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# Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

- FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL** ➤ *an editorial*
- RELEASE OF THE MOSCOW DOCTORS** ➤ *by Louis Harap*
- RESISTANCE TO McCARTHYISM GROWS** ➤ *by Sam Pevzner*
- ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM (III)** ➤ *by Morris U. Schappes*
- SONGS OF THE YIDDISH LABOR POETS** ➤ *by Ruth Rubin*
- A "SICK" INDUSTRY—  
BUT THE BOSSES DON'T SUFFER!** ➤ *by Rachel Roth*

# From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Senator Herbert H. Lehman made a two-minute speech in the Senate on April 12, condemning Secretary of State Dulles' statement that the Eisenhower administration would not favor signing the UN genocide convention. Dulles' opposition "will give us little credit abroad and will deepen the cynicism with which American professions of faith are sometimes received abroad," said Lehman.

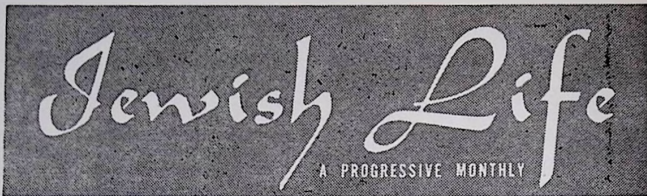
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver in his sermon in Cleveland on March 12, expressed his opposition to the fact that the United States and the "Western bloc" are rearming West Germany from the same motives that they did before the last war. He considered that the new Soviet peace moves might include the concrete proposal of a united Germany on the basis of the "just Potsdam agreement."

"Something is brewing in Washington now," wrote Boris Smolar, syndicated columnist of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency the week-end of April 10, "which will come as a great disappointment to Jewish groups seeking modification of the McCarran Immigration act. It seems that a 'deal' is in the making which will leave the McCarran act unchanged. In exchange, President Eisenhower will propose—and Congress will accept—the admission within a period of three years of 300,000 refugees from Europe outside of the immigration system." This would not increase Jewish immigration because few DP's remain, and will leave the racist provisions of the law untouched.

Allen W. Dulles, new chief of the Central Intelligence Agency and a much-mentioned figure in the Prague trial, was formerly on the executive of an anti-Israel organization called "H.E.L.P.," which opposed creation of Israel as an independent state.

Anti-Semitic front. . . . Walter Gieseking, nazi pianist, who was turned back from this country by mass protest in 1949, will be admitted in April because he is "not excludable" under the McCarran-Walter act. The nazi who performed under Hitler is scheduled to give a concert at Carnegie Hall on April 22. The American Jewish Congress and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League have protested. . . . Rabbi Dr. Joachim Prinz, an American Jewish Congress vice president of

(Continued on page 32)



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MAY, 1953

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### CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL	3
MAY DAY	4
RELEASE OF THE MOSCOW DOCTORS <i>by Louis Harap</i>	5
NEWS OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS	7
"PRAVDA" EDITORIAL ON DOCTORS	8
ANTI-SEMITIC VANDALISM IN U.S.A.	9
WHAT'S HAPPENING TO LADIES GARMENT WORKERS?	
A "SICK" INDUSTRY—BUT THE BOSSES DON'T SUFFER, <i>second of a series by Rachel Roth</i>	10
SONGS OF YIDDISH LABOR POETS <i>by Ruth Rubin</i>	14
RESISTANCE TO MCCARTHYISM GROWS <i>by Sam Pevzner</i>	18
ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM (III), <i>third of a series by Morris U. Schappes</i>	21
INTERVIEW WITH MEKHLIS' AUNT <i>by Abe Strauss</i>	27
BEFORE THE MCCARTHY COMMITTEE, <i>Morris U. Schappes and William M. Mundel</i>	29
OBSERVATION POST <i>by Sam Pevzner</i>	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS <i>edited by Louis Harap</i>	31, 32

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## Jewish Life Theater Party

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# FROM MONTH TO MONTH FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL

FIVE years have passed since that exhilarating day of May 14, 1948, when the State of Israel was established. Neither the most strenuous diplomatic maneuvering of the State Department in the UN nor the reluctance of the Ben Gurion group in Israel to go counter to the State Department could repress the urgent demand of the Israeli masses that the UN decision be carried out, and the new state was set up. Although there was no underestimation of the pressing problems faced by the state, there were high hopes among the Jewish masses all over the world for the future of Israel as an independent, democratic state.

The story today, five years later, despite the self-sacrifice and devotion of tens of thousands of Israeli workers and farmers, is grim. Disillusionment is widespread. The workers and farmers of the country are in a desperate plight. In a total population of 1,630,000, there are now 24,000 unemployed. Both public works and private industry are in decline and the industrial plant is working at about 30 per cent of capacity. The cost of living rose 44 per cent in 1952. Like all countries under sway of the dollar, Israel is bent under the enormous burden of dollar payments and of a high military budget.

What has brought Israel to this pass? To be sure, the problem of absorption of the immigrants—707,650 have entered the country since May 1948, thus more than doubling the population—was enormous. This was particularly so because Israel was at a low state of industrial development in 1948. Staggering as this problem is, it would be a very grave mistake to attribute the present plight of the country to this cause. The reason is more basic: it is the cumulative effect of political and economic control of the country by the industrialists and big landowners who are themselves under the thumb of financial influences from the United States. The essential elements of the process were presented by Victor Perlo in his series of articles last year (now available as a pamphlet, *Israel and Dollar Diplomacy*). In this process the dominant Mapai Party under Ben Gurion's leadership has been a willing political tool.

What can be done? At the basis of a constructive program for Israel is the necessity for a politics and economy of peace. For the State Department is actually the most decisive force in Israel. Through various loans and Mutual Security "aid," as well as through the medium of American Jewish big investors, the most important Israel policies are dictated from Washington. Our national administration is launched on a program of subordinating both the economies and the politics of the whole "free world" to a war program in the course of which American big business draws the highest profits. Israel is deeply involved in this system, which is steadily distorting its economy and lowering the workers' standard of living.

What Israel needs, therefore, is a new economic policy, a new foreign policy and a new government to carry out these policies.

Economically, Israel has to work for independence, for an industrial, agricultural and foreign trade program that will use its natural and human resources for the benefit primarily of the people of Israel. Israel cannot continue its disastrous policy of buying all its imports almost exclusively in the United States dominated markets, which charge the highest prices in the world today. If Israel were simply to follow the common sense practice of buying its imports at the cheapest price available in the world market, it would immediately improve its economic position. Such a sensible buying policy would of course lead it to increase the goods it would buy from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Not only are the prices lower than those imposed by United States monopolists, but direct barter and other easy forms of exchange are available.

The new economic policy would also require that prime attention be given to building up Israel's basic industries (rather than, say, its tourist services). In this direction, too, the purchase of machinery for such industrial development would be facilitated by use of the East European markets. Federal aid to the encouragement of the kibbutzim would begin to round out this economic policy and increase production of the food supply.

A new foreign policy for Israel would require that it follow the needs of its own peoples rather than the requirements of American imperialist strategy.

Closely connected both with its foreign and domestic policy is its present policy toward the Arab minority inside Israel. This policy is characterized by shameless economic, civil and political discrimination against and oppression of this Arab minority. The abolition of this policy would not only strengthen the social base of the state of Israel but would also go a long way toward improving relations with the democratic and oppressed masses in the surrounding Arab States.

This program of economic independence, extended democracy, and peace for Israel as part of a peaceful Middle East, as part of a world at peace will of course meet the vast opposition of American big business elements and their Jewish plutocratic partners. But can any American Jew outside this small plutocratic circle, whether he be Zionist, non-Zionist or anti-Zionist, oppose this program and still profess to be a friend of Israel? We call upon all Jewish workers, small-business people, professionals, whatever their attitude to the political movement known as Zionism, to study this outline of a program to save Israel, and to rally around it.

## MAY DAY

**M**AY DAY this year will be celebrated amidst mingled hopes and apprehensions. On the one hand, the peace initiative of the Soviet Union, People's China and North Korea have opened up real possibilities of an end to the Korean war and negotiation for settlement of outstanding issues between the two worlds. On the other hand, the extreme reactionaries of the Eisenhower administration are planning new repressive measures against American labor and the people. The gang-up on labor is represented by the Goldwater-Rhodes bill, which would empower a commission to break unions by giving it discretion to designate labor demands as "subversive." The Eisenhower administration gives no sign of pushing for any real change in the McCarran-Walter racist immigration law. The whole legislative program of the government of the millionaires bodes no good for the common people of the country.

But the possibility for peace forced on a war-minded administration by the socialist initiative is an immense weapon placed in the hands of labor and the people to beat down the Eisenhower-Dulles program. That this is possible has been shown by the back-down of Eisenhower and Dulles from one after another position since January 24, the latest being the "leak" that Eisenhower's proposal for peace in

Korea would demand a border between North and South Korea 90 miles north of the present line. On the home front a similar retreat would be possible if the various arms and wings of organized labor would present a united front against the anti-labor program of the national administration. Similarly, the stiffening resistance from many quarters against McCarthyism and the McCarthyite collaborationism of the Eisenhower administration can be broadened and deepened.

May Day this year offers labor and the people an opportunity for applying people's pressure for a truce in Korea, for negotiations among the great powers for release of international tensions and for effective resistance to the anti-labor program of the Eisenhower administration. On this traditional day of giving massed expression to the demands of the working people, differences on other issues should not prevent the workers and all men of good will from joining their voices on those demands on which they all agree. This applies with especial force to Jewish workers, professionals and small business men because the success of the plans of the Eisenhower-Dulles financial interests would strike at them with a deepening of anti-Semitism and discrimination. Together with labor, the Negro people and all Americans of good will, the Jewish workers should all over the country support the May Day demonstrations.



Above are examples of Yiddish publications in Poland from 1951-1952. These include children's magazines, newspapers, scholarly journals, Yiddish classics like *Sholem Aleichem* and *I. L. Peretz*, anthologies of poetry, contemporary poetry and

fiction, literary criticism, Polish literature in Yiddish translation, Yiddish grammars and school texts. This exhibit should silence those who continue to speak of the "disappearance" of Jewish culture in socialist countries.

# RELEASE OF THE MOSCOW DOCTORS

*A discussion of the meaning of the clearing of the doctors: protection of citizens' rights, no tolerance of racism, relation to Prague trial*

*By Louis Harap*

THE announcement from Moscow on April 4 that the accused doctors were freed and cleared of all charges had the effect of a pin stuck into the inflated balloon of "Soviet anti-Semitism." The whole campaign carried on so violently and vociferously for months was suddenly and completely deflated. It was impossible any longer to assert that a government that openly acknowledged false accusations and expressed its unequivocal condemnation of an attempt "to inflame . . . feelings of national antagonism" could be charged with "anti-Semitism." The campaign has been stopped dead in its tracks.

The *Pravda* editorial of April 6 (which we reprint on the next pages) is a remarkable document that reveals much about the Soviet Union. It shows a great state which demonstrates in the midst of a tense international situation its rigorous adherence to the guarantees of its constitution to its citizens; it does not hesitate to expose a threatened miscarriage of justice even if perpetrated by officials in the highest places. Nor does the Soviet government regard it as sufficient to free the falsely accused; it also prosecutes those state officials who were responsible, itself an unprecedented event. Only a government in which the people have the highest confidence could take such actions. As the *Pravda* editorial notes, the strength of such a government derives from the fact that the state "is closely and unbreakably linked with the people." Further, the Soviet people know that the progress of their country toward abundance is dependent on unremitting detection of mistakes and public correction through the process they know as "criticism and self-criticism." That this process is constantly operating is apparent all the time in the Soviet press and state organs. When, therefore, a criminal frameup is discovered and publicly denounced, the Soviet people's confidence in their government and its policy of protection of citizens' rights and absolute prohibition of racism or national antagonism in any form, is confirmed.

In the face of this Soviet *action* against a frameup and an attempt to stir up "national antagonism," the hypocrisy of the "condemnation" of "Soviet anti-Semitism" by the highest United States officials, from Eisenhower and Dulles down, stands exposed. For, such "condemnation" of "persecution of minorities" occurs at the same time that 63 senators submit a petition opposing signature by the United States government of the UN charter conventions on genocide and the declaration of human rights. And Sec-

retary of State Dulles in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee assured the Senate that "the Eisenhower administration would not sign any treaty on human rights drafted under United Nations auspices or the already-drafted convention on political rights for women. Neither, he said, will it press for ratification of the United Nations genocide convention, which outlaws acts intended to wipe out racial, national, ethnic or religious groups" (*New York Times*, April 7).

## *Who Fights "National Antagonism"?*

Further, when has our government ever acknowledged a racist or political frameup and righted the wrong by imprisoning those guilty of infringing the rights of the victims? The attorneys in the Rosenberg case, for instance, have irrefutably established that the government prosecutor in the case had deliberately allowed perjured testimony to be made and had employed "reprehensible" (the word is that of the Circuit Court of Appeals) tactics in inflaming the public against the Rosenbergs through the press. This same prosecutor, Irving Saypol, was elevated to a judgeship and retains this position despite the fact of these revelations and of his appeal to "racial prejudice" (the phrase is that of the Federal Court of Appeals) against a Jewish witness in the Remington case. President Eisenhower's initial rejection of clemency for the Rosenbergs in the face of such facts, of the weakness of the government case and of the savage death sentence puts in perspective his statements about "Soviet anti-Semitism."

Nor can we look with pride at the fact that our government has to this day never acknowledged the miscarriage of justice in such cases as Sacco-Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, Trenton Six, and Willie McGee or punished the framers. The frameup of Negroes is an everyday affair in our country and nothing is ever done by the government to prevent this racist "justice." On the contrary, racism is the actual law of the land, part of the very structure of our society in relation to the Negro people; a large majority of the Senate and House have caused to be enacted the viciously racist McCarran-Walter immigration law. And advocates of equality have to this date been unable to persuade the federal government to pass a permanent and enforceable fair employment practices law.

But the actual record of the Soviet Union of solving the national question and of enforcing complete intoler-

ance of any manifestation of national antagonism or racism, in contrast to the racism that resides in the very structure of our society, has not prevented continuing distortion and abuse in the doctors' case. Various speculative and fantastic interpretations of the freeing of the doctors are daily fed to us in the press. The worm's-eye view of socialism and the Soviet regime through which it is concluded that the reversal is the result of an "internal struggle for power" and is a "repudiation of Stalin" are sheer fabrications and rise from a wilful misinterpretation and ignorance of the Soviet regime.

The press is seriously misleading the American people and the Jewish people by asserting, as I. F. Stone has, for instance, that "If the charges were false in the case of the

doctors, six of them Jewish, might not similar charges in the Slansky and other trials have been equally false?" (*I. F. Stone's Weekly*, April 11.) There is a simple fallacy in this view. The doctors were *never brought to trial*, while in the Prague and other cases *the judicial process was completed*. In fact not even the investigation of the doctors' case had been finished. As the *Pravda* editorial makes clear, it was *in the course of the "verification"* of the "preliminary investigation" that the illegality of the case was discovered. According to Soviet law, as indeed of all law in Europe, which is based on the Napoleonic Code, a case is brought to the trial only after a pre-trial investigation that virtually establishes the guilt of the accused. It was thus the incompleteness of the case against the doctors that prevented their being brought to trial. A special pre-trial investigation resulted in the exoneration of the doctors. Matters were quite different in the Prague and other trials. In these cases the pre-trial investigation was thoroughly gone through and the confessions, documents and evidence were introduced in a public trial and there altogether confirmed.

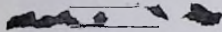
## SOVIET SAID TO OUST 30 JEWS IN HUNGARY IN PURGE OF REGIME PURGES IN HUNGARY HELD EXAGGERATED

N. Y. T. 2/22/53  
Some Top Reds Are Reported  
Suicides as Mission From  
Moscow Takes Charge

6 High Officials Reported Dead  
or Ousted Now Said to Have  
Been Seen in Budapest

N. Y. T. 2/22/53

Special to The New York Times



By The Associated Press.

VIENNA, Feb. 21—Thirty leading Jewish Communists in Hungary were reported tonight to have either committed suicide or otherwise taken victim to a purge directed by a mysterious Soviet group.

The reports came from diplomatic and usually reliable unofficial sources, which presented them as not fully confirmed but the best available information.

The same sources reported a sporting economic crisis in Hungary, with long lines of persons before bread stores and the threat of real hunger later in the spring.

The thirty Jewish Communists were said to have been removed one way or another from their high posts by a group of Soviet purgers who arrived in Budapest several weeks ago, it was said.

According to the information received here, Zoltan Vas, head of the state economic planning office, and ten high officers of the political police committed suicide.

Lieut. Gen. Peter Gabor, head of the political police, was said to

6 High Officials Reported Dead  
or Ousted Now Said to Have  
Been Seen in Budapest  
N. Y. T. 2/22/53  
Special to The New York Times  
VIENNA, March 25 — Word reached here today from a reliable source that Zoltan Vas, former head of the Hungarian State Economic Planning Office, who was reported to have committed suicide, appeared last week in Parliament in Budapest. What is more, the report said, he was seen to kiss his old friend, Premier Matyas Rakosi, on both cheeks.

With the re-emergence of Mr. Vas, all but one of seven Ministers or leading functionaries of the Hungarian Communist regime who, according to recent reports, had been arrested or shot or have committed suicide, have reappeared.

Recently Kiss and Arpad Hazi, Deputy Ministers, who, according to a United States news agency in a Vienna dispatch four weeks ago, were missing from their offices; Erik Molnar, Foreign Minister, who was reported to have fallen from favor, and Gen. Sandor Nograd, Deputy Minister of Defense, who was said to have been arrested, have appeared in public recently at official functions, including the Soviet Army anniversary celebrations.

[The report of the purge indicated that the officials involved were Jews. Premier Rakosi is a Jew.]

The only Minister who has fallen victim to what seems to have been an otherwise low-level purge was Yula Decsi, minister of diamir, and re-

### The Prague Trial Stands

The press in the United States is making much of the fact that "impermissible" methods, which the *Pravda* editorial calls "most strictly forbidden by Soviet law," were used in obtaining the fake confessions in the doctors' case. The press says that this throws doubt on confessions in other cases, as at Prague. This also fails to take into account a crucial fact, namely, that *all these trials were public*, thus giving the accused an opportunity to repudiate illicit confessions and to expose false evidence.

The Prague trial, for instance, was broadcast so that the defendants had a world forum to assert their innocence, if their confessions were false. Yet at Prague, as in all the other cases, this did not happen. In addition, unchallengeable documents and witnesses and evidence supported the charges and confirmed the confessions. How then can one compare the doctors' case with these completed trials, when the subjection of the confessions and evidence to public witness would have exposed their falsity, even if the doctors had been brought to trial?

The press is also seizing upon the freeing of the doctors to assert that, as the *Nation* put it editorially on April 11, "If the doctors are not guilty, presumably the anti-Soviet plots attributed to the 'Joint' and the Zionist movement, with which the doctors were linked, are also non-existent." Yet there is abundant evidence from the Prague trial and other sources that United States intelligence is using many international movements, including the Zionist movement, for its attempts to subvert the socialist countries from within. As the London *New Statesman and Nation* said on February 21, "There is little doubt that American intelligence was using Jewish organizations in Eastern Europe for its own ends in a big way, considering these organizations as one of the 'weak spots' in the

Here is an object lesson in how hysteria is created by the press. At the left is the leading story of the Sunday New York Times (page one, right hand column) of February 22, retailing "reports" of wholesale dismissal and suicides of Jewish officials in Hungary. About one month later (March 26) the Times was obliged to print a denial, which appeared in an inside page. The whole original tale, it turned out, was a complete invention. The one man said in the later story to have been "purged" was Yula Decsi, but the story did not note that Decsi was a non-Jew and was replaced by a Jew.

Curtain." The fact that such organizations had already been proved to have been involved in espionage, as in Czechoslovakia, in fact could have been used by the Moscow framers to lend credibility to the unfounded charges in the doctors' case.

### ***Fight Injustice at Home!***

It does not serve the welfare of the American people or of the Jewish people to refuse to face facts such as these. For policies which are based on falsity can only become a boomerang on those who follow them. The leadership of Jewish organizations, especially, do not serve the Jewish people by persisting in gross misrepresentations of the Prague trial and the reversal in the doctors' case. Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, is misleading the Jewish people and not helping them to understand these events and to draw true conclusions from them when he says that the freeing of the doctors was "tactical, not fundamental, and an act of temporary strategy" (New York Times, April 10). For the basic conclusion that must be drawn from the exposure of the false charges against the doctors, is that no one can attempt to foment "national antagonism" in the Soviet Union and get away with it. As the *Pravda* editorial says, "Criminal actions of this kind could not remain undis-

covered and unpunished for long, for the Soviet government stands guard over the rights of citizens of our country, defends those rights with care and punishes severely, without regard to persons and ranks, those who permit arbitrariness."

Anti-racism and prohibition of the fomenting of national antagonism is a foundation stone of the fraternity of peoples that is imbedded in the Soviet Constitution and is an actuality in the Soviet Union. It is on this principle that the Soviet Union carries on an uncompromising fight against bourgeois nationalism of every kind, including the Jewish varieties. As the *Pravda* editorial states, national antagonism is "profoundly alien to the socialist ideology." There are still individuals in the Soviet Union, as the doctors' frameup showed, who, under pressure of international tensions and of "capitalist encirclement," try to violate the socialist principle of equality. But such people inevitably get caught—and forthwith hailed to court for punishment. Instead of making false charges of "anti-Semitism" against the socialist countries and calling evidence to the contrary a "tactic," Jewish leaders and other American leaders should urge decisive handling of our own racists and anti-Semites. The American people should not be deceived by the propaganda about "Soviet anti-Semitism" but should see to it that the perpetrators of racism and anti-Semitism at home are called to account.

## **NEWS OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS**

**Soviet Union.** In *Pravda*, for March 26, there was a notice of a new book published by "Moladaya Guardia" (Young Guard), Moscow publishing house, about a hero of the anti-fascist war, the Cossack General Lev Dovator. The book, *General Dovator*, was written by P. Federov and issued in 75,000 copies. Dovator, who was killed early in the war, was Jewish.

**Hungary.** A statement was issued in mid-March by Josef Czitron, chief rabbi of Hungary, that the Hungarian authorities were helping the Jewish community to produce *matzos* and other Passover supplies, reported the London *Jewish Chronicle* of March 27. The rabbi said that all religious people in Hungary enjoy equality. "We are free to practice our religion as guaranteed to us by our Constitution," he said. "Anyone who persecutes another person because of his race or religion commits a crime. In Hungary today there is no trace of anti-Semitism and if any sign of it was to appear, the government would punish it with severity."

**Rumania.** A bulletin issued by the Rumanian news agency in Bucharest contained an item in March stating that there were radio broadcast programs in Yiddish from Bucharest every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

**Poland.** A congress of the Union of Jewish Cultural Associations met in Warsaw in March. It was attended by 1,000 delegates and guests from all parts of Poland. Its main purpose was to help to mobilize the Jews of the country to participate fully in the building of socialism, in the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan and to

urge the Jewish community to rid itself nationalistic tendencies and its agents.

The Jewish State Theater performed eight plays between September and November of 1952 at its own theater at Lodz and on tour. Four of its artists received high state decorations recently for their artistic achievement. The theater is subsidized out of state finances. It plays to capacity audiences, which include many non-Jews.

**East Germany.** While on a visit to Vienna in March, the composer Hanns Eisler, who now lives in East Germany, was interviewed by a London *Jewish Chronicle* correspondent (reported in issue of March 27). Eisler denied that there was anti-Semitism in East Germany and emphasized that anti-Semitism is punishable by law there. He indicated that many Jews hold prominent positions in East German life and named the following examples: Dr. Alfred Kantorowicz, professor at an East German university; Dr. Ernst Bloch, head of the philosophy department of the University of Leipzig; Professor Dr. Georg Knepler, director of the Music Academy; Dr. Ernst Mayer, a professor of musical history who received a prize recently for his musical composition; Professors Notwitz and Goldschmied; Fritz Wisten, director of the theater Am Schiffbauerdamm; Hans Rodenberg, director of the Defa film company; Curt Bois, actor; Paul Dessau, recently elected a member of the Academy of Arts; Helene Weigel, actress, and her husband, Bert Brecht, noted playwright, a member of the Academy of Arts and head of the Berliner Theater group.

# "PRAVDA" EDITORIAL ON DOCTORS

*Following is the text of the editorial in Pravda, April 6, on the case of the 15 doctors who have been cleared of the charges made against them.—Eds.*

**I**N OUR press a communique of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs on the results of a thorough verification of all the materials of the preliminary investigation and other data in the case of the group of physicians accused of wrecking, espionage and terroristic activities against the active leaders of the Soviet state is published. As a result of the verification, it has been established that the implicated people in this case, professors and doctors were arrested by the former Ministry of State Security of the USSR incorrectly, without any legal grounds.

According to the communique of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the verification has shown that the charges against those persons were false and the documentary data on which the investigation workers based themselves were groundless. It has been established that the testimony of the arrested allegedly confirming the charges preferred against them, was obtained by workers of the investigation section of the former Ministry of State Security through the use of methods of investigation which are inadmissible and most strictly forbidden by Soviet law.

On the basis of the findings of the investigation commission, specially set up by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to verify that case, the arrested professors and doctors have been fully cleared of the charges laid against them and have been released from custody.

The persons guilty of the improper conduct of the investigation have been arrested and are held criminally responsible.

How could it happen that in the very inside of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR which has been called upon to stand guard over the interests of the Soviet state, a provocative case was fabricated, the victims of which were honest Soviet people, outstanding figures of Soviet science?

This happened first of all because the leaders of the former Ministry of State Security proved not to have been at the level of their tasks. They broke away from the people, from the party, they forgot that they were the servants of the people and that their duty was to stand guard over Soviet law.

The former Minister of State Security [Semyon D.] Ignatiev, displayed political blindness and inattentiveness. He proved to be on the lead of such criminal adventurers as the former deputy minister and head of the investigation section, who directly led the investigation, Ryumin, who has now been arrested.

Ryumin acted as a hidden enemy of our state, of our people. Instead of working on the disclosure of the true enemies of the Soviet state, the true spies and diversionists, Ryumin embarked on the road of deceiving the government, on the road of criminal adventure.

Having trampled underfoot the lofty calling of the workers of government departments and his own responsibility before the party and people, Ryumin and some other workers of the Ministry of State Security, led by their criminal aims, embarked on the most gross violation of Soviet law, up to the direct falsification of evidence, and dared to violate the inviolable rights of Soviet citizens which are inscribed in our constitution.

The Medical-Expert Commission, which was created in connection with the accusation against the group of doctors, proved also to be not at the level of its tasks and gave incorrect conclusions on the methods of treatment which were applied at the time to [Alexander S.] Shcherbakov and [Andrei A.] Zhdanov.

Instead of analyzing the history of the illness and other material with scientific conscientiousness and objectivity, this commission yielded to the influence of the material fabricated by the investigation and with its authority supported slanderous and falsified accusations against a number of prominent medical personalities. At the same time it is necessary to note that the investigation hid from the experts some essential aspects of the treatment which had proved the correctness of the treatment given.

The Soviet people learned with a feeling of gratification that the accusations levelled against a number of prominent figures of Soviet medicine proved to be completely false and that they were a foul calumny against honest and respected figures of our state. Only the people who have lost their Soviet aspect and human dignity could go so far as to arrest unlawfully Soviet citizens, the outstanding figures of Soviet medicine, to the direct falsification of the investigation and to the criminal violation of their citizens' duty.

The despicable adventurers of the type of Ryumin, through their fabricated investigation, attempted to inflame in the Soviet society, which is forged by moral and political unity and ideas of proletarian internationalism, feelings of national antagonism which are profoundly alien to the socialist ideology. Aiming at these provocative ends, they did not stop at frantic slander of Soviet people.

It has been established, for example, by careful investigation, that in this way the honest public figure, People's Artist of the USSR [Solomon] Mikhoels, was slandered.

According to the Report of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the organs of the former Ministry of State



Security have grossly violated Soviet law, permitted arbitrariness and ill-use of authority. Criminal actions of this kind could not remain undiscovered and unpunishable for long, for the Soviet government stands guard over the rights of the citizens of our country, defends those rights with care, and punishes severely, without regard to persons and ranks, those who permit arbitrariness.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government invariably demanded and demand that the work of all organizations and all state departments be under vigilant control by leading organs and the entire Soviet society. Now when the Soviet people feel so profoundly and realize the significance of the victory of socialism in our country, we must be particularly demanding with regard to the observance of Soviet Socialist law.

Discovering bravely the shortcomings in state departments, including the facts of arbitrariness and lawlessness permitted by individual workers of state departments, and eradicating those shortcomings with full determination and implacability, the Soviet Government openly and directly speaks about them to the people. This testifies to the great strength of the Soviet state and Socialist order. That strength lies in the fact that our government is closely and unbreakably linked with the people, bases all its actions on the people and firmly and consistently pursues the policy which accords with the interest of the people.

The country of socialism, permeated with invincible might and creative forces, confidently marches along the path to Communism. In the Soviet Union the exploiting classes have long been liquidated. Therefore, foreign reactionary forces, in their attempts to carry out subversive activities against the Soviet state, cannot have inside the

Soviet country any considerable social support. But the Soviet people know that while the capitalist encirclement exists, there are and there will inevitably be in the future the attempts to send spies and diversionists to us; there will also be attempts to use for anti-Soviet ends individual renegades, bearers of bourgeois ideology and degenerates. Against those true, overt and covert, enemies of the people, the enemies of the Soviet state, the powder must always be kept dry. The party teaches Soviet people to be always vigilant.

In the USSR Constitution the great rights of a citizen of the Soviet Socialist state are inscribed. Article 127 of the USSR Constitution has ensured the citizens of the USSR with the inviolability of the person. Nobody can be subject to arrest without the decision of the court or the state prosecutor. Socialist law defends the rights of Soviet citizens which are inscribed in the USSR Constitution and is a most important basis for the further development and strengthening of the Soviet state. Nobody will be permitted to violate Soviet law.

Every worker, every collective farmer and every Soviet intellectual can work peacefully and confidently, knowing that his civil rights are under the reliable guard of Soviet Socialist law. The citizens of the great Soviet state can be confident that his rights, guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, will be solemnly observed and defended by the Soviet Government.

In this, one of the important conditions for the further close solidarity of the peoples of the USSR round their Soviet Government, the further strengthening of the might of our motherland and the continuous growth of international prestige of the Soviet Union lies.

### *Anti-Semitic Vandalism in U.S.A.*

**A**NTI-SEMITISM is taking on most serious proportions in the United States.

In Pittsburgh early in April Chairman Harry Allan Sherman of the fascist "Americans Battling Communism" attempted to have the charter of the Jewish Cultural Center in Pittsburgh revoked because of an alleged communist "tinge." On April 12, a few days after a court postponement of the case, seven storm troopers broke in the door of the center (apparently in search of "evidence") and looted and smashed decorations and equipment of the three story building. They tore down pictures of Sholem Aleichem and other Jewish cultural leaders; strewn the floor with Jewish classics and trampled the pages, tore down a painting of the Spanish Inquisition that they said looked "revolutionary," stole leaflets of a choral concert, looted the contents of a Warsaw Ghetto file. One storm trooper said of a picture, "That's Stalin! Look at his mustache!" and then ripped down a picture of the classic Yiddish writer, Issac Leib Peretz.

Details of the event were reported by Mrs. Minnie Brown, an elderly Negro matron, the only person in the

building at the time of the raid, who was guarded by the storm troopers while the vandalism proceeded.

The indignation of the Jewish people over the attempt to suppress the center was indicated by the appearance of an article in the local *Jewish Criterion* by a member of the cultural center.

At the other end of Pennsylvania, in Haverford Township about the same time, a woman worshipper at the local congregation was stoned outside the synagogue and the air was let out of the tires of about ten autos during the Friday service.

About the same time in Los Angeles, McCarthyite State Senator Jack B. Tenney, former chairman of the California un-American activities committee, issued a "report" in which he tried to link major Jewish organizations with communism in a compilation entitled "Zion's Fifth Column," in which practically all leading Jewish organizations and religious personalities are listed. The "report" was sent to all members of Congress, who were told that additional copies might be obtained from fascist Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian National Crusade."

# A "SICK" INDUSTRY — BUT THE BOSSES DON'T SUFFER

*Second of a Series  
By Rachel Roth*

WHEN garment workers complain today about their low wages or bad working conditions, the boss has a stock answer—be thankful you have a job at all; this is a sick industry; seasons are shorter; competition is sharper; do you want to force me out of business altogether? So what if the workers are making less money and are out of work more often than they used to be—all it means is, "conditions are returning to normal again in the industry."

This thinking has had a widespread and demoralizing effect throughout the garment industry. It is reflected in statement after statement by the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union as they failed to ask for wage increases in recent years to which they were entitled. It is reflected in the hopeless feeling among the garment workers themselves that there is nothing they can do about their miserable wages and conditions.

In the first article we showed with statistical and human evidence the startling deterioration in garment workers' earnings and conditions, dispelling the longtime myth that "garment workers make good money." The "poor, hard-pressed little garment manufacturer, barely able to keep alive in these tough times," is equally a myth, disproved by actual fact. Nor is there any unique "sickness" of the garment industry to explain why its workers should be falling further and further behind the workers in other industries in their wages and conditions (see *JEWISH LIFE*, April 1953).

For, while nationally the workers in the industry have suffered a 16 per cent drop in their real wages since 1947, the garment manufacturers have continued making money, real money, at fabulous profit rates they set during the war.

That profit rate is so enormous that during World War II the garment manufacturers *tripled* their total investments.

The sources of the statistics cited in this article are: the National Credit Office, the manufacturers' own clearing house for statistical, market and credit information on industry; the United States Census of Manufacturers; the United States Department of Commerce, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

By 1946, suit and coat manufacturers *tripled* their total investments. By 1946, suit and coat manufacturers, for instance, had increased their rate of profit on net worth (that is, initial investment plus profits put back into the business) to 13 times the 1939 level—for every dollar invested they were making 13 times the profits they made in 1939. In silk and rayon garment production the rate of profit had jumped by 12 times.

Since the war the primary consideration of the garment manufacturers has been to maintain and exceed these swollen profits. They have largely succeeded in doing this, despite all their "problems"—but at the expense of the garment workers.

## *Continuing Fabulous Profits*

When wartime price and production controls were ended, the manufacturers shot up their prices and enormously increased their volume of production, scoring all-time records in sales and gross profits. This reached a peak in 1948, when nearly five billion dollars worth of garments were sold compared to less than one billion and a half in 1939. The average wholesale price of dresses was nearly three times the pre-war price—up to \$7.07 from \$2.64. Total production was 396,900,000 units as compared to 263,600,000 in 1939. Gross profit exceeded one billion dollars, an increase of nearly 300 per cent over prewar.

But the manufacturers still weren't satisfied. They increased their cuttings by another 50,000,000 garments and couldn't sell them at those high prices. They were forced to lower prices (average wholesale price of dress was cut from \$7.07 in 1948 to \$5.54 in 1950). So they cut wages.

The garment industry happens to be the only industry in America where wages are tied to the price of the product. Under the industry's piece rate system, there need be no change whatsoever in the work that goes into the garment, but if the selling price of the garment is lowered, the piece rates are reduced. And the same work receives a different rate of pay depending on whether it is done in a "popular" priced line or a "better" line. So in "bad" years such as '49 and '50, when manufacturers overproduced, had to cut prices and even take inventory losses, it was the earnings of the workers that fell, not the bosses' earnings.

As the National Credit Office points out in an analysis of the garment industry for 1950-51—so-called “bad” years—the complaints of the garment manufacturers were mainly that they could not continue to *increase* their sales and profits at the enormous rate of the war and first postwar boom years. “Most manufacturers were dissatisfied with a modest increase,” says the trade report, even though they were still selling and making more than ever before in the industry’s history. And even in the “good” years, such as 1952, the manufacturers still cried “poverty,” still talked about market uncertainties and industry problems and the workers still got no wage increases although the cost of living kept on rising.

### ***Concealed Profits***

Garment manufacturers are able to give workers a false picture of poverty because the bulk of their profits are not taken in the form of dividends on stock as in large corporations. Furthermore, the small corporations that make up most of the garment industry are not compelled to make public their profits as large corporations must. Most of their profits are taken in the form of “salaries” paid to the partners and family members who own the concerns. These “salaries” are deducted as expense on the books before net profits are calculated. But they are included in gross profits, which the industry compiles for its own use and which show the actual amount of profit taken out of the workers.

When the banks, textile manufacturers, retailers, etc., want to know how a garment manufacturer is doing, they can get this information on gross profits from the National Credit Office. It is too bad that the garment workers have not had access to these sources when their bosses cried poverty. For the National Credit Office reveals that in the “bad” year of 1951, the typical *dress* manufacturer with a net worth of \$68,961 made a gross profit of \$100,393—a *return of 145.6 per cent on this total capital investment*. The typical *coat and suit* manufacturer, with net worth of \$92,459, showed a gross profit for the year of \$90,997—a *98.4 per cent rate of gross profit on investment*. In *rayon blouse and sportswear*, the typical firm, with a net worth of \$67,602, in just one “bad” year, showed a gross profit of \$91,930—a *profit of 136 per cent*. In *women’s rayon underwear*, the profit rate was 93.3 per cent.

These fabulous gross profit percentages have not changed much from year to year since the war. In *good* years the manufacturers show a substantial “net” profit on their books even after they take out of gross profits such “expenses” as their own salaries and bonuses, commissions, traveling expenses, funds spent on entertainment and the profit slice that goes to the banks or other financial backers. In *bad* years the manufacturers show on their books little “net” profits or even “losses”—*after* deducting their customary large salaries, bonuses and expenses and those of their relatives.

A large corporation must show a sizable net profit if its owners are to make money—for dividends are paid only out of net profits. But a family corporation tries to show as

little net profit as possible for it is out of net profit that taxes are taken, while the other devices the family can use to take money out of the business are not subject to profit taxes.

In a “bad” year such as 1951, when garment manufacturers bought textiles at peak prices and were stuck with merchandise people couldn’t afford to buy, when they had to mark down prices on some items and take inventory losses, they still made huge gross profits ranging up from 93 per cent to 145 per cent and the average firm even reported a respectable “net” profit—11.5 per cent in the dress industry, 8.9 per cent in coat and suits, 17.3 per cent in rayon blouse and sportswear, 5.6 per cent in rayon underwear.

The garment manufacturers had a “good” year in 1952, according to the National Credit Office—“better than 1951 from a net profit standpoint” as well as “gross profit margin” in the dress industry; “the general outlook was better than at any time since the start of the Korean War” in the underwear industry, etc. Leading New York dress manufacturers reported monthly sales running from 10 per cent to 50 per cent ahead of the previous year (*New York Times*, May 15, 1952). The financial magazine, *U.S. News and World Report*, stated (September 1952): “Clothing is close to sales records. The trend has been upward for months and a new high is expected before the end of 1952.”

And this was the year—1952—in which 100,000 workers from the New York needle trades applied for unemployment insurance in one month and five out of every eight workers in the industry were unemployed an average of three months. It was the same year in which New York dressmakers were earning 36 per cent less in real wages than they averaged in 1946 and cloakmakers were making almost 50 per cent less, while for the entire United States the average annual earnings had dropped to \$2,312—less than \$40 a week. From such profit statements in trade and financial sources—where manufacturers are talking among themselves, and to their bankers, suppliers and retailers, etc.—the ladies garment industry looks healthy enough. It is only when the manufacturers talk to their workers that they plead the “unhealthy” condition of the industry. And the workers seem to be the only ones suffering from the sickness.

### ***A Source of “Sickness”***

In a basic economic sense, of course, the ladies garment industry is not healthy, even though the manufacturers are making money. It is not healthy because the industry’s capacity to produce garments surpasses the ability of American families to pay for them. This imbalance is becoming intensified as the high profits, prices and taxes of the new war economy eat up more and more of the American workers’ income. In 1929, 10 per cent of the consumer dollar was spent on clothes, today only 7½ per cent. At the same time the industry’s productivity has been increasing at a rapid rate. Partly through technical improvements but mainly through speedup which sweats more labor out of each worker, the garment workers have increased their

productivity 25 per cent since the end of World War II. This *could* mean more and better clothing for the American people. But, when the industry's increasing productivity is paralleled by decreasing ability of the people to buy, as it is in America today, this productivity means that more and more garment workers are thrown out of jobs.

This is not a sickness of the garment industry alone, nor does it arise from conditions peculiar to that industry. This is the disease which is spreading through our entire economy, disguised and intensified by the unhealthy flush of profiteering in the defense industries. But the garment industry is one of the first to show open symptoms of the disease. For it is a consumer industry, completely dependent for its prosperity on the prosperity of the people themselves, the great majority of the people who work for a living in factory, office, farm or store. And if there is nothing left in their paychecks after paying taxes, grocery bills and rent, they don't buy new clothes.

It is significant that in the last few years the highest priced "better" dress, coat and suit lines have been doing boom business, while the lower "popular" priced lines have faced tightening markets. The wives and daughters of the manufacturers, bankers and businessmen, the makers of enormous profits out of war mobilization, buy the "better" lines. But the wives and daughters of white collar and factory workers, who are financing the war mobilization and its profiteers out of their paychecks, buy the "popular" lines. Over 90 per cent of the garment industry works on the "popular" lower and medium priced lines which must compete for the fast disappearing leftover slice of the average American's paycheck. Only 403 of the 3,910 dress firms in the United States work on the "better" lines which benefit from the new war fortunes of the rich.

### ***The Workers Pay for the "Sickness"***

Here we have the basic problem of the garment manufacturers—how to maintain their enormously high profits on relatively small investments in a shrinking consumer market. If they try to maintain profits by increasing prices, they are stuck with the merchandise. People may be forced to pay price increases on food. But they can and do wear last year's dress if this year's costs too much.

This is why the garment manufacturers have not been able to pass on to the public the price increases they have had to pay to the highly monopolized textile producers. Not that they didn't try to—garment manufacturers lobbied for price control loopholes during the war, sought an end to controls to shoot up their prices after the war and were left with the clothes on their hands. Today the jobber or contractor who can make the garment for a lower price gets the bid.

In addition, there is constant "competition" among the garment manufacturers for new styles that will attract a greater share of the dwindling market. These constant changes in styles make it increasingly difficult for garment workers to make out in their piece rate earnings. And if

competition is tough in the garment industry, it is not the manufacturer, the jobber or the contractor, who bears the brunt of this competition. The manufacturer does not cut his own salary, expenses or commissions in order to cut the price on the garment and get the order. He does not consider taking a smaller profit margin. He "reduces production costs" by cutting the workers' piece rates and by sweating more garments out of each worker so he can get along with fewer workers. Since the garment manufacturer spends twice as much for textiles as for labor, he must meet every increase in textile prices with double the cut in payroll. *The burden of holding on to his own record profits in the face of the increased prices exacted by the textile monopolies and in the face of the dwindling ability of the American people to buy new clothes, is unloaded completely onto the shoulders of the ladies garment workers.*

The United States Census of Manufacturers shows that garment manufacturers succeeded in cutting their payrolls from \$671,342,000 in 1947 to \$665,732,000 in 1950, while they increased their total of garment shipments from \$2,595,000,000 to \$2,634,000,000. Dress manufacturers in New York cut their yearly payrolls from \$291,155,000 in 1948 to \$273,555,000 in 1950, and coat and suit manufacturers cut their payrolls from \$216,816,000 to \$183,623,000.

This was done partly by direct and indirect wage cutting and partly by layoffs and increased exploitation, or speedup, of the workers remaining. Between 1948 and 1950, United States garment manufacturers reduced their production working force from 308,700 to 287,905, while they increased their unit output from 396,000,000 to 438,100,000. Thus they eliminated 20,000 jobs—and sweated 41,000,000 more garments out of the remaining workers. They cut their working force by 6 per cent while increasing production 10 per cent. This means that every garment worker had to put out more work—for less pay. We can now see how the ladies garment manufacturers have since the war maintained their gross profits at a rate that more than doubles their original capital investment each year at the same time as the garment workers have suffered a 16 per cent cut in real wages.

### ***Turnover of Firms***

The manufacturer cries that higher wages would "force him to go out of business." This is also bosses' propaganda not unique to the garment industry. But the number of garment firms that actually do go out of business every year would seem to bolster the "pity the poor garment manufacturer" line. As it happens, "going out of business" is standard practice in the garment industry. Since all a garment manufacturer needs to set up a business is a loft, a showroom, some light machinery, and credit to buy cloth, he often finds it advantageous financially to liquidate his assets by "going out of business" and firing all his workers—and then setting up again under a new name.

The manufacturer makes money on such a liquidation. Only the worker is out in the street, forced in many cases to take a job somewhere else, when he finds it, at a lower

wage, while the manufacturer in his new setup may make even greater profit.

In its latest comprehensive analysis of the garment industry, the National Credit Office discounts this turnover of firms as an indication that business is bad. "Each year," says the reports, "a large part of the (dress) trade goes out of business. Since the start of 1950 over 25 per cent of the dress trade's cutters then active have left the manufacturing field. *The vast majority were voluntary liquidations: relatively few were outright financial failures.* For every ten firms that left the field, 9.5 came on to take their place during those years" (italics added).

In the coat and suit industry the Credit Office points out that "In August of '46 there were 1,640 manufacturers active in the industry; today there are 1,682—a net change of 42 firms in five years. Yet, during that time almost 3,000 cutters entered or left the field. Fully 64 per cent of houses now in business began operations after 1940. *In many instances, of course, the new firms represent only the latest venture of individuals experienced in the field—resulting in a more mature trade than indicated at first blush*" (italics added).

In the dress industry "over 45 per cent of today's concerns have been in business less than seven years"—but it is these concerns, often the offspring of older "liquidated" businesses, that are today making over 100 per cent gross profit on their investment.

Not manufacturers' profits, but the workers' wages and working conditions are hurt by this high turnover. For in many instances the manufacturer goes out of business to escape from union conditions altogether, to set up again "out of town" away from the higher wage garment centers or on some basis on which he will be able to get away with lower wages and more speedup of the workers. And then the manufacturers in the older garment centers use the "out of town competition" as an excuse to further lower wages in their own shops.

So, despite all the "problems" of the industry, it is still a gold mine for those who own it. The return of racketeers and gangsters in recent years into this industry probably attests better than any statistics to the fact that there is good money and easy money and an unusually high rate of actual profit made by today's garment manufacturer. And for the racketeer, as for the "honest" garment manufacturer, the goose that lays the golden egg is the worker. The clue to the "easy money" that is being made today in the garment industry is an exploitation of the garment worker that probably exceeds that of any other major industry in America.

### ***Not a Unique Problem***

There are other consumer industries and even luxury industries that have faced the same problems as the ladies garment industry, as the war economy has taken its toll on the people's ability to buy. But in no other industry have the workers suffered the drop in real earnings that the garment workers have been forced to take in recent years.

In comparable industries, such as fur and leather, the workers through their unions have resisted any cuts in wages or working conditions and have even won the wage increases needed to keep up with rising living costs, despite employers' profit and market problems.

For instance, the highest paid garment workers in New York, the coat and suit workers, have *taken a cut* in their average weekly earnings of \$7.90 a week since 1946, while the comparable New York fur workers have *increased* their average weekly earnings \$15.43 a week. Both averaged over \$80 a week in 1946. Today the coat and suit makers average \$74.66, the fur workers \$102.63—\$28 a week more than the comparable garment group. Fur manufacturers have suffered more than garment manufacturers from the effect of the war economy on the average family's ability to buy anything other than necessities; their industry is equally seasonal; they face similar marketing and pricing problems.

But the furriers union has not permitted the employers to unload their problems on the workers, either by speedup or wage cuts. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL) has had a different policy in this period, and this policy, as we shall see in the next article, is a crucial factor in the increased exploitation of the garment workers.

(To be continued)

## **ABRAHAM REISIN**

**O**N APRIL 1, death came to Abraham Reisin at the age of 77. Reisin was one of the great Yiddish poets and short story writers, a worthy successor of the great founders of Yiddish literature, Sholem Aleichem and Peretz. Reisin was born in White Russia in 1876 and settled in this country in 1914. He was a genuine poet of the people and his songs were sung by Jewish workers all over the world. His work was loved by the Jewish masses.

It is regrettable that Reisin failed in a critical moment in 1929 to display steadfastness. He wavered at that time and left the *Morning Freiheit* to join the staff of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, succumbing to the anti-progressive hysteria of the time. Yet he sought to preserve the folk quality of his work and to sustain his regard for the common people. To the extent that he was permitted to do so, he expressed his sympathy with the progressive aspirations of the common people and his yearning for a world of peace and brotherhood. Although the *Forward* published his work, he never became one of their sinister clique.

The name of Reisin will be remembered wherever the Jewish masses speak Yiddish.

# SONGS OF YIDDISH LABOR POETS

*Poems of the classic Yiddish proletarian poets were used as texts for folk songs that are sung all over the world by Jewish workers*

*By Ruth Rubin*

THE masses of East European Jews, migrating to the United States in the 1880s, and '90s, came to a land that had passed through a period of the most rapid economic development, through the most ruthless methods of human exploitation. It was also a land that had pioneered in the struggle for liberty and independence, where the upheavals of Europe of the 18th and 19th centuries had found a sympathetic echo.

The last half of the 19th century witnessed the Civil War, the abolition of slavery, the opening of the West, the rapid expansion and concentration of industry and transportation and the creation of a plutocracy brazenly flaunting its wealth. It was an age characterized by panics and depressions, punctuated by strikes, local and general. It was a period that saw the mechanical inventions of the telephone, the phonograph, the "gasoline carriage," the airplane.

To this new homeland, the classical Yiddish labor-poets, Morris Winchevsky, Morris Rosenfeld, David Edelshtat and Joseph Bovshover, came. They were moved by the historical occurrences in the Western European lands and had experienced the oppression and persecutions of the tsarist regime in the land of their birth.

## *Winchevsky, Father of Yiddish Labor Poetry*

By far the most versatile of the four was Morris Winchevsky (1856-1933), founder of the Yiddish socialist press and literature, translator, organizer, author. Prior to his settling in America in 1894, he had spent 15 years in London, England, participating actively for the betterment of the conditions of the Jewish workers of the East End. A master of dialect, skillful poet, man of high culture, he was conversant with the literature of Russia, France, Germany and England. He is considered the first Jewish proletarian poet. His poems were *sung* or declaimed not only in London and America, but *later* also in Russia, where they left a deep impression with their simplicity, deep love for the workingman and sympathy for his sufferings.

Like a number of his European literary contemporaries, Winchevsky dramatized the creative role of the working-

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men and the avarice and cruelty of their oppressors. In his poem *Tsum Arbayer Fraynt* (To the Workingman's Friend), which was set to music, Winchevsky calls to the "true friend of workingmen" to bring wisdom to the toilers who:

*... Saw and plane and carve all day,  
Who shape the wire and knead the clay,  
Who live so poorly all the while,  
And haven't a home for wife and child.*

*Who turn the wheels of all machines,  
Who plough and sow and bake the bread,  
But do not get food for their needs,  
When "slack" and sickness strike them down.<sup>1</sup>*

Two poems of Winchevsky's, which were used as rallying cries in the task of organizing workingmen, were *Hert Ir Kinder* (Children, Do You Hear?) and *Der Frayhayts Gayst* (The Spirit of Freedom). Both were set to music and sung widely on both sides of the Atlantic. Below is an excerpt of two stanzas each, respectively:

*Everywhere on either side  
Of the Atlantic, he's awake,  
No longer will he let the leeches  
Ride upon his bended back.*

*Children, can't you see he wants to  
Make an end of slavery?  
He too wishes to enjoy the  
Lovely things his hands have made!*

\* \* \*

*Into the streets and out to the masses,  
Of the oppressed peoples and races,  
The spirit of freedom calls:  
I bring weapons for the weak ones,  
I bring freedom to worker-slaves,  
And I make them bold!*

*I bring to you the light of freedom,  
I come to break the slavery-chain  
Of cruel tyranny.  
To free the nations from the cannon,  
From the guns and from the armies,  
Yea, to make them free!*

<sup>1</sup>All translations of poetry in this article were made by the author. The translations are literal and not intended for singing.



Morris Winchevsky

Looking to the future, Winchevsky's sung poem *Di Tsukunft* (The Future) describes in classical simplicity a world that could become "lovelier, younger," where every "waiter can become a singer," where "equality can be victor" and "freedom, a precious friend"—provided the people would become "wiser, and drive off the shrewd conniver" and bravely stand up against its oppressors, who rule by "crown and cashbox."

Other poems by Winchevsky, which were popular as songs, were: *A Bezim un a Ker* (A Broom and a Sweep), *Dray Shvester* (Three Sisters), *Dos Lid Fun Loyn-Shklat* (The Song of the Wage Slave) and *A Kamf-Gezang* (A Song of Struggle).

### Morris Rosenfeld, Worker-Poet

It was 1886, the year of the Chicago Haymarket Massacre and eight years before Winchevsky's arrival in the United States, that Morris Rosenfeld (1862-1923) came to New York. For 15 years he toiled in the murky sweatshops, suffering keenly from the merciless exploitation and dulling atmosphere. This he expressed in his poem *A Mashin*. (A Machine), which was soon set to music and sung:

*The factory machines they rattle so wildly,  
That oft I forget, in the noise, who I am,  
I get lost in the terrible roar of machinery,  
My soul seems to fade and I too, am—machine.*

*No feelings, no thoughts and no reason remain,  
The bitter, the cruel hard work dulls my brain.  
The finest and loveliest things in this life,  
The sweetest and best, all are lost in this din.*

Rosenfeld was the most lyrical of the four labor-poets. His poems are permeated with a deep feeling of love and sympathy for his people at work, in the tenements, in the overcrowded streets of the East Side of New York, who fled from tsarist poverty, pogroms and persecutions, only to become enslaved in the miserable sweatshops. Like his *A Mashin*, a number of Rosenfeld's other poems were soon set to music and sung in the shops, the tenements, at workers' meetings and cultural evenings. His own performances at gatherings helped popularize his sung poems, which were soon adopted, like Winchevsky's poems, by Jewish communities in other parts of the world.

Rosenfeld's *Mayn Yingele* (My Little Boy), written in 1887, achieved the widest popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. In it, a sweatshop father yearns for his baby, whom he rarely sees:

*I have a little boy,  
A little son so dear,  
When I but glance at him,  
The whole world seems to be mine!*

*But seldom do I see him,  
My lovely one, awake,  
I always find him sleeping,  
I see him only at night.*

*I leave for work so early,  
Returning home so late,  
A stranger am I unto myself,  
A stranger to my child!*

Like the above, Rosenfeld's *Mayn Ru-e Plats* (My Resting Place), a love song of a sweatshop worker, also achieved wide circulation among workingmen and women on both sides of the Atlantic:

*O seek me not where myrtles green,  
You will not find me there, my love,  
Where life wastes away at the machine,  
That is where I am, my love.*

*O seek me not where birds do sing,  
You will not find me there, my love,  
But where the chains of slavery ring,  
That is where I am, my love.*

Rosenfeld was the first poet to introduce modern Yiddish poetry to the non-Jewish world, acquainting other communities with the problems of exploitation as they affected Jewish workingmen and women during the first hectic years of the founding of the largest Jewish community of modern times. Other poems of his which were set to music and popular as songs were: *Der Yiddisher May* (May Song), *Tsu a Borveser Meydele* (To a Little Barefoot Girl), *O, Ir Kleyne Lichtenlecht* (O, You Little Tapers) and *Der Golus Marsh* (The March of the Homeless).



Morris Rosenfeld

### Edelshat and Labor Songs

The labor-poet whose poems were sung the most was David Edelshat (1856-1892), the first of the four to come to America, in 1882. Edelshat, like Rosenfeld, worked in the sweatshops at a time when the Jewish trade-union movement in America was at its threshold, and experienced personally the stark exploitation of the masses of Jewish immigrants. Several years later, severely shocked by the tragic execution of the Haymarket Square Martyrs, Edelshat turned all his efforts during his brief life to writing and educating the exploited and oppressed in their struggle for a better life.

Fourteen of Edelshat's poems were set to music. They gained such wide popularity that several were absorbed into Yiddish folksong in Eastern Europe. His *Der Arbeter* (The Worker), of which three stanzas are given below, became diffused in this way and parts of it appear in several Yiddish East-European folksongs of the gos:

*Fast turn the wheels, the machines whir wildly,  
It's so dirty and hot in the shop.  
My head seems to turn, my eyes become blurred,  
Darkened by sweat and by tears.*

*O cease then your weeping and cease then  
your wailing,  
You'll stain the work that you're doing!  
And when that beast, the foreman will see it,  
He'll drive us all right out of here.*

*And why shouldn't I envy the foreman?  
Just see how fat and ruddy he is!  
He slobbers over his beer and smokes his cigar,  
What does he know of hunger and want?*

Similar to the mood in Winchevsky's rallying poems, is Edelshat's *Vacht-Oyf* (Awake), which was very popular at that time:

*How long, O how long will you remain slaves  
And bear the slavery chain?  
How long will you glorious riches create  
For those who steal your bread?*

*How long will you stand with back bended low,  
Humble and homeless, half-starved?  
Awake, for it dawns, O open your eyes!  
And see the might that is yours!*

Side by side with many folksongs of the 1905 period in East Europe, Edelshat's *Mayn Kampf* (My Battle) was sung:

*We're hated and driven,  
Tortured and oppressed,  
Because we love the poor,  
The half-starved folk.*

*We're shot and we're hung,  
Deprived of our rights,  
Because we seek the truth  
And freedom for poor slaves.*

Edelshat, who died at the age of 36, knew that his life would be short. He yearned to live so that he could further the realization of his noble ideals. "Even in my grave," he says in his sung poem *Mayn T'savo-e* (My Testament),



David Edelshat



"I shall hear my song of freedom, my song of storm. There too, will I shed bitter tears for the enslaved Gentile and Jew." "And," he concludes in this poem, "when I hear the swords clash in the last struggle of blood and pain, from the grave I'll sing to the people and inspire their heart with my refrain." Other poems by Edelshtat, which gained wide popularity among workingmen and women in all Yiddish-speaking communities the world over, were *In Dem Land Fun Piramidn* (In the Land of the Pyramids), *Der Ovnt-Glokh* (The Evening Bell), *Mayn Letzte Hofnung* (My Last Hope), *Der Yiddisher Proletarier* (The Jewish Proletarian) and *Natur un Menish* (Nature and Man).

### Joseph Bovshover

Intense, creative, but tragically brief was the life of Joseph Bovshover, youngest of the four labor-poets. Bovshover came to the United States in 1891. Although he was born to a family of merchants and Talmudic scholars, he went to work as a boy in Russia and in New York worked in the fur industry. He soon began to write poetry, which was characterized mainly by its social content. Bovshover also wrote lyrical and philosophical poems of a highly personal nature, in addition to plays, articles and short sketches. Like the other three labor-poets, he was acquainted with European and American literature, was an excellent translator, had a marked musical ability and in ten intense months at Yale University studied English literature and mastered the English language.

During his brief literary life (he became ill in 1899, never fully recovered and died in 1915), he became very popular among the Jewish working men and women in America and England. Poetically it was natural that he should have been regarded as the rightful inheritor of the Winchevsky-Rosenfeld-Edelshtat tradition.

Although Bovshover's poems were widely declaimed, few were actually set to music and sung during his lifetime. One of these, *Di Dumhayt* (Ignorance), satirizes the power that ignorance holds over the minds of workers:

... *And both the crown and cassock thank me,  
For my help towards their goal.  
I, King Ignorance, help them strip  
The workers' body and their soul.  
  
I, King Ignorance, help them lead  
The workers right into the swamp . . .  
I plead their patience for the vampires . . .  
Their sweat and blood for tyrants' wealth . . .*

Bovshover concludes this poem with "ignorance" terrified lest knowledge penetrate into the workers' brain and destroy the evil rule of ignorance.

During the 30s of the 20th century, several American Jewish composers wrote music to a number of poems of the four labor-poets, some utilizing the folk melody which had already been current, some creating new music for the texts. The most productive in this direction was the



Joseph Bovshover

composer Jacob Schaefer, who wrote a number of choral compositions to new texts and revived a number of the old folk tunes adapted to choral arrangement. Schaefer's music and arrangements to texts of the four labor-poets included: *Kampf-Gezang, Ich Her a Kol* (I Hear a Voice), *God's Straptshes* (God's Lackeys), *Marsaliese* (The Marseillaise), by Morris Winchevsky; *Vacht-Oyf, Ovnt-Glozk, Der Arbeter, Shnell Loyfn Di Reder* (Swiftly Whir the Wheels) and *Mayn Tsavo-e* by David Edelshtat; *Mir Senen Frayheit's Soldatn* (We Are Freedom's Soldiers), *Di Mantlmacher* (The Cloakmaker) and *Durch Taychen Blut* (Through Rivers of Blood) by Morris Rosenfeld. To Joseph Bovshover's magnificent poem *Hoyb Oyf Dayne Oygen, O Folk* (Lift Up Your Eyes, O My People), Schaefer created a very beautiful choral composition.

Four other Jewish composers wrote choral music to Rosenfeld's social poems. These are: Max Helfman and Lazar Weiner, who severally wrote choral settings to Rosenfeld's *Zay Shtolts Af Dayn Arbet* (Be Proud of Your Labor) and Dan Frohman who wrote a choral composition for Rosenfeld's *Di Naye Tsayt* (The New Era). Another composer, Henry Lefkowitz, wrote solo music to Edelshtat's *Friling Lid* (Spring Song).

The sung poems of the four labor-poets clearly indicate a heritage which is linked not alone to Yiddish East European 19th century folksongs of poverty, toil and struggle. The upheavals of 18th and 19th century Western Europe, stirring in Russia towards the end of the 19th century, in addition to the particular conditions in America during the last decades of that century, are all phenomena and influences which contributed to the mood and genre of the poetry of the four labor-poets here discussed.

The folk and composed work songs of toil, protest and struggle, more than any other category of Yiddish song, are most closely identified with the songs of protest and struggle of all working people the world over. They thus assume a quality of universality.

# RESISTANCE TO Mc CARTHYISM GROWS

*Signs are increasing that labor, liberal elements and Jewish organizations are becoming firmer in their opposition to the witch-hunt*

*By Sam Pezner*

GENUINE Americanism, the kind that rests on the bedrock of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States, has been taking a severe beating. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his *Gauleiters*, Senator William E. Jenner and Representative Harold H. Velde, have read the election of Eisenhower as a license to murder American democracy and set up a neat fascist system where this nonsense about dissent and resistance to the war plans of their monopolist masters is stopped.

By now any tendency to dismiss McCarthyism as a manifestation of the "lunatic fringe" has been dispelled. It has become almost universally recognized in the ranks of labor, the Jewish and Negro people and liberal professionals that McCarthyism is a lethal weapon directed at the heart of the civil liberties of *all* democratic-minded Americans.

McCarthyism and the individuals who embody this danger are only the brazen front for powerful forces within the ranks of big business who are not satisfied with the rate at which the United States is being converted into a police state. Civil rights and liberties stand in their way because they retard execution of plans for a full scale world war and the reaping of enormous profits that go with it. McCarthy is riding roughshod not only over the rights of left-wingers, liberals, New Dealers and even political conservatives—he is also trying to dictate foreign policy decisions to the president and secretary of state, who are in basic agreement with the McCarthy wing of their party. The difference between them is that McCarthy and his big business backers are in a greater hurry to bring on a police state.

The Jewish people have learned by now that under conditions of agitation for a police state and with reaction on the offensive—as is the case with McCarthyism today—the Jewish people are made special targets of attack and anti-Semitism is intensified. Even those Jewish leaders whose anti-communism is extreme and well known, have begun to express uneasiness over the penetration of McCarthyism into all areas of American life. Milton Friedman, Washington correspondent for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, wrote recently that "Jewish organizations are deeply mindful of the fact that, following the precepts of Adolph Hitler, anti-Semitic forces use opposition to communism as camouflage for an anti-Jewish fight" (*Chicago Sentinel*, November 27, 1952).

This is true, and it is just as true that the "opposition to communism" is used as a camouflage for attacks on the rights of all the American people, especially labor, the Negro people, the educational world and every aspect of American political opinion to the left of McCarthy. The target of the McCarthyites is not only communism but *democracy*. One of McCarthy's ardent supporters, columnist John O'Donnell, has said "that if there was one thing the founding fathers never wanted in this republic it was democracy." (*New York Daily News*, March 25, 1953.)

It is vitally important that an ever increasing number of organizations and public figures have begun to recognize that the inquisition being conducted against "communism" is really directed against American democracy. Too long already have many been silent or expressed little more than meek opposition to the thought control being mercilessly imposed by the McCarthyite investigation committees.

The tide of opposition to the witch-hunt is rising. Yet it has not yet attained dimensions capable of turning back the McCarthyites. But there are definite signs, as *The Nation* of March 21, 1953 editorializes, that "the witch-hunt is meeting with a sturdier resistance than at any time since 1947."

## ***UAW Joins Resistance***

The dynamic center of resistance to McCarthyism must come from the labor movement. Without this decisive and powerful force it will not be possible to rally the majority of the American people in their organizations for a victorious fight against the McCarthyite enemies of American democracy. It was therefore of the highest importance that the giant United Automobile Workers Union (1,350,000 members) passed a strong resolution in defense of civil liberties at its national convention in March.

The UAW resolution warned that "a rule of fear and smear is being imposed under the guise of protecting us from the Communists." The resolution attacked the Smith act, the McCarran Internal Security act and the McCarran-Walter immigration act as measures "which chop at the roots of our traditional liberties under the pretext of safeguarding national security." It blasted the McCarthyites, who "would compel all of us to speak, write and think only what they think fit." The auto workers' resolution

did not pull its punches: "The State Department, under its new management, has surrendered to each of McCarthy's peremptory demands. . . . A free country which can protect itself only by turning honest citizens into informers, and by giving suspicion and fear a higher place in its scale of moral values than fellowship and trust and mutual confidence is well on its way to destroying its freedom."

The convention advised its local unions to work together with labor, religious and democratic-minded groups against McCarthyism. Jewish organizations should take this cue from the UAW and work with labor organizations as much as possible. For this would render most effective their fight against every manifestation of the witch-hunt and denial of civil liberties.

### **Rabbis Condemn McCarthyism**

A basis for such unity of action between labor and organizations of the Jewish people in defense of civil liberties exists in the increasing signs of resistance to McCarthyism. Along with labor protests have come statements from many Jewish organizations. From Atlantic City, the same place where the auto workers held their convention, came a statement on March 15 after a three day meeting from the Commission of Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis that "denounced the 'undemocratic methods' of Congressional investigations; the Smith act . . . the McCarran Internal Security act; the removal of wage and price controls and the imposition of loyalty oaths on teachers" (*New York Times*, March 16). The rabbis' statement asserted that "We have no need for the restraints on freedom of speech contained in the Smith act or the McCarran Internal Security act."

It is no exaggeration to say that the statement of the rabbis expresses the desire of most of the Jewish people for an end to the witch-hunt. Among the most significant stirrings in this direction are those of the organized Jewish women. The National Council of Jewish Women, which has a membership of over 100,000, has been conducting a campaign in support of civil liberties under the slogan, "Speak Up! Freedom Needs Exercise!" This campaign is sponsored jointly by the council and the Young Women's Christian Association.

The objectives of the council program were suggested by Mrs. Joseph L. Prochep, president of the Chicago section of the National Council of Jewish Women, as follows: "1. To focus attention on the values of individual liberty, the importance of allowing everyone to say what he thinks and of respecting differences. 2. To promote respect among people whose opinions differ. 3. To promote the full public discussion of controversial issues. 4. To protect the liberties of all the citizens of the community" (*Chicago Sentinel*, December 25, 1952).

The September 1952, issue of *Council Women*, published by the National Council, editorializes on the "new strategy of repression, in which a man loses his job and is otherwise punished, not because he is a Communist but because he

is a 'controversial character.'" One must note that this statement implies that there is no loss to civil liberties if a "Communist" is deprived of them. However, civil liberties are indivisible and the hysteria against "Communists" is the starting point for attacks against those who disagree with the McCarthyites even slightly (for instance, the "controversial characters" mentioned in the editorial). The council fight is weakened by its failure to act on these truths. But it is extremely important that the council knows there is something rotten on the civil liberties front and that this rotteness can infect every activity for reform or progress, no matter how respectable it has been up to now. The editorial shows this realization when it asks, "Will this new political weapon be turned on people who want price controls, better housing, FEPC laws, free school lunches for needy children? Will anybody who speaks up because he thinks there is a way of making our democracy work better be silenced—or worse—as a 'controversial character?'"

A strong speech on civil liberties before the 20th triennial convention of the National Council of Jewish Women on March 19 was made by Mrs. Millicent C. McIntosh, president of Barnard College of Columbia University. She "sharply criticized the 'almost psychopathic fear of Russia'" because of which "our whole life today is an undercurrent of emotion, an emotion which is so strong that it destroys objectivity and reason" (*New York Times*, March 20).

### **Local Actions**

Growing opposition and more determined resistance to McCarthyism is evident among all strata of the Jewish people. This is being registered in the utterances of their leaders, many of whom have been forced to a stronger stand by the demands of their members or followers. The *New York Times* reported on September 12, 1952, the sermons of many leading New York rabbis on Rosh Hashonah against McCarthyism. And the racist McCarran-Walter act has been attacked by almost every single Jewish organization in the country.

There have been a number of actions on a local level by Jewish organizations that have done something to stem the tide of McCarthyism. Last November the Board of Education of Hartford, Connecticut, voted down the demands of Walter Winchell and other reactionaries that a permit be denied to the Progressive Party for a Paul Robeson concert in the Weaver High School. The Hartford Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress joined many other local organizations in supporting the courageous stand of the Board of Education. On the West coast the Board of Trustees of the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles demonstrated a Jewish brand of McCarthyism by firing without a hearing seven physicians fingered by the House Un-American Activities Committee. A tremendous protest campaign in the Los Angeles community resulted finally in a vote by the Jewish Community Coun-

cil at its 19th annual meeting to censure the hospital board for this blow against democratic process.

In the outburst of anger that went through the country at the proposal of Rep. Harold Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Committee, to extend the inquisition against the churches and synagogues of America, as in many other manifestations of the witch-hunt, Jewish organizations and individuals came forward in vocal opposition.

McCarthyism-McCarranism has also had a plain-speaking opponent in Senator Herbert H. Lehman. In speech after speech Senator Lehman has spoken out vigorously. In March he said: "I think one of the greatest dangers confronting the American public today and one of the most frightening is that some men are trying to use the weapons of fear and terror upon other men, in order to break down their resistance, their will and their courage to oppose" (*New York Times*, March 28).

### ***In Defense of Education***

In the field of education, where the McCarthyites have begun to apply their inquisitorial pressure, resistance has also appeared. Steadfast in the fight against the witch-hunt in the schools has been the Teachers Union of New York. The union has been the butt of attack by the Board of Education and congressional inquisitorial committees. Twenty-three teachers have been dismissed and eight suspended—and all of them are Jewish. Twelve teachers have been fired from the colleges. All of these teachers have upheld the honor of their profession by insisting on their constitutional rights regardless of the consequences to themselves.

A sign of the growing resistance to the McCarthyite attack on the schools was the splendid speech of Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer at the convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City last February. Mrs. Meyer aroused the 17,000 people present with one of the most scathing denunciations of the McCarthyites to date. She called McCarthy "our modern grand inquisitor" and condemned his methods in the strongest terms. She declared that "the independence of our whole educational system will be jeopardized if Velde, Jenner and McCarthy are not stopped in their tracks before they get under full sail."

Another strong attack was made by Dr. Ernest O. Melby, dean of the New York University School of Education. At the annual conference of the Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers in March, he asked the assembled educators, "What use is there in teaching people if they become intellectual slaves to a McCarthy? . . . A very large proportion of the American people have given way to hysteria, and fear, not confidence in the democratic process, is moving them" (*New York Times*, March 29).

Two days before the above speech, Dean Melby told 600 Ohio teachers that "vicious and vitriolic" attacks on

American schools had scared teachers "into a vacuous and subservient docility."

At the core of the resistance, however, are a number of teachers and others who have been facing up to the McCarthy, Jenner and Velde committees and have refused to be intimidated. But these teachers have not received the degree of support that they merit in the fight. Significant as are many of the signs of resistance mentioned earlier in this article, one must note that this resistance is weakened by the acceptance of the McCarthyite position that "communists" are beyond the pale of civil liberties in teaching, for instance. For we know from the experience of nazism, at least, that deprivation of freedom for the communists does not stop with them but reaches to all. Defense of the communists is thus at the center of resistance to McCarthyism.

Nevertheless, the awakening of ever wider groups of Americans to the grave danger in which McCarthyism has placed our country is an encouraging development. Yet one must realize that this resistance is as yet neither widespread enough nor has it been translated into action enough. The membership of the various protesting organizations have not been sufficiently involved as yet to give the movement power to put an end to McCarthyism. Persecution of communists under the Smith act, the dangers inherent in the McCarran Internal Security act, the rampant racism of the McCarran-Walter immigration law, the witch-hunt against teachers, writers, labor leaders—all of these have not yet met with protest loud enough to shake the halls of Congress. The masses of the American people need to be moved to resistance in their full strength. Only then can the Bill of Rights be secured.

### ***Jewish Lawyers Buck McCarthyism***

**A** VIGOROUS letter was sent early in April to Governor Stratton and every member of the General Assembly of Illinois by the Decalogue Society of Lawyers, an organization of 1,600 Jewish lawyers of that state, urging defeat of two "anti-subversive" Broyles bills pending in the state legislature. One bill would re-establish a "Seditious Activities Investigation Committee"—a little un-American activities committee. This bill, said the lawyers, serves no useful purpose because both federal and state agencies already have sufficient information to evaluate the need for any further legislation. The lawyers declared that a similar commission set up in 1947 did "irreparable damage" to the integrity and public confidence of individuals and institutions investigated.

The second Broyles bill condemned by the lawyers' society would require a loyalty test oath for public employees who could also be discharged on suspicion of "subversion." Sections of the bill requiring government agencies to give "all information" about persons investigated would have the result that "Rumor, hearsay, fact, fiction and fantasy will all be added to the witches brew that only the most courageous and unyielding grand jury will be able to resist to avoid injustice." The society's board of managers was unanimous in the condemnation.

# ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM (III)

*The post-war record of Zionism in relation to imperialist forces.  
The dangers to the Israeli people of collaboration with war plans*

*Third of a Series*

*By Morris U. Schappes*

**B**EFORE going on to a brief summary of the evidence that the Zionist strategy of relying upon imperialism continues right down to the present day, it is worth considering these questions: is the establishment of the State of Israel actually a result of this Zionist strategy? Was it the imperialists who brought about the birth of Israel as an independent state? A full analysis of these questions would require a detailed study, impossible here, of the fundamental relations of class forces in the world at the time of and after the Second World War. Yet even a glance at certain basic facts is instructive.

In the first place, had Hitler's armies won the World War, there would have been no Jewish community left in Palestine and no State of Israel today. Even if Hitler's armies had supported Rommel in his thrust toward the Suez Canal and thence eastward into Palestine, the triumphant Rommel would have destroyed the Jews of Palestine. But at the time that Rommel was trying to move forward, the outcome of the front in North Africa was actually being decided at—Stalingrad. Hitler had to tap the promised resources and the actual forces of Rommel to send them to Stalingrad, where the Russians demolished them.

Strategically, therefore, Rommel's fate was decided at Stalingrad, tactically at El Alamein. And that fact was generally recognized at the time. But Stalingrad was the turning point of the entire European War, and it is an acknowledged fact that the main blows in the destruction of the armies of Hitler and his allies were dealt by the *anti-imperialist* forces of the Soviet Union and the Partisan movements in the Hitler-occupied lands. Without minimizing the war effort of our own country and the British, one must reach this conclusion. And to these forces, we have seen and shall see again, the bourgeois nationalist Zionists have a basic class hostility.

## *Palestine Before the UN*

Now if we turn to the years 1947 and 1948, we find a similar relationship of forces. When the issue of Palestine came before the United Nations (and it must be remembered that the Zionists had *opposed* taking it to the UN until the British themselves decided to do so) the democratic, anti-imperialist forces of the world had, for the first time, an opportunity and a method by which they could prevent the exclusively imperialist exploitation of Palestine

by British and/or American imperialism from continuing. It was therefore over the opposition of the United States and British delegations at the UN that Poland and the Soviet Union persuaded a majority of the Assembly to allow the Jewish Agency to present the Jewish case to the Assembly.

After that, the United States and British delegations fought to prevent any resolution from being adopted, preferring another committee to "study the facts." Finally, under the sharp diplomatic attack *led by the socialist countries* of eastern Europe, the imperialist delegations, in retreat, voted with the majority of the Assembly on November 29, 1947 in favor of the resolution that proposed the creation in Palestine of a democratic, independent Jewish state, a similar Arab state, with economic unity between the two, and with certain indefinite provisions about the status of Jerusalem.

At the same time, the British imperialists stepped up their arming of the Arab states and on December 6, 1947, our own government laid down an embargo on shipment of arms to the Jews of Palestine, while it started in other ways to prevent the carrying out of the United Nations resolution. Did the Zionists even then, no matter how late, develop an anti-imperialist orientation? No, instead they fawningly sang hosannas to Truman, relying on him to curb the anti-Zionist forces in the State and Defense Departments.

What came forth from the Truman administration, however, were plans designed to frustrate the UN decision: there was the proposal for a trusteeship over Palestine, and so-called UN mediation and conciliation, which Magil aptly describes as "Anglo-American strangulation." Yet the Jews in Palestine moved into action with demands for carrying out the decision. The Ben Gurion leadership stalled so long as it could; it was faced with peremptory demands from the American officials and American Zionist leaders not to do anything too precipitate, but the pressure of the essentially anti-imperialist masses in Palestine was inexorable. Yielding to this pressure, the Ben Gurion forces on May 14, 1948, proclaimed statehood and independence. Truman hastily recognized the State of Israel as a *fait accompli*: he granted mere *de facto* recognition. The Soviet Union was the first government to recognize the State of Israel *de jure*, of right and in law, and not merely *de facto*.

There came the invasion by Arab states, armed and encouraged by Britain and definitely condoned by our own government, which laconically enforced the embargo on arms to the Jews of Israel. The population of Israel was confronted with a shortage of military equipment of all kinds. The mass will to fight and mass heroism needed arms for victory, but the army had only 1300 rifles! In the United States, random and feeble efforts to smuggle some weapons to Israel were checked by the FBI, which promptly made a few arrests.

### **An Imperialist War on Israel**

It was in this crisis that the anti-imperialist forces in Israel obtained the consent of the Ben Gurion government to turn to the anti-imperialist forces of Europe for the purchase of arms. And it was the Czechoslovakian government that readily agreed to sell large scale modern military equipment to the embattled masses in Israel. This was a war of independence, a just war and therefore worthy of support from all progressive and socialist forces. Thus finally armed, the State of Israel beat back the invaders, although American advisers attached to the Ben Gurion forces frequently exerted a restraining influence even in matters of military strategy (see *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1951, pp. 14-15 for evidence of American interference in Israel military tactics). While our State Department was vainly protesting to the Czechoslovakian government for selling arms to Israel, the State of Israel was establishing its independence of Arab intervention with the weapons produced in socialist states.

The Truman administration was worried. Did this buying of arms from Czechoslovakia signify that the Ben Gurion government was abandoning its imperialist orientation? Morgenthau too was disturbed, for the American plutocracy, anti-socialist to the marrow, would not give financial support to any such State of Israel. So while the fighting was still going on, Morgenthau, as general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, went to Israel.

After two weeks of "conferences with top Israeli officials," he returned to the United States fully satisfied that, in so far as the Zionists and the Ben Gurion government were concerned, the pledge to serve American interests made in 1947 would be duly fulfilled. In a statement to the press (*New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune*, November 2, 1948), Morgenthau declared that Israel will become "a hard core of resistance against communism in the Mediterranean area." Then he added: "I hope my government will only realize this." If this significant sentence was necessary, it was only because the bloc in the American government which favored alliance with the Arab states instead of with Israel had been making capital of the Israel purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia. So here was Morgenthau himself reassuring the administration that all would be well for Wall Street's strategic plans in the Middle East so far as Israel was concerned. To implement this alliance, Mr. Morgenthau proposed a \$100,000,000 loan

to Israel from the Export and Import Bank as well as "all kinds of encouragement."

### **Who Helped Israel?**

The pressure of the American Jewish plutocracy and of American big business in general was decisive on the Ben Gurion government. The Israeli masses, however, who had themselves held the weapons "made in Czechoslovakia" and knew who were their best friends and most effective allies, were not at all enthusiastic about a "future" as a "hard core of resistance against communism" in their part of the world. Therefore Sharrett became adept at making speeches that stressed the theme of "non-identification" in the cold war between the camp of war and imperialism and the camp of peace. Had these early speeches professing "neutrality" really reflected a policy of neutrality, the entire future of Israel would have been different, since it would have been taken out of the orbit of United States domination. But these speeches were merely a cover under which the Ben Gurion government, with the American Zionist leadership shouting approval, developed ever more closely its alliance with United States foreign policy.

Our own ambassador to Israel, James G. McDonald, whose praises the American Zionists never tire of singing, has summarized this period well (*My Mission in Israel*, 1948-1951, New York, 1951, p. 284) in stating that "Israel sought to maintain an officially neutral policy in the cold war between East and West. . . . But gradually Israel found it more and more difficult to maintain this aloof policy. Indeed, when the chips were down and Israel was forced to make her choice, that choice was almost always pro-Western. . . ." Yes, the chips were dollars. For these dollars the American Zionist leaders and the Ben Gurion government were ready, in classic *bourgeois* nationalist fashion, to betray the masses of the Jews in Israel, to betray the independence of the nation itself.

### **Israel's "Identification" with West**

Summarizing the course of Israel policy in the *New York Times* of February 15, 1953, Dana Adams Schmidt wrote from Tel Aviv: "Little by little, *the nature of the Zionist ideals* and the new state's economic dependence on the United States made the new state into a Middle Eastern outpost of the Western world. Still, Prime Minister David Ben Gurion and Foreign Minister Sharett tried to steer a middle course with a policy of 'non-identification' between East and West. By the end of 1950, however, this policy had become untenable and by the end of 1951 it was replaced—in fact, even though not by declaration—by full identification with the West" (italics added). Thus, whether one approves or disapproves of this orientation, there is hardly any room for doubt as to what this strategy is. Furthermore, Shimon Orenstein, Israeli Zionist who testified at the Prague trial about the private meeting held in Washington in 1947, pointed out that one of the agreements

reached between Truman and Acheson on the one hand and Ben Gurion, Sharet and Morgenthau on the other was that, in order the more effectively to serve as a channel for United States intelligence, the future Jewish state would follow a policy of seeming neutrality.

Why did the "full identification" come in 1951? There were certain general developments of United States foreign policy: the Truman Doctrine had expanded to the Marshall Plan, and then bloomed into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), with the possibility of a Middle Eastern Pact, and so forth. By 1951, also, most of the Slansky conspiratorial group had been arrested, leading Ben Gurion and Sharet to assume that the relationship of the Israel government to United States intelligence was becoming known and would sooner or later be revealed to the world. "Non-identification," under such circumstances, would no longer serve its purposes and the mask could be dropped.

There were also specific developments in United States-Israel relations. One loan led, if not to another, at least to the need and desire for another. Other countries were getting huge grants, why not Israel, which was rendering at least as much service as any other state? Addressing a conference of the Zionist Organization of America, its president, Benjamin G. Browdy, explained that "with the exception of Turkey, which has already been the recipient of numerous grants from the United States, Israel is the only citadel of democracy in the Middle East," and therefore, he felt, ought to be given grants-in-aid of one-half billion dollars, and he was going to propose that to Truman at a meeting with him soon to be arranged. (*New York Times*, October 13, 1950.)

### Israeli Soldiers as "Cannon Fodder"

A REPORT was published on March 9 in the conservative Tel Aviv paper, *Haaretz*, by its United States correspondent that at the opening of a Bond Drive meeting in Washington, Henry Morgenthau had declared that at the outset of war against the Soviet Union, Israel was prepared to put 200,000 soldiers in the field against the Soviet Union. Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban, reported *Haaretz*, also spoke and signified his full agreement and even went further and said that Morgenthau had underestimated the mobilization potential of Israel.

This report created a furor in Israel. At a meeting held by the Israel Peace Committee in Tel Aviv, protest was expressed. Dr. Moshe Sneh demanded to know "If Prime Minister [Ben Gurion] is ready to declare from the Knesset tribune whether Ambassador Eban had any power to make his statement about 200,000 Israeli soldiers for a war against the Soviet Union and that the Israeli people will not give up their sons as cannon fodder to America for aggressive purposes!"

On a motion of Communist Deputy Esther Vilenska the Knesset will debate this question in May. *Kol Haam*, Communist daily, was ordered suspended for ten days for attacking Ambassador Eban on this issue.

In the spring of 1951, the American Zionist leadership and the Israel government began a big drive for official recognition that Israel was necessary for *United States defenses in the Middle East*. Need it be argued that the Truman Doctrine, NATO, the Middle East Command project and the Mutual Security Act are instruments of American Big Business expansion and ambitions to dominate huge areas thousands of miles from our shores? The American people have no "strategic interests" in the Middle East, or in reviving a renaized West German army. It is the oil monopolies, General Motors, U.S. Steel and Big Business as a whole that provide the content for, and reap enormous profits from, this reactionary foreign policy. The American people merely pay the staggering taxes, the inflated prices, the casualties already endured and to be endured when this policy results in more wars or in World War III.

The Zionist tactic was to obtain a grant-in-aid under the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1951. Title 2, Section 202 of this act declares: "Whenever the President determines that such action is essential for the purposes of this act, he may provide assistance . . . Provided, That, any such assistance may be furnished only upon determination by the President that (1) the strategic location of the recipient country makes it of direct importance to the defense of the Near East area, (2) such assistance is of critical importance to the defense of the free nations, and (3) the immediately increased ability of the recipient country to defend itself contributes to the preservation of the peace and security of the area and is important to the security of the United States."

On March 22, 1951 the Israeli ambassador, Abba S. Eban, presented a formal note to Secretary of State Acheson asking for such a grant-in-aid. Eban argued that "any strengthening of Israel's efforts to achieve a high degree of development must be regarded as a contribution to the progress and stability of the entire Near East" and that "aid to Israel would fully conform with the principles which have determined the United States' aid programs." In the language of diplomacy, this was definite enough, but Zionist propagandists here were eager to make things much more specific.

Characteristically frank was Aaron Zeitlin in his article in the Zionist and Orthodox New York Yiddish daily, the *Morning Journal* of April 10, 1951. Noting that "the truth is . . . that Israel anyway is orienting itself more to the West, or to put it more simply, to the United States," he points out that this is due to "the very logic of the situation in which Israel finds itself, and also to the fact that Uncle Sam is now interested in Israel in a positive way, for considerations of world politics. . . . America has ceased to look upon the Jewish state as upon something which is related to the potential votes of American Jewry in elections. Israel is now regarded as a . . . state whose friendship is worth cultivating." Zeitlin goes on to explain that American statesmen "view the State of Israel as America's

possible defense line in the Near East. Certainly it is not accidental that such great American companies as General Motors, Ford, Kaiser, etc. have invested large sums in Israel. . . . *It is a great privilege for a state to be a line of defense for America. . . .*" (italics added).

### "Mutual" Security Aid

While such proud and yet humiliating articles were being published in scores of variations by American Zionists here, George McGhee, our assistant secretary of state and Near Eastern specialist, was visiting Israel and the surrounding countries to prepare the way for building strategic military bases. Then on May 2, 1951, the *New York Herald Tribune* (in its First Late City Edition only) carried the headline: "Arms Demanded for Israel as Defense Against Reds." The story reported that Arieh Ben Elizer, Herut (former Irgun) Party deputy in the Israel Parliament, had arrived here, and at a press conference had "appealed to the United States to give arms to Israel, in order that it could defend itself against a Soviet invasion." Was this spokesman for the right-wing Herut, which is not a member of the Ben Gurion government coalition, saying out loud what the government coalition was saying in more diplomatic language? At any rate, when Ben Gurion came to the United States in May, 1951, presumably to spark the Bond Drive, he brought along, curiously enough, a *military advisor*, Nehemiah Argov, and the first person in Washington that Ben Gurion saw was —McGhee.

The American Zionist apparatus worked mightily. On May 28, 1951, a "Declaration of Aid to Israel" was issued by 156 congressmen, who affirmed that "Israel may become a military, economic and ideological bastion for the free world in the Middle East," if \$150,000,000 were given it as a grant-in-aid. Incidentally, among the signers was Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, co-author of the Nuremberg law known as the McCarran-Walter act.

In the summer of 1951, there were hearings on the allocation of funds under the Mutual Security program. Testifying at the public hearing of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on July 19, 1951 were Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Zionist Council, Dr. Joseph Schwartz, executive vice-president of the United Jewish Appeal and former head of the Joint Distribution Committee, and the economist Robert R. Nathan. In the name of the 700,000 members represented by the Zionist Council, Lipsky pleaded for a grant-in-aid of \$150,000,000 and for a proportionate increase in funds assigned to the entire Middle East strategic area. To demonstrate the usefulness of Israel, Lipsky followed the familiar path of equating Big Business aims with "democracy" and the "free world." "Since World War Two," he declared, "Israel's population has doubled. Its people are trained and battle-tried. . . . They can be counted in the front ranks of democracy's defenders. . . . The country is today the workshop of the Near East. Its rapidly expanding *military*, industrial and agricultural army is one of the strongest forces for freedom in the Old

World. It is against this background that we urge you to give adequate aid to Israel, *as well as to the Arab States*, on their own individual merits, assessing what each needs and what each one can contribute to the welfare of the free world. . . ." (Quoted from the press copy of Lipsky's testimony as sent out by the American Zionist Council, *defense for America. . . .*" (italics added).

Early in September, it was found that the Senate Armed Forces and Foreign Relations Committee had cut the sums allotted very heavily. So those prime friends of the Zionists, Senators Paul H. Douglas, Democrat, and Robert A. Taft, Republican, introduced and carried an amendment to increase the sums. The Jewish Telegraph Agency reported that "Sen. Douglas said Israel could be counted on as a state more loyal to the West than its neighbors in the Near East. . . . Sen. Taft cited Israel's potentialities as an ally and indicated that the state might prove valuable in the defense of the Suez Canal, *African airfields, and uranium deposits of the Belgian Congo.*" (*Chicago Sentinel*, September 6, 1951, italics added.) It should be added that the Ben Gurion government was assigned more than \$60,000,000 for our "mutual security."

### Israel Bonds and "Defense"

Governmental aid, of course, was not the only kind of financing then under way. There was the half-billion dollar Bond Drive and the United Jewish Appeal fund campaign. To co-ordinate this work, a four-day National Economic Conference for Israel was held in Washington, September 20-23, 1951. On September 22, the speakers included Henry Morgenthau, head of the Bond Drive, and James G. McDonald. The *New York Herald Tribune* report on September 23, headlined, "Israel Pictured as Vital Ally in World Affairs," quoted McDonald: "Mr. McDonald, dealing with the *military importance* of Israel to the western world, said that not only is Israel at the crossroads of three continents, but 'it is also within easy bombing range of the largest known oil deposits in the whole world—those in Iran, Iraq, the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia.' In addition, Israel has some of the largest and most modern airfields in the Middle East, *capable of receiving the largest bombers*, he said" (italics added). That Israel needs such airfields not for its own defense but for defense of United States imperialist interests in the Middle East is beyond question.

Under Morgenthau's direction, the Bond Drive was also conducted as a cold war operation. Rare indeed was the piece of Bond promotion material that did not wave the flag of military strategy. Hundreds of thousands of Americans, Jewish and non-Jewish, purchased Israel bonds with the best of intentions of aiding the people of Israel. The eagerness of Jews to help the struggling, hungry population of Israel was conspicuous. Every prospective "investor" was assured that his money would also serve so-called American strategic interests.

Typical was the tabloid-size advertisement, "10 Frank Answers To Your Questions About State of Israel Bonds,"



which appeared in scores of newspapers in the winter of 1951. Question 3, the \$64 question, was this: "How Do Israel Bonds Affect America's Defense?" And the answer was forthright: "American mobilization for defense is based on global strategy. America's defense lines lie far from our own shores. Since Israel represents a bastion of democracy in the strategic Middle East, each State of Israel Bond you purchase strengthens American defenses. Many of America's foremost military, diplomatic and economic authorities are convinced that Israel is a vital stronghold for democracy in the Middle East." (Quoted from text in *Ohio Jewish Chronicle*, November 2, 1951; italics added.)

But the Ben Gurion government was not only promising to render military service to United States imperialism in the Middle East; it was also, at this very time, rendering vital diplomatic service to American diplomacy in Europe, which needed a remilitarized and neo-nazified Western Germany for its European front. But nazism and neo-nazism were still a stench in the nostrils of the American people. How could that smell be perfumed away, how could a policy orienting itself on a remilitarized Western Germany be made to seem *kosher*? The State Department conceived the diabolical idea of having Israel's government and the Jewish Agency do this debased work. Out of this plan grew Nahum Goldman's mission, as head of the Jewish Agency, that led to Adenauer's issuance, on September 27, 1951, of a declaration promising "reparations" to Israel. (See *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1951, and thereafter for the full details of this shameful deal, and of the resistance of Jews in Israel and in many other countries, including our own, to it.)

### "Israel May Come In"

Yet the Ben Gurion government and the Zionist leaders were bitter indeed when, on November 10, 1951, our government announced the formation of the Middle East Command by the United States, Britain, France and Turkey—and not Israel but Egypt was invited to join! Why, on November 6 the Knesset had voted 60 to 36 to discontinue the sham of formal "non-identification" and to support the "West" openly! Yet Egypt had been invited and Israel ignored! When the *New York Herald-Tribune* of November 11 headlined, "Israel May Come In," it was only underscoring the plight of a suitor scorned. To add insult to injury, the Egyptian government rejected the invitation to join the Middle East Pact, giving the Israel government press an opportunity, however, to point the moral to American statesmen that they would do better to rely on Israel rather than go lusting after the defense-pots of Egypt. The masses in Israel, however, had other ideas: in 1952, despite the opposition of the Ben Gurion administration, 402,000 Israelis, more than one-third of the adult population, signed a petition opposing the rearmament of Germany and calling for a five-power pact that would rule out the danger of war. The people of Israel were thus revealing that they were beginning to see how the *bourgeois* nationalist strategy of alliance with imperialism was be-

traying the interests of Israel.

But while the Israel population was wrestling with this problem, the Zionist leadership pursued its disastrous policy unchanged. In fact, in April 1952, the American Zionist Council for the first time publicly requested *military aid* to Israel from the American government! In a *Memo-randum on Aid to the Near East* sent to the State Department, it is urged that Congress approve both financial and military aid because the Near East "lies in the pathway of potential Communist aggression and subversion. . . . Our program can . . . enlist its peoples in its defense." Of the Israel army, the Zionist Council presumes to declare that, while it was organized "in response to a regional situation" (the Arab invasion), it can now be used "to resist any aggression from without or subversion from within." Military aid is suggested, moreover, not only for Israel but for all the Arab states.

In August 1952, the American Zionist Council followed up with a supplementary memorandum to the State Department, offering Israel's industrial production facilities for United States military purposes and urging that military assistance be given to reliable Israel immediately, without regard to the Middle Eastern Pact, which is being held up by the less reliable Arab states. (Zionist policy on Arabs inside Palestine and Israel will be discussed in a later article.)

Apparently the American Zionist leadership was ready to tone down its bragging claim that Israel all by itself could fulfill all the requirements of American expansionist strategy in the Middle East. Less than a year before that, *The American Zionist*, official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, was proclaiming that a Middle Eastern pact, "if formed, be based on the only three military powers in that area—Turkey, Greece and Israel" (Judd L. Teller, November, 1951). A month later in the same periodical Eliahu Ben-Horin, an Israeli, was certain that "Israel has come to the forefront as the one sure prop for the West in that part of the world" and that "there are only two true and dependable bastions of democracy in the Middle East: the Turkish and Israel republics."

Yet even in September 1952, *The American Zionist* ran a story by Murray Frank jubilantly headlined, "Israel's Role Looms Large in West's Defense Strategy." Frank assured his Zionist readers that "while it is ridiculous to expect that Israel could stop a Russian army . . . Washington still recalls the valiant struggle put up by little Finland against Russia back in 1939-40." Can anyone who has deep concern for the people of Israel look with equanimity upon an Israel whose future is defined as that of the former Finland of the Middle East?

### Questions Are Being Asked

The systematic misrepresentation by the American commercial press in English and Yiddish has undoubtedly had its effect. Yet a part of the membership and supporters of the American Zionist movement are beginning to perceive that the revelations of the Prague trial are worth their

## Warning from Israeli Envoy

**A** SENSATIONAL report was published on March 15 in *Al Hamishmar*, Tel Aviv Mapam organ, about a speech made before the Mapai Party conference by former Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union Samuel Elyashev shortly after his return from Moscow in February. The Israeli campaign about "Soviet anti-Semitism" was called "idiotic" by the former envoy. Dr. Elyashev also warned that the incitements of the campaign against the Soviet Union could cause serious damage to Israel and the Jewish people, reported *Al Hamishmar*. The answer given by Dr. Elyashev to the question about the possibility of emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel was that Israel should not deceive itself that any large number of Soviet Jews have any thought of coming to Israel. *Al Hamishmar* also reported that the Mapai leaders had tried to withhold knowledge from the public of this speech.

consideration and that they may have to begin to re-examine the matter of Zionist strategy. These followers of the Zionist leaders are beginning to wonder whether there are not better ways of helping Israel than by tying it hand and foot to United States military adventures in Europe and the Middle East. They are beginning to resent the way in which their emotions about Israel have been exploited by a leadership that has sacrificed the Jews to the needs of imperialist strategy.

To these persons, who still may consider themselves Zionists but who are beginning to be uneasy about Zionist strategy, the course of events in Israel that led to the bombing of the Soviet embassy and made it necessary for the Soviet Union to break diplomatic relations with Israel came as a sobering shock. The Eisenhower administration, they see, is reviving the Forrestal policy of making the Arab states the main instruments of United States imperialism in the Middle East. Eyes are being opened to the fact that the Zionist leadership and the Ben Gurion government have "led" Israel into a dangerous isolation: they have, on the direction of American imperialism, repelled the anti-imperialist allies that helped Israel beat back the Arab invasion and yet they have failed to cement that very alliance with American imperialism.

The Zionist leaders see only one way "out" of this isolation: to try to cuddle back into the unyielding arms of the Eisenhower-Dulles strategy. As Dana Adams Schmidt writes from Tel Aviv (*New York Times*, February 22, 1953): "Now Israel would welcome an invitation and is eager to cooperate openly with Western defense plans." But he adds, "The Israelis believe the Eisenhower administration is tempted to win over the Arabs by concessions in military and economic aid." Furthermore, Israeli officials believe the Arab states are not sufficiently loyal to United States imperialism to be trusted, for these "officials are convinced that Egypt and other Arab states still are wedded to neutralism between East and West and can be brought into the Western camp—if at all—only by a 'dynamic

policy' on the part of the United States and the West in general." Such a dynamic policy, they explain, "should begin by giving Israel more generous economic and military aid. . . ."

## A Policy of Disaster?

On February 26, Abba S. Eban, Israeli ambassador, after a 45 minute talk with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told the *New York Times* that "American-Israel relations are on a firm foundation." The nature of this foundation we learn from the reporter's statement that Mr. Eban "said his own 'main objective' was to outline the need for securing a settlement of the dispute between Israel and the Arab states that now blocks Western attempts to bind the area into a unified defense system."

The very same day that this appeared in the *Times*, that newspaper also contained a dispatch from Tel Aviv to the effect that "Israeli officials" are ready to provide Egypt with a route *through Israel* to Jordan if Egypt will make peace with Israel. These officials also indicated that "Peace would also clear the way for the Arab states and Israel to join a Middle East defense organization within the framework of which Israel, like the other participants, would make arrangements for defensive bases."

So the Israel government is now ready to *share* the "defense" of the "free world" and "Western civilization" with the Arab governments! The Ben Gurions in Israel and the Lipskys of the American Zionist Council here beg for a suspension of hostilities from the Arabs, for a "Little Peace" in the Middle East until the Pentagon is ready to unleash the Big War against the East! And it takes Henry Morgenthau, Jr. to spell this out unmistakably. Now chairman of the Board of Governors of the Israel Bond Organization, Morgenthau opened a National Leadership Conference of Israel Bonds in Washington (*The New York Times*, March 9) by urging "that Israel receive the same measure of aid that the United States had given to South Korea and Indo-China, adding, 'And we should not wait until the shooting starts.' He said that Israel could put an army of 200,000 into the field in defense of democratic principles."

To be a 1940 Finland or a 1950 South Korea, such is the "glorious" fate and "future" envisioned for Israel.

But the Jewish masses, Zionist, non-Zionist and anti-Zionist, are beginning to question this policy. They wonder whether serving the disastrous Eisenhower policy is not to bring disaster to Israel as well as to the American people. It is dawning upon them that we need a change in our foreign policy, to convert it from a policy of war to one of peace, from one of cold war preparations for the flames of war to one based on the principle that capitalist and socialist countries can and must live together in peace. In such a world at peace, Israel has a future. In any other, it faces annihilation. The Zionist strategy, we have seen, would lead to doom; an anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist policy, leads to survival.

# INTERVIEW WITH MEKHLIS' AUNT

By Abe Strauss

After the noted official of the Soviet government, Lev Zakharovich Mekhlis, died in Moscow on February 13, our Cleveland correspondent Abe Strauss visited the aged Hannah Mekhlis, aunt of the Soviet leader, to whom she was very much attached when he was a boy. Below is the interview by Mr. Strauss.

The career of Mekhlis and the great honor paid to his memory at his death has a special interest at this time because Mekhlis was Jewish. The following excerpts from a report in the London Jewish Chronicle (February 20) gives added evidence of how hollow are the charges of "Soviet anti-Semitism."

"The body (of Mekhlis) was placed in the largest hall of the Soviet Trade Union Council's building and all through last Saturday and Sunday over 300,000 workers and civil servants—answering the appeal of the Party and the unions—paraded through the hall, where a guard of honor was formed by members of the Party Presidium and Central Committee, by representatives of the government and the armed services. During the cremation Soviet marshals formed the guard."

Mekhlis was born in 1889. He joined the Communist Party in 1918 and fought in the civil war, serving as political commissar of an army corps in the Ukraine. He was on the editorial board of Pravda in 1930 and head of the Red Army Political Administration from 1937-1940. At the outbreak of the war he was appointed a colonel general in the Soviet Army and saw service on many fronts. After the war he resumed his old post of People's Commissar of State Control of the USSR. He was ill for a few years before his death at the age of 64. Despite his illness he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party at the 19th Party Congress last year.—Eds.

## Cleveland

Recently we paid a visit to 73-year-old Hannah Mekhlis, an active progressive for many years and aunt of Soviet Colonel-General Lev Zakharovich Mekhlis, who died on February 13. Hannah Mekhlis was deeply affected by her nephew's death. Her husband, Mendel Mekhlis, who died in Cleveland 13 years ago, was a brother of Lev's father, Zakhariah Mekhlis. As she chokes back her tears, Hannah Mekhlis holds in her hand a family photograph

taken in Minsk 54 years ago. The nine-year-old Lev is in the picture.

This is the story she told us.

The Mekhlis family comes from Koydenov, a small town in White Russia. Zakhariah and his two brothers moved to the big city of Minsk in order "to be rid of the tiny ghetto with its mud and backwardness." In Minsk, Zakhariah became a dealer in samovars and his business fared well. Zakhariah and his wife Reisel became a part of the liberal Jewish intelligentsia of the city and their home was the center of progressive Minsk. Zakhariah and Reisel tried to give their

three children, Lev and his two sisters, a progressive education.

In this atmosphere of zeal for learning and knowledge the child Lev displayed extraordinary abilities. His questions were very "unusual" and he would not be put off with childish answers. He loved to sit and listen to the discussions and battled mightily against going to bed on time. And if the discussion continued, he called out questions from his bed.

His father, himself an educated man, gave his clever son personal attention. Lev's first private teacher was excited by the child's ability, and predicted enthusiastically that here was a "genius."

The storm and stress of the revolutionary period of 1903-1905 did not pass over the well-known house of Zakhariah Mekhlis. The evenings at his home were filled with anti-tsarist talk. Young Hannah and Mendel (Zakhariah's brother) also took part in the revolutionary upsurge. The



The Mekhlis family in 1899. The little boy in front is the late Lev Zakharovich Mekhlis at the age of nine. He is seated between his father Zakhariah (right) and his grandfather. The girl at his father's side is Lev's sister and the young man at the left is his uncle Mendel, whose widow Hannah now lives in Cleveland.

People's Constitution, which was born in the blood of the working class, was drowned in blood. Through the city of Minsk there already prevailed a gloom portending an organized pogrom. The Mekhlis family was in a particularly dangerous position.

When the pogrom began, the family, Zakhariah and Reisel and their three children and Hannah and Mendel found a friendly peasant who hid them in a wagonful of straw and took them to Koydenov. To avoid the danger of being stopped on the road, the small children were completely covered with straw so as to muffle the sound of their crying. When they reached Koydenov and alighted from the wagon, one of the two little girls, Lev's sister, was on the verge of suffocation and several hours passed before the child recovered. This near-tragic episode made a deep impression upon young Lev who was then 14 years old. The grief of his parents and relatives as his sister hovered between life and death moved him so that it took him weeks to get over it.

Several months later Mendel and Hannah went to America and the other brothers and their families moved to various parts of Russia.

At the beginning of the first World War, Zakhariah and his family moved to Moscow where, because of his business status, he was permitted to live. "We used to receive letters from them," Hannah said, "and heard good things about Lev: that he was an outstanding student

and deeply interested in seeing that 'the sun will shine in the prison of nations,' as he expressed it."

After the Revolution of 1917, the letters we received from Zakhariah, often with short postscripts from Lev, breathed the sweeping spirit of the storm-bird, Lev Zakharovitch Mekhlis. In one of these postscripts, which we received about a year after the downfall of tsarism, Lev wrote us a few lines in Yiddish, "No more will Jews have to run and hide."

Zakhariah's two daughters, Lev's sisters, were also active after the revolution. We did not hear much about them. We corresponded with Lev's father until shortly before Mendel's death about 13 years ago. In all his letters Zakhariah used to send us "hearty greetings" from "the General." "Lev asks for you," he wrote, "and begs to be forgiven for not writing to his family, but his time is limited."

Lev's paternal grandfather was a *Misnagid* [opponent of the Hassidic movement] and a learned man. His maternal grandfather was for many years the rabbi of Koydenov. The former lived to the age of 100 and the latter to the age of 90. Lev was the favorite of his grandparents. They wanted very much to have him

The members of the District Committee of the Emma Lazarus Clubs of New England extend heartfelt sympathy to our former New England president SISTER ROSE APPELBAUM on the loss of her father HERMAN COSOVEN

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study in the *Yeshiva* to become a rabbi. "A Gaon [genius] is growing up in this boy," they used to say, "it will not be hard for him to become a rabbi."

The proud aunt of one of the leaders of the Soviet Union has herself seen more than a half-century of activity in the fight for the kind of world to which her famous and heroic nephew from Minsk devoted his life. As she dried her feeble eyes and shook my hand warmly in parting, she said, "You know, Strauss, there is joy in these tears. From Koydenov to Minsk to Moscow and a third of the world. The nephew of the rabbi of Koydenov, the son of a samovar merchant, Leib Mekhlis, the great victorious general! To me, the simple Jewish aunt, he was always the greatest joy. For me, as for all the people of the Soviet Union and for all the nations, my nephew Lev Zakhariah Mekhlis will live forever."

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# BEFORE THE McCARTHY COMMITTEE

## MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

On April 2, Morris U. Schappes appeared under subpoena before the McCarthy Committee, as it turned out, in connection with the "investigation" of books in United States libraries abroad. It seems that his *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States* was (but no longer is) in the United States Information Service Library in Tel Aviv. It is interesting to note that the McCarthy Committee used as material for their interrogation two pieces of what might be called "Scholarly McCarthyism": a long review of the book by Ellis Rivkind in the *American Jewish Archives*, June, 1952; and a secret memorandum on the book by the "historian" Nathan Schachner circulated by the American Jewish Committee. Both of these "reviews" were so scandalous as scholarship that the *American Jewish Archives* published a reply by Mr. Schappes equally long as the review in its January 1953 issue and *Congress Weekly* published in its May 7, 1951, issue a scathing critique of the Schachner memorandum entitled "Distorted Literary Criticism," by Ward Moore. Mr. Schappes called the attention of the committee to these exposures of scholarly McCarthyism.

Mr. Schappes succeeded in getting introduced into the committee record the following statement:

"I appear before this Committee in response to its power of subpoena, that is, under legal compulsion which I yield to as a law-abiding citizen.

I wish to declare, however, that as a loyal American, and as a historian of the American Jewish people I regard the aims, the methods, and the manners of this Committee with the same abhorrence with which most of the American people have learned to regard the concept of McCarthyism. As the historian Charles A. Beard once said of the debased journalism of William Randolph Hearst, I would not, as historian and citizen, otherwise touch McCarthyism with a ten-foot pole.

"I presume that I am summoned before this Committee because one or another of my books has been discovered somewhere in a United States government library abroad. I do not know whether it is my *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*, or my edition of the *Letters*

of *Emma Lazarus* published as part of the Emma Lazarus Centennial celebration in 1949 by the New York Public Library, or my edition of the *Prose and Poetry of Emma Lazarus*, which has somehow found its way into these libraries in other countries under the sponsorship of our national administration.

"My intention in all my work as scholar and historian has been to find the truth, to reflect the democratic traditions of our country and to promote human ideals. There is nothing in them that would serve the cold-war propaganda. There is very much there that would help people abroad the better to understand the American people and their glorious democratic heritage, and particularly the relation of the Jews in the United States to that. Is it these truths that the McCarthy committee fears, as it seems to fear all truth?"

"The Committee on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis on March 15, 1953 condemned the "undemocratic methods" of these Congressional investigations, as have hundreds of other American organizations. Many millions now believe that the American people cannot tolerate but must eliminate McCarthyism; we cannot contain McCarthyism, we must liberate ourselves from McCarthyism. During this Passover season, a time for recollection of liberation struggles of the past and dedication to the liberation struggles of the present, I as a citizen and Jewish writer and scholar renew my intention to work for the liberation of our people from McCarthyism."

## WILLIAM M. MANDEL

Editors: JEWISH LIFE:

The discussion of anti-Semitism and of renegades from the Jewish people which took place at my hearing before the McCarthy Committee on March 24 was so reported by certain newspapers (the *New York Times*, for example) as to cause some people to believe that I had improperly "injected" the matter. As a result, Dr. Margoshes devoted a whole English-language column in the *Day* (March 28) to my conduct at this hearing. I believe, therefore, that your readers will be interested in knowing the facts as to my presentation of the Jewish question, as this has be-

come a matter of public interest. The facts are these:

A previous witness, when sworn in executive session, had given his name as Sol Auerbach, and his pen-name as James S. Allen. The public hearing, however, began with McCarthy informing him that he was still under oath, so there was no new swearing-in. All questions were addressed to him as Mr. Allen, until midway in the hearing, when Senator McCarthy, with obviously careful timing and malicious intent, turned to the witness after the reading of an allegation about Sol Auerbach, and said: "That's you, isn't it?" although that identification was already in the record. When the witness replied "Yes," there was a horrified gasp from many in the audience, unmistakably indicating their outrage at the idea that a Jew should use an Anglo-Saxon name. McCarthy looked very pleased with himself. Senator Mundt then addressed the witness as "Mr. Auerbach-Allen."

It was this incident, plus the fact that, in executive session, the committee had questioned my convictions regarding "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union, that determined me to expose the committee's anti-Semitism, with the following results (I quote from the transcript):

**Roy M. Cohn** [Counsel for the committee]: Mr. Mandel, would you give us your full name, please?

**William Mandel**: My name is William Marx Mandel. And to save you the trouble of bringing out any possible pseudonym, as you did in the matter of Mr. Auerbach, I would like to make it clear that I am a Jew.

**Cohn**: That you are what?

**Mandel**: That I am a Jew.

**Cohn**: So am I, and I don't see that that is an issue here.

**Mandel**: Well, a Jew who works for McCarthy is thought of very ill by most of the Jewish people in this country. . . .

**Cohn**: Has the *National Guardian* been conducting quite a vigorous campaign in defense of the convicted atom spies?

**Mandel**: Who are you referring to?

**Cohn**: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

**Mandel**: I wanted to make that clear. The convicted *what*?

**Cohn**: Atom spies.

**Mandel**: Do you know your law, Mr. Cohn?

**Cohn**: I prosecuted the case.

**Mandel**: What were those people convicted of?

**Cohn**: They were convicted of conspiracy.

**Mandel**: Exactly, and conspiracy is *not* espionage.

**Cohn**: They were convicted of conspiracy in an effort to deliver atom secrets to representatives of the Soviet Union. The

question is: Is the *National Guardian* today conducting a vigorous campaign asking for the release of the Rosenbergs?

*Mandel*: The *National Guardian*, to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I am not an editor or member of its staff—

*Cohn*: Do you read it?

*Mandel*: I read it. The *National Guardian*, to the best of my knowledge and belief, is conducting a vigorous campaign asking for executive clemency in that case, in that scientists have said that Greenglass, the stool pigeon, could not have remembered the material he said he remembered.

*Cohn*: Do you think the Rosenbergs are guilty?  
*Mandel*: Unlike a great many people who are taking active part in that campaign and who have read the transcript from beginning to end and who have drawn the conclusion that they are not guilty, I, as a scholar, will not offer an opinion because I have not read the transcript from beginning to end. However, I do think that the ordering of a death sentence in peace time is unjustified and I do think, to return to an earlier matter, that it is

rather typical of the situation existing in this country that the first people ever to get the death sentence in peacetime for this crime happened to be Jewish. . . .

[*Senator Joseph*] *McCarthy*: This is the second time that the witness has brought up the word "Jewish." He tries apparently to hold himself out as a representative of the Jewish people.

*Mandel*: No, sir—

*McCarthy*: Be quiet, now, until I finish. I think he is not qualified to do that. I think the Jewish people is a great race of people. I do not think you represent them. I think you do them a great injustice when you come up here and try to inject into the scene the fact that you happen to be of that great race of people. Each race has its renegades.

*Mandel*: It certainly does. [Mr. Mandel looks at Mr. Cohn.]

*McCarthy*: Each race has its traitors.

*Mandel*: It certainly does.

*McCarthy*: And, as a whole, we have gotten as much if not more help from outstanding Jewish people in this fight

against communism than any other race. Let us have that clear.

*Mandel*: You have probably gotten as much opposition from Jews as any other race, so we are even on that account, if not more so.

*McCarthy*: You were not asked what your race was. You came up and volunteered it belligerently. I do not care what race you belong to.

*Mandel*: I doubt that, sir.

*McCarthy*: I think some of the Jewish people will be very much ashamed of the fact that you belong to their race.

*Mandel*: A very small minority, sir.

WILLIAM M. MANDEL

New York City

(A 12-inch standard-speed record of the highlights of Mr. Mandel's testimony is being made at the request of persons who believe it will be valuable in the fight against McCarthyism. It is being financed by advance sales. The price will be \$2.00. Orders may be sent to Mr. Mandel at 545 W. 164th St., New York 32, N. Y. Copies ordered in advance will be autographed.)

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# OBSERVATION POST

## Meet Lester

Recently there has been an auspicious addition to the staff of JEWISH LIFE. The Editorial Board is happy to announce that Mr. Lester Blickstein, well-known to Brooklynites for his long years of leadership in the Jewish community there, has joined the staff as Business Manager.

Lester Blickstein came to JEWISH LIFE several weeks ago after leaving his post as Israel Bond Drive Manager for the State of Indiana. He has many years of experience as a leader in Jewish community organizations. Lester has already started the ball rolling on a number of projects to assure the success of the \$25,000 drive. We hope all Jewish Life Committees and readers will have an opportunity to meet Lester soon and establish the basis for much more activity to build the magazine.

## Our First Theater Party

Our readers will be happy to know that the first large scale project undertaken by our new manager is a JEWISH LIFE theater party. The show is *The World of Sholom Aleichem*, produced in English with the well-known stars of stage and screen Morris Carnovsky, Howard Da Silva, Jack Gilford, Gil Green, Will Lee and Marjorie Nelson. The JEWISH LIFE theater party will be on the exact anniversary of Sholom Aleichem's death, Wednesday, May 13, at the Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th Street and 6th Avenue. Dramatization is by Arnold Perl, costumes by Aline Bernstein and music by Serge Hovey.

Those attending the JEWISH LIFE theater party on May 13 will be given a special treat after the performance in observance of the anniversary of Sholom Aleichem's death. We call upon all readers and friends of JEWISH LIFE to attend our grand theater party. For reservations call at JEWISH LIFE, Room 601, 22 East 17 Street, or phone WA 4-5740. Don't delay—make your reservations now for a Jewish-American cultural event that is sure to be a sell-out.

## The House Party Route

Our new manager, Lester Blickstein, is a firm believer in the house party route to success in the financial campaign. Hundreds of house parties throughout the

land for the benefit of the mag. could put us on our feet and eliminate the need of emergency calls for money before the exchequer falls below zero. Lester has already started the ball rolling for parties in Philadelphia, Nassau County in Long Island and Brooklyn. He has discovered that JEWISH LIFE has many warm friends who need but be approached with the idea to get them started on a party, and on what is just as important—helping increase the circulation by handling bundle orders or getting subs. So we ask all our readers and friends to organize a house party for JEWISH LIFE in the coming period. A short talk about the magazine in an atmosphere of social informality helps get contributions for the campaign and consolidates the position of the magazine in your community. From these parties Jewish Life committees can emerge. It's *the* thing to do to maintain your social standing these days.

## Watching California

Southern California conducts its drive later than the rest of the country. We have received word that the committee there has already met, projected plans for its drive and is out to raise \$3,000 in cash and subscriptions. Watch their smoke!

## Program, Please

The month of May is rich in events of progressive Jewish and general significance. Here is your calendar for May:

May 1 (Friday)—Gigantic May Day parade and demonstration on Union Square. Everybody out for peace, civil rights and security.

May 2 (Saturday—8 P.M.)—Thirty-first anniversary concert of the progressive Yiddish daily *Morning Freiheit*. At Carnegie Hall, New York City. Program includes Harold Brindel, Chicago Opera tenor, Shalameh Silber, violinist, the Katherine Dunham School Dancers and the Philharmonic Chorus.

May 9 (Saturday—8 P.M.)—Twentieth Anniversary Concert of the Jewish People's Chorus in Carnegie Hall, New York. Program includes the folk opera *Bunt Mit a Statchke*, music adapted by Jacob Schaefer, the cantata *Lublin*, music by Nathan Samaroff and Yiddish and Israeli songs. Conducted by Maurice Rauch.

May 23 (Saturday—8 P.M.)—Thirtieth Anniversary Concert of the Jewish People's Philharmonic Choral Society at Town Hall, New York. Eugene Malek, guest conductor.

May 23 (Saturday—8 P.M.)—In Chicago. Thirty-ninth Anniversary Concert of the Chicago Jewish People's Chorus at Thorne Hall. Conducted by Bernard Brindel.

May 13 (Wednesday—8:30 P.M.)—The grand JEWISH LIFE Theater Party to see *The World of Sholom Aleichem* at Barbizon-Plaza Theater, New York. Everyone's going. See details above.

## Schappes Tour

As this is being written, Morris U. Schappes of our editorial board is winding up a tour to Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago. He ventured forth to these cities just when the news broke about the vindication of the 15 doctors in Moscow. Reports have it that Morris lectured on the meaning of this event and received the enthusiastic thanks of his audiences for his clear, incisive, documented analysis of the workings of Soviet justice in comparison with other countries, and his exposure of the utter bankruptcy of the "anti-Semitism" charges against the socialist countries.

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# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Newark, N. J., in March sued anti-Semitic editor Conde McGinley for \$250,000 for a red smear in his *Common Sense*. . . . A Ukrainian paper in New York, *Svoboda*, ran an advertisement in its April 1 issue of a "Citizen's Committee to Commemorate the Memory of Simon Petlura" calling all "former soldiers of Ukrainian armies" and all Ukrainians to a meeting on May 31 commemorating the death of Petlura, counter-revolutionary general under whose command hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered during the civil war in the Soviet Union in the first years after the revolution.

**Denazification** in West Germany is "a complete failure," wrote Saul K. Padover, dean of the Department of Politics at the New School for Social Research and an army political investigator in Germany during the anti-fascist war, in a *Headline Series* study published in March. West Germany is "undergoing a process of gradual renazification," he writes. His survey shows that Adenauer's foreign ministry has 80 per cent former Nazi Party members, a higher percentage than under Hitler.

**Jimcrow front.** . . . A federal grand jury in Miami, Florida, after a month of investigating the Klan and the bombing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore and interviewing 100 witnesses, came out with a report on March 25, using strong condemnatory language about the Klan—"a cancerous growth," etc.—but issued no indictments. . . . The Supreme Court on April 6 agreed to hear a case challenging restaurant Jimcrow in Washington, D. C. . . . American Jewish Congress survey issued in April showed that of 200 employment agencies investigated 130 violated New York State laws against discriminatory hiring practices. . . . A strong campaign has been launched in California for a state FEPC law. . . . The New York Teachers Union has established a counseling service for prospective Negro teachers to help them secure teaching licenses.

**A Warsaw Ghetto Memorial** meeting in Chicago on April 4 was attended by 2100 persons. Efforts of the Chicago "Judenrat" to sabotage the meeting were unsuccessful.

## EUROPE

**Propagation of racial** hatred or scorn would be punished by law, reiterated So-

viet Justice Minister Konstantin Gorshechin in an article in *Pravda* on April 17.

**The Vienna Jewish** Community Council recently expelled the progressive Jewish Unity group. In the election to the council executive in March, Socialists and Zionists shared the important posts.

**The Socialist Party** of Austria urged the Parliament in March to pass once again the three amnesty laws for nazis that had been passed at the last session and vetoed by the Allied Council.

**The mayor** of Frankfurt-am-Main banned the showing of nazi movie director Veit Harlan's latest film, *Immortal Beloved*. The film had also been banned last year. The mayor responded to the protests of the trade union and liberal groups, as well as the Jewish community, in stopping showing of the film.

**Large quantities** of anti-Semitic propaganda material originating in the United States were confiscated by the Lower Saxony (West Germany) authorities, said a United Press dispatch of March 30. The material had been sent through North Africa and Sweden. The material included leaflets, pamphlets and letters and were sent to the banned neo-nazi parties.

**A study of anti-Semitism** in West Germany by R. H. Shackford, Scripps-Howard correspondent, in February stated that among the typical attitudes of West Germans were the following: Hitler didn't exterminate as many as 6,000,000 Jews; the Nuremberg War Crime trials were "staged" as were the "communist purge trials"; the Allies built concentration camps and gas chambers after the war for propaganda purposes; Hitler's extermination of the Jews was a "mistake" because it aroused the world against Germany; the Allies should have seen that the war was one against Stalin.

## ISRAEL

**The number** of strikes in 1952 in Israel was 51 as against 63 in 1951. While the number of strikes in industry fell from 40 in 1951 to 18 in 1952, the number of strikes in public institutions rose from seven in 1951 to 18 in 1952. The eight strikes of Arab workers in 1952 marked an increase over 1951.

**A bill** "legalizing" the requisitioning of farm land owned by Arabs and "compensation" in the form of land elsewhere is on its way through the Knesset. These

lands were taken either for "security" reasons or used to settle new immigrants. About 150,000 dunams are involved. The Communist Party and Mapam are fighting against the bill.

**The Israel** government has refused to extradite to Czechoslovakia Jacob Kosielcik, a former concentration camp guard, to stand trial on war crimes charges on the ground that the evidence was "insufficient to satisfy the requirements of the extradition ordinance."

**Two Israel** corporations are among the seven that have been given oil prospecting licenses, it was announced late in March. The companies receiving licenses are: Husky Oil Corporation, of United States, six licenses covering 1,665,000 dunams; Brode and Company, three licenses covering 90,000 dunams; New Continental Oil Corporation, Canada, eight licenses covering 2,700,000 dunams; Saks-Ben Tuvim group, Canada, four licenses covering 1,130,000 dunams; Lapodot, an "Israel" corporation (actually Mekroth Warter Company and AMPAL), three licenses; Mechspei Neft Company (Swiss, Israel and United States investors) one license covering 215,000 dunams, and Hayarden Company.

**Pamphlets of progressive** Israeli youths departing from Tel Aviv for a Budapest meeting of a youth federation conference were confiscated late in March by the Israel censors. The pamphlets were said to be anti-Zionist.

**There were 3,000** unemployed in Haifa late in March and the number was expected to grow because of lack of capital or raw materials.

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