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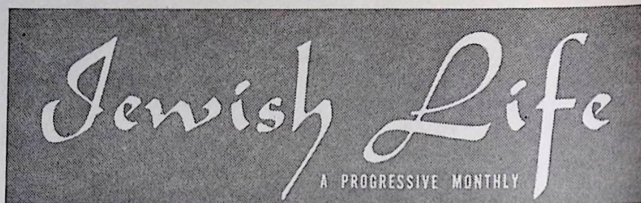
TRIAL OF THE GHETTO'S EXECUTIONER

by A. Kwarterko

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME



Vol. V, No. 12 (60)

OCTOBER, 1951

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An appeal to President Truman to ask Congress "for the immediate and outright appeal of the McCarran act" was made on August 29 by the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran act. Among those signing the letter were Rabbi Uri Miller, chairman of the Social Justice Commission of the Rabbinical Council of America, and Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. . . . The *California Jewish Voice* in its issue of August 17, editorially stated: "Amendment [of the McCarran act] is but abridging its attack upon fundamental constitutional rights. Outright repeal is the proper action to meet this menace."

. . . The National Jewish Youth Conference at its annual assembly early in September attended by representatives of 300 local and national youth organizations with a membership of 300,000, adopted a resolution calling for repeal of the McCarran act. The assembly also denounced the resurgence of nazism in Germany and clemency to nazi war criminals.

Rehearing by the Supreme Court on the Smith act and repeal of the act by Congress was urged by leading San Francisco citizens late in July. Among those signing the statement were Asher Gordon, president of the American Jewish Congress of Northern California, and Jerric Yanow, president of the Western States Jewish Youth Council.

Rise of a new nazi-fascist menace in Western Europe was a warning contained in a report issued by the American Jewish Committee early in September which called attention to the attempts to create a new "fascist international." The report also notes the re-emergence of nazi parties in Germany, which seek acceptance by stressing anti-communism, although the report does not acknowledge full responsibility of the Truman administration for bringing back the nazis.

About 6,000 persons in rural Colorado were asked in the course of a survey conducted by Dr. Omer C. Stewart of the University of Colorado to accept or reject the following statement: "Jews are born with special ability to do business; but naturally tend to be dishonest so that they can make money." Twenty-eight per cent accepted the statement; while one-third of the Catholics asked accepted the statement, one-fourth of the Protestants did;

smaller percentage of city-dwellers than town-dwellers accepted the statement; and half the proportion of those with college education than those who had not gone further than high school agreed.

Desecration of B'nai Israel synagogue at Northampton, Mass., was reported early in September. Pictures in the synagogue were marked over with dollar signs; a rough sketch of the crucifixion was drawn with the inscription, "You did this"; and the Shield of David was also marked. . . . About the same time in Cleveland hoodlums entered a Jewish center, broke windows and chairs, tore up carpets and defaced the walls.

Several anti-Semitic incidents involving Jewish baseball players in the major leagues have occurred recently. In Chicago pitchers Marv Rotblatt and Saul Rogovin were the targets of anti-Semitic epithets.

A Ku Klux Klan mass rally in South Carolina in August attracted about 5,000 persons, most of them apparently curiosity-seekers. Less than 100 of the audience were hooded. The KKK speakers violently attacked Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, assistant defense secretary, Jews and Zionism.

(Continued on page 30)

Our Situation Is Serious!

FOR several months past we have tried to make clear to you that the existence of *Jewish Life* is in danger for financial reasons. Your response to our appeal thus far has been less than sufficient. So, we repeat once again, the financial condition of *Jewish Life* is serious, so serious that our future is in doubt.

What would happen if *Jewish Life* had to suspend publication? It would mean that the only progressive voice in English in the field of Jewish affairs would be silent. Can you afford to have this happen? Can the Jewish people of America be permitted to be shut off from the illumination and the guidance that *Jewish Life* has provided the Jewish community these past five momentous, critical years? In these days, when anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism are rampant; when fascism is creeping upon us; when war is threatened; it would be a profound disservice to American Jewry and, yes, to the country at large, if *Jewish Life* were allowed to cease publication.

We believe that you are quite well aware of the loss that would be thereby sustained. We are convinced that you can not and will not allow this to happen.

You know what you must do—*send us a contribution without delay*. You should do more: get contributions from friends and organizations which would be impoverished if *Jewish Life* were not available to guide them in pursuing progressive policies and programs in the Jewish community.

Send contributions at once to *Jewish Life*, 22 East 17th Street, Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

We know that you will not fail us.

THE EDITORS

GUARDIANS OF FREEDOM

This story of one who offered bail for Smith act victims is also the story of the need to spring to the defense of the Bill of Rights

By Simon Federman

"HELLO there, jailer!"

For some weeks now my friends and acquaintances have been greeting me in this affectionate way, usually accompanied by a warm congratulatory handshake and a knowing look. On some occasions I was able to return the compliment.

"Hello yourself, fellow jailer! And how is your 'prisoner?'"

This cryptic language frequently causes uninformed bystanders to raise their eyebrows in puzzlement. But the initiated know that the designation "jailer," used with an obvious show of appreciation, does not apply to a jail keeper but to a member of a new fraternity created in the America of 1951 by the grace of a Federal judge. This new type of "jailer" is an American citizen who dares to intrude himself into the drama currently being produced by the United States attorney general. The "jailer's" role is to offer bail for political "criminals" rounded up by eager agents of the Department of Justice and the Immigration Service, for unpopular prisoners after the Civil Rights Congress bail fund was pronounced taboo by a vindictive court ruling.

The story of these ordinary American citizens, who were moved to stand up for the constitutional right to bail, reveals a most threatening phase of American life today. One summer morning the newspaper headlines blazed with the news that another batch of Communist leaders, "the second string," had been arrested in New York and that excessively high bail was set. Then bail posted by the Civil Rights Congress was refused. The whole procedure was clearly intended to prevent the release of the prisoners on bail.



SIMON FEDERMAN is a business man and president of the American Federation for Polish Jews. He contributed a large sum toward the bailing of Alexander Bittelman. Mr. Federman is also chairman of the Coordinating Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Societies.

But some Americans made a decision to vindicate the right to bail. These bondsmen could be seen lingering at the entrance of the Federal Court Building at Foley Square until a lawyer for the defense would begin the job of teaming them up, since it was necessary to pool several contributions to make up the large sums required.

Bondsmen Come Forward

The partners in this strange enterprise viewed one another with obvious delight and with some curiosity. They felt like old friends after they were grouped into units capable of acting as surety for one of the prisoners. In one team were a tall, handsome, young man who was a psychoanalyst; a wiry, dynamic, articulate woman bearing a famous American name; a diminutive but fiery furrier and a business man. Among the other teams one could find an overworked dressmaker, an apprehensive and eager housewife, a writer of note and a former teacher, herself a victim of the new American trends.

Once assigned to a group, the members of it were inseparable until their task was completed. Together they went from one office to another, together they waited for interminable hours in the cool, high-ceilinged corridors, together they went to lunch during recess. They were worried when one was missing, and rightly so, for the absence of one person would disrupt the entire action. But the personnel of a given group could not remain the same to the end, because almost invariably one of their number would be disqualified by "clever" technicalities at the hearing and a replacement had to be found. In that event the entire group would uncomplainingly leave the court-house and arrange to meet again the following day for a new try. For the government looked with disfavor on all potential bondsmen, who were upsetting the plans of the Department of Justice to deprive certain Americans of the right to bail. Such prospective bondsmen were therefore not regarded by the government as loyal citizens exercising a legitimate, age-old right, but as an enemy of the country. All but the hardiest were discouraged from attempting to protect the Constitution and aid the accused. The first group of unsuspecting bondsmen very soon learned that what they thought would be a routine chore was to become a protracted and harrowing experience.

Lengthy Preliminaries

I came into the picture shortly after reading the news that Alexander Bittelman, a great Jewish working class leader, had been yanked out of bed at daybreak and cast into jail. I had known the man for many years and regarded him very highly as a profound thinker and important political figure. I recalled that, though he had been a resident of the country for 40 years, he had many times before suffered harassment as a non-citizen and was constantly under threat of deportation.

Prompted by an editorial of T. O. Thackrey, courageous editor of the New York *Daily Compass*, one of the very few to speak up in eloquent indignation over the threat against the right of bail, I reported at Foley Square. There I was led to a cluster of men and women who were anxiously waiting for me to produce the balance of the sum needed for my man. We went to the clerk's office for the preliminary formalities but there we discovered that the heroic efforts to scrape together the exorbitant bail were all in vain. After spending much time on all sorts of details about ourselves, our astonished attorney was told that one of the securities we were offering had to be rejected because of a new regulation issued that morning!

But there were many more such days to come. A few days later our group met again at the Foley Square court house. As I stood looking across the square in all directions for our new partner, I wondered how the formidable structure which now towered over our heads could be likened to Hitler's Reichstag. . . . We were ready to go before the commissioner to present our offer. But the commissioner could not be seen until after lunch. However, he did not come for many hours. Was this another form of punishing people who stood up for the right of bail? Many hours later we entered the commissioner's room.

A Modern Inquisition

Then we came face to face with the Grand Inquisition instituted by the government to deal with the violators of the Smith Act and those who would defend their rights. We could hardly believe our ears. The zealous young assistant district attorney who conducted the examination employed every conceivable means to humiliate and intimidate the witnesses and to have their bail disqualified. Ostensibly the government was interested in the source of the bail money—in itself a patent violation of the law—but in reality it sought to cast suspicion on the character of the prospective bondsmen, on his connections and veracity. Each question was asked with an intonation of mystery and accompanied by a sly look. The assistant district attorney seemed to say: "Now look, we know that you are a fraud and a liar but never mind, we'll get you." In many cases the assistant district attorney came armed with a dossier on his target which helped him spring questions he thought would have a devastating effect. Each examination was terminated with a meaningful pause and a motion for disqualification, frequently granted.

In a short while our case was called. When our first man took the stand, we saw that we were in for some trouble. He was a personable young psychoanalyst, a Dartmouth graduate and scion of an old American family. The assistant D.A. had questioned him on his social activities and finally on his politics. We knew that this ended our chances for the day. And it did.

A few days later we came up with a new replacement. Again we hung around the entire morning and most of the afternoon. At last I found myself on the stand. I anticipated a grilling because mine was the largest sum so far offered and the government had had a few days to concoct new obstacles. The assistant D.A. peered at me intently, all the while fingering papers which apparently contained data on my past. He could not conceal his surprise when I stated that I was a manufacturer, had been in the leadership of both my trade association and a large *landsmanshaft* federation and was prepared to post the substantial amount because I thought highly of the prisoner.

"Are you aware that you would be responsible to produce Mr. Bittelman in court whenever necessary?" he said finally. "Are you aware of the fact that you are obligated to maintain a close watch over him and to have him constantly in your care?" I replied to this—with a semblance of a smile—that I hoped he meant this as a figure of speech. Then came the momentous revelation: "Are you aware, in effect, that you are becoming his jailer?" I gulped and replied: "Yes."

In retaliation for tampering with government plans the bailer was being deputized as a "jailer." We still had to spend all of the next day to bring our mission to a successful conclusion. Then we walked out—five "jailers" and one "ward"—12 days after the initial attempt.

Why Did I Do It?

I confess that, prior to undertaking my venture at Foley Square, I felt rather uneasy about my action and its repercussions. For the American people are being held in the grip of terror and many are seeking safety in silent acquiescence. After the orgy of radical-hunting got under way, most liberals scurried for cover either by renouncing affiliation with "dangerous" people or by joining the anti-communist chorus. With the Smith and McCarran acts strengthening the hand of the Justice Department, it was ready to point an accusing finger at anyone harboring unpopular opinions. The bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress was outlawed and the names of its contributors were frantically sought by the government. In such an atmosphere anyone who thought of putting up bail for a Communist had a soul-searching session with himself to reach a decision. Like the biblical Jacob, I, too, wrestled at night with the Angel—the Angel counseling caution and prudence. But I could have spared myself the struggle, had I but imagined the frightening state of affairs in our country that came to light at the Foley Square show. For then I would have known that I could take no other course.



Alexander Bittelman

When my task was done, I found that I had aroused considerable agitation. This fact in itself is an indictment of our fear-haunted times. I received many phone calls and letters from acquaintances, friends and even strangers. To my amazement, all, without a single exception, were complimentary. Not only those whose views approximated my own voiced approval. Many who had always been critical of my liberal tendencies made it a point to congratulate me. My business associates and trade connections hinted at the risk they thought I incurred, but otherwise seemed rather pleased. Even my banker saw in my act a "laudable gesture." The head of a large businessmen's association with whom I had frequently disagreed in the past, called me to thank me for "having done something for him."

What was happening? Have these typical members of the American middle class begun to doubt the ways of their leaders? Or have they suddenly acquired sympathy for American radicals? No, far from it. *But in this deprivation of the rights of a legal political party and denial of reasonable bail they sensed a great danger to themselves, a problem in which they were themselves somehow involved.* Although they were themselves not willing to speak up, they were nonetheless ready to applaud anyone who was doing the job.

What We Are Defending

To the question why I offered bail for an indicted Communist, I replied, "Isn't it decent and patriotic to prevent the violation of a basic American principle—the right of the accused to be free on bail before he is judged? For isn't it a basic American principle that a man is innocent until proved guilty and should not be imprisoned unless convicted?" But my motives lie even deeper. They are rooted in the sense of alarm that has seized me as an American and a Jew. For a long time now I have felt that the entire moral and spiritual structure of American life was crumbling. The new police state that is rising in its place is a caricature of what the world had heretofore known as America.

How did this happen? When the American republic was

born, the Constitution of the United States reflected the noblest social thinking known to men up to that time. The Constitution proclaimed freedom of speech, press and assembly and guarantees against self-incrimination and the right to reasonable bail.

But strange things began to happen. Our government underwent a drastic change. In 1947, our president promulgated the Truman Doctrine, according to which our former ally in the war against fascism, the Soviet Union, was declared an enemy. Both the principle of international amity and our traditional tolerance of differing social doctrines were promptly thrown overboard. Various developments took place which attempted to convert all of Western Europe into an armed camp. The United States itself was transformed into a country frantically preparing for war, the Truman administration took to its bosom every reactionary regime in Europe and Asia.

The War Against Freedom

The reactionary foreign policy had its internal reflection in an unprecedented campaign against the civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. Unprecedented attacks were initiated against organizations and individuals suspected of thoughts and activities that did not conform with government policy. "Contempt of court" was devised as the American contribution to the art of repression. The infamous McCarran law was permitted to be placed on our statute books and to make its assault against the spirit and substance of the hallowed Bill of Rights. The institution of spies and stoopigeons became a regular feature of government repressive activities. The Smith act, for many years regarded as a legal aberration, was resurrected and used to persecute and in effect to outlaw a political party. Then one day a few months ago the heaviest blow of all struck America when the Supreme Court upheld the Smith act and gave the stamp of legitimacy to the frenzied drive against American liberties. The government quickly began to cash in on the Supreme Court decision. One more contingent of Communists was arrested, then another and yet another. Eleven, seventeen, six, four—a total of 53, a total of 64—the macabre dance went merrily on. The ancient right of reasonable bail was attacked.

Then I thought it was high time to go to Foley Square. I did it, first of all, because I wanted to help save the American Dream, which I first perceived as a youngster in my native Poland. With other youth suffocating from suppression I saw a vision of a better life in the distant land across the sea, where one could be free to think and to study, to talk and to work and to achieve the good life. I nurtured the dream for 30 years while I lived in this country. I went to Foley Square to help save the dream of Lincoln and Thoreau, Whitman and Dreiser—the vision of a free America.

But I was also prodded by my instinct for life. I saw very clearly that the abuse of bail was only one part of a general policy of curtailing all liberties of Americans. That policy is a part of an even wider and more sinister scheme

—preparation for war against the Soviet Union. The success of this sinister plan requires that the American people bend all their efforts toward the war economy, that their standard of living be lowered, that they accept the inevitability of atomic war. To achieve these aims, it is necessary to stifle all opposition, to silence all advocates of peace. The war program will be accelerated to the degree to which the American people are made to keep silent. And in case of war, particularly one in which the nazis would play a large role, Jews all over the world, including the Jews of Israel, will be in danger of total extinction.

All Must Guard Freedom

Thus I came forward to post bail for a left wing leader because in effect I was interested in helping to save my life and the lives of millions of Americans and of the Jewish people everywhere. And one thing more, restriction of freedom and of civil rights strengthens the forces of reaction and opens the floodgates of race hatred and

anti-minority excesses. Repression goes hand in hand with anti-Semitism and Jimcrow, as has actually happened in the recent period. The fate of the Jewish people is inextricably tied in with the fate of progress and the fortunes of the progressive elements in society. Reaction uses the pretext of "anti-communism" to hit at the Jews. Hitler managed to kill six million Jews by this method—and at Peekskill the slogan ran: "Behind the Communist is the Jew. Kill the Jew!" And Gerald L. K. Smith and the Klan are using this trick to good advantage. I went to Foley Square also because in the treatment currently accorded to Communists lurks a great peril to me as a Jew.

I have become a "jailer" and I'm bearing the badge with pride. I have been entrusted with a charge, but I feel that this is not the man I helped to bail out. *The charge that is in my care now is the freedom of America. In fact, that is the charge of every American.* And so I salute you all, fellow jailers, fellow Americans, and bid you to watch over your charge with all your vigilance and all the strength you can muster.

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH PROFESSOR HARPER

Yale University Law School
New Haven, Conn.

August 27, 1951.

Mr. Louis Harap
Jewish Life
22 East 17th Street, Room 601
New York, New York.

Dear Sir:

I received the marked copy of *Jewish Life* this morning and note the appearance of the speech which I delivered at a meeting sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions on July 25th.

I desire to protest the publication in your magazine of my address without my knowledge or consent. I realize that a press release had been made by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions which contained the full text of the speech. This would not give you the right to publish the speech a month later in your magazine under circumstances making it appear that I am a paid contributor to *Jewish Life*. Moreover, the title of the article is not mine nor was I consulted about it and the same thing is true of some of the subtitles, one of which I particularly object to. Although I note that you do not carry letters from readers I do think that you owe me the courtesy of publishing this letter to offset the discourtesy of publishing the speech without my consent.

Very truly yours,

FOWLER V. HARPER.

Professor Fowler V. Harper September 5, 1951

Yale University Law School
New Haven, Connecticut.

Dear Professor Harper:

We received your letter of August 27th, in which you protest publication without your knowledge or consent of the speech you delivered at the Carnegie Hall meeting of July 25th.

We regret that we did not clear with you our publication of the speech. Although we believe that we acted within accepted journalistic practice in printing a speech received through the mail as a press release, we fully recognize that these are not ordinary times and that under the circumstances we should have communicated with you before publishing it. We did not intend to give the impression that the article had in any way been prepared specifically for *Jewish Life*, as we thought we had made clear in our editorial preface to your speech, or that you were the author of the title or subheads, which we added in accordance with usual practice.

May we take this occasion, however, to say again, as we did in our editorial preface, that despite any differences we may have with some aspects of your position, we share your deep conviction that the country is in danger of losing its freedom and that the Bill of Rights must be defended. And may we add, too, that we have the greatest respect for your espousal of this view in the face of the intimidation that pervades the country. Our freedom will indeed be saved if many more Americans assert its principles with the forthrightness manifested in your speech.

We shall print your letter and this reply in our next issue.

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS HARAP,
Managing Editor.

GERMAN YOUTH WANT PEACE

Two million German youth and thousands of youth from 104 countries at the Berlin Youth Festival are determined that Germany will not rearm

By Robert Fineman

IN A MEETING room in the Eastern sector of Berlin this summer, the executive committee of the Third World Youth and Students Festival read a letter sent by the Jewish Communal Organization of the German Democratic Republic and signed by its spokesman Martin Becker. "It is very good," said the letter, "that Berlin has been chosen as the capital of the youth this summer. Youth from all over the world, and especially Jewish youth, will see for themselves that the new Germany is rapidly cleansing itself of all semblances of anti-Semitism and fascism."

It may be difficult for many, particularly many Jews, to conceive of any part of Germany as democratic and combating anti-Semitism and a new world war. The memories of the past war and of six million dead Jews and many million others are too vivid to be erased easily.

Yet, in Berlin, where only six years earlier nazi storm troopers commanded the streets, where the *Hitler-Jugend* sang songs of war, where for 13 years the people had been fed the lie that Germans were superior beings, that Jews, Negroes, Slavs and Asians were inferior—the story was different in 1951. For Berlin in the summer of 1951 was the scene of the Third World Youth and Students Festival. The city was host to about two million youth from Germany and from all over the world, representing 104 different countries, pledging friendship and equality and vowing to fight for peace and against the rearmament of Germany. In this Berlin the Negro from Africa clasped the hand of his white brother from Germany, the Chinese, Korean, and Filipino were welcomed to the festival with open arms in full equality. Here Negro and Jewish, white and yellow, Protestant and Catholic youth marched under the slogan of *Freundschaft*—friendship.

A New German Youth

As the 24,000 international delegates and the two million German youth gathered in August in Berlin's historic streets, the memories of depraved Hitlerism faded away. The buildings resounded with words of peace. The theaters sparkled with the songs and dances of 104 nations. Young brothers and sisters from every country met and danced in the streets, joyfully shouted friendly greetings to one other, enthusiastically witnessed demonstrations of their many cultures. The cultural activities of the festival

were magnificent. For instance, on one typical festival day, August 14, the Festival Program announced the following: four international cultural competitions, 23 national cultural programs, 16 exhibitions, four international programs, 28 films from various countries, four German cultural programs, 14 sports competitions, four international meetings, two circus programs, and six "other cultural events."

This, one must not forget, in a city where Germans were once taught that only one true culture existed!

This was indeed a new Germany in which the festival was held. And the youth were determined that never again would the ominous tramp of nazi jackboots be heard in these streets. Instead, solemn pledges were made by German youth and the festival participants from many nations that "all of our power will be utilized in the fight for peace in order to hinder a new war." They pledged themselves to fight against the armaments race, for improved living conditions and for the signing of a pact of peace among the five great powers.

The Keynote: No Rearmament

The tremendous parades and the speeches emphasized the overwhelming desire for peace and demilitarization of Germany. On August 12, Walter Ulbricht, deputy prime minister of the German Democratic Republic, delivered a speech to hundreds of thousands of East and West German youth. He appealed to the young people to do everything in their power to preserve peace, to safeguard the fatherland and to fight against rearmament of their country. "You must organize youth to refuse military service in a West German army, which in reality is nothing but a Hitler army," he said.

Erich Honecker, president of the German youth organization, *Freie Deutsche Jugend* (Free German Youth), added that "there is no better opportunity to pledge solemnly before the youth of the world that German youth will continue their fight against the remilitarization of West Germany until peace is secured."

Emphasizing that German rearmament meant war, Erich Correns, chairman of the National Council of the National Front, attacked General Dwight Eisenhower's "Let bygones be bygones" sentiments. "By his statement that the honor of the German soldier had not been tarnished" said Correns,

"General Eisenhower gave the murderers of civilization and the gas chamber specialists American absolution. He wants them to repeat tomorrow what they did yesterday." (*New York Times*, August 12.) For undoubtedly one of the most significant aspects of the festival was its strong stand against the remilitarization of Germany. This feature of the gathering should carry home to the Jews the genuine anti-fascist nature of the festival. For Jews all over the world are alarmed at and have pretty unanimously protested the rebirth of nazism in Western Germany, the freeing of nazi war criminals and the proposed rearming of a renazified Germany.

As an Israeli Foreign Office spokesman said on July 13, in protesting the ending of the state of war with Germany by the United States, Britain and France: "Six years after the end of hostilities, Germany has not yet made expiation or reparation for the crimes committed by the nazis, nor yet abjured or solemnly dissociated themselves from the appalling record of nazi rule. . . . And today, the evil doctrines of nazism are rampant in Germany. So long as this state of affairs continues, Germany's war against the Jewish people cannot be regarded as having ended." It should be encouraging to Jews that the festival demonstrated once again that this cannot be said of Eastern Germany.

Yet, while the festival represented a most impressive protest and struggle against German rearmament, and as such deserves the support of Jews everywhere, Israeli Premier Ben Gurion refused to grant visas to Israeli youth who wanted to come to the festival.

Who Is "Frightened"?

The festival was reported with scandalous distortions by the reactionary press in this country. What, for instance, was "frightening," as Drew Middleton reported in the *New York Times* of August 13, about the gigantic parade of the festival in which about two million German youths participated under the slogans of peace, *Freundschaft* and opposition to German rearmament? Why should the determination of German youth to live in friendship and peace with all peoples and to resist German rearmament be "frightening"? The German youth marched not with guns, but with rakes and placards from their factories. How is this similar to the nazi youth goosestepping to the tune of *Horst Wessel* ("when Jewish blood runs in the streets," as the song goes)? The festival youth sang no songs extolling war, were not parading as soldiers but against their use as soldiers, nor was there any trumpeting of "Aryan" supremacy but rather affirmation of the equality of all peoples. These German youth were serving notice that they will not be cannon fodder in a third world war. Is this "frightening"?

The attempt to obstruct the festival was not limited to press distortions. Many delegates were prevented from coming to the festival altogether. More than a million dollars was allocated by the United States to the Adenauer Bonn regime to prevent delegates from reaching Berlin. Adenauer issued an edict forbidding West German youth to attend



A giant placard in East Berlin greeting peaceful world youth.

and closed the borders to the incoming youth. Protests against the ruling brought severe clubbings and beatings in West Germany. Eleanor Wheeler reported (*National Guardian*, August 28) that four young men on their way to the festival from West Germany were murdered by Adenauer's police and 417 were beaten. In Austria, 100 British youth were roughed up by American soldiers when they sought to get through to the festival. The British government refused to allow the Polish liner "Batory" to enter British waters carrying delegates. The Australian government threatened to cancel passports of all delegates who went from that country. The French and Italian governments used all sorts of tricks to obstruct the issuance of passports to delegates. No effort was spared to prevent delegates from gathering to promote friendship and to voice their demands for peace.

Will to Peace Is Strengthened

Nevertheless, the festival was a huge success. The meaning of the festival is today becoming known throughout the world. The desire for peace is gaining added strength as a result. Young people from five continents are returning home to rally all youth against the drive to war and for world cooperation and peace. And the all-important fight against German rearmament—the key to peace—has been strengthened.

More and more people are learning who wants peace and who is interested in promoting war. The evidence of the festival is irrefutable. Its anti-war character, its emphasis on demilitarization and on world cooperation and on a five power peace pact taught the world a great deal. But the actions of our own government and of the countries under its powerful influence show a fear of the determination that German and world youth showed against the rearming of Germany. Despite all the attempts to disrupt the festival, two million German youth rose in a united cry for peace and against German rearmament.

WHAT IS THE MacIVER REPORT?

This article cuts a swath through the dense fog of technicalities and partisan pleading around the much-discussed MacIver Report

By Louis Harap

THE controversy over the so-called MacIver Report is currently raging in the English-Jewish press. This 135-page document is as yet secret and relatively few people have been able to obtain a copy. But the public is by now quite familiar with its main ideas from the numerous published summaries and comments. This writer has read the full text of the report.

First, a little background. For a long time there has been widespread dissatisfaction in the Jewish community with the operation of community relations agencies and particularly of the "defense" agencies (supposedly devoted to combatting anti-Semitism and discrimination). Quarrels over jurisdiction and financing have long plagued these groups. In January 1950, the executive committee of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (hereafter referred to as "NCRAC") decided to initiate a study of the whole field of Jewish community relations to ease this situation. The organizations to be studied were chiefly those organized in the NCRAC, which is a coordinating agency of autonomous member bodies. The members of the NCRAC are: the six major national "defense" organizations, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans and Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform); and the various local Jewish community relations councils and committees. R. M. MacIver, emeritus professor of sociology at Columbia University and president of the New York Americans for Democratic Action, was chosen to execute the study with a fund of \$20,000.

Why the excitement over the report? First, MacIver harshly criticized the administration of the two powerful, major "defense" agencies, the American Jewish Committee (AJC), and Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Both organizations have been stung into issuing preliminary memoranda in self-defense. But the more basic reason is that the report takes sides in the major struggle for power between the AJC-ADL group and the tight bureaucracy in control of Jewish welfare funds.

What has MacIver proposed? His report points out familiar facts about the "defense" agencies and his report uncovered nothing new. There is much duplication and a resultant waste of money and impairment of efficiency. MacIver also pointed out that an excessively competitive spirit prevails and that these agencies make exaggerated

claims for their work. He makes certain administrative proposals that might correct these obvious abuses.

We need not burden the reader with the details of his recommendations. Let us go directly to the heart of the report—where the power to allocate funds is to be placed. For as everyone knows, power over the purse is decisive for everything else. MacIver proposes to vest this power in a committee of the NCRAC. This committee would be composed of three groups: the "defense" agencies with five votes; the local community councils with five votes; and either the Council of Jewish Federations and Jewish Welfare Funds (the overall executive body of the welfare funds) or the Large City Budgeting Committee (the large city executive group of the previous body) with five votes. The latter two groups, which represent the welfare funds group, would therefore have ten votes as against five for the "defense" agencies. Thus control of funds would go to the welfare funds group. Under the present set-up the AJC and ADL are largely financed by their own independent Joint Defense Appeal. Thus, under MacIver's scheme, the NCRAC would be changed from an advisory co-ordinating group to the all-powerful fund-allocating and program-controlling group.

Is this change desirable? The answer depends on whether the needs of the Jewish community would be better met by the welfare funds group. But, in fact, as regards basic policy the two groups are Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Despite all the differences in "ideology" about which the several agencies may talk elaborately, all adhere to the same basic outlook on the main problems facing the Jewish people.

Big Business Ideology

What is this common ideology? It is well known that both groups are controlled by oligarchies of the country's wealthiest Jews, who try to dominate and speak for the entire Jewish community. These forces are the representatives of Jewish Big Business and their function is to restrain the Jewish masses from effective struggle for equality. The large staffs of professional "experts" in community relations execute policy and do in fact exert considerable influence, but only on a secondary level. For the wealthy oligarchy keeps a firm, unyielding hold on basic

policy. This is true of the agencies operated by both groups, as every one knows well enough. As might be expected from their status as big businessmen, the oligarchs retain their control by imposing an undemocratic structure on organized Jewish life. For if this structure were permitted to become democratic, their hold would be loosened. Policy and program are dictated from the top and the Jewish masses simply don't get a look-in on the determination of policy. No greater democracy would therefore be achieved by transfer of power from one group to another. For what is involved here is a struggle for power between two groups of the Jewish big bourgeoisie.

An important weapon of the big bourgeois oligarchs is the policy of hush-hush, practiced equally by both "defense" and welfare funds groups. So far as possible, they not only keep the Jewish masses from having a voice in the determination of policy—they also try to prevent the Jewish masses from participating in the fight against anti-Semitism and discrimination and for the preservation of democracy. In many instances the Jewish community has risen up in wrath against outrageous manifestations of hush-hush.

MacIver's proposal, then, would only take power from Tweedledum and give it to Tweedledee. One would not expect MacIver to do otherwise, since he himself adheres to the same basic views as the oligarchs. It was therefore to be anticipated that MacIver would utterly fail to analyze the basic ideology and consequent strategies of the two contending groups, but would instead only take sides as between the two. And this is what actually happened. For practically all his criticism is administrative in nature. There is much cogency in the tart comment on the report by J. L. Fishbein, editor of the Chicago weekly, *The Sentinel*, in his editorial of August 12. "As far as American Jewry is concerned," wrote Fishbein, "the MacIver Report, one way or another, is of little practical value. While it no doubt correctly points out the tremendous wastage of funds and duplication of efforts which every school child knows exists, it solves nothing. It carefully avoids the real problem. . . . The sad truth, of course, which the MacIver Report dares not even touch upon, is that despite the millions of dollars we are spending, American Jewry today has no defense agency worthy of the name. This has been dramatically proven in every test involving anti-Semitic outbreaks during the past several years."

Jewish "Separateness"

In the light of MacIver's failure to probe into the real problems of the defense of Jewish rights, it is revealing to examine the one proposal that he makes for combatting anti-Semitism. He draws a mechanical distinction between overt anti-Semitism and the "polite" variety, which he prefers to call "anti-Jewish prejudice," which, he says, prevails among from 50 to 60 per cent of the American people. "Anti-Jewish prejudice," he says, is caused in part by the fact that traditional Jewish attitudes and religious observances tend to "separate" the Jew from the non-Jew and thus

to make the non-Jew feel that the Jew is an "alien" in American society. MacIver then suggests that Jewish community relations agencies should try to educate Jews to break down these tendencies towards "separateness" and to that degree to diminish a cause of this "anti-Jewish prejudice." In other words, he is advancing the bourgeois assimilationist position that Jews should make themselves indistinguishable from non-Jews, except in religion. Interestingly enough, the preliminary AJC memorandum signifies agreement with MacIver on this point. This aspect of the report has come in for bitter denunciation in the English-Jewish press and it has even been charged that MacIver made anti-Semitic statements in books published by him about 20 years ago but still in use today. We cannot go into this large question here except to say that we disagree with MacIver's analysis of the question.

What does interest us at this point is that MacIver should give a prominent place in his report to the discredited theory that the conduct of Jews plays a part in the development of anti-Semitism—or "anti-Jewish prejudice," as he prefers to call it. "Discredited," I say, because this theory was disproved in a catastrophic way only a few years ago in Germany, where, despite general adherence to this view, the Jews were murdered by the nazis. This little excursion of MacIver into theory reveals his own ideological bent, which also indicates his tacit acceptance of the main premises of the agencies' methods of "fighting" anti-Semitism.

Several Pregnant Omissions

The total inadequacy of the report is also revealed by several important omissions. These are not accidental, but flow from MacIver's own bias in favor of his sponsors' viewpoints. We shall deal here with three. First, his treatment of the American Jewish Congress. MacIver notes that Congress was originally formed because of dissatisfaction with the American Jewish Committee. The Congress founders wanted a "defense" organization that was Zionist and anti-assimilationist and opposed to the "exclusiveness" of the Committee. He does not, however, note that Congress tended to favor mass action and opposed hush-hush, as was so dramatically shown in Congress' sponsorship of tremendous anti-nazi mass actions during the thirties. MacIver completely omits to mention the fact that the leadership of Congress has in the past few years, under the twin pressures of the welfare funds dictation and anti-communist hysteria, destroyed the relatively democratic character of that organization. Nor does the report mention that the Congress leadership has illegally expelled vigorous chapters and divisions and has abandoned the technique of mass action. These developments have tended to make Congress virtually indistinguishable from the AJC. The Congress leadership has acquiesced to hush-hush, has stifled mass action and, like the AJC and the ADL, now relies for its activities almost exclusively on its paid professional "experts." MacIver failed in his obligation to evaluate these important developments.

Second, MacIver has completely omitted to convey the essential reality about the Jewish Labor Committee, when he proposes to hand over complete jurisdiction of all labor work in Jewish community relations to this Committee. What is this group? It is a creature of the rabidly anti-communist Dubinsky-Forward cabal, which works closely with the American Jewish Committee. Up to a few years ago the Jewish Labor Committee was devoted almost exclusively to "rehabilitation" of "refugees" abroad and importation of "refugees" to this country. In actuality its function was to bring here a maximum of obsessively anti-communist Jewish figures who would help to mislead the Jews into irrational hatred of the Soviet Union.

False "Labor" Agency

The Labor Committee has not fought against anti-Semitism in this country. On the contrary, the Labor Committee seems to specialize in denouncing all militant struggle against anti-Semitism as a kind of "communist racket."

While the Labor Committee has never issued any reports on anti-Semitism in the United States, it has issued numerous lying reports on "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies—an indication that it is not interested in fighting anti-Semitism, but in promoting anti-communist hysteria. The real character of this committee can be gathered from the material of its unofficial organ, the Jewish daily *Forward*. Only too many examples could be cited of the *Forward's* alliance with the most reactionary tendencies. Goebbels cited the *Forward* approvingly in a speech in September 1936; the Brooklyn *Tablet* on March 11, 1944, printed a translation of a *Forward* article by L. Vogelmann condemning the struggle against anti-Semitism as a "red plot," etc., etc. And this year, copies of the *Forward* were permitted to be used prominently in the obscene, lying anti-communist film, *I Was a Communist for the FBI*. Yet Bosley Crowther, film critic of the *New York Times*, wrote that in its anti-labor and racist potentialities "this film plays a bit recklessly with fire." Does MacIver consider that such an anti-democratic and anti-labor agency as the Jewish Labor Committee should "defend" Jewish rights in the labor field? MacIver is not averse to turning over the labor field of community relations to the Labor Committee since his own ADA viewpoint places him among the rabidly "anti-communist" camp.

A third major omission of the report is its total failure to mention or evaluate one of the leading aspects of the current program of the "defense" agencies, their anti-communist campaign. MacIver alludes ambiguously to their investigations into the Ku Klux Klan and other "subversive" organizations, but does not explicitly mention their anti-communist activities. This is no trivial omission. It cries aloud for analysis and evaluation, in view of the fact that anti-communism was the technique employed by Hitler to destroy one-third of the Jewish people. It raises the question of whether the "defense" agencies are themselves thereby abetting the development of fascism in this country

and helping to complete the job that Hitler started.

A searching analysis and evaluation of the "defense" agencies is desperately needed today. Far from rallying the Jewish people in self-defense and in defense of democracy, these agencies are hindering that mobilization of mass action that alone can save the Jews and democracy from the impending perils of fascism and war. Thus the "defense" agencies have not yet to date said one word on the Supreme Court majority's upholding of the Smith act, which threatens to disintegrate the very foundations of democracy and thereby also to jeopardize the survival of the Jewish people. MacIver himself entirely neglects any discussion of the function of the "defense" agencies in relation to the menacing trend toward nullification of the Bill of Rights.

The Jewish people are once more at the crossroads. Every day brings new perils to the Jewish people, as to all peoples. Overt and even violent outbreaks of anti-Semitism and racist attacks on the Negro people and minority groups are daily occurrences. The "defense" agencies are failing the Jewish people and democracy in this emergency. The MacIver Report is totally insensitive to this emergency. The Jewish people must see to it that these "defense" instruments are refashioned into real bulwarks of Jewish and democratic rights. The Jewish masses must call for a penetrating and genuine report of this field.

Saypol's Anti-Semitic Act

Where was the American Jewish Committee, which would like the Jewish community to believe that it protects Jewish rights, when District Attorney Irving Saypol injected an appeal to "racial prejudice" in his prosecution of the perjury trial of William W. Remington last year? Not one word of protest issued from the AJC, or from any other "defense" agency, for that matter. The neglect is compounded by the fact that Saypol was last year elected to the administrative committee of the AJC.

It remained for the federal Court of Appeals to administer a rebuke to Saypol in its decision of August 22 reversing the conviction of Remington. This is what the court said: "We wish, however, to admonish counsel for the prosecution [Saypol] that in case of a retrial there should be no repetition of the cross-examination attack upon defense witness Redmont's change of name. Redmont testified that he had changed his name for professional reasons and that he had done so pursuant to court order. On cross-examination the prosecution continued his inquiry in this matter long after it became clear that the change of name had no relevancy to any issue at the trial, and could only serve to arouse possible racial prejudice on the part of the jury."

The court decision does not state that this shameful appeal to prejudice by a Jew whose own name had been changed was made as part of an appeal to hysterical anti-communism (See *JEWISH LIFE*, September 1951, p. 4). The Jewish community has a right to demand that the AJC see to it that Saypol should resign from the AJC and that he should publicly apologize for this anti-democratic, anti-Jewish conduct.

TOWARD A FIVE-POWER PEACE PACT

Jewish people in various parts of the world are joining the campaign for signatures to the petition for peace: experiences in Tel Aviv, Paris, London

I: A HALF-MILLION SIGNATURES FOR ISRAEL

Tel Aviv

THE campaign to collect signatures to the petition calling for a peace pact among the five great powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Britain and France—and opposing rearmament of Germany was initiated in Israel at a festive session of the Israeli Peace Council in Tel Aviv during the weekend of August 4th. The council set itself the goal of 500,000 signatures in Israel.

The session was presided over by council president Meyer Yaari, Mapam member of the Knesset. Tewfiq Toubi, Arab leader of the Israeli Communist Party and a member of the Knesset, who addressed the meeting, declared: "By signing the peace petition the people of Israel will show their unwillingness to accept as final Truman's reply to Shvernik's peace initiative. The Israeli people, with the people of the world, will force the imperialistic warmongers to submit to the will for peace of the people." Other speakers included Meyer Vilner, Communist Party leader and Knesset member, the distinguished intellectual, Professor S. Eisenstadt, and representatives of youth and women. Rabbi Pessahovich, a member of the Peace Council, said amid applause: "The victory will be with those who believe in and fight for life against death-bringing war."

The meeting was attended by many noted public figures, among them Arab Communist leader and Knesset member Emil Habibi and Mapam Knesset members Bar-Yehuda, Zisling, Sneh, Ilanit and Galili. Delegates representing peace fighters from all Israeli towns and many villages were the first to sign the appeal for a peace pact at the end of the opening ceremony, after members of the Peace Council had signed. It was also decided to establish new peace councils throughout the country and to start a campaign for a peace fund. Three Israeli delegates, Emil Habibi, Aharon Cohen and G. Dosman, were named to attend a preparatory meeting in Tunis for a regional peace congress to be held later in the French North African colony at Tunisia.

The Peace Council has issued the following call to the people of Israel:

"In order to realize the hopes of millions of people over the whole world without regard to differing views on the causes of the danger of world war;

"In order to strengthen peace and guarantee international security;

"We demand that a peace pact be signed by the five great powers: United States, Soviet Union, Chinese People's Republic, Britain and France. We shall consider refusal to participate in a meeting to achieve such a peace pact on the part of any of the governments of the great powers, whichever it may be, as showing that this government has aggressive designs.

"We call upon all inhabitants of Israel, who are striving for peace, to sign this demand for a peace pact, to which all countries should be able to adhere.

"In order to avert the danger of war threatening all humanity and to defend international security, we demand a halt to the rearmament of Germany and the revival of the nazi army. The rearmament of Germany presents a frightful danger for all of humanity and a particularly fearful threat to the Jewish people, of whom millions were murdered by Hitler, as well as to the State of Israel, which faces compelling tasks of realizing independence, of building up the country and of fitting itself to absorb mass immigration.

"We, the residents of Israel, call upon peace-loving peoples to support the demand that the arming of Germany be not permitted, thereby liberating mankind from the danger of a new world war.

"We, the undersigned citizens of Israel, demand

"1. The signing of a peace pact by the five great powers;

"2. A halt to the rearmament of Germany and revival of the nazi army."

The campaign for signatures is proceeding rapidly. For instance, on September 13, over 100 physicians from Israeli towns and communal settlements attended the "Doctors for Peace" meeting in Tel Aviv under the auspices of the Israeli Peace Council. Dr. Hanna Sneh reported on similar conferences held in Britain, France and Italy. "Let us never be instrumental in killing people, let us never activate bacteria for the purpose of extermination," she urged. After an address by the secretary of the council, the doctors voted

unanimously to call on all medical workers to join the Israeli section of the International Physicians' Peace Organization. The Israeli section decided to send a delegation to the forthcoming Physicians' World Conference for Peace. The physicians called on all medical workers to sign the five-power peace pact petition.

II. HE GATHERED OVER 900 SIGNATURES

Paris

THE peace fighter of whom I write is not young—he is 68 years old. But it would shame a younger man to see the energy and conviction that pour forth from this old man, Israel Liessuk.

His dynamism and faith were shown in practical achievement: he has gathered 920 signatures to the petition for a peace pact of the five great powers.

How and where Liessuk obtained the signatures, he will tell himself. But first permit me to say that, since the campaign to outlaw atomic weapons, this beloved man has been one of the most active, one of the best workers for the people.

And now, let him speak for himself: "I know what war means and how dear peace is. Therefore, despite my age, I have decided to put all my energies in the service of peace.

"I gathered more than 900 signatures in cafés, going from house to house, wherever people were. It was not easy. There were those who refused to sign. But I did not get angry with them. I explained the issues to them and returned again. Many then signed. Better still, some people gave me the addresses of their relatives and friends so I

could get their signatures. This proved a very good way to get signatures.

"Many people argued: 'Mr. Liessuk, you are old. You should not bother with this. Don't concern yourself with all this signing. It is better for you to rest or play chess.'

"But I answered: 'You respect my age. You should also respect the lives of your children and see to it that they grow up in a peaceful world.'

"My answer made an impression on them and they said, 'Since you, Mr. Liessuk, have the courage to climb stairs—let me sign.'"

Mr. Liessuk is a devoted friend of children. This concern for children absorbs him. He did outstanding work for the bazaar for the Central Children's Committee, collecting valuable articles for sale, and he personally contributed many articles.

"For them," he said, "for the little ones, one should do everything. I work for their future.

"I have gathered many signatures in the street where I have my store. Sometimes my friends wonder why I leave my place in the middle of the day and go off to gather signatures. I explain to them that, just as it is necessary to make a living, so also a man cannot live without peace. Therefore one must work for both at the same time."

Liessuk is respected by the residents of Belleville, Jews and non-Jews alike, who know him very well and know the devotion and determination with which he works for peace.

N. PRESS

III. MRS. POSNER'S SECRET

London

THE people of Britain should be proud of what Mrs. Posner is doing for them. The Jews of Britain should be especially proud of the spectacular part this unassuming middle-aged Stepney Jewish woman is playing in the movement for peace.

You won't have read about her in the *London Daily Express* or *Daily Herald* [Labor party organ] or in the *Jewish Chronicle*. What she has done isn't their kind of news—though their readers would surely be thrilled by it. For this tired housewife with family responsibilities and a living to help earn, who attends hospital three times a week for treatment, has so far collected 2,300 signatures to the petition for a five-power peace pact.

I found her at home doing her housework in the back parlor behind the little shop she helps to run. She looked like a very ordinary, average kind of woman of her generation—about 55 years of age. But she didn't have to talk long for the motive power behind her work and the reasons for her tremendous results to become clear.

She understands the ordinary man and woman. She puts plain questions which reach straight to the heart of their worries and problems. Her answers give them confidence by showing them what they can do.



"Well, Von Frickelschnitt, how does it feel to be in the front line of the fight to save democracy?"

UE News

"Six million Jews were killed during the war," she said, "and millions of non-Jews of all nations. Now they are preparing for another war, rebuilding a German army and letting the nazi war criminals go free. I can't shut my eyes to what is happening. While I have breath left to breathe I'll do what I can to stop it."

When does she collect her signatures? When doesn't she! "I go to the London Hospital three times a week. When I'm finished there, I walk down to Aldgate. Thousands of people pass. Every evening after supper I slip out for an hour or so to canvass in nearby streets and housing projects."

"How do people take your approaching them?" I asked.

"Many jump at the opportunity. They say: 'Thank God somebody's doing something.' They tell me how hard things are getting. They soon won't be able to buy clothes and anything but the simplest food. That's paying to prepare for war. Others say: 'Of course we don't want war again, but if they've made up their minds to have a war, what can we do?'"

"I tell them: The millions of signatures speak a voice that governments must listen to. Hundreds of millions in all countries in the world, that's a force they have to reckon with. The signatures of people who don't want war and are putting it on record. What can you do? Sign yourself, tell others to do so, take one of my forms and get others to sign for you."

Mrs. Posner has spent a lifetime in the labor movement working for the social improvements and advances which today are held up or being cancelled out because of rearmament. "Sign the peace petition," I tell my friends, "and strengthen the labor movement by protecting our gains from the inroads of war preparations."

What's the secret of Mrs. Posner's success? There isn't any. It's her hatred of war, her passionate sincerity, her tireless and persistent work, her simple, straightforward manner which inspire confidence, win the people's ear and get them doing something for their peace and security.

LONDON *Jewish Clarion* CORRESPONDENT

FRANK ROSENBLUM SOUNDS THE ALARM

IN the closing speech of the New York State CIO convention on September 8, Frank Rosenblum, right wing trade union leader and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, delivered a strong denunciation of the Smith and McCarran acts and warned against the danger of fascism in the United States and against the Truman foreign policy of alliance with fascist Spain, Argentina and a re-nazified, re-cartellized Germany. These views were expressed within a framework of enmity for communism. Mr. Rosenblum is a sponsor of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. Excerpts from his speech follow:

"Our civil rights are insidiously being impaired, restricted and curbed. A wave of legislation, beginning with the Taft-Hartley and Smith act and embracing the McCarran and similar measures, has created in effect a parallel legal system superseding the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and our traditional body of law.

"This is a dangerous movement toward fascism, representing a real threat to labor and liberal elements in the community. This reactionary movement is deliberate and being engineered by those who would substitute fascism for democracy even though they seek to create the impression that it is being directed against communism.

"The danger inside America is the threat of fascism, just as the threat of communism is the threat abroad. Nobody seriously believes the communists

are a serious threat at home—the trade unions have demonstrated how to handle them—but a creeping fascism is a real menace here and we must take steps to counteract it. . . .

"Surely I do not have to remind a trade union audience that labor unions were and are the first victims of fascism. This was so in Mussolini Italy; in Hitler's Germany and is so now in Franco's Spain and in Peron's Argentina. . . .

"Are we really binding together those who love liberty? Are all our actions in the international field sane, thoughtful, helpful to the best elements abroad who can be counted on to resist aggression, to fight for our way of life? Are we not, in some ways, breaking their hearts and crushing their spirits by our dubious alliances, as with Franco Spain or Peron in the Argentine? How can we ask the harassed peoples abroad, hardly able to keep body and soul together, to believe our democratic professions when we ally ourselves with the very assassins of democracy, Franco and Peron?

"Do we really believe that the men who destroyed the trade unions in their countries or enslaved them, will be our rock of strength when the chips are down?

"The cartelists, the Krupps and other industrialists who put Hitler in power are back in the saddle again. The nazi spirit is re-awakening. . . . The hydra-headed monster of nazism and reaction is rearing its ugly face again in Germany and one begins to wonder whether victory over Hitler was real."

MEANING OF THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS

The economic and political background of the elections in Israel helps to explain the results and the need for a coalition of workers' parties

By A. B. Magil

ISRAEL'S second parliamentary election on July 30 has failed to solve the crisis that led to the fall of the first Ben Gurion government and the calling of a new election. That crisis may be epitomized as the conflict between dependence on foreign imperialism and dependence for popular support on those who are impelled to oppose the consequences of that policy. The relations among the political parties resulting from the new election are such that a new government crisis in the near future is almost inevitable.

The government established after the first election in January 1949, marked the re-entrance of Israel into the world colonial system of imperialism. The "mandate"—backed by billions of dollars—is held this time by the United States instead of Britain, though British influence has by no means been eliminated. The two and a half years between the first and second elections marked the further rapid colonization of Israel by American imperialism, with the invasion of United States capital, the increased dislocation of Israel's foreign trade, the undermining of its currency, the curbing of its industrialization and the subordination of its economic and political policies to the Wall Street-Washington war program.

"As to Israel becoming an Anglo-American base, that statement is the product of imagination and a not very innocent imagination," said Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett at a press conference on April 24, 1949. "There is nothing further from the mind of the government of Israel than that Israel should become the base for any power."

Two years later the government leaders were themselves trumpeting Israel's role as "a bastion of the free world"—that is, an Anglo-American base in a war of aggression against the very countries that gave such massive aid, politically and with arms, to Israel's independence struggle.

Do the Mapai chiefs lie awake nights worrying about the danger facing the Israeli people and the threat of a new world war? It seems their sleepless nights are for other reasons. A *New York Times* dispatch (March 28) on Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGee's visit to Israel reported that, after seeing Sharett and President

Chaim Weizmann, he was able "to gain insight into one of the principal fears of the Israelis at the present time. This is that the Arab states not only will remain neutral in the event of a world war but will prevent the Israelis from fighting." These men who profess to be leaders of a people that suffered such frightful mass torture and decimation in the last war are worried that the peoples of Israel and the Arab countries won't serve as cannon-fodder for the Anglo-American aggressors!

The United States loans to Israel, like those to other countries, are an integral part of this partnership for war. The war objectives of these loans are no longer being concealed either by the Zionist leaders or the Republican and Democratic sponsors of these benefactions. Rep. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., co-author of the bill to give Israel a \$150,000,000 grant-in-aid, in arguing for his measure cited the size of the Israeli army and declared that Israel "can be an outpost of American strength and influence in the Middle East."

Geared to such a foreign policy, the domestic economic measures of the Israeli government necessarily take on a war character. They do not strengthen Israel for defense against potential Arab attack but prepare her to participate in Anglo-American aggression. The United States loans and private investments, on which the government's economic program has been based, also serve another related purpose: to increase Israel's economic dependence on the United States and prevent that industrial development essential for economic freedom and the rapid integration of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. The majority of Israel's people have been sold a bill of goods: that salvation lies in American dollars. But the experience of the past two and a half years has shown that these dollars bring poverty and servitude. Today a quarter of a million men, women and children have only temporary shelter—tents, huts and whatnot—and the cancerous economic crisis spreads everywhere.

Election Results

It was the pincers of economic crisis and class struggle that cracked like a rotten nut the social democratic-bourgeois coalition government. Let us turn, then, to the election results, both in 1949 and 1951, and see what they show.

A. B. MAGIL is a veteran journalist. He is the author of *Israel in Crisis*, a comprehensive study of Israel from the Marxist viewpoint. He is at present Telepress correspondent in Mexico City.

Party	Percentage		Knesset Seats	
	1949	1951		
			1949	1951
Labor Party (Mapai)	35.7	37.3	46	45
General Zionists	5.2	16.1	7	20
United Workers Party (Mapam)	14.8	12.5	19	15
Freedom Movement (Herut)	11.5	6.65	14	8
Religious Bloc	12		16	
Hapoel Hamizrachi		6.75		8
Mizrachi		1.5		2
Poali Agudat Yisrael		1.6		2
Agudat Yisrael		2.0		3
Communist Party	3.6	4.0	4 ¹	5
Progressive Party	4.1	3.2	5	4
Arab Democrats (Mapai)		2.4		3
Sephardic and Oriental Communities		1.8		2
Progress and Work Party—				
Arab List (Mapai)		1.2		1
Farmers' Development Party—				
Arab List (Mapai)		1.15		1
Yemenites	1.0	1.2		1

The election results point to the following conclusions:

1. The workers' parties, Mapai, Mapam, Hapoel Hamizrachi (religious workers), three Mapai Arab lists and the Communists, won an absolute majority of the vote and 78 of the 120 Knesset seats.

2. The voters refused to give Mapai that "stable majority" which it had asked for itself alone. Commanding the government apparatus, the army, the police and, above all, the powerful Histadrut machine and making liberal use

¹In actual practice the Communists had only three deputies in the previous Knesset since the fourth was expelled from the party shortly after the election. He refused to give up his seat and joined Mapam.

of coercion and terror, Mapai just about held its own.

3. Nevertheless, social democracy remains the leading political force in Israel despite its reactionary policies and the privations to which it has subjected the majority of the nation. The Histadrut, with a membership comprising nearly half the adult population and a network of enterprises and activities that influence every aspect of the country's life, provides Mapai and the bourgeoisie—and the foreign masters of both—with a mass base that makes a rapid decline in Mapai's popular support unlikely so long as it controls the labor federation. The influx of vast numbers of predominantly middle class immigrants, who become dependent on the Histadrut and various government institutions for jobs and housing, also tends to reinforce reformist ideology and retard the process of disillusionment.

4. Those parties that can be considered in opposition to the previous coalition government—though there are wide differences among them—increased their vote slightly, from 36.2 percent to 39.3 percent and their Knesset representation from 45 to 48. (In 1949 the opposition included two additional parties, Fighters and the Revisionists).

Right Wing Results

5. The most extreme reactionary parties have declined, as indicated by the more than 40 percent drop in the relative vote of the Herut, successor to the fascist Irgun Tsvai Leumi, and the disappearance of Fighters, the former Stern terrorist group. This reflects disillusionment with the false anti-imperialist claims of those groups during the liberation struggle.

FACTS ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ISRAEL

OF the \$135,000,000 credits extended to Israel by the Export-Import Bank—all of which must be spent in the United States, irrespective of lower prices elsewhere—less than 15 per cent has been assigned for industrial development. Of total net investments of \$291,000,000 to \$319,200,000 in 1950—of which 41½ per cent came from abroad—again less than 15 per cent went into industry. Import figures show that in the first four months of 1951, the value of consumers' goods—many of which could be manufactured in Israel—increased 19.4 per cent compared with the same period last year; raw materials and semi-manufactured goods rose 10.7 per cent; whereas the value of equipment for industry and communications decreased 28.9 per cent. As a result of all this, industry is stagnating. The note of the Israel government to the United States requesting a \$150,000,000 grant-in-aid declared that while the population increased 80 per cent in two and a half years and agricultural production rose 70-80 per cent in this period, industrial output increased only 40-50 per cent. Stagnation of industry is also revealed in the fact that in the first two years of the new state the number of workers in industry rose by only 21 per cent.

The effects on the people of Israel of foreign and economic policies have been catastrophic. Hal Lehrmann recently gave us a glimpse of the grim reality. Noting that the cost of living index has since July 1950—that is, since the outbreak of the Korean War—"curved gradually upward again," he adds: "The index, however, does not reflect actual living costs. Rations are pitifully inadequate (a little over a pound of meat per person monthly, for example) and many vital commodities must be sought in the black market, where prices have soared dizzily. It costs \$30 to buy a pair of unrationed low-quality shoes. The Israeli pound, nominally at \$2.80, has dipped and sunk below \$1. The real cost of living has already forced a momentary but ominous melting of the wage freeze: last February a strike of metal workers obtained an average pay increase of 14.8 per cent in that industry. Gravest of all, production in some sectors has been stricken by shortages in equipment or raw materials, the economy has failed to expand as fast as the expanding population, and the hard-currency crisis is sharper than ever." (*Foreign Policy Bulletin*, May 18.)

A. B. MAGIL

6. On the Right a process of consolidation has taken place, revealed in the threefold increase in the relative vote of the party of Jewish big business, the General Zionists. Besides absorbing part of the Herut vote, the General Zionists undoubtedly also attracted support from new middle class immigrants, who saw in this opposition party the alternative to the Ben Gurion coalition government. The General Zionists were also aided by their close connections with Jewish big business in the United States and with the Zionist Organization of America, which at its last convention formally associated itself with the Israel General Zionists. It should be added that the General Zionist campaign was well-heeled and gift packages and money were liberally distributed for the outright purchase of votes.

7. The fall of the Ben Gurion government sharpened the inner class and doctrinal contradictions within the Religious Bloc and led to its dissolution. While the waning right wing Mizrahi probably yielded some strength to the General Zionists, the former Religious Bloc's left wing, Hapoel Hamizrachi, emerged stronger than the other three groups combined.

Left Wing Results

8. About one-sixth of the voters supported the two left parties, Mapam and the Communists, which are identified with the peace movement, with opposition to the Israel government's foreign policy, with friendship for the Soviet Union, the people's democracies and the Chinese People's Republic. However, Mapam lost ground as compared with 1949 because of its vacillating policies and the division within its ranks. The fact that at its national conference shortly before the election the left wing, though a majority, surrendered to the right wing on most essential questions undoubtedly served to alienate many of the more advanced workers without attracting the less advanced, who preferred the clearcut right wing program of Mapai. Mapam's ambiguous policy toward the Arabs, including its refusal to admit them into its ranks as equal members, also prevented it from becoming a force in that sector of the population.

9. The most consistent progressive factor, the Communists, gained both absolutely and relatively despite the many difficulties under which they labored. The Communist vote increased absolutely from about 15,000 in 1949 to 27,000 and from 3.6 to 4 per cent of the total vote. In many cities the vote rose several hundred per cent. In Tel Aviv the Communist vote rose by 94 per cent; in Haifa by 193 per cent; in Jerusalem by 210 per cent; in Ramle and Lydda, two immigrant settlements, by 1,760 and 1,304 per cent respectively.

Two of the five new Communist deputies are Arabs. In the chief Arab center, Nazareth, the Communist vote nearly equalled that of Mapai, Mapam, the General Zionists and the Arab Democrats combined. The Communist showing among the Arab population testifies both to this party's role as the only consistent defender of the interests of the Arab minority and to the high level of political understand-

ing of the alleged "backward" Arabs.

In the qualitative sense the Communist vote in no country can be measured in mere arithmetical terms. This is especially true in Israel, where the Communists function in an atmosphere saturated with national chauvinism that tends to obscure class issues as well as genuine national interests, and where so large a part of the population consists of recent arrivals who have had little contact with labor and progressive ideas. The Communists utilized the election campaign to raise clearly before the people the basic issues of war and peace, of the defense of national sovereignty against Anglo-American encroachments, of struggle for full economic independence, of friendly commercial and political relations with all countries, of housing and jobs for the immigrants, of equal rights for the Arab minority, of the mobilization of all internal resources to lower living costs and meet the country's economic problems.

Toward a Workers' Coalition

Those in Israel who want peace, freedom and a better life are not limited to the supporters of Mapam and the Communists. Last year more than 300,000 Israelis—one-quarter of the population—signed the Stockholm petition to outlaw the atomic bomb, a figure which this year's campaign for signatures to the petition for a five-power peace pact is expected to surpass. Since the combined Mapam-Communist vote was not much over 100,000, it is evident that the majority of those who have expressed their will for peace are still supporting parties which seek to frustrate that will. We have here a lag in political consciousness that reveals both the strength of nationalist and reformist illusions and the possibility of dissipating them through struggle on concrete issues.

The Mapai chiefs reject the only stable alternative to an unstable reactionary coalition with the bourgeoisie: a government of the workers' parties based on a program of peace, progress and national independence. The Communist Party has called for such a coalition of workers' parties.

The people need not reject this alternative and, above all, they need not reject the program that alone can lift them out of the abyss into which false leaders have hurled them. Israel's problems are not insoluble. There is no reason why its oil, potash deposits, water resources and electric power must remain in the hands of foreign trusts rather than be placed at the service of the people. There is no reason why foreign investors should be taxed at a rate which, according to *Economic Horizons*, published by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, "is the lowest in the world for industrial states." There is no reason why Israel's foreign trade must be lopsidedly concentrated in the Anglo-American empires instead of expanding with countries that will enable Israel to buy cheaper, sell more and strengthen its independence. There is no reason why from the profits and swelling reserves of both foreign and local capitalists a large part of the funds cannot be obtained to finance a balanced industrial and agricultural development.

THE JEWISH THEME IN GORKY'S WORK

The great Soviet writer's keen interest in the problems of the Jewish people led him to portray various types of Jews in his creative work

By A. Shumsky and N. Levine

DURING his whole creative life Maxim Gorki manifested great interest in the work of Jewish writers and carefully read material on the condition of the Jew in Russia. Gorky's journalistic articles and letters show that he was extraordinarily well versed in the history of the Jewish people.

In his immortal work Gorky created a whole gallery of portraits of national types. With his powerful talent he depicted national characters with exceptional penetration and truthfulness. And in that gallery Jewish pictures have a prominent place.

The first work in which Gorky created a Jewish figure is *Legends about the Jews*, published in the *Samara Gazette* in 1896. *Legends about the Jews* deals with motifs of Arabic-Jewish folklore. It belongs among the romantic works of the young Gorky which centered about the theme of strong characters who undergo great suffering and seek the way to happiness.

Gorky incisively painted a portrait of a Jew in his story, *Cain and Artyom*, in which the humanistic ideas of the revolutionary artist on the dignity of the human personality are emphasized. This picture of the Jew, Cain, belongs to Gorky's gallery of people who possessed great spiritual potentialities and who, under other conditions, would have been able to be constructive members of society. But in the conditions of national oppression under the capitalist system Cain and his sort were cut off from life to the very end and from the elementary conditions for human existence.

Gorky's story, *Pogrom*, which was based on personal experience, had a great impact. This story depicted the pogrom in Nizhni-Novgorod in 1884 and breathes a high humanism. Gorky characteristically set himself the task of showing a Jew who proves himself a fighter against the pogrom-makers.

"Courage of a People"

The Jewish theme also occurs in Gorky's short story *The Little Boy* [printed in *JEWISH LIFE*, April 1949], published in 1916 in the collection, *The Shield*. This story is devoted to the theme of courage. "More than once in the heavy days of my life did I remind myself with gratitude of the little boy," Gorky wrote in his conclusion to this story. "And now in these troubled days of the sorrows and

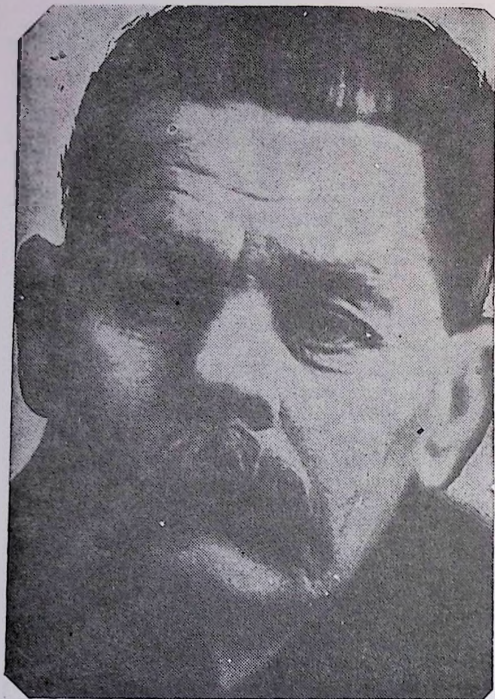
bloody outrages which fall on the gray head of this ancient people, I recall this little boy because he is for one the personification of the courage of a people, not of the pliable patience of a slave who lives with confused hopes, but rather of the courage of a strong man who is convinced that he will emerge victorious."

When he wrote *The Little Boy*, Gorky was working on the satirical cycle, *Russian Stories*, in which he again dealt with the Jewish theme. In *Stories* Gorky made a devastating criticism in sharp satirical form of the pogrom politics of the darkest days of the tsarist regime and exposed its reactionary ideology. But Gorky did not limit himself to unmasking those who controlled and organized the pogroms. He exposed also the negligible role of the liberal bourgeoisie, which had attempted at the one and the same time to advance its own interests and not to encourage revolt against its masters.

Gorky's interest in the Jews appeared also in the work in which the main character is a Jew—a revolutionary, a suffering fighter for the freedom of the people. We refer here to Gorky's brilliant scenario, *The Life of a Jew*, which was hidden among the writer's papers. Gorky had for many years thought of creating a special work about a Jew who was a fighter. In 1901, Gorky had written to his friend V. Posse: "Recently I have been in contact with Jews. I want to get closer to them, to study them and to write something about them." In the same years, just after writing the drama, *Myeshthshaniye* (The Petty Bourgeois), Gorky worked intensively on a work about a Jewish fighter. In October 1901, he wrote to K. Piatnitsky: "Tomorrow I begin on another play. I will call it *The Jew*. I'm going to write this. I shall write this as it should be done, I give you my word. . . . It will be poetic. It will contain suffering. In it will be a hero with an ideal, do you understand? A Semite packed with temperament. A Semite who believes in the possibility of happiness for his persecuted people; a Semite who punishes like Elijah—upon my word, this will be good. Jehovah, if he exists, will be contented with me."

The Jew As Revolutionary

At that time, however, Gorky did not realize this project after all. But he returned to the idea not the years when he



Maxim Gorky

was writing *Mother*. While working on that book, Gorky conceived the idea of writing a sequel to be called *The Son*, in which the emphasis would be shifted from the Mother to the son, Pavel Vlassov. The writer wanted to show the development of the professional revolutionary.

Although Gorky never completed *The Son*, he did create a picture of a Jewish fighter, as we have already said, in the movie scenario, *The Life of A Jew*. This work was found among the writings of the author after his death. The scenario was written about 1922. These writings also included a "Sketch for a Play," in which Gorky outlines the character of the central figure of the scenario, a Jewish revolutionary worker called Abraham. "This character," wrote Gorky, "will be the type of an incomparably beautiful hero, of a man who belonged among those, who in their life and death labored for others, while they did not expect pleasure or hope for personal happiness."

Gorky describes the hard childhood of the little Jewish boy Abraham. There are further scenes of work in a smithy. Then we see Abraham with progressive Russian workers in an illegal revolutionary gathering. He is arrested, sent to Siberia, escapes and comes to Tomsk, where he contacts the revolutionary underground, works in an underground printing shop and becomes a Bolshevik.

Abraham denies himself personal happiness in his devotion to the noble idea of freeing the people from the yoke of tsarism. The scenario ends with a picture of the 1905 revolution in which Abraham plays an active part. During a counter-revolutionary Black Hundred demonstration, which is accompanied by a pogrom on the Jews, Abraham is killed.

Gorky also described a Jewish revolutionary woman, Rachel, in his play, *Vasya Zheleznova*.

The Jew As Bourgeois Intellectual

The condition of the Jews in pre-revolutionary Russia is reflected in the last work of the great master of socialist realism, the novel *Klim Samgin*. This novel is really an encyclopedia of Russian social life during the last 40 years before the October Revolution. The main character, Klim Samgin, is depicted as a typical bourgeois intellectual, a liberal phrasemaker and provocateur. Gorky often throws Klim together with Jews and forces him to think about Jews. The writer leaves no doubt that we are here dealing with the worst type of anti-Semite involved in liberal activities.

Gorky's portrait of Samgin pillories the type of the betrayer and enemy of the people. Samgin sidles up to revolution when it is on the upswing and betrays it as soon as he feels personal danger. He is a type of the "natural counter-revolutionary" who hates the people and fears the upsurge of revolutionary voices of the people. Such hatred is closely linked to his hatred of the Jewish people.

Gorky had never regarded the Jewish people as a single organism but saw the Jewish bourgeoisie, the Jewish bankers and capitalists, as no different from their fellow-capitalists of every other nationality. One of the characters of *Klim Samgin* is Preiss, son of a hat manufacturer. Gorky depicts him as a forerunner of the Jewish bourgeois intellectual who made his way from legal Marxism to the Cadet [a liberal bourgeois party] benches of the Fourth Duma. It is said that in his creation of Preiss, Gorky had drawn on the Jew, Joseph Hessen, a colleague of Struve and Tugan-Baranovsky and an outstanding Cadet leader who became a white emigré.

The Jewish bourgeois intellectual is also represented in *Klim Samgin* in the character Zachar Depsames, who represents the nationalistic segment of the Jewish bourgeoisie. This character throughout tends to take a hostile attitude toward Russians and is full of hatred for the revolution and every achievement of the Russian working people. In contrast to Preiss and Depsames in this novel is the picture of the student, Rosa Greiman. Gorky depicts this young girl as an active and principled fighter for the freedom of the people.

Thus, during his creative life Gorky turned many times to the Jewish theme and did much to give a truthful picture of the Russian Jew.

(Translated from *Yiddisher Kultur*, July 1951.)

"SOME WAY TO DO BUSINESS"

A Short Story by Sholom Aleichem

ZAIDEL was a young man who sat in his father-in-law's house and studied the Sacred Books. Although he had several children of his own, Zaidel didn't work, only studied. Why should he work anyway when his father-in-law Shaye was a wealthy man whose fortune would some day go to him?

Shaye was a money-lender. There wasn't a single person in town who didn't owe him money. His house was always full of people—some going, others coming, this one lending, the other paying back.

For his office, Shaye had only a small table with an inkstand and sand-dispenser. The table also had a drawer with two rings and a huge lock on it. In this drawer the account book lay, with all the transactions Shaye made. Shaye kept note of these transactions in a bookkeeping manner all his own. The book consisted of 50 pages; on each page were written out the days of the week and each day was divided into two parts. One side was labeled "Received," the other side "Paid." The "Received" side read as follows:

"Received from Gershon Pipik on the note of the weekly portion of Genesis: two rubles.

"Received from Feivel Shmaye's on the note of the last portion of Exodus: five rubles.

"Didn't receive from Gershon Pipik on the note of the second weekly reading of Genesis: five rubles."

While the "Paid" side read:

"Paid again to Gershon Pipik: seven rubles.

"Didn't pay again to Feivel Shmayer's: ten rubles. Bad debt.

"I promised Reb Simcha to give him 11 rubles."

No one else could make sense of his scribbling. And yet there were never any protests, or quarrels, or court disputes. Everyone knew this: if he stopped paying, he lost his credit and was never to regain it.

Thus it went on, year following year, the borrowing and the repaying, until. . . .

Until Shaye died and Zeidel took over the business.

AFTER THE REQUIRED 30-DAY MOURNING PERIOD ENDED, ZEIDEL went to work on the accounts. For three weeks in a row he pored over them, made notes and pondered. Then he summoned the citizens of the town and said:

"I wish to announce that I've gone carefully over the accounts and I have figured out no one owes me a cent. You are all clear."

"What do you mean we don't owe you money? What do you mean we are all clear?"

"Let me explain. According to algebra, you've been paying interest on top of interest, until you've paid your debts seven times over. Here, take your IOU's."

Thinking he was playing some kind of trick on them, the townspeople threw the IOU's back in his face. They said: "Reb Shaye, may he enjoy everlasting glory, did business with us for many years; there were no tricks; his purse was always available. Now this creature comes along and wants to make fools of us."

"I told you," shouted Zeidel, "you've paid your debts. I didn't make this up out of my head. It's all according to algebra."

"What madness is this? What's this algebra? Let's take our case to the rabbi."

At the rabbi's house, there was a yelling and screaming loud enough to disturb heaven. Zaidel let the others talk first; then he asked them to step out so he could talk to the rabbi alone.

NO ONE REALLY KNEW WHAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN ZEIDEL and the rabbi. It's said they had a long talk. Zaidel explained that it was wrong to take interest for, according to the wise men of Jewish history, it is the same as stealing. He who lives off unearned interest is the lowest of the low. Everyone must labor in the sweat of his brow. Otherwise, there is no justice.

Reb Yozifel tried to persuade Zaidel that the taking of interest was necessary. It is part of the way the world is run. Zaidel answered that he didn't like the way the world was run. What sort of world was this? When a hungry man steals a few groschens' worth of bread, that's a crime; but to rob a town full of orphans and widows, to take the last bite from their mouths, was that righteousness? For cutting off a finger, you sent them to hard labor in Siberia; but for killing 80,000 men in South Africa they reward you with medals. "Is that justice?" demanded Zaidel.

"Is that just? Where is there justice? Where humanity? You keep telling me about sentiments, about customs, about the ways of the world. A fine way to run the world, I call it. Some world!"

They say Zaidel gave more arguments, denying the basic laws of what is "mine" and "yours" and "ours," making fun of everything sacred and proper.

Reb Yozifel finally refused to listen any more. He clapped his hands over his ears, shouting, "Enough, enough, enough."

When Zaidel went home, the rabbi came out to the townspeople. He did not reveal what had taken place, but he said with a deep sigh: "Poor fellow. Such a fine young man, so well-educated, so well-bred, so handsome, but . . ."

Touching his finger to his forehead, so that everyone understood what he meant, he added sorrowfully, "May God have mercy on him."

Zaidel was in business in spite of himself.

TRIAL OF THE GHETTO'S EXECUTIONER

What was revealed in the war crimes trial of the Nazi general in command of suppressing the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising who was condemned to die

By A. Kwarterko

Warsaw

ON July 18th, the trial of the bloody executioner of the Warsaw ghetto in the Spring of 1943, Lieut. Gen. Jurgen von Stroop, and his accomplice, Captain Franz Konrad, opened in this city. For four days evidence was heard, after which both nazis were condemned to death.

The indictment of von Stroop, who was commander of the nazi forces that put down the Warsaw ghetto uprising, charged him with responsibility for the annihilation of 100,000 Jews in the murder camps in 1943; for murdering 56,065 Jews in the ghetto during and after the uprising; for killing some thousands of Jews in the sewers of Warsaw by ordering that the level of the water be raised to drown those fighters who had taken refuge in the sewers; for ordering the robbery of the possessions of the murdered Jews; for ordering that the ghetto be levelled to the ground; for ordering the shooting of 100 Warsaw Poles in reprisal for the throwing of a hand grenade by an unknown person at a group of SS-men; and for the mass murder of the Polish population.

The charges against Konrad were the organizing of the operation of stealing the possessions of Jews murdered in the ghetto and in the death camps and for his participation in atrocities against the Jews.

The indictment described the development, step by step, of the Hitlerian program to annihilate the Jewish people. The heroic struggle of the Jewish people of the Warsaw ghetto was recounted in detail. The role of the Jewish resistance groups was characterized and the leadership and influence of the Polish Workers Party, whose ghetto organization was led by Joseph Lewartofsky, and the help given to the resistance by the Polish working class were set forth.

Konrad on the Stand

Konrad was put on the stand first and something of his unsavory past was brought out. This nazi officer was accepted into the National Socialist Party and later the SS after serving a prison term for misappropriation of funds. He graduated from an SS-school in 1939. All this experience he put to use in plunder and murder in Warsaw. He participated in conferences in Berlin and Warsaw at which

the program of exterminating the Jews was discussed. Konrad was fond of taking photographs of executions in the ghetto and his "album" of these pictures, which was submitted to the court, beggars the imagination in its horror. Konrad's alibi for this collection was that he had to keep a record of von Stroop's sadism for his reports to Hitler.

Of course Konrad denied any guilt. He pleaded that he did not confiscate any property of value; and anyway, he only seized the homes after the Jews "abandoned" them. And he really helped the Jews by organizing work projects for them. He did not have Jews transported to Lublin to exterminate them but only to send them where they could continue to work. Why, he even saved the lives of Jews. The Jews were really friendly toward him. For didn't a Jewish policeman warn him not to go near 20 Bizka Street, where the underground was planning to kill him?

Konrad gave details of von Stroop's activities in Warsaw. As soon as von Stroop arrived in Warsaw, he ordered 2,000 Jews left over from a transport to be shot in the *Judenrat* courtyard because it was too much trouble to arrange transportation for them. One especially sadistic order given by von Stroop was to order the shooting of women and children who had gone to the roof of a burning house to save themselves.

The "Innocence" of von Stroop

On the second day of the trial von Stroop takes the stand. He tells the court that he is convinced of his innocence. He justifies his crimes by saying that he was ordered to liquidate the ghetto and arrived in Warsaw on April 17, 1943 to execute this order. He does not deny that he put down the uprising and annihilated the Jewish population in a most brutal and bloody way, for which he received commendation from Himmler. Von Stroop offers the defense that he was a soldier who was obliged to carry out the orders of his superiors.

On demand from the court, von Stroop gave his own version of the uprising. On April 18, 1943, he was informed by the nazi police chief in the ghetto, von Sohmer, that orders from General Krieger placed von Stroop in command of the liquidation of the ghetto. A secret message informed von Stroop that the liquidation would be difficult because the Jews were preparing an uprising.

The Nazi attack on the ghetto began at 6 A.M. of April 19 under command of von Sohmer because von Stroop claimed unfamiliarity with the ghetto terrain. At 7:30 A.M., von Sohmer told von Stroop that the Germans had been repulsed in the ghetto and urged that the Luftwaffe be called from Krakow to quell the rising. Von Stroop said he could handle the situation with his own forces. Von Stroop then went into the ghetto, looked over the terrain and instructed the Nazi forces on a plan of attack to recapture the main streets. Von Stroop also explained that he asked the *Judenrat* to persuade the people voluntarily to accept the liquidation. But by this time the *Judenrat* had completely lost its authority and influence among the Jews. The rising spread from one street to another and Germans were shot from every improvised fortress. Himmler wired a categorical order for the liquidation of the ghetto Jews, whom he declared to be ordinary bandits. "As a loyal soldier," von Stroop explained, "I carried out the order."

Shamelessly von Stroop insisted that he never gave an order to shoot anyone. He had only assembled the Jews to ship them to Lublin. The prosecutor then confronted von Stroop with the daily reports that the general had sent to General Krieger and Himmler. These reports contradicted von Stroop's testimony and made it quite clear that von Stroop had cold-bloodedly ordered the shooting of thousands of Jews during the liquidation operation. Von Stroop's defense was that the reports contained many typographical errors! Under cross-examination he admitted that women and children had been shot, but that was because they refused to leave the ghetto. Of course he did not personally murder any children, for he loved children very much.

And of course von Stroop was hardly in sympathy with Hitler's plan to exterminate the Jews. He never recognized any difference between Catholics and Jews. He even refused to hang a *Sturmer* poster on his wall or to read that

paper, he says. Does that mean, asks the prosecutor, that he opposed the policies of Hitler's party? Von Stroop answers that he was ignorant of Himmler's plans for the Jews. The prosecutor shows von Stroop pictures of murdered women and children and asks him if he was present at the shooting of Jews. Only on one occasion, says von Stroop, when armed Jews were shot by security police. As for murdered children, he said, they were victims of their own parents, who refused to surrender.

Von Stroop the Murderer

The prosecutor then proved with facts and documents that von Stroop initiated the burning of houses while people were in them and that von Stroop ordered the mass execution of Jews and often shot them with his own revolver. The prosecutor quotes a report in which von Stroop boasts that he has captured 35 Polish communists and partisans who were summarily shot. The prosecutor showed the court a poster signed by von Stroop in which the Polish people are warned that a number of hostages would be shot because an unknown person had thrown a hand grenade into a group of SS-men. Von Stroop does not remember any such order, but his memory is refreshed when he is confronted with the original order. Then von Stroop blames his subordinate, Fischer, who had signed von Stroop's name without his knowledge. But when von Stroop is pressed by conflicting evidence on this matter that he had given on other occasions, he admits that he signed the order.

The court then heard evidence from many Jewish and Polish witnesses like Marek Bitter, Marek Edelman, B. Borg, the Polish revolutionary Franzisca Lenchinsky and others. Expert testimony was offered by Ber Mark, who is the director of the Jewish Historical Institute at Warsaw. "The expert testimony which I place before the court," said



"The Fighting Ghetto," a painting by the Polish artist Zygmunt Lopuszynski. The picture hangs in the National Museum in Warsaw.

Ber Mark, "is a summary of the research done by our institute. The person of the accused, the former SS-General Jurgen von Stroop, and his activities in the area of Warsaw during April-May 1943, are intimately bound up with the last tragic chapter of the history of the Jewish people of that city—with the bloody annihilation of the largest Jewish community in Europe."

Ber Mark informed the court that there are not only many witnesses of von Stroop's murders, but also that these acts are attested by many documents of the nazis themselves. He continued: "The resistance movement in the Warsaw ghetto presented the nazi occupiers with overwhelming problems. The wall built to separate the half million Jews from the rest of the Warsaw population did not achieve the isolation of the Jews from the Polish population. From the time the ghetto was marked off, economic and political relations were maintained between certain sections of the ghetto population and the Poles. Still worse for the occupation forces in Warsaw were the close political ties of some ghetto residents with Polish workers and advanced intellectuals. These ties were strengthened and deepened after the establishment of the Polish Workers Party (PPR) and the People's Guards. The PPR considered the ghetto a very important sector of the resistance and sent there two of its well-known leaders, Joseph Lewartofsky, a former member of the central committee of the Polish Communist Party, and Andzhei Schmidt."

After describing help given to the ghetto fighters by the revolutionary elements on the "Aryan" side, Ber Mark continued: "As the end of 1942 and the great Stalingrad breakthrough approached, things were getting hotter and hotter for the occupation forces in Warsaw. Reports sent from the Warsaw occupation headquarters to regional headquarters in Krakow confirm the fact that a wave of resistance activity was rising among the Polish people in general and the Jewish people in particular. In an atmosphere of tenseness and anticipation of armed struggle, the Jewish Fighting Organization engaged in the first battle in January 1943. The period from January to April was one of transition in which the Jewish Fighting Organization became master of the situation."

Heroic Resistance

Ber Mark describes the preparations for the uprising and the intense work in manufacturing arms and bombs. He shows the heroism of the fighters during the entire uprising. Although von Stroop admitted that the uprising lasted from April 19 to May 16, Ber Mark showed that the battles did not end until the last part of July.

In reply to the question, "How did von Stroop react to the uprising?" Ber Mark answered: "Von Stroop realized that he could not suppress the uprising in any conventional way. So he decided to employ the method of levelling the whole ghetto to the ground, of destroying house after house, street after street. This initiated a new phase of the

liquidation which surpassed in ruthlessness all previous ghetto liquidations. It must be emphasized that murder, by bullets or burning, was applied equally against fighters and the defenseless population, the aged and children, women and the sick and disabled. Despite von Stroop's plan of destroying all the houses, the overwhelming majority of the civilian population refused to leave the bunkers voluntarily. Von Stroop then set up a siege of the bunkers, thus inflicting terrible suffering on those hiding in the bunkers. A wealth of written documents exists in which the hellish suffering in the bunkers is described.

"The question is asked, how many Jews were killed during this operation of von Stroop? Of course, it is impossible to establish the exact number. It is possible, however, to approximate the loss of lives. According to von Stroop, the total of those murdered in their hiding places and those killed in battle amounts to 56,065. Although this figure is not accurate, it is large enough in itself."

Ber Mark ended his expert testimony by setting forth ten points which established the guilt of von Stroop. He concluded: "Jurgen von Stroop is therefore responsible for organizing the murder of the last remnants of the Jewish population of Warsaw."

The trial attracted great attention in Warsaw and in all of Poland. The Polish press gave much space to the trial and to the testimony of the witnesses, the accusers and the experts in this trial against the destroyers of the Warsaw ghetto.

Anti-Semitism in Cicero

THE wild rioting in July against the attempt of the Negro family, the Clarks, to move into lily-white Cicero, Ill., was an anti-Semitic demonstration, too. This was first revealed by the *Chicago Sentinel*, English Jewish weekly, on August 9. A Chicago Jewish business man, who had recently been appointed a deputy sheriff and was present during the rioting, told the *Sentinel* that the Jew-baiting atmosphere was hard to believe. Together with the anti-Negro epithets, the man heard vicious anti-Semitic cries from some of the chief rioters. "We don't want Jews in Cicero" and "Drive the Sheenies Out," they cried. One woman with whom the witness spoke and who was obviously a recently arrived DP, said to him, "Hitler killed some of the Jews—but he didn't finish the job." The Jewish deputy was also told, "We don't want Jews and N—s coming into Cicero and building their ghettos."

One ominous aspect of the situation was that the press imposed a total blackout on the anti-Semitic manifestation. The Jewish deputy also reported that a WGN sound truck was in the vicinity of the anti-Semitic shouts and "couldn't have helped but hear the whole thing."

The only arrest made during the rioting was a Jewish bystander, who was fined by a local judge. And on August 7, a Jewish furrier was arrested near the scene for handing out protesting leaflets without a permit.

These new facts confirm once again the interlocking of the cause of Negro and Jewish rights and the need for common struggle.

MORE LIGHT ON "OLIVER TWIST"

SLAGGANS CHANTED ON PICKET LINE OF YORKVILLE Civil Rights Congress on August 31 before Park Avenue Theater, New York, where *Oliver Twist* is being shown: "Fagin leads to gas-ovens! Don't go in!" "Anti-Semitism is not art! Don't go in!" "The German people learned too late! What about you?"

CAN THIS FILM DO HARM? EVEN AFTER 859 feet of the more obvious anti-Semitic shots have been cut out? Said the super-cautious Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: "Still a harmful caricature . . . presents a clear and present danger to good human relations" (*ADL Bulletin*, March, 1951). That is opinion; here is evidence, from a letter by Raymond Francis, high-school teacher, in the McKeesport, Pa., *Daily News*: "My wife and I saw *Oliver Twist* last evening. . . . The sad thing is that while the film was being shown, we heard laughter of an intoxicated racism mixed with cutting mockery of the Jewish race. While this hateful braying was coming from several young fellows, their elder neighbors, instead of protesting, were amused. . . ." (Re-translated from Yiddish, in *Morning Freiheit*, August 29.)

BUT THIS IS A LITERARY CLASSIC! HOW DARE you object to a faithful film version? Dickens wrote *Oliver Twist* in 1837 at the age of 25. Later he himself realized he had harmed the Jews by his Fagin, after Mrs. Eliza Davis, a Jewish Englishwoman, called his attention to it. Not only did Dickens ineffectively try to make amends by presenting Riah as a good and gentle Jew in *Our Mutual Friend* (1864), but in 1867, when a new printing of *Oliver Twist* was issued, Dickens made minor changes in the next to the last chapter. This chapter, originally entitled "The Jew's Last Night Alive," was retitled "Fagin's Last Night Alive"; and where originally the villain had been called "the Jew" 11 times and Fagin only once, he was now called Fagin 11 times and "the Jew" only once. But Chapter 9, where Fagin is introduced and is called "the Jew" 29 times and Fagin only three times, was left unchanged. (Lauriat Lane, Jr., "*Oliver Twist: A Revision*," *The Times Literary Supplement*, London, July 20, 1951.)

DICKENS "LIVES AND THINKS IN COMPLETE accord with the middle-class opinions of his day." (Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian, *A History of English Literature*, New York, 1929, p. 1167.)

THE HARM FAGIN HAS DONE HAS BEEN widely recognized. The Los Angeles *Daily News*, January 22, 1869, in an editorial attacking local anti-Semitism, declared: "It is Shakespeare's Shylock and Scott's Isaac of York, both wretchedly imitated by Dickens' Fagin, that feed the old unfounded prejudice against the Jews in the English and American mind." (M. U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews*, p. 518.)

IN 1889, RABBI DAVID PHILIPSON POINTED out that *Oliver Twist* appeared six years after the defeat in Parliament, because of hostility to Jews, of a bill to grant equal rights to Jews. Fagin reinforced this hostility. "Strange it is, at best, that Charles Dickens, who, of all fictionists, contributed the most toward reforming social abuses, should, in this one instance, have joined the vulgar cry, and marked his worst character as a Jew. . . ." (*The Jew in English Fiction*, p. 93.)

IN 1909, RABBI EDWARD N. CALISCH WROTE "It is more than probable that *Oliver Twist* intensified the struggle and delayed the victory of Jewish emancipation for at least a decade." (*The Jew in English Literature*, p. 127.)

IN 1912, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL of Dickens' birth, a play based on *Oliver Twist* was performed. The Jewish scholar George Alexander Kohut, in the *Philadelphia Review*, wrote: "If anything, Fagin has aroused far more racial prejudice and has cast a deeper shadow on the people whom he is alleged to typify, than Shylock. The dramatization of *Oliver Twist*, a revival of which, with Mr. Nat Goodwin as Fagin, is now in

progress, will certainly serve to inflame the public mind against the unoffending members of a race which has already suffered greatly from vicious misrepresentation and calumny." ("Charles Dickens and the Jews," *The Review*, March, 1912.)

SINCE THEN, HITLER TRANSFORMED "misrepresentation and calumny" into genocide—and 6,000,000 dead.

MORE ACTION TO PICKET AND BOYCOTT THE film is needed. In 1949 and 1950 most of the major Jewish organizations condemned the film. They still recognize the danger the movie creates. Why is there not more activity by the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish War Veterans, and other groups?

"SILENCE ON *Oliver Twist* SEEN DICTATED By Fright," is the headline that tells the story in the *Jewish Examiner*, August 17. The story adds: "Some Jewish organizational officials candidly admit that behind the current 'silent technique' is an unwillingness to resort to tactics that might associate Jews in the current situation with Communist activities." In other words, the McCarran act, the Smith act, and the indictments of scores of Communists and labor leaders, is having the designed effect of scaring people from resisting reaction, of preventing Jews from fighting genocidal anti-Semitism. One "leader" told the *Examiner*, "I admit we're falling into a trap devised by our enemies—of paralyzing ourselves by fear of labels. But what can we do? We're helpless."

THAT WE ARE NOT HELPLESS IS PROVED by the campaign against the film being conducted by the *Morning Freiheit*, the *Daily Worker* and *Jewish Life*. Organizationally, boycotts and protests have been called for by the Civil Rights Congress, the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the American Labor Party.

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NEWS ABOUT EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

Soviet Union

H FAGAN, a member of the British delegation that recently visited the Soviet Union and acting secretary of the British-Soviet Friendship Society in London, is the writer of the following letter which was published in the London *Jewish Chronicle* (August 25):

"The recent delegation which visited the Soviet Union and which returned on August 13, brought back the following message from Rabbi Schliefler, who is rabbi of the Jewish congregation in Moscow.

"Please convey to the Jews of London our friendly greetings. Tell them that we enjoy free and equal rights with the rest of the peoples of the Soviet Union. We appeal to you to use all your energy and strength for the establishment of good relations between our two peoples and for the peace of the world."

"The rabbi urged upon the delegates to convey to the Jewish community in London their warm personal greetings and friendship and hoped that there would be friendship and good will between the peoples of this country and the Soviet Union."

Poland

DURING the World Youth Festival in Berlin, on August 13, the leaders of the Polish youth delegation invited Jewish members of the national delegations from Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, Austria and Belgium to a meeting to discuss the life and activities of Jewish youth in Poland. When Polish youth delegate I. Felhendler told the delegates about the Jewish state high school in Wroclaw, several of the delegates asked if the Jewish schools were schools in the full sense or only supplementary to general Polish schools and if general subjects were taught in Yiddish. Thereupon Polish delegate Tsesha Shtrik presented herself as a living witness of the existence of this school, from which she had just graduated. The delegates were happy to learn this, for they had been misled by the lies of their reactionary local press, and they asked their Polish Jewish fellow delegates to send them Yiddish books and poetry from Poland.

The opening of a special course for teachers in the Jewish state schools in Warsaw in August was attended by prominent Polish officials and members of the Jewish community. L. Lozovsky spoke as a representative of the Polish ministry of education. H. Smoliar, chairman of the executive committee of the Social and Cultural

Union of Polish Jews, discussed the significance of the Polish government's aid to its Jewish citizens. S. Ferdman, supervisor of the course, spoke of the honorable obligations placed on Jewish educators by the ministry of education and the Jewish community.

The opening of the new school year was celebrated at a meeting of the executive committee of the Social and Cultural Union. It was pointed out that the Jewish schools would instruct children for the first time who were born in the new Poland. The executive decided to hold a festival of Jewish artistic activities in November and named a supervising committee of David Sfar, S. Hurvitch and H. Safrin.

The state publishing house for schools announced in August the publication of textbooks for the Jewish state schools. These new books are *Selected Works of I. L. Peretz; Songs of Struggle*, including poetry of the Yiddish proletarian poets Morris Winchevsky, David Edelshtadt, Morris Rosenfeld and Joseph Bovshover and biographical notes; and a fifth grade Yiddish grammar. All these volumes were edited by S. Ferdman.

A celebration of the eighth anniversary of the uprising of the Bialystok ghetto was held in that city on August 18 at the cultural center which bears the name of the commander of the Bialystok fighting forces, Daniel Toshkovitch. Outstanding participants in the fighting and partisans who fought in that area came to the celebration from many towns of Poland.

Rumania

THE Rabbinate of Rumania issued an appeal for peace to Jewry throughout the world in August. Excerpts from the appeal, which was signed by 30 rabbis headed by Chief Rabbi Dr. Moishé Rosen, follow:

"We, the undersigned rabbis of the Jewish congregations of the Rumanian People's Republic, unanimously join in the appeal of the World Peace Council for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great powers of the world.

"We do so not only because peace is the very essence of our religious faith, not only because our entire tradition calls for the preservation of peace, nor because our prayers implore the Eternal to bring peace to all mankind—but also because today, more than at any other time, the question of the defense of peace has become all-important for the peoples of the world. This fact impels us, as religious leaders, to raise our voices for peace and against the forces of war. . . .

"We call upon all religious Jews to strengthen, through signing the petition, the resolution of the World Peace Council, demanding, as all humanity does, a pact of peace among the great powers.

"Our signatures will signify our opposition to any government whatever that will try to cancel the protests of the masses against the warmongers and those behind the rearming of the German Wehrmacht."

At a recent meeting of the central committee of the Ykuf (*Yiddish Kultur Farband*) of Rumania, General Secretary M. Meltzer reported that in 1950, Ykuf sponsored 200 cultural programs throughout Rumania; the Bucharest Jewish People's Chorus gave 16 public concerts; the Jewish Writers Union held 26 meetings of its members with the Jewish public; more than 100,000 people attended concerts sponsored by Ykuf.

An article celebrating C. D. Rosenthal, nineteenth century painter-revolutionary (1820-1851), appeared in *Romanian News*, August 26, published by the Rumanian Embassy in Washington. Born in Budapest, the artist came to Bucharest at the age of 22 and participated in the preparations for the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848. His painting, especially his "Revolutionary Rumania," is highly valued in Rumania today. Rosenthal was arrested by the Austrian authorities in Budapest as a revolutionary propagandist in 1851 and died in jail.

Hungary

IN THE light of the fantastic figures cited in the reactionary press concerning the "deportations" in Hungary, which include some Jews, the following information, printed in the Budapest paper *Szabad Nep*, in August, are interesting: "Among those evacuated were 21 former ministers, 25 former state secretaries, 190 generals and 1,012 staff officers of Horthy's army [Horthy was the fascist *Fuehrer* of Hungary], 272 commanders of police forces, 88 officers of the gendarmerie, 812 former high officials of the fascist regime, 176 owners of factories, 157 bankers, 391 wholesale merchants, 292 large estate holders, 347 former directors of various big firms, nine princes, 136 counts, 121 barons, 88 knights of the days of the monarchy and 195 knights created by Horthy." This adds up to a total of 2,263. The paper adds that not a single worker or member of the middle class was evacuated in this move to upset imperialist plans for sabotage and espionage.

The paper adds, "How do people who have chased from their homes 500,000 Malaysians and who are responsible for the mass killings of Korean women and children dare to speak about human rights?"

Letters from Abroad

IS ISRAEL A POOR COUNTRY?

Tel Aviv

The bourgeoisie of Israel, with the cooperation of the Mapai leadership, is attempting to convince the people of Israel that the country is poor and that the development of its meager natural resources will not make it possible to feed, clothe and house its citizens, let alone the new immigrants.

The bourgeoisie and its servants seek to create the impression that the nation can absorb the immigrants only by depressing the living standards of the people. And the pro-imperialist forces hope to convince the people that there is no other choice, that there is no hope of building Israel without American dollars. These pro-imperialist groups are attempting to convince the masses that subservience of government leaders to the war policies of Washington is thus a bitter necessity for Israel.

But with each passing day it becomes clearer to more people that these "poverty" theories, that "we have no other choice," are far from the truth and really have as their aim the prevention of struggle by the masses against the effort to hitch Israel to the chariot of imperialist war.

It is untrue that Israel is poor in natural resources. In fact, the opposite is the truth: nature has made Israel one of the richest lands in proportion to its size. Our land is blessed with distinctive and exceptionally bountiful sources of wealth. Let us begin with agriculture.

Three years ago the Jewish agricultural sector of Israel provided the population with 51 per cent of its needs in agricultural products. These products were drawn from the less than two million *dunam* (one *dunam* equals approximately one-quarter of an acre) of land in Jewish hands. The war for independence increased this area. The population has doubled during the last two years. This greatly increased the labor force of the country.

But what are the results of three years of rule by the coalition government of the Mapai leadership and the bourgeoisie? Huge stretches of the most fruitful land are not worked; hundreds of thousands

remain unemployed in the immigrant camps and settlements; instead of increasing, agricultural production now provides a bare 40 per cent of the agricultural produce needed by the population. And this 40 per cent does not supply food at the normal standard of consumption, but at the hunger standard, "Tzena" ("austerity"), of the immigrants. The remainder is imported from America for dollars: butter, cheese, meat, powdered milk, powdered eggs, flour, rice, sugar, potatoes, onions, oil grains.

Even millions of bottles of beer have been imported for some time from the United States, as if our land did not possess the water with which to mix the grains and hops. Although we apparently have dollars for the import of beer, the poultry raisers of Israel are not permitted to increase the number of chickens because the government does not have the dollars with which to purchase feed.

This policy of imports and production is pursued in accordance with the directives of the American-oriented advisors who sit in the ministries of Ben Gurion's government and attempt to minimize the domestic production of the country in order to increase the importation of American products.

Out of the 300,000 *dunam* on well-organized citrus fruit farms at the borders of Israel, over one-half were destroyed through irresponsibility and with malicious intent in order to consolidate the monopolistic position of the large landowners. This policy, namely, that it is necessary to eliminate a large number of the farmers in Israel in order to create an artificial fruit shortage, is being loyally carried out by the Ben Gurion government with a resulting loss of 20 million pounds sterling (not Israeli pounds) to our national economy. Nothing at all is being done to rehabilitate the neglected farms, to increase the output of fruit for export and thereby to decrease dependence upon American loans and aid by a few million pounds.

The great water resources of Israel are not being exploited to irrigate large stretches of agricultural land. Rain provides approximately 8 billion millimeters

of water a year. Over a third of this could be used for irrigation. But it is a fact that less than 10 per cent of the water is used for this purpose. The inflated price of electricity, which makes up 70 per cent of the cost of water made available for irrigation, plus the shortage of factories producing water-pipe, a shortage imposed by the efforts of foreign exporters to maintain their own monopoly—all this prevents the necessary exploitation of our water for agriculture. This water is permitted to flow into the sea unused. The inflated prices charged for the electricity used for irrigation in Israel is three times that of electricity used for irrigation in California.

Israel possesses potash fertilizer resources sufficient not only for our own needs but for the needs of the whole world for the next thousand years. The cost of extracting potash from the Dead Sea is much lower than that of exploiting the potash which must be dug from the earth in Germany and France. But the government of the bourgeois-Mapai coalition has chosen rather to import the potash from the international potash cartel for foreign valuta.

The British bosses of the Arab Legion of Transjordan made sure that the British potash enterprises were not destroyed by the invading Arab armies. The Israeli army took over the enterprises with their huge reserve of finished chemical fertilizer in the South as soon as they were abandoned. Although three years have passed, the chemical fertilizer still remains in the same place. The enterprise has not been reopened.

Many millions of pounds in foreign valuta, which could have been earned every year from the sale of potash, are thus lost. From these resources could have been built supplementary industries for chemical products, but such enterprises have not been started. We have also lost two and a half million dollars, which the Ben Gurion government presented to the potash cartel together with all rights to the Dead Sea.

What is the real reason why the bourgeois-Mapai government has not developed the resources of the Dead Sea? The reason is simple: potash, chrome and manganese are not being produced because the international potash cartel is not interested in low-cost chemicals and in chemical fertilizer. Even before the war for independence, production from the Dead Sea did not exceed one per cent of world potash production in line with the agreement with the French and German potash cartel. The enterprises of the Dead Sea are locked and sealed. Why? Because the imperialists, to whom Ben Gurion has sold our economic and political independence, are opposed to the industrial development of Israel.

Book Reviews

JEW IN THE CIVIL WAR

By Morris U. Schappes

American Jewry and the Civil War, by Bertram W. Korn. Introduction by Allan Nevins. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. \$4.

There are few events in American history to which the relationship of the Jews offers as many fascinating and complex problems and illuminating solutions as the Civil War. The abolition of chattel slavery and the perpetuation of the Union was a turning point not only in American but in world history. On such a basic question, how did Jews decide their stand? What was their relationship to the Union, to Negro slavery, to emancipation, to the Republican Party? How did they react to the Confederate conspiracy to destroy the government by force and violence carried to the point of an attempt at armed seizure of power? What were the relationships to the armies, to production for the war fronts, to welfare and relief activities for the soldiers and their dependents—in short, to the variety of economic, political, military, social, cultural and ideological problems of a turning point in our history. Such a book, when it is written, will be of inestimable value. But Rabbi Bertram W. Korn has not produced that book, no matter how useful much of his data will be to the writing of that book.

Papers by Rabbi Korn in scholarly journals have already shown him to be a highly competent craftsman in American Jewish historical research. This monograph on *American Jewry and the Civil War*, his dissertation for the Doctorate of Hebrew Letters at the Hebrew Union College, is elaborate confirmation of his resourcefulness and persistence in digging up new data in the limited areas he has decided to explore. Dr. Korn adds a wealth of detail to the sum total of known facts on certain aspects of the relation of American Jews to the Civil War and we are therefore duly indebted to his diligence. That he does not add more not only to the quantity of our data but to our understanding is due to his own consciously imposed limitations, as well as to certain hidden premises that lie at the bottom of his method of work.

In his Preface the author explains that his aim was not "a full-scale portrait of American Jews—as individuals—in this period, but rather a portrait of American Jewry—as an organized, articulate, self-conscious community of Jews who expressed their sense of togetherness or distinctiveness in a concrete manner: religious, cultural, philanthropic, social or political. Our concern is not with individuals, Americans who happened to be Jews, but with the community *qua* community, with group experience rather than personal experience."

Then Dr. Korn proceeds to admit that his approach "excludes such areas as the individual participation of Jews in the army, as well as their personal political

affiliation and economic activity, except as these have some direct bearing upon religious or other communal problems." But when you *exclude* the economic, political and military participation of Jews in the war, the remainder, no matter how interesting, is left up in the air, without a base.

Summing up in his "Epilogue," Dr. Korn notes that the war "Americanized the large immigrant population at a much more rapid rate than that of more peaceful times. Jews, like other immigrants, felt that they had earned their stake in the country. They belonged to it." Now, who had a better right to feel he belonged to the country than the one who had fought for it? Moreover, the fact that so many had fought, and fought so well, surely had its effect upon the sense of belonging of even those who had not fought. Yet Dr. Korn excludes the *fighters* from his study on the ground that they fought as individual Jews and as Americans but not as part of "American Jewry"! Even when Jewish companies are raised, manned, and financed by Jews, they get scant attention in this volume. It is mainly when the soldiers pray or observe a Jewish holiday that their experiences are considered worthy of inclusion.

What does Dr. Korn include? There is, in a short and rather inadequate chapter, a summary of the discussion of rabbis pro and con on the issue of whether the Bible sanctioned slavery. Then there is a lengthier description of the way the rabbis divided, pro-Confederate and pro-Union, while Wise of Cincinnati and Leiser in Philadelphia took positions of "neutrality" that the Confederates and Unionists alike recognized as essentially pro-Confederate, although Dr. Korn insists on presenting them as true neutrals. Another chapter deals with "home front" activities of a welfare and philanthropic character in aid of the soldiers and their families. But it omits the economic activities of supplying equipment for the army, in the course of which the Jewish manufacturing and mercantile bourgeoisie, as part of the American bourgeoisie as a whole, shared in the "war prosperity" and emerged big and strong enough to build the nationwide religious and communal institutions that characterized the post-war period.

Three chapters, and they are the most useful in the book despite many questionable interpretations, deal with discrimination against the Jews and anti-Semitic actions and propaganda both in the Union and the Confederacy. The first concerns the campaign of the Jews to compel Congress to repeal or reformulate the enactment by which Union army chaplains were to be Christians only. The second deals

"... gearing itself to a more active and flexible response to the needs of our time . . . to function more directly in the thick of the struggle on the cultural front . . . to lock horns more energetically than ever with the mad bulls of war, ignorance and greed . . . with new vigor . . . with brisker tempo. . ."

—Editor SAMUEL SILLEN

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with the origin, nature, effect and prompt cancellation by Lincoln, under the pressure of Jewish protests, of General Grant's order expelling Jews "as a class" from the Department of the Tennessee. The third is a summary of the anti-Semitic propaganda that attained proportions that will cause a gnashing of the teeth among those apologetic Jews who have been actively resisting the idea and the evidence that anti-Semitism had deep roots in our country long before the twentieth century.

Dr. Korn's final chapter, "Lincoln and the Jews," is a curious one. Three quarters of the material, dealing with the relation of individual Jews to Lincoln, would by Dr. Korn's definition of its scope have nothing to do with "American Jewry." Yet the matter was inconsistently included merely because Dr. Korn had made some interesting research finds! Unfortunately, this tendency to neglect his own thesis did not lead Dr. Korn to describe the much more important work of an Isidor Bush, St. Louis Jewish community leader and outstanding abolitionist, or of many others like him.

But there are even more basic weaknesses in Dr. Korn's method than those tied up with his narrow concept of "American Jewry." Ninety years after the war, Dr. Korn tries to assume an attitude of "neutrality" towards it! He professes the "right" of the historian of "American Jewry" to be indifferent to such matters as the cause of a war or its character as a just or unjust war. The most that he will commit himself to on the issue of slavery, which was the cause of the war, is that slavery was "the most important single religio-cultural question of the day"! With Dr. Korn reducing slavery from a system of production with its own economic, political and ideological compulsions to a mere "religio-cultural question," it is to be expected that he will ignore the meaning of slavery for the Negro people.

Thus the war is for him only "the catastrophe of 1861-1865," and the world-historic significance of the abolition of chattel slavery is ignored. He can write throbblingly about the time "when death and disease, pain and want, took up a four-year abode in America" and forget about the two-century abode of slavery. With this approach, Dr. Korn of course regards both the Confederate and the Union cause as equally just, equally worthy of the "divine blessing for their respective armies" as invoked by Confederate and Union rabbis, who properly fulfilled their "religious role as sources of inspiration, comfort, and strength" for those who fought to perpetuate slavery as well as for those who fought to abolish it.

Dr. Korn's "neutrality," however, is really a victory for Confederate ideology,

which is very much alive and which wants nothing better than to be regarded not as a treacherous slave-owners' effort to conquer the Union and perpetuate and expand slavery but as a "respectable" party to a civil war with its own "patriots" and "heroes." Such is indeed the dominant pattern of thought of reactionary American historians, and it is no credit to Dr. Korn's scholarship that he has swallowed it whole. Historically, the movement to "forgive and forget" the viciousness of the Confederacy has the same meaning as the present movement to "let bygones be bygones" with regard to the nazis. If Dr. Korn recoils from the latter, he might well re-examine the former and note how often he has weighted his text in favor of the Confederates.

Dr. Korn's indifference to historical contexts also keeps him from even facing such pregnant questions as: what was the effect of the prevailing copperhead atmosphere in New York upon the Jewish community and the Jewish press of that city; or what was the influence on the Jews, the Jewish community and the Jewish press of Cincinnati of that city's geographical and economic situation which made it a center of Southern trade before the war, a stronghold of copperheadism during the war, as well as a recipient of war contracts from the Lincoln administration as a means of creating a material base for loyalty to the Union?

Much is revealed of Dr. Korn's depth as a historian when one notes with amuse-

ment that not once is the word "capitalism" used. It is true that in the mimeographed "Experimental Edition" of his book published two years ago, he did use it, once. Discussing the speculators and profiteers in the war, Dr. Korn then wrote, "But economic conditions and the capitalist system were far more responsible than the individuals concerned. . . ." In the present volume, Dr. Korn has carefully eliminated this sentence and its dangerous thought. Will we soon be getting scholarly dissertations on Jews in the Middle Ages which will prudently refrain from mentioning—feudalism? In the transient era of McCarthy and Saypol, why not?

Letters from Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In response to your appeal to tide over JEWISH LIFE in this difficult period, I am enclosing my check for five dollars as a contribution.

Although I am not Jewish, I find JEWISH LIFE very satisfying for its analyses and for information which I do not find elsewhere.

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Los Angeles

N. E. J.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

A violent anti-Semitic pamphlet charging that Jews were preparing the country for a disaster in order to seize the country was published by Robert H. Williams, of Los Angeles, and mailed to thousands of editors, ministers and public officials. Williams, who says he is a former counter-intelligence officer, linked Jews, communism and Zionism in the pamphlet. Rep. Samuel W. Yorty (Dem., Cal.) has asked the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate Williams but no word has as yet come from the committee that they would do so.

Protests against the *Amos 'n Andy* TV show in Milwaukee, home of the Blatz Beer Co., sponsors of the series, succeeded in getting a pledge from the local TV station that the show will be discontinued after the present series is concluded. The campaign against the anti-Negro show has gained momentum in the press and various organizations.

Thousands of Jewish DP's will be prevented from entering this country by the December 31 deadline because immigration inspectors in Europe "assume all refugees are communists until it is proven differently," reported Arthur D. Greenleigh, executive director of the United Service for New Americans and chairman of the advisory committee to the United States Displaced Persons Commission in mid-August. He said that the immigration service "seems to be seeking reasons to keep displaced persons out of this country rather than determining which ones are eligible to enter."

EUROPE

The city council of the Soviet sector of Berlin in August decided to name one of the city's main streets "Litvinoff Street" in honor of the 75th birthday of Maxim Litvinoff, formerly the Soviet People's Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose "liquidation" by the Soviet regime has been reported innumerable times by the anti-Soviet press.

G. Koenig, editor of the Paris *Naïve Presse*, progressive Yiddish daily, was ordered on August 20 deported from France by the Plevin government within two weeks after that date. Koenig had lived in France more than 20 years; he enlisted in the French army in 1939, participated in the bloody battle of the Somme, was captured and was a war prisoner for five

years. A few years ago he became a naturalized French citizen, but he was denaturalized by the regime in August 1949. The reason given was that he was "insufficiently assimilated." A protest campaign was under way and his appeal to the higher courts was still pending when Koenig was ordered expelled.

A military court in Paris in August acquitted Gerhard Utikel, official of the infamous Nazi "Rosenberg Institute," whose purpose was to collect "evidence" that the war was caused by the Jews, of the charge that he was in possession of 37 art collections stolen from Jews. The indictment stated that between January 1941 and July 1944, 4,174 cases of art treasures looted from French Jews were sent to Germany.

Mrs. Sydney Silverman, wife of British Labor M.P. Sydney Silverman, is going to the Soviet Union for three weeks as one of a delegation of 20 women organized by the International Women's Day Committee.

"Clan Britain," a new anti-Semitic British group, is urging that Jews should remain in England only as "guests" and will oppose Jewish candidates for Parliament in the next election. . . . At a Trafalgar Square rally in September of the British fascist party, Oswald Mosley, its leader, called upon President Truman and Prime Minister Clement Attlee to carry through their anti-communist program for Europe and he praised them for their anti-communist fight. He recalled that he had in 1946 urged conversion of Europe into anti-communist stronghold.

The executive committee of the World Jewish Congress meeting in Geneva declined on September 11 an invitation to participate in a Yugoslav-sponsored "peace" conference in Zagreb in October.

Hitler's nazis are coming back to power in West Germany, declared the Central Council of Jews in Germany in Berlin on August 27 after a two-day meeting. The council charged that large numbers of Germans were supporting nazis and "glorifying the memory of mass murderers" who wiped out millions of Jews.

ISRAEL

"There seems to be a chance," writes the "Diplomatic correspondent" of the *London Jewish Chronicle* (August 17), "that Israel, like Greece, will eventually

come to be regarded as a Mediterranean country and consequently as a candidate for Nato [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] membership" and would thus come under the command of General Eisenhower's headquarters.

Two lifetime leaders of the Zionist movement in Rumania, Samuel Solomonides and M. Rosenberg, jumped out of windows of Tel Aviv police offices in August while waiting to be examined for charges of smuggling currency. The former died but the latter was injured only. Both were official representatives in Israel of the Society of Rumanian Immigrants which has slandered the new Rumania. Progressives pointed out that if these events had occurred in Rumania, the Ben Gurion government would have cried that the men were being persecuted for their Zionist views and the men would be hailed as martyrs.

Strong possibility of the presence of oil in commercial quantities in several areas of Israel was the conclusion of a geological survey of the country by Max Ball, United States petroleum engineer. Bidding for rights to exploit the oil is being expected from the United States and Britain and the Ben Gurion government has drawn up a law to facilitate foreign exploitation of the oil. The Communist Party and Mapam oppose concessions to foreign companies.

The worst food crisis in Israel's short history is wrecking the country, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times* by Sydney Gruson (September 4). Many Israelis live mainly on bread and cheese; hardly any vegetables or fruits have been available for two months and black market trading is rife. The Communist group in the Histadrut called upon the leadership in September to call a special meeting to find ways to deal with the serious food situation.

"Kol Haam," Communist daily in Tel Aviv, pointed out on August 3 that while the public committee investigating the rise in the cost of living since 1939 reported a 900 per cent increase, the cost-of-living index has increased by only 350 per cent. The paper demanded adjustment of the index to the real situation and strict price control.

S. Mikunis and Tewfiq Toubi, Communist members of the Knesset, have asked for a conference with President Chaim Weizmann to present their proposal for a coalition government of all workers' parties, which together won an absolute majority in the election.

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in—May, 24; anti-Soviet activities—March, 13;
April, 19; Jews in—Nov. 16; May, 29; July, 29;
Aug. 26; 32nd anniversary—Nov. 5; Jews in—
Oct. 26
United Jewish Appeal—Jan. 5; May, 17
United States, and Israel—Dec. 5; May, 10; June, 3
U.S., foreign policy—Feb. 20; June, 7; political crisis
in—Sept. 3
United Workers Party of Israel. See Mapai.
- Väner, Meyer—March, 20
Vogelman, L.—April, 8
- War criminals—March, 3
Warnongering—Feb. 26
Warsaw Ghetto uprising—April, 9, 10; May, 20;
June, 25; trial of executioner of—Oct. 22
White chauvinism—Feb. 4; in moving pictures—
March, 22; in textbooks—March, 16
World Peace Congress—Jan. 7; manifesto of—Jan.,
10
World Youth Festival—Oct. 9
- Yezerka, Anzia, *Red Ribbon on a White Horse* (re-
view)—Jan. 26
Yoelson, Asa. See Jolson, Al.
Youth, Jewish—Nov. 18; June, 16
Youth, in Germany—Dec. 21
Yuditch, Paul—April, 5; June, 23
- Zionist Organization of America—Aug. 14
Zisserman, Yakov—Jan. 15