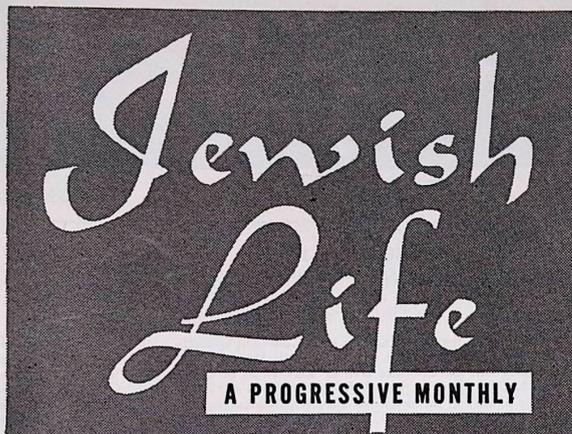


JUNE 1951 • 20¢



**FREEDOM
IN
THE U.S.A.**

Articles by

Marion Bachrach

Abner Green

William L. Patterson

Ben Gold

Louis Harap

THE MEANING OF MacARTHUR

by Arthur Dlugoff

JEWES OF EASTERN EUROPE

by Peter Furst

LEGACY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO

by Aleksander Lenowicz-Gordin

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN IRAN?

by I. Hirsch

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

RIP. ADOLPH J. SABATH, sponsor of the bill (HR 3118) to repeal the McCarran law, wrote on April 16 to Rabbi Leo Jung, vice chairman of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, that this committee was a "potent force" for repeal. "I hope," wrote Mr. Sabath, "that our efforts, added to many others who feel that the McCarran Act is contrary to the principles of American democracy, will be rewarded by having this piece of legislation wiped from the books."

RACISM UNDER MACARTHUR in Tokyo and Korea was reported by James Hicks, correspondent of the *Afro-American*, in April. There were "racial signs . . . in MacArthur's own headquarters. Every drinking fountain, every toilet, every public facility, bears the sign. In the Tokyo Quartermaster Depot, right under the general's nose, a white officer was permitted to transfer some colored men from a white chemical unit despite the fact that this unit had been integrated in the States and sent to MacArthur as a mixed unit."

DISINTEGRATION of the American Jewish Congress took a long step forward on April 30, when the national executive committee voted to expel seven officers of the Manhattan Division and one member of the Philadelphia Division and to suspend the rights of 13 others in the two cities to hold any office for two or three years. The dissolution of the Manhattan Division was also directed. An editorial in the *Brooklyn Examiner*, May 4, called for better leadership in the AJC that would be "more constructive than their wholesale liquidations of divisions and officials whose only offense is that they desire to uphold Jewish dignity and honor."

JIMCROW HOUSING is more strict in Chicago, Detroit and many Northern cities than in the South, according to the findings of a survey conducted by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing and published by the Public Affairs Committee in April. "The nation's largest ghettos are not in New Orleans or Atlanta," says the study, "but in Chicago and New York. . . . Public housing is solidly Jimcrow in Detroit."

EDWARD O. DIGGS, of Winston-Salem, N. C., was the first Negro to be admitted to the University of North Carolina. It was announced on April 24 that he was accepted "as competitively qualified" to enter the university's Medical School in September because no state-supported Negro school offered the courses which Mr. Diggs wanted to study. However, the university is appealing to the United States Supreme Court a Circuit Court decision ordering admission of four Negroes to the Law School. The university bases the appeal on the ground that the state has a Negro law school.

A DELEGATION of parent leaders of five Harlem and Washington Heights schools in New York met with representatives of the Board of Education in April to protest use of approved textbooks which contained anti-Negro and anti-Semitic material. The Board of Education officials said that they were working on the problem.

THE ONLY REFERENCE to Jews in Arthur Koestler's new novel, *Age of Longing*, is this anti-Semitic remark: "The Jews make political capital

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

Vol. V, No. 8 (56)

JUNE, 1951

EDITORIAL BOARD

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPEES

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

JEWISH LIFE is devoted to the scientific study of the political, economic, cultural and social development of the Jewish people, and to the militant struggle for equality and democracy. It carries on a consistent struggle against anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination in the United States. It fights for the building up of a progressive Jewish life in our country and throughout the world. It gives maximum support to the development of Jewish communities where they exist. It recognizes that the chief strength of the Jewish people lies in an alliance with the progressive forces of the world, particularly labor, and with the masses of the oppressed peoples.

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

AID TO ISRAEL: GOVERNMENT AS UNION BUSTER	3
"KEEP ON FIGHTING . . ."	4
THE MEANING OF MACARTHUR by <i>Arthur Dlugoff</i>	5
"END THE KOREAN AFFAIR NOW"	8
THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE by <i>Peter First</i>	9
FREEDOM IN THE U.S.A.	
I. THE CASE WITH THE BUILT-IN VERDICT by <i>Marion Bachrach</i>	12
II. DEPORTATION, McCARRAN STYLE by <i>Ahner Green</i>	15
III. AJC-NAACP REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS by <i>William L. Patterson</i>	17
IV. NEW STAGE IN ANTI-SEMITISM by <i>Louis Harap</i>	20
V. LETTER TO A FRIEND ON ELLIS ISLAND by <i>Ben Gold</i>	22
IF I AM FREE, a poem by <i>Lewis Allan</i>	14
THE MARTYRS, a poem by <i>Ruth Hardt, Age 11</i>	24
LEGACY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO by <i>Aleksander Lenowicz-Godwin</i>	25
LETTERS FROM ABROAD	
INTERVIEW WITH ALBERT NORDEN by <i>M. Vilner (Berlin)</i>	28
WHAT'S HAPPENING IN IRAN? by <i>I. Hirsch (Paris)</i>	29
BOOK REVIEW	
AN 18TH CENTURY JEW by <i>Morris U. Schappes</i>	31
FIRST-HAND REPORTS ON EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY	32
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS, edited by <i>Louis Harap</i>	2, 32

JEWISH LIFE, June 1951, Vol. V, No. 8 (56). Published monthly by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1951 by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc.

out of their pogromed grandfathers."

"COMMON SENSE," hate-sheet published by Conde McGinley in New Jersey, in its April 15 issue headlines that "MacArthur Victim of Invisibile Government; Rosenberg, Lehman, Frankfurter Gang Are Behind Dismissal of Greatest American Patriot; Truman Just a Stooge." Mrs. Anna Rosenberg is the main target of the fascist, anti-Semitic gutter sheet.

RED-BAITERS RED-BAITED: Before a large, fanatic audience in April, fascist Gerald L. K. Smith went on an anti-Semitic rampage against the large Jewish movie producers. "I'm going

to peel the skin off the Warners, Looie Mayer and the rest of them. They're firing all the little reds. They should fire the Warner brothers. . . . The big ones are about to be caught and they are trying to buy immunity by sending the little ones out to be caught first. After all, Ferrer, Holliday and Parks only joined the red front organizations in order to please the boss."

OF TEN WELFARE workers in New York who were the first victims of the renewed witch-hunt begun in May by New York's Welfare Commissioner Henry McCarthy, successor of red-baiter Hilliard, five were Negroes and five Jews.

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

AID TO ISRAEL

THE four-point program of aid to Israel worked out between the Israeli government and leading American Zionists last year is now well on the way to implementation. A \$150,000,000 grant-in-aid is under consideration in Congress; the half-billion dollar bond drive has been launched; the United Jewish Appeal fund drive is in progress; and private investment is being encouraged. There is a deep concern among Jewish people in the United States for the welfare of Israel and many sections have responded to these campaigns. But this concern carries with it the obligation to insure that Israel is genuinely served by these measures, that they are really furthering the independence and security of Israel and the welfare of its masses.

What does the financial interest in Israel by Washington mean? Unfortunately the facts should give the friends of Israel some concern. It is no longer possible to assume that Washington gives help without strings. Because India failed to follow Washington's position in the UN completely on Korea and China, a grant of grain to starving India has been withheld. And the May 7 issue of *Life* magazine revealed this item of interference by Washington in France's internal affairs. "Premier Henri Queuille hinted to the French Assembly," wrote *Life*, "that the United States was at last insisting upon electoral reforms which are in the common interests of both countries"—meaning that Washington was dictating to France to deprive parties of the left of France of their representation in the Assembly.

Events in Israel itself since the opening of the campaign of large-scale aid from Washington should be profoundly disturbing to those who are concerned for Israel's integrity and welfare. A whole series of visits from American and British diplomatic and military figures—Assistant Secretary of State George McGhee, British Middle Eastern commander General Brian Robertson were only the outstanding visitors—point to the complete alignment of the government of Israel with the anti-Soviet strategy of Washington, at the same time that Washington is desperately moving to rearm a renazified Germany as part of this same strategy. The dollar economy on which Israel is now gearing itself as a consequence of "aid" from the Truman administration is leading to inflation. The Ben Gurion government has said quite openly that in requesting dollar aid, "we are faced with the drastic lowering of the people's living standard." Even the witch-hunt and suppression of opposition is being applied in Israel, for Ben Gurion government threatens to lift the parliamentary immunity from those Knesset deputies who participated in the demonstrations against the visit to Israel of General Robertson.

Extremely serious charges have been made by *Pravda* (May 13). Plans recently concluded between Israel and Washington, said the paper "call for the utilization of

Israel as one of the principal *places d'armes* (military assembly areas) in the Middle East." *Pravda* further says that under American orders the Israeli government has already concluded a secret "Ankara-Tel Aviv Axis."

American Jews have good cause to be alarmed by these developments. Is Israel being launched on the road to disaster by subordination to the dollar economy and to the bankrupting and anti-Soviet war plans of Washington? Dr. Moshe Sneh, Mapam leader in the Knesset, characterized the recent American loan to Israel as "a gift mixed with the poison of war." Surely Israel stands to lose everything from a new war and its efforts should be strained towards maintaining the peace.

Do American Jews consider that it is in the interests of Israel to become subservient to such war plans? Surely the independence, security and well-being of the Israeli masses do not lie in the direction of such plans. Is the purpose of the bond drive to prepare Israel for a world war against "communism in every part of the world," as Henry Morgenthau stated in Ben Gurion's presence at the Madison Square Garden third anniversary celebration on May 10? No wonder that this part of Morgenthau's speech was coldly received by many in the audience, since they remembered the essential role played by the Soviet Union and the new democracies in the UN for the establishment of an independent Israel and the armaments given to Israel by Czechoslovakia at a critical moment in Israel's war of liberation.

A genuine concern for Israel should therefore prompt American Jewry to demand that plans for aid to Israel should not be directed towards subjection to plans for an anti-Soviet war, for that way lies disaster for Israel, a new slaughter of Jews and a loss of the independence won at such a costly price in Israeli blood.

GOVERNMENT AS UNION-BUSTER

FOR some years Jewish agencies all over the country which have had dealings with the Social Service Employees Union, part of District 65, Distributive and Processing and Office Workers of America, have tried to break that union and have used all the tactics in the book toward that end. In the last issue we published an article, "Anti-Unionism in Jewish Agencies," which told in factual detail how this has been going on and pointed to the dangers to the Jewish people and to trade unionism that this union-busting campaign involved.

It was there shown that "anti-communism" was being exploited to put agency managements at an advantage in their dealings with their employees, that democratic process was thereby being undermined and that, therefore, this constituted a danger to the Jewish people because their welfare depends on the sturdiness of democracy.

On May 2, a new element entered the situation: the

government greased the way for three agencies summarily to cut off relations with the union. With that catch-all excuse for reactionary skullduggery, "the interest of national security," the Displaced Persons Commission instructed the three Jewish agencies concerned with the resettlement of displaced persons in this country, United Service for New Americans, New York Association for New Americans and the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), that these agencies should sever their contractual relations with the SSEU. The fact that these agencies had contracts still running with the union apparently weighs nothing at all in the headlong anti-communist hysteria. Nor were any charges made against any union members in these agencies, as of course none could be. The government act was simply one additional blow at trade unionism and a further step in undermining democracy that this government, bent on creating the conditions for acceptance of the imperialist war that it is preparing, is carrying on in the name of "anti-communism."

The Jewish people must understand what this latest anti-union move means: the agencies concerned have become adjuncts to the State Department. It has been no secret that the Jewish bourgeoisie dominates expenditure of funds collected from the Jewish masses and that the allocation of funds is controlled in accordance with the interests of this group of moneyed Jews. The tame acquiescence of the agencies to this Hitler-like, anti-union *Diktat*—if indeed, the step was not taken with the collusion of the agency managements—should not be tolerated by the Jewish masses, who supply the funds. For the Jewish people should be under no illusions about the blow which this latest hysterical red-baiting step aims at honest trade unionism and democracy itself. The Jewish people should protest against this unwarranted and fascist-like interference of the government in the relations of employer and employees—Jewish employees, in the main—established through collective bargaining. Not only should the Jewish people beware of being swept along by the anti-communist hysteria; they should know from the irreparable loss which they suffered from the German anti-communist hysteria that they must resist this crass bit of anti-unionism.

MAY 8, 1951 will go down in history as a day of shame for America. For on that day the Dixiecrats, President Truman and the courts refused to stop the legal murder of Willie McGee. Neither the facts of the case nor the urgent pleas of millions of people in the United States and everywhere in the world deterred commitment of a wilful act of Jimcrow which snuffed out the life of an innocent man. Evidence of McGee's innocence of the "rape" charge was ignored by the courts, by the Jimcrow rulers of Mississippi and by the executive branch of the federal government; the fact that no white man has ever been executed for the crime of which McGee was accused, went unheeded by the courts and the government.

The murder of Willie McGee dramatized for many people all over the world the racism which besmirches our country and is an expression of that inhuman aggrandizement by the big money power which keeps 15,000,000 Negroes in subjection, threatens the security and well-being of the Jews and every minority group and that withholds from the working people the full fruits of their labor. And this same disregard for human life and welfare dominates foreign policy, which keeps in office reactionaries and fascists all over the world so as to facilitate getting a hold on the lion's share of the world's wealth. The murder of Willie McGee has tended to open the eyes of people everywhere to the reactionary nature of the ruling class of the United States.

To the Jewish people, who have been the age-old victims of persecution and pogroms, the murder of Willie McGee has special meaning. For they know what it means to be the victims of racism. And they know, too, that racism rampant against one people will also jeopardize their own security.

Our grief at the death of Willie McGee, who met his last moments calmly and with dignity, should spur us to heed his last words, written in a letter to his brave wife Rosalee McGee. "Tell the people to keep on fighting," he wrote. Tell the people, he said, that the "real reason they are going to take my life is to keep the Negro down in the South." As Jews and Americans, we must realize the full significance of this and draw conclusions. But there are many signs that the Negroes themselves, the Jewish masses and an increasing number of Americans generally—in the South, too—not only know this, but are taking more determined steps to end this shame. The death of Willie McGee will harden the will of the Negro people, of the Jewish people and of all decent mankind to fight with unstinting energy to wipe out the oppressive system of Jimcrow. Self-defense dictates such a fight, especially for the Jewish people. Willie McGee will not have died in vain if it inspires the people to destroy the racism which robs the Negro people of a decent life, which engenders discrimination against the Jewish people and which remains a source of power to the men of big money.



Willie McGee

THE MEANING OF MacARTHUR

By Arthur Dlugoff

IN February 1942, when the invading Nazi juggernaut was rolling swiftly across the Ukrainian plains, General Douglas MacArthur announced to the world that "the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian army." Today this general imperils the most precious "hopes of civilization" by calling for the spread of the Korean war to the mainland of China and thus making imminent the danger of a third World War against this same "courageous Russian army."

MacArthur's career includes enough liabilities to prove fatal to any ordinary politician, even one whose "only politics," as MacArthur said, are "God Bless America." But probably no other politician in the United States has a more impressive backing of big money men, newspapers and religious and political leaders than MacArthur.

All the more dangerous therefore, is this general who promised his troops to be "home by Christmas" and now promises the American people a "swift victory" if we only extend the war to China. This second promise is as likely of fulfillment as the first and holds catastrophic possibilities for our country and the world. We can stop the "staggering" (his own word) losses of the Korean war, says MacArthur, by war with China. But the American people must not be deceived by the fascist logic of "winning" a small war by precipitating a world war. MacArthur is following in the footsteps of the recently defeated Japanese and German militarists.

There is method in this madness—the fascist method. As Tabitha Petran showed in the *National Guardian* (April 25), "a big-business-military dictatorship" is now "being prepared in the United States." And MacArthur is one of the major factors in this situation. If we knew nothing more of MacArthur than his conduct of the Korean war, when he sabotaged every effort for a peaceful settlement, we should know enough to be alerted to the man's dangerous possibilities. But his whole career has been a preparation for the fascist role he is playing today. Here are some of the highlights of that story.

An Anti-Democratic Career

After a meteoric military career, MacArthur became chief of staff under President Herbert Hoover in 1932. In this capacity MacArthur issued a manual to his troops in which they were told that "Democracy is the direct rule of the people and it has been repeatedly tried without success.

... Democracy results in mobocracy, demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy." This was not very different from what an ex-corporal in the German army was telling prominent German industrialists at about the same time.

MacArthur's troops got the opportunity to put their learning into practice shortly afterwards. In 1932, jobless and hungry World War I veterans, many of them American Legion members, marched on Washington to demand the immediate payment of a bonus. Spies within the ranks of the bonus marchers reported every move to MacArthur. It was his job to evict them from Anacostia Flats, where the veterans had built temporary shelters. He did it promptly and efficiently. MacArthur's troops chased the veterans out with guns and grenades and fire.

MacArthur's success in disposing of one march on Washington qualified him as the leading candidate to lead another kind of proposed march. This one, backed by J. P. Morgan, aimed to raise an army of 100,000 to put an American Mussolini into the White House. In testimony before the McCormack-Dickstein Committee in 1934, General Smedley D. Butler, originally slated to command the marchers, testified to this statement by Robert Sterling Clark, Wall Street broker who acted as intermediary between the military and a group of Wall Street bankers. "The Morgan interests," said Clark, "say that you [Butler] cannot be trusted. . . . They are for Douglas MacArthur as the head."

Autocrat in Asia

After his tour of duty as chief of staff, MacArthur was assigned to the Philippines. He was already a rich man in his own right and by marriage into the Morgan interests. His stay in the Philippines made him even richer. His holdings, originally acquired in the late 30's, include breweries, gold mines, land and hotels. His Philippine friends, then as now, came from the ranks of feudal landowners and Manila businessmen. When the islands were invaded by Japan, these men were the first to turn collaborators. When the United States army returned to liberate the Philippines, MacArthur's policy makers were Colonel Andres Soriano and Brigadier General Courtney Whitney. Soriano, a big landowner and merchant, was an important backer of the corrupt Nacionalista Party, which ran the government in pre-war days. He was a Falangist and held the Grand Medal of Naval Merit from Franco, as well as the Silver Star from MacArthur. Whitney, now MacArthur's aide and spokesman, was Soriano's lawyer and also handled MacArthur's investments in Soriano holdings.

ARTHUR DLUGOFF is a New York journalist.

The first thing MacArthur did when he returned to Luzon in 1945, was to order a crackdown on the heroic people's army, the Hukbalahap. Huk patriots, who had fought a guerrilla war against the Japanese occupiers, were dismissed from all government posts and were replaced by "respectable" landlords and their relatives. Before 1946 was over, MacArthur and his friends were able to install former Japanese collaborator Manuel Roxas as president of the Philippines.

MacArthur's conception of the Asian masses, among whom he has lived for so many years, but with whom he never mingled, is that they are "a billion people . . . hungering for American initiative." He confided to Bob Considine of the Hearst press that future historians will record as "truly momentous . . . the bringing by the vital and wonderful United States of America, of Anglo-Saxon civilization to Asia, through Japan."

The "White Mikado"

Following the formal surrender of Japan on September 2, 1945, MacArthur arrived in Tokio and took on the role of paternalistic shogun of the conquered nation. He has been called the "White Mikado." To the *Zaibatsu*, Japanese equivalents of our Rockefellers, Mellons and DuPonts, MacArthur's arrival was indeed a blessing. MacArthur's achievements during his reign included hamstringing union activities, outlawing collective bargaining and strikes for all government workers, breaking of numerous strikes and arrest of Communist leaders and editors with the attendant suppression of their publications. So sweeping was MacArthur's decree of July 1948 against organized labor, that AFL representative James Killen resigned as chief of the occupation's labor division. Killen charged on his return to the United States that countless workers were being arrested and thrown in jail for the sole crime of seeking "to improve their wages and working conditions." In the past year alone, Japanese workers, whose wages are among the lowest in the world, saw over 10,000 of their leaders and activists fired from their jobs as part of MacArthur's union-busting drive.

During his long stay in the Pacific, MacArthur gathered around himself a devoted court of fanatic admirers who referred to themselves as the "Inner Circle" and the "Bataan Crowd." Among the better known members are Major General Courtney Whitney (mentioned above), Major General Charles Willoughby and Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, now retired. Willoughby, a former Prussian and student of *Realpolitik*, was MacArthur's chief of intelligence who informed MacArthur that the Chinese would not intervene if UN forces crossed the 38th parallel. The sort of man that Willoughby is can be judged from this toast that Willoughby proposed, as John Gunther reported: "To the second greatest military commander in the world, Francisco Franco." Bonner Fellers, formerly psychological warfare officer under MacArthur and now assistant to Republican National Chairman Guy Gabrielson, greeted a German delegation visiting Washington last

September with the statement, "Hitler did Germany a world of good." (*New York Post*, October 20, 1950.) Feller's importance in the MacArthur clique appears from the comment by Chicago *Sun-Times* correspondent Mark Gayn in his *Japan Diary* (1946) that he was "startled" constantly to "find the reflections of Feller's ideas in the general's [MacArthur's] pronouncements."

His unpopularity with the GI's never fazed MacArthur. With many Negro troops under his command in Japan and later in Korea, he stringently applied the army's Jimcrow practices, even to barring Negro newspaper editors from Japan. Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, who conducted an investigation in the Far East of the Jimcrow courts-martial against Negro GI's in Korea, approved the firing of MacArthur. He accused the general of responsibility "for maintaining a rigid policy of segregation and discrimination among troops in the Far East Command." "He is also," said Marshall, "responsible for permitting conditions to exist which led to 'rush job' courts-martial injustices and undue hardships involving Negro GI's in Korea and Japan." At this writing over 30 American Negro soldiers are languishing in Pacific army jails because of MacArthur's policies.

MacArthur's Pro-Fascist Backing

The return of the dismissed pro-consul who helped plan and execute the Korean intervention has brought into focus the pro-fascist forces behind him. For the most part they are the same forces that formed the Liberty League in the 30's and the America First Committee in the 40's. Like the Cliveden Set in England they calmly watched the fall of the Spanish Republic, applauded vociferously the Munich agreement and saw nothing to fear in the rise of what John Foster Dulles (referring to the fascist powers) called the "dynamic" nations of the world, who, of course, had no aggressive intentions against anyone.

Here are a few of the individuals and organizations behind MacArthur today:

1. *James H. Rand*, president of the firm of Remington-Rand, who is reported to have hired MacArthur as an executive at a salary of \$100,000 a year. According to John Roy Carlson, in *Undercover*, Rand was hate-monger Merwin K. Hart's "chief contributor." This is the same Hart who warned American Jews in 1947 that if they did not stop supporting a Jewish state in Palestine, "there will surely be a repetition here of all the outbursts and violence against Jews that took place in so many other countries." Rand also is one of the country's biggest labor haters.
2. *General Robert E. Wood*, chairman of Sears, Roebuck, is a close intimate of MacArthur. Wood headed the America First Committee and was an executive member of the pro-fascist American Action. In 1940, Wood openly welcomed the "support" of the fascist Father Coughlin. Wood arranged for the reception to MacArthur in Chicago in April.
3. *John Francis Neylan* is on the Board of Regents of the

University of California and worked to force through a special loyalty oath for university employees (recently declared unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court). Neylan was in charge of MacArthur's reception in San Francisco on the return from Japan.

4. *Erle Coker, Jr.*, national commander of the American Legion, who recently returned from a trip around the world, in the course of which he awarded Spanish dictator Franco an official Legion medal.

The Press Axis

The "Lords of the Press" have done nobly by MacArthur. William Randolph Hearst, whose papers in the 1930's ran lengthy articles by Mussolini, Goering and Alfred Rosenberg, has kept up a never-ceasing orgy of MacArthur deification. The phrase, "Where is there an arch high enough to welcome you—hero of humanity?" is only one example. In the Hearst columns can be found letters by some of America's most notorious fascists and anti-Semites.

Among other important press allies of MacArthur are: the McCormick-Paterson Axis controlling the Chicago *Tribune*, the Washington *Times-Herald* and the New York *Daily News*; the Luce publications (*Time*, *Life*, etc.); and the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain; not to speak of the vermin press of the anti-Semitic G. L. K. Smiths and the lunatic fascist fringe. All these solidly back MacArthur and all that he stands for. Collectively, these mass organs of opinion reach into over 40 million American homes.

In his crow's nest (The Royal Suite) atop New York's Waldorf-Astoria, MacArthur is playing a role not too different from the one he occupied in Tokio, where he was frequently accused of usurping that of the Mikado. The political winds blowing around the Waldorf suite can be sniffed as his visitors move in and out. At this writing his visitors have included such notable as Senator Robert Taft; Roy Howard, head of the Scripps-Howard papers; Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Time*; Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*; and Francis Cardinal Spellman. In years past MacArthur has sent his "warm admiration" to Hearst and his "admiration and deep regard" to Col. McCormick.

MacArthur's own history and his political alliances in the past few years, as suggested above, point in the direction of American fascism and aggressive war in the immediate future.

But it would be a serious mistake to suppose that the policy of the Truman administration differs in essential respects from that of MacArthur and his satellites. In the furore about MacArthur's dismissal, homecoming and speeches, it is easy to overlook some important aspects of the whole affair. Ostensibly MacArthur was fired for disagreeing with the Pentagon and his commander-in-chief. Actually, as MacArthur revealed in his own speech before Congress, both the Pentagon and Truman were in agreement with him on overall Far Eastern policy. No administration official denied MacArthur's thesis that the Pacific

should remain an American lake or that we should continue holding island bases so that we can "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore."

Truman Has Same Basic Policy

Why then did Truman fire MacArthur? One official wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* (April 12) that this did not hinge so much on "what MacArthur has done but what he said." This is *part* of the truth. MacArthur had prematurely divulged certain plans previously agreed upon. This embarrassed Truman and Acheson during delicate negotiations in the UN. But there are much more important causes. There was the stalemate of the intervention forces of American imperialism in Korea and the fact that the revelation of its aggressive plans threatened to break up the Atlantic Pact. The peoples of Western Europe have made known that they would have none of an aggressive American-incited war. Powerful American peace sentiment also had its effect on the Truman administration. Faced with this threat of fighting an extended war in China without allies and with the foundering of laborious war preparations in Europe, President Truman acted. The Truman plans, however, differ from MacArthur's in timing, not essentials.

But ever present divisions among the capitalist nations are reaching a breaking point and this the Truman administration is trying to avert. Yet the most reckless and reactionary sections of monopoly capitalism, with whom MacArthur is allied, cling to the delusion that they can conquer the world. The differences between MacArthur and Truman can be summed up as follows: for MacArthur, the Air Force, the advocates of "preventative war" and the Asia Firsters, Korea is the jumping off point for war with China and then as quickly as possible with the Soviet Union. For the Truman group, Korea is merely a starter. They are not sure whether to extend the war in Asia now or to wait for a more propitious moment to start something bigger in Europe and the Middle East. Neither group desires peace in Korea now. Whatever the differences between MacArthur and Truman, they are primarily over method, not substance.

Despite the claim of "liberal" organs like the New York *Post* that the Truman policy is different from that of MacArthur, the administration has already belied this by its acts in the past few weeks. Millions of dollars in arms were sent to Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and the bombing of Manchurian air bases is threatened. MacArthur's plans are in fact being implemented by Truman, though not so rapidly as the general would like.

There is only one reply to the war program of MacArthur and Truman. That is an enormously greater peace movement into which the overwhelming desire of the American people for peace will be organized and given direction. The MacArthur situation has brought the threat of war closer, even though a Gallup Poll taken a few days after MacArthur's return showed that almost two-thirds of those polled wanted peace negotiations with the People's

China and condemned the Truman administration for not entering into such negotiations, despite the fact that a majority also disapproved of MacArthur's dismissal. The confusion that is evident on the role of MacArthur and Truman must be dispelled. The peace movement can help to do this by mobilizing the sentiment for peace. A concrete basis for such organization exists in the Chicago conference

for peace called by the American Peace Crusade for June 29. Delegates should be elected to this meeting from every locality, from every organization and from every group of citizens interested in peace. The Chicago meeting thus holds the possibility of contributing enormously toward the clarification and mobilization of the American people on this most vital issue facing the world today.

"END THE KOREAN AFFAIR NOW"

Cleveland

SPEAKING to an overflow audience in his Temple on April 22, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver sharply criticized the "confused, blundering, improvisational character of the present administration" and urged a negotiated peace in Korea and prompt admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations.

Speaking on "The Recall of MacArthur and What Next," Silver pointed out that a great deal of the acclaim given General Douglas MacArthur was undoubtedly due to dissatisfaction with and criticisms of the administration's foreign policy. Noting that we had already suffered 60,000 casualties and are continuing to sacrifice some 1,200 of our boys each week, Silver asked: "Why are we trapped in a faraway corner of the earth, where, according to top military leaders, nothing is to be hoped for but a stalemate?"

The American people, he declared, are not being informed of our aims. The American people do not know whether the administration plans that American troops should stop at the 38th parallel or should attempt to push on to the Manchurian border; whether we are going to return Formosa to China, to whom it belongs, or resume cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek, who was driven from China by his own people and whom we had long ago branded as a corrupt dictator.

Are we for or against colonialism? asked Silver. Do we believe that the people of Asia have the right to determine their own fate? Why then do we back France in Indo-China, Franco in Spain? Are the American people to believe that the Truman administration is working for peace or is it committed to the proposition that war is inevitable?

Hailing General MacArthur as a conquering hero who deserved the acclaim given him, Rabbi Silver nevertheless vigorously upheld his dismissal. Neither the Republican Party nor MacArthur, he said, had a more defined or clear cut policy than the Truman administration. "And MacArthur's judgment even in military affairs is not infallible," he asserted, pointing to the November disaster when, he said, the general was certain the Chinese would not join the war, despite repeated warnings by China that it would not allow the endangering of its borders and

despite the warnings from India against such moves. Now MacArthur wants to bomb Manchuria, to blockade China and to use Chiang's ghost armies. The general's suggestion for attacks on China now are tantamount to a declaration of war on the Chinese and would draw in the Soviet Union, which has a military pact with China. MacArthur calculates that the Soviet Union will not be drawn in but his calculations may prove as erroneous and as fatal as his previous judgments, for which we paid a heavy price.

MacArthur, stated Silver, does not seem disturbed by the prospect of a war on two fronts. Considering our showing in Korea after nine months, we should be more reserved in our judgments and not be so quick to label greater caution as "defeatism," as MacArthur does. "Fear of war in both the East and the West is not defeatism, as General MacArthur indicated, but cold realism," said Silver. "Korea shows we must be more reserved in our expectations." MacArthur claims, said Silver, that we fought successfully on two fronts in the last war. But he forgets that we had Russia as an ally at that time and that the Red Army had broken the back of the German armies at Stalingrad before we even started the second front. We had as our allies the peoples of Western Europe but these people have shown that they do not want another war. We had the 400 million of China as allies in the last war.

Significantly, MacArthur, who is supposed to have been commander of the United Nations armies, totally ignored the United Nations, did not even once mention the United Nations in any of his speeches.

"If we are not prepared to pour out our resources and sacrifice our young men endlessly," Silver said, "we must not talk of global war but of global peace. This is not appeasement but common sense. We must make every effort to end the Korean affair now. A stalemate will lead eventually to World War III."

Hoping that the administration under present pressure would not commit additional blunders to fan the flames for a third world war, Silver urged that we "must arrange a cease-fire in Korea as soon as possible, withdraw all foreign armies and arrange for a free election in a united Korea."

"China must be admitted to the United Nations, where it has long belonged and Formosa must be returned to China," said Silver.

THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE

By Peter Furst

FOR almost five years, until a few months ago, I lived and worked in eastern Europe, first as a freelance writer and then, from 1946 to 1950, as staff correspondent of the British news agency, Reuters.

By working I mean that during this period, with all its dramatic changes in the lives of the peoples of the new democracies, I covered first-hand most of the major news events which the big press in the United States presented to its readers under a variety of non-eastern European date-lines and with varying degrees of inaccuracy.

By living I mean that I tried to avoid moving only along the fringes of local life. Instead of eating out of American cans from the commissaries of the American embassies and legations, I bought my food at local markets and in local shops. Instead of watching Hollywood movies in the American or British legations along with the rest of the western foreign colony, I went to the theaters and movie houses showing plays and films dealing with life in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. Instead of confining my social life to diplomatic cocktail parties, I made friends among local people involved in the construction of their new society—working people in town and countryside, journalists, writers, doctors, students. Instead of "studying" local conditions by driving along the frontiers searching for imaginary troop concentrations, I visited factories, cooperative farms, churches, synagogues, schools, nurseries, trade union offices and even a prison.

I also saw, in a dozen different forms, how the People's Democracies solved the national question, the struggle against national chauvinism however it might manifest itself, the rich folk culture now being fully developed among all formerly oppressed national groups. Not merely by reading but by first-hand experience I was able to convince myself that the provisions of the constitutions of the People's Democracies against the propagation of any form of national or religious hatred, against any slur on any national group or individual because of national origin or religion, are not paper guarantees which may be violated right and left with impunity, but are as real as the guarantees to jobs, paid vacations, free medical insurance, education and all the thousand and one advantages enjoyed today in the People's Democracies.

With this as a background, I find it difficult to express the shock I felt when back home after so many years in the reality of life in liberated eastern Europe I was asked

in all seriousness by perfectly honest and well-meaning people: "Can you give us some facts on this new anti-Semitism in the countries you covered?"

The Big Lie Is Circulating

I find people puzzled and worried, wanting to know whether it is true that in Poland "Yiddish newspapers have been suppressed," whether in Rumania "all Jews have been purged from the Communist Party," whether in Hungary "Jewish culture has been liquidated"—in short, whether "anti-Semitism has become official policy in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe."

At one meeting in New York a woman even told me: "When I spoke to my grocer about the Korean war, he said to me: 'You should do a little less worrying about Korea and a little more about the millions of Jews Stalin is killing.'"

That grocer is probably not a vicious man. He was not a senator or general screaming for atomic war against the Russians. He, like many others who ask questions today about "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, is simply a victim of the "secret weapon" of the anti-Soviet propaganda war—the Big Lie.

Before realizing how deeply this Big Lie has eaten into the minds of people, I would simply have answered: the story of anti-Semitism in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is a despicable slander. It is all the more reprehensible that certain prominent Jews and Jewish organizations have figured in its perpetration, because they above all should be—and are—aware of the truth—that it is *only* in the socialist countries that anti-Semitism has been outlawed and has become a crime against society, that it is *only* in the Soviet Union and among her allies that Jews have attained full liberation and equality, in every phase of life, just as have other minorities. But things have been carried too far to rest the case with this answer. This would be sufficient answer if everyone had, as I did, the chance to witness—or even to read about—criminal court cases in the People's Democracies against persons accused of anti-Semitic remarks or acts just as though they were charged with a hold-up or some other crime against society, to see Yiddish theaters, books, schools, newspapers, choral groups which now exist wherever there is a basis for them, or to have personal contact with Jewish journalists, miners, cabinet ministers or steel workers.

Today, it has become necessary, indeed urgent, to go much more deeply into the entire case, not only to examine

PETER FURST spent five years as a correspondent in Eastern Europe after the war. His *Operation Tito*, co-authored with his wife June Cannan, will be published soon in England.

the lie itself and its perpetrators, but also to give a real picture of Jewish life in the People's Democracies as an answer to the slanderers of the peoples who have chosen socialism as their way of life. I will deal here mainly with the People's Democracies rather than the Soviet Union because in this case I am able to give an eyewitness account. However, it should be borne in mind that whatever has been done in the People's Democracies in solving the national question has been on the basis of the example of the Soviet Union, that it is on the basis of Soviet experience, adapted, of course, to local conditions, that the socialist system of society is being built in eastern Europe. The provisions of the constitutions in eastern Europe, outlawing the propagation of national chauvinism of any kind, for example, are closely patterned after similar provisions in the Soviet Constitution, and Stalin's famous statement likening anti-Semitism to cannibalism¹ is known by heart by millions in the People's Democracies.

Slanders in the Big Press

In the four or five years I spent in eastern Europe, I never lost touch with what was being said in the American press about the countries in which I was living. I read the Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* and the overseas edition of the *New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, as well as major British publications regularly, and I listened often to the Voice of America. I saw my own reports suppressed and replaced by blatant falsehoods and distortions even in newspapers of the reputation still enjoyed by the *New York Times*. It would have been naive to be too greatly shocked by the fact that newspapers owned by Big Business and operated for the benefit of Big Business should seek with all means at their disposal to keep the truth about socialism from their readers. To influence Jewish opinion against the Soviet Union obviously seemed an essential part of this campaign, since it was clear that of necessity many Jews, like other minorities in America, should bear some friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union for its magnificent national policies, even if they opposed the Soviet for political or economic reasons.

But living in eastern Europe, surrounded as we were by the real facts of the situation, having seen and seeing daily the new life of all minorities, including Jews, in Poland, Rumania, Hungary and other countries, the sordid campaign to set American Jews against the Soviet Union with the charge of "official anti-Semitism" had an air of complete unreality. When this line first appeared in the press, we—that is, the foreign press corps in Budapest—skimmed briefly through the stories, expressed our indignation that such vicious nonsense should be printed in the United States and spread even by Jews who should know better, and dismissed the whole thing as just another of the many propa-

ganda stunts of the cold war warriors. It was quite natural that we should react this way—reality obscured for us the real meaning and importance the lie of anti-Semitism had at home in whipping up hysteria and hatred of the Soviet Union among people hundreds of thousands of whose relatives in Europe owe their lives precisely to the country so viciously slandered. It was impossible to think that anyone but the most gullible of Soviet-haters should believe such nonsense, especially in view of the fact that precisely at the same time when the Jewish Labor Committee, Harry Schwarz of the *New York Times*, David Dubinsky of the Garment Workers, the Hearst press and various bankrupt and exposed political exiles from eastern Europe were spreading their charges of "anti-Semitism," Mosley's fascists in London, General Anders' Polish officers corps, and assorted counts, barons, ex-industrialists and ex-landowners in eastern Europe and Vienna were peddling the lie that the "Communist regimes are Jewish-controlled."

"Only Three . . ."

A graphic illustration of this are two stories dealing with Jews in eastern Europe appearing on the same day—February 16, 1951—one in the *New York Times*, and the other in the no less anti-Communist but less hysterical London *Jewish Chronicle*. The *New York Times* story was headlined, "Purging of Jews in Soviet Lands Decried in Plea for Action by UN." Its substance was that there is official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, including Poland, and that Jews are being systematically purged in all phases of political, economic and cultural life.

In contrast, the *Jewish Chronicle's* story from its Warsaw correspondent was headlined, "Poland's Politbureau—Three Jewish Members," and it was written to counter the anti-Semitic lie that "all Jews are Communists" or "all Communists are Jews." It began with these words, "A list just published here giving details of the members of the executive of the United Polish Workers' Party, otherwise known as the Polish Communist Party, gives the lie to rumors, deliberately circulated by anti-Semites in Poland and abroad, that the movement is dominated by Jews. Of the 13 members of the executive (or Politbureau) only three are Jews." (Lest someone suggest that the fact that "only three" are Jews is evidence of "anti-Semitism," Jews comprise only 0.3 per cent of the Polish population, whereas three out of 13 is 25 per cent.)

It is instructive to examine the two stories more closely.

The *Times* dispatch of February 16 began with the words, "The national executive board of the Jewish Labor Committee called here tonight for a thorough inquiry by the United Nations of the cultural and spiritual liquidation of Jewish life in Russia and other Soviet-dominated countries behind the Iron Curtain." The March 21 *Times* dispatch, datelined, "United Nations, N. Y.," began, "A delegation of labor leaders charged here today that persons of the Jewish faith in the Soviet Union and its satellites were being subjected to 'cultural and spiritual genocide.'" The

¹ Stalin said about anti-Semitism: "Anti-Semitism as the most extreme form of racial chauvinism is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is useful to the exploiters as a lightning rod, pulling capitalism out from under the blows of the working class."

"labor leaders" involved in this incredible slander were such notorious professional Soviet haters as David Dubinsky. According to the *Times*, they appealed "to the conscience of humanity to intervene in time and terminate this genocide," and called on the United Nations "to use all possible means to recover for the remaining Jews within the Soviet Union and its satellites the right to live in dignity, security and peace."

Jews in the Leadership

Of course, there are, on this subject as well as others, a dozen embarrassing questions one could throw into the faces of Dubinsky and the rest. One might ask, for example, "How can you reconcile your allegations of 'anti-Semitic genocide' with the fact that the leadership in eastern Europe includes such names as Ana Pauker in Rumania; Minc, Berman and Zambrowsky in Poland; Levi in Bulgaria; Rakosi, Gero, Farkas, Revai, Horvath and Zold in Hungary, to mention only a few?" As a matter of fact, I did ask this question of one anti-Soviet propagandist of the State Department-controlled "Committee for a Free Europe." For a moment he was at a loss for an answer. Then he brightened up and said, "Oh well, they are traitors to the Jewish people. They have become assimilated."

This is why the *Jewish Chronicle* of London said of "traitors to the Jewish people" Jakob Berman and Hilary Minc, two of the three members of the Polish Politbureau: "Although he has ceased to be a practicing Jew, Berman enjoys and welcomes Jewish company, and his office and home are open to his former Jewish friends. He had a Jewish upbringing and is said to be often found reading a Yiddish book. At one time before the war he earned his living as a member of the staff of a Jewish news agency.

"... Hilary Minc is an assimilationist and Marxist, who nevertheless still likes to see his close Jewish friends and relatives and to crack a Jewish joke. As minister of industry and chief economic planner of the new Poland, Minc has been responsible for giving more jobs to Jews than has any other minister in Poland. This is not because of any racial preference but because he insists on giving important posts to competent men. . . . Singularly, Minc is popular among Poles, even among anti-Semites, who concede his great skill as an organizer and as an economist. . . ."

Jewish "Security" in West Europe

The same February 16 story in the *New York Times*, incidentally, quoted the Jewish Labor Committee as praising conditions of Jews in western Europe, where life for Jews was said to be "secure," contrasting it to the alleged anti-Semitism under which Jews are supposed to suffer in eastern Europe. The "security" of Jews in countries bordering on the People's Democracies in the west has been graphically illustrated by the release of German war criminals guilty of the murder of hundreds of thousands and millions of Jews as well as in a tiny *Times* dispatch buried

on an inside page (the charges of anti-Semitism in eastern Europe were given front-page prominence) on April 5, 1951. The story, datelined Vienna, described an anti-Semitic riot against Jews who demonstrated in Salzburg, American zone, against the showing of a film produced by Veit Harlan, Goebbels' chief anti-Semitic film maker.

"According to the demonstrators, policemen beat them with wooden batons and a crowd of about 1,000 passers-by shouting anti-Semitic slogans showered them with stones," reported the *Times*.

I might add here that in "officially anti-Semitic" Poland, the law not only provides stiff prison sentences for any manifestation of anti-Semitism, but even makes the death penalty mandatory in cases where anti-Semitic agitation has led to violence (as in the Kielce pogrom in 1946).

During a recent tour of western Germany, I learned firsthand about Jewish "security." There, in neo-nazi newspapers published with United States Army licenses (left-wing newspapers, in contrast, have, without exception, been suppressed), I read anti-Semitic editorials and statements delivered by "ex"-nazis now again in leading positions.

During this trip through Germany I also visited Dachau, formerly one of the most notorious of nazi concentration camps. In 1945, I entered this camp at a time when the bodies were still stacked to the ceilings in the gas chambers and smoke was still pouring from the stacks of the crematorium; on this visit five years later I was told by former prisoners at the camp that Baltic DP's—veterans of the SS—as well as German nazis in the area were openly praising Dachau as "useful" in "cleansing Germany of Jews and Bolsheviks"—and what is more, that some of the American officers now inhabiting the snug little villas once owned by the SS guards at the camp publicly agreed with them.

In other parts of western Germany, I was told that there was some incident involving verbal or physical attacks on Jews almost daily, that 80-90 per cent of the school teachers were confirmed nazis reinstalled by the American Army and now openly preaching anti-Semitism, that United States Army surveys had shown that as early as 1945-6 at least one third and possibly more of American occupation troops had been convinced by open nazi propaganda that Hitler's massacre of the Jews was "justified," that some west German restaurants again displayed signs stating, "Jews not served here."

Thus the Jewish Labor Committee, apparently so solicitous for the alleged fate of Jews in eastern Europe, where socialism makes anti-Semitism impossible, is on record praising as "secure" the life of Jews in western Europe with its liberated war criminals and open pogroms. It should be obvious to all that what the anti-Soviet social democrats of the Jewish Labor Committee are attacking is not at all the "fate of Jews" in People's Democracies but socialism.

A pamphlet by Peter First containing the substance of the above article and added material will shortly be published by JEWISH LOVE.—Eds.

Freedom in the U.S.A.

I: THE CASE WITH THE BUILT-IN VERDICT

By Marion Bachrach

OTTO OHLENDORF was a witness at the Nuremberg war crimes trial. "I was chief of Special Task Force D," he testified. "Himmler stated that an important part of our task consisted in the extermination of Jews—women, men and children—and Communist functionaries."

What did they *do*—the Jews and the Communists—that they were thus marked by the nazis for wholesale extermination? In Hitler Germany it was enough to prove, or suspect, that they *were* Jews and Communists. By definition this established that they were, under the law, "enemies of the German state."

Hitler decreed that the Jews were an evil and accursed people, who must be liquidated.

Hitler declared that:

"The Communist Party was a section of a political movement which had its headquarters abroad and was directed from abroad. . . . We look on Bolshevism as a world peril for which there must be no toleration. . . . Communism is the most frightful barbarism of all times."

In October 1946, after 11 months of weighing the evidence and testimony, the International Military Tribunal returned its verdict. It found the nazi leaders guilty of unspeakable crimes against humanity, all committed in accord with the decree that "Communism is the most frightful barbarism of all times," and that to be a Communist, or a Jew, was to deserve only extermination.

This verdict was also the verdict of the vast majority of the world's peoples. But now, in the United States, an effort is being made to set the Nuremberg verdict aside.

On April 23, 1951, hearings on charges brought against the Communist Party by the U.S. Department of Justice opened before the so-called Subversive Activities Control Board established under the McCarran law.

The purpose of these hearings is to establish as a matter of American law that the Communist Party is what Hitler said it was. All the outward trappings of a "trial" will

MARION BACHRACH is editing a fortnightly newsletter on the McCarran act hearings.

adorn these hearings: evidence will be submitted, testimony taken, cross examination permitted, argument heard. But in reality this is not a trial at all. *For Hitler's verdict is built into the law under which it is held.* The McCarran law itself is predicated upon, and contains as explicit *statements of fact*, exactly the slanderous characterization of the Communist Party which Hitler used as his "justification" for making war, first against the German working class and the Jews, and then against the world.

Acting through the Justice Department, the president—who vetoed this admittedly unconstitutional and fascist measure—is carrying out its sponsors' program for establishing a police state in America. The illegal "hearings" are the first step to all-out enforcement. This first step is an attempt to make the built-in verdict stick, as the basis for outlawing the Communist Party and imprisoning all its leaders and members for refusal to go along with the proposition that Hitler's Big Lie is the "gospel truth."

Unless the American people intervene and force either the repeal or the nullification of the McCarran law, other similar "hearings" with the same built-in verdict will follow. For, if it can be written on our statute books that the Communist Party is the "peril" for which "there must be no toleration," other organizations accused of sharing in *any* of its aims or advocating *any* policies put forward by Communists will become subject to prosecution and illegalization.

That is why the current "hearings" are of grave concern to all peace-loving and democratic Americans and especially to the Jewish people, who have already suffered so much from fascism and its inevitable accompaniment—imperialist war.

The specific charges brought against the Communist Party by the bi-partisan Truman administration assert that the party is dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union and advocates policies inimical to the interests of the United States. These charges are based on, and supported only by the supposed "Congressional findings of fact" set

forth in the McCarran law and paraphrased from the language of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

The Answer

At the center of these charges is the assertion that the position of the Communist Party on issues of foreign policy coincides with that of the Soviet Union. The party's official answer to this charge merits quotation at some length:

"The purpose of the Communist Party in advocating its peace proposals cannot be established by determining who initiated, supported or opposed them. The only pertinent test is: does the policy advocated by the Communist Party conform to the true interests of the American people by promoting the cause of world peace?

"Every example of the peace policy of the Communist Party set forth in the petition (despite the attorney general's attempt to falsify and distort them) illustrates the consistency of its devotion to the cause of peace, and hence to our country and people. Every cited example exposes the attorney general's sinister effort to make it appear that the *United States is Wall Street*, and the venal interests of the big bankers and international cartellists those of the nation.

"The Communist Party declares that *the American people* are the nation. The enemies of the nation and people are the handful of Wall Street monopolists who lead a worldwide conspiracy to subordinate human life and liberty to their vested interests and greed for profit.

"The Communists—and many non-Communists—served our country well by opposing the Wall Street monopolists, who in the 1930's financed and supported Hitler, condoned the rape of Manchuria, Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia, and up to the day of Pearl Harbor sold oil and scrap iron to Japan. Those Americans—Communist and non-Communist—were true patriots who opposed the embargo against Republican Spain, fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and otherwise defended peace and democracy against the fascist Franco and his masters Hitler and Mussolini.

"The Communist Party, and many others, opposed the Wall Street cartellists who maintained treasonous relations with their nazi partners throughout World War II. Communists and all true defenders of the United States opposed the big monopolist corporations that refused to convert their plants to war production, until bribed with huge cost-plus contracts and excess profits.

"It was the American workers, including the leaders and members of the Communist Party, who selflessly supported the United States anti-fascist World War II effort on the battlefield and on the home front.

"The Communist Party today calls on the American people to reverse the policy that frees the nazi war criminals and the murderers of American GI's at Malmedy. It opposes the restoration to power of Alfred Krupp, the rearming of western Germany and Japan, the rebuilding of the German and Japanese trusts under the new management of Wall Street.

"The Communists are joined by millions in opposing and condemning these betrayals of the World War II dead and of the aims for which 15,000 members of the party served in the armed forces of the United States.

"The foreign policies which the petition accuses the party of opposing have now brought the world to the brink of a terrible atomic war. They have already cost over 60,000 American casualties. They have brought on the United States the hatred and moral condemnation of all peace-loving humanity. These are the policies that launched General Ridgway's 'Operation Killer,' the policies of war on the colored peoples of Asia, of mass murder, of genocide.

"These same imperialist policies are saddling the American people with crushing taxes, driving down the workers' living standards through unrestricted monopoly profiteering and rigid wage freezes. These policies are fostering unprecedented brutality against the Negro people, and extending the Dixiecrat system of lynch justice to our Northern cities and to the Negro G.I.'s in Korea. These policies are corrupting our youth, putting 18-year-olds in uniform and training them to become what General Hershey called "a generation of killers."

"These policies mock our country's democratic traditions and are fast destroying both the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations.

"In whole or in part, the policies which the Communist Party has opposed are opposed by a majority of the American people. The attempt, through this proceeding, to outlaw the Communist Party is therefore also an attempt to outlaw all opposition to a third world war, all united action in defense of world peace.

"To this end, the petition seeks to establish that the Communist Party and any other group that does not submit to control by the Wall Street monopolists, is 'foreign dominated.' The Communist Party freely admits its independence from and opposition to this war-minded financial oligarchy. This proves only that it is 'dominated' by concern for the welfare of the workers and common people of the United States. . . .

"The Communist Party rejects the chauvinist slogan, 'My country right or wrong.' With this slogan, and in the name of German 'patriotism,' Hitler dragged the German people to national dishonor and national disaster, and forced them to support the Axis war against humanity.

"The Communist Party subscribes to the slogan of Carl Schurz: 'My country, right or wrong; when right to be kept right; when wrong to be set right.' . . .

"*It is beyond dispute that today world peace must be based on agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. By stigmatizing all agreement with the Soviet Union and making hostility toward it the test of 'patriotism,' the attorney general reveals that the real purpose of this proceeding is to outlaw the advocacy of peace and to prepare for an American-made war of aggression and conquest.*"

As the case with the built-in verdict gets under way before an illegally constituted board whose members have

not even been confirmed by the Senate, the vital issue of peace or war here involved is being debated anew by tens of millions of Americans. All the big questions of national interest and national policy dramatized by the ouster of General Douglas MacArthur are bound up with the McCarran law hearings.

Reject the Big Lie!

It is doubtful that the deposed pro-consul and arch warmonger MacArthur has many supporters among the Jewish people. Even those few Jews whose class interests align them with Wall Street's war policy and who aspire to a place in the sun of the American Century, take alarm at the anti-Semitic record of MacArthur's chief backers and the pro-fascist hysteria whipped up by his return.

Among the Jewish masses, as among other sections of America's working people, there are still many illusions that the ouster of MacArthur marked a basic change in the administration's foreign policy. But such a basic change in foreign policy is inconceivable until our government repudiates Hitler's Big Lie that "Bolshevism is a world peril for which there must be no toleration" and that "Communism is the most frightful barbarism of all times."

This is MacArthur's thesis—and McCarran's. It is also the thesis of the Truman administration, its justification for prolonging the war in Korea, for sabotaging the deputy foreign ministers' conference in Paris and for enforcing the McCarran law which the president himself vetoed as a mockery of our Bill of Rights.

All the major organizations of the Jewish people opposed the McCarran law at the time of its passage. Its significance as a war preparations measure should by now be clear to all and the new war dangers looming in the storm over the MacArthur affair should spur a more effective peo-

ple's movement to nullify and repeal the McCarran law.

Unfortunately, the Jewish people and their organizations have "forgotten" the McCarran law in recent months, done little to protest its enforcement against Americans of foreign birth held without bail or threatened with deportation and shown a disposition to sit back and wait to see how the hearings on the Communist Party turn out.

But the upsurge of mass peace sentiment which has swept the country since the ouster of MacArthur opens up new opportunities for repudiating the McCarran law's built-in verdict. And broader and more militant mass actions to bring about such a repudiation have become more imperative than ever.

The Jewish people can take pride in the fact that a bill to repeal the McCarran law has been introduced by that veteran congressional leader Rep. A. J. Sabath of Illinois. Already backed by a committee of prominent Americans, the Sabath bill (H.R. 3118) should become a focus of activity including letters to congressmen urging them to push for its passage.

Pressure on the president to call off the McCarran law hearings is a logical accompaniment to demands for an immediate end to the war in Korea and steps toward peaceful negotiations with the Soviet Union and China. Mr. Truman should be reminded that the McCarran law was passed over his veto in the atmosphere of war hysteria created in the early stages of the Korean war. The repudiation of Senator McCarran's legislative monstrosity is essential to any genuine repudiation of General MacArthur's war policy and program. If the tens of millions of Americans now clamoring for a foreign policy that will save our country and the world from the holocaust of an atomic war, act together, resolutely and quickly, it will be possible now to win a "swift victory" over both MacArthurism and McCarranism, over the twin threat of fascism and war.

IF I AM FREE

If I am free
and I am black
how much of Freedom
must I give back?

Why do I stop
at the halfway note
and the Freedom song
stick in my throat?

Why must I choke
with the word on my lips
when you want me to clown
and shake my hips?

Why do I turn

to singin' the blues
with my eyes on the stars
while I shine your shoes?

Why do I laugh
at Liberty's light?
well, Freedom's for Colored
and Freedom's for White.

We go through a door
on that Freedom Road
where the white walk clear
and the black bear a load,

And we walk behind
and we whisper sir

and we're just the same
as we always were.

But I see another road
lies ahead
where Freedom is all
that Douglass said

And the way is bright
with a newborn star
for things can be different
from what they are,

And I'll blaze a trail
and hew my way
and meet you there
on Freedom Day.

By Lewis Allan

II: DEPORTATION, McCARRAN STYLE

By Abner Green

WHEN the McCarran bill was before Congress in 1950, opponents devoted major attention to two sections: the registration and the concentration-camp sections. These two sections directly affect the rights of all and, in the minds of many people, they came to be regarded as the McCarran law.

Following enactment of the McCarran law, it became clear that the registration and concentration-camp sections, while operating and available for reactionary purposes, could not be put into effect immediately. This, of course, does not diminish in the slightest the dangers inherent in these two sections or their effect in terrorizing certain sections of the population. A general feeling did develop in September 1950 that it would take some time to put into effect the McCarran law.

What is not widely enough known is that the McCarran law was put into active operation exactly one month after it was passed.

The first victims of the McCarran law were non-citizens.

In addition to its registration and concentration-camp provisions, the McCarran law contains a lengthy section revising—for the worse—the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States. This section was incorporated into the bill at the last moment before passage. It revises the deportation, naturalization, immigration and citizenship laws. If not repealed and if sustained by the courts, this section can be used completely to deprive non-citizens in the United States of their democratic and constitutional rights.

Indeed, it has already made serious inroads on the liberties of anti-fascist and progressive non-citizens.

It establishes in law the worst features of bigotry in American life and reflects a complete deterioration of traditional democratic treatment of non-citizens.

Exactly one month after the enactment of the McCarran law—on October 22, 1950—the Justice Department launched a series of midnight raids of American homes. Using the deportation provisions of the McCarran law, the Justice Department re-arrested 48 non-citizens in 11 states and held them *without bail*. All 48 had previously been arrested in deportation proceedings and had previously been released on bail. Now, solely because the McCarran law had been passed, these non-citizens became a “danger to the internal security” of the United States.

All 48 non-citizens, while free on bail, had conformed with all legal requirements, had always appeared when

called and had violated no provisions of their release. The Justice Department readily admitted this fact in each case. The only change, the Justice Department contended, was the passage of the McCarran law, which now made these non-citizens “security risks.” (This from the administration which claimed it was opposed to the McCarran law!)

Since October 22, forty-four non-citizens have been released by order of 14 Federal District Court judges and two Federal Courts of Appeal. These courts held that arbitrary denial of bail by the attorney general is an abuse of discretion. However, four non-citizens—Harry Carlisle, Frank Carlson, David Hyun, Miriam Stevenson—continue to be held after six months imprisonment on Terminal Island, California, with the appeal in their bail cases now before the United States Supreme Court. [Released in May.—*Eds.*]

All of this harassment and suffering flows from the attempt by the Justice Department to use the McCarran law to destroy the rights of foreign-born Americans.

Persecution of Non-Citizens

The Justice Department has tried to mislead the American people. It has hid behind the president's veto of the McCarran bill in typical demagogic fashion. During October 1950, following initial set-backs in the federal courts ordering the release of non-citizens held without bail, the attorney general issued public statements that he was merely trying to “enforce” the McCarran law as “passed by Congress.” However, the Justice Department fully supported the deportation provisions of the McCarran law when that section was before Congress for consideration in 1949 in the form of the Hobbs Bill. And, on March 28, 1951, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath told a delegation in Washington that he most certainly was not going to release the Terminal Island Four and that he regretted the actions of federal courts in releasing the 44 others, all of whom “should be in jail.”

The McCarran law served as a convenient excuse for the Justice Department to launch one of the most dangerous attacks on the American right to bail in our history.

While still publicly “opposed” to the McCarran law, the Justice Department proceeded immediately to use this law in many other ways to deprive non-citizens of their rights and liberties.

During November, the Justice Department sent letters to a large number of non-citizens inviting them to “deport themselves” or face a possible ten-year prison term under the McCarran law. These non-citizens had been ordered

ABNER GREEN is executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

deported during the 1920's and 1930's. The Justice Department found then that it could not deport these non-citizens; it had no country to which it could send them since they were no longer citizens of any country.

Now, these non-citizens are supposed to achieve—in six months—what the United States government couldn't achieve—in 20 or 30 years. Under the McCarran law, "willful" failure to depart from the United States within six months after being ordered deported is a crime punishable by a ten-year prison sentence. Living in the United States has become a crime under the McCarran law!

In addition, the Justice Department tried to put into effect the "supervision" provisions of the McCarran law. Non-citizens who had been ordered deported were called in by the Justice Department and asked to submit themselves to "supervision" and to sign parole agreements. Under these parole agreements, non-citizens could be forced to submit to psychiatric and physical examinations, to report in person regularly and give information under oath as to "associations and activities." This last section is clearly an attempt to force non-citizens to become stool-pigeons.

The McCarran law also amended the grounds for deportation to provide that any non-citizen who at any time in the past belonged to the Communist Party should be deported. Under this amendment, more than 75 deportation hearings have been held since September 1950 in all parts of the country. These McCarran law deportation hearings are star-chamber proceedings devoid of any semblance of fairness or due process. They are a routine farce whose decision is completely controlled by the Justice Department.

There are many other provisions in this section of the McCarran law that must cause serious concern for the rights of the foreign born. Under this section, the Justice Department can now prevent any non-citizen from becoming a citizen simply by starting deportation proceedings since the

McCarran law provides that no court can naturalize a non-citizen against whom there are pending deportation proceedings.

Under this section, the Justice Department denied Maurice Chevalier permission to enter the United States because he had signed the Stockholm Peace Pledge in France last year.

Under this section, three million non-citizens were forced to report their current address to the Justice Department during January 1950 and will have to continue to do so once a year.

The preceding should be sufficient to make clear that this third section of the McCarran law serves as a constant source of danger to the rights of foreign-born Americans. And, if it can be used against the non-citizen, it will be used also against the citizen once the precedent has been established. If the American people accept these violations of democratic rights as valid for non-citizens, they will become a part of the pattern of life in this country and could easily be extended to cover citizens as well.

While defending the rights of non-citizens and fighting each and every attempt to impose these vicious provisions of the McCarran law on the non-citizen, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born declares that the best safeguard rests in wiping the McCarran law off the statute books by passing the repealer, H.R. 3118, introduced by Rep. Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois.

As long as the deportation provisions of the McCarran law are a part of the law of this country, they will serve as a source of reactionary poison infecting the blood-stream of the country. The American people in 1798 fought and nullified the Alien and Sedition Laws. The American people today have a similar responsibility for the preservation of civil and human rights for all persons in the country, native and foreign born, citizen and non-citizen.

FRENCH JEWISH YOUTH UNITED AGAINST RACISM

The following declaration was signed by leaders of the main Jewish youth organizations of France.—Eds.

THE representatives of the undersigned organizations, who met on February 1, 1951, express the sentiment of the Jewish youth of France:

They express their indignation at the re-emergence of anti-Semitism;

They denounce the danger of the hate and slander campaigns which were used by the Hitlerite invaders to reduce France to slavery and to exterminate 120,000 Jews of France in crematoria;

They call upon youth of all opinions to unite in denouncing and overcoming anti-Semitism, forerunner of fascism and gas chambers;

They draw the attention of the government and the gentlemen of Parliament to the threats which hang over a part of the youth of France, the blood of whose martyrs mingled with that of the fighters for France's defense;

They urge that measures be taken, in accordance

with the Constitution and in conformity with the laws of the Republic, particularly by the Marchandau Decree;

They urge the Representative Council of the Jews of France (CRIF) to join with them in their efforts to obtain from the governmental authorities:

1. The dissolution of all turbulent leagues and racist and anti-Semitic organizations;
2. The outlawing of racist and anti-Semitic newspapers and publications;
3. The proper punishment of all racist and anti-Semitic activities.

R. FEIGELSON, *Union of French Jewish Students*; MODIANO, *UFJS (Paris Committee)*; ASKENAZI, *Jewish Scouts of France*; M. MITELMAN, *Jewish Democratic Youth*; SKOUTELSKI, *Bund*; A. FRENKEL, *Youth of Movement Against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace (MRAP)*; J. DZIALLOS, *Youth of Israelite League Against Anti-Semitism*.

III: AJC-NAACP REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

By William L. Patterson

FOR the third successive year the American Jewish Congress and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People have issued a joint annual report on civil rights in the United States¹. The bulk of the report is taken up with brief factual accounts of developments for the year in discrimination against Negroes and minority groups in immigration, voting and law enforcement, employment, education, housing, public accommodation, in mob violence and group defamation.

Despite serious weaknesses, as we shall see, the report contains a terrible indictment of the rulers of the United States which must arouse the masses of the people—all the people whose moral conscience has not been utterly destroyed by the myth of Anglo-Saxon white superiority—and not only the groups directly victimized—to decisive action. For the denial of elementary rights to Negroes, Jews and all minority groups undermines the structure of the constitutional liberties and civil rights of all the people.

We can get a more or less clear picture of the state of civil rights by citing certain key sentences in the report which convey the stark realities of Jim Crow and anti-Semitism in America, and indicate the official endorsement of both.

Although Walter White and David Petegorsky, executive secretaries of the AJC and NAACP, respectively, are in agreement with the "defense" program as outlined by the Truman administration, they write in their joint Foreword to the report that "the country has been far less concerned, unfortunately, with maintaining those democratic freedoms and rights which alone make that defense meaningful and worthwhile." In other words, while the administrative branch of government says it is defending democracy, it is really undermining democracy. This is equally true of the legislative branch and the judiciary.

"Measures such as the McCarran Act," they continue, "were enacted and many actions, administrative and otherwise, were taken which went far beyond what can reasonably be regarded as necessary for defense against sabotage and espionage and which are repugnant to the spirit and violative of the letter of our Constitution."

¹ *Civil Rights in the United States: A Balance Sheet of Group Relations*, published by the two organizations, New York, 50:25

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON is executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress. His recent trial for "contempt of Congress" resulted in a hung jury. In spite of Federal Judge Holtzoff's advice that no jury in Washington would convict Mr. Patterson, the Department of Justice has demanded a re-trial, which is scheduled soon.

The Indictment

From the report proper, which was prepared by Joseph B. Robinson and Will Maslow, we quote the following:

"The frequency of outbreaks of racial violence . . . continued to be dangerously high."

"Particularly after fighting developed in Korea, the civil rights issue rapidly lost ground."

"The 81st Congress, which came to office in an election generally regarded as a clear-cut victory for the civil rights program, belied the promises of both the Democratic and Republican 1948 platforms by failing to enact any major civil rights measure. The civil rights issue was no more than a political football. . . . Neither House of Congress appeared to recognize the need for combatting racism abroad, at home or within its own membership."

"The restrictive immigration and naturalization laws of the United States are racist in character."

"Repeated attacks upon Jewish residents of that city [Boston] met with an alarming degree of official indifference."

"Police brutality continued as a problem in both the North and the South. Reports were received of police misconduct against 18 persons in the South and 28 persons in the North. Few remedial measures have been taken."

"Several police officials guilty of racist violence were punished during the year but countless others escaped punishment or even censure."

"Surveys continued to show widespread discrimination [in employment] and the reports of state enforcing agencies



William L. Patterson

showed that all minority groups were affected by such practices."

"The most obvious feature in the American school system, particularly in the South, is the divergence between established constitutional principles and actual practices."

"Private universities, colleges and professional schools set an evil example to their students by perpetuating biased practices, particularly the quota system against Jews." (And the discrimination against Negroes in education is immeasurably more intense.)

"At present, segregation is taken for granted in virtually all the public housing which receives Federal aid."

"It is plain that the basic pattern of segregation [in public accommodation] in the southern states is still virtually untouched and, even outside that area, discrimination against Negroes in privately-owned places of public accommodation is still so widespread that it must be regarded as the rule rather than the exception."

"The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League announced, at the end of the year, that there were 66 organized groups issuing anti-Semitic propaganda through 47 periodicals and reaching the public through bigoted commentators over more than 100 independent radio stations."

These summary statements about civil rights in this country are interspersed with some 80 pages of details of developments of both a positive and negative character in the course of the past year. It is important that this information should be available and the AJC and NAACP have performed a service in making it so.

A Fragmented Fight

An extremely great weakness in the report, however, is that the recorded events are treated as isolated incidents. As one can conclude from the statements cited above, the overall picture of civil rights in the United States should spur the people to action. Here we have that which, in its totality, cannot be viewed other than as a policy of government in its relations to millions of its own nationals—a Jimcrow-segregation policy of government. But does this report reveal that successful leadership in the fight against this policy can come from the kind of top leadership presently being given to the AJC and NAACP? Very serious doubts arise when one examines some of the basic deficiencies of the report.

At the outset, one is struck by the artificial separation of civil rights from civil liberties that underlies the report. Walter White and David Petegorsky note in the Foreword that "the field of freedom of expression and association" is taken care of by the American Civil Liberties Union. Actually, however, the defense of the Bill of Rights is *one* fight and can only be effectively carried on as such. This "division of labor" between the AJC and NAACP on the one hand and the ACLU on the other fragmentizes the fight, militates against the unity of the fighters and thereby weakens it. For unity of planning and action based on an

active realization of the oneness of the fight immeasurably increases the power of action in concrete instances. This separation of "civil rights" from "civil liberties" has become an increasingly explicit method of work among "defense" organizations like the AJC and NAACP in the past few years.

This tendency towards a static conception of the struggle for the Bill of Rights is also indicated in the very conception of the report as a "balance sheet." Instead of a vague, quantitative "balancing" of losses and gains, the development of civil rights should be viewed rather as struggle in which gains are registered as victories in battle. For the interplay of social forces cannot be interpreted in terms of mechanical "balances."

The few pages of the report devoted to summary are lacking in social penetration or insight. While many of the important facts are in the report, interpretation is at a minimum. But interpretation is of the highest importance because it must guide action on the issues.

Suppression of Mass Action

And it is precisely as a guide to action that the report is at its weakest. The severely limited conception of the action proposed by the leaderships of the AJC and NAACP is indicated in the White-Petegorsky Foreword:

"The year, however, demonstrated that much can be done by efforts which seem confined to relatively limited areas. Campaigns for state and local legislation and for the elimination of discrimination within specific religious, professional, civil and other organizations, concerted efforts to modify notorious discriminatory practices by private interests and, above all, unremitting use of existing laws to end the inequalities they condemn have all met with an encouraging measure of success."

When this statement is joined with the actual practice of the leadership of the AJC and the NAACP, the meaning of these "efforts" is seen to be centered mainly on legal and court action, with which the leaders of these organizations have in fact been mainly preoccupied.

It is not an oversight that there is no reference to mass action in the "efforts" suggested by the leaders. Nowhere in the report is mass action projected. Although legal and court action are necessary phases in the fight for equality, the history of people's struggle shows that, unless these legal and legislative battles are spearheaded by a mobilization of mass sentiment and militant mass pressure, the fight is fatally weakened.

Mass action is neither reported nor proposed in the report—for it is apparent in the past few years that the leadership of the AJC and NAACP have deliberately tried to suppress this once prominent part of their programs. This omission grows out of the fact that the authors fail to see in the picture painted by them a policy of government.

The AJC and NAACP were originally conceived as mass membership organizations in which the fight against Jimcrow and anti-Semitism would be carried on by enlisting

the masses of the American people to participate in the fight as a powerful assurance of victory. In 1947, for instance, Dr. David Petegorsky uttered this clarion call:

"Democratic rights in the areas we have been discussing must be won in the same fashion that democratic rights have been won everywhere and at any time. . . . People have won democracy in the past by capturing a series of concrete positions—habeas corpus, trial by jury, the vote, secret ballot, the right to collective bargaining. . . . Democracy has never been won anywhere unless there has been a mass movement behind the fight. There must be mass organization and mass pressure if these fights are to be won."

Since the end of the war, however, the AJC and NAACP leaderships have renounced this approach and have in fact done everything in their power to prevent their memberships from exerting this mass pressure. Logic demanded that they throw their forces into the struggle against those responsible for the crimes enumerated.

Shielding the Truman Administration

These leaders have instead succumbed to witch-hunting hysteria and are primarily concerned with defending the Truman administration's program of war preparations, even at the expense of a real fight for democratic rights. While the report does show, as we indicated above, the alarming state of civil rights, the leaders do their utmost to keep the memberships from engaging in the fight because this leads to pressure on the Truman administration and recognition of the responsibility of the bipartisan government for the condition of civil rights. In short, these leaders are trying to supply a lightning rod to divert mass anger and protest at these conditions from the Truman administration and the equally guilty Republican forces.

To White and Petegorsky, the ledger of civil rights is off balance because "the country has been concerned with repelling international aggression and internal subversion." Thus, they accept the basic anti-democratic program of the bi-partisan administration when the very facts in their report show that the administration's "defense" of the "American way of life" in reality poses the most serious threat to democracy that the country has known since its foundation. Nor has these leaders' confidence in the Truman administration been shaken by its inaction on the 1948 promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley law and to enact the civil rights program and by the passage and implementation of the McCarran act.

The unfortunate fact is that the middle-class leaderships of the AJC and NAACP have yielded to the pressure of the Big Business program of war abroad and subversion of democratic people's rights at home. Although these leaders seem to express a certain fear of Big Business, they are obviously fearful of genuine people's action. This explains the vacillation of these leaders, their service to Big Business and also their occasional yielding to the pressure of their memberships.

The consequence of this outlook is that these leaders have tended more and more to limit their activities to action by "experts" on court actions, legislative campaigns and dealings at the top against discrimination—all without application of mass pressure. The memberships of the organizations have been kept out of these campaigns so far as the leadership could keep them out. It is significant that the one mass action which the report does mention—and barely at that, in about seven lines in all—was the great Washington Civil Rights Mobilization of January 1950. This mass action on the civil rights program that brought several thousand Negroes and whites to Washington from all over the country was initiated by the NAACP under immense pressure from the membership. And the NAACP rank and filers, as well as the hundreds from the AJC and the many other organizations which participated in the mobilization, gave vocal expression to their insistence on militant mass action. The bare mention in the report of this extremely significant action without any attempt to assess its importance and to stress the necessity for more of this kind of action, indicates the attempt of the leaderships to suppress this essential method for developing and winning the fight against Jimcrow and anti-Semitism.

Further, the report fails to mention mass action in several of the most important cases during the year—those of Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven and the Trenton Six. The report notes that Willie McGee "received three reprieves during 1950" but fails to mention that these were won as a result of mass campaigns international in scope. Similarly in the other two cases, a brief account is given in the report of the legal action in the cases without even intimating that these cases aroused world-wide indignation and mass pressure. Nor does the report mention the militant leadership given by the Civil Rights Congress in these battles.

As experience has shown, the fight for civil rights can only be won—as Petegorsky once knew—by mobilization of the people. This is the democratic method, involvement of the people in the fight for their rights. The approach which seeks to create faith or illusions in the beneficence of those responsible for these evils is un-American and subversive and is calculated to do great harm. The theory of gradualism as a remedy is now immoral in the extreme for it has nothing to do with reality.

These rights will never be won by the methods of limited actions which keep the people out of the fight. This failure of the AJC and NAACP leaderships therefore places great responsibilities on the rank and file of these as well as of all other organizations to press upon their leaders the necessity for mass action. The calling of the Washington Mobilization shows that this is possible. The rank and file should let their leaders know that their organizations must return to mass participation and action if the conditions revealed in the report are to be dealt with effectively.

IV: NEW STAGE IN ANTI-SEMITISM

By Louis Harap

ANTI-SEMITISM in the United States has risen to a new and more dangerous stage in the past year. This is not unexpected. For the crisis of American society has deepened in this period, the danger of war and fascism has increased and anti-Semitism, from its very nature, is used by reactionaries as a convenient tool to divert the people from real problems and thus to sway events. Hence we are witnessing in this country a similar phenomenon to the growth of nazism in Germany, where anti-Semitism was fertilized by the "Jewish-Bolshevik" diversion.

Anti-Semitism has been insinuating itself into the most "respectable" mediums of communication by the device of associating it with anti-communism in the name of "defense" of democracy. Public disapproval of anti-Semitism is thereby being broken down gradually. How else would it be possible for anti-Semitism to turn up in a program of the National Broadcasting Company? Yet on January 24, WNBC broadcast a transcribed program, "The Freedom Story" (!), containing a blood and thunder stereotype of the communist attached to several characters with Jewish names. This program was one of a series prepared by a so-called religious organization headed by one Rev. James W. Fifield, Jr., Los Angeles pastor of the wealthiest Congregational church in the country. Fifield has a record of anti-communism and anti-Semitism and has cooperated with Merwin K. Hart's pro-fascist, anti-Semitic League for Constitutional Government. The script for the next week was to deal with Ana Pauker, foreign minister of Rumania, who is Jewish. She forced the Rumanians, says the script, to fight on the side of the Red Army against Hitler. At one point the script says, "The Jews in Rumania will rue the day Ana Pauker was born." Thus does anti-Semitic agitation get circulation in the mass mediums under an anti-communist shield for pro-fascist and pro-war purposes.

Insinuations in the Press

The same has happened in another mass medium, the daily press. On May 29, 1950, the leading story in the Chicago *Tribune* was a mass of lies and innuendo against three prominent American Jews, Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Herbert H. Lehman, who were called the "secret government of the United States" and were linked with "world communism." Although the word "Jew" was not mentioned once in the article, its anti-Semitic import was obvious enough. When it is considered that the *Tribune* reaches about a million families daily and that the article was written by Walter Trohan, the *Trib-*

une's top Washington editor, this anti-Semitic assault can be seen in its full gravity.

An anti-Semitic outrage was committed more recently by the Hearst press. On March 11, 1951, the Hearst papers published a forgery that had appeared in *Figaro*, right wing Paris paper, on February 7. This forgery purported to be a letter written by President Roosevelt in 1943 to Jacob Zabronsky, then president of the National Council of Young Israel and now dead. In the alleged letter Roosevelt expressed "profound thanks for the extremely kind offer to serve as an intermediary between myself and our mutual friend Stalin" and asks Zabronsky's help in the proposal to divide the post-war world into three spheres of influence, American, British and Soviet; and Roosevelt thanks Zabronsky for the award of a Torah by Young Israel. The only truth in this fantastic "letter" was that Roosevelt did write to Zabronsky in 1938 (not 1943) thanking him for the award of a Torah by Young Israel. Yet this crude forgery was exploited by the Hearst papers with banner headlines. It was only after Young Israel threatened Hearst with a libel suit that the *Journal-American* published an inconspicuous apology.

Goebbels Comes to Hollywood

Anti-Semitism has also invaded another mass medium, the movies. Over two years ago the protests by Jewish groups against the showing of the British film, *Oliver Twist*, which contained a vicious anti-Semitic stereotype in the characterization of Fagin, was effective enough to keep the movie off American screens. In February of this year, however, this ban was reconsidered. After close-ups and profiles of Fagin were cut out, the film was approved for release by the Production Code Authority of the Motion Picture Association, although the anti-Semitic stereotype of Fagin's repulsive character remains. One may doubt if this approval would have been possible, had not two more years of anti-communist hysteria softened up the movie authorities.

In April, a Goebbels-like film was released by Warner Brothers. The premiere of *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, a crude hodge-podge of obscene lies about the Communist Party, was held in Pittsburgh, sphere of operations of the stoolpigeon Matt Cvetic, the anti-Communist "hero" who testified on the witness stand that in real life he beat his sister-in-law in 1939 and broke her wrist and betrayed his friends. This is a conventional gangster film except that "communists" are substituted for gangsters. The mentality

of the writers is that of the Peekskill stone-thrower. The film is a mess of grotesque lies about the Communists and of brutality and violence that are so depraved as to make the audience gasp audibly. The film has a strike sequence in which "communist" thugs beat up strikers with iron bars wrapped in the Jewish daily *Forward* so that the Jews would be blamed. At this point the original script read that strikers on the picket line said, "Now we know who was doing the slugging. What else can you expect from Jew-Commies?" But this was too raw and the line was cut from the picture.

Similar anti-Negro agitation occurs in the film. Bosley Crowther, *New York Times* movie reviewer, sensed the dangers in the film when he wrote on May 3, that the film "tosses off dangerous innuendos and creates some ugly bugaboos. . . . In glibly detailing how the Communists foment racial hate and labor unrest in this country, it colors its scenes so luridly that the susceptible in the audience might catch a hint that most Negroes and most laborers [and most Jews, we may add] are 'pinks'. . . . And all the way through, it drops suggestions—always from the villains' oily tongues—that people who embrace liberal causes such as the Scottsboro trial defense, are Communist dupes. . . . The film . . . plays a bit recklessly with fire."

Anti-Semitism in Government

A new stage of anti-Semitism has appeared not only in the mass media, but in the government itself, where disturbing signs have emerged. There was nothing new when "hate groups" put on a big fascist, anti-Semitic smear campaign in their pathological press on the appointment of Anna Rosenberg as assistant secretary of defense. These smears against this anti-communist woman were too well publicized to require repetition here. But a most dangerous aspect of the situation was that a committee of the Senate considering the confirmation of Mrs. Rosenberg took this hullabaloo seriously and held hearings at which peddlers of hate produced the witnesses. The fact that these witnesses were finally discredited does not lessen the seriousness of the fact that fascists have direct access to the government and that public contempt for the peddlers of fascism is not now sufficient to prevent the government from dignifying their filth with a Senate committee hearing.

While anti-Semitism in the government is not new, it is particularly dangerous in this period of growing fascist thinking. The mass clemency granted to nazi war criminals, who were responsible for the deaths of many thousands of Jews and others, was one sign of an impermissible tolerance in the government for anti-Semites and fascism. Resumption of diplomatic relations with Franco, friend of Hitler, and the assignment of Stanton Griffis as ambassador to Spain were further steps in this direction. Senator Pat McCarran called this appointment "one of the greatest things that has happened in this country for many years." McCarran himself, champion of the police state McCarran act, has fought against the entry of Jewish DP's into this

country. And after the McCarran act was passed, entry of Jewish DP's almost stopped for a period. So nazi-like was the attitude of immigration officials toward Jewish DP's seeking to come to the United States, that Arthur Greenleigh, executive director of the United Service for New Americans, complained in January that these officials caused Jewish DP's to compare this treatment with that received from the nazis. These officials seem to operate under the fascist doctrine that all Jews are suspect of "communist leanings."

In another sphere of government, the courts, the death sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, alleged to have been involved in atomic espionage, disturbed the Jewish community greatly. Even the reactionary *Forward* thought that the sentence was "too horrible" and "too cruel" and added that "every Jew felt the same way." The Jewish community and press took especial interest in the case because all concerned—judge, prosecutor and defendants—were Jewish. There was cautiously expressed criticism of Judge Irving Kaufman because it was felt that he had "bent backward" in giving the death sentence so as to reassure the country that the Jews were "loyal." However, the Jewish press recognized that the judge was actually "carried away to an extent by the hysteria which has overtaken our country," as Dr. G. George Fox, a conservative columnist in the Chicago *Sentinel*, expressed it. That this unique, extraordinary sentence should have been imposed on Jews is a subtle form of anti-Semitism.

Hoodlums and Hate-Mongers

There were a number of naked and violent manifestations of anti-Semitism. Perhaps the most important of these was the series of hoodlum attacks on Jewish and non-Jewish young people of the Hecht Neighborhood House in Boston last year. In October 1950, 25 Jewish youth were arrested in Boston while they were out searching for the hoodlums, since the police had replied to a request for protection against the anti-Semitic hoodlums that the Jews should protect themselves. Subsequently 19 of these had the charges against them dismissed while the cases of six were held over because the police found an unloaded revolver in one car. But not one of the hoodlums was arrested.

Another anti-Semitic manifestation occurred at a "Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense" at which a series of pro-fascist speakers held forth. The main speech was given by Joseph R. Kamp, notorious fascist, who charged that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was more "dangerous" to the country than the "communists." This assertion followed by a few weeks Westbrook Pegler's statement in his column that Chairman Buchanan of the House Lobbying Committee "admitted to me that he was afraid to make a demand for the books and records" of the ADL. Pegler then demanded an investigation of the ADL. Behind all this innuendo by Pegler and Kamp was the fascist idea of a Jewish super-government that was set forth in the *Protocols of Zion* forgery and revived in the

Chicago *Tribune* article by Walter Trohan mentioned earlier.

The arrogance of the anti-Semites on this occasion was emphasized by the fact that the Women's Auxiliary of the Jewish War Veterans was a participant in the conference. The Jewish women demanded that an apology for Kamp's remarks be made from the platform. Mrs. William A. Becker, a former president of the DAR and chairman of the conference advisory committee, refused to repudiate the speaker or to apologize for his appearance. It is ironic to record that the JWV women sponsored the resolution against "communism" that was adopted by the conference, which also condemned the United Nations convention on Genocide and Human Rights as "subversive"!

Jewish People Demand Resistance

The Jewish people are demanding that their own organizations put up an uncompromising fight against the anti-Semitic threat to their security. But if we examine the leadership of the major Jewish organizations on this issue, the results show that these leaders are in fact preventing the carrying on of a real fight. The hush-hush tactic, which is a disastrous appeasement of anti-Semitic and pro-fascist forces, has by no means been abandoned by the leadership of Jewish life. The Jewish people all over the country, for instance, were shocked and angry with the way in which the leadership of the major Jewish organizations in Chicago handled the Chicago *Tribune* affair discussed above. Representatives of these organizations met with officials of the *Tribune* to demand a public apology for the anti-Semitic article. The *Tribune* refused to make a public apology but instead the Jewish leaders accepted an agreement in which the Jewish press *only* was allowed to publish a letter from the *Tribune* which cynically disclaimed any anti-Semitic intention. The effectiveness of this "agreement" appeared a few months later, on August 13, when the *Tribune* published another article by this same Walter Trohan in which Felix Frankfurter was smeared in the course of a virulent attack on the foreign born.

The Jewish leadership is trying to lead the Jewish people of our country ever deeper into appeasement by retreating before the anti-communist hysteria. We saw above how the Women's Auxiliary of the Jewish War Veterans participated in, and still continues its affiliation with, the "patriotic" women's conference. And the Jewish War Veterans themselves, together with the American Jewish Committee, continue their affiliation with the all-American Committee to Combat Communism, which is under the thumb of the pro-fascist leadership of the American Legion.

This account of some highlights of anti-Semitic developments in the past year indicates danger not only for the Jews, but for the American people as a whole. For anti-Semitism is a symptom of the pro-fascist and pro-war trend among those who control the government and the media of communication. As we indicated at the beginning of

this article and as has been emphasized by the actual events noted here, the spread of anti-Semitism is largely being carried on under cover of anti-communist hysteria. The parallel with nazi Germany is obvious enough. And it should be recalled that not only the Jews, but all the peoples of the world suffered as a result of the "Jewish-Bolshevik" Big Lie of fascism. The American people as a whole—workers, farmers, small businessmen, professionals—thus have a deep interest in turning back the menacing trend toward anti-Semitism.

A Danger to American People

To the labor movement, anti-Semitism looms as a divisive influence and as a tool for helping to impose a nazi-like "Labor Front" on the country, as the experience of all fascist movements has demonstrated. Anti-Semitism serves to keep the workers, the Negro people, the mass of Americans as a whole from finding out why and by whom they are being driven toward war and fascism. So long as the people can be made to believe the lie that the Jews are at the bottom of all social ills, the people will never find out that it is Big Business, the Big Brass and their political leaders who are responsible. The aim of this anti-Semitism is therefore to prevent the people from solving their problems. Instead, the people are turned against the Jews.

What does the fight against anti-Semitism on the part of all these sections of the people require? In the first place, the labor movement and all the organizations of the people must see to it that every overt manifestation of anti-Semitism, like those described above, are decisively met and the perpetrators punished. Further, it is of crucial importance that the people do not allow themselves to be blinded to the fascist intentions of anti-Semitism, which are projected under cover of anti-communism. For anti-Semitism is only one phase of the softening up of the people and is a link in the chain of red-baiting diversion through which the people get fascism imposed on them. Responsibility for combatting anti-Semitism as a part of the fascist conspiracy is especially serious for the left and progressive forces in the labor movement and in people's organizations. The progressive movement has not yet applied its full power to struggle on this important front of meeting the menace of anti-Semitism wherever it appears.

The danger to the labor movement, to all the common people, to the Negroes, the Jews and all minorities and to peace itself has been accentuated in the past year by the assault on democratic rights and by the war preparations. The grave rise in anti-Semitism in mass mediums is symptomatic of this rising danger of fascism and war. The Jewish people and the labor movement must not repeat the errors of Germany, which allowed itself to be dragged into slavery and war by the "Jewish-Bolshevik" deception. This means that the Jews and all democratic elements in the country must put up a united fight and refuse to be taken in by red-baiting and must fight anti-Semitism wherever it appears.

V: LETTER TO A FRIEND ON ELLIS ISLAND

By Ben Gold

On February 20, Paul Yuditch, 62-year old labor editor of the Morning Freiheit, was arrested for deportation and held at Ellis Island without bail. Before bail was won for Yuditch several weeks later, Ben Gold, president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, wrote him a letter. The informal and salty Yiddish of the original cannot be completely translated, but Hersh! Hartman, Yuditch's young colleague on the Freiheit, has made the rendering which follows.

—Eds.

VERY dear friend Yuditch:

You've been lucky enough to live for many years but now the bloodhounds have caught you and locked you up.

Think about it, sum it up: you were an honest carpenter. You could have gone on making tables and chairs. You could've rented a cellar somewhere, become a contractor, as all good and pious people do, hired green laborers for next to nothing, worked them as Pharoah did the Jews and—you could've made money. Slowly you'd most likely have worked your way up and—who knows?—maybe you'd have become a big furniture manufacturer, you'd have lived like "God in Odessa," you'd really have appreciated our rich country and its "unlimited opportunities" and you'd have thumbed your nose at the world.

Instead of all that you left your hammer and plane and became a leader in the labor movement. Well, if it had to be the labor movement, then why did you choose the progressive wing? You could have remained with the "socialists." Why did you have to run to the *Morning Freiheit*? You could've written for the *Forward*. There you would have had it fine and dandy. You'd have got paid every week, you'd be on the "loyalty" list, you'd have got your citizenship papers with great honor and would've been considered a useful citizen according to the laws of the *Forward*. In that movement you'd have been provided with a princely livelihood and wouldn't find yourself in the clink in your old age. You'd be having others locked up instead. . . .

A man is his own enemy. So many years in this golden land—and what have you got to show for it? You were lucky enough to live through two wars. Sensible people were shoveling in the money. But what did you do? Ordinary carpenters have become big industrialists, built houses, block after block, and all of them are stone rich. And you? Well, let's just look at your bankbook. A bankbook isn't a union book, you know. Well, let's see your shares—not in the *Freiheit*, either—in oil-wells or other money-wells. You haven't got any! You own nothing! So you're in the clink. . . .

The trouble with you people is that you know so much. But America, brother, you don't begin to understand. You come here with principles and ideals and fine dreams for humanity by the bushel. Outside of that, you come with nothing. So Karl Marx says that the poor become poorer and the rich richer. So the rich remain really "loyal" to Marx and become swollen with accumulated riches, while the poor are also true to Marx and become poorer. I ask you: where's the sense in that? Those who say that they understand Marx could've used that understanding to collect some wealth, couldn't they? Where've you been these four decades in this land of riches?

FORGIVE ME. I'VE WANDERED A LITTLE. THE MAIN THING I wanted to tell you was that in a free country like our America, it doesn't make sense to fight for freedom. It's simply illogical. But if you still insist on freedom, you can leave it to the real liberators. Just look how they've freed the seven Negroes of Martinsville from their earthly cares. You've got to admit that our country is so free and democratic, that even a president can't intervene in the "legal" affairs of a state. For proof, look at so lovable and noble a man as President Truman, who raised himself from the Pendergast machine to the highest office in the land. Even Truman, who has such a heart of gold and does all he can for his friends in the White House so that they can make an honest dollar on the side, a mink coat for a poor secretary, a deep-freeze for a hard working wife, and who worries over the opportunities for big businessmen to do profitable business—who is even ready to bash in the teeth of a reporter who had the nerve to write that the president's daughter couldn't sing—oh, yes—even Harry Truman didn't intervene in the Martinsville case because, you see, democracy means democracy for all, even the president.

Why am I writing all this to you? You're laughing, eh? You really don't know why I'm giving you a hard time while you sit in Ellis Island, mad because they won't let you go home? I'm writing you this letter to inform you that I sent a telegram to the attorney general and told him bluntly to let you out right this minute, as I personally know you to be a fine, quiet person, etc. I believe that in our free country, though it has gone slightly reactionary lately and tinged with fascism more than slightly, this government official will certainly listen to a citizen like myself and will set you free and even apologize to you. Do you doubt it?

So—what happens when you get out of there? You'll return to the *Morning Freiheit*, won't you? Don't I know

you and your kind? You're all caught up in this humanity business and that's all there is to it. You just can't be cured. You're attacked, you're persecuted, you're arrested and threatened with being cut off from your families and deported—and you—you go right ahead. Everywhere you're purged—and still you are everywhere. You're driven from the door—so you come down the chimney.

The Congress of the United States costs the country a fortune. It costs millions to elect the right people. So a poor Congress works day and night and sweats and debates and discusses—as is fitting for a free and democratic country—until finally opponents agree and they approve a Taft-Hartley law, a McCarran act, a Marshall Plan, a North Atlantic Pact; they support an Un-American Committee, a whole army of FBI agents, a battalion of informers and spies; they work hand-in-hand with rotten "labor leaders" and *Forward* "socialists"; day and night the radios and newspapers shout; the reds are sent to jail. In short, billions of dollars and oceans of human energy are expended—and in the end they can't get rid of the reds and semi-reds and semi-demi-reds, who grow like mushrooms after a rain.

So the president declares openly to the whole country and all the world that the United States is in a state of National Emergency. The whole country is mobilized against the people with ideals and principles who dream of such awful things as world peace, world brotherhood and equality. And what comes of it all? Nothing. They still can't get rid of those reds. It's catastrophic, really!

Now do you understand why the bloodhounds seek out people in their homes, on the streets, in their places of work and elsewhere? They'll soon be grabbing children out of their cradles to charge them with "subversion." . . .

WHAT'S THERE TO THINK ABOUT, YUDITCH? "WE" WERE WELL off when Hitler and his cut-throats ruled Germany, Mussolini and his cut-throats ruled Italy, Horthy—in Hungary, King Carol—in Rumania, etc. And in Finland the fascist Mannerheim reigned, and in Japan Hirohito ruled the universe and in China the Chiang Kai-sheks slaughtered millions of Chinese. Then, Yuditch, "we" were well off, "our" consciences were clear, "our" security secured and "we" were mighty, calm and democratic and didn't need any hysterical laws or hysterical methods.

But now, brother, things are different. No more Hitler, no more Musso, no more Horthy; and Hirohito and Chiang aren't what they used to be, and half the world is out of the doldrums, and the other half is confused, lost, trembling and hysterical. So it would appear that the Hitler-Musso, Black-Brown shirted cut-throats were "our" support, "our" protectors!

I'll tell you a secret, Yuditch—but let it remain between ourselves (I don't want to get in dutch with the brass). Do you know why General Eisenhower went to Germany and said one must forgive and forget and let bygones be bygones and other things like that? Do you know why you're in the clink while nazi murderers are freed? Go ahead, guess. Let's just see whether your carpenter's head

can fathom deep world affairs. Our way of life, you understand, our whole democratic way of life is in danger, and all the wise men, the statesmen, the Trumans, the Baruchs, the Achesons and the generals and admirals—in short, all the pick of the crop, those who have the whole world—anyway, half the world—in their palms, have decided that we can save our great democracy, our freedoms, our human rights and dignity, if we can bring back the Hitlers and Mussolinis and Horthys and give them back their cut-throats. Understand?

You must think that our statesmen trust the nazis and fascists? Never! Never on your life! What then are our great leaders and providers doing? They're *hiding* our democracy, as you would a treasure. They're burying our democracy, our Bill of Rights, our Constitution, our freedoms deep in the earth, so that no one, no one shall be able to find even one drop of democracy in our country, though he search with a thousand lights. And the newly reborn nazis, recreated by Marshall plans and untold millions, will not be able to take away even one ounce of our democracy, because it will be buried way down.

You, Yuditch, have already tasted the flavor of this new way of life. In Martinsville they handed out a taste of it. And many, many other Negroes and whites are being given samples of the new concoction. I imagine you don't approve. Neither do I. This is a rotten, low attack on the people and on the best sons of the people, an attack of robbers, madmen, sadists of the paper-hanger variety. We've got to rescue the persecuted and terrorized people from these attackers. It's a terribly hard and serious job. What have you suddenly done in such a serious time? You've sat yourself in the clink and don't lift a finger! C'mon out of there and get to work! We need you. Pack your things and come out! I don't have the time to sit and write you letters.

Be well, and come out healthy and strong.

THE MARTYRS

By Ruth Hardt, Age 11

Once they breathed the sweet smelling air,
Once they walked in wood and valley,
Once they turned the rich brown earth,
Once they stroked their children's hair and talked in soothing tones.

They used their hands in work and play,
They worked in farm and town,
They thrived like us and grew and loved,

BY HATRED THEY WERE SMITTEN DOWN!
When they laughed the hills played with the echo,
When they cried the mountains sobbed.
Now all is quiet as their graves we pass,
Martyrs all of them, The Martinsville Seven.

LEGACY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO

By Aleksander Lenowicz-Gordin

The following is an address by Aleksander Lenowicz-Gordin, attaché of the Polish Consulate General, delivered at the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial Meeting held in New York City on April 29 under the sponsorship of the Coordinating Committee of Landsmanshaften.—Eds.

THE stature of the Warsaw ghetto fighters grows and the glory of their deeds stands forth more majestically with each passing year. Eight years have passed and it is time to evaluate profoundly this great historic event.

The handful of Polish Jews who survived the Hitlerite extermination campaign, in which 95 per cent of the former Jewish population in Poland, nearly three and a half million Jews, were killed, have left all those macabre horrors behind them. These surviving Jews now enjoy all the fundamental rights and opportunities for cultural and economic development guaranteed by the victorious Polish democracy. The old, pre-war fascist dictatorship of brutal, rapacious oppressors of national minorities, Pilsudski's Poland of wild chauvinism, anti-Semitism, bloody "pacifications" and pogroms—all these are gone forever. A new Poland has arisen—a People's Poland, which is successfully moving toward socialism and is already a strong bulwark of peace and international cooperation. The New Poland has destroyed the roots of imperialism and chauvinism by eliminating the monopolistic death merchants and power-greedy big landlords who were the main source of warmongering, anti-Semitism and fascist reaction.

The victorious Polish democracy, headed by its working class, declared war on racial discrimination and anti-Semitism, which are among the most poisonous weapons in the arsenal of reaction. Hideous discriminatory acts against Jews or any other minority have been abolished forever. Anti-Semitism, as well as warmongering, is a crime and severely punished! At present the Jews in Poland have a higher degree of security than any Jewish community in any capitalist country in the world.

Eight Years After

We are celebrating the eighth anniversary of the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto under conditions of extreme international tension and ever increasing attacks against peace, against the freedom and sovereignty of nations, against civilization itself. Now, in 1951, war is no longer a mere menace but a fact. It rages in Korea. When one compares the destruction, sufferings and martyrdom of the Korean people with the eyewitness accounts of the liquidation of

the Warsaw ghetto, one cannot fail to see a striking similarity between the two.

At the same time, no less shameful events are taking place in Western and Southeastern Europe and particularly in Western Germany. The occupation powers in Western Germany dishonor the sacred memory of millions of victims of Hitlerism and make a farce of elementary human ethics by giving amnesty to reprehensible war criminals, those directly responsible for the extermination of millions.

But the Democratic Republic in Eastern Germany is destroying the very sources of German imperialism: the monopolists, the Prussian junkers and militarists; nazi criminals are being tracked down and punished severely for their unspeakable crimes. The following comparison speaks for itself: on the very day that 20 high SS officers were liberated in West Germany and nazi General Rasum was set free in Paris, six SS men were hanged in the democratic sector of Berlin. The leaders of the German Democratic Republic under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party are bringing up the masses and particularly the youth in a new spirit of progress and peace and are stamping out all manifestations of anti-Semitism and racism.

It is clear that the liberation of nazi mass murderers justifiably alarms the nations of the world. The Jews all over the world particularly feel that these actions desecrate the memory of millions of martyrs of Hitlerism, of the heroic fighters of the Warsaw and Bialystok ghettos and of anti-nazi partisans. But we must regretfully admit that Jewish reactionary elements are also participating in the revival of German militarism and in the conspiracy against peace. These elements are subordinating the most vital interests of their own people to the interests of the imperialistic warmongers. These Jews are continuing the infamous tradition of the *Judenrat*, of the ghetto police and other collaborators with fascist governments before and during the period of the nazi occupation.

Mystical Interpretations

These elements attempt to offer a supernatural, mystical explanation of the Jewish tragedy and the heroic Jewish resistance movement. They examine the crucial problem of the nazi annihilation of the Jews from an exclusively emotional point of view. They have written off with mourning the murdered Jews of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, France, Greece, Holland, etc., and other countries occupied by the fascists. They imagine that with the help of "Iskora rallies" and lamentations, by sow-

ing hatred for the countries where the greatest part of Jewish tragedy occurred, they fulfil their duty of "*Ahavat Israel*"—love of the Jewish people.

Chaos reigns in the writings of Jewish literati and publicists subservient to imperialism whenever they deal with the Jewish tragedy and particularly with the Jewish resistance movement. Either they flounder in suppressed guilt feelings, like the famous poet Leivick in his "I Was Not in Treblinka" or, like the Zionist leader Margoshes of the *Jewish Day*, they lament idly that "the spectacle of six million Jews murdered in Europe by the Hitler horde . . . was such as to pierce the heart of every American Jew, leaving wounds that can never be healed." Some, like the hysterical red-baiter J. Leschinsky, arrive at the conclusion that nothing remains for the Jews but to sit down barefoot on the floor in mourning for the murdered Jews and to recall that some of them made a sacrifice of their lives (*masiras nefesh*) to save the honor of the Jewish people. There are also some Jewish scientists like the social democratic historian Dr. Shatsky, who created a "theory" that what took place under nazi occupation "our intellect cannot grasp" and that in this case "history has become a legend, a myth, a national sacrifice" (*Kultur und Erziehung*, March 1950).

The Politics of Mysticism

However, all this has a very definite political connotation. One cannot determine the real causes of the great Jewish tragedy if one considers genocide as mysterious as the Sphinx. One loses sight of its real basis, namely fascism and imperialism. By cloaking oneself in "historical mysticism" one can conveniently ignore the incontrovertible fact that the heroic struggle of the Red Army against the Hitlerites inspired the liberation movements of the occupied countries of Europe in general and of the ghettos in particular. By adopting the "mystical approach" one can ignore the fact that the popular masses of the occupied countries of Europe, and particularly the Jewish masses desiring vengeance and wishing to fight for their liberation (yes, liberation and not self-sacrifice for the sake of honor!), saw in the Red Army the force which would liberate them. Distorters of history would justify the criminal strategy of certain allies who delayed the opening of the second front, thus bringing about the death of hundreds of thousands of people in the concentration camps, ghettos and at the front.

And—last but not least—narrow-minded nationalistic and separatist elements try to conceal the incontrovertible fact that the uprisings in the ghettos and the entire Jewish resistance movement were integral parts of the nation-wide struggle against the Hitlerite occupation carried on by the Polish people in the ranks of the People's Army, just as the struggle of the Jewish workers in Poland for freedom over the last 50 years was part and parcel of the revolutionary struggle of the Polish working people.

The distortion of Jewish resistance under nazism is or-

ganically related to the present political attitude of the above-mentioned Jewish reactionaries. These servants of imperialism describe the Korean war of liberation as aggression by the victims, rather than by their imperialistic oppressors. Likewise, they find it convenient to ignore the treacherous and fratricidal role played by Jewish collaborators with the nazis, the disgraceful *Judenrat*, the ghetto police and the managers of Jewish workshops employing the slaves of the ghetto. They consider the mention of the fact that ghettos contained Jewish exploiters and traitors, hated by the broad masses of the ghetto slaves, as an insult to Jewish martyrdom ("*Kiddush Hashem*") and regard any such reference as mud-slinging.

We cannot forget and forgive the role played by Jewish collaborators in this most tragic period of Jewish history. We cannot in the name of false and hypocritical "love of our people" (*Ahavat Israel*) overlook their misdeeds. Exonerating these traitors would be like exonerating Quisling, Petain, Laval, Russian Vlassovites, the Ukrainian fascists, or American traitors of the Ezra Pound variety. Such attempts insult the memory of the heroic ghetto fighters and the honor and good name of the Jewish people. We cannot resist the impression that under the cloak of nationalistic and mystical phraseology the ground is being broken for future collaboration with resurgent neo-fascism. This is the strategy of the *Judenrat*.

Distortions of Resistance

The nationalistic falsifiers of history are also distorting the very character of the resistance movement in the ghettos of Warsaw, Bialystok and of the Jewish partisan movement. They represent the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto as having had no connection with the general European situation but as something brought about by a group of zealots. They attempt to hide the fact that only after the defeat of the German army at Moscow did the Jews begin to consider the possibility of armed resistance against the Germans and did the slogan of "self defense" become popular. In November 1941, even before the German defeat at Moscow, when the news about the counter-offensive of the Red Army at Rostov reached the Warsaw ghetto, the ghetto Jews renamed Rostov—*Rosh-tov*—which means "good beginning," thus indicating the great and decisive significance of the military victories of the Red Army for the liberation of the Jews in Poland.

These facts were recorded in the Warsaw ghetto by the historian Emanuel Ringelbaum who, as is well known, was not a Marxist but a leader of Poale Zion. Day to day notes written by amateur chroniclers, later discovered in the underground archives of the ghetto, contain many expressions of love and respect for the Soviet Union and its heroic Red Army (see the notes of Shmul Winter, Emanuel Ringelblum, Abram Lewin and others, most of whom were not communist sympathizers). However, today the Jewish servants of imperialism find it convenient to ignore the fact that the Jewish masses in the ghetto

regarded their own fight against the Germans, as well as that of the Polish anti-fascist underground and mainly that of the Red Army, as a fight for the destruction of the ghetto system and liberation of the people and not some mystical "*kiddush hashem*" (self sacrifice in the name of the Lord), as claimed by the bourgeois falsifiers of the history of Jewish resistance.

Reactionary Jewish publicists attempt not only to hide the fact that the resistance movement of the ghetto was strongly pro-Soviet, but also try to conceal its strongly anti-fascist character. The united Jewish fighting organization, set up in October 1942, continued the activity of the anti-fascist bloc, which united in its ranks all democratic elements of the Jewish population wishing to participate in the fight against the nazis. This anti-fascist bloc, the first resistance organization of the Warsaw ghetto, was led by Andzhei Schmidt and Jozef Lewartowski, representatives of the Polish anti-fascist People's Guard and of the Polish Workers Party (PPR), respectively. The militant and uncompromising attitude of the progressive elements of the Polish underground army influenced the Jews to set up a fighting organization. The ideological character of the Jewish Fighting Organization was most clearly expressed in the famous declaration addressed by this organization to the Polish people. This declaration had as its motto: "We are fighting for our and your liberty." This appeal did not meet with a sufficiently wide response because at that time only the Polish Workers Party, small groups of left Socialists and the anti-fascist People's Guard had come out in favor of immediate armed struggle against the armies of occupation. Other Polish underground organizations, seething with the venom of anti-Semitism and anti-Sovietism, did not respond to the appeal of the ghetto fighters and therefore betrayed the cause of liberation of Poland and of the Polish Jews. Let me add that this treacherous and fratricidal attitude did not result from some "mysticism of history" but from the consistently reactionary policy of these organizations and parties.

Anti-Fascist Unity

To the anti-fascist bloc belonged the Polish Workers Party, Hashomer Hatzair, Left Poale Zion, Dror (Zionist Socialist Youth) and subsequently Zionist youth organizations such as Akiba, Hanoar Hazioni, Gordonia and also the Right Poale Zion and Social Democratic Bund. We see from the above that the Jewish Fighting Organization was a wide anti-fascist united front fighting for freedom. No metaphysical speculations into the "psychology of despair" can erase this great historical fact! To join the common anti-fascist front each of the organizations mentioned above had to agree to a program which would be acceptable to all of them, and which would achieve the best results in the struggle against the German fascist oppressor.

In all the materials found in the Ringelblum archives of the period between October 1942 and March 1943, there is no mention of ideologies, be they Zionist, Halutzim or

Bundist, although such references often appeared in materials which date from 1940 to the summer of 1942. There is only reference to the necessity of fighting fascism, the German occupation, betrayers, Jewish traitors, collaborators and stool-pigeons, and there are appeals to join the ranks of the partisan detachments of the People's Guard. (The Polish nationalistic partisan detachments not only did not admit Jews and anti-fascists into their ranks but killed them in the most treacherous way.)

If there is need for any further proof as to the anti-Zionist Revisionists, followers of Trumpeldor, who before the war collaborated with the Pilsudski regime and in the ghetto collaborated with the ghetto police and the *Judenrat*, let us recall that they were not allowed to become members of the Fighting Organization. The defenders of the ghetto felt they were not isolated in their fight but were an integral part of the general struggle for freedom under the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Ghetto Heritage

All those who today fight against the idea which inspired the defenders of the ghetto, the idea of the united front against fascism and war, do not share in the inheritance of the great heroes and martyrs of the ghetto. How can we realize today the testament of individuals like Anielewicz, Nowogrodzki, Niuta Teitelbaum, Daniel Moskowicz, Rabbi Herz Zawada of Sandomir, the splendid artilleryman, and his aide, the Communist worker Abraham Szmulewicz, who fought and perished side by side in the common struggle against Hitlerism, as well as the testament of the non-Jewish defenders of the Warsaw ghetto, the members of the People's Guard? Only by stubborn defense of peace and unswerving struggle against the reconstruction of the Hitlerian army, by fighting against a bloody destruction of the liberation movements of oppressed nations of the world.

The Warsaw ghetto uprising was drowned in a sea of blood and fire, but the memory of the heroes of this great historical drama cannot be erased. The memories of our heroes and martyrs demand of us that we continue the fight for the ideals of peace and social justice for which they fought and perished. The heroic action of the Jewish fighters will always remain in the memory of the Jewish people, of the Polish nation, and of all progressive mankind. Youth shall forever be inspired by the noble action of the defenders of the ghetto. But the most beautiful monument to their memory will be erected by those who will join the international forces of peace and progress, and who, following the example of the ghetto fighters, devote their lives, energies and talents to the struggle against fascism and war. Attempts to revive the Hitlerite army, to enter into an alliance with Franco, to create military units of former Polish, Ukrainian and other accomplices of Hitler, as well as other infamous preparations for a third world war, should be of great concern to the Jews, as well as non-Jews, everywhere.

Letters from Abroad

INTERVIEW WITH ALBERT NORDEN

By M. Vilner

Berlin

Berlin, which is divided into four zones, is surrounded by the new German Democratic Republic. The government of the Republic, its ministries, cultural centers and main offices of all large organizations, are located in Berlin in houses newly built among the extensive ruins. Despite everything the Bonn government could do, Berlin, though in ruins, has remained the capital city of all Germany.

On Thaelmann Platz one finds the ministry of information, headed by Gerhard Eisler and Albert Norden. On their shoulders rests the task of uprooting not only the awful legacy of Goebbels' propaganda, but also of generations of militaristic and Pan-Germanic education.

Albert Norden is in charge of the press and book-publishing. During the nazi regime he had been able to escape from Hitler Germany and was active in the German anti-fascist movement in France.

I interviewed Norden in Berlin. He told me that the key to democratization of the new Germany lies in a complete and basic change in the principles of German education. It was this conviction that led him to write his books, *Studies in German History and How War is Made: the Background and Technique of Aggression*. These books are at the opposite pole from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Alfred Rosenberg's *Mythology of the 20th Century*.

In answering our questions Norden earnestly emphasized that the extermination of anti-Semitism and racist prejudice is a central task of a democratic and peaceful Germany. Following are the questions and his answers.

Question: How was denazification car-

ried out in Eastern Germany, and what did this accomplish?

Answer: In the German Democratic Republic denazification was carried out according to the principle of punishment of the major criminals and uprooting the economic sources of fascism in the process. The strictest sentences were imposed on major war criminals. For instance, two months ago the merchant Ernst Pauli of Dessau was sentenced to hard labor for life for having participated in the looting of France, particularly for the confiscation of valuable raw materials from the French.

In addition to punishment of criminals with direct responsibility, it was also necessary, if a repetition of the crimes themselves was to be rendered impossible, to punish also those who stood behind these criminals. This was accomplished through the complete elimination of the Junker caste, the aristocratic large landowners who supplied German imperialism with its generals, who controlled the peasantry through large land holdings and who played an important part in founding the main opposition party to the Weimar Republic—the German Nationalist Party—through which the Junkers financed the nazi and united with them.

The property of these princes, dukes, counts and barons was distributed to landless peasants. 2,510,000 hectares were taken from 7,136 Junkers and another 121,000 hectares were taken from 4,000 other nazi war criminals. These lands were parceled among 1,874,000 people and 300,000 peasant enterprises thereby created.

As is known, Hitler was supported not only by the large landowners, but to a still greater extent by a number of large manufacturers, particularly those in heavy industry. Therefore the German Demo-

cratic Republic nationalized all factories and enterprises which Krupp, Flick, Stinnes and the heads of I. G. Farben and other nazi bigwigs had owned east of the Elbe.

Q. The reactionary press reports that the German Democratic Republic has rearmend and that former high nazi officials hold important positions here. Is this true?

A. Naturally we do not have any form of rearmament here. If it were true that we are rearming, our country would show the economic symptoms of reduced consumer goods, rising prices and inflation. But the situation here is quite the opposite. In the past year and a half we have cut prices four times and have removed many items from the rationed list.

We have no armed units outside the People's Police. The need for that force is shown by the constant attempts of the Americans to sabotage our factories through the use of saboteurs, sent from the west to destroy machines, set fires, etc. Even so, the parliament of the German Democratic Republic called upon the West German parliament on January 30, 1951, to agree upon a joint reduction of police forces. This proposal went unanswered, since rearmament, including the creation of a new army, Luftwaffe and navy is going on full-speed in Western Germany.

Even the most outspokenly anti-communist groups in Western Germany admit that there is no rearmament in the German Democratic Republic. Mayor Reuter of West Berlin, himself a professional war-monger, declared on his arrival in America on February 22: "I do not believe that the People's Police has any armored vehicles." The well-known churchman, Pastor Martin Niemöller confirmed this in London at the end of February: "In the course of two years I tried, without success, to find someone in the Eastern zone who had had military training. There is, of course, the People's Police, but I have never seen it with anything but rifles or revolvers. I do not believe there is any possibility of a Soviet attack on Central Europe."

Anyone who was a nazi functionary but not a war criminal has the opportunity of participating in the social reconstruction of the German Democratic Republic. In Western Germany, nazi generals and high ranking nazi bureaucrats are in key positions because of their nazi affiliations. In the German Democratic Republic certain former nazis are given responsibilities only on condition that in their political and personal lives they have completely broken with all racist, nazi and imperialist aspirations and tendencies, and that they combat these tendencies actively in public and in private.

RIDGEFIELD RESORT

HOME OF THE JPFO MEMBERS AT RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

(50 miles from New York City)

A RESORT OF BEAUTY AND DISTINCTION

FOR YOUR VACATION

Open all year 'round—Moderate Rates

Day-camp accommodations for children with families.

Make your reservations by calling directly Ridgefield 1180, New York Office: 80 Fifth Ave., 8th floor. Tel.: ALgonquin 5-6268. Four Flying Eagle buses leave daily.

Do not come without first making your reservation



It goes without saying, of course, that all key positions in the government are held by anti-fascists who have proved their democratic convictions through struggle under the Weimar Republic, under Hitler, against Franco in Spain, through their activity in the anti-fascist exile and through their suffering in jails and concentration camps. For this reason it is impossible that any positions in the People's Police, the judicial system or any sensitive areas should be held by any former member or follower of the National Socialist Party, nor by any officers, non-commissioned officers or soldiers of the fascist Wehrmacht.

Q. Can you guarantee that the roots of nazism and race-hatred have been eliminated and that their rebirth is impossible?

A. Yes, we are destroying the roots of nazism and race-hatred. We are accomplishing this in the first instance by decontaminating the minds of the people. I will not say here that we have already succeeded in convincing every single one of the 18 million inhabitants of the German Democratic Republic. But it can be said without hesitation that in the schools we are educating a generation that is new in every respect. By the systematic elimination of thousands of nazi teachers and by issuing millions of textbooks in which equality of all peoples is stressed and the danger of racial theories is exposed, our youth is being freed from that awful ideology with which German imperialism poisoned the youth for over 50 years. A great deal of credit is due the two-million-strong "Free German Youth" organization and the "Young Pioneers," which have helped develop in our young people the understanding that all peoples are equal—irrespective of color or creed—and that only the supporters of war are enemies of mankind. In the textbooks now in use there are no stories of war and Frederick the Great is no longer idolized. On the contrary, the texts stress the works of Heinrich Heine, Marx, Frederick Engels, Lessing, Goethe, Heinrich Mann, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Progressive French literature, like Vercors' *Silence of the Sea* plays an important role in education. While previously the great French Revolution was libeled and distorted, it is now honored in the curriculum as an important advance of humanity.

Q. What lessons have the German people learned from the last war and the Hitler regime under the influence of your government?

A. This question has actually been answered by the sum total of the previous ones. The government of the German Democratic Republic says to the German

people that two catastrophes in one century should suffice to prove that imperialism was very advantageous to the German munitions kings and other finance capitalists, but tragic in their consequences for the masses of the people. Therefore our government extends the hand of friendship to all peoples in the East and West. It has a right to do so since it represents a Germany led by consistent anti-fascists, by the fighters against the wars of Kaiser Wilhelm and of Adolph Hitler.

Q. President Wilhelm Pieck has pointed a number of times to the responsibility of the German people for Hitlerism. How is this complicity of the German people understood by them and what concrete responsibilities do they recognize at the present moment?

A. Though the responsibility for the Second World War and the horrible murder of millions of innocent people falls mainly upon the Hitler regime, the entire German people shares in the guilt since it did not deter those in power. From this grows responsibility for the payment of reparations, which were incidentally reduced by one-half through the generosity of the Soviet Union, so that until 1965 we will pay an annual sum amounting to 217 million dollars. It must be emphasized that the great majority of the population of the Republic understands the need for these reparations payments, which can only partially make good the destruction caused by German militarism in Eastern Europe.

Q. Do you believe that the racism now existing in the United States is as dangerous as the racism and anti-Semitism of the Hitler regime?

A. Naturally there is no basic difference between the anti-Semitism of Hitler Germany and the racism of the United States today. What the Jews were for Hitler, the Negroes are for the lily-white gentlemen of America. Incidentally, it is no secret that a *numerus clausus* for Jews exists in many American universities; that in thousands of resorts and hotels even in the neighborhood of New York Jews are excluded; and that racist oppression is also directed at the Puerto Rican people, Indians, Mexicans, etc. Since the leading ideologists, government officials and generals of America preach the theory of the "American Century"—the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon world domination—the danger to the world from these forces is very great. Their view is only a variant of Hitler's pretensions to rule of the world.

Q. What is your opinion of freeing of war criminals and the clemency extended to Oswald Pohl and the other six nazi generals in Landsberg?

A. The freeing of Alfred Krupp and other fascist blood-soaked dogs by McCloy is a slap in the face of every people. The soldiers of France, of the Soviet Union, of the United States who fell in struggle for world freedom will turn in their graves. The amnesty for Wehrmacht generals and the SS, as well as for the well-known munitions-maker Krupp is not an act of mercy, but of war preparations and was intended as such. He who follows the Hitler path, who prepares the same sort of war as Hitler, must also use Hitler's methods. The scandalous releases from the Landsberg prison are not an error, but a consequence of America's war-policy.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN IRAN?

By I. Hirsch

Paris

Iran has become the scene of events with far-reaching consequences for the Middle East and the entire world.

On March 6, Premier General Rasmara was assassinated in Teheran. Thirteen days later Dr. Abdul Zaniana, minister of construction, was killed. Amidst all this, the Iranian Parliament, with the approval of the Senate, made its historic decision to nationalize the petroleum industry.

Events then developed quickly. England protested and threatened military intervention; Acheson's representative in the State Department, George McGhee, was dispatched to Teheran; in addition, the Iranian Premier proclaimed martial law,

resulting in a wave of repressions against the democratic forces in the land.

What is the meaning of these events? Iranian oil resources, that are being exploited by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, are among the richest in the world. 31,750,000 tons of crude oil were produced in 1949. The refinery in Abadan (near the Persian gulf) is the largest in the world and operates at a capacity of 25 million tons a year. A pipeline stretching 1,718 miles carries the oil to this refinery. From here it is transported to all parts of the world by over 100 oil ships.

The exploitation of these oil wells remains in the hands of the Anglo-Iranian Company—a trust in which the British admiralty holds 52.5 per cent of the control.

Up to the last war, England maintained exclusive control in Iran. The closeness of India strengthened the British position. At that time, the main difficulties England faced in Iran came from within: the hostility of the masses and often the slavishness of the central Iranian power. To solve its problems, England supported a staff of adventurists from the Intelligence Service, who organized, when necessary, uprisings by various tribes against the central power, founded ultra-reactionary parties (e.g., the "Vatan") or else simply placed at the head of the government people whom they had bought off. The exploitation of the oil resources went hand in hand with the worst enslavement of the workers and with periodic blood baths. Behind it all was always the hand of the almighty Intelligence Service.

This lasted until America began to infiltrate into the Middle East and later sought to enter into Iranian affairs. A bitter struggle started between the American oil industries and the British trusts, resulting almost always in America's victory (Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, etc.), especially since the end of last year, when America completed the "Trans-Arabian pipe line."

At that time, two giant trusts opposed each other—the American Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Company), which combines four large oil companies and controls nearly half the petroleum output in the world, and the Anglo-Iranian Company, which controls, together with the

Shell Oil Company, one quarter of the world's oil production.

While the Anglo-Iranian Company had to send its oil by ships, Aramco's biggest asset was its pipeline, especially in the transport of Saudi Arabian oil. But Iranian oil was much cheaper for England because of the very low cost of labor as well as the 1933 agreement with the Persian Shah, who was paid a comparatively small sum by the British trust. The results of this were not only a better competitive position on the world market, but also a more serious struggle within Iran itself, where the American "specialists" and "technicians" infiltrated more and more.

This actually began even before the end of the war—precisely in 1943, when America, under the pretext of war leadership, sent one of its "finance specialists" to Teheran. After a short time these "specialists" placed Yankee agents in the Iranian government, put at the head of the police force an American general and sent into the army American "counselors," who immediately took control. In 1946 and 1947, when the large-scale repressions of the democratic movement began and when the news agencies and the entire bought press printed fabricated "sensations" that "Soviet tanks are rolling toward Teheran"—America again used this opportunity to supply the Iranian government with ammunition and the necessary "instructors."

Then followed a number of agreements between America and a succession of Iranian governments such as, for example, the "seven-year plan" agreement involving American engineers.

America achieved certain results in Iran in the struggle for oil control. Last year, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey forced the Anglo-Iranian Company into an agreement, in which the British trust agreed to sell Standard Oil about 40 per cent of its oil production in about 20 years. American Standard Oil agreed to share 40 per cent of the expenses for the building of a pipeline to the Mediterranean Sea. But actual construction will begin in 1953 and will continue at least until the end of 1954. The official reason stated was that America must first build the new Kirkuk-Banias pipeline leading to the Syrian border. Nevertheless, until the promised pipeline for Iranian oil is built, the oil from Saudi Arabia will continue to flow freely through the Trans-Arabian pipeline.

In order to strengthen its position, the Anglo-Iranian Company found it necessary to modify the 1933 agreement and promise the Iranian government a larger kick-back. The new agreement concluded with General Rasmara had almost been in the bag. But along came Aramco with

a "fifty-fifty" agreement with King Ibn Saud, who would get half of the oil profits. Naturally, General Rasmara was forced to renege on his agreement with the Anglo-Iranian Company. New negotiations began on a new basis, surrounded by a more aroused public opinion in Iran.

Naturally, England did not sit idly by as blows were struck against her hold on the oil resources of Iran. Since the end of the war England has tried in every way to repulse American infiltration. Her chief method (precisely the one also used by America) was to control the Iranian government or at least to get her own people placed in the government. Hence we have seen frequent "government crises" in Iran, accompanied by assassinations, behind which have stood either American or British agents.

One minor example: in 1948, by intrigue America got a premier of her own choice placed at the head of the Iranian government. But on February 4, 1949, the Persian Shah was assassinated and a new silhouette arose from the background—that of General Rasmara, who was a British agent.

General Rasmara's coming to power represented a victory for the British trusts. Rasmara proved himself a loyal British subject. During his last months in office he even adopted a number of measures against American infiltration. He annulled the agreement with an American company for "planning Iranian agriculture." He demanded that the American "economic advisor" be recalled to Washington and he also brought back a group of Iranian officers who had been training in America. General Rasmara thereby became a serious obstacle to American imperialism and to its plans for infiltration into Iran.

But General Rasmara's activities were not confined solely to serving the British. Under pressure from the Iranian masses and the growing national movement in the country, General Rasmara tried to adopt certain measures which conflicted with American anti-Soviet war plans. In the past few months, he made an effort to improve Iranian-Soviet relations, mainly by signing a long-term trade agreement. He recently even went so far as to ban the poisonous radio program "Voice of America." Rasmara paid for these acts with his head on March 7.

The assassination of General Rasmara would surely have remained just another episode in the petroleum conflict between America and England. But there has arisen this time a new power, which Britain and America had not expected. The new power, the Iranian people, expressed its opinion, and forced on Parliament the decision of nationalization.

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

AMERICA'S LEADING CULTURAL MONTHLY

June Contents

Our Time *Samuel Sillen*
 Return to the "Free World"
John Howard Lawson
 Triumph of Life (story)
Vasili Grossman
 Women for Peace *Elizabeth Moos*
 Films of New China *Yao Hua*
 The Trenton Story *Abner W. Berry*
 Good Neighbor Talks Back
Vincente Lombardo Toledano
 Book reviews by: *Sidney Finkelstein*
Herbert Aptheker, Nat Ross

Subscription rates:

\$4.00 per year; \$7.00 for two years;
 \$4.50 per year outside the U.S.

New Century Publishers

832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Book Reviews

AN 18TH CENTURY JEW

By Morris U. Schappes

Aaron Levy, Founder of Aaronsburg, by Sidney M. Fish, American Jewish Historical Society, Studies in American Jewish History, No. 1. New York. \$1.

On October 23, 1949 Aaronsburg, a hamlet of 320 persons in the geographical dead center of Pennsylvania, received national publicity. To celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Salem Lutheran Church, some 20,000 persons gathered for an elaborate program that included a pageant with 1,000 participants from Centre County and speakers like Felix Frankfurter, Ralph Bunche, and the governor of Pennsylvania, who took the occasion to proclaim the last Sunday in October hereafter as "Tolerance Day." For tolerance, and not equality, was the theme set for this affair by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Anti-Defamation League, which seem to have been the main promoters and stage-managers of this vast public relations enterprise.

The entire commemoration hinged on two things done by Aaron Levy (c. 1742-1815), a Jew of eastern or central European ancestry who came from Holland to Pennsylvania about 1760. Settling "deep in Indian territory" in the town of Northumberland, Levy, first as a merchant but increasingly as a land-speculator, "built up a sizeable business and accumulated considerable wealth." Dealing in tens and then hundreds of thousands of acres of land, Levy thought in terms of grandeur. One land-promotion scheme he intended to become the capital of the State because of its central location. On a 334 acre tract of his land, he plotted the town that he himself named Aaronsburg, with Aaron's Square at the center and the main street named Rachel's Way after his wife. On May 23, 1786, Levy offered the lots for sale. By 1799, Aaronsburg had 32 families and the price of real estate had risen considerably—but somehow Harrisburg had become the State capital.

The mere naming of Aaronsburg after its original Jewish promoter would of course not have justified the great sesquicentennial commemoration. In fact Dr. Fish notes that locally the place is also known as "Jewstown" (although only one Jewish family resides there now). But Levy had also done this: in 1789, he had given two lots of land for a token sum of five shillings to the Lutherans to be used

for a school, church and cemetery, and in 1796 he had likewise given two lots to the local Calvinists. Moreover, when the Salem Lutheran Church was opened in 1799, Levy presented it with a pewter communion set.

Out of the celebration came the project that led to the engaging of Dr. Fish of Gratz College, Philadelphia, for the task of discovering and assembling the facts of Aaron Levy's life and business activities. Having assembled his data painstakingly, Dr. Fish presents them strictly from the point of view of the merchant and land-speculator that Levy was. In the Revolutionary War, Levy patriotically joined the militia in Northumberland and later in Lancaster to protect these communities against the Indian allies of the British. At the same time, as a merchant, Levy and a non-Jewish associate, John Bullion, cornered the local salt supply to screw the price up; it took the determined action of the democratic Committee of Safety to compel them to sell the salt at a price fixed by the Committee at one-third the uncontrolled price. Yet, because merchants continued to inflate the price of salt, Dr. Fish reproves those scholars who have called Levy a "would be profiteer" and "hoarder."

In the same vein of disregard for the people's cause, Dr. Fish can describe the Tories who fought in the British army as merely the "less far-sighted friends [of Levy] who were caught on the wrong side of the conflict," or even more crudely wince-crack about the absence of "maid trouble" in the Levy household because for eight years they had "an indentured German servant girl."

More serious is Dr. Fish's ignoring of the fact that land-speculators like Levy in their business dealings often came into conflict with veterans of the Revolutionary War who had received land grants as part payment for their service. In *Western*

Lands and the American Revolution, Thomas Perkins Abernethy long ago demonstrated that it was the veterans that were among the chief victims of the land-speculators, who either used political influence to take veterans' grants away by "legal" means or else bought many of them up for a song and held them for speculative prices. The Jeffersonians fought the Federalists on just this issue; but then Levy, according to Dr. Fish, had Federalist "leanings." Dr. Fish's middle-class blinkers hide essential truths.

This monograph is, in short, but another instance in which the Jewish bourgeoisie seeks to inflate a Jewish business man into a popular hero. Jewish workers and progressives, however, have other standards.

Correction

The editors regret the inadvertent omission of the name of Morris U. Schappes as the author of the review of *The Jews of Charleston*, by Charles Reznikoff, in the May issue, page 30.

Letters From Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed you will find a \$2.00 check for our renewal to JEWISH LIFE. We wouldn't think of being without this unusually fine and informative magazine.

As a young Jewish American I find your magazine of invaluable help in working with others like me, who are trying to fight for peace so that we and our children will be able to think in terms of a happy future—a future filled with dreams of creating happiness and well being for all.

Mrs. H. N.

Los Angeles

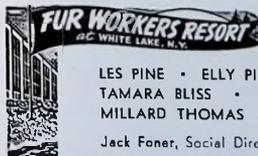
P.S.—A lot of friends who may not have written you feel the same way we do about JEWISH LIFE.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I am renewing my sub for JEWISH LIFE with pleasure. This splendid magazine fills a most necessary gap in progressive Jewish life. Here's hoping it stays around for a long time.

L. S.

Brooklyn, N. Y.



Make Your
Reservation
Now

DECORATION DAY WEEK-END

(five full days only) \$31 to \$39

LES PINE • ELLY PINE • MARTHA SCHLAMME • JOHN FLEMING
TAMARA BLISS • LOU GUS • FAY GOLD • KERMIT MOORE
MILLARD THOMAS • RAY DASHINGER

Jack Foner, Social Director

Walter Seeman, Day Camp Director

ALLAN TRESSER AND HIS BAND.

Low Pre-Season Rates in June

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL

250 WEST 26th ST. • NEW YORK 1, N. Y. • WATKINS 4-6600

From the Four Corners

(Continued from page 2)

EUROPE

THE EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was celebrated all over the world in April. In Warsaw delegations of Jewish workers, trade unionists and political groups marched to the ghetto memorial and held a ceremony there. The Polish army assigned an honor guard for the occasion. The Warsaw *Trybuna Ludu* (Tribune of the People) editorialized: "The Polish people hold in profound reverence the heroic martyrs . . . pay tribute to the memory of the fighters of the Warsaw ghetto." Ceremonies were also held at Auschwitz and other former death camps. The government plans to surround the monument with a large garden area. . . . In Paris, 3,000 Jews of various political opinions held a memorial meeting on April 19 under the auspices of Jewish people's organizations. The audience vowed to remain true to the lessons of the uprising and resolved to support the peace campaign of the World Peace Congress for a Big Five conference.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Jewish People's Library in Sofia in April announced that the library now had 15,000 volumes and was embarked on a campaign to attract new readers. Many readers are non-Jewish. The library also sponsors a Jewish People's Chorus of 100 which has given an average of one concert a week.

THE RUMANIAN government lifted restrictions on emigration to Israel in April and will permit eight to nine thousand Jews to emigrate per month, according to recent unofficial information.

AN INTERVIEW of a London *Jewish Chronicle* reporter with Moshe Pijade, the Jewish vice president of Tito's Yugoslavia, held in London in March concluded with the following: "There was one subject, however, on which Mr. Pijade was less forthcoming—the problem of German rearmament. The Yugoslavs, he said, were against arming the Germans; but they recognized that the whole problem was complicated."

ISRAEL

THE WAVE OF TENSION and unrest in the Middle East which has broken out in hostilities between Israel and Syria is due to the intrigues of Washington and London, said the Soviet press in mid-April. "English and American imperialists," said one Soviet paper, "play up in every manner the atmosphere of war psychosis in the Near East, trying to sharpen relations among the individual countries and force them to resort for help to the United States and England." The press charged that the purpose of this strategy was to "drag countries of the Near East into the imperialist plans for preparation of a new war."

50,000 MARCHED in Israel's largest May Day parade in Tel Aviv on May first under the auspices of the Histadrut. Modern agricultural and building machines were exhibited at the parade. The Histadrut forbade other workers' parties from holding separate demonstrations demanding peace.

THE LEFT WING of Mapam, which previously had controlled 50 per cent of the votes in the party, in April won 60 per cent of the delegates to the forthcoming party conference. This group, formerly Hashomer Hatzair, favors an orientation of the country on the Soviet Union. The two right wing groups in Mapam, Achdut Avoda and

Poale Zion, won 36 and four per cent of the delegates, respectively.

THE ARAB WORKERS' CONGRESS held its fifth congress in Nazareth on April 14-15. Esther Vjenska addressed the congress on behalf of the Communist Party of Israel. She cited the holding of the congress as a victory against reaction because the government had forbidden the holding of the meeting last September. The congress is the only Israel union that belongs to the WFTU. Fraternal greetings were received from many parts of the world.

F. SHOMERNICK, secretary of the Israeli Young Communist League, in April criticized the youth organization of Mapam for deciding not to participate in the Third World Youth Festival in Berlin this summer on the ground that Jewish youth should not demonstrate on the streets of Berlin. Shomernick emphasized that the German Democratic Republic is anti-Nazi and has outlawed anti-Semitism and that East Germany is being oriented towards socialism and the fraternity of peoples. He called upon Israeli youth to demonstrate with world youth at the Berlin festival against the revival of nazism and for peace.

FIRST-HAND REPORTS ON EAST EUROPEAN JEWRY

More evidence of the lying character of current charges of "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies has recently become available from various conservative sources. The evidence follows:

Moscow

A dispatch dated April 20 from Moscow in the New York Times:

THE festival of Passover was celebrated tonight with traditional ceremonies in Moscow's crowded Central Synagogue. At sundown the voice of Moscow's famed Cantor Barkan resounded sonorously in solemn chants commemorating the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt.

Later in the evening in thousands of Moscow's Orthodox Jewish homes the customary feast of unleavened bread was eaten.

Moscow's Central Synagogue is only a few blocks from the center of the city. Tonight's congregation appeared to be a representative cross-section of the Jewish populace, young, middle-aged and some elderly bearded Jews. There were a number of women, many of them smartly dressed, in the gallery, which runs around three sides of the temple. . . . The synagogue was illuminated brilliantly by electric candelabras, as well as many seven-branched candlesticks. The nave was beautifully decorated.

Following are excerpts from a report published in the London Jewish Chronicle (March 23, 1951) by Gerald Abrahams, a Liverpool lawyer and chess master, who attended the chess matches in Moscow.

YOUNGER Jews are . . . almost completely assimilated to the Soviet outlook and suggest the young merchant of New York, completely Americanized. . . . All the Jews of Moscow have the word "Yevrai" (Jew) printed on their passports. This alarms them much less than it alarmed me. (Mr. Abrahams seems unaware that all Soviet passports have the nationality, no matter which, of the person's mother noted on them.—Eds.) . . . None of the Jews I chatted with was afraid to discuss these matters and all seemed genuinely confident as to their future well-being. Jews below the age of 50 generally have the interests of Soviet citizens. . . . The synagogue which I found . . . was just off what appeared to be an important street. . . . I found it a handsome Shool of the most familiar Orthodox type, complete with Bima, Aron Kodesh, pulpit and Siddurim. The shanmas, capable and hard-working, might have existed in a

London synagogue. The rabbi, Dr. Schleifert, I found to be a man of dignity, refined appearance and prodigious learning. His congregants approached him freely, with obvious affection and respect. The congregants seemed elderly: I saw no children. Those with whom I spoke informed me that the Moscow community has shechita, mila, etc. and is not frowned upon by authority. . . .

For the rest, in the circles in which I moved, the aristocracy of Russia, namely its chess masters, I found many Jews well known to me. I came away convinced that they, at least, are living happy and prosperous lives.

Budapest

The Vienna correspondent of the London Jewish Chronicle reported in the issue of April 13, 1951, as follows:

SOME details of Jewish life in Budapest were given to me recently by Hungarian Jews who passed through Vienna on their way to Israel.

The Budapest community supervises the activities of all Jewish communities in Hungary, whether Reform or Orthodox. The president, Mr. L. Stoekler, is in private life the director of a State-controlled lace factory, which formerly belonged to him.

Budapest has 11 synagogues and several smaller places of worship. All are well attended on Sabbaths and Holy days but on week days it is usually difficult to form a minyan.

Dr. Benjamin Schwarz is president of the Rabbinical College, which has 40 students.

Czechoslovakia

The following letter by A. Wolfe, Labor Councillor of West Ham, London, was published in Labour Israel, Mapam organ in England, in the April 1951 issue:

I HAVE just returned from a visit to Czechoslovakia, the second in the past six months.

I had conversations with a number of Jews in Prague and elsewhere and the vast majority are more than happy with conditions prevailing there. There is no discrimination between Jews and non-Jews, all share the same privileges and responsibilities. Racial discrimination or anti-Semitic utterances are punishable by law. The only shadow hanging over their heads is the proposed rearming of Germany. To them an armed Germany with reinstated Nazi leaders is only too painfully real to be merely criticized or commented upon.