One must not forget that the people *thought* they were voting for peace. Therefore, the task of all progressives and those desiring peace is to organize this peace sentiment to press upon the new administration to fulfill the unmistakable mandate from the electorate for an immediate cease-fire in Korea and a relaxation of international tensions.

It is essential that such a peace front should include the labor forces of the country. That this is possible can be

gauged from the fact that the nearly unanimous support by the big labor leaders of Democratic candidate Stevenson turned out to be a fiasco, as far as the labor vote was concerned. One large reason for this was failure of these leaders and the labor press to touch the issue of peace, which was paramount in the minds of the working people. It is possible and necessary for the peace movement to enlist this desire for peace among trade unionists in a great people's coalition for peace. Already the signs of disillusionment with both major parties have appeared in the demand of labor for a third party. The proposal of Ford Local 600 (UAW-CIO), largest local in the world, to build a Farmer-Labor Party is a significant indication of this.

For the Jewish people, the election results pose an urgent situation. Although it appears that an unexpectedly large minority of Jews, mostly middle class, voted for Eisenhower, there are special dangers for the Jews in the result. The increased threat of war and fascism calls for more intensive resistance. The racism and the anti-Semitism that the Eisenhower reactionaries drag in their train demand of the Jews a sharper fight, as the Jews, even those who voted for the general, will soon perceive. More than ever it is necessary for the Jewish people to ally themselves with the Negro people, with labor and with all progressive forces in a united effort to avert the catastrophic eventuality of war and fascism. In the realignment that the elections appear to have initiated, the Jewish people must in self defense take their stand with the progressive forces.

## JEWISH CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

**T**HE Jewish people will never forget that any war threatens their very existence," said the appeal of the Israel Peace Committee to the Israeli people in October. The appeal urged participation in the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, to be held in Vienna beginning December 12. This world congress promises to be the greatest outpouring of the common people for peace from every corner of the world. Jews everywhere are preparing to participate in that great gathering. For they have too much to lose by war not to join in any effort to prevent it.

Even though Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver does not participate in such movements, his oft-repeated warnings of the danger of war express this people's demand. Once again in his Cleveland Temple on November 2, Rabbi Silver reiterated his condemnation of those who believe war is inevitable and who advocate a "preventive war"; he called for a conference between the United States and the Soviet Union to settle outstanding differences, and he reasserted his conviction that the two world systems can co-exist peacefully.

Jews all over the world are urging this counsel against war and they are meeting to add their voices to the aspirations for peace that will be expressed at the Vienna conference. It is good to note that Jews in our own country, too,

are taking part in this most vital of all activities. It has been announced that the Coordinating Committee for the Jewish Peace Conference will hold a conference at the Hotel New Yorker on November 16—as we go to press—to consider problems of peace in relation to the coming Vienna congress. Delegates from landsmanshaften and many Jewish people's organizations will participate. They will discuss the outstanding dangers to peace in the various aspects of the cold war. In particular, they will take up the threat to the Jewish people and to all peoples of a renazified West Germany and the rearmament of its neo-nazi regime in conjunction with the war plans of NATO. We greet the conference. For there is no surer road for survival of the Jewish people than the fight for peace.

## HANUKAH

**W**HO knows, if the times had not called forth his powers, that the name of Judah Maccabee might now be lost in oblivion? Mattathias and his sons responded with all their rare qualities to the call of their oppressed people and led the Jews to liberation, as Ber Mark's historical sketch on page 14 shows. It is the freeing of Jerusalem from the Hellenizing oppressors and their Jewish quislings that is joyously celebrated by the Jewish people at Hanukah. This year the festival should not be an occasion for rejoicing alone. It should recall to us that the Jews of today are also called upon to defend their people, in unity with non-Jewish democrats, against the perils of war and fascism. Today the Jewish people have powerful allies in the struggle to help ward off the possibility of a renewal of Hitler's extermination program that might ensue in case of a third world war. For the peoples of the world, not only in the socialist countries, but in the oppressed colonial peoples, the workers and men of good will in all countries are more and more organizing to save the peace. Amidst the gaiety of Hanukah celebrations, the Jewish people must give sober thought to the fact that they are once more living in an age that demands the kind of heroism symbolized by the Maccabees.

## OUR 1953 FUND CAMPAIGN

**O**N page 31 of this issue, the reader will note the announcement of the December 15th opening of our \$25,000 Fund and Subscription Drive for 1953. We believe that our readers understand the vital importance of JEWISH LIFE for the American Jewish community because they are readers of our magazine, because they have derived this awareness from the material presented in its pages. We have conveyed to you for some time the extremity of our need. May we urge you to assure the unbroken existence of the magazine by starting now to organize the campaign and bring it to a successful and early close.

# THE U.S.-NAZI MURDER, INC.

*The startling revelation of United States complicity in a nazi plot to murder West Germans exposes the meaning of "liberation"*

*By Gerhard Hagelberg*

IN August 1951, Sterling Garwood, an agent of the United States Counter-Intelligence Corps, rented a house in the little village of Steinbach in the Odenwald Forest in the American Zone of West Germany. A mile or two away, in Waldmichelbach, the Technical Service of the neo-nazi Bund deutscher Jugend (BDJ) had purchased an estate which, villagers noticed, was inhabited by a different group of 10 to 14 men every week. They looked mostly like "typical officers, aged between 35 and 50." Every day Garwood visited the estate, carrying at various times pistols, a Soviet grenade thrower and different types of fuses.

The sensational story of American involvement in the BDJ plot was revealed to the legislature of the West German state of Hesse by Social Democratic Prime Minister Georg August Zinn in October.

At the end of 1950, leaders of the Bund Deutscher Jugend took part in establishing the secret Technical Service of the BDJ, with a general staff, including an intelligence department known as Branch 1F. At its estate in Waldmichelbach, members of the organization were put through a "partisan training" course, learning the use of German, Russian and American weapons and tactics and receiving political instruction. Three times during the summer of 1951 groups of trainees were put into American army clothing, given false names and taken for courses to a United States training center. The Technical Service had an estimated membership of 1,000 to 2,000, mostly former Wehrmacht and SS officers, and material seized by the Hessian police showed that it disposed of considerable funds. Disguised as payments for non-existent bills to a fictional firm, an American agency gave the gang 50,000 marks (\$11,900) monthly, in addition to special sums for the establishment of the pony company and the purchase of the Waldmichelbach estate.

## *A U.S.-Nazi Murder, Inc.*

All this the legislators of Hesse might have taken in their stride. West German politicians have long acquiesced in the large-scale employment of German citizens in the foreign legions of the occupation powers, such as the more than 30,000-strong Labor Service Units attached to United States forces which are trained and equipped to undertake battle assignments. Nor is American encouragement of nazi

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elements anything unusual in what the Swiss newspaper *Die Tat* calls the "political underworld in Germany." Basking in the favor of the Pentagon, Hitler's generals strut their belief that the good old days are here again, and the quality stocking firm of Otto Schoenfish, Bad Woerishofen, announced to the general public in advertising circulars: "We are not a Jewish enterprise." What caused the uproar in Hesse, a special cabinet meeting in Bonn and front-page headlines all over Europe was Prime Minister Zinn's revelation:

"The organization had plans for intervention in internal politics. Branch 1F, the intelligence branch, had the job of drawing up lists of persons who were (a) regarded by the Technical Service as politically untrustworthy in the case of military conflict with the Soviet Union and (b) opponents of a German defense contribution, the Bonn Treaty and the European Defense Community.

"According to the confession made by the head of this intelligence branch, these persons were to be 'put out of the way on X-day.' He said that he and other leading members of the organization understood this to mean extermination by armed force if necessary. Material seized from this intelligence branch includes 15 card index entries on Communists, and some 80 cards on leading members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. These cards included a detailed description of the persons concerned and intimate biographical details. . . . A list of about 120 leading Social Democrats, including the chairman Erich Ollenhauer, was also seized, but the index cards in this case were missing. According to the confessions made by the main plotters, a large part of the secret material has been destroyed. A portion was handed over to an American liaison officer, they stated. The money and the weapons were supplied to the organization by an American who superintended the training course and he was supplied with carbon copies of the card index entries."

The definiteness of Zinn's disclosure left little room for denial. The general character and American affiliation of the BDJ had been known a long time (see this writer's article in *JEWISH LIFE*, January 1952). At a BDJ meeting in Frankfurt in December 1950, its leader, Paul Lueth, brazenly proclaimed the group's Wall Street inspiration and nazi aim:

"They are false Christians who say that Christians must not kill. . . . We'll reconquer Breslau and Koenigsberg. . . . We are against any kind of planned economy. . . . Denazifi-

cation was the biggest crime and swindle against the German people. The United States is our guarantee of victory; the Americans are the Romans of our century. We don't want to haggle over defense like Schumacher; for we are receiving the unreserved support of the U.S.A. and we shall go on fighting to vindicate the honor of the Waffen-S.S."

### **Shocking Disclosures**

Of course, if American authorities caused the formation of or at least unreservedly supported the BDJ, they could hardly be expected to apply to it the laws prohibiting nazi and semi-military organizations. And to West German officialdom, itself reared on Marshall Plan help, the BDJ was not a bad thing as long as it plotted against Communists and the German Democratic Republic. Who could foresee that the Counter-Intelligence Corps would not instruct its minions on the difference between Communists and Social Democrats?

Social Democrats outnumbered Communists better than ten to one on the liquidation list. Besides Ollenhauer and Zinn it contained the names of the premier of Lower Saxony, two Hessian cabinet ministers and the mayors of Bremen and Hamburg. As the Swiss *Die Tat* points out, the inclusion of the latter two is particularly interesting, since they are not only pronounced anti-communists like the others, but also thoroughly pro-remilitarization. West German newspapers report that Pastor Martin Niemoeller, former Chancellor Joseph Wirth, Dr. Gustav Heinemann and other leading proponents of a united, peaceful Germany were also on the list. The conclusion is inescapable that under pretext of anti-Soviet war preparations a general political "cleanup" was being planned.

Apparently the gang did not content itself with anticipation of things to come. According to *Der Spiegel*, the *Time*-like West German news magazine, a former colonel who took part in the course at Waldmichelbach was murdered by his comrades who claimed he believed in East-West understanding. A member of parliament of Chancellor Adenauer's party who learned of this was told by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution that the facts of the case were true but that further investigation had been suspended on American orders.

In the welter of denials, contradictions and retractions following Zinn's disclosures further significant facts have come to light.

1. Spokesmen of the West German Interior Ministry and Ministry for All-German Affairs admitted that their departments had given financial support to the BDJ, including a 10,000-mark contribution for a camp meet as recently as June 1952.

2. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution had discussions with Erhard Peters, chief of the Technical Service, and other leaders of the BDJ on the question of combating left wing movements. The Federal Office was established in 1950 as the political police of the Bonn republic and has all the earmarks of a successor of the Ges-

tapo. Its head, Dr. Otto John, was a Wehrmacht intelligence agent in Lisbon during the war, and his main henchmen are likewise old undercover operatives. It must be presumed that this outfit closely collaborates with American intelligence services. There are indications also that BDJ leader Lueth worked as an agent in the Communist Party between 1945 and 1947.

3. Occupation authorities admitted that American intelligence operatives spent four months last year organizing the Technical Service but asserted that the project was later dropped. Apart from the fact that this kind of operation once initiated will proceed of its own accord and requires only occasional contact with the masterminds behind it, statements by West German officials indicate that American interest in the murder gang continued.

### **The Sponsors of Operation Liquidation**

After the group was uncovered, Peters, a former Hitler Youth leader, was lodged in an occupation building, to which German authorities had no access. Those of the ringleaders arrested were released at the instance of United States officials on the ground that the gang was established on orders of the occupation and does not fall under German jurisdiction. For the same reason, American authorities obstructed the investigation of the establishment of arms depots by the Bavarian interior minister, who declared on October 17 that he was on the track of a rightist underground organization which "had contact with the Americans."

Added up, these facts bear a tremendous import. Norbert Hamacher, executive member of the BDJ, asserted on October 9 that he knew of ten to 15 illegal organizations similar to the Technical Service. Reuter's correspondent in West Berlin reported on October 12 that there are over 30 anti-communist groups in that city alone, most of them in the American sector. "Many of the groups have admitted close contacts with Western intelligence agencies and with the main West German political parties. . . . Direct financial support comes from private groups in the United States and Western Europe. Subsidies, in the form of cheap accommodation, cheap printing facilities and translation services, are said to be supplied on recommendation of local United States officials."

To prosecute the cold war, the United States has spawned a network of agents, secret societies and intelligence services throughout Germany. In a war-torn and hungry land, it has bribed and bought hundreds of men to spy—and now, it seems, even to kill—at its command. Still, only a handful can be found for the dirtier jobs of psychological warfare, a term originated by the nazis and inherited by Washington. Along with the name, Washington has therefore taken over the entire setup. The expert killers, their competence certified at war crimes trials, are out of jail and the "werewolves" back in business.

The American government department which bears final responsibility for Operation Liquidation is the Central

Intelligence Agency, headed by Gen. Walter Bedell Smith. The CIA coordinates and supervises United States intelligence activities. Its deputy director, interestingly enough, is Allan Welsh Dulles, chief of the continental branch of the CIA's wartime predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services. A brother of John Foster Dulles, Allan Dulles apparently qualified for that post as a partner of the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell and attorney for international bankers with connections in Germany.

### A Global Conspiracy

The CIA does "cloak-and-dagger work on a global basis," intelligence veteran Anthony H. Leviero wrote in the Chamber of Commerce publication *Nation's Business* in April 1952. Assisting in this task are the Army, the State Department and other government agencies. Leviero exactly defines what this means:

"We are training men to be spies, saboteurs, specialists in the tougher forms of psychological warfare. They are being taught to slip into the Russian fabric on their own to do some unraveling. They learn to blow up bridges, railroad trains and war plants, are taught to use all types of weapons, both United States and foreign. . . . One of our men can . . . walk up to a key building in a hostile country and stick some gooey plastic material on a wall. . . . In a few hours, or, if he wishes, in a few days, the building will blow up."

The CIA expends a good deal of its energy on Germany, Leviero indicates, and has fostered a number of local appendages. "One of the most effective German units is the 'Fighting Group Against Inhumanity,' led by Rainer Hildebrandt, a hard-hitting organization whose exploits in harassing German Communists and Russians are becoming legendary." Hildebrandt spent four months in the United States in 1950-51 under the auspices of the State Department. His organization brags of training East Germans in "resistance techniques" and that it is supported largely by the Ford Foundation.

A similar organization in West Berlin, likewise touted by United States officials, is the Investigation Committee of Free Jurists, whose convention last July was attended by none other than Maj. Gen. William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, former American intelligence chief. This outfit boasts of 3,000 agents in East Germany who, *The New Yorker* reported, "perform all the tough, dirty, anonymous chores that daily resistance against a powerful enemy requires." The group further does a large business selling information to American intelligence.

A series of trials during the past year of agents belonging to these two organizations caught red-handed in the German Democratic Republic has provided a complete picture of their operations. Incendiarism, demolition, industrial sabotage, assassination and espionage have all been directly traced back to American orders.

This is the compass of United States policy in Germany: In the west, resurrection of the "werewolves," the secret

nazi terrorist movement which developed at the end of the war; north to south, the forcible maintenance of the division of Germany, so that no fresh wind may blow through the hotbed of gangsterism; and in the east, an attempt to tear down the achievements of the German Democratic Republic.

The revelation of Operation Liquidation has laid bare the American roots of the nazi resurrection in West Germany. At the same time, it has dramatically pointed to the reason for the frantic recruitment of war criminals. Washington has become uncertain whether West Germany can ever be made into a springboard for war against the Soviet Union without first making war on the German people.

But war is not only threatening the German people. Under the Truman administration terror became a major means of conducting American policy throughout the world. The Republicans gave the American people notice during the election campaign that they would resort to this weapon even more overtly. On August 27, John Foster Dulles laid down a "liberation" policy of instigating "passive resistance, slowdowns and noncooperation" in eastern countries. This kind of "liberation" has already been demonstrated in Germany in the "liberation" of the nazis. Will the American people permit President-elect Eisenhower to continue this policy?

Jewish people, long acquainted with its Hitlerian prototype, should have no difficulty realizing the dangers of this policy. All peace-loving Americans must grapple with the grim fact:

The trigger finger is across the ocean, but the murderers are among us.

**Note on Sources:** The facts in the above article are derived from the following sources: *Der Spiegel*, Hannover, September 24, October 15, 1952; *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 12, 1952; *The New York Times*, November 22, 1951; May 19, October 9, 10, 12, 18, 1952; *The Statesman and Nation*, London, October 18, 1952; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 11, 1952; *Die Gegenwart*, Frankfurt am Main, August 16, 1952; *Die Neue Zeitung*, Frankfurt am Main, October 11, 12, 1952; *U.S. News & World Report*, October 24, 1952; *The New Yorker*, September 8, 1951; Ian Colvin, *Master Spy*, McGraw Hill, 1952.

In addition, the following East German publications have been utilized: *German Democratic Report*, October 15, 24, 1952; *White Book on Anglo-American Intervention in West Germany and the Rebirth of German Imperialism*, August 1951.

### Chaim Weizmann Is Dead

AS we went to press, news came that the first president of Israel, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, was dead on November 9 at the age of 77. The law of Israel requires that a successor be elected by the Knesset within 30 days. In the interim Josef Sprinzak continues to function as acting president, a post he has held since the onset of the late president's illness.

Chaim Weizmann was born near Pinsk in tsarist Russia. He studied science in Germany and Switzerland until he came to England in 1904 and made this country his adopted home. He pursued a distinguished career as a research chemist concurrently with his intense activities in the Zionist movement, which he had joined as a young man. He was an opponent of Dr. Herzl and a leader of one of the Zionist factions in the World Zionist Organization. He was an extremely influential figure in world Zionism throughout his life.



# RACIST LAW BEGINS TO GRIND

*The infamous McCarran-Walter immigration law threatens the rights of non-citizens and naturalized citizens and ultimately of all of us*

*By Alec Jones*

**F**EW laws in the past history of this country have aroused such broad opposition from the diverse elements in the community than the racist McCarran-Walter immigration law. From every corner of the nation and abroad as well there has been a swelling crescendo asking, urging, demanding that this law with its racist, restrictive provisions be stricken from the statute books. In fact, so widespread was the protest, that this law became a primary issue during one week of the presidential campaign and candidates of both parties were obliged to promise "changes" in it to do away with its grossly discriminatory provisions.

President Truman's commission to investigate the law held hearings in many parts of the country. Every conceivable organization added its voice to the avalanche of opposition. In Chicago, some 23 Jewish organizations were represented by the noted attorney, Max Swiren, who delivered a powerful denunciation of the law on their behalf. And at the same hearing, as at similar hearings in many cities, Protestant and Catholic ministers joined the chorus. Typical of the latter was the statement by Father Raymond T. Bosler, editor of the *Indiana Catholic Record*, calling the act "an infamous law, it is a disgrace—a contemptible law." No wonder that even Senator Richard Nixon was obliged to say that he advocated "changes" in the law even though he had voted to override Truman's veto of it.

But now that the shouting is quieted, actions from President-elect Dwight Eisenhower and Vice President-elect Richard Nixon will speak more articulately than campaign phrases. The Negro people, the Jewish people, minority groups, the 14 million foreign born and millions abroad want to know whether Eisenhower was making campaign hay while the issue was hot—or whether he meant business. Possibly never before has a president had such a decisive mandate from the people as in the case of this law.

## *Some Provisions of the Law*

When the McCarran-Walter law goes into effect on December 24, 14 million foreign born residents of this country become suspect and liable to deportation or denaturalization as the first step toward their deportation. Never before has one man, in this case the attorney general, been

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given such broad power over the life and limb of the foreign born as by this law. The act leaves to the attorney general's discretion the decision as to who is fit to become a citizen, remain a citizen or be deported.

Here are some of the provisions of this law, some of them carried over from previous laws. Non-citizens, 14 years and over, are forced to carry on their persons alien registration cards under penalty of jail and fines, or both. All non-citizens who have not been finger-printed under provisions of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 must submit themselves to finger-printing. All non-citizens must register during the month of January with the attorney general on forms provided by him. In the event of changing an address, within ten days that change must be notified by non-citizens with the attorney general just as if they were common criminals whose whereabouts must be known daily lest they betray the public interest. A central organization is to be set up where the names of all non-citizens are to be filed and the attorney general is to be notified whenever a non-citizen is issued a social security card.

Any non-citizen engaged in activity which the attorney general, virtually at his own discretion, brands not in the best public interest, can be deported. Whereas previously a person would be allowed voluntarily to leave the United States for a country of his choice, now the attorney general must decide whether it is in the best public interest to deport a person to his country of origin or to allow him voluntarily to depart to a country of his choice.

## *Danger to Naturalized Citizens*

While under the McCarran-Walter law the three million non-citizens in our country are thus placed in a distinct class with virtually no right which the attorney general is bound to respect, the status of eleven million *naturalized* citizens is now dangerously jeopardized. Here are some of the disabilities with which the law burdens the naturalized citizen. He can lose citizenship, as the first step toward deportation, for refusing to testify before a congressional committee within ten years after gaining citizenship. Concealment of a "material fact" at the time of becoming a citizen is also ground for revocation of citizenship. This is a vague, catch-all provision that gives the attorney general practically unlimited powers over naturalized citizens.

The case of Charles Tuteur most clearly dramatizes

what may happen to naturalized citizens. Mr. Tuteur was stripped of citizenship by the nazis in his native Germany in 1938 and forced to flee, leaving his aged mother behind. This followed a search of his home by the nazis during which they found three books which had been branded *verboten*. The books were *Strike*, by Mary Heaton Vorse, *Moscow Knows No Tears*, by E. Ehrenburg and *Dictators*, by H. G. Wells.

Today, Charles Tuteur faces loss of his United States citizenship because at the time of application for naturalization he did not reveal that he read three publications which the Department of Justice has since declared *verboten*. The publications, according to the official charges, were *New Masses*, *The New World* [?] and the *People's Daily World*. Because he had failed to state that he read these publications, Mr. Tuteur is accused of having concealed a "material fact" even though this "material fact" did not become "material" until years later.

The process leading to denaturalization has already begun in a number of cases. James Lustig, international representative for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, has had denaturalization proceedings initiated against him on similar grounds, as well as Isaac A. Ronch, popular Yiddish writer, and John Steuben, editor of *March of Labor*. A number of those jailed or indicted under the Smith act are being similarly threatened with denaturalization. It is quite obvious that the law is being used as another blackjack against political dissenters.

### More "Deportation Delirium"

The "deportation delirium" already prevailing for several years will be accelerated under the new law. Up to now, more than 275 non-citizens have been arrested in deportation proceedings for political beliefs once held or currently held, political beliefs the attorney general doesn't like. If these 275, among them trade union, community, civic and fraternal leaders, today face deportation for holding ideas disliked by an attorney general, what is to prevent the ideas, organizations or associates of *any* non-citizen from being branded "subversive" at any future date and the person deported or denaturalized? No doubt the Justice Department has every intention of using this infamous law to the fullest to intimidate, harass and render silent America's second largest minority, the foreign born.

In the few months since the law passed—and before it became effective—thousands of naturalized citizens have been visited on their jobs, at home, or otherwise contacted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on the pretext of either adjusting citizenship status or gaining information relative to status. This is purely an attempt to intimidate naturalized citizens. For this service knows full well that once a person has become a citizen, it has absolutely no further jurisdiction over him.

Citizens receiving such letters or being so contacted have been advised to refuse to make any statements or sign any

documents based on such requests. Only too often it is not the questioned citizen about whom information is sought but rather a friend, relative or co-worker. A statement can place one in the position, however unconscious, of becoming an informer.

A by-product of the law has been an intensified effort by the Justice Department to deny bail to or to cancel bail of a number of non-citizens up for deportation. Those who may say it is all right to deny bail to persons arrested in deportation proceedings for alleged political beliefs, are under a tragic delusion. For, when the right to bail has been abolished for non-citizens, the stage has been carefully set to deny the right of bail to all, citizens as well as non-citizens, native born as well as foreign born.

### Unity to Repeal the Law

In order to defeat this iniquitous law, there must be a maximum of unity among the numerous and widespread forces that oppose the law. Perhaps the first comprehensive attempt to evaluate the post-election situation with regard to the law will be the National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans that will be held in Detroit on December 13 and 14 in Detroit under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This conference can serve as a vehicle for the consolidation of mounting protest against the law. It will also take steps to ensure that persons victimized by the law are protected.

But all organizations in one way or another can do their share toward removing this law. One important step in this direction was an American Jewish Congress joint meeting of the executive and administrative committees on November 2. At this meeting President Dr. Israel Goldstein proposed four necessary revisions of the law: "elimination of the national origins quota system, reform of the deportation system to permit expulsion only of persons whose entry was obtained by fraudulent or illegal means, elimination of all distinctions between native born and naturalized citizens and guarantees that all persons subject to the immigration laws will get an opportunity for fair hearing and review" (*New York Times*, October 10).

Despite differences of view, maximum unity in the fight against the law should be the objective of all organizations arrayed against it.

### Ellis Island as Concentration Camp

THE campaign of the Justice Department to violate the elementary right to bail pending appeal is being intensified under the stimulus of the McCarran-Walter law. On November 17, the bail of eight non-citizens was cancelled and they are now detained at Ellis Island. The eight are Sam Milgrom, Paul Yuditch, Jack Schneider, Andrew Dmytryshin, Frank Borich, Michael Nukk, Joseph Simoniff and Harry Yaris.

Protests should go to the Justice Department.

# WHAT PROGRAM FOR U.S. ZIONISM?

*Will the new ZOA policy promote peace and the well-being of Israel?  
An analysis of the real implications of recent Zionist developments*

*By Louis Harap*

**I**F there is anything certain about the desires of the masses of American Jews in relation to Israel, it is that they hope for peace and independence for the new state. But how can they help Israel to realize these primary goals? Here we should like to discuss the relation of the Zionist movement to these objectives. Is the Zionist leadership directing the movement in such a way as to further the peace and independence of Israel? Undoubtedly many members of the Zionist organizations believe that their leaders are doing this, but are they?

The question is closely related to the present state of the Zionist movement in the United States. It has been obvious for several years that decay has set in.

An anonymous writer from inside the American Zionist Organization (ZOA), most influential Zionist body in this country, wrote in May: "The peak year of 1946-47 saw close to a quarter of a million American Jews on the rolls of the organization. . . . Now we have the State but seem to have lost our goal, our leadership, our program and as a result—have lost our membership. . . . We can expect to close this year with less than 100,000 members in the ZOA" (*Indianapolis Jewish Chronicle*, May 9). Another index of the decline in interest and lack of program of United States Zionism has been the drastic decline in *Halutzit*, training of youth for agricultural work in Israel. Again we may cite a ZOA writer, Jay Fishman (*The American Zionist*, March 1952): "During the past two years the *aliyah* [immigration] of young Americans to Israel has not totaled more than about 400, in groups that have progressively dwindled until there is practically no *aliyah* at all today."

There is little prospect of arresting this trend. For the present Zionist program provides no real foundation for an active mass membership interest in Israel. Jews in the United States are determined that this country is our home and here we intend to stay. The only contingency that would change this would be a catastrophe like an American version of nazism, as Zionist theoreticians now recognize—and almost expect to happen some time or other. But full fascism in the United States would emerge under conditions of world war or imminent world war that would inevitably engulf Israel and cut it off as an "escape." Jews in the United States will continue to express organized interest in Israel in fund raising but we may expect even this to diminish, as it has in the past few years. All this points to a bankruptcy of Zionist theory and its basic tenet that all

Jews will emigrate to Israel as the only solution of the Jewish question, as Herzl maintained.

## *New ZOA Program*

Signs are appearing, however, that the Zionist movement is stumbling toward a program. Our evaluation of this program should be guided by whether it helps to achieve peace and independence for Israel. The program was projected after the 55th annual convention of the ZOA in June, whose most lively feature was the fight for the presidency, won by Rabbi Irving Miller, formerly president of the American Jewish Congress. In August, the new administrative council of the ZOA held a two-day meeting to discuss the overhauling of the ZOA. Obeisance to traditional Zionism was made with the reassertion of plans for *Halutzit*, this time with emphasis on supplying technical personnel for Israel, and with the establishment of a department to stimulate the Hebrew language and literature in the United States.

But the important and decisive steps were the setting up of two new bodies, the Department of Economic and Industrial Development and the Commission on Israel and the Middle East. According to *The American Zionist* (September 1952), the aim of the first is "the spurring of capital investments in Israel" and of the second, "the re-awakening of the public relations consciousness of the ZOA and the reactivation of our membership in the area of public opinion."

Stripped of "public relations" phraseology, what do these innovations signify? Are they designed to promote peace for Israel? In essence they mark the fact that the ZOA—and this is true of most other Zionist organizations in this country—is now formally and organizationally geared in with Washington's foreign policy. The new economic department has as its purpose the full coordination of the ZOA with the policy of making Israel an economic dependency of United States capitalists, in the manner so incisively and concretely shown in Victor Perlo's current series of articles in this magazine. As Mortimer May, new chairman of the ZOA administrative council, said, there was a "need for the organization to impart to Israel an understanding of the American economic system" (*New York Times*, August 24).

In other words, the aim of the new department is to stim-

ulate private investment and to promote the "free enterprise" system in Israel. Integral to this program is close cooperation with the Palestine Economic Corporation, which Victor Perlo showed (in the October issue) to be one of the agencies through which United States big business interests exploit the people of Israel and keep that country in a continually worsening state of chronic crisis by drawing out huge profits in dollars and lowering living standards. The ZOA has therefore joined the effort of United States big business, through its Jewish business men, to "swallow" Israel economically.

### *Militarization of Israel*

The second innovation, the Middle East commission, is the political side of the same coin. The new commission is directly and explicitly designed to bring pressure both on the Jewish masses through propaganda and on Washington by lobbying to see to it that Israel is fully brought into the bipartisan global anti-Soviet policies. As Rabbi Miller said in an address before the ZOA administrative council in August, "Continued assistance and friendship for Israel is now a cornerstone of American policy and there is every reason to expect that this policy will be pursued regardless of which party wins in November." One of the main functions of this commission, adds Rabbi Miller, is to press Washington to "grant non-reimbursable assistance to Israel under the Mutual Security act" (*The American Zionist*, September). In exchange for military aid, this act requires the recipient of American dollars and arms to cooperate in the building of bases and an economy-staggering army and subjects the country to Washington's strategic military plans. Thus the new ZOA program means that this branch of the Zionist movement is an arm among the Jewish people for the execution in Israel of State Department policy of war preparations, an impoverishing war economy and drastic lowering of living standards.

How does the ZOA justify this program of agitation among American Jewry and pressure on Congress for full incorporation of Israel into the world military machine being built by Washington? According to William Zukerman (*Jewish Newsletter*, September 1), Rabbi Miller has affirmed that "Israel is in gravest danger of an attack by the Arab states and probably also of a Communist invasion." There is no doubt that the militarization of Israel with the help of American arms through the Mutual Security act is based on this wholly unfounded danger of "Communist aggression." There is absolutely no evidence of any kind whatsoever of such aggressive intentions. What is closer to the facts is that Israel is being prepared by Washington to play an important role in the anti-Soviet war that Washington is planning.

The real meaning of Israel's participation in the global strategy of the Pentagon is quite openly explained by Murray Frank in *The American Zionist* (September). "What Washington and London strategists fear most, in the event of a Russian invasion of the Middle East [read: in the

event of an aggressive anti-Soviet war—L.H.], is a quick break-through to the Suez Canal and from there a penetration into Africa. . . . Little Israel is beginning to loom large on the Near East defense horizon, so much so that there is talk in Washington of Israel becoming 'the kingpin of Western defenses in the Near East.'" Or, to state this more accurately, Israel is on the way to becoming a pawn in Washington's plans. If the war being prepared by Washington breaks out, Israel is destined for destruction. This is the scheme in whose crystallization the ZOA and other Zionist groups are cooperating. This is the program that the Zionist leaders, despite the peace sentiment of the membership, have made the reason for being of their movement. For its part, the Ben Gurion government has applied for "aid" under the Mutual Security Act. And on August 21, the American Zionist Council, overall executive body of United States Zionist organizations, asked Secretary of State Dean Acheson that Israel be granted \$49,000,000 for military purposes out of Mutual Security funds voted for the Middle East.

### *Internecine Zionist Conflicts*

The developments in the ZOA outlined above are typical of the leadership of the various wings of the Zionist movement in the United States. As we shall show, whatever else these leaders may quarrel about among themselves, all agree in pursuing the policies now clearly outlined by the new ZOA administration. This agreement should not be obscured by the vehement internecine conflicts among the Zionist leaders, rivalries within the organizations themselves, jurisdictional fights among United Jewish Appeal, the welfare fund federations and Bonds for Israel and the running battle between Ben Gurion and United States Zionists.

Undoubtedly the most important of these conflicts is that between the Ben Gurion regime and United States Zionist leaders. The reader perhaps remembers the vitriolic attack of Ben Gurion on the Zionist leadership in a speech before the Knesset on December 12, 1951. The attack occurred in the midst of a serious economic crisis during which the Israel government was criticized for the terrible conditions in the immigrant camps. The Zionist leaders of the United States, said Ben Gurion, "went bankrupt since the establishment of the Jewish state. There were not five leaders who got up to go to Israel after the state was established. I don't maintain they would have been followed by masses, but they would have proved that Zionism was not void of meaning at least in the eyes of its leaders." (*New York Times*, December 13, 1951).

Ben Gurion's antagonism has a complex source. He is an ardent advocate of the Zionist doctrine of the "ingathering of the exiles," the theory that all Jews have the obligation to come to Israel. The American Zionist leadership had served unmistakable notice on Israel at the 23rd World Zionist Congress in 1951 that the Jews of the United States regarded their country as their home and had no intention of emigrating to Israel. Ben Gurion and Israeli Zionists

have been angry and rather contemptuous of United States Zionists for this attitude ever since. Another contributory element in Ben Gurion's viewpoint is this fact: the ZOA affirmed its support and "identification" with the General Zionist Party in Israel, the party of "free enterprise" and most numerous opposition to Ben Gurion's governing Mapai ("Labor") Party. Ben Gurion therefore has partisan political reasons for undermining the ZOA, for he hopes thus to weaken his General Zionist political rivals at home.

### *Ben Gurion Alliance with AJC*

But these elements are secondary and, curiously enough, founded upon the most basic consideration of all, which is superficially a paradox. We refer to the alliance of Ben Gurion with those non-Zionist Jews of the United States whose main organizational expression is the American Jewish Committee. This tight organization of the wealthiest American Jews found it absolutely necessary to throw its hand into the Zionist question because of its desire to control Israel policy in the service of the State Department and to channelize in this direction the deep concern of the American Jewish masses for Israel. The AJ Committee has combated Zionist influence for many years for middle class assimilationist reasons. This fight has been especially important for the AJC in the past few years as part of the AJC aim of obtaining control of the Jewish community. The AJC has a very strong lever—it commands the biggest money both for Jewish philanthropy and private investment in Israel. Ben Gurion calculated that the American Zionists would support fund drives and promote private investment willy-nilly. But the AJC was in a strong position to bargain with Ben Gurion because it was not Zionist, held the strings to the biggest purses and had the inside track to the State Department.

Through its president, Jacob Blaustein, the AJC made its bargain with Ben Gurion at a momentous meeting in Jerusalem in August 1950. There the long range "four point" program for "aid" to Israel—the billion dollar Israel Bond issue, private investments, loans from Washington and the United Jewish Appeal—was projected. After Ben Gurion worked out this basic policy with Blaustein, with commitments on both sides, Ben Gurion held a second conference with about 50 United States Zionist leaders and Jewish big business men at which this "four point" program was confirmed. In exchange for Blaustein's acquiescence with these plans Ben Gurion pledged that: the Israel government would unequivocally orient its foreign policy on Washington, a position that the Israel government had already been pursuing in fact, if not in form; Ben Gurion was to abandon the attempt to include American Jewry in his agitation for "ingathering of the exiles," and Ben Gurion would not permit the Zionist leadership to gain sole control of world Jewish relations with Israel.

Ben Gurion has made good on these commitments. Alliance of the Israel government with Washington's policies is too obvious to require comment—and Ben Gurion needed no persuading on this point since this intense anti-Soviet

direction coincided with the policy of his own party. Ben Gurion has also given up pressure on American Jewry to emigrate to Israel. One should not suppose that Ben Gurion's blast at the "bankruptcy" of American Zionist leadership on the ground that they did not themselves emigrate to Israel is an infringement of this commitment to Blaustein. For this blow to the prestige of American Zionist leadership was not unwelcome to the AJ Committee group.

Another sign of Ben Gurion's fidelity to his pledges to Blaustein—as well as the persistence of his partisan politics—is the matter of granting formal, legal status to the Jewish Agency inside Israel. The Jewish Agency is an executive committee of the World Zionist Organization, which is dominated by its American section, the ZOA. It has the function of managing immigration to and land development in Israel. The World Zionist Organization has been trying to obtain legal status as exclusive "representative" of all world Jewry in its relations with Israel. This would give the WZO (that is, in effect, the ZOA) control over non-Zionist relations with Israel. But if Ben Gurion permitted this, he would violate the agreement with Blaustein and give added power to his General Zionist political rivals.

In May, the Ben Gurion government introduced into the Knesset a bill granting the Jewish Agency status as an "authorized" body. On August 11, a Knesset session attended by only half the Knesset members, changed the bill on its second reading by a 31-27 vote to give the Jewish Agency the status of "representative" of world Jewry. The next day Ben Gurion withdrew the bill, thus saving the non-Zionists from subordination to the ZOA. Ben Gurion was faithful to his commitment to Blaustein. Ben Gurion has since re-introduced the bill giving the Jewish Agency "authorized" status.

It has been necessary to go into some of the intramural conflicts of the Zionist movement and their relationship to the powerful non-Zionist AJ Committee in order to demonstrate that such noisy differences do not touch basic policy. They are partisan bickering and juggling for influence. For it is apparent that not one of these antagonisms suggests any disagreement on issues of vital importance to the people of Israel—economic development and relation to the preservation of world peace, on which the very existence of Israel depends.

The membership of the Zionist organizations, who are concerned for peace and the preservation of Israel, should combat such anti-Israel policies. In this they would act in harmony with the expressed desires of the Israeli masses for peace, as the over 400,000 signatures in Israel this year to the petition against German rearmament and for a five power peace pact showed. They would be fighting against the effects of the policy that is steadily lowering living conditions in Israel. The way to a solution for Israel lies in a government of the workers' parties that would renounce a program of economic domination and war preparations. These are the policies which the American Zionist membership should support, if they would advance the peace, independence and economic welfare of Israel.

# THE ERA OF THE MACCABEES

*At this Hanukah period we recall the heroic struggle of the Maccabees over two hundred years to win and hold independence*

*By Ber Mark*

**T**HE Maccabean epoch is one of the most glorious chapters of Jewish history, a period of militant struggle for national liberation and sovereignty and for the establishment of an independent Jewish kingdom. Simultaneously, it was a period when Jewish culture came into contact with Greek Hellenic thought and civilization.

Spanning some 200 years altogether, this epoch begins in the year 167 BCE, when Mattathias proclaimed the revolt of the Jewish people against the Graeco-Syrian oppressors who sought to enslave Judea, politically and culturally, and ends in the year 44 ACE with the death of the Jewish king Agrippa. His death paralleled the last tragic chapter in the history of the Jewish people of antiquity, the heroic-tragic story of the Jewish struggle against Rome which culminated in the second great destruction of Judea and the wiping out of the vestiges of independence.

The Maccabean epoch divides itself into three chapters. Chapter one deals with the valorous struggle of the Jewish patriots under Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabee against the Graeco-Syrian oppressors for freedom. During this period, the military victories served to establish the political sovereignty of Judea, to set up a monarchical dynasty (the Hasmonean) and to develop freedom and independence. The second period sees a renewal of Jewish struggle under the leadership of Jonathan and Simon, two more of Mattathias' sons. The third and last chapter, dealing with the decline of the Hasmonean dynasty and the Jewish kingdom, is a period of civil war, of intervention by the powerful Roman Empire and of traitorous political intrigue by Antiphatar and his son Herod.

Mattathias, the leader against the Graeco-Syrian occupationists who sought to impose their Hellenic culture upon the Jews, opposed not only the foreign enemies but the native traitors, the Hellenists, composed mainly of members of the Jewish aristocracy and the priesthood. Mattathias' party, the Hassidim (not to be confused with the Mattathias' of the 19th Century in Europe) conducted an unremitting partisan and guerilla war. After he died, the leadership was assumed by his son Judas Maccabee, one of the great heroes of Jewish history. He fought a series of successful battles against the foe and routed them. An expert in unorthodox

military tactics, he revealed great originality of tactics. The strong patriotic spirit which imbued the Jewish fighters in their struggle for national liberation was a significant factor in the victories of the Jewish patriots.

Judas Maccabee succeeded in recapturing Jerusalem. He threw out the Hellenic symbols in the Great Temple and restored the formal Jewish faith. The holiday signifying this restoration of the Jewish religion has become an essential part of Jewish tradition. Known as Hanukah, it is celebrated yearly by the lighting of the eight-branch candelabra. But the true meaning of the victory which inaugurated Hanukah was the achievement of national liberation. After this great triumph, a division of opinion developed among the Hassidim. Some held that with the restoration of the Jewish religion the struggle had ended. The Hasmoneans held it was necessary to continue the struggle in order to win complete independence. Nor did the struggle die. The battle to oust the oppressors went on with undiminished vigor.

In April 160 BCE, Judas Maccabee fell. He died a hero's death in battle against the mighty Syrian army. His death plunged the entire Jewish people into sorrow. "A grief has enveloped Israel, such a grief as has not been known since the time of the Prophets," said one writer of the period.

The banner hitherto held by Judas Maccabee was now held aloft by his brothers, Jonathan and Simon. Taking advantage of the internal struggles and external difficulties hampering the Syrian forces, Jonathan organized a regular Jewish army of some 40,000 men. He was captured however by the enemy and slain, whereupon Simon assumed complete command, becoming in effect the actual creator of a unified Hasmonean kingdom.

Then began a peaceful and happy period for the free Jewish people. Peace and order prevailed. The territory of Judea grew, as other old Jewish provinces joined and became part of the liberated kingdom. An association was formed with remote Rome. It could not be foreseen that Rome would ultimately be the destroyer of Judea. But following Simon's death, symptoms of decline became manifest. Bitter outbreaks erupted between the two main parties—the Pharisees, who desired a theocratic state and the confinement of Jewish culture to the Jewish people, and the Sadducees, who placed state interests first and wanted to spread Jewish culture by the sword, by conquering neighboring

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## "The Entire Academic Community . . . Must Resist"

*Following is a letter written by Vera Shlakman, former member of the Queens College faculty, to her fellow teachers after she was dismissed for refusal to knuckle under to the McCarran Committee witch-hunt against teachers in New York in September.—Eds.*

September 30, 1952.

Dear Colleagues:

Last Wednesday, in my capacity as an officer of the Teachers Union, I appeared before a McCarran subcommittee to testify. I assumed, about that part of the union which is my concern and about performance of my professional duties as a teacher. Only two trivial questions were asked about the union and there was no inquiry at all into my professional work. The questions were limited to matters of opinion and association. . . .

Entirely apart from legal considerations, there arises first the question whether conscience permits acquiescence in an invasion of privacy by an agency of government in matters of belief, opinion and association in what seems clear violation of constitutional safeguards.

Like most of us I was educated in the tradition defined by such thinkers as Jefferson, Milton and Mill and I was familiar with the ringing declarations of Alfred E. Smith who with prophetic insight defended teachers against repressive laws passed in a similar period of witch-hunting and hysteria. And in the days just preceding my questioning I had been engaged in my classes, as required by the CC syllabus, in discussing the philosophy of the American liberal democratic tradition.

But if I proposed to explain to the Committee that I found it repugnant to participate in a line of questioning forbidden under the First Amendment, I faced a dilemma. To remain silent and seek the protection of the First Amendment was to court a citation of contempt of the Senate; conviction; jail, likely dismissal.

To answer the question was to face the various jeopardies so clearly and eloquently described this year by Professor Zacharian Chaffee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, in an address entitled, "Thirty-Five Years With Freedom of Speech." . . .

After the most serious and deliberate thought, I took my stand on what I believe to be moral grounds and on such legal safeguards as the First and Fifth Amendments provide for the protection of the innocent. At this point, however, arises the odious threat of invoking Section 903 of the City Charter. This clause was written into the

Charter after the disclosure of the Seabury Investigation into municipal graft and corruption in 1932 and was clearly aimed at those who might plead the excuse of self-incrimination in order to avoid giving testimony on official malpractice.

To a layman, the language of the Charter is clear: forfeiture of job is provided for those city employees who "shall refuse to testify or to answer any question regarding the property, government or affairs of the city . . . or regarding the nomination, election, appointment or official conduct of any officer or employe of the city."

Clearly, more than a livelihood (no small matter to me) is at stake. Let there be no mistake about the situation in which the entire academic community now finds itself. It must either grovel and accept the standards of orthodoxy prescribed by the McCarrans and the McCarthys and those who have capitulated to them, or it must resist.

If hypocritical invocation of Section 903 of the City Charter is permitted, then we must accept the fact that the tenure law has been repealed, that we have permitted the McCarrans and McCarthys to repeal it, and have delegated to them the right to prescribe loyalty tests for teachers—all without benefit of legislation. Every teacher will have to ask himself, can I maintain professional integrity when McCarran and McCarthy sit on all appointments committees? Shall I share in the struggle to retain professional performance and scholarly attainment as tests of a teacher?

You may recall that sharp and immediate protests from many educational leaders put a halt to an attempt in 1949 by the House Un-American Activities Committee to pry into textbooks, that these protests were widely applauded, and that such capitulations as occurred were deplored by staffs and students. . . .

Is the dismissal of teachers easier to accept than the burning of books? Is there any difference? Since the principle here is the same, the resistance of 1949 must be repeated. It is therefore important to voice your opinion to the appropriate authorities, while there is yet time, on the McCarran attack on the colleges and on the threatened invocation of Section 903. The timetable of reaction is easily read.

It can be destroyed, not by acquiescence, but by vigorous defense of what can still be an honorable profession.

VERA SHLAKMAN

peoples and imposing Jewish culture on them, thus preventing the possible assimilation of the Jews and the absorption of them culturally by their neighbors.

This civil war worsened, grew more acute. The Pharisees then committed the fatal error of inviting Pompey, Roman overlord of Syria, to intervene in Judea's internal affairs. The Romans were seeking just such an excuse. And thus began the fantastic, uneven struggle between tiny Judea and powerful Rome, which had its Jewish agents, namely Antiphatar and his son Herod. The treachery of the latter pair put to naught the glorious victories of the Maccabees and shattered the dream of a free, independent Judea.

The epoch of the Maccabees was not just a period of

Jewish military victory, however, and of the development of Jewish statesmanship. It was also a period of the growth of the Jewish spirit and culture, not only in Judea, but in the other lands where Jews were settled following the Babylonian Diaspora, especially Alexandria in Egypt. Here was created a rich Jewish-Hellenic literature, a synthesis of Jewish ethic and Greek philosophy, best expressed in the writings of the Jewish philosopher, Philo. Whereas in Judea the meeting of Jewish and Hellenic culture took on sharp, antagonistic forms culminating in war, in the lands of the Diaspora the meeting of Jewish and Hellenic culture resulted in intimate and intellectual co-operation and enrichment.

# LOS ANGELES ROUTS UN-AMERICANS

*The offensive against the Un-American inquisitors on their visit to the West Coast was mounted by courageous lawyers and doctors*

*By George Lewin*

ON Yom Kippur, the House Committee on Un-American Activities opened its hearings in Los Angeles. Summoned to appear on Yom Kippur were 20 witnesses, Jewish and non-Jewish. John Porter, one of the non-Jewish witnesses, stated that it was an insult to him as a Christian to appear on this holiest of Jewish holidays knowing that the committee would not dare to call a hearing on such a holiday as Christmas or Easter.

Protest by the witnesses summoned to appear on Yom Kippur compelled the committee to continue their appearance to a later date. However, the committee found it fitting to go ahead with this hearing on that day and paid tribute to this Jewish holiday by putting an informer on the stand. Among those present on the committee was Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat from Pennsylvania, co-author of the notorious racist McCarran-Walter Immigration law.

Commencing on Tuesday, the day after Yom Kippur, in a hearing room packed with "Liberty Belles," Gerald L. K. Smithites and others of like complexion, who were given special passes and choice seats while the general public waited in line, the first group of "unfriendly" witnesses appeared. This group was composed of 26 lawyers, who were the legal bulwark in the defense of civil liberties in their community.

## *Maccabean Witnesses*

What followed was unparalleled in the history of the committee. With courage and dignity, this group of witnesses struck Maccabean hammer blows at the committee. Highlighting the testimony was the focus on its anti-Semitic nature. Mrs. Rose R. Rosenberg, mother of four children and long-time fighter for civil liberties in this community, pointed out that while the Jews of Spain and Germany were proud of their faith and heritage, they could not publicly avow that faith because of the Inquisition in Spain and the Gestapo in Germany. In this country today, the House Committee on Un-American activities, has taken to itself the role of the Inquisition and Gestapo. The history of the fifth amendment with its origin as the legal safeguard for the protection of religious minorities was documented by the scholarly presentation of Laurence R. Spenser, executive secretary of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, and by Charles J. Katz.

There was a consistent attack on the legality of the Committee by the challenge to the propriety of the election of the chairman of the Committee, John S. Wood, of Georgia. It was pointed out that he has been elected to Congress in elections marked by the exclusion of Negroes.

The attack begun by the lawyers was continued on the following day when the members of the health professions took the stand. Witness after witness sharply raised the issue of the deadly effects of political conformity on the progress of scientific research and the application of its results to the needs of the people. Nazi Germany was cited as an example where physicians became so degraded that they resorted to human vivisection and supervised the mass extermination of human beings.

## *The "Messenger" Editorial*

One of the witnesses subpoenaed was Dr. Alexander E. Pennes, who along with two other physicians had been dismissed from the Cedars of Lebanon hospital staff for political reasons in December 1951. (See "Medical Freedom under the Knife," by Richard Levy, *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1952). In his brilliant testimony Dr. Pennes explained that being an informer (*moser*) was virtually the only basis for total excommunication from Jewish life and that even after death, a *moser* could not be buried in the same cemetery with decent Jews. His presentation was the day's highlight.

This attack was unanswerable. At least so it was supposed. It was for the Los Angeles *B'nai B'rith Messenger* on October 17 with a front page editorial, "They Do Not Speak for Us," to attack Dr. Pennes and all of the witnesses. In part, the editorial states: "We are not here accusing Dr. Pennes or any of those other physicians, surgeons, optometrists, lawyers and dentists of being communists. We are accusing them of letting down the Jewish people. We are accusing them of provoking a question by so many fine American Gentiles, who are not anti-Semites, who ask: 'Why is it so many Jews are Communists?'" Reprints of this editorial have been sent all over the country.

What irony—that the defense of the Constitution by the "unfriendly" witnesses, according to the *Messenger*, should provoke this question by "so many fine American Gentiles"! The *Messenger* makes no accusation of their being communists—yet "Why is it so many Jews are Communists?" It would certainly appear that the "fine American Gentiles"



are repeating the Gerald L. K. Smith line, or rather that the owners of the *Messenger* concede that the Gerald L. K. Smith line is synonymous with that of "fine American Gentiles."

The editorial continues, "We do know, however, that for the most part their course of conduct before the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has reflected immeasurable discredit and suspicion upon themselves and upon all of us. That we resent." This we challenge, for it is false. The conduct of the witnesses was in keeping with the highest traditions of our country and of the Jewish people. The persons testifying gave living evidence of their participation in the campaign for a world at peace, an end to racial discrimination, for enactment of an FEPC, objection to the concentration camp provisions of the McCarran act, to the Smith act and the Taft-Hartley act.

### ***New Vitality In Resistance***

Of greater importance was the spirit generated by this resistance in Los Angeles. The victory, and it was most assuredly a victory, was like a fresh breeze sweeping our community. Persons and organizations gained new vitality and vigor. The desire to fight back was now coupled with the knowledge that one *could* fight back. Even the guards at the hearing complimented some of the witnesses. A unity of purpose and a dedication to principle were realized on a scale long invisible in our town.

The editorial pleads for the "unfriendly" witnesses to "recognize a concern for their people, especially in these times, where subversion, treachery and traitorism are running rampant throughout the world." But the witnesses showed that the "subversion" and "treachery and traitorism" applied to the committee and the forces behind it.

This victory did not consist solely in the testimony and conduct of the witnesses. The welcome to the committee really began when the professions circularized their colleagues and called their attention to the danger inherent in this inquisition. The lawyers were given great comfort by the appearance of 200 members of the bar on a motion to quash their subpoenas. The doctors were supported by a written statement of principle signed by over 150 eminent scientists and professors from all over America.

As a result of the issuance of the subpoenas in this community, there was formed a Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. This committee was composed of leading citizens from all walks of life from Los Angeles. Its chairman is the Reverend A. A. Heist, Methodist minister and former executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Los Angeles. The committee undertook an extensive educational campaign directed toward abolition of the House Un-American activities committee. The campaign gathered momentum when officers and members of various trade unions were subpoenaed to appear on November 17. Then the Southern California Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee was formed to carry this campaign especially into the trade

union movement. The Council was further responsible for the daily picket lines which greeted the committee.

With all of this, Hanukah came early to Los Angeles. It came early as men and women of all shades of political opinion grew strong with the courage to resist and the determination to fight back. It was in the noblest of traditions that this battle was waged and won.

But the dangers are great. Certain of the witnesses called in the medical professions are now victims of the committee's reprisals. The move to institute disbarment against the lawyers gains momentum and the blacklist grows longer in the art and entertainment world. We have learned a great lesson in Los Angeles in the struggle to maintain our American heritage. Already numerous individuals and organizations have banded together to prevent further reprisals and evidence exists that this fight can be successful. The battle here in the war against the witch hunters must continue to final victory—the abolition of the Committee on Un-American activities.

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## **PERSONAL**

*(For the Rosenbergs)*

***By Matthew Hall***

Two will be murdered unless you act,  
(So little time, so much to do)  
Two will be murdered, this is a fact,  
(And the next to be murdered might even be you).

Freedom's not something you carve from a hillside  
Or build on a plain with a spire to the sky,  
Freedom's a letter you write to the President  
Telling him firmly, "These two must not die!"

Who are the innocent, who are the guilty?  
Cry out their names with each tick of the clock—  
Martinsville Seven, Sacco Vanzetti,  
Willie McGee,—(even you in the dock),

High on their benches, the Judges are sitting,  
The President, Governors, men of repute,  
Holding a gun with an edge on the trigger  
And you are the one they are aiming to shoot,—

Don't turn around with your hands on your eyelids,  
Unable to move and unable to scream,  
Telling yourself it will soon be all over,  
You aren't awake and it's only a dream,

It's you who will die though you think you are living,  
It isn't a dream and you're really awake,  
So do something,—do something,—speak out in anger,  
And prevent a great crime for your own sweet sake.

# JEWISH PARTISANS IN THE WOODS

Excerpt from a Novel

By Chaver Paver

The Editors consider it a duty and a privilege to publish the following excerpt from a novel, *Night Can't Last Forever*, by Chaver Paver (the pen name of Gershon Einbinder). The subject is heroic and important, the writing mature and moving, the total impact powerful. Yet a number of commercial publishers have turned down the manuscript, too timid to risk their money on a novel that reveals the essential truth about a subject already much misrepresented.

For Chaver Paver has dared to write about the life of those Polish Jews who fought the nazis not in the ghetto uprisings but as partisans in the Polish woods, where they lived, fought, died and survived together with Polish partisans, escaped Russian prisoners and Soviet partisans. "All of the events described in this novel have actually taken place, though a few of the characters are fictitious," Chaver Paver says laconically in a prefatory note. Yet the misleading tendentiousness of John Hersey's *The Wall* is lavishly endowed and readily published while Chaver Paver's work, basically more truthful, meets only strangling rejections. Perhaps the excerpt printed below will stimulate the conscience and the will to invest of at least one publisher.

Our publication in the September issue of Chaver Paver's short story, *The Boxing Match*, caused many of our readers

to ask us, in effect, where has this writer been all our lives? As we indicated then, this was the first story he had ever written in English. As a Yiddish writer, Chaver Paver has an international reputation. Born in Bershar, Russia, in 1901, and educated in a Yeshiva, he finally made his way to our country in 1924. It is noteworthy that his four Yiddish novels until now have dealt with American Jewish life in Brownsville (Brooklyn), the Bronx and Clinton Street on New York's lower East Side. A Yiddish play written in 1931-32, *Hold the Fort*, dealt with the life of the Southern Negroes. *Night Can't Last Forever*, therefore, is his first novel dealing with Jewish life outside the United States. Originally written in Yiddish, it was serialized a year ago in the *Morning Freiheit* and then translated into English by the author himself. The simplicity and precision of his English style are themselves of a high literary order.

In the story, David and Miriam are young Warsaw Jews, betrothed to one another, who fled Warsaw when the nazi invasion came. They were captured and sold into slave labor by the nazis and then escaped to the partisans in the woods. The subtlety, diversity and complexity of the relations between Jews and non-Jews are fully presented in this novel.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

**F**AITHFUL Pakula was the unofficial chief of the underground movement among the peasants in the villages around the partisan base in the Skrodnitz woods. In his own village of Marianka, except among the patriots of the underground, no one knew about his activities. They thought of him as a poor, submissive, not-too-bright man; and that 'poor, submissive, not-too-bright' Pakula sniffed and scouted around and even rode off to surrounding towns to find out what was doing. He learned on one of his scouting trips that there was an order from the highest nazi authorities to mobilize a great force against the partisans in the Skrodnitz woods.

The guerrillas decided to disperse.

Bishka wanted to remain with David and the Mariankars but David talked it over with Vaska and it was agreed he should be taken across the Bug River and left with the Soviet partisans, who would smuggle him over to the Big Earth (Soviet Russia) as they had already done with many Jewish orphans.

When the sextet took leave of the Jewish partisans, Bishka cried, not at all as befitted a guerrilla who had already killed a nazi and had also thrown a grenade—cried and kept pressing against David, who walked with him part of the way.

After the sextet left for the Bug, the Mariankars started off to the swamps in the Kaplinos woods, 50 kilometers away, for there, they heard, were a large number of Jewish partisans organized into an independent group with Jehiel and Vanka Kirpichnik as the leaders. David fervently hoped, too, that there in the Kaplinos woods among the Jewish guerrillas, he might find Miriam.

Moishe Lichtenstein and his Wlodawars withdrew to the forest close to Wlodawa, calculating that it wouldn't occur to the Germans to hunt for them right under their noses, and there they were to wait for a sign from the Mariankars that they could come on to the Kaplinos woods too.

The Marianka group now consisted of eight people:

David, Noah, Rivka, the three brothers—Jochanan, Gedaliah, and Shimshen, and Berl Kornman with his 11-year-old daughter Bebala. They were guided to the Kaplinos woods by young Janek the poet, who knew the Kaplinos section well.

Janek was the son of a very poor peasant. A self-taught man, he had a great passion for books and often used to walk miles into the nearest town to borrow them from the library.

Berl Kornman had been a strong, fearless fighter. But after he lost all his five children and wife in the Skrodnitz woods early in the winter, he had become a broken, nervous man. He saw nazis everywhere. In the darkness, every tree was a nazi to him. His delicate, cornflower-blue-eyed daughter Bebala never let him out of her sight and had to comfort him as a mother her child: 'Don't be afraid, papa; it's not a nazi, it's a tree. And don't tremble; it's a shame before people.'

When they reached the woods not far from Kaplinos, Berl Kornman shouted: "Germans!"

"Papa, what are you doing?" Bebala put her hand over his mouth.

But this time her father was right. They saw through the trees three carts on the highway filled with German soldiers. David glanced at his people and they at him and understood each other immediately. There were eight guns including Janek's—and they let go from all eight. Three nazis fell on the highway. The rest, about a dozen of them, hid in the ditch at the side of the road and fired back. The peasant drivers remained in their carts, lashed their horses with wild yells and galloped away from the battle.

Bebala, when the shooting started, hid behind a tree, watched the battle in grim concentration and didn't let her father out of sight. Later, when the partisans withdrew from the road deep into the forest, far away from the Germans, Bebala upbraided her father for shooting so wildly. "You must not be so hasty when you're in a battle. You should take good aim first, papa. Look at the way the others do. Slow and sure. It's a waste of bullets."

She also made him take off his pants when they sat down for rest. Her father's only pair of pants had ripped during the battle, so Bebala took out from a little straw basket she carried in her sack, a scissors, thread, thimble and needle, and sat leaning against a tree as she mended the rip in her father's trousers.

"Just like her blessed mother, peace be with her," Berl sobbed. "She's got her golden fingers." And her fingers were really golden. Deftly and nimbly they ran over the cloth as she sang a tune—the same tune her mother used to sing when she was mending: "And God had created heaven and earth, and had created the grasses in the fields."

THEY SMELLED THE MARSHES A FEW KILOMETERS BEFORE THEY reached them. Winds filled with cool dampness and swampy odors met them. That it was a vast stretch of marsh they could tell from the croaking of thousands and thousands of frogs in various pitches, from the eerie hooting of owls,

the monotonous trilling of great numbers of crickets and the whining of millions of mosquitoes, whose bites they felt even through their clothing. In that vast stretch of swamp lay the *okhozha*—a cluster of little hilly islands surrounded by neck-deep mires impossible to cross by cart or even on horseback. The *okhozha* was part of a huge area known as Count Zamoiski's woods, spreading toward Cholm, Wlodawa and over on the other side of the River Bug.

The partisans decided to wait until dawn, when some of the patrols would probably appear and lead them to the base in the *okhozha*.

In the faint light of dawn, muffled footsteps were heard among the trees and Shimshen, who was keeping guard then, didn't have to wake up the people when he heard the footsteps: they woke up by themselves. So extremely sensitive was the ear of the partisan that, no matter how heavily he slept, he became instantly alert at the slightest sound and reached for his gun.

They now heard not only footsteps but whispers too and their sharp ears caught that the whispers came from Jews. . . . Yes, Jews they were—five guerrillas with Jehiel himself.

Jehiel, the little giant with the strong muscular face and delicate lips, smiled at them warmly. He still held an unlighted cigarette in a holder between his fingers. Noah suspected it was the same cigarette he had in the Parczew woods for whenever he had seen him, it wasn't lighted. Jehiel, a passionate smoker, wasn't able to obtain cigarettes so easily in the woods and kept an unlighted one between his fingers for almost a whole day, putting it to his lips all the time and drawing on it as if it were lighted.

"Look who's here," Jehiel exclaimed, his very alive brown eyes twinkling warmly, "David, king of the Mariankars!"

"And look who's here!" David rejoined happily, "Jehiel the smoker; here, you want a match?"

"No, thanks, I'll light my cigarette when we've set fire to the next nazi supply dump."

They inspected one another—David and Jehiel—and wondered. They had lived through such a cruel winter and yet they appeared to each other as if those severe, trying months had made them grow in strength and vigor.

"Did you come to compete with me?" Jehiel asked jokingly.

"You really should be afraid of me," David chaffed him back. "We in the Skrodnitz woods have done more than you—organized a hundred men, gotten guns for many of them, laid hands on a new machine-gun and all the raids on the Germans in the Skrodnitz section you heard of were our work."

"If that's so—good," Jehiel's alive brown eyes twinkled again. "But where are your hundred men? I don't see them here. I see only nine, counting the little girl."

"Don't worry, we have them," David winked gaily. "They don't trust you though. First they want to see how you'll treat us. Maybe it's better where they are."

"They'll be wanting to come here. Bring them all here. Now's the time for united action," Jehiel said in a comradely manner. "And now, Mariankars, let's see whether you make good monkeys."

At first they didn't catch what he meant by monkeys, but later when they began to work their way through the marsh, they caught his meaning. They had to hold onto branches of the trees growing in the marsh to keep themselves from slipping off the clumps of swamp grass into the muddy lakes.

And Bebula, just as if she'd been born in the swamp, jumped agilely from clump to clump, hanging onto the branches, cautioning and encouraging Berl Kornman, "Papa, take a good hold, Papa, take a jump. Papa, don't be afraid."

THE MEN AND WOMEN IN THE *okhozha* CAME RUNNING TO welcome them from all sides—from the tents, from the fires and from the neighboring hillocks. The Mariankars already had a name among the forest fighters. Tales went around at the partisan fires about their heroic actions, about the machine-gun they had captured and how they had rescued 100 Jews from the Wlodawa ghetto and armed them.

Corpulent Butchan waddled up barefoot, his trousers rolled up, a green beret on his big shaggy head. "David," he fell to kissing him and welcoming him in several languages. "*Sholem Aleichem, jacek shemash, zdrazstvooyta, bonjour, the devil take you!* How do you like our Jewish fortress? I'm the chief cook here, and they all make up to me and flatter me. Look, look, how they smile sweetly at me! Gluttons, pigs, stomachs without bottoms—a curse on your mother's milk!"

"How's about showing the Mariankars what you've got in your pots?" Jehiel said, half-joking and half-reproving.

"A plague on Hitler!" Butchan pinched his plump cheeks like a Jewish housewife who, gossiping with her neighbor, suddenly remembers she's left something boiling on her stove. "It's burning!"

"Quicker, Butchan! Faster!" the people hurried him. And Butchan imitated the same housewife running in great panic for her kitchen to rescue the burning pot.

But Berl Kornman's Bebala didn't laugh. All of them doubled up with laughter, and she, the little one with a kerchief tied on her head like a *babatchka*, with a stern face, watched critically and reprovingly. The young sensitive Bebala, who lost her mother and all her brothers and a sister, had lived through so many horrors that she couldn't understand how people were still able to laugh and joke.

David wasn't touched by Butchan's performance either. He didn't find Miriam among those who came up from all the hillocks to welcome them. She wasn't there at all; she had remained in the Parczew woods with Feodor, Jehiel told him later.

While they sat at the fire eating, Butchan gave another performance. He presented a whole railway station, with its incoming and outgoing trains, with all its hustle and

bustle. For many years he had been a porter at the Parczew railway station, so this was his best act. "Tra-tra-ta-ta," he beat on his chest and knees with both hands imitating the sound of the wheels, and "Fi-oo-oo," he blew like a locomotive whistle—"Last stop P-a-rtz-e-wa!"

VANKA KIRPICHNIK, WHO CAME FROM THE HILLOCK WHERE his Polish partisans were camping, embraced David and kissed him on both his cheeks. "I'm very glad you came here, David," he said happily, "I need you here."

Vanka told him he had recruited 50 partisans from among the Polish peasants in the neighborhood and united them with the Jewish partisans in the *okhozha*. This united group was one of the first cells of the Polish *Guardia Ludowa* (People's Guard), which, when it grew to tens of thousands all over Poland, was known as the *Armia Ludowa* (Polish People's Army)...

The Jewish partisans in the *okhozha*, besides the 200 unarmed ones and their families in the encampment, grew to a force of 350 armed men and women.

NOT FAR FROM WLODAWA, IN THE AREA OF THE SKRODNITZ woods, known also as Count Zamoiski's woods, on the Adampol estate, 800 Jewish men and 40 beautiful young Jewish girls were kept in slavery by Baron Zelinger, one of the leaders of the Gestapo in the Lublin district. Baron Zelinger saw to it that his slaves should be spared for the time being and not be sent to the death factory of Sobibor, for these 800 Jews were the most highly qualified workers in all Poland—tailors, carpenters, tractor-drivers, goldsmiths, furriers and hatters—each of them a master of his craft. Baron Zelinger carefully selected them from the various transports destined for Sobibor's murder factory. The 40 young Jewish girls he also selected from the death trains bound for Sobibor and only the most beautiful were picked. He composed his harem of every type and shade of feminine beauty: classically built and petite, brunette, chestnut, blonde and auburn. He also kept on this estate thoroughbred stallions that he had selected from the loot which fell into the hands of the Germans after the collapse of Poland.

The contact-men who were assigned to gather information about the Adampol slave camp came back with reports that it was an impregnable fortress mined inside and out, with a large well-armed garrison, with guards posted around for a radius of two miles and no civilians allowed in the vicinity.

The Mariankars already knew every hidden path and bypath in those parts, and they, who had managed to accomplish the rescue of so many Wlodawa Jews, were assigned the mission of coming in contact with the Jews of Adampol; also while they were there in that district, they were to bring Moische Lichtenstein and his men into the *okhozha*.

"Go, my children, and God protect you," said Yankel of Holowna, an elderly man with a patriarchal grey beard, the most respected of the elders in the encampment. "It's the holiest deed, even holier than the many deeds mentioned in the Bible." . . .

# HOW ISRAEL CAN PROSPER

*The new state has the means to develop economically. It needs a workers' regime and can be helped by trade with socialist lands*

*Fourth of a Series*

*By Victor Perlo*

THE previous articles in this series were devoted to exposing the capture of Israel by foreign, principally United States capital. The final two articles will show that there is a way out of Israel's chronic crisis, a way to a prosperous, peaceful Israel.

One common rationalization for the draining of Israel's income by foreign capitalists—as explained in the first three articles in this series—is that in any case foreign investment is building Israel's economy, which someday the people of Israel can take for their own. Unfortunately, there is no foundation in fact for this belief. This does not mean that all foreign investments are in useless fields. On the contrary, a number of those financed by private funds and by Bonds for Israel are in fields that could contribute to the development of Israel's economy. But such foreign investments are not integrated into an overall economic program without which Israel can not achieve economic independence.

Most important, foreign capital does not provide balanced basic industry, which Israel lacks. The key industries required for economic development are the capital goods industries, principally steel and machinery. Without them, there can be no independent economy and a country must remain an economic colony. The history of the past half century shows that the big capitalists of the investing countries systematically seek to prevent the development of steel and machinery industries in their colonies and semi-colonies.

The United States financiers—Jewish American included—are no more interested in such development in Israel than in Latin America or other areas where they have been ruling the roost for many decades without appreciable development of basic industry. For instance, out of the first \$140,000,000 expenditures from Bonds for Israel allocated for spending through March 1953, less than \$1,500,000, or about one per cent, were allocated for metal and machinery industries—and that mainly for small handicraft establishments. In contrast, \$4,900,000, or over three times as much, was allocated for expansion of tourist facilities and hotels, which will serve mainly the United States capitalists and official "experts" running the show in Israel.

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VICTOR PERLO is a well-known economic consultant and author of *American Imperialism*. In the next and final article he will discuss the way to promote agriculture and peace.

Actually, foreign investments in Israel are concentrated in two fields, typical of colonial-type operations:

1. Extraction of minerals—including a large proportion diverted to an accelerated hunt for strategic minerals for the Pentagon war program.

2. Assembly operations, taking advantage of the low wages in Israel and its financial difficulties. The example of the Barton Candy Company was mentioned earlier in this series. Another example is the Kaiser-Frazer auto assembly plant, which does not make complete cars, but assembles parts from the United States for distribution in markets which do not have dollars with which to buy cars assembled in the United States. Not more than a third of the cars assembled remain in Israel. Israel has to pay Kaiser in dollars for the parts, and hopes to get back the equivalent or a little more in goods through Kaiser-Frazer barter deals with other countries.

In addition there are investments in consumer luxury products and realty deals such as the hotel projects mentioned above.

Some of the projects based on the use of local materials such as the projected fertilizer and chemical plant, pulp and paper mill and various construction material projects—are worthwhile. But they are not characteristic of United States investment. They remain outside of Israeli control and exclude serious enterprises in the key metal and machinery industries.

## *Israel Has the People*

Is it possible for a small country like Israel to achieve real economic development? Unconditionally yes. But the principal requirement for this is not foreign capital, as claimed by apologists for American investors. The main requirements are the energy and skill of the people, access to natural resources, people's planned control of industry, foreign trade on an equal basis and coordinated development with neighboring countries.

This has been proved incontestably by the experience of the USSR, of China and of such former backward countries as Bulgaria and Rumania, which have built or are building modern industry and creating strong economies without the investments of foreign capitalists.

Let us test the situation in Israel against these requirements.

Israel is well supplied with people, who came filled with enthusiasm to build and are now thwarted through enforced idleness or unproductive labor. Indeed, the people of Israel have an advantage over the peoples of some other countries that have already developed much further. In Israel there are many skilled workers, many technicians, engineers, accountants. Tens of thousands were specially trained to prepare them for building their country. Moreover, there is plenty of manpower. In addition to the 22,000 registered unemployed, there are 200,000 immigrants not yet absorbed into the economy and tens of thousands of Arabs only casually employed.

There are frequent slanders against the people of Israel to the effect that they tend toward shopkeeping and white collar work rather than industry and agriculture. Such statements reflect more anti-Semitism than facts. "Inefficiency" of labor in Israel today has nothing to do with any "national characteristic." Speaking of the low productivity in the Kaiser-Frazer plant in Israel, *Business Week* reported (May 24): "Some officials lay part of the blame to the lack of food for plant workers. They point out that workers' output is greatest in the morning, then fades fast through the rest of the day. The plant managers suggested that K-F Willow Run provide extra food for the men to piece out their Israel rations. Willow Run replied with vitamin pills—last heard from, they were snarled in customs."

Obviously, this problem will not be cured by slick speed-up schemes—or vitamin pills—imported from the United States. Israeli workers will not suffer starvation to produce for the profits of foreign capitalists. But the workers will undoubtedly reveal their real potential when their labors go to build their own economy and are directed to raising their living standards instead of imposing ever-more "austerity."

### ***Natural Resources Are There***

Israel has reserves of potash, phosphates, copper, manganese, iron ore, peat, sulphur, limestone, probably oil and other basic minerals. Actually, Israel's full resources will not become known until the people of Israel take control of them and start to use them. Imperialists have a good nose for those raw materials they wish to extract for export—like oil in the Middle East. But their geologists are strangely myopic when it comes to the materials which the less developed countries need for their own development.

Thus American geologists repeatedly assured the Chinese people that China could never develop a basic industry because the country lacked iron. But people's China is today rapidly developing its basic industry. Already United Nations charts show that China has 1.8 billion tons of iron ore in "probable"—readily available—reserves, almost half as much as the United States.

Because of the imperialist desire to suppress national industry, we do not yet know enough about the resource

structure of Israel and hence cannot give a detailed blueprint of Israel industrial development. A United Nations report states: "The Middle East appears to have small known resources for the production of iron and steel. Relatively little exploration has, however, been undertaken for iron ores or coal in the Middle East area." (*World Iron Ore Resources and Their Utilization*, United Nations, New York, 1950.)

But even with the "relatively little exploration," enough is known to establish the basis for a steel industry in Israel, not to speak of the Middle East in general.

Steel could be produced in Israel with iron ore from the Negev or from Asswan in Egypt. Coking coal could be obtained by sea from Zonguldak in Turkey or from the Ukrainian Black Sea ports. Some such arrangement would be desirable if Israel were to construct a large scale steel mill to supply part of the needs of other Middle Eastern countries as well as Israel's needs. Alternatively, if smaller quantities of steel were planned, new processes could be used based on Middle Eastern oil instead of coking coal.

### ***Does the Histadrut Control Industry?***

What about control of industry? Earlier articles show that the real centers of control are abroad. But an illusion has been created that the Israeli workers have a large share in ownership of industry through the business activities of the Histadrut, the trade union center. Huge sums contributed by workers have been accumulated by the Histadrut in finance and industry—to the point where the Solel Boneh, one of the Histadrut holding companies, is known as the largest employer in Israel. *But actually, it employs nobody, controls nothing.* The shareholdings are always minority holdings or holdings of non-voting stock without a voice in management. Objectively, the Histadrut merely contributes funds for the private capitalists, Israeli and foreign, to use in the more efficient exploitation of the worker-members of Histadrut in the industries involved.

David Hacohen, member of Knesset, director general of Solel Boneh, assured a reporter of the *New York Daily Mirror* (April 18) that his organization did not and would not control anything, that it never wanted a controlling share but was content to remain a partner in private industry. As for some day taking control of the foreign investments, Hacohen has no such idea: "What," he practically shouted. "They say we want to nationalize industry? They're crazy. We don't think of nationalization. That's a weak argument by weak people who don't know my country."

In almost every semi-colonial country there are powerful movements to nationalize the foreign-owned enterprises which bleed these countries. But the majority of the leadership of the Israel trade union movement, whose Mapai Party rose to power with slogans of "Socialism," consider nationalization "crazy."

Like private Israeli capitalists who take minority shares in foreign controlled companies, the Histadrut leaders act as

fronts and sales agents for the foreign corporations. They are *compradores*.<sup>1</sup> While American capitalists give instructions to Israeli comprador capitalists and to the Israel government, American trade union bureaucrats transmit the orders to Israel's comprador trade union leaders.

Here is an example. George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL, delivered a speech in Chicago on March 26, 1950, at a "dinner attended by a vast turnout of AFL friends and supporters of Israel and the Histadrut," reported the *American Federationist* of April 1950. "The AFL leader plainly stated," continued the paper, "that the Histadrut's continued membership in the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions is 'very strange.' . . . Mr. Meany called upon the Histadrut to put an end soon to the anomalous position in which it now finds itself. 'The Histadrut (must) carry out its unmistakable fraternal obligations. I am sure that the Histadrut understands this and that the Histadrut, which has never turned its back on duty before, will not turn its back now.'"

Did the leaders of the Histadrut protest this brazen interference in their internal affairs? They did not. They promptly withdrew from the World Federation of Trade Unions. Thereby they cut off Israel's workers from the overwhelming majority of the world's organized workers and in particular from the struggling trade union movements of nearby Middle Eastern countries, which have found a real home, real assistance within the World Federation of Trade Unions.

### **People's Control of the Economy**

What is the real path to control of the economy by the people of the country for the people's welfare? The fundamental steps, based on the experience of other countries that have achieved liberation from foreign control, can be outlined:

1. Israel must expropriate the foreign-owned power and mineral industries and banks.
2. Capital for basic metal and machinery industries can be raised at home by a progressive tax program and by diverting sums now wasted on military expenses and payment of profits to foreign capitalists.
3. Key enterprises would have to be government-owned, with labor and farmers having the decisive voice in government.
4. The national capitalists—those who are not stalking horses for foreign capitalists—should be encouraged. They should be helped to get needed raw materials and protected against dumping of competitive imports.

Does this program mean that American and other foreign friends of Israel have to be cut off from helping Israel together with the elimination of foreign capitalists in key industries? By no means. With a general program such as that outlined above, foreign capital can play an auxiliary

role in the form of loans without control of Israel enterprise. Investments like Bonds for Israel, if used to aid Israel peoples'-owned basic industries purchase supplies abroad, would have an entirely different meaning than at present, when they are mainly supplying added capital for the foreign capitalists controlling Israel's economy.

Of course, big Jewish American financiers would not be likely to make a big hullabaloo for bonds for a *people's Israel*. But Jewish American small business men, professionals and skilled workers could buy such bonds with a clear conscience and a real sense of financial security, unlike the present situation when they are asked to buy bonds for a foreign capitalists' Israel.

### **Foreign Trade Needed**

Even with the best of internal measures, a small country like Israel needs cooperation from abroad. The slogan of an independent economy must not be confused with the false slogan of autarchy, that is, total self-sufficiency. Israel needs extensive foreign trade. For example, even with a serious program of developing basic industry, Israel would have to import machinery of most types for a period and of many types after development of its own machinery industries.

The capitalists of the imperialist centers have a long-standing reluctance to export machinery to countries which they regard as preserves for investment of surplus capital and sources of cheap raw materials. They do not want to see new competitors arising. The history of all underdeveloped countries is one of painful scrambling to purchase second-hand, second-rate machinery and equipment at several times the regular price and waiting several years for that. Plenty of good machinery is exported—but for the use of the foreign corporations investing in such countries as Israel.

Today the semi-colonial countries can shake off the dead hand of foreign capital and get the goods needed from abroad for development. This is possible if Israel could buy in the world market at the best prices what it needed for its economic development. Whatever one's views may be, one must recognize that today there exist countries which make and offer for sale to all comers, without strings, machinery and other necessary commodities. Those countries are the socialist countries, the USSR and the people's democracies.

The Soviet Union has proved that it can assist the development of backward areas. This is graphically illustrated by the growth of modern industry in the Soviet republics of Central Asia, formerly colonies of the tsar just as down-trodden as the nearby Middle Eastern countries. Today these five Central Asian Soviet Republics, with 17 million people, produce three times as much electric power as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan, with their combined population of 156 million.

Poland is building a new steel mill at Krakow with equipment supplied by the USSR. The 1.5 million metric tons

<sup>1</sup> Funk and Wagnalls *Dictionary* defines "comprador" as: "A native agent and intermediary in a business house, consulate, or the like, in China." Actually, the term is used in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Today it no longer applies in China.

capacity of this steel mill will approximate the entire 1951 steel production of all Latin America after 50 years of United States domination and "economic aid" to that region. Similar genuine aid for economic development is advanced by the USSR to other people's democracies and to people's China. The trade of the socialist world aids development of countries with other political systems also. Today Czechoslovak farm equipment is sold in Argentina, Soviet typewriters in Belgium.

The same can apply to Israel. It was proved in 1948, when supplies from abroad, especially of arms, were a matter of life or death. In that year, little Czechoslovakia stood third in exports to Israel, supplying more than half as much goods as the United States. As is well known, the goods supplied by Czechoslovakia were the arms most needed by the Israeli independence fighters. Ironically, the United States government, then engaged in a major campaign of incitation against Czechoslovakia following its governmental reorganization in February 1948, was putting people in jail for shipment of arms to Israel.

As the Israel government came increasingly under United States domination, it acceded more and more to the Washington-imposed embargo policy. Israel imports from the USSR and the people's democracies dropped steadily, from 15 per cent of total imports in 1948 to 10 per cent in 1949, 6 per cent in 1950, and 4 per cent in 1951.

### ***Beneficial Trade with Socialist World***

The Israel government not only limits trade with the socialist countries, but conducts it so as to benefit American capitalists more than the Israeli people. Here is one recent example. Citrus fruit has been Israel's leading export product. As a result of war damage and the government's agricultural policies, citrus acreage is one-half of pre-war. But there is great difficulty in marketing the remainder. In September the USSR placed an order for 400,000 cases of oranges, which exceeds 10 per cent of Israel's entire citrus exports in the last fiscal year. This order the Ben Gurion government could not turn down. Even the State Department could not call oranges "war materials" and get away with it.

But the Soviet government offered to pay for the oranges with wheat, which Israel needs desperately to feed the people. This offer Israel turned down and insisted instead on receiving foreign currency to which the USSR agreed. The hungry people of Israel will not benefit but the foreign investors will have currency to take out their profits. With this cut-off-your-nose-to-spite-your-face attitude, the Israel government will not permit the full development of trade with socialist countries.

But with a give-and-take, friendly attitude, such trade could be developed enormously. At the International Economic Conference held in Moscow last April the Soviet spokesman, Mr. Nesterov, stressed his country's desire to expand trade with Asia and the Middle East. Given normal conditions of trade, he said, the USSR "might, in particu-

lar, in the next two or three years supply machinery and equipment to an amount of 3,000 million rubles [\$750,000,000] to Southeast Asia and the Near and Middle East."

He specified all the typical export products of these countries, for which the Soviet Union offered to supply industrial goods and equipment: "particularly for the metallurgical, fuel and chemical industries and also for the light and food industries. This would make it possible for these countries to process their raw materials."

He also offered technical assistance and equipment for agriculture. He proposed trade for barter or to accept the currency of the buying country and spend that money there: "Considering that many countries are experiencing foreign exchange difficulties, barter transactions and payment in local currencies should contribute in no small measure to the expansion of trade."

This general program is made to order for Israel.

An example of how it could work is provided by the operations of the Hungarian textile industry. The USSR sells cotton. Hungary processes the cotton and pays for it with a portion of the finished fabrics. The rest is available for the Hungarian people. The Hungarian textile factories are owned by Hungary, controlled by the Hungarian people. There are no foreign profits to pay. There is no "balance of payments" problem. There is no problem of marketing the surplus production. And the Hungarian people are supplied with clothing.

Similar arrangements could make possible a really rapid development of Israel's industry, involving productive employment for the hundreds of thousands of immigrants, and a sharp rise in the living standards of the people.

Thus, in this article we have seen how Israel has, or can get, four of the five main requirements for genuine economic development—the people, natural resources, control of industry and foreign trade. The fifth requirement, cooperation with neighboring countries, will be discussed in the next and final article. We shall also take up the problem of development of Israel's agriculture and the economic significance of shifting from a foreign policy of war preparations to one of peace.

*(To be concluded)*

### ***"Swallowing" World Jewry***

SUPPORT of the position of the conservative British Jewish leader, Dr. Selig Brodestky, that "a few U.S.A. organizations" are trying to "swallow" all world Jewry (see November issue, p. 22), is made by the British Zionist leader, Israel Cohen, in the London *Jewish Chronicle* (October 10). After complaining that four predominantly American Jewish organizations are monopolizing the proposed "reparations" negotiations with Austria, Mr. Cohen states: "In view of the fact that British Jewry includes upward of 15,000 former Austrian Jews, . . . this activity on the part of the four organizations will increase the apprehensions already expressed by Professor Dr. Brodetsky and others about the assimilatory ambitions of these bodies."



# BROTHERHOOD IN DEED

The following is an instructive story of "brotherhood" that goes beyond words to action. It appeared originally as an unsigned story in the Baltimore Afro-American of October 4 and is here reprinted with permission of the Afro-American Newspapers.—Eds.

The John Marshall Study Club, a foursome of law school students, was in the music room in the basement of the Student Union, having one of its hot sessions on torts.

During the evening study period one of the school's band members came into the room to put his instrument away. After greeting the group he launched into a great build-up of the band's musicale to raise funds for uniforms.

"Smith, this program will really 'send' you. We've got everything, 60 pieces, some of the finest musical scores from Bach to hop. And to top it off we've a minstrel show with two blackfaced end-men that will rock 'em in the aisle."

That "sent" Smith all right. He and his three buddies went into a wide-eyed open-mouthed stare.

Finally Al Jacobs, one of the two Jewish students in the Embryo Lawyers' group broke the silence. "I'll bet some of the colored students are going to roll you in the aisle when they see the program," he said to Jack Blake.

Before Al had finished the sentence, John Wainly, the German Catholic student, joined in with, "Do you think it is quite fair to do a take-off on races, especially during Brotherhood Week?"

Clayton Smith, the only colored member of the group said, "Jack, I'd sure appreciate it if you'd get the band to strike out that part of the program. You've got six or seven weeks to prepare and you ought to be able to find some other kind of entertainment that won't offend the colored students."

Jack countered with, "Gee, I didn't know anyone felt that way about it. But I'm sure it can be fixed up."

All the fellows smiled, said their good-byes and the quartette went back to the study of torts.

Clayton Smith, first postwar president

of the student body, had worked hard after his return from service to reorganize the band and to get uniforms for the musicians. As convocation chairman, he had presented programs which would reflect the liberal spirit prevalent in the classrooms of this great eastern university.

Several weeks later, the Law Study Club was having another of its bi-weekly sessions when Blake came in again. He placed some freshly printed programs on the table, put his horn away and left hurriedly without a word.

Clayton didn't think much of this until Don Spillner, the fourth of the studiers, glanced at the programs on the table and exclaimed, "My God! These are the programs for the musicale and the end-men are still in!"

That evening Clayton, who lived in town, mentioned the musicale to the local druggist. But he did not get the support from this alumnus he expected.

"Well, personally I don't see any reason why they should take the blackface act out of the show. It's all in fun. It's like listening to 'Amos 'n Andy'. They don't mean to make fun of our people," the druggist said.

This stung young Smith. He had taken it for granted that all colored people with any racial pride resented these stereotypes.

Edward Sparks, president of the campus NAACP, said: "I'm glad you called, Clayton. You're darn right. I'm opposed to the band's program. Jack Blake contacted me yesterday. Called you an alarmist and said

he was sure other colored students felt differently. But you can bet your bottom dollar I told him plenty."

The following night the student government met.

It was a stormy meeting.

Smith told of the meeting with Blake several weeks before, of the stereotyped part of the musicale and of Blake's promise that "something would be done."

"I have been asked by several colored students and graduates of this univer-

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sity to request that this group take its strongest measures to see that this part of the program is not presented," he said.

Chairman Ned Wrozewski, whom Clayton had supported as his successor to the student body presidency, banged his gavel on the table.

"I fail to see how this board can take any action on programs that the band might choose to give. Besides, I'm Polish and I don't resent jokes about Poles as long as they are in fun."

The assistant dean of students, Dr. Ben Roberts, interposed, "I'm from Harvard and when Princetonians tell belittling jokes of Harvard men I don't feel insulted."

Then Al Jacobs joined the fray. "Dr. Roberts, I'm surprised that you would try to make a comparison between jokes about Harvard and those deriding a struggling minority. Yours is a positive

thing. The worst that a joke of that type can do is add to the ego of Harvard men. But jokes about 'Sambo,' 'Uncle Mose' and 'D—y' are of a negative nature, tending to bring up all the exaggerated bad imputed to a group in its past when it's trying to forget those things."

Then he turned to Wrozewski: "As a Jewish student, I certainly resent such remarks about Jews."

Clayton Smith rose to answer them all. "I have two sons. One is two, the other is one. If I give my two year old a stick, he may swing it and hit the year-old's head, conceivably in the spot where the skull is not yet mended, My wife and I as overseers of that household have a duty to protect that young one as well as afford fun for the older one. But we realize that harm can innocently be done. Intent doesn't matter.

"In law school they teach us that harm can be done and a crime committed in many instances regardless of the 'mens rea' or criminal intent.

"As a governing board we have a duty

to every student on this campus."

Chairman Wrozewski asked, "What do you want us to do about it?"

Clayton answered, "Mr. Chairman, I say again, I want you to do the most that you are capable of doing so that this board will go on record in a manner commensurate with the liberal ideas promulgated in the classroom. I could easily have taken this to the university council or to the president. I know then that I would get action. But this is the body that should rise to the occasion."

Without waiting for a motion or vote, Smith left the meeting. The next morning Al Jacobs told him of the body's decision.

On a motion by Dr. Roberts the band was to be requested to delete that part of the program concerning the minstrel show.

A few days later Mr. and Mrs. Clayton Smith were among the audience at the concert. The solos, the arrangements, everything was expertly done. The curtain fell without the minstrel act and the applause rocked the auditorium.

None of the audience knew of the fight that had taken place. None of them knew any more about racial stereotypes than before they came in.

And none of them knew how happy Mr. and Mrs. Smith were as they fled out from the theater with their Jewish and Catholic friends.

Brotherhood had won a real fight.

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# Book Reviews

Toward 10th Anniversary, Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

## THE JEWISH ANTI-NAZI UNDERGROUND

By Morris U. Schappes

*Underground, the Story of a People*, by Frank Tenenbaum, Philosophical Library, New York. \$4.50.

When to induce forgetfulness of what the nazis did, is a part of the psychological preparation for war in Europe, the appearance of a book like D. Tenenbaum's *Underground* is in its own way a blow for peace. When Eisenhower and Dulles, Truman and Stevenson mobilize renazified West German divisions under the repulsive slogan, "Let bygones be bygones," one must welcome the depiction of nazi bestiality in Poland and, no matter how confusedly, of Jewish resistance to it. When even Jewish "leaders" here and in Israel lend themselves cravenly to this Pentagon program for the moral rearmament of the renazified Adenauer regime, any book which tells any part of the truth about the nazi extermination of Jews in Poland is an obstacle to this program. Such a book, with all its faults, is Dr. Tenenbaum's.

Genocide for the Jews was literal in Poland under the nazis. Sometimes we unintentionally blur the fact by the overall figure, 6,000,000 East European Jews slaughtered, or by the formula, one-third of the world Jewish population destroyed by the nazis. The bare truth is that in Poland 80 to 90 per cent of the 3,500,000 Jews were done to death by the Germans: starved, gassed, cremated, butchered. And furthermore it was on the territory of Poland that the nazis erected the extermination camps in which were killed not only the Jews of Poland but Jews (and non-Jews) brought to Poland from all over Europe.

The unforgettable figures are in this volume: 316,000 Jews murdered in the camp in Chelmno; several hundred thousand in Belsen; a half-million each in Maidanek and Sobibor; 760,000 in Treblinka; 3,000,000 in Oswiecim. While the figures hint at but do not tell the whole gory, gruesome, inhuman story, it is well to keep them in mind as you read of United States officials amnestying nazi prisoners responsible for them.

In scope, Dr. Tenenbaum's book is more extensive than any other in English and

that expansiveness is perhaps its greatest virtue. The author has also used new materials, published and unpublished, made accessible in the last three years in Yiddish, Polish, Hebrew and German. Thus his section of almost 100 pages on the Warsaw Ghetto uses for the first time in English the papers of General Juergen Stroop, who was in charge of the destruction of the Ghetto and its inhabitants.

Included is also a chapter summarizing the diary of a rubble-fighter, Leon Naiberg. "The battle of the ghetto was followed by the battle of the ruins." For five months after the official end of the liquidation of the Ghetto, Naiberg and others continued their resistance in the rubble itself. Even that was not to be the end. On September 26, 1943, in his final entry, Naiberg wrote:

"Tomorrow I shall make contact with Lieutenant Stefan Miller of the A. L. (People's Army) in order to join the partisans."

But there was ghetto resistance and ghetto uprising outside Warsaw too, and Dr. Tenenbaum renders a distinct service to the English reader by his chapters on the situations in the ghettos in such major Jewish centers as Lodz, Czestochowa, Lublin, Bialystok, Lvov (Lemberg), Cracow and Wilno, and even in some small towns, hitherto almost unnoted, like Slonim, Mir and others.

Recognizing also, however, that the resistance in the ghettos was connected with that of the partisans in the woods, Dr. Tenenbaum offers us, again for the first time in English, a valuable section on the role of the Jewish partisans and the participation of Jews in the general partisan movements. (In a generally superfluous as well as superficial three-page "survey" of partisan warfare from 1689 to date in Spain, Austria and the United States, Dr. Tenenbaum commits the amazing blunder of including the work of *Confederate* "Partisan Rangers" during our Civil War as an example of "a people's war." Is this not an insult not only to every Negro slave and to every Union soldier, but to every Jewish partisan in Poland?)

Now when one has outlined the wide scope, pointed to the new matter presented

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for the first time in English and hailed the prime importance of refreshing our recollections of the nazi policy of atrocity, one has exhausted the value of Dr. Tenenbaum's book. Of Dr. Tenenbaum's treatment of his material the reader, particularly the reader who knows only what is available in English, must be very wary indeed. For Dr. Tenenbaum fails him in a crucial respect: he does not reveal the process by which resistance was achieved. For it is a horrible but unavoidable fact that only heroic minorities and remnants wished to resist, believed in resistance and learned how to resist.<sup>1</sup>

Unless the reader can learn from a book how the nazis and their Jewish collaborators worked to discourage and to prevent resistance, as well as to crush it after it began, he can draw no meaningful lessons for his own use today in resisting the push to a world atomic war and to domestic fascism in our own country. These lessons Dr. Tenenbaum either has not learned or does not reveal. In fact, he goes out of his way to obscure them.

After examining several of the ghetto movements, Dr. Tenenbaum ventures the generalization that in the early periods "there is noticeable in all of them lack of cohesion, lack of sufficient foresight and perhaps also a lagging appreciation of the urgency of the situation" (p. 194). But did all groups in every ghetto share these weaknesses in the same degree? Was there none for which united action

and the united front of resistance was a matter of deeply-ingrained principle? Were there not some that were particularly susceptible to the tactics used by the nazis to prevent resistance? Such matters require discussion and evaluation and at least the presentation of the bare facts.

Dr. Tenenbaum of course is a prominent figure in the Zionist movement and one would expect him to give at least due weight to the relationship of the Zionists in the ghettos to the developing resistance movement. It must have pained him to record this about the Czestochowa ghetto: "One of the known nazi tricks was the Palestine bait. As in other cities, they announced that a number of Jews would be exchanged for Germans, and urged the registration of volunteers. It was always easy fishing in the Jordan. Jews swallowed the Palestine bait hook, line and sinker" (p. 199).

Without prior knowledge, the reader might not recognize this statement for all it is worth, since Dr. Tenenbaum nowhere else refers to this widely used "Palestine bait." The fact was that the nazis, in order to complete their registration of Jews in the ghettos whose

identities or residences were unknown so that they could be properly organized for the extermination camps, appealed to Jews to register for going to Palestine. Again and again Communist groups in the ghettos issued warnings that these appeals for voluntary registration were nazi traps; again and again the Judenrats and many Zionists denounced these warnings—and tens of thousands swallowed the bait "hook, line and sinker." Incidentally, is it meaningless to point to the way the "Palestine bait" is being used now as an instrument of bi-partisan United States foreign policy in the Middle East to tie American Zionists to support of the war machine?

Another, and basic, "nazi trick" used in the ghettos to prevent unity and to discourage resistance was red-baiting. But Dr. Tenenbaum makes no mention of this as a factor inside the ghettos. He does however in passing point to the way the Poles

<sup>1</sup> See this writer's article on this theme. "Resistance Is the Lesson," JEWISH LIFE, April, 1948 (also in pamphlet).

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**CULTURE CLUB No. 253**

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of Warsaw were duped by General Stroop's red-baiting use of the massacre of Polish officers at Katyn: Stroop gave the Katyn massacre, which he charged to the Russians and the Jews, as a justification for his liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. "Nazism was forgotten, Katyn became the issue. The linking of Jews and Communists was nothing new to Polish mentality, and the nazis played that tune for all it was worth. They even produced fictitious photographs of 'Jewish' participation in the murder." *Warning:* these "photographs" may be turning up in Washington at a Congressional hearing any day, for the McCarthys and McCarrans are again making Katyn "the issue" to justify in advance their plans for criminal aggression. Yet red-baiting was effective not only upon the "Polish mentality" but also on the "Jewish mentality" in the ghettos, and it delayed for many a month the decisive achievement of unity of all resistance forces. What a service Dr. Tenenbaum could have rendered had he simply brought out the facts in this matter!

Instead, Dr. Tenenbaum obscures, slight, or even distorts the role of Communists in the ghetto. Unable to ignore

this role, he obscures it, sometimes by the simple device of not stating the bare fact that the PPR (Polish Workers' Party) was the Communist Party, so that the reader without prior awareness of this identity would never get it in this book. But even to the PPR Dr. Tenenbaum's attitude, while not scurrilous like John Hersey's, is grudging, negative and confusing.

It would seem that Dr. Tenenbaum's studious avoidance of a careful description of the process by which unity of ghetto combat forces was achieved, and of an evaluation of the roles in this process played by various groups, is caused by a fear of revealing the *initiating* role so often played by Communist groups.

Since Dr. Tenenbaum generally dispenses with the citation of the exact sources of his statements, it is usually difficult to check his facts. A careful analysis, however, of his use of one source, which is the basis for a section of some ten pages, reveals a shocking, if not too surprising method of work.

Chapter 22, "The Diary of Justine," is based on the *Memoirs of Justine*, written by Gustawa (Justine) Draenger and published in Polish in Cracow in 1945. Although the full text of the Yiddish translation later published by the Jewish Historical Commission of Poland is unavailable, certain passages do appear in an article by A. Nirenstein, "Jewish Resistance in Cracow under Hitler Occupation," in *Bleter far Geschichte*, Volume 5, Nos. 1-2, Janu-

ary-June, 1952, issued by the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw.

Now Justine is a young woman, a Zionist, a member of the Akiba Zionist Youth in Cracow, which in December 1941 founded an agricultural training project nearby to prepare pioneers for Palestine. To exemplify Dr. Tenenbaum's method of dealing with the evidence of even a fellow-Zionist, we shall take two examples only.

First, on p. 453, Dr. Tenenbaum paraphrases the effect of two unsuccessful sorties into the woods by small units of the Akiba group: "They had learned their lesson the hard way. They had proof of how little they could rely on others. They must act by themselves, unaided, alone. . . ." Contrast this with Nirenstein's account, which includes a direct supporting quotation from Justine's diary, Tenenbaum's own source.

Nirenstein writes of just this period, pp. 237-38: "The unification of the Liebeskind-group (Akiba Zionist Youth, of which Liebeskind was secretary—M.U.S.) with the Jewish PPR group was achieved without bargaining or long-drawn-out negotiations. The Liebeskind-group took stock of its isolation from the general Polish resistance, which had already then, in the fall of 1942, appeared on the scene with a relatively large force.

"Gusta Draenger describes the way in which her group drew closer to the Jewish PPR group, which surpassed hers in experience in struggle, in political consciousness, with the following words: . . . 'They, the Akiba-group, had never been leaders and did not feel they had the strength to lead these young people into battle. They were themselves ready to become simply soldiers, ordinary rank-and-filers, and to put themselves in the hands of a great leader, who would know what the given situation requires, and

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who would use their youthful enthusiasm for heroic deeds. . . . And so they sought a leader with military experience, for that was what they really lacked. They turned their backs on all feelings of shame and went out in search of him. That was how they united with the Workers' Party."

Now one could read Dr. Tenenbaum's entire chapter and not learn that this Zionist group had voluntarily (or in any other way) accepted the leadership of and united in action with the PPR. Instead Dr. Tenenbaum strangely tells us that the Akiba group decided to act "unaided, alone" and somehow became heroes.

**But let us** turn to our second example, from p. 457. Dr. Tenenbaum, turning to events in Cracow involving the Akiba group after the period of Justice's diary, writes: "On December 23, 1952, the group organized a bombing attack on the Cafe Cyganeria, frequented by Germans. During the bombing a score of Germans were killed and many wounded. Other groups of the same outfit scattered leaflets and posted proclamations against the nazi occupation. It was no coincidence that, almost on the same night, hand grenades were hurled at the Central Railroad station in Warsaw, and a Wehrmacht cafe in Kielce and a movie house in Radom were bombed."

Now according to Dr. Tenenbaum all this was the work of this young Zionist group. But in meticulously documented pages 250-53, Nirenstein shows that the "group"

organizing the attack on the Cafe was the ZOB, the united defense force, led by the PPR group, that the act was carried out both by Polish and Jewish fighters, and that "it was no coincidence" that similar acts took place simultaneously elsewhere exactly because it was the PPR and the People's Guard that had centrally planned all these actions. None of these details is of mere academic interest; every one of them is full of meaning and of lessons for Jews today. This is not mere carelessness with facts on Dr. Tenenbaum's part; this is a treatment of reality distorted by a surrender to cold-war propaganda and it must be said that it characterizes a good deal of the material in this volume.

**There is** also much to be desired in Dr. Tenenbaum's treatment of other aspects of his theme. With regard to the Judenrats (the Jewish administrative councils appointed in the ghettos by the nazis to carry out their program), it is well that Dr. Tenenbaum recognizes them for and condemns them as treacherous tools and allies of the nazis. But it would have been more helpful if he had showed us in detail exactly how at least one Judenrat worked its evil.

His attitude to the Soviet Union is equivocal and smacks of the "cold war." Thus he would have us believe that it was "after the German conquest" of Poland that "Soviet Russia occupied 75,000 square miles" when it is well known, even if conveniently forgotten, that the Soviet Union occupied this territory to prevent the German conquest of it. He grudgingly admits that hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees were accepted into the Soviet Union. From time to time he records the fact that the Red Army turned up in this ghetto or another to save a remnant of a Jewish population. (Far be it for Dr. Tenenbaum so much as to hint at the fact that the failure of the United States government to abide by its agreement to open a second front in Western Europe in 1942 was a decisive factor in permitting the liquidation of the ghettos.)

It is useful to have Dr. Tenenbaum write as he does on p. 393: "By the end of 1941, the Soviets broadcast a decree signed by Mikhail I. Kalinin, the President of the Highest Council of State, and by its Secretary Gorki, calling on the people of Russia to speed up the evacuation of Jews.

"The decree stated: 'Because the enemy behaves in a beastly, barbaric manner and practices total extermination of Soviet citizens of the Jewish nationality, it is hereby ordered to carry through their evacuation to the interior of Soviet Russia as a matter of priority.' To that end all transport facilities and means of locomotion were or-

dered at their disposal. While there may have been a wide gap between the order as issued and the actual accomplishments, there could be no mistaken interpretation of the intent of the order."

But it is also characteristic of Dr. Tenenbaum's method that he prefaced this quoted passage with this sentence: "The Soviets made several attempts to stem the tide of anti-Semitic savagery among the rank and file." Need we add that Dr. Tenenbaum did not supply a particle of evidence to justify his generalization about "anti-Semitic savagery among the rank and file"?

Were there room and time, it would be possible to cite a hundred other examples of biased and reckless writing. But enough has been shown to demonstrate that the reader must approach this book with great care and reserve. And yet, because it is the only book available in English that covers the scope it does, and because it will make the blood of any reader seethe with renewed anger at the nazis, it can serve a useful purpose in the fight against West German rearmament and the cause of peace.

### News of East European Jews

**Soviet Union.** At the congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, three Jews were elected to the Central Committee of the Party—L. M. Kaganovitch, former member of the Politburo; L. Z. Mekhlis, former political head of the Soviet Army, and D. J. Rajzer, an industrial expert.

**Poland.** At least a dozen Jews were among the over 400 candidates in the October elections to the Polish Sejm (parliament). Among the Jewish candidates were three members of the Polish Politburo: Jacob Ber- man, Hilary Minc and Zambrowski. Other Jewish candidates: Dluski; Szyr, undersecretary of state in the ministry of the interior; Olszewski, former Polish ambassador in Prague; Chajn; Drobner; Hochfeld, former leader of the parliamentary group of the Polish Socialist Party; Kas- man, editor of the official paper *Trybuna Ludu*; Fidler, editor of the Communist Party organ, *Nowe Drogi*; Mrs. Kluszyńska.

The first volume of a new edition of Sholem Aleichem's *Selected Works* was recently brought out in Warsaw. The edition numbers 6,000 copies. The edition is being published under the editorship of David Sfarid by the publishing house "Yiddishe Buch."

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## OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

### Come December 15th

The second annual campaign for Jewish LIFE opens on December 15th. The readers, Jewish Life Committees and organizations are called upon to make a good start in the drive for \$25,000 and for subscriptions. The key to a good start—and a strong finish—is the proper organization of the drive without any further delay. Now is the time to plan parties, affairs, meetings, individual canvassing for contributions and all the other measures necessary for a successful campaign. Through this column we wish to appeal to each individual reader to make himself a committee of one (or more, if you can get together with other readers) to raise a specific sum for the 1953 fund drive of Jewish LIFE and to gather subscriptions. No need to agitate you here on the necessity of raising the \$25,000. We have described the situation many times. Pressure is getting stronger, the state of emergency sharper—and the *only* way out is a successful 1953 campaign. Money and subs must start rolling in as soon as possible. Let's go!

### We Have a College

How many of us know that there is a progressive Jewish "college" which is attended by graduates of the *shules* (schools) and *mittelschules* (high schools)? It is the School for Higher Jewish Education—"Kursn," in brief—where close to 100 students are studying to become progressive Jewish teachers, journalists and leaders. 1953 will mark the 10th anniversary of the "Kursn." At a conference on November 8th, Jewish organizations and unions adopted a plan to popularize the "Kursn," to promote scholarships and to mark the 10th anniversary with a grand celebration in Manhattan Center in March 1953. The school has developed into one of the most vital educational institutions of the progressive Jewish movement under the directorship of N. Kamenetzky, whose work and devotion were hailed at the conference.

### "The Devil in Boston"

The Yiddish Theatre Ensemble is a group of players who have been producing plays in the tradition of the world-famous Artef—already for eight seasons. With the decay and vulgarization of the once proud Yiddish theater, the Yiddish Theatre En-

semble, whose actors are workers in the shops, offices and homes, stands alone as a contributor of the theatrically fresh, meaningful and progressive in the Jewish community. That is why we can look forward to the next production of the Ensemble, a play by Lion Feuchtwanger—*The Devil in Boston*—translated by Nathaniel Buchwald. *The Devil in Boston* deals with the days of the Salem witch-hunt, and the contemporary significance need not be stressed. The famous Broadway and Hollywood actor, Morris Carnovsky, himself a victim of the witch-hunt, is the director. The Ensemble will present *The Devil in*

*Boston* on Saturday evenings (beginning January 24) and Sunday afternoons in the Barbizon Plaza Theater. Here is a play and production that all Jews, English or Yiddish speaking, should see and support. Theater parties and benefits can be organized with discounts given to organizations. We recommend that every English-speaking organization make *The Devil in Boston* a must in its winter program by purchasing blocks of tickets. Arrangements can be made with the office of the Yiddish Theater Ensemble, 189 Second Avenue, New York. Their telephone number is GR. 7-2312.

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# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

"intercultural" has fallen into "disrepute because of questionable associations. . . with propaganda of the Communist Party Line."

**Alfred Kohlberg**, chairman of the McCarthyite American Jewish League Against Communism, loused a red baiting attack in October against Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for recommending to American rabbis the promotion of Jerome Davis' *Peace, War and You*.

**After "Rabbi"** Benjamin Schultz, executive director of the American Jewish League against Communism, praised Senator Joseph McCarthy in a campaign speech in Milwaukee in October. Sidney H. Sayles, executive director of the Milwaukee Jewish Council, denounced Schultz and stated that the McCarthyite "rabbi" was "not representative of any section of the American Jewish community."

**Seven teachers** and the dean at the theological seminary at the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., on November 5 resigned their positions in protest at the refusal of the School of Theology to admit Negro students. Their resignations were accepted.

## EUROPE

**Protests were voiced** by Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats and others in Italy late in October over the release by the British of nazi war criminal Marshall Albert Kesselring. The nazi marshall had been sentenced to death in 1947 (later commuted to 21 years) for the ruthless massacre of 335 civilian Italian hostages in 1944 and for brutal acts against Italian partisans. Demands were made on the Italian government to seek extradition of Kesselring for trial in Italy.

**Wide protest** from former anti-nazi underground fighters and war veterans in Holland extracted a promise from the Dutch minister of Justice in October that he would not reduce the sentence of Willi Lages, former Gestapo head in Holland.

**A conference** of an international group of victims of nazism and concentration camp inmates held at Weimar early in November protested the freeing of nazi war criminals.

**Fascist meetings** have increased in number throughout Britain in the recent period. A favorite rallying place is the Stamford Hill area of London, a predominantly Jewish section. The fascists were driven away from an intended provocative rally at Stamford Hill on Yom Kippur.

**Renazification notes** . . . Wilhelm Schepmann, last leader of Hitler's brown-shirted storm troopers, was elected to the city council of Gifhorn in Lower Saxony in November 9. He was a candidate of the neo-nazi Refugee Party. . . . The nazis issued a number of anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic leaflets in connection with these elections in Lower Saxony and other districts. . . . Dr. Karl Ott, former high official in Goebbels' propaganda ministry, was appointed secretary of state of the Lower Saxony ministry of the interior in mid-October. . . . Funds are being collected in Bonn for the publication of an anti-Semitic paper by the "Committee for Germany's Revival." . . . West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer on October 22 defended the presence of nazis in high offices in the foreign ministry (they make up 66 per cent of these) on the ground that they knew their business.

**Thirty-three prominent** West Germans, including Dr. Hugo Eckener, Zepelin pioneer, on November 6 urged non-ratification of the Bonn war and rearmament pact.

## ISRAEL

**It was revealed** by *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam organ, that the Ben Gurion government had suppressed until after the "reparations" agreement with Bonn had been signed, the fact that the Soviet Union had replied to the earlier note to the four occupying powers on the subject of reparations. This information was kept from the Israel public for months while Prime Minister Moshe Sharett complained frequently of the "failure" of the Soviet Union to reply to the note.

**In defiance** of a government order banning daily newspapers in Yiddish, the *Democratic Evening Journal* made its appearance as a daily, hoping that the Supreme Court would uphold its right to publish. However, before the court test could come, the Israel government cut off the Yiddish daily's paper supply, thus causing suspension of the paper and averting a court test.

**The Lydda airport** is now one of the largest in the world after completion of its 2,400 yard runway. The airfield can now accommodate planes of all types, including jet-propelled. Observers wondered why little Israel needed this gigantic airport and connected it with charges that the airport was being groomed as an American bomber base.

**A greeting** was sent by the Communist Party of Israel to the 11th congress of the Hapoel Hamizrachi (Religious Workers) in Israel in mid-October. The greeting stressed the importance of unity of all workers in the fight against unemployment, against wage cuts and reduction of living standards of the masses.

**Police attacked** a demonstration of workers against unemployment in Jerusalem late in October. The demonstrators demanded bread and work.

**The ministry of finance** reduced the rate of the pound for tourists and the diplomatic corps from \$1.40 to the pound to \$1.00 on October 26. This a sign of further reduction in the value of the Israel pound, which can now be bought on the international free market for 50 cents.

**The cost-of-living** index rose four points in September, the Israeli minister of commerce and industry announced in mid-October.

**The Histadrut Youth Movement** (Noar Haoved) was withdrawn from World Federation of Democratic Youth by the executive council of the Histadrut late in October. Mapam will appeal the decision at the next meeting.

## Jewish Life

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