

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the  
Morning Freiheit Association

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OCTOBER 1948

## ELECTION ISSUE

Eloquent Sphynx on the Hudson

What Makes Harry Run?

Henry Wallace: Progressive American

Communists Fight for the Nation

Jews in Lincoln's Third Party

Bipartisan Gang-Up on Israel



## Reports from Cities

By Our Special Correspondents

### LOS ANGELES

HOW the Jewish people can best contribute to the success of their growing struggles and the 1948 elections are topics of daily discussion in every Jewish organization and in every section of the Los Angeles Jewish community.

The Jewish masses should not be taken for granted by organized labor and the progressive movement despite the great concern and activities for Israel, the struggle against anti-Semitism, the problems of rehabilitation, etc. These are issues around which every sector of Jewry has rallied. While these activities in Los Angeles have not as yet taken on an organized political character, specific incidents indicate the readiness of the Jewish people to respond to issues not only as citizens, but as progressive Jews as well.

The Jewish population in the Los Angeles area has considerably more than doubled in the past ten years. Today there are nearly a quarter of a million Jews living here. Many thousands have settled in several defined areas of our community; western Los Angeles, the Beverly Fairfax area, has perhaps the largest Jewish community west of Chicago. The Boyle Heights area and West Adams community are second and third in concentration of Jewish population.

The Jewish community of Los Angeles is highly organized in some 700 organizations. Main centers of activity are the Bnai Brith, the American Jewish Congress, Southland Jewish Organization, the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Labor Council, scores of women's organizations, clubs, *landsmanshaften*, miniature state societies, reading circles, cultural groups, such as Ykuf and the Yiddish Cultural Club and the Los Angeles Association for Jewish Education, and numerous Zionist groups.

Jewish religious aspirations are expressed through some 50 temples and synagogues, orthodox, reform and conservative, each with its men's club, sisterhood and school. Synagogues have been least involved in the political activities of the community, but in the recent months there have been discussions and increased activities within the religious section of the community.

The Los Angeles Jewish Community Council is the top Jewish organization in the community, including in its membership more than 300 groups, Yiddish-speaking as well as English-speaking, non-religious as well as religious. The Council,

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OCTOBER, 1948

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

THE EDITORS.

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now in its 15th year, is similar to councils formed in several other cities in America. New progressive trends have developed through constitutional changes. Terms of office for officers and directors have been limited and more democratic admission to membership is in use. Inclusion of the community at large into membership on both standing and special committees has brought the organization more into the every day life of the Jewish community. We cannot here go into a detailed examination of the function and role of each of the vast number of Jewish organizations.

Suffice it to say numerous activities have been developing here particularly in the past year.

(Continued on page 27)

### Artists in This Issue

CHARLES KELLER was formerly art editor of the *New Masses* and is now painting and doing free lance art work.

"CHIPS" WILSON is a former seaman whose drawings have been published in the European press. He is a regular cartoonist for the *Daily Worker*.

# NEW YEAR RESPONSIBILITIES

An Editorial

WE greet our people on this New Year, 5709. Our long history as a people has known few years as fateful as the one just past. In this year a Jewish nation achieved independence in Israel on the ancient shores of the Mediterranean. In the course of this achievement, our people were made aware once again of the new, powerful and sincere democratic allies and friends we have, who are determined to heal the wounds inflicted on our people by Hitler rule.

This was the year, too, when another Jewish nation, living under socialist conditions of fraternal peace and collaboration in Birobidjan, grew extensively and developed materially under the aegis of the Stalin post-war five year plan; when our people in the eastern European democracies consolidated their democratic gains, reached new heights of national recognition, thereby removing more completely the generations-old political, economic and social disabilities under which they had suffered.

This was also the year in which the desperate plans of the war-mongers and the fascist-breeders of our country were staved off once more. We know from bitter experience what such plans mean for the Jews everywhere.

Recent events indicate that the main danger facing the world today, from which we cannot escape either as Americans or as Jews, remains the menace of war and fascism. This places grave responsibilities upon the Jewish people as upon all people. It calls for a reasoned estimate of the situation, and a minimum of emotional obfuscation.

We hear in our country plenty of pious protestations of peaceful intentions from those planted in the seats of power. But there is a sure gauge by which these sentiments can be measured, which reveals foreign policy and explains domestic policy. *What are the actions with regard to Germany?*

The end of World War II found the Big Three nations presumably united in the determination to make impossible the resumption by Germany of the role it has played as a military aggressor by destroying the roots of its Prussian militarism. This meant the elimination of the Junkers, the crushing of the cartelists, the denazification of its people and the establishment of a united democratic state. That this is possible, can be seen from the results achieved to date in the Soviet zone of Germany despite obstruction from the Soviet Union's former allies which encourages unreliable elements within the zone. Indicative of the situation in this zone are the facts that trade unions flourish, DP camps are non-existent, and Jews live in peace, security and equality.

And what is American policy? This policy, which straddles also the British and French zones, has split Germany and established a Western Germany. It has halted decartelization, and is building up Germany's war potential even at the expense of the former victims of Nazi brutality. Instead of pressing denazification, the executors of

this policy have put unconcealed fascists in positions of influence. Former Jewish victims of Hitler still rot in DP camps, while the war criminal and collaborationist, Hjalmar Schacht, is set free to resume his reactionary intrigue. And truly democratic parties and organizations are constantly harassed and persecuted.

This is a war policy. This policy is duplicated in the encouragement of fascist Greece and Spain and Koumintang China, in the betrayal of Israel, in the modernization of a militarist Turkey. It is a policy of establishing a world-wide network of war bases. It is a policy that spurs the revival of fascism on a world scale, and calls for the establishment of fascism in the United States. It is a policy that emanates from Wall Street, and is implemented by its bipartisan agents in Washington.

Humanity demands that the American people reassert their political independence of Wall Street by moving *en masse* to the new Progressive Party, whose program is diametrically opposite to the policy of Wall Street. Henry A. Wallace and Glen Taylor and their colleagues have not only spoken in the interests of peace, democracy and security, but are already engaged in struggles to implement the Progressive platform. Support and votes for them are a prerequisite for defeating American monopoly altogether.

The national bipartisan policy has penetrated every locality in our country. This can be seen in the strenuous efforts made by Republican and Democratic state officials to keep the Progressive Party off the ballot. This can be most clearly seen in the notorious action of the Bronx, N. Y., Republican and Democratic Parties, in forming a coalition down the line to defeat Progressive Party candidates. And one can see the depths of depravity to which the liberal and labor agents of the bipartisan cabal have sunk—the Americans for Democratic Action, its party wing in New York, the Liberal Party, the right wing leadership of the CIO and the AFL—when they applaud, support and participate in this unholy alliance.

The people can answer these intrigues—and the reactionary policy they intend to foist on the people—by smashing the political machines operated by Wall Street's agents. The Progressive Party opens up this opportunity by presenting a whole number of outstanding Congressional candidates. They are the Vito Marcantonios, the Leo Isacson, the nearly two score Negro candidates, the 50-odd women candidates based on records already established in the legislatures.

The responsibility of the Jews at this New Year is to see that their fate is tied up with the victory of the progressive forces, and to act energetically on that understanding. Anything less than that is to invite national disaster for our people. The possibility and perspectives of victory loom large indeed. Determination is decisive.

# ELOQUENT SPHYNX ON THE HUDSON

By Ruth Simon

**T**HOMAS E. DEWEY has made one contribution to American political life. He has converted silence into a political weapon. In this respect he is even the superior of the late Calvin Coolidge. The reason for this is obvious. Whenever he has spoken, he has expressed nothing but the most repellent reaction. He has therefore been converted into a Sphynx by his political advisors in the hope that silence, which is golden, will convert him into an idol, which he definitely is not.

Well, then, it might be worth while to look into some of his advisors. There is John Foster Dulles, who is a member of the cartel law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, representatives of the J. Henry Schroeder Corp., New York branch of the powerful Anglo-German bank, which helped restore German industrial and military might. Dulles also served as the main U.S. representative for nazi German and Franco Spanish interests. There is Edwin F. Jaekle, who drew up the incorporation papers for the German-American Bund on June 4, 1937 and spoke at nazi rallies. There is Herbert Brownell, member of the law firm of Lord, Day and Lord, which has connections with many large corporations and Wall Street. And there is Frank Gannett, a powerful up-state New York publisher, founder and head of the Committee for Constitutional Government, characterized by Rep. Wright Patman as "the most sinister lobby in Washington," and the "No. 1 fascist organization in the United States." Patman declared in a radio broadcast, "Gannett is one of the most dangerous fascists at large in America."

You can imagine what kind of foreign policy Dewey is cooking up for the American people, when his chief chef is Dulles, who declared in 1939 that "Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplates war upon us. . . ." Nor was Dewey any less outspoken. Back in 1940 he stated, "A conspicuous and most unfortunate departure (from Republican foreign policy) was the recognition by the New Deal of Soviet Russia." His answer to the idea of collective security was, "We need no such partnerships." In 1941 he opposed lend-lease because it would "bring an end to free government." In 1943, in the midst of the war that was won by the Big Three coalition, Dewey called for an exclusive Anglo-American military alliance. And on November 5, 1947, Dewey, in an address to leading Wall Street figures, denounced the Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam agreements. On this basis, Dewey's or the Republican Party's statements on Israel are so much hogwash that may satisfy some Republican-minded Jewish leaders, but cannot satisfy the Jewish people, and are a menace to the security of Israel.

Dewey's record is no more savory with regard to civil

RUTH SIMON is a New York journalist.

rights. Many hundreds of thousands of people were too busy in fox-holes and war factories four years ago to pay detailed attention to election pledges and platforms when he ran against Franklin D. Roosevelt. For this reason it is interesting to note that Dewey's Republican platform pledged "establishment of a permanent FEPC . . . immediate submission of a Constitutional amendment for (poll tax) abolition . . . early enactment of legislation against lynching" . . . and, on the subject of segregation in the armed forces, "immediate Congressional inquiry and corrective legislation."

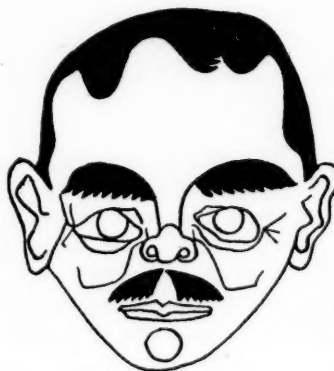
Look, now, at the Republican platform arrived at with complete deadpan in June 1948 after the Republican party had been in control of Congress for two years: "We favor the abolition of the poll tax . . . we are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services . . . we favor

the prompt enactment of legislation to end" lynchings, etc. Note that even *mention* of FEPC has been eliminated from the latest Republican platform.

It is upon this shaky civil rights platform that Dewey seeks election to the presidency. But more than platform promises need to be recalled from the F.D.R.-Dewey cam-

campaign of 1944, and from Dewey's actions as governor of New York.

It was reportedly Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* who first made known the phrase "Clear it with Sidney," allegedly used on one occasion by President Roosevelt. The phrase was quickly picked up by the Republican party and its supporting elements and transformed to "Clear *everything* with Sidney!" Hearst newspapers organized contests around the slogan, lunatic fringe outfits plastered the nation with anti-Semitic leaflets. The campaign of anti-Semitism reached such a pitch that in Philadelphia in September of that year the Republican party sponsored a giant billboard which merely stated: "*It's Your Country . . . Why Let Sidney Hillman Run It? Vote for Dewey and Bricker.*" This billboard attracted such indignation that the sign was painted over and the line "Why Let Sidney Hillman Run It?" was removed. But, as the *Philadelphia Record* reported, "GOP leaders persuaded the sign company to restore the sentence" a few days later.



Dewey never repudiated the outrageous campaign that was conducted on his behalf with this slogan. In his famous Boston speech during the election campaign of 1944, Dewey proved himself in complete agreement with the tactic by appealing to the most despicable anti-Semitic feelings in his attack on the late Sidney Hillman, and through him on FDR. It is interesting to note, that in Dewey's campaign this year, a member of the Republican Citizens Finance Committee of Illinois is Albert W. Dilling, "full time lawyer for the committee and assistant to the president." Mr. Dilling is the former husband of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling Stokes, notorious anti-Semite, whom he defended so that he seemed to agree with her bigotry.

Dewey is no more kindly disposed toward Negroes. Just as the Truman administration conceived and exploited its "civil rights report" to cover its gruesome record of violator of the civil liberties of millions of Americans, so Dewey has used his State Commission Against Discrimination as campaign window dressing. After two years of strong public pressure, climaxed by a mass demonstration at public hearings in Albany that made history for its size, determination and its articulateness, Dewey finally set up with much hoopla the commission which today boasts of its "accomplishments." But the record shows that the commission has not begun to do a job on discrimination and does not even exercise the powers given to it under the law. So little has it accomplished that eight members resigned in disgust.

The shooting to death of two Negro brothers, the wounding of a third and the arrest of a fourth by a prejudice-crazed policeman in Freeport, Long Island, brought only a reluctant investigation by Dewey after much public indignation. And this investigation ended in what amounted to complete whitewash. In 1947, Dewey killed the Austin-Mahoney bill, which would have set up a Fair Education Practices Committee, permitting a weakened version to be

passed later when pressure became too intense. He has used troops to stop delegations on housing from visiting their state legislature. And he capped his attitude toward civil rights with his declaration that "The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has been widely criticized in our country because it has been called a red-baiting committee. As a matter of fact, it has been doing a fine, solid, good American job for a great many months." This explains his silence on the Mundt Bill and on the use of the Smith Act to arrest communist leaders in violation of the first amendment.

Dewey has expressed his agreement with the Taft-Hartley slave labor law. In July 1947, he declared, "There is nothing detrimental about the Taft-Hartley law and the country will realize this within a year." In fact, he was in such agreement that he signed a New York State version of that law, the Condon-Wadlin law, denying the right to strike to all state, city and local employees. At the same time a bill to set up grievance machinery for public workers was killed.

There is not one question on which Dewey has a progressive record. He fought price control, intrigued for the 10¢ fare, protected the milk monopoly, gave rebates on corporate and high income taxes, fought low cost housing, removed the teeth from rent control, fought the demand of teachers for pay boosts.

And Dewey fights dirty. There is a persistent rumor that some reactionary AFL leaders in New York are kept in line for Dewey by fear of exposure of racketeering in the unions they lead. And during the war, in order to insure his election, Dewey produced a soldier ballot that was so laden with encumbrances that the majority of soldiers were prevented from voting.

Dewey's record is clearly and uncontestably—not a record in the people's interests.

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## WHAT MAKES HARRY RUN?

*By Mel Fiske*

**W**HAT makes Harry run? All his political life Harry S. Truman has been supplying the answer. It's unquestioned loyalty to his boss—whoever it happens to be at the moment.

Years back, when Harry was a county judge in Missouri, Tom Pendergast, the Kansas City political boss, told him he couldn't have the juicy tax collector job. He saved Truman's wounded spirit by offering him another job that didn't pay as well but had a title, U.S. Senator.

And 11 years later, because Southern Democrats didn't want Henry Wallace, Truman was the least offensive choice for Vice-President. When he became president on Roose-

velt's death, it was easy for him to graduate from accepting Pendergast's orders to accepting orders from Wall Street bosses and bemedalled militarists. With his early training as a Pendergast ward-heeler, this was as natural as buying a vote.

It was also natural for Truman to apply Boss Pendergast's political trickery at every opportunity. On a local scale, Pendergast's diverting emergencies involving shake-ups in the police department or sham hunts for gamblers were easy to see through and easier to promote. On a national scale, Truman had some difficulty employing the Pendergast technique. But even his relatively inexperienced hand brought the results desired by his banking and big business friends.

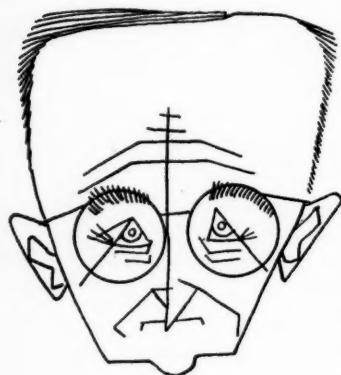
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MEL FISKE is on the Washington staff of the *Daily Worker*.

Take the Taft-Hartley Law. While Truman and the Democratic party, in their quests for workingman votes, now claim a sudden desire to repeal the law, Truman himself fathered it. He planted the seed when he appeared before Congress to give the railroad workers a verbal whipping and asked for tougher rods to beat them some more.

Though a small group of Senators restrained the rest of Congress from passing a stringent strike-breaking measure, other congressmen could not be contained. The Taft-Hartley Law was delivered in the atmosphere of crisis prepared by Truman's war cries against labor. And Truman, while professing to be interested in protecting the rights of labor, carried on a shameless sham battle that weakened the entire labor movement's fight against the bill. He vetoed the bill, but refused to make his Democratic cohorts toe the line and back up his veto. It appears, today, that he didn't want his veto sustained. For since passage of the law, he has used it at every opportunity to break major strikes against miners, among atomic energy workers and on the railroads.

His attempt at lawmaking has achieved a pattern that should be familiar by now. It's generally called another Truman crisis every time he opens his mouth. Usually the



emergency turns out to be a pretext that leads to suppression of people overseas or repression of people in this country. The Truman doctrine, established in the first crisis over Greece and Turkey, led to a full-scale civil war in Greece and backed up the fascists in both countries with American money and munitions. His make-

believe and unspirited fight against the legions of NAM and Chamber of Commerce propagandists, followed by his sudden caving in to the meat trusts, gave the high cost of living its deathlike grip on the living standards of the American people.

For two and a half years, Truman filled the record with platitudes on civil rights, the rights of labor, displaced persons, inflation, housing and a host of other problems that confronted Congress and the nation. He talked a good game. It was only when he decided to try to retain his White House lease that he began to act. His actions, too obviously, were attempts to smear glue on vote-catching paper.

His executive orders on civil rights are belied by his department heads who either refuse to comply with his anti-discrimination orders or actually reverse them. Even Truman apparently considers his orders mere scraps of paper, judging by his failure to make subordinate officials adhere to them. What is more, though he talks civil rights, he has refused to issue an executive order ending segrega-

tion in the armed forces. He is only willing to set up commissions, fact-finding and advisory boards.

If Truman shows such callous disregard of the most basic rights of the Negro people, what is he expected to do to halt growing anti-Semitism? As a matter of fact, we have some indication of his true feelings about Jews, which also reveals the petulant, picayune character of the man. While the United States was quietly intriguing to knife Israel in the back, and while Jewish and non-Jewish Americans fought against this betrayal, columnist Drew Pearson reported that Truman had shouted to a New York newspaper publisher, "Those \_\_\_\_\_ New York Jews! They're disloyal to their country. Disloyal!" The President has since denied making the statement. But the denial apparently did not unconvince the publisher in question, who never retracted the story, so far as we know.

It was his loyalty investigations that set off the firing of scores of Jewish government workers. The firings followed the simple nazi logic that some communists are Jews, therefore all Jews are communists. This anti-Semitism even spread to the military government staff in Bavaria, and is apparently a prerequisite for service in the State Department's foreign stations.

Generally pictured as a first-rate bungler who likes to do good but doesn't know how, Truman even outfumbled himself when the question of Palestine was placed before the United Nations for some solution. On the strength of U.S. and Soviet Union support, partition was adopted. But by that time, Truman changed his mind, and backed the U.S. delegates away from that plan. The wrath of the American people hit him so hard he still feels it. To win back the support he half lost, he rushed to recognize *de facto* the new Jewish state of Israel. He continued, however, to maintain his undeclared support of the Arabs and their barrels of oil by propping up the British, and by denying arms to the Israeli.

The story is now being carefully established that Truman at heart is the typical average man. His recent political junkets around the country were designed to impress the American people with this heart warming characterization. It's not for us to argue whether he's average or sub-normal. One thing is certain: the men around him aren't average. They're the most selfish, single-minded coterie of big-businessmen and military men ever assembled by any peacetime President. They include individuals who have established themselves by deed as anti-Semites, Negro-baiters and labor-baiters. Truman makes no bones about it, they're his boss.

It makes no difference that some are Republicans. Truman assembled them because he likes their kind. They came to him because they knew that, through him, they could begin a job of wrecking the Roosevelt legend and New Deal achievements. It was this bipartisan-military combination that worked out the details of the Truman Doctrine, expanding it to the Marshall Plan, hooking up the whole scheme with an anti-Communist drive that rivaled Hitler's in fervor.

It all started when Winston Churchill was invited to Fulton, Missouri to rattle the war sabers. Truman sat on the platform during Churchill's harangue. This was eight months after Truman took his oath of office. Since then the only oaths Truman has uttered with any conviction have been oaths against the communists. Every major speech before Congress has been dipped in red to substantiate otherwise unsubstantial plans to build the armed forces, draft our young men and dole out billions to support fascism around the world.

His latest declaration, made before the Congress he called back to special session, cited the need for anti-inflation legislation because the communists were counting on a depression in this country. All this, of course, builds the hysteria necessary to conduct Wall Street's world wide ventures and maintain the shaky war economy at home. This hysteria is also designed to shut off freedom at home as well. Truman's henchman, Attorney General Tom Clark,

who established liaison with the Un-American Committee and directed the persecution of communists, has hounded progressives and their organizations with a vigor that he couldn't find when it came to protecting the rights of Negro citizens in the South.

Truman undoubtedly realizes that he hasn't endeared himself to the American people. It took a long time for him to realize it, but now, with the coaching of wandering Americans for Democratic Action minstrels who are happy to find a place to flop, Truman is learning some new "liberal" love songs. His repertoire won't be extensive but it will be repetitious. You'll hear him blame the Republicans for high prices and housing; blame the communists for all the rest, and so on ad nauseam.

But in the background, motivating Truman's "liberalism" and haunting him wherever he stalks, will be another song: "It's the same, old merry-go-round," sung in chorus by the challenging Progressive Party.

## THE REAL FACE OF BIPARTISAN POLICY

Compiled by  
Herbert Aptheker

**W**E list below the personnel in top levels of the American government. The record is proof of the distance the American system has gone in merging the government and Wall Street, with a rich addition of the military.

*President's Chief of Staff:* ADMIRAL W. D. LEAHY.

*Secretary of State:* GEN. GEORGE C. MARSHALL.

*Unofficial Co-Secretary of State:* J. F. DULLES. (Director, International Nickel Co.; Trustee, Bank of New York; Partner, Sullivan & Cromwell, Wall St. law firm; Foreign Affairs advisor to Thomas E. Dewey.)

*Personal Asst. to Sec. of State:* BRIG. GEN. M. S. CARTER.

*Under Sec. of State:* R. A. LOVETT. (Partner till 1940, Brown Bros. & Harriman, investment bankers.)

*Asst. Sec. of State:* BRIG. GEN. C. SALTZMAN. (Vice-Pres., N. Y. Stock Exchange.)

*Asst. Sec. of State:* W. L. THORP. (Director, Associated Electric Co., and three other public utility corporations.)

*Deputy Director Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State:* P. H. NITZE. (Member Dillon, Read & Co., investment bankers.)

*Ambassador to Great Britain:* L. H. DOUGLAS. (Pres., Mutual Life Insurance Corp., Director, General Motors; Vice-Pres., American Cyanamid.)

*Ambassador to Argentina:* J. BRUCE. (Vice-Pres., National Dairy Products Corp.)

*Ambassador to U.S.S.R.:* LT. GEN. W. B. SMITH.

*Chief, American Mission to Greece:* D. P. GRISWOLD.

(Director First National Bank, Gordon, Nebraska; Nominated Thomas Dewey for the presidency at the 1944 Republican Party Convention.)

*Ambassador to Belgium:* ADMIRAL A. G. KIRK. *Ambassador to South Africa:* MAJ. GEN. T. HOLCOMB.

*President's Personal Representative to the Vatican:* M. C. TAYLOR.

(Chair. of Board, U. S. Steel, 1932-38; Member of Board, First National Bank of N. Y. and N. Y. Central R.R. Co.; Director, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.)

*Ambassador-at-Large:* W. A. HARRIMAN. (Partner, Brown Bros., Harriman; Chairman of Board, Union Pacific R.R.; Director, five other major railroads; Director, Western Union and Guaranty Trust Co.)

*Secretary of the Treasury:* J. W. SNYDER. (Vice-Pres., First National Bank, St. Louis.)

*Under Sec. of Treasury:* A. L. WIGGINS. (Pres., Trust Co. of S. C.; Pres., American Bankers Assn., 1943-44.)

*Chairman, Federal Reserve Board:* T. B. MCCABE.

(Pres., Scott Paper Co.)

*Chairman, Export-Import Bank:* W. H. MARTIN, JR.

(Pres., N. Y. Stock Exchange, 1938-41.)

*Chief, World Bank:* J. J. McCLOY. (Former member, Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft; Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood, Wall St. law firms.)

*Secretary of Commerce:* CHARLES SAWYER. (Director, American Thermos Bottle Co.)

*Secretary of Defense:* J. V. FORRESTAL.

(Pres., Dillon, Read & Co., 1937-40; Vice-Pres., General Aniline and Film Corp., a subsidiary of I. G. Farben, 1940-41.)

*Secretary of Air Force:* W. S. SYMINGTON. (Pres., Emerson Electric Mfg. Co.)

*Under-Secretary of Air:* A. S. BARROWS. (Pres., Sears, Roebuck; Director, Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co.)

*Asst. Sec. of Air:* C. V. WHITNEY. (Chairman, Pan-American Airways.)

*Under Sec. of Army:* MAJ. GEN. W. H. DRAPER. (Vice-Pres., Dillon, Read.)

*Chairman National Security Resources Board:* A. M. HILL.

(Pres., Atlantic Greyhound Corp.)

*Secretary, National Security Council:* S. W. SOEURS.

(Vice-Pres., General American Life Insurance Corp.)

*Chairman, Munitions Board:* T. J. HARGRAVE. (Pres., Eastman Kodak Corp.)

*European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) Personnel Administrator:* P. HOFFMAN. (Pres., Studebaker Corp.)

*Director, Office of Information:* B. HOUSTON. (Industrial Relations Director, Standard Oil Co. of Ohio; Partner, Houston & Wisher, Industrial relations consultants; Vice-Pres., Young & Rubicam, Inc., advertising; Exec. Vice-Pres., Pepsi-Cola Co.)

*Director of Operations:* A. H. HARWOOD. (Vice-Pres. and Gen. Counsel, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Los Angeles.)

*Chief, Petroleum, Oil and Lubricant Office:* W. J. LEVY. (Economic Advisor, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., N. Y.)

*Chief, Industry Division:* S. W. ANDERSON. (Former partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co; former officer of several investment trusts; recently associated with banking firm of Lehman Bros.)

*Chief, Economic Cooperation Administration to the Netherlands:* A. VALENTINE. (Director of several companies; Trustee, Committee for Economic Development; Director, American Associates of the International Chamber of Commerce.)

*Chief, Economic Cooperation Administration to Greece:* J. NUVEEN, JR. (Director, Chicago & North Western Railway System; Director, Council Bluffs (Iowa) Gas Co.)

*Chief, Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Norway:* A. E. STALEY, JR. (Pres., Staley Co. of Decatur, Ill.)

# HENRY WALLACE: PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN

By Abraham Chapman

**H**ENRY WALLACE doesn't need the campaign ballyhoo on which puny politicians have to rely in their quest for public offices that are too big for them. Wallace has a bigness that eludes and transcends the rough-and-tumble of American politics. His most ardent campaign workers do not see him as a mere office-seeker. In Wallace they see a symbol of integrity in a corrupt and cynical environment, a hope for sanity in the midst of an insane war frenzy, a people's spokesman standing against the frantic drive of the monopolies toward fascism in the United States. That is why they want to see him in the White House after November.

Wallace isn't a politician in the common, demeaning sense of the word. His bent of mind is studious and inquisitive. By training and inclination he is a scientific student of farming and agriculture, best known for his innovations with hybrid corn. Early in his life he combined farming with farm journalism, as writer and later editor of the successful farm publication, *Wallace's Farmer*, founded by his grandfather. Throughout his life he has combined his farming profession with a social conscience, a concern for human values and the problems of society, moulded largely by the ideals of the Hebraic-Christian religious tradition and the American democratic tradition.

His entry into politics was shy and almost reluctant. He matured to political action, like so many Americans, from crisis to crisis—from the Depression of '29, to the rise of fascism, World War II and the postwar offensive of the American monopolies. He tried to understand the world he lives in and help shape it for the good. He grappled with the problems of the Twenties and the Thirties; with monopoly, greed and the scourge of racism, with the sickness of the American economy, with the horrifying nightmare of Hitlerism and its American accomplices. Through it all he clung to human values and democratic principles. This inevitably brought him into the political arena, because human rights and values are undermined by economic and political realities, and have to be fought for through political action.

He entered American politics, like many of his associates in the leadership of the Progressive Party, in the democratic upsurge of the Roosevelt Era, and has remained true to the Roosevelt heritage in a new and even more difficult phase of historical development. He was appointed to his first public office, Secretary of Agriculture, by President Roosevelt in 1933.

He symbolizes, in a large measure, the path of the honest, democratic American who hates fascism and monopoly and

wants to live in a creative, abundant and free America.

These are some of the qualities that made Wallace the standard-bearer of a new, a people's party, in 1948. A party representing a coalition of diverse elements ideologically and economically—business men, workers, farmers, professionals and intellectuals, Negroes and national groups—united in their opposition to war, the ravages of the trusts and the new dangers of fascism.

Even the most raucous red-baiters know that Wallace is a small capitalist who has never even approached a socialist outlook and has many points of fundamental difference with the communists. Wallace however, has learned certain fundamental truths from the realities of life in the United States and from the horror of fascism for which he has incurred the full wrath of American reaction.

First he recognizes that the monopolies and trusts are the source of the economic and political problems of the American people as well as the source of the war danger and the imperialist threat to the national independence of the freedom-loving people of the world. As the platform of the Progressive Party, adopted at its founding convention, states it:

"The root cause of this crisis is big-business control of our economy and government. With toil and enterprise the American people have created from their rich resources the world's greatest productive machine. This machine no longer belongs to the people. Never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many."

And in his moving acceptance speech at Shibe Park, Philadelphia, Wallace spelled out in his own way how this understanding led to the founding of the Progressive Party and his position as its standard bearer. He said:

"We ally ourselves against those who turn to nightmares the peoples' dreams of peace and equality.

"We ally ourselves to stand against the kings of privilege who own the old parties—the corrupted parties, the parties whose founders rebelled in times past, even as we do today, against those whose private greed jeopardized the general welfare.

"We stand against their cold war and their red smear, under cover of which they steal our resources, strike terror into our hearts, and attempt to control our thoughts and dominate the life of man everywhere in the world.

"We stand together to stop the disasters—economic, political and military, which their policies must breed."

From the "experience of Allied cooperation during the war and the facts of the Atomic Age," as Wallace has said, he drew the cardinal tenet of his peace program: that American-Soviet agreement and cooperation is the key to world peace. It was on this issue that he left the Truman cabinet. This is the principle he has repeatedly emphasized

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in his fight for peace. This is the principle that he reiterated once again in his acceptance speech, when he declared:

"It is not by accident that Germany has become, once again, the heart of a crisis. Germany will be the core of every world crisis until we have come to an agreement with the Soviet Union. We have been maneuvered into a policy whose specific purpose has been this, and only this: to revive the power of the industrialists and cartelists who heiled Hitler and financed his fascism, and who were the well-spring of his war chest."

From the fight against Hitlerism Wallace grasped his

awareness of the twin fascist weapons: racism and red-baiting. Wallace's voice was among the first in America raised against the doctrine of Aryan supremacy and the anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime. And Wallace has long seen the kinship between the myth of Aryan supremacy and the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon supremacy fostered by American reaction, and now raised to new frenzy in the chauvinism of the drive towards war.



Wallace was a member of the National Resources Committee of the Roosevelt Administration, which, in 1938 rejected and repudiated the so-called "melting pot" theory, the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon superiority that "tended toward enforced assimilation and regimentation." Recently, addressing a group of Slav and other national group leaders, Wallace drove this point home graphically when he envisaged American culture as a garden in which the cultures of each national group should flower and blossom. This was apparent in Wallace's early stand in favor of legislation in the United States outlawing the dissemination of racial hatred. Above all the principled position against racism is reflected in the consistent and high level of struggle of the Progressive Party for Negro rights and the organic participation of the Negro people in the Wallace movement as equals.

But unlike many liberals who see the fascist character of racism but close their eyes to the chief instrument of fascist aggression—red-baiting—Wallace has been loyal to the truths derived from the fight against Hitlerism. When America took the longest step yet taken towards fascism with the indictment and arrests of the National Board members of the Communist Party on the eve of the Progressive Party convention, Henry Wallace immediately issued a personal statement in which he said:

"It is interesting and highly significant that these red

scars over the past two or three years have been timed to silence opposition to new turns in the bi-party get-tough foreign policy. Millions of Americans have indicated their displeasure at the refusal of the bipartisans to enter into real negotiations with the Russians, looking to a peaceful settlement of existing differences.

"The indictments are, I feel, an attempt to promote new fears. They are another in a series of diversions created for Americans who are complaining about mounting inflation, the stupid bungling in Berlin, and other problems. Both the Administration and the bipartisans in Congress make allegations to make headlines, make headlines to make fear, and make fear to stay in power.

"The important thing for democratic Americans is to recognize this practice and defend with all their energy the rights of others to speak freely, no matter how much they may disagree with the points of view of those they defend.

"While I favor strong action against any individual who commits violence, it has been my observation that violence in the United States, as indeed in other countries, has been generally committed by the very people who would suppress the free speech of communists and other groups with whom they disagree. When we look at non-communist countries with millions of communist voters, we are shocked that there are politicians in our rich, powerful democracy who feel so insecure that they are led to suppress the political freedom of a relative handful of American communists.

"Defense of the civil rights of communists is the first line in the defense of the liberties of a democratic people. The history of Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain should teach us that suppression of the communists is but the first step in an assault on the democratic rights of labor, national, racial and political minorities, and all those who oppose the policies of the government in power."

This stand is now embodied in the platform adopted by the Progressive Party.

Henry Wallace thus epitomizes the growth and development of a progressive American embodying, in the conditions of 1948, the tradition of Jefferson, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. Like the corn of his native Iowa his roots are deep in the American soil. He has grown tall and strong and his strength is in the people, in the millions who are rallying to his leadership and the banners of the Progressive Party as the only way to vote against war, fascism and monopoly rule in the presidential elections in 1948.

### ***From the Four Corners***

has been omitted from this issue owing to lack of space.

The column will be resumed next month.

# THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT FOR THE NATION

By Samuel Barron

**T**HE Communist Party platform emphasizes the growing danger of fascism in the United States and of war provoked by American imperialism. It is to the credit of the Communist Party that it was the first and most persistent force in the United States to signalize the twin danger. Ever since the end of 1945, William Z. Foster, the national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, and Eugene Dennis, its general secretary, have consistently exposed this menace to the welfare of our nation and rallied the people against it.

That is why the Communist Party has been under constantly increasing attack by the bipartisan administration, by the Democratic Party-led Justice Department and by the Republican Party-led Un-American Committee. But the Communist Party was under similar attack on other occasions. It was attacked when it led the fight for social security and industrial unionism, when it persisted in the fight for the rights of the Negro people beginning with the Scottsboro case, when it exposed the rise of fascism under Hitler, when it fought Japanese invasion of China and axis intervention in Spain, when it urged collective security. It did not flinch in the face of attack on those occasions. And its present platform indicates that it has no intention of flinching this time.

Why was it possible for the communists to be the first to recognize the present dangers? The answer lies in the Marxist theory that is the foundation of the Communist Party. This theory has made it possible for the Communist Party to analyze correctly the class nature of the society in which we live. It has studied the class forces, and the role that each plays. It has thus revealed the fascist and warmongering kernel of the monopolist-imperialist ruling power of the capitalist class, and of the role the bipartisan administration plays in its behalf. And this analysis has been confirmed by the Republican Party platform, which states quite deliberately and clearly that government is "the servant of . . . our competitive system."

In this vaunted system, it must be understood, the "equal" competition is between a tightly knit wolf-pack of monopolists and the general herd of economic sheep. This is not only the result of the machinations of a few wilful and evil men, but is the very nature of the system. It is also characteristic of the system that the pack gets constantly tighter and more rapacious. Therefore, any government that is "the servant of such a system," can only be the servant of the rapacious wolf-pack.

How true this is can be seen from the personnel of our

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government listed elsewhere in this issue. The Democratic Party platform does not state so baldly the role of the government. But that it is in agreement with this description, and that it is concerned to safeguard the interests of the pack, it has proved in deeds. For the Big Business bipartisan representatives and its military agents who today dominate the government were appointed by Pres. Truman. He has thereby strengthened the power of Wall Street over the masses of American people, workers, farmers, middle class and professionals.

When, therefore, the Communist Party platform asks the fundamental question, "Why then the fear of insecurity? . . . Why then the war hysteria?" its reply is not only basic, but incontrovertible. "The answer lies in this simple fact—250 giant corporations, operating through eight banks, control the economic life of the United States. These in turn are largely owned by a few plutocratic families—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, duPont, and Ford." This is monopoly capitalism.

## *Whose Government?*

This, then, is the class nature of the "democracy" that our press and radio, the Voice of America, and the American Military Governments brag about so much; for which blonde brunettes are enticed into sordid neuroticism; for which renegacy is spiritually haloed, and materially remunerated with important editorial posts and other positions offering 20 pieces of silver. Such is the morality of "our competitive system."

The European peoples are remaining deaf to our inducements simply because they have already experienced how such a system led to a Nazi Germany and to their own past collaborationist governments. That is why even the most silver-tongued and honey-worded agents of Big Business in the working class—the reactionary social democrats of the type of Dubinsky, Reuther, Carey—cannot move these people to go through the painful experience again.

And the American people are increasingly champing at the bit. They may not yet be altogether aware of the underlying cause of their growing problems. But they are increasingly feeling the lash of the Wall Street driver, and they are beginning to grapple with the ABC's of their quandary. Here is how the Communist platform puts it:

"The nation's industries are operated not for the public welfare, but for the private gain and power of the multi-millionaire ruling class. Prices continue to rise because of vast military expenditures and because the monopolies, through price-fixing agreements and other devious devices, extract exorbitant profits.

"They also make huge profits from war and from armaments. They extract super-profits abroad by forcing other nations into economic dependence upon Wall Street. This drive for foreign markets, for Wall Street domination of the world, is at the bottom of the war hysteria and war preparations. Big Business, fearful of the growth and advance of democracy and socialism, hopes to crush the democratic and socialist movements of the world, in order to protect and swell its profits.

"Big Business seeks to re-establish the old nazi cartels and use Germany as a military base for new aggression. But the failure of the bi-partisan policy to achieve its main aim of world conquest has increased the frenzy with which Wall Street seeks to plunge the nation into fascism and World War III." These are the objectives of monopoly capitalism and give motive power to American imperialism.

This is already being felt by the American people in the drafting and militarization of our youth, in the crushing high cost of living, in the enslaving labor legislation, in the attempt to brutalize the American people through police terror especially against the Negro people, in the subversion of the Bill of Rights.

Obviously, these are the problems of the entire American people. And when the Communist Party raises the banner of struggle against these oppressive forces, it is calling upon the entire nation to fight in the interests of the nation. Clearly the 250 corporations, the eight banks, the handful of oligarchic families are not the nation. They are but a small junta, conspiring through the use of force and violence, to defraud and enslave, debauch and brutalize the American people. Under no circumstances can such a cabal speak and act in the interests of the nation. They are the destroyers of the nation masked in the hooded cloak of racism, chauvinism and jingoism. Those who expose and fight against this conspiratorial faction alone can speak and act in the interests of our nation, and the communists have been in the forefront of struggle against the conspirators for a century, not only in Europe, but in America as well.

The Wall Street imperialist conspirators work in devious ways. One such way is their absolute control of the two major political parties which in word and deed act to maintain the government "as the servant of such a system." That is why the Communist Party platform can truthfully say that "Both major parties are committed to the bi-partisan war program. . . . Both major parties are united in this program of fattening the billionaires and bleeding the taxpayers. Both major parties are responsible for run-away inflation. . . . Both major parties are responsible for the atrocities committed against the Bill of Rights. . . . both major parties are responsible for the Hitler-like hysteria expressed in spy scares, loyalty probes, government witch-hunts and the arrest and indictment of Americans whose 'crime' it is to oppose the Wall Street war plans" and "have equally been guilty of subverting the Bill of Rights." This is what is meant by government acting "as the servant of the system," which both parties are pledged to maintain. But because of the problems raised by this conspiracy, "Millions

of American working people," the Communist Party platform records, "have come to realize the futility of any further support for the bankrupt two-party system of Big Business."

### ***A New Party Needed***

A new party was necessary. And "millions of Americans, disillusioned with the two-party system, have given birth to a new people's party"—the Progressive Party. And because it is a people's party, in which the working class is playing an increasingly important and active role, and because it is a party that breaks with the conspiratorial cabal and therefore with the ruling power of the system, and because it has on this basis enunciated a program in the interests of the people, the Communist Party supports the Progressive Party and has decided not to run its own national candidates.

Two questions naturally present themselves. Why could not the Communist Party be the new party? And if not, why does it have to exist now that a new, people's party has come into being?

The Communist Party is the party of socialism, and has the objective of winning the majority of the American people to accept socialism as the final and lasting solution of all present problems, as the Soviet people have solved their basic problems under socialism, and as the people in the East European democracies are in the process of solving basic problems while moving on the path toward socialism. The aim of the Communist Party is to win the majority of the American people for the program of socialism, and for the establishment of the socialist system in America.

But the Progressive Party is not a party of socialism.



It is a coalition party of different sections of the American people, who see the need for curbing the wolf-pack, and even for ridding the American scene of this rapacious pest. Included are all elements, middle class, professionals, farmers and workers, who still have illusions that capitalism can be reformed, patched and made workable. The Progressive Party, which is on the way to winning the adherence of the majority of the people, is their party.

Moreover, the Communist Party, besides having its ultimate goal of socialism, fights for the immediate needs of the people. It does so because, being of the people, and existing in the interests of the people and the nation, it is inevitable for this Party to fight for the immediate needs of the people. It does so also because it can win the confidence and support of the masses of people only by participating in the people's struggles for immediate needs as the loyal, consistent, self-sacrificing leader and fighter for the people. And finally it does so because its scientific Marxist theory has taught it that only by fighting for immediate needs can the masses of people be organized and educated for the struggle for socialism.

That is why the Communist Party supports the Progressive Party. And that is why the coalition forces in the Progressive Party collaborate with communists. For the communist platform is not merely a promise of things to come. It is also a record of past struggles. On the basis of this past record, the coalition forces in the Progressive Party have confidence in the communists who participate in it. And what is more, the participation of the proved and tested communists adds confidence that the Progressive Party program will be fought for militantly and consistently.

But the Communist Party must continue to exist, despite the existence of a Progressive Party, precisely because the latter is not a socialist party. The Progressive Party platform, which should be supported on the whole, can be used to create illusions that will lead the masses of people up a blind alley if persisted in. It is the task of the Communist Party to dissipate such illusions. That is why the communists declare their support of the Progressive Party platform and also their fundamental differences with it.

For instance, the Progressive platform treats capitalism as though it can be cured of its evil, as though it could become progressive in the hands of decent human beings. But science teaches that the evil of capitalism lies in its very nature, and becomes particularly unbearable under imperialism. There is no such thing as "progressive" capitalism possible any longer. There is no cure for it but its elimination. Thus the communist platform declares, "We point out that capitalism cannot become 'progressive' even by curbing the excesses of the monopolies. The basic cause of unemployment, economic crisis, fascism and war can only be removed by the establishment of socialism through the democratic will of a majority of the American people."

The Progressive platform calls for the nationalization of basic industries, banks, etc., and leaves it at that. But nationalization under an administration ruled by Wall Street and its military agents can well lead to the corporate state. It is the Communist Party platform that places the

question of nationalization in its proper relationship. "We support measures to nationalize basic industries, banks and insurance companies, but point out that these can only be useful as part of the fight to realize a people's democratic government in the United States. Democratic nationalization of trustified industries requires guarantees of democratic controls, the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively and strike. This can only be accomplished by a people's government dedicated to curbing the power of the trusts."

Other differences exist, too. Thus while the Progressive Party sees the Negro question as a humanitarian and civil rights question, which it certainly is, the Communist Party sees in addition its fundamental character, as a national liberation question. Without seeing this, the Progressive Party fails to tackle the Negro question basically and permanently. And it also cannot see the root cause of all other forms of national oppression in the United States, anti-Semitism, Mexican-American oppression, alien-baiting, etc. Nor could it take a basic position for Puerto Rican independence.

These basic considerations are in the very essence of the Communist Party platform, because of its advanced Marxist scientific outlook. And that is why the Communist Party must exist independently. But there is still another reason. If the Progressive Party is to fight seriously and successfully against the wolf-pack, it must have as its backbone, actively participating in it, the working class, which faces the pack daily in the shops and factories, mills and mines, and has a long history of struggle against it in strikes and other bitter battles. What is more, the working class is the driving force and the guarantee for a militant, sustained and consistent struggle for the carrying out of the Progressive Party platform, because its objective of class liberation, while including the planks of the progressive program, goes beyond them. The working class must therefore achieve them fully in the process.

That is why Wall Street seeks to paralyze the working class by sending agents into its midst to divert it from the correct path of struggle. That is the role of the Dubinskys, the Reuthers, the Rieves and their social democratic ilk, and the Lewises, the Murrays, the Greens, who are straight labor betrayers. The only force capable of rallying and uniting the rank and file labor movement for the Progressive Party is the party of the working class, its conscious vanguard, the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard because its scientific Marxist outlook clarifies, raises and leads the fight for the ultimate objectives of the working class.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Communist Party must not only continue to exist independently within the coalition. If it is to play its role fully and successfully within the coalition, it must also grow and build its influence. That will be one of its means of serving the people's movement and the test of how well it has served. The Communist Party election policies create the basis for this service, for the victory of the people's movement and for the success of the Communist Party.

# JEWIS IN LINCOLN'S THIRD PARTY, 1854-1860

By Morris U. Schappes

IT was not easy for the Jews to begin to break away from the old parties that dominated our country in 1854 and to join in the building of that great new venture, the Republican Party that elected Abraham Lincoln to the presidency only six years after it was conceived and four years after it was born. Looking back upon those days 90 years ago, American Jews are proud of those of their ancestors who had the wisdom and the courage to make the break and move forward with the remainder of the progressive forces of the United States.

But our hindsight makes the events and processes of the past look easy. Why, it is thought, how could there have been two sides to the fundamental issues that split the nation in the 1850's and led to the Civil War that abolished chattel slavery? It is falsely assumed that it was simple for every decent American in those days to make his choice and move speedily to the support of the new and then progressive Republican Party. But it was not easy. Clarity, courage, and hard work were required to win the people away from their allegiance to the old parties. There were fears to be overcome; there were ties of long standing to be broken; there was terrific propaganda against the new party. There was intimidation and violence; citizens were threatened with loss of jobs if they voted Republican in 1856 and 1860. Republican speakers, particularly if they were outright abolitionists, faced and often felt the rotten eggs hurled at them by pro-slavery hoodlums. For espousing the cause of national unity and resistance to the aggressive slavocracy, you courted the epithet of "black Republican," and sometimes even "red Republican." Every individual in those days who took his stand on the side of the Union and of opposition to the continued domination of the country by the slave-owners had to do so by a process that involved his superior understanding of what was good for the masses of the people and the country as a whole and superior determination to confront the enemy and fight him. The confused, appeasers, weaklings held back.

The break towards the new party began in 1854. In that year, the Democratic Senator from Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas, introduced and secured the passage of a bill dear to the heart of the Southern slaveowners. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill marked another political aggression by the slave power. In order to get Southern consent for a Northern route for a transcontinental railroad, the appeasing Northern Democrats carried the ball for slavery. The bill opened to the slavers of the territory of Kansas and Nebraska that had hitherto, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, been closed to them. This new attack let loose new

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forces of mass resistance that soon found their political expression in the building of a new party.

The Jews who were politically active in 1854, and their number was not great, were tied to the traditional two parties, the Democratic and the Whig, chiefly the Democratic. The Whigs constituted a coalition of big slaveholders, rich merchants, large manufacturers, and Northern big landlords. The Democratic Party was a coalition of plantation owners, the smaller merchants, the smaller manufacturers, small slaveholders, small farmers, and workers, especially the masses of foreign-born workers who crowded the large cities. These coalitions were obviously, because of their heterogeneous class composition, unstable; on the issue of slavery regroupings began to take place, and reached their peak after the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became law.

## In the Democratic Party

Prominent in the Democratic Party throughout the country there were several Jews. In Florida there was United States Senator David Levy Yulee, who had advocated secession as early as 1850. In Pennsylvania, Congressman Henry M. Phillips of Philadelphia was one of the Democratic whips in the House of Representatives. And in Pottsville, center of a mining district, the Bavarian-born Jewish lawyer, Meyer Strouse, was a Democratic leader, and was later, in 1862, elected to Congress. In Cincinnati, the leader of the Jewish community, and the national spokesman of Reform Judaism, was the Rev. Isaac Mayer Wise, editor of the influential weekly, *The American Israelite*; he fought the abolitionists so well and denounced the Republicans so vigorously that he was offered the nomination as State Senator by the Democratic Party in 1863. In Chicago, the young banker, Henry Greenebaum, who had arrived from Germany in 1848, was elected an alderman by the Democrats in 1856 when he was only 23, and four years later he was a presidential elector on the Democratic ticket, working for his candidate, Senator Douglas, against Lincoln.

Out in California, Supreme Court Judge Solomon Heydenfeldt, who had left the state of his birth, South Carolina, to go to Alabama, and from there had come to the West Coast to become an important Democratic politician upholding the Southern slaveowner's point of view, was so firm in his reactionary principles that, when California voted to stay in the Union in 1861, he resigned from the bench rather than take the oath of loyalty to the Union. And in the Pacific Northwest, in the Oregon Territory, when a Democratic Party machine was being built by the governor of the Territory, he had as his main organizer

a Jewish newspaper man, Asahel Bush, who became the boss of what was to be known as the Salem Clique.

It was in New York, however, the city then as now with the largest Jewish population in the country, that Jews were most closely connected with the Democratic Party machine, especially with Tammany Hall. Until his death in 1851, Mordecai M. Noah, the most widely-known of American Jews, had for several decades been a significant factor in Tammany Hall, first in its early progressive days and later on also when it became not more than a machine in which political scruples played second-fiddle to political patronage. Noah had been both Sachem and Grand Sachem of Tammany. In the 1840's, another young Jewish Democrat began to become prominent in Tammany circles. Emanuel B. Hart, the son of Rebecca Seixas Hart and Bernard Hart, a prominent Wall Street broker, became a broker himself as well as an active politician. In 1845 and 1846, he was elected a Democratic Alderman, despite the anti-Semitic campaign conducted against him by that brawler and bombast, the independent Democrat, Mike Walsh. Then Hart was elected to Congress for one term in 1852, became a Sachem in Tammany Hall in 1857, and was appointed by Democratic President James Buchanan as Surveyor of the Port of New York, and therefore was a leading dispenser of patronage for loyal Tammany men. In the fifties, there were at least a score of Jews active in the Tammany machine and in the ward committees. Not himself a politician but rather a maker of politicians was the Jewish banker, August Belmont, who had begun his financial career in New York as an agent of the Rothschilds of Europe. From 1844 on, Belmont became increasingly prominent in the Democratic Party locally and nationally, his marriage to a daughter of Democratic Senator John Slidell of Louisiana being of course no hindrance. One of the engineers of the nomination of Buchanan, Belmont, as a heavy financial contributor to the campaign chests, and as an important influence among the pro-Southern merchants and bankers of New York, was elected Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1860.

Thus in the 1850's politically-minded Jews knew that financial as well as communal leaders of the Jewish community were well represented in the Democratic Party. The favorable attitude to immigrants in that party was of course a factor in this connection.

### *In the Whig Party*

There were also, however, Jews in the active ranks of the Whig Party. Most prominent of them was Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, a slaveowner, a secessionist, and a leader of the Confederacy. By 1856, however, Benjamin switched his allegiance to the Democratic Party, motivated by the growth of anti-slavery sentiment among Northern Whigs, by the connection of some Whig state and local machine with the anti-alien Native-American movement and by the conviction that he would get further personally as a Democrat.

Less prominent nationally but interesting is the Whig career of Abraham Jonas, an English Jew who came to Cincinnati in 1819, moved to Kentucky where he served several terms in the State Legislature (and met Lincoln in that state as a fellow-Whig), and moved again to Illinois (as Lincoln did), where he also served in the State Legislature after his election in 1842. From 1849 to 1852, his activity in the Whig Party brought him the appointment by Whig Presidents Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore as postmaster of Quincy, Illinois.

In Philadelphia, the watchmaker and jeweler, Moses A. Dropsie, turned to the study and practice of law and politics without dropping his business ties, and in 1852 was the unsuccessful Whig candidate for mayor of the Northern Liberties, a section of Philadelphia later consolidated with the metropolis.

In New York, a Whig since 1834 was Jonathan Nathan, son of the prominent Jewish family of Isaac Mendez Nathan and Sara Seixas Nathan. A friend of Hamilton Fish, and his classmate at Columbia College, Nathan became an influential political adviser of Fish, helped elect him the Whig Governor of New York in 1848, and continued as his intimate friend and adviser when Fish went to the United States Senate. The extant but unpublished correspondence of these two is a fascinating record of a personal friendship and a political association. Why these Whigs and others like them turned Republican is indeed instructive.

### *The New Party Rises*

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854 sparked the movement to build a new party to check the expansion of slavery. The broad base of the movement is suggested by the fact that to this day there are still disputed claims from Wisconsin, Michigan and New York State about the exact time and place where the new Republican Party was born. The birth of a progressive party, as the Republican was then, could not be restricted to one locality. Certainly one of the first state Republican conventions was held in Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854. Several hundred citizens of Detroit and other cities and counties of Michigan signed the call to this convention, which began as follows: "A great wrong has been perpetrated. The slave power of this country has triumphed. Liberty is trampled under foot. The Missouri Compromise, a solemn compact, entered into by our fathers, has been violated, and a vast territory dedicated to freedom [Kansas and Nebraska] has been opened to slavery." The call ended with the invitation to "all our fellow citizens, without reference to former political associations, who think that the time has arrived for a *union* at the north to protect LIBERTY from being overthrown and down-trodden, to assemble in Mass Convention . . . there to take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of this state against the aggression of the slave power." This call was signed, among others, by Edward Kanter, Moses Solomons of Detroit and Meyer Ostrander of Calhoun County. Most of the signers were

Free-Soil Democrats, who had stayed inside the Democratic Party to fight slavery until they were convinced that they had to go outside of that party to be effective, while some were anti-Slavery Whigs who found the presence of pro-slavery forces in the Whig ranks no longer tolerable. By 1857, however, Kanter had backslid and began to make a career for himself as a Democratic political leader.

Heading towards the 1856 Presidential elections, the new party grew, especially in the mid-West. Among the large number of German immigrants, Republican organization was particularly successful. In Chicago, for instance, the first official call for a German Mass Meeting to join the Republican Party was published in the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, and among the five signatories there were three Jews, Adolph Loeb, Julius Rosenthal and Leopold Mayer.<sup>1</sup> The Silesian Jew, Charles Kozminski, who had come to Chicago in 1854 after a year in New York, became the first president of the Washington Club, a German Republican organization. The Bavarian Jew, Abraham Kohn, something of a Hebraist and president for several years of the oldest congregation in Chicago, was so forthright in his views that the Democratic press denounced him as "one of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists."

### ***Among the Republican Organizers***

Far-flung were the places where Jews helped found the Republican Party. In Missouri, the border state, the intrepid abolitionist Moritz Pinner worked busily and successfully to mobilize German-American votes for the Republicans, and later established a militant anti-slavery German and English weekly in Kansas City. In Kentucky, Lewis N. Dembitz of Louisville was a delegate to the founding Republican convention in that city in 1856 (in that year and city was born his more famous nephew, Louis Dembitz Brandeis). In New Jersey, Moses Naar was the first member of the Elizabeth, N. J., Republican Club, formed in 1856 to campaign for the Republican presidential ticket headed by John C. Fremont. In Philadelphia, Moses Dropsie broke with the Whigs and helped organize the Republican Party in his state so that he could fight slavery.

At the first national convention of the Republican Party in 1856, there were the following Jewish delegates: Moritz Pinner and Joseph(?) Bernays of Missouri, Edward Kanter of Michigan, Lewis N. Dembitz of Kentucky. (The Rev. Edgar M. Levy of Philadelphia, who delivered the invocation, was not a Jew, as some have reported, but a Baptist minister.)<sup>2</sup> Of course Lincoln was there, having but just that year definitely broken with the Whigs to join the Republicans. And from Quincy, Illinois, there came, not as a delegate, but as a visitor, Abraham Jonas. It is re-

<sup>1</sup> George Schneider, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, was not a Jew, although for fifty years American Jewish historians have been referring to him as a Jew.

<sup>2</sup> Considerable misinformation has been spread by Mr. Bernard Postal in an article, "At the Cradle of the Republican Party," *The American Hebrew*, July 12, 1929. He names as Jews various persons who can be proved to be non-Jews, and others about whom there is no evidence that they are Jewish.

ported that he vainly tried to persuade delegates to nominate Lincoln instead of Fremont; but when Fremont won, he campaigned assiduously for him.

The new ticket was an inspiration to many. In Southern Baltimore, the abolitionist Reform leader, Rev. David Einhorn, in reviewing the Jewish calendar year in his German-language monthly magazine, *Sinai*, in October 1856, pointed to the birth of the "so-called Black Republican Party" as one of the great events of the year. That party would check the growth of what he considered to be "the cancer of the Union," Negro slavery. Many of Einhorn's congregation did not like his anti-slavery preachings and writings; when the showdown came after secession in 1861, Einhorn had to leave Baltimore to escape physical assault and resigned his pulpit rather than agree to the censoring of his sermons.

In New York, too, although it was the Northern city in which Southern slaveowners had their strongest advocates, there was a growing support for the Republican Party. Sentiment for the Republicans had been slowly gathering during the year. Pressure from the Democrats and the Whigs was of course strong. Of particular interest is the reasoning of Jonathan Nathan revealing the process of change that led him, and Hamilton Fish, whom he greatly influenced, out of the Whig camp over to the Republicans.

On April 25, 1856, Nathan wrote to Senator Fish in Washington, whom he used to address as "My dear Ham" but whom he now called "My dear Gov.": ". . . the only issue between parties is *slavery*—there is no other dividing line no other practical question—Whig and Democrat so far as principles are concerned are in my opinion convertible terms—. . . I contend that we must be either Democratic or Republican—Now if Republicanism means abolition I aint there—but if the choice be presented to me of Abolition or Slavery extension and Southern principles and predominance I ask you which must I take—. . ." By placing the issue thus, Nathan helped to shape his own and Fish's thinking.

The following week, on April 29th, there was a mass meeting at the Broadway Tabernacle, the largest hall in the city, to oppose "the Measures and Policy of the present National Administration, for the *Extension of Slavery*." Among the 2,500 signatures appended to the newspaper call as it appeared in Horace Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune* on the day of the meeting, were the name of such Jews as Jacob Levy, Simon Levy, Joseph Gutman, Gershon Nathan (a younger brother of Jonathan Nathan), H. Cohen, Philip Aaron, Abraham Levy, A. Udriksy, Saul Solomon, and Philip H. Jonas.

Meanwhile Jonathan Nathan's wife, the former Rebecca G. Moses of Philadelphia, was moving towards Republican politics at a faster rate than her husband. For on June 26, 1856, Nathan writes to his "dear Gov." that "there is treason in my camp at home," and that his wife had "become a violent red republican," insisting on his attending another Fremont rally. He had gone to the Tabernacle, but it was so packed that he could not get in and instead watched "a

couple of outside meetings." He informs Fish that "there is a growing enthusiasm for Fremont" and for his even more popular wife, Jessie. Later that year, both Fish and Jonathan Nathan worked for the election of Fremont. For them and for thousands of others the choice was not easy. There were those who argued that if you deserted the Whigs you would strengthen that "greater evil," the Democrats. Some insisted that to vote for Fremont was to waste your vote. Others thought two parties were enough. In *The American Israelite*, Isaac M. Wise denounced the "red republicans and habitual revolutionaries, who feed on excitement and delight in civil wars." But as people began to see, as Jonathan Nathan did, that "the only issue between parties was *slavery*," and that neither of the two old parties could or would fight the extension of slavery, much less its abolition, they moved to the new party.

Fremont did not win in 1856, but he received one-third of the total vote, and the Republican Party became the second party in the country, trailing the Democrats by only a half million votes. The anti-alien nativistic American Party, which was also anti-Catholic and pro-slavery, ran a poor third.

Its political power seriously threatened, the Southern slaveowners became even more aggressive. The attacks on the Republicans grew even fiercer and shriller. All the abuse once heaped upon Jefferson and now visited upon communists was then showered upon the Republicans. Economic sanctions were used too. Southerners placing orders for goods with New York and other merchants tried to influence the politics as well as the prices of Northern dealers. The young Columbia graduate, Abram J. Dittenhoefer, witnessed such an incident in New York and concluded, "Our merchants have for sale on their shelves their principles, together with their merchandise." (*How We Elected Lincoln*, New York, 1916, p. 5.)

Dittenhoefer, by the way, was converted to Republican support in an especially instructive fashion. His father, Isaac Dittenhoefer, a wealthy merchant and a founder of Bnai Brith, wanted him to be a Democrat so that he could get ahead in New York politics. Abram was ready to accept his father's advice until one day he read the newspaper reports of a pro-slavery speech by Senator Judah P. Benjamin. On that occasion Senator Benjamin F. Wade, a free-soiler from Ohio, immortally described Benjamin as "a Hebrew with Egyptian principles." Dittenhoefer writes: "my convictions were irrevocably changed by the reading of Wade's speech in answer to Benjamin. It struck me with great force that the Israelite Benjamin, whose ancestors were enslaved in Egypt, ought not to uphold slavery in free America, and could not do so without bringing disgrace upon himself." So Abram J. Dittenhoefer became a Republican. He even convinced his father to abandon "his old political associations" and to vote for Lincoln in 1860. More important was his work in rallying the German vote in New York for Lincoln. In 1864, Abram Dittenhoefer was a presidential elector for Lincoln.

In the 1860 campaign for Lincoln many Jews were active. In Quincy, Illinois, Abraham Jonas was chairman

of the Republican County Committee. Directly after the election, Lincoln remembered on his own initiative to appoint his friend Jonas to the postmastership of Quincy. In Chicago and Louisville and Philadelphia and elsewhere, those Jews already mentioned increased their work and brought others into the movement. In Southern Baltimore, the 40-year-old physician, Dr. Abraham B. Arnold, leaped into the campaign and made a valuable contribution as a member of the Maryland State Executive Committee of the Republican Party. In New York, in addition to those mentioned, there was Sigismund Kaufmann, who at the age of 24 had participated in the German revolution of 1848, had come to this country as a refugee from the counter-revolution, and had addressed anti-slavery meetings in English, German and French in New York in 1851. He took part in this campaign for Fremont and was especially influential in the 1860 elections, in which he was a Republican presidential elector. In St. Louis, Isidor Bush was very influential among the Jewish population. (See my article on Bush's work in *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1947.)

Lincoln, although he won the election and carried New York State, was defeated in New York City by some 30,000 votes. New York was to continue as a Southern stronghold and as a center for "copperhead" appeasement of the Confederacy right through the Civil War. The Democratic Party machine, with its contingent of Belmonts and Harts and other Ward Committeemen, was dominant.

But who today takes pride in those who sought to prevent the election of Lincoln and the building of a new party? Progressive Jew and non-Jew alike now prefer to honor those Jews and non-Jews who, before the Civil War, saw the issue clearly and broke with the old parties. There were those in 1860, Jews among them, who had contempt for Lincoln. Isaac M. Wise wrote condescendingly of "poor old Abe Lincoln . . . he will look queer, in the White House, with his primitive manner." He learned later to appreciate Lincoln, but we honor those who learned it sooner, who fought for the new party and Lincoln's election, who risked contumely and resisted intimidation to fight for progress.

The backbone of the Republican Party was known to be, in those days, the independent farmers in the West and North. Among this section of the population, the Jews were, for various historic reasons, very little represented. Unlike most of the population, the Jews were concentrated in the cities and metropolitan centers. Many of the Jews were merchants. It was among the merchants that the Southern slaveowners and the Democratic Party had its greatest support. As Philip S. Foner has shown in his dissertation, *Business and Slavery*, the merchants and bankers of New York were the main Northern support of the slavocracy. Yet in New York, where the Jewish population was largest, there are the splendid examples of new party activity already mentioned. From Baltimore to Chicago and Louisville to New York there is woven this record of clear-headed, far-sighted and bold Jews who were in the front ranks of the resistance movement of the 1850's. Those who honor should imitate them.



# BIPARTISAN GANG-UP ON ISRAEL

By Moses Miller

“POLITICAL platforms mean very little when cynical politicians are responsible for them. But for the sake of the record, and to reveal the depth of British dishonesty, here is the British Labor Party’s 1944 platform on Palestine (and this platform helped the Party to win its election!).”

Thus wrote Harold U. Ribalow in the June 11 issue of the *New Palestine*, organ of the Zionist Organization of America. He then quotes from the platform and compares British promises with the sordid and brutal reality of British deeds.

With the British experience as background and in the light of our own administration’s record of assurances so glibly given and so promptly violated, one would have imagined that Zionist leaders would be among the first to warn against hasty acceptance of any further assurances—particularly those made on the eve of elections. The facts, however, reveal a different story. Zionist leaders and the majority of the Jewish press have, particularly of late, increasingly grasped at and played up every single official statement and promise, no matter how meaningless and empty, as an indication of real friendship for Israel.

When, for example, *de facto* recognition was hastily granted to Israel, Jewish leaders were too busy falling all over themselves in praise of Truman to warn that this gesture in no way changed the international status of Israel and that the door had been left open for further betrayals. That the Zionist leadership was aware of the real significance of Truman’s recognition, is indicated by an article in the *New Palestine* itself. The author, J. L. Teller, exposes in convincing fashion the hypocrisy of the administration and points out that Truman’s “shrewdly premeditated *de facto* recognition, within 12 minutes after the termination of the British mandate, was the first move in a propagandistic strategy of encirclement” and that “Harry Truman and not Israel was the beneficiary.”

The brutal and cynical mockery of Jewish aspirations that is characteristic of every single act and promise undertaken by the administration was never more apparent than in this instance. At the very moment when Truman was indulging in his *beau geste*, the American delegation at the UN was feverishly trying to destroy the historic UN decision for the establishment of independent Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. I remember particularly the look of amazement on UN delegate Dr. Philip Jessup’s face when, during the General Assembly session, he was notified of Truman’s action. He was as dumbfounded as were the rest of the delegates and observers. Andrei Gromyko, Soviet UN representative, aptly remarked at the time:

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“If the information we have received to the effect that the United States has recognized the Jewish state is correct, what is the situation? With one hand, in the Political Committee and in the General Assembly, the United States is dragging through one set of proposals, while with the other hand it is endorsing other plans. This, I submit, is a policy devoid of principle and one which is directed not only against the interests of the people of Palestine but against those of the United Nations as a whole.”

## Errant Leadership

Did the Zionist leadership alert the Jewish masses to these treacherous maneuvers? Not at all. They were too absorbed in their hosannas and in their attempts to win the disillusioned masses back into the folds of the two party system. Those present at the monster rallies held by the Zionist Organization in New York and Chicago to celebrate the birth of the Jewish state can testify to the fact that these demonstrations were turned into none too subtle sounding boards for Republicans and Democratic politicians.

The same applies to the planks on Israel adopted at the Republican and Democratic Party conventions. Similar planks with similar high sounding phrases had been written into the platforms of both parties over a score of years. Certainly Zionist leaders should have taken the present planks of the “cynical politicians” with more than a grain of salt. Instead, a tremendous to-do was made and the Jewish press and leaders vie with each other in proclaiming the greatness of the victory. Special accolades on this occasion went to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who, according to the press, was mainly responsible for the fine plank passed at the Republican convention.

What a sordid spectacle. What a shabby performance. In its most crucial struggles and its most decisive moments, Israel was betrayed by the rulers of our country, Republican and Democratic alike. The administration did everything possible to destroy the UN decision and thereby encouraged the British and the Arabs to war upon Israel. And once the war had begun the administration embargoed all arms shipment to Israel, thereby assuring that the new state would be handicapped in its struggle. Later on the administration tried to put over its trusteeship plan, which, if passed, would have meant the death of the Jewish state. And when this did not work and when to its surprise it found that Israel was actually winning the war, our government joined with Great Britain in effecting a phony and one-sided truce intended to give the Arabs a breathing spell and, in league with Britain, to gain time to work out some new scheme for the destruction of Israel.

During all of this time, Truman and Taft and Dewey were continuously affirming their love and affection for

Israel. Secretary of Defense Forrestal was busily engaged writing publicity for the United Jewish Appeal. And the amicable gentlemen of the State Department were scurrying around to find bagles to serve at the official reception to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of Israel. But I. F. Stone quite correctly pointed out in the *New York Star* on August 2, that the British in their attempt to reduce "Israel to a truncated semi-autonomous canton under King Abdullah . . . have the support of the American government in the United Nations. . . . *The British and the makers of American foreign policy hope to keep the fact of Anglo-American collaboration against Israel from public attention by postponing action until after the coming election. They will then try through the General Assembly meeting to reduce Israel in size and sovereignty*" (italics mine—M.M.).

In a similar vein T. O. Thackrey wrote editorially in the *New York Post* of August 23: "Through all this—and at a time when it should be crystal clear that Israel cannot submit to the adverse pressure of the truce upon her economy and its impairment of her sovereignty . . . the United States has continued to play a hypocritical and spineless role. . . . It is not enough—not nearly good enough—to point the finger of shame at Great Britain. The shame is ours, Mr. President, and you are responsible for its remaining a blot on our honor and a death knell for the United Nations."

What is the reaction of top Zionist leaders to this not too disguised threat to the independence of Israel? Upon Rabbi Silver's arrival in Israel, reported the *New York Times* (August 16), he "told reporters that the United States attitude to Israel was 'improving' and predicted that it

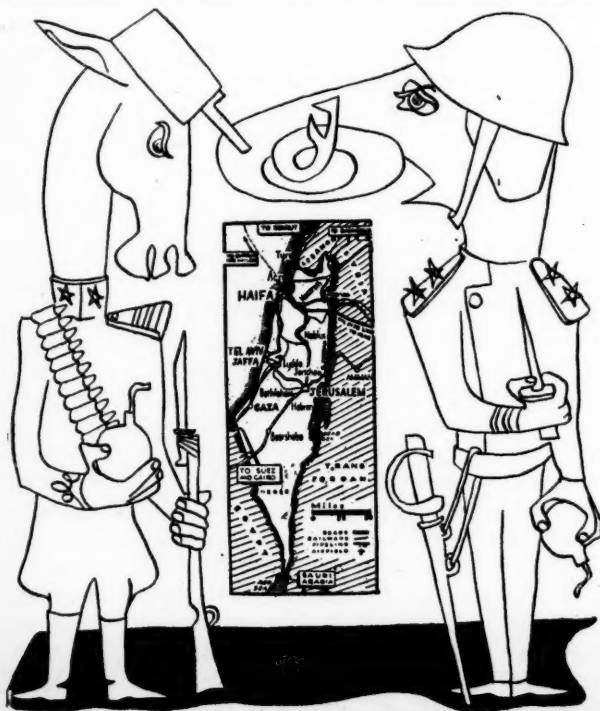
would continue to do so, no matter who won the presidential election this fall." And a few days later Rabbi Silver, in an address to the Zionist Actions Committee in Jerusalem, declared: "Should peace negotiations break down, we shall turn to our government for immediate abolition of the (arms) embargo so the defenders of Israel may be able to acquire arms and ammunition from our country, which has always prided itself on being the arsenal of democracy."

What double talk! If the administration was such a staunch defender of democracy, why did it in the first place impose an embargo which was directly responsible for the lives of hundreds of Jews? Why did not Truman grant real, *de jure* recognition, which would have in effect been an ultimatum to both the British and the reactionary Arab hirelings to cease tampering with the Jewish state? And what prevented the Republicans, who were in control of Congress, from introducing and insuring the passage of a congressional resolution demanding the immediate lifting of the embargo and *de jure* recognition? Why did they not bring out on the House floor the Isacson resolution for lifting of the embargo, or the Marcantonio resolution, submitted during the special session, demanding *de jure* recognition of Israel and lifting the embargo?

The fate of Israel is at stake. And all the millions of dollars that American Jewry has given to aid Israel will in the end be a meaningless gesture, if consciously or unconsciously the Jewish people allow themselves to be led to pursue a policy, a *political* policy, which undermines the independence and integrity of Israel. There can be no independent Israel if American and British imperialist schemes are carried through. There can be no independent Israel if its fate is dependent on the good will of a Forrestal, of Dillon, Read and Co., or of a Dulles, one-time attorney for Franco Spain and spokesman for some of the world's largest cartellists. Is not the presence of Abdullah, British puppet, and Transjordan, British domain, at the very doorstep of Israel sufficient warning of what the future of Israel's sons and daughters will be if American and British schemes are achieved?

The fate of Israel, like that of world peace, is dependent upon the unity of the people in struggle against and not in capitulation to the designs of the war makers and the imperialists. And men like Rabbi Silver, whose policies aim to siphon off the wrath of the people and lull them into a false sense of security, are giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our people and of world peace.

For a moment it seemed as if Rabbi Silver understood this. On June 24, 1947, in his address to the 58th Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Silver stated: "The assistance which was extended by our government to Greece and Turkey was not principally motivated by considerations of relief or concern with democracy. Turkey is a dictatorship and Greece is a puppet monarchical state. . . . We rushed into that part of the world when the British were no longer able to meet their financial and military commitments there. To justify our headlong plunge . . . we improvised a new doctrine, to wit,



that it is the sacred duty and manifest destiny of America to confine communism and to save democracy. . . . We have already dispatched military missions to that area. To what end? To contain communism? That was Hitler's program. You will recall his slogan and his battle cry. By means of it he established the bloodiest dictatorship of all time and finally plunged the world into the second world war. In this war, strangely enough, communist Russia was found to be fighting not against the democracies but with them. It helped to save the democracies as well as itself. It was only after victory that the iron curtain was discovered. . . .

"In a blind effort to organize the world against communist Russia . . . our government may come to seek the alliance and may in turn come to pour out its millions in support of reactionary and anti-democratic governments all over the world. It has already made peace with the fascist Peron regime in Argentina. . . . Some American leaders are now urging that Germany and Japan should be cast in the role of defenders of Western Civilization. There is talk of a separate peace with these late enemies of ours. . . . There is a loud clamoring of compulsory military training. America is in danger of becoming the last stronghold and hope of all forms of political and social reaction in the world, which is contrary to the genius of our democratic traditions and to the wishes of the American people."

The direction of American policy has not changed since Rabbi Silver uttered these words. If anything, it has been intensified a thousand fold. Yet Rabbi Silver is now content to place the fate of Israel in the hands of present day American policy makers and to deliver invocations at their conventions and shower his blessings upon them.

### ***What of Soviet Aid to Israel?***

Equally indicative of the trend of top Zionist policy makers is the fact that seldom if ever does one hear any longer from their lips of the resolute struggle of the Soviet Union in behalf of Israel, one which continues to this day and without which it is doubtful if there would be an Israel in existence today.

There is not one single phase of the long and arduous battle that has been going on since the Palestine question was first brought before the UN, in which the Soviet Union did not emerge as the only real champion of Israel and its independence. And there is not a single phase of the entire battle both inside and outside of the UN in which Great Britain and the United States did not emerge as powers determined to frustrate the establishment of the Jewish state; and when that became increasingly difficult, these powers were determined to rob it of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

American Zionist leaders would no doubt have been deeply disturbed had they been present in Tel Aviv on August 9, when the Soviet Minister and his staff arrived. "Thousands blocked Yarkon Street," wrote A. B. Magil, *Daily Worker* correspondent, "in a spontaneous welcome to the Soviet mission." Even the right wing press, which

makes no secret of its pro-western orientation, had to take note of the sentiments of the masses in Israel.

The influential right wing *Haboker* stated: "The words and deeds of the Soviet representative in dark hours have deeply sunk into our memory. The firm and consistent support of Israel by the USSR at Lake Success has given the USSR and its statements a place of honor in the new history of Israel." *Davar*, organ of the Histadruth, wrote: "We'll never forget the friendship the USSR showed us in the worst hour when the State of Israel was established and was struggling for its existence."

On Israeli sentiment towards the Soviet Union the report of Kenneth Bilby to the New York *Herald-Tribune* (August 5) is extremely revealing. Bilby wrote: "Russian prestige has soared enormously among all political factions. . . . Through its consistent espousal of Israel's cause in the United Nations, the Soviet Union has established a good will reservoir with leftists, moderates and right wing elements. Perhaps of more importance to a new nation fighting for its existence has been a fact less generally known—that Russia provided practical help when practical help was needed. While the United States continued its arms embargo, Russia opened its military stores to Israel. From the Soviet satellite nation of Czechoslovakia, Jews made some of their most important, and possibly their most sizable bulk purchases. Certain Czech arms shipments which reached Israel during critical junctures of the war played a vital role in blunting the invasion's five Arab armies. When Jewish troops marched in review down Tel Aviv's Allenby Street last week, new Czechoslovak rifles appeared on the shoulders of infantry soldiers. In the hodge-podge of weapons which the Jews have amassed, this rifle stands out as the basic weapon of the Israeli army."

Despite these obvious facts, Zionist leaders and the majority of the Jewish press are determined in their course of beclouding issues, of frustrating any real and effective action and of preventing the masses of the Jewish people from seeing the vital necessity of a basic political change in American life if policies beneficial to Israel are to be achieved.

### ***New Party for New Policy***

There have of course long been clear indications that top Zionist officialdom has not been entirely successful in its plans to throw Jewish support to the Democratic or Republican parties. Within the Zionist movement itself, there are thousands upon thousands of people who do not share their views. Within the Zionist movement as well as outside of it, there are many who have come to grasp, to a greater or lesser degree, the imperialist nature of the present bipartisan administration and all its consequences for Israel as for the entire world. And more and more Zionists and non-Zionists alike are beginning to agree with the words of Henry Wallace in a speech delivered on February 15 at the climax of the Isacson campaign. Wallace said:

"The Administration's failure to implement the Palestine decision, to take leadership in warning Mr. Bevin that the United States will not support British arms, is a direct result of the Truman Doctrine. It is the surest evidence that a few fine words from Secretary Marshall last June did not supplant the Truman Doctrine as the core of American foreign policy. It is the surest evidence that the Administration's basic policy is protection of Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey interests in Iraq petroleum; of Standard Oil, Socony and Texas interests in Saudi Arabia; of Gulf Oil interests in Kuwait.

*"It is to protect these oil interests—not from the Russians, but from any democratic movements against reactionaries, fascists and feudal lords that we have poured money, arms—and now, men—into the Mediterranean. It is the reason for arms to Turkey, for support to a corrupt Greek regime, for rebuilt bases in the eastern Mediterranean, for American*

planes at a new base in Tripoli, for the British fortification of Cyprus, for our support of British arms. Our military might in the Mediterranean, under UN supervision, could become the basis for stopping slaughter in the Holy Land and maintaining peace. It is obvious that this is not the policy of the Administration.

"It is tiresome to hear apologists for the Administration grow apoplectic about British perfidy in the Middle East at one moment and ecstatic about Ernest Bevin's proposals for defending democracy in western Europe the next moment. Let's face facts. This is One World, even if there are forces trying to keep it divided into small compartments. Mr. Bevin can't be a hero and a traitor to democratic principles at the same time. Let's face the fact that neither Mr. Bevin's synthetic heroism nor very real treachery would be possible without the support of our State Department and the White House."

## NUREMBERG LAW FOR DP'S

**M**ORE than three years after the victory over Nazi Germany, anti-fascist displaced persons still remain in camps, surrounded by their wartime enemies who are now the favored objects of American rehabilitation. The Displaced Persons Law enacted in June 1948, and riddled with restrictive clauses provides chiefly for the admission of anti-democratic elements. The law is cut from the same undemocratic cloth as the overall policy toward the DP's these past three years.

At the conclusion of the war in Europe, some 7,000,000 DP's returned to their homes, and an additional 150,000 were resettled elsewhere. There now remain 850,000 in the Western zones, of whom about 600,000 are in the American zone. The efforts of the International Refugee Organization to resettle them are meeting with little success. The countries from which they come, have offered to repatriate them but they have refused to return. Many would have to stand trial for war crimes against their own people. Approximately half are women and children who came from Poland and the Baltic areas; about 65 per cent are Catholic, 20 per cent Jewish and 15 per cent Protestant. Over 90 per cent of the Jews have indicated their wish to go to Palestine.

The Soviet Union, Poland and other countries maintained that the camps held war criminals who should be surrendered and that hostile propaganda was used to discourage the DP's from returning to their homelands. In August 1948, the Soviet Union charged that fascist military units are being organized in the camps. The repatriation teams of the Soviet Union and other countries have been barred from visiting the camps. This contention regarding

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By Ira Gollobin

hostile propaganda was substantiated by Lowell W. Rooks, the last Director General of UNRRA, who charged on June 4, 1947, that a campaign was being conducted by those opposed to any repatriation to countries regarded as under Russian influence or domination. Rooks pointed out that out of more than 7,000,000 persons repatriated since the end of the war, not one substantiated incident of persecution after repatriation had come to his attention. Underlying the opposition to repatriation was the fact that the DP's had become a pawn in the struggle against the democracies of eastern Europe and for the restoration and domination of a reactionary Germany.

Alexander Warshall, a civilian representative of the War Department, is in charge of the Hof Refugee Exchange Camps, the largest in western Germany, handling more than half the total refugee border traffic. He reported in July 1948 that during the past two years the 210,000 immigrants to the western zones have been almost balanced by 190,000 departures to the eastern zone. Of special interest is Mr. Warshall's statement that DP's are turning eastward: "Maybe a man doesn't care for the deal he's been given in Bavaria (American Zone) and hears about how the big estates are being broken up over there and the land handed out to small farmers. So he writes some letters, and, more often than you'd think, he gets a title paper back in the mail. Pretty soon, I've got a whole family turning up to be shuttled over. . . ." (*New Yorker*, July 17, 1948.)

Not only are the facts on land reform in eastern Europe breaking through the curtain of misinformation but also the truth on rehabilitation and industrialization programs being successfully realized, and on the banning and decline of anti-Semitism. The DP's are beginning to take the decision as to their future in their own hands.

Meanwhile in the United States great pressure has been exerted by many organizations for legislation to "solve" the DP problem by admitting a substantial number to this country. For almost two years Congress took little action. Finally, in June 1947, hearings began before a House subcommittee on the Stratton Bill to admit 100,000 DP's annually for four years. Secretary of State Marshall, Attorney General Clark, the then Secretary of War Robert Patterson and the then Secretary of Commerce Averell Harriman, all urged its passage. The AFL, CIO, American Farm Bureau Federation, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein (advisor on Jewish affairs to General Clay), the National Community Relations Advisory Council (a federation of Jewish defense and community organizations) represented by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (representing some 83 bishops and 24,570 priests), plus numerous other prominent organizations also spoke in favor of this legislation. Government officials and various organizations vouched that the DP's were anti-communist.

The character of these proponents of admission of 400,000 DP's gives away the objectives of the Stratton Bill. It is well known that outside the Jews in the camps there are comparatively few anti-fascist DP's. The rest are primarily refugees who either ran away with Hitler with whom they collaborated or ran away from the advancing democracy in eastern Europe which they hated. The above-mentioned American spokesmen, who were in favor of a bill to admit DP's in general, knew the political character of these refugees and were anxious to have them as fighters for reaction. However, these American politicians were willing to accept what they considered a "reasonable" percentage of Jewish DP's in order to silence the clamor of Jewish and non-Jewish democratic forces, and in the hope of sewing up the "Jewish vote," especially in view of America's unsavory behavior in relation to Israel.

But there was a more recalcitrant group that opposed any concessions to Jews, even though infinitely greater numbers of the persecutors of Jews would be admitted.

### ***Racist Prejudice Against DP's***

The principal opposition groups were the American Legion (which subsequently modified its position), the American Coalition (which includes many reactionary, super-patriotic, militarist groups) indicted during the war for sedition, and the National Economic Council (represented by Merwin K. Hart, the well-known Franco supporter). Their spokesman was Rep. Ed. Gossett of Texas, who maintained that the Stratton Bill would undermine the quota law of 1924 providing for immigration of superior "Nordics" from northern and western Europe. Referring to the fact that the displaced persons came mainly from Eastern Europe, Gossett declared on the floor of the House of Representatives (July 2, 1947): "The blood now offered means weakness and pollution. . . . We will do well to

absorb the poison already flowing in the bloodstream of this country without the injection of more foreign virus."

Then charging the Jews with responsibility for the Stratton Bill, Gossett threatened them with a pogrom: "After long and serious thought and deliberation, I have decided that it is my duty to make a charge and issue a warning. I charge that the Stratton bill originated with, and has been largely sustained by a number of prominent Jewish organizations. . . . Anti-Semitism in America could furnish fertile soil for some fanatical Hitler to repeat sadistic history in this country. . . . Here is what I want to say to our good Jewish citizens. When they band themselves together in Jewish organizations, when they use their power and influence for obviously selfish purposes, when they seek to control the press and radio for selfish ends, when they conspire to destroy immigration barriers, they stimulate and promote anti-Semitism within this country to the serious detriment of all. Unless they desist and refrain from such activity they will bring great sorrow upon this nation."

At the conclusion of the hearings, despite the overwhelming weight of testimony in favor of admission of 400,000 DP's, the number was halved to 100,000 annually for two years and a number of discriminatory provisions were added. The bill now known as the Fellows bill, was thereafter passed by the House of Representatives.

But the reactionaries were not yet satisfied. In the Senate, on November 19, 1946, Senator Taft, Chairman of the Republican Steering Committee, selected Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, well known for his opposition to all immigration, to prepare a report regarding displaced persons. On March 5, 1947, Senator Revercomb reported to the Senate that the admission of displaced persons involved a revision of the national origins quota law which favored immigration from northern and western Europe. "The persons who would be affected by the plan (regarding admission of DP's) are principally from eastern and southern Europe." Subsequently Sen. Revercomb was designated to head a Senate Sub-Committee to visit Europe and report on the subject of DP's. A bill was thereafter introduced and passed by the Senate, providing for the admission of a total of only 100,000 DP's and containing many restrictions. After a joint conference with representatives of the House, the number was raised to 202,000, the Senate restrictions retained, and in this form the bill finally passed both Houses in June, 1948.

Senator Eastland, poll-taxer from Mississippi, appointed to the subcommittee by Senator Revercomb, expressed the line of thinking which prevailed. He declared on the Senate floor: "When the present immigration law was written in 1924, many great Americans said that was a turning point in the history of our country. But I am sorry to say that program is being destroyed. It is being destroyed piecemeal, and this bill is the opening wedge in the movement to destroy it. . . ." He quoted with approval a book in which the author "traced radicalism, socialism, communism, our labor troubles, the subversive elements we have in the United States today to the immigrants we took from eastern Europe. . . . I say that we are getting away from American

ideals when we admit to this country from eastern Europe people with an oriental philosophy. . . . Immigration by alien-type races, far from strengthening a nation, constitutes the surest method of conquering a nation! Biological conquest is far more serious than military conquest." And further: "Let us not admit even 200,000 as an opening wedge (against American institutions). The conquest of America by Communism which Stalin recently predicted, would occur within five years."

### Protestants Preferred

Following are some provisions of the law:

1) One of the most controversial sections in the DP Act is the one limiting its coverage to those displaced persons admitted to DP camps prior to December 23, 1945 (Section 2c). This would exclude about 100,000 Jews who came to the DP camps in Germany after the pogrom by Mikolaczuk agents in Kielce, Poland, in July 1946. Actually, the deadline of December 23, 1945 opens wide the door to fraud, as an accurate registration of those in the camps with fingerprints and photographs was only ordered by General Clay on April 21, 1947. It may be of interest to note that Sen. Vandenberg, the supposed humanitarian champion of the Marshall Plan to aid the needy of Europe, voted for the Dec. 23, 1945 date.

2) The law states that at least 30 per cent of the immigrants must be farmers (Sec. 6a). Estimates of the US Employment Service indicate that only 17½ per cent of the DP's in the American zone in Germany are agricultural workers. Of this 17½ per cent very few Jewish DP's, who constitute some 20 per cent of the total DP's, could qualify.

3) The law provides that at least 40 per cent of the immigrants must come from areas in the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) and former eastern Poland (regions east of the Curzon line) which are now part of the Soviet Union (Section 3a). Included among this group are many who aided the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and who subsequently fled to Germany. This group would contain very few Jews and would also discriminate against Catholics, inasmuch as the bulk of the Baltic population are Protestant.

4) The law declares that the *Volkssdeutsche*—that is, those whose ancestors were of German origin—who were expelled from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland and Yugoslavia pursuant to the Potsdam agreement and returned to Germany, shall be deemed eligible to emigrate to the United States under the combined German and Austrian annual quota of 27,000 (Sec. 12). One-half of this quota is reserved each year for *Volkssdeutsche* use for the next two years, and this is approximately equal to the total number permitted under the quotas from six east European countries. Congressman Celler stated: "Who are the *Volkssdeutsche*? . . . They were the advance guard who fertilized the field for Hitler's Panzer divisions. They were the natives, citizens, and subjects of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Rumania, of German ethnic origin. They were what Hitler called the *Herrenvolk*. They

were like the German-American Bunds in the United States who turned against the Allies. These *Volkssdeutsche* did all in their power to make it easy for Hitler's advance. Hitler's capture and overrunning of Czechoslovakia and Poland was made far easier for him because of the fifth column work that was done by these *Volkssdeutsche*. Fritz Henlein (from the Sudeten area—I.G.) was one of them. Others come to mind readily. If Hitler were alive today he could qualify. He was born in Austria of German ethnic origin."

Congressman Gossett had a different opinion: "The Germans who were in the Sudeten area and who were driven out are just as much displaced persons as many other persons in our occupied zone."

Senator Eastland was even more explicit: On June 1, 1948, he stated in the Senate: "Conditions in Germany are terrible. Today people in Germany need help more than any other people in the world."

5) The quota of the country of the immigrant's nationality shall be reduced up to 50 per cent of that country's quota (Sec. 3b). Unlike Great Britain, which has an annual quota of over 65,000, the quotas of the six eastern European countries plus Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania amount to only 15,000. Congressman Celler pointed out: "Such charge of 50 per cent of quota numbers against countries from which most of the displaced persons come would result in mortgaging 50 per cent of their future quotas to the point of almost all future exclusions. Fifty per cent of the Estonian quota would be mortgaged for 121 years; the Latvian one for 166 years, the Lithuanian for 65 years, the Polish for 13 years, the Yugoslavian for 44 years, the Bulgarian for 36 years, the Hungarian for 8 years, the Rumanian for 20 years, the Russian for 13 years."



Yet due to the high but unfilled quotas for northern and western Europe only about 20 per cent from 1930 to 1946 of the total annual quota of 153,000 was filled.

6) All immigrants are required to show as a prerequisite for their admission that they "will be suitably employed without displacing some other person from employment... and will have safe and sanitary housing without displacing some other person from such housing" (Sec. 2c). This joker places in the hands of a hostile administrator the power to practically terminate all DP immigration or exercise arbitrary selection as to who is to be admitted. The demand of certain business groups for cheap labor was filled through a provision granting a preference for domestic service, construction and garment workers.

### **The Reality: DP Exclusion Law**

Under the law it is estimated that only some 6,000 of the 200,000 DP's to be admitted could be Jews. The background and analysis of the law makes clear that it is designed greatly to restrict immigration of DP's, since they come from eastern Europe, and especially Jews. Earl G. Harrison, former U.S. Immigration Commissioner and chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, declared that the bill was deliberately designed to exclude displaced persons, not admit them.

A desperate attempt was now made by reactionaries who agreed with the principles of the bill but disapproved of the form, to maintain the democratic mask over this measure. Secretary of State Marshall personally testified at a House committee hearing in July 1947. In the name of the United States retaining its world "leadership," he strongly urged the enactment of the bill providing for admission of 400,000 DP's. Yet despite this plea, Congress, guided by the southern racists, waited for almost a year to act and then threw caution and political expediency to the winds and passed a measure under which few DP's—and practically none of the Jewish DP's—could enter. This partially crimped State Department plans to bolster American prestige by permitting larger DP immigration—of reactionary elements, to be sure—into the United States. The law nevertheless serves the interests of the bipartisan reactionary policy of our government. And that is why Truman could very well sign the bill, despite his declaration that it was anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. It is plain that the veto power in the field of immigration policy is reserved as a special domain to the southern poll taxers, for whom racism is part of the capital with which they help finance their continuance in office and maintain feudal conditions in the south. They play the role of gendarme for the more concealed reactionaries. Covertly joined with the Southern poll-taxers are, among others, the Republican reactionaries, as exemplified in the vote of Sen. Vandenberg in support of the anti-Jewish, Dec. 22, 1945 deadline. President Truman's demand for elimination of the provisions discriminating against Jews is on a par with his civil rights program, his Palestine policies and other demagogic make-believe from his politician's bag of tricks.

The fight for a liberal immigration policy toward DP's could not fail to run afoul of the racist discrimination contained in the quota law of 1924 against the peoples of eastern and southern Europe, as being inferior to the "Nordics" of northern and western Europe. One of the lessons of the debacle in the fight for a liberal DP law is that it is essential simultaneously to challenge the 1924 quota law, which has set the reactionary course of this country's immigration policy ever since. In addition, it should be noted that protestations of anti-communist objectives, such as those by Congressman Celler and others, failed to win support for a more liberal law but on the contrary aided the reactionary attack.

The DP law trades on the genuine sympathy of the American people for the DP's and our tradition of affording asylum for persecuted democrats of other lands. The *Volksdeutsche* and the other provisions of the present law, however, make clear that it will mainly admit a motley crew of displaced feudal landlords and other anti-democratic elements from the Baltic area, Poland, and other eastern European countries, thirsting for revenge against the people's governments in their homelands and for return of their property. Here in the United States they will intrigue among the national groups, one of the most politically advanced sectors supporting the Progressive Party, to win them to reaction's war program. Moreover, these fascists can provide underground agents for the State Department's "Project X" as well as shock troops in the event of war.

### **Some Jews Played Dubious Role**

Certain Jews played an ignominious role in the deliberations which finally resulted in the passage of the DP act. A "Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons" (the Harrison Committee) was set up last year with the financial support of some wealthy Jews such as, it is said, Lessing Rosenwald and the American Jewish Committee. The purpose of the Harrison Committee was to divert the democratic masses from struggle for the demand of progressives for the admission into the U.S. of 100,000 Jewish DP's. The argument of these reactionary Jewish hush-hushers was that this demand would encourage anti-Semitism. They insisted that a deal could be made whereby reactionary legislators would agree to admit 200,000 general DP's, of whom 20 per cent would be Jewish.

This is not just a case of appeasing reaction. It is also an example of how reactionary Jews menace the very existence of their own people. For the sake of admitting 40,000 Jews, they were willing to admit 160,000 anti-democratic and pro-fascist elements, to act as mercenaries for American reactionaries. In an article in the *Yiddish Day* (July 25, 1948), Abraham G. Duker states that the \$600,000 spent by this committee helped "to bring to the U.S. the mass killers of their own brethren in Europe" by shameful compromises in their propaganda. "The denouement came," writes Mr. Duker, "when the majority of the members of the Citizens Committee refused to ask the President to veto the anti-Semitic Bill after its passage." Mr. Duker

properly calls the DP act "what amounts to Nuremberg Laws in U.S. immigration provisions." The results, of course, were inevitable, for appeasement of reaction leads only to the emboldening of reaction and increase in its demands. But the failure of the committee to press for a veto of this admittedly anti-Semitic bill seems to indicate that some reactionary Jews in the American Council for Judaism and in the American Jewish Committee were interested in keeping the door open for large numbers of proved anti-democratic elements to enter.

But protest against the law has indeed come from many sectors of American life. Some Catholics have demurred against the anti-Catholic, as well as the anti-Jewish bias of the law. Many Jewish organizations have uncompromisingly denounced the law. Frank Goldman, president of the Bnai Brith, called it "an affront to American traditions and a blow to American prestige in the eyes of the world." Dr. David Petegorsky, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, called it "an immoral and discreditable performance which is permeated with the very racism of which the living DP's and millions who died were the tragic victims." Unfortunately these leaders bear their own share of responsibility for the passage of the bill. Mr. Goldman and Dr. Petegorsky, together with the leadership of the American Jewish Conference, actually sabotaged the work of a committee set up to press for the admission of 100,000 Jewish DP's into the United States. They supported the

compromise bills that led to the present DP bill. And they did nothing to rally the membership of their organizations for mass protests against the present act.

The progressive forces must also be criticized for their lack of alertness on this question. While the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council fought hard to maintain activity around the slogan of the admission of 100,000 Jewish DP's, they failed to recognize the danger of the compromise bills and of the present measure. They therefore did not act decisively enough to defeat the Displaced Persons Act. The International Workers Order, however, did declare that "The Act is aimed at bringing into the United States thousands of pro-fascist elements who fought with Hitlerite Quisling forces against the armies of the United States and our Allies. The present Act is an affront against the American people and the boys who gave their lives to defeat fascism."

We must insist on a new DP law which will provide: (1) the presentation of truthful information to the DP's of conditions in their homelands in eastern Europe as the problem is essentially one of repatriation; (2) the right to immediate admission of Jewish DP's to Palestine or to the United States, as they should choose; (3) the exclusion from this country of all war criminals (who should be tried for their offenses), the *Volksdeutsche*, war-propagandists and all anti-democratic elements; and (4) the right of the rest to enter the U.S. without restrictions.

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## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE ELECTIONS

By Rose Wortis

WHAT is the role of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union in the present political struggles? We select these two unions because they have a large membership of Jews; because this membership has traditions of socialism; because they are hotbeds of social democracy; because their leaders are outstanding figures in the social democratic movement in our country. By history and militant traditions, these unions properly belong in the Progressive Party. An analysis of the activities of these unions and leaders will explain in general the activities of similar unions and leaders, like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Painters Union, and of some individual leaders like Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers and Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers. Such an analysis will reveal the ideology, the objectives and the activities of social democracy in general. By every law of logic, these unions, some with a socialist background, others with militant traditions and led by social democrats, should be in the front ranks of

this great people's movement at this turning point in American history. If they are not, it is because of the type of leadership that dominates these unions. Leaders like David Dubinsky of the ILGWU, and Max Zaritsky of the Millinery Workers, are betraying the best interests of the workers, defaming the good name and record of these unions by their alliance with the enemies of the Progressive Party.

In 1936, these unions were in the thick of the fight for the organization of the CIO, enthusiastically supported by the membership. The workers had high hopes that the association of these unions with this great movement for industrial unionism would make a basic change in the policies of the unions. These hopes were shattered when Dubinsky and Zaritsky, without consulting the membership, deserted the CIO and returned to the AFL, completely identifying themselves with the latter's reactionary policies. Today, the social democrats are the main obstacles in building the united front of labor to halt the drive toward war and fascism.

Just imagine what a force these unions with their hundreds of thousands of militant class-conscious workers and

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huge treasuries could be in the Progressive Party movement! What enthusiasm and unity this would generate among their members! Instead, social democratic leaders of the needle trades unions have become the bulwark of the reactionary attack on everything progressive in our nation.

While progressive unions, especially those under left wing leadership, are winning wage increases, fighting against the Taft-Hartley act and the Mundt bill, the leadership of these unions speak of strikes as "old fashioned" and boast that they can accomplish everything by "cooperating" with management. They subordinate the economic interests of the workers to Wall Street's Marshall Plan and world objectives.

While Dubinsky enjoys love feasts with employers in Unity House (summer camp for social democratic workers), the conditions of the workers are being seriously undermined due to the high cost of living and through indirect wage cuts resulting from poor settlements in prices and declining employment, particularly among piece workers.

In the hat, cap and millinery industry, the workers received no increases within the past three years. The report of Julius Hochman, of the ILGWU, on conditions in the dress industry shows that the earnings of the 75,000 dressmakers have fallen by 9.9 per cent during 1947. This, plus the 27 per cent increase in the cost of living in the same period, has cut purchasing power of the dressmakers by 34 per cent since 1946. The yearly average earnings of the dressmakers are \$2240.15. For the thousands of lower paid workers, this means actual starvation wages.

After weeks of dilly-dallying, the agreement in the cloak industry was renewed for three years, leaving unsolved the many aggravated problems of the workers, such as regrading, tightening control of jobbers, differentials between New York and out of town shops, section work shops, etc. The leaders of the cloak unions, staunch "champions of democracy" in Czechoslovakia, did not even find it necessary to go through the formalities of reporting the results of the negotiations to the membership. The workers learned of the abandonment of their demands through the press. In the meantime, the employers are exploiting to the full the many weaknesses and loopholes in the agreement.

The leadership of the ILGWU can also claim the dubious credit of originating the famous "escalator" clause, tying wages to bookkeeping profits and losses thereby providing for wage cuts, which were included in the agreement in the midwest and in the raincoat workers agreement.

The Taft-Hartley Act, which the general executive board of the ILGWU widely proclaimed was to be exploited for the benefit of the union, is used as an excuse for their "do nothing" policy which allows the reintroduction of the open shop with cut-throat competition, disorganization and chaos in the industry.

To the workers, they talk about fighting the Taft-Hartley Act. They will come soon to collect taxes from the workers for the Liberal Party of New York, a social democratic creature, under the pretext of fighting this slave act. But in the intimate atmosphere of their hand-picked convention, they don't think the Taft-Hartley Act with its strike break-

ing injunctions is so bad after all. Here is a quotation from the general executive board report to the recent convention of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers. "Industrial strife during this period has not increased; workers have not been enslaved; unions' treasuries have not been depleted by court suits."

### *Partnership With Imperialists*

Side by side with the economic struggles, there is the need to organize and lead the workers in the fight against the war-mongering policies of the social democratic leaders of the unions and rally the workers for the Progressive Party.

The sharpening international crisis and growing reaction at home have intensified the cleavage between the social democratic leadership of these unions and large numbers of the union membership. Completely identified with Wall Street world objectives, these leaders demagogically present to the workers the aggressive policies of the bipartisan administration as "American world leadership."

Under the generalship of Dubinsky the needle trade unions are being used to help build up a world labor center of reaction. By intrigue and war mongering they also work to disrupt the progressive American labor movement. Like their counterparts in pre-Hitler Germany, they are tools of the most reactionary, chauvinistic section of American big business, using their social democratic demagogy to sell the workers the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, atom bomb diplomacy and militarization of our country for the "holy anti-Soviet war." They applaud intervention in Greece, China and Italy, using workers' money to bribe sections of the world labor movement in order to remove the main obstacle against Wall Street's drive to subjugate the world.

They are apologists for the British government's war against the new state of Israel. By their silence they are partners to the British Arab war to crush Israel. But their partnership goes even deeper than that. For Dubinsky is the political and ideological blood-brother of Bevin and Attlee. And while Jewish blood flowed in Israel as a result of the policies, machinations and intrigues of the social democratic Labor Party government, in cahoots with American imperialism, David Dubinsky received, accepted and retained a medal from Bevin and Attlee for services rendered to Britain. And to show his impartiality and "liberalism" he also was an honored guest at a banquet for Winston Churchill in New York.

But Dubinsky's betrayal of the Jewish people is no simple and obvious action. It is loaded with double dealing. When there is danger that the masses of Jews will recognize that the social democratic policies of Dubinsky lead to war against Israel, he tries to wash away his sins by a loan of one million dollars to the State of Israel. When he sees that the resentment of the workers is reaching a boiling point because policies such as his go along with the imperialist drive of Britain and the United States in the Middle East, Dubinsky quickly concedes to the demand of the workers for a protest stoppage. But such fake maneuvers

will not stop the war in Palestine, nor will they bring back to life the victims who fell under the ruthless violence of the Anglo-American imperialist partnership in the Middle East, because the social democratic policies of Dubinsky encourage the war and help feed the violence of imperialism.

The social democratic leaders of the needle trades unions are the most bitter enemies of Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party. In this fight, they conveniently forget their former campaign for a third party and their eulogies for Wallace. Let me quote from a speech of David Dubinsky at the 1946 convention of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (Convention Report, pages 227-228):

"I hear one labor leader making a threat he is going to defeat Truman, another one threatening to defeat congressmen; a third one threatening to defeat senators. How? I would like to know how they propose to do it. . . ."

"I happen to be for a Third Party and that is the reason I come to you, the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Convention (applause). I know you believe in independent political action. We all believed in independent political action. We all believed in political action 20 or 30 years ago, and not only as of today. (Applause) . . ."

Then referring to the ILGWU and the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, he continued, "They cannot satisfy themselves with a Party that includes the Southern reactionaries or the industrialists in the Republican Party. They may call themselves by different names but you cannot rely on them on questions or principles. Only an independent labor party is the solution."

If this were true in 1946, it is doubly true now. Here is another quotation from a resolution adopted by the same union in convention about the man whom they now call a Moscow quisling:

"Henry A. Wallace . . . is an outstanding protagonist of the New Deal, brave and forthright in his exposition and defense of the progressive aims and desires of the New Deal. He has espoused the cause of the common man and has worked for it and promoted it without reckoning political advantage. He has remained steadfast in his purpose under the insidious attacks of the reactionary forces."

Today, when Truman and the Democratic Party have shamefully betrayed Roosevelt's progressive policies and have completely been taken over by big business, Dubinsky, Alex Rose of the Millinery workers, and their colleagues are fighting tooth and nail to keep the workers chained to the two party system. In their desperation to find a candidate, they have seized upon Truman's formal recognition of the Jewish state to set him up again as a champion of "liberalism." They cherished the hope that Eisenhower, the life-long soldier and advocate of jimcrow might make himself available. They have taken up the war cry of Wall Street that Wallace is a "Moscow quisling" and that "Wallace must be stopped to 'contain communism.'"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written, Dubinsky's ILGWU executive board has endorsed Truman and issued a call to the union to raise a \$100,000 campaign fund. The CIO national executive board and the Liberal Party of New York have also endorsed Truman.—Eds.

Forgetting the lessons of their German colleagues, these social democrats are first among the red-baiters, they support the witch-hunts, Truman's Loyalty Order and the infamous Un-American Committee. At the Millinery Convention, the social democratically controlled Liberal Party chairman, A. A. Berle, and the social democratic lawyer, Louis Waldman, openly boasted authorship of the infamous Mundt bill and called for its support amidst applause from the hand-picked delegates. The convention later expressed approval of the intent of this bill but voted opposition because of disagreement with some of its formulations. Together with the pro-fascist Un-American Committee, they denounced the protest of liberty-loving Americans against this police state bill as a conspiracy of the communists.

The treachery of the social democratic leaders of these unions points up the rapid development of American imperialist policy with which these misleaders have now completely identified themselves as the struggle of the democratic camp versus the imperialist camp is joined in battle on a world scale. Imperialism must always have agents within the labor movement to demoralize, disorganize and divert the working class in order to guarantee the temporary achievement of imperialist aims.

Social democracy, true to its historic role as the betrayer of the working class, classically carried out by German social democracy in the years between 1918 and 1933, has placed itself again at the service of the tottering world imperialism. This was the main content of the recent conference in Vienna, called to reconstitute the Socialist International. The so-called exponents of democracy barred the true socialists from the Eastern European countries who would not sacrifice the independence of their countries to Wall Street and its Marshall Plan.

In our country, the social democrats functioned during the period of relatively peaceful development prior to the Second World War, as a small group mainly in the needle trade unions. In the present situation of sharpened capitalist contradictions, the social democrats have been elevated by big business to a position of great importance.

Contrary are the trends and development among the workers. The lessons of the Second World War and the struggle against fascism, and the slaughter of six million Jews have stirred a deep yearning for peace among the needle trades workers. The Negro and Spanish workers are rallying *en masse* to the Wallace movement. To a lesser extent perhaps this is also true of the Italian workers. Jewish workers in particular feel profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for its contributions to the defeat of fascism, for its consistent support to the Jewish state and its fight for peace. They feel sympathetic toward the new democracies who have outlawed anti-Semitism and are generously supporting the reconstruction of Jewish communities with government aid.

The emergence of the Progressive Party with its program of peace and progress has created the most favorable conditions for a realignment of forces among the needle trade workers.

## REPORTS FROM CITIES

(Continued from page 2)

The masses of the Jewish people are turning toward political thinking despite the resistance to political action by the majority of the leaders. The character of the struggle is changing slowly from that inspired by national aspirations alone to new levels of political thinking on domestic issues too, and has expressed itself more recently in opposition to the role of the national administration on both foreign and domestic policy.

An example is the sensitivity of the community to American aid to Arab rulers as manifested recently in the picketing of the S. S. Governor Bibb in Long Beach. The loading of oil pipes was stopped because evidence showed that the oil pipe was destined for use by British-American oil interests in the Near East. Longshoremen refused to cross the picket line, which continued until representatives of the shipowners assured pickets that the pipe was destined for a domestic port. Additional precautions were taken by the participating organizations in a warning sent to the trade unions and Jewish organizations in the port of destination, Beaumont, Texas, telling them of this ship and its cargo, and alerting them against transshipment of the pipe. The pickets carried banners bearing the slogan "Stop Big Business Drive in Palestine," and "No World War III." They were carried not only by members of trade unions and Jewish organizations but also by Negro and Mexican workers and by candidates of the Independent Progressive Party.

By refusing to cross the picket line at the S. S. Governor Bibb, the longshoremen did much to remind the Jewish people that the need for unity with labor is of prime importance in the coming struggles of the waterfront workers to maintain conditions of employment, and in the mobilization of labor against anti-Semitism.

Most significant was the fight against the infamous Mundt-Nixon bill by every section of the Jewish community. At one time or another they all spoke up for the defeat of the fascist measure. The Los Angeles Community Council through its hundreds of organizations took an active part in the campaign. The Mizrahi (organization of orthodox Jews) in one area, never before concerned with political action, sent telegrams signed by its entire membership demanding the defeat of the police-state bill.

When General George C. Marshall spoke at the University of California at Los Angeles, hundreds of Jews, bearded old men, women and youth from the

Zionist movement, formed picket lines and paraded with banners demanding the freedom of Israel. The action was mobilized in the main from a section of the Jewish community that had never before participated in political action, let alone picket line demonstrations. Ellis Patterson, candidate for Congress in the 16th Congressional district on both Democratic and Independent Progressive Party tickets, accepted the invitation to participate in the picket line by the emerging progressive Zionist leadership.

In this same congressional district, Mrs. Phyllis Ziffren, who resigned as president of Hadassah to run as candidate for the State Assembly, drew new support through her appearance at a great mass rally in defense of the Hollywood Ten. It was in this district that 40,000 signatures were obtained for the Third Party.

Pioneer women's groups in increasing number have been calling for speakers from the Independent Progressive Party.

At the final meeting of the Histadruth fund campaign attended by 2,000, Adrian Scott, director of *Crossfire* and one of the Hollywood Ten, was featured as main speaker.

The American Jewish Labor Council in Los Angeles recently sent a letter to every candidate for congress and assembly asking for his position on the Buckley Bill and on state legislation outlawing anti-Semitism and discrimination. To date a number of replies have been received affirming support of such legislation.

In the Boyle Heights and City Terrace area, forming the 19th Congressional District, in which there is a large Jewish population, 32,000 signatures were obtained to put the Third Party on the ballot. It is in this district that Jack Berman, a leader in the Jewish community, is a candidate for the Assembly on the IPP ticket. In this same district, Jose Chavez, a leader of the Mexican community and a candidate for the Assembly on the IPP ticket, received 5,000 votes in the primaries, a large number of which came from the Mexican and Jewish areas, indicating the

## CLEVELAND

"OPERATION Bolton"—the defeat of Republican Representative Frances Payne Bolton in Ohio's 22nd Congressional District—will most certainly evoke an almost unanimous response on the part of Cleveland Jewry in the coming elec-

degree of unity on the Wallace program.

It was in this district that Wallace spoke to 10,000 Mexicans under the auspices of "Amigos for Wallace" and it is here, too, that the strongest campaigns developed involving Jews and Mexicans around the struggle for Mexican rights. Assemblyman Rosenthal, Democrat, who cross-filed Independent Progressive and Republican in the 40th Assembly District, won all three nominations. It was in this Congressional District, too, that Rep. Chet Holifield, progressive Democrat, deferred to the pressure of the Jewish community and broke with the Truman administration on the question of Palestine and addressed a meeting of 15,000 on the City Hall steps demanding that Truman cease to waver on the question of partition and demanding also the lifting of the embargo on Israel.

This midday meeting to demand implementation of the partition decision required the shut-down of the ships and factories. Many Negro and Mexican workers from furniture plants, warehouses and electrical plants attended.

The West Adams area has a history of progressive action. The recent activities of the American Jewish Labor Council in this area has served to re-stimulate such action. Street meetings as well as mass meetings have been held in this community at which donors of blood for Israel were recruited. This is an area in which there were many activities in opposition to the Mundt-Nixon bill.

While all these actions indicate the new role of the Los Angeles Jewish community in the life of our nation, there are also serious problems with respect to developing these activities into organized forms. Certain leaders of the Zionist movement here have not as yet, taken part in these activities, nor have the leaders of the old line Jewish organizations such as Bnai Brith, Jewish Welfare Organizations, etc., even on such matters as the Buckley bill.

The Jewish people of Los Angeles speak openly of voting for Wallace because of his forthright position against war and for lifting the arms embargo on Israel.

The people here are ripe for action, and the Jewish leadership will ultimately be forced by their membership into taking more definite and forthright positions with respect to the Marshall Plan.

tions. This is true despite successful efforts of "hush-hush" elements in the Jewish Community Council to secure the adoption of a resolution at the June 22nd meeting of the Delegates Assembly, recommending that constituent organizations of

the Jewish Community Council refrain from advocating the political-candidacies of any individuals.

Even those who argued that the backing of individual candidates by Jewish organizations leads to the development of a "Jewish vote" and makes for division from the rest of the community, cannot deny that the self-respect and integrity of Cleveland's Jewish citizens demands an all-out campaign to retire Mrs. Bolton to her Arabian oil-holdings. An open and brazen apologist for King Ibn Saud and the lesser lords of the desert, the Ohio Congresswoman pleaded with the House of Representatives last December 2 to understand the Arab rulers. "They say quite frankly," she reported, "that it is the European Jew with his alien ideas being forced upon them that they do not want."

Like her feudal brothers, Mrs. Bolton has not only expressed an aversion to further Jewish immigration into Palestine, she has also fought bitterly the implementation of the United Nations decision on the setting up of two independent states in Palestine, Jewish and Arab.

It is therefore fortunate that for the first time in years Representative Bolton, who in 1937 was listed by the Temporary National Economic Committee as one of 100 largest stockholders in the world's leading oil companies, will be vigorously contested at the polls on November 2 by a progressive Democratic candidate in the person of Jack G. Day, attorney and political science professor, whose platform sums up the hopes of the common people.

Day is campaigning for a strong UN, enforcement of the UN partition of Palestine, aid to needy countries via the UN, repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, protection for small businessmen and farmers and an equitable tax system, including the raising of family exemptions and the re-imposition of the excess profits tax. He is also on record for a comprehensive health and social security program, cost of living controls, government housing projects, and the extension of civil liberties to guarantee freedom for political, social and religious expression and the protection of minority rights. He calls specifically for a Fair Employment Practices Act, a Federal Anti-Lynch law, and abolition of the poll tax.

Not only has the Jack Day candidacy become a rallying center for the entire progressive-minded electorate in the 22nd District. The readers of JEWISH LIFE will particularly welcome the knowledge that important sections of the Zionist movement, as well as the non-Zionist, together with organized labor, are openly supporting Day for Congress.

During the primaries, the Cleveland Section of the Labor Zionist Organization of America issued a call to all its members and affiliates to defeat Frances Bolton and elect Jack Day, declaring in part: "It is because we agree that Frances Bolton has disqualified herself from making an impartial decision on Palestine and because of her voting record against rent control, against federal housing, against price control, and of her support of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley bill, we must see her defeated and Jack Day elected to Congress to replace her."

In line with this, Cleveland chapters of the Pioneer Women are mobilizing their members to campaign for Day.

Besides the Labor Zionists, there is evidence that the General Zionists of Cleveland will also take part in "Operation Bolton." Officially, there has been no statement, as yet. This awaits Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's return from Israel.

Unofficially, however, there is no question how the Cleveland membership of the Zionist Organization of America—Republican, Democratic and Progressive alike—will vote in November. One of the most aggressive Zionist leaders in the community, Louis B. Golden, vice president of the Heights Temple Zionist District, is a sparkplug in the Jack Day campaign.

In short, there is little doubt that the Jewish voters of Cleveland, who, as it happens, are concentrated in the 22nd Congressional District, will vote *en bloc* for Jack Day, to insure the defeat of the reactionary incumbent, Frances Bolton. If this

is a "Jewish vote," then it is one for which no apologies are offered. For it is a tribute to any national minority that it can distinguish its friends and politically extinguish its enemies and oppressors.

Insofar as the presidential race is concerned, the Jewish community will divide along partisan lines, like all other national groups in the city, with a significant proportion turning toward Henry Wallace and the new Progressive Party because of disillusionment over the bipartisan betrayal of the State of Israel and the peace program of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

When the Jewish Community Council, representing as it does all elements of Jewish life grouped in more than 160 Cleveland Jewish organizations—that "think, plan, and act together for a better community"—takes a public stand for fair employment practices legislation, for support of the UN partition of Palestine, and for aid to the displaced persons, especially the surviving Jews of Europe, the council is expressing the thinking of the Jewish community not on "fictitious Jewish issues," but on fundamental social and political matters confronting the entire American people. Similarly, when Jewish organizations endorse the candidacies of individuals whose platforms encompass these objectives and otherwise reflect the people's needs, they are not being sectarian, but are fulfilling a democratic function in the accepted American tradition.

No American of Irish descent apologizes for his feeling of kinship toward the Irish Free State.

No American Negro kowtows to a Rankin.

And certainly no Jewish American need stifle his voice by wearing a "hush-hush" gag.

Let us recall the wisdom of the Jewish sage, Hillel: "If you are not for yourself, who will be for you? If you are for yourself alone, what are you?"

## BOSTON

THE struggle for peace, security and democracy in New England is expressing itself in the building of the broad people's coalition in the electoral field around the Progressive Party on the ballot in Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts. This is the result of tremendous, tireless work by hundreds of anti-fascists throughout New England. The most outstanding feat was the placing of Wallace on the ballot in Massachusetts. The law required that almost 51,000 certified signatures be filed with the secretary of state by July 27th. The Progressive Party set itself the goal of collecting not less than 100,000 signatures.

By July 20th, the last day of certifying signatures, over 110,000 had been collected in practically every town in the State.

It was found by all the canvassers that the best response to the Wallace petition came from the workers, regardless of national origin. The Italian, French Canadian and Irish Catholic workers, among whom previously the progressives had done little work, were almost as responsive as the Negro and Jewish workers.

In Suffolk County, which includes Boston and has in it the bulk of Negro and Jewish communities, over 28,000 signatures were obtained. A special analysis should be made of Ward 14 in Dorchester

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(a district of Boston). This ward (about 28,000 registered voters) is over 85% Jewish. Of these 60% are workers, mainly in light industry. The Progressive Party in that ward collected over 8,000 signatures for Wallace, almost one out of three signing the petition.

The main danger in this heavily concentrated ward of Jewish progressive voters is the illusion that many still have about Truman and particularly about Rep. John McCormack, House minority leader (whose district includes Ward 14). For this reason, the vote for Henry Wallace in this ward will be of extreme importance for the future of progressive Jews in Dorchester. Even more important will be the result of the elections to the state legislature.

The Progressive Party is supporting the candidacy of Lawrence Shubow. This ward will elect three representatives this year. In 1946, Daniel Rudsten, an independent Democrat and a World War veteran, was elected. While in the State House he achieved a consistent progressive voting record. However, during the past few months he did nothing to sponsor the Wallace movement. On the contrary, up to the Democratic convention he favored Gen. Eisenhower and he is today trying to ride the middle between the Wallace and Truman adherents.

Lawrence Shubow, who was the New England director of the American Jewish Congress and one of the leaders of the Labor Zionist movement, has been a con-

sistent Wallace supporter and the leader of many demonstrations in support of independence for Israel. He has also participated in many actions against discrimination and anti-Semitism. Many observers believe that he will be the first Progressive Party representative to be elected to the Massachusetts State body. He has entered into the Democratic primary with more than an even chance of being one of the three victors in the primary race.

The great drive for militant action to sustain and save Israel, particularly among the youth, has stimulated this tremendous support for Wallace. The community organized a committee to send a representative to Israel for a first hand account of the struggle for an independent state.

Funds were collected to send Julius Ansel, Democratic city councilman, as their representative. Ansel, who reportedly has never severed his connections with the Democratic boss, Mayor Curley, is also a member of the Progressive Party. He is supporting Larry Shubow for state representative. Over a thousand people jammed one of Dorchester's busiest corners at an open-air send off rally, where Ansel and Shubow spoke.

From these activities it can be seen that by taking the issues to the people, the Jewish people, particularly the workers, can be won as active fighters for the building of the Progressive Party and amassing a tremendous vote for Wallace and the Progressive Party candidates in 1948.

## THE BRONX

**T**HE Bronx Jewish community demonstrates a serious understanding and acceptance of the aims and principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt in behalf of world peace and the well-being of all peoples. This community was the backbone of the Democratic Party in the Bronx before the death of F. D. R., but the people are incensed today at President Truman not only for his betrayal of Palestine, but also for his rejection, at Wall Street's behest, of the Roosevelt Economic Bill of Rights. The people realize that Truman talks

Roosevelt but acts Hoover.

Immediately after the death of F. D. R. in 1945, Democratic Boss Ed Flynn destroyed the Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition in Bronx County and replaced it with an unholy alliance with Republican boss John Knewitz.

The Jewish Democratic office-holders in Bronx County swear by the birthright of their forefathers; but, in fear of reprisals from their political bosses, they fail to challenge Truman's embargo on arms to Israel. These politicians, tied as they are

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to the reactionary Flynn-Knewitz coalition, must share with the Republicans full responsibility for the high cost of living, the housing shortage, the failure to produce anti-discrimination legislation, and, above all, the tragic betrayal of the peace of the world to the direct interests of big business and the Anglo-American oil cartelists.

The effective call to action of Wallace and Taylor, the program of the American Labor Party as the New York state organization of the national Progressive Party, have served to expose the political bankruptcy of the two-party coalition.

In large sections of the Bronx Jewish community, leadership of the people has been assumed by forthright representatives of the aims and program of the Wallace movement. The majority of the voters of the 24th Congressional District support Rep. Leo Isacson in the present election as they did last February. This includes the Negro and Puerto Rican communities as well as the Jewish people—the three nationality groups which comprise 85% of the district. The common interests of all working people, whatever their national origin, are strikingly demonstrated in this unanimity of political action.

The old party politicians in the Bronx are taking desperate measures to keep whatever influence they have left among the Jewish people. They are "joining" more of the established civic and fraternal associations. Their public professions of loyalty and for the welfare of the community have become frenzied and highly emotional. Red-baiting is at a premium.

They have taken the unprecedented step of joining to put up a single candidate against each Wallace-ALP representative. This agreement on candidates was easy for the bosses of the political machines to achieve. Not unexpectedly, the common reactionary front has been joined by the leadership of the Liberal Party. Throughout the Bronx, the Democrat-Republican-Liberal coalition faces the Congressional candidates of the American Labor Party.

The attack is centered on Congressman Leo Isacson. But similarly the Democrats, Republicans and Liberals have joined forces against Albert E. Kahn, noted author and president of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, who is the Wallace-ALP candidate in the 25th Congressional District, and against Leon Straus, vice-president of the Furrier's Union, the Wallace-ALP candidate in the 23rd Congressional District.

The Bronx Jewish community is aroused by the need for progressive action to solve the basic problems of the people as individuals and as a group entity. They are pointing the way with the vital leadership of Henry Wallace and in the spirit of FDR.

## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE EARTH

*Yevreiski Vyesti* (Jewish News)  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
July 12, 1948.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We receive regularly your publication and thank you for the really precious information we gather from it. Your magazine is the best we receive from the USA. It gives us a clear picture of the condition of American Jewry, the struggle of its progressive section against reaction, anti-Semitism and fascism. We take advantage of the occasion to convey to the editorial staff and your contributors our most sincere appreciation.

H. BENADOFF  
Editor.

Jewish Unity Association  
Sidney, Australia  
May 25, 1948

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We are publishing a magazine, *Unity*, which in character and policy follows the pattern of JEWISH LIFE.

We feel that your publication is the best in the field and it has had a profound influence on our editorial committee.

We would greatly appreciate the privilege of being able from time to time to reprint an article from JEWISH LIFE and trust that you will grant us this privilege.

N. ZUSMAN  
Secretary, Editorial Committee

*La Boz de Turkiye*  
Istanbul, Turkey  
August 9, 1948

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In my capacity of Editor of *La Boz de Turkiye* I would like to inform you that we would be very happy to receive your interesting publication on an exchange basis.

*La Boz de Turkiye* is a magazine having an existence of ten years and published partly in Jewish-Spanish (Ladino) and partly in French with an editorial in Turkish. It has a wide circulation among the Jews in this country as well as in the Middle East.

It goes without saying how much valuable will be your paper for us, where, we believe, we will be able to find up-to-date material of interest for our readers and insert in our columns in quoting of course, the source.

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Editor.

London, England.

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JEWISH LIFE is greatly appreciated amongst friends here who read it. The material is very varied and topical. We hope to see the day when we can emulate you. For the time being, because of paper rationing, we cannot consider any new developments.

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