

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

NOVEMBER 1946

## Palestine: What Is The Solution?

*By Alexander Bittelman*

**W**HAT is the solution for Palestine? Is it to be partition? So-called federalization? Fraudulent independence as in Transjordan? Or is it to be real independence—a free and independent Palestine of Jews and Arabs? Only the blind among us, or such as are ready consciously to turn the Jewish people into a tool of imperialists and warmongers, will agree to support anything else but an independent Palestine in which both Jews and Arabs can live in peace and freedom.

It is reported that the Jewish Agency now favors partition, instead of the British imperialist scheme of "federalization." It is also reported that the Truman administration supports the position of the Jewish Agency, at least insofar as it facilitates further penetration by American imperialism into Palestine and the Middle East generally. We believe that these reports are true.

The supporters of partition do not, of course, speak of it as just the splitting up of Palestine. It is represented rather

*(Continued on page 26)*

## THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination are more than the acts of hoodlums. There is a fundamental social cause and top level leadership.

*By SAMUEL BARRON*

## ROLE OF THE JEWISH INTELLECTUAL

Has the Jewish intellectual a special role in the present complex world situation, or can he sit in an ivory Tower.

*By PROF. HYMAN LEVY*

## REPORT ON RUSSIA

An outstanding leader in Jewish-American life visits the Soviet Union and tells his impressions of the conditions of Soviet Jews.

*By LOUIS LEVINE*

## THE FIRST JEWISH SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

*By KALMAN MARMOR*

## INTERVIEW WITH THE PREMIER OF POLAND

*By PAUL NOVICK*

## From the Four Corners AT HOME

THE movement to open the doors of America to Jewish refugees now in DP camps in Germany, is gaining momentum. The latest to speak up is Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City who called for the admission of 250,000 Jewish refugees at a dinner given under the auspices of the United Jewish Appeal. Dr. Joseph Tennenbaum, head of the American Federation of Polish Jews, called upon Pres. Harry Truman to convene a special session of Congress for the purpose of legislating for the admission of 100,000 Jews. Among others who want Jews admitted is Edwin W. Pauley who has frequently acted as a special envoy on government international missions. Impetus was given to this movement by the statesmanlike statement of Sen. Claude Pepper, who among other things called for the recall of Congress in order to take up the question of Jewish emigration to the United States.

Justice Meir Steinbrink, speaking at the conference was elected national chairman, declared that ventation of the Anti-Defamation League, of which "the tide of bigotry and organized hate held in check by war-time security controls, has once again been set free." He indicated that the "resurgence of anti-democratic elements in the first post-war year has been alarmingly evident in all parts of the country." He continued, "We may very well see at the first major political or economic crisis that this country may have to face a coalition among forces which support the Ku Klux Klan, forces which control a large section of the German press in this country that is once more spewing out hate propaganda and other prophets of bigotry. We may very well be heading toward such a crisis today with the now evident split in our foreign policy, with a resurgence of racial discrimination in employment and with the continued practice of the quota system by many colleges and universities. As a result, the forthcoming State and Congressional elections and the Presidential elections of 1948 will offer hate mongers an opportunity to bring racial and religious issues into the campaign in order to begot the real issues. We will be able to turn back the tide of race hates only by finding a common ground and a unity of purpose for the democratic forces of this country. In a sense this is a war between the democratic spirit and the fascist forces."

It is reported that Attorney General Tom Clark is planning to drop charges against the 26 defendants in the Washington sedition trial which was never resumed since the sudden death of the presiding judge ended it. These 26 defendants include some of the hottest anti-Semites in the country.

The New York CIO, the American Jewish Congress, the American Veterans Committee and a number of other organizations have demanded that radio station WOR take Upton Close off the air. The Congress charged that Close was guilty of "flagrant and deliberate distortions of truth" and that he had engaged in "vilifications of the various races and creeds."

Four thousand people participated in the Crusade Against Lynching demonstration in Washington, D.C. The Crusade itself was composed of delegates from hundreds of organizations who are outraged by the outbreak of terror against the Negro people. The Crusade committee plans to keep stepping up activity in order to present the new Congress with an overwhelming people's demand for the immediate passage of the anti-lynch bill.

Gov. Thomas Dewey has opened his New York gubernatorial campaign with a blast against  
(Continued on page 31)

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. I, NO. 1

NOVEMBER, 1946

## EDITORIAL BOARD

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

SAM PEVZNER

MOSES MILLER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

PAUL NOVICK

SAMUEL BARRON, *Managing Editor*

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

THE EDITORS.

## CONTENTS

	Page
PALESTINE: WHAT IS THE SOLUTION by Alexander Bittelman . . . . .	1
FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
JEWISH LIFE . . . . .	3
FATEFUL ELECTIONS . . . . .	3
CHOOSING CANDIDATES . . . . .	4
DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS . . . . .	5
HECHT'S BIG TIME DEMAGOGY . . . . .	5
THE ROLE OF THE JEWISH INTELLECTUAL by Prof. Hyman Levy . . . . .	6
THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE SOVIET UNION by Steve Nelson . . . . .	8
THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA by Samuel Barron . . . . .	11
WONDERS OF AMERICA, A Story by Sholom Aleichem . . . . .	15
DISCOVERING SHOLOM ALEICHEM by Morris U. Schappes . . . . .	17
THE AMERICAN SS by Arthur D. Kahn . . . . .	18
THE NEW COLOSSUS, A Poem by Emma Lazarus . . . . .	19
EYE-WITNESS REPORT ON RUSSIA by Louis Levine . . . . .	20
THE FIRST JEWISH SOCIALIST SOCIETY by Kalman Marmor . . . . .	23
LETTERS FROM ABROAD	
AN INTERVIEW WITH THE PREMIER OF POLAND by Paul Novick . . . . .	29
JEWISH DEMANDS AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE by A. Raisky . . . . .	30
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS . . . . .	2
LETTERS FROM THE READERS . . . . .	2

JEWISH LIFE, November 1946, Vol. I, No. 1. Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.50 a year in U.S. and possessions and Mexico. Canadian and foreign \$2.00 a year. Application for entry as second class matter is pending. Copyright 1946.

## Letters from the Readers

Editors, Jewish Life:

I wish to call to your attention the best-selling book, *Peace of Mind*, by Joshua Loth Liebman, Simon and Schuster, 1946.

I have given the publication a superficial once-over and find that its fire is directed at the confused middle-class bourgeois, the intellectuals, white collar workers, professionals, progressive housewives, searching college students, etc. It is aimed at those who still cling to the Idealist interpretation which, I believe, is their major obstacle in grasping the science of Marxism.

Read some of these passages from this misleading work: "Matter—the most important thing in the world? Not Ideals!" This is part of his subtle attempt to refute Marxist materialism. He quotes the "ancient prophets": "God has established natural laws in the universe, and He expects you to use them. If you abuse them He will not set His world topsy-turvy in order to

rescue you from the consequences of your deeds." In short, things as they now stand, the status quo, is God given, and though suffering abounds, we should not change this status, for it is man who has erred by abusing the privilege of having a mind and conscience which of course God has given him.

This book is presently enjoying wide circulation and is, I am sure, making more wretched already tortured minds groping for a true perspective. It may prove to be a pitfall for honest seekers on their way to socialist thought, especially the young Jewish liberals, who because of minority persecutions, are often natural allies of labor and progressiveness. I believe that a thorough answer should be given to this book which should include ideological and philosophical as well as political and economic aspects of dialectical materialistic thought. Just as Marx answered Proudhon in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, so should Liebman be taken to task today.

Maplewood, N. J.

LOUIS H. ARKY.

# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## JEWISH LIFE

**A**MERICAN Jewish workers, as well as middle class and professional groups, are increasingly demonstrating a deeper and more intimate interest in Jewish life. Ever larger numbers of them are beginning to face the special needs and problems of the American Jewish national group, and the tasks we share with Jews of other lands, in a new way, in a progressive way, in an anti-fascist way.

Growing numbers of progressive Jews, hitherto more or less indifferent to Jewish problems, are beginning to see that Jewish life is not identical, as they thought, with backwardness, reactionary nationalism, or isolation from general American life. Quite the contrary. It is becoming more evident to them almost daily that to build a progressive Jewish life in America is to make the most effective contribution to the well-being of the Jewish masses as well as to the general progress of the United States and to the growth of the American nation. They are beginning to sense that a progressive Jewish national group life is an organic and inseparable part of progressive American life as a whole, and must continue to grow ever more so.

It is coming to be recognized that to be a Jew one need not be a Jewish nationalist or a believer in the Jewish religion; and that to be an American one need not be an assimilationist. Both nationalism and assimilationism stem from bourgeois ideologies. They are incompatible with the scientific world outlook and ideology of the advanced section of the labor movement. They are incompatible with the best and fundamental interests of the American Jewish national group and of the Jewish people as a whole.

The great and profound experiences of our people, as well as its contributions, in the struggle against fascism and the fascist Axis; our people's superhuman sufferings, tragedies and also triumphs—all of these confirm the historic need of a progressive Jewish life. They also confirm the need of basing this life upon the progressive movements of the Jewish workers, the trade unionists, allied with all Jewish democratic forces and intimately bound up with the labor movement, and the entire progressive camp of America.

*Jewish Life* will interpret and fight for a progressive Jewish life in America. Rejecting both bourgeois ideologies, nationalism and assimilationism, it will advocate and champion the scientific ideology of the working class, the ideology of the class that is the most consistent ally of all oppressed and persecuted peoples as well as of the Jewish people.

*Jewish Life* will conduct a militant struggle against all manifestations of anti-Semitism and national discrimination at home, as instruments of American reaction and imperialism to crush the American people and to conquer the

world. It will base itself primarily upon the progressive labor movement, first of all the trade unions. It will champion the influence and leadership of American labor in the affairs of the nation.

In this struggle, *Jewish Life* is certain it will find powerful allies among the non-Jewish sections of the American people, particularly the Negro people. It will dedicate itself to strengthening the ties of the Jewish people with labor, the Negro people and all other oppressed groups, for a common struggle against anti-Semitism, discrimination, lynching and jimcrow; for a common struggle against fascism and war, against labor-baiting and the persecution of minorities, political and national.

*Jewish Life* regards the struggle of the Jewish people for survival as one which is intimately tied to the struggles of the working class and the common people throughout the world. It will, therefore, fight for the reconstitution and rehabilitation of the shattered Jewish communities in Europe, and particularly in the new democracies of Eastern Europe, where anti-Semitism has been outlawed and where the basis has been laid for a new and secure development.

*Jewish Life* will fight to support the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine in unity and in agreement with the Arabs in a common struggle against British and American imperialism and for a free and independent Palestine which will safeguard the national rights and interests of both peoples.

*Jewish Life* dedicates itself to strengthening the friendship of the Jewish people with the Soviet Union, land of socialism, which has destroyed anti-Semitism and which has given to Jews as to all other nationalities true equality and security. It will aid the development of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan, where in an atmosphere of socialism, a section of the Jewish people are marching steadily toward nationhood, giving still another example to the world of the efficacy of the socialist solution of the national question and of all other questions.

Finally, *Jewish Life* dedicates itself to reviving and spreading the progressive Jewish culture and tradition, and to encouraging the further development of this culture on a democratic and progressive basis. This will help establish a strong and progressive Jewish life, based upon labor and its historic liberating mission, able to contribute to the material, political and spiritual growth of our country in a democratic direction, and to the peace, freedom and security of all countries of the world.

## FATEFUL ELECTIONS

**T**HE dismissal of Henry Wallace, Roosevelt's closest collaborator, for criticizing the foreign policy of the Truman administration, indicates how widely the admin-



istration has veered from the policies of FDR, and how sharp is the effort to forsake it entirely.

Mr. Wallace's public castigation of the atomic, hell-bent-for-war policy of the Byrnes-Vandenberg conspiracy, was a contribution to the welfare of the American people. The nation has been sharply awakened by the ex-Secretary of Commerce, and by Sen. Claude Pepper, to the danger of losing the peace through default.

The war against the fascist German-Japanese war machine is over. But the war against fascism has reached a new climax. Military victory was achieved through an anti-Hitler coalition, spearheaded by the unity of the Big Three, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States. All the efforts of the coalition of pro-fascists and isolationists, centered primarily around the Republican Party, could not disrupt this unity in the face of the determination of the people to maintain it.

Victory in the struggle against fascism can be achieved without the human and material cost of a third world war only by a return to the policy of Big Three unity. But imperialist forces determined to achieve the dream of an "American Century," to replace the crushed Hitler dream of a Nazi century, have emerged into a dominating position in the United States. Their policy of shattering Big Three unity coincides with the policy of fascism to achieve its own revival. At this moment, through a coalition of reactionary Republicans and bourbon Democrats, they have captured the government, and are nullifying the policies for which the American people voted in 1944, and which they still support.

The major issue facing the people in this election is the reaffirmation of the progressive policies of Roosevelt. These include Big Three unity, support of world democratic forces and anti-fascist struggle, the economic bill of rights, equal rights and against discrimination. The American people are called upon this November to reject once more the policy of Dewey-Hoover-Vandenberg, whom they defeated in 1944, and elect a progressive Congress that will respond to the wishes of the people.

The strength behind the Roosevelt progressive policies was a labor-democratic coalition. It spearheaded support for the progressive measures of the New Deal and for the war effort. The task of the American people now is to build and consolidate the democratic forces of the nation into a labor-progressive-democratic coalition, headed by labor, to check and deflect the offensive of imperialist reaction headed by the monopolies. It is to elect Senators and Congressmen, state and local officials who will be committed to carrying out the mandate of the people, and to build such a coalition in the election struggle.

This means that, beside selecting candidates supporting a progressive program, it is necessary for the labor-democratic coalition to register its independent strength wherever possible. This will lend substance and strength to the coalition. This means, in New York for instance, the rolling up of the biggest vote in its history for the American Labor Party. And throughout the country, wherever it appears

on the ballot, it means casting a powerful vote for the Communist Party. This will promote the power and unshakable unity of the coalition, and will advance the influence of the working class and the labor movement.

## CHOOSING CANDIDATES

**E**FFORTS are being made by certain Zionist circles to stampede the Jewish people into the Republican Party column, in order to express their disillusionment and disapproval of Truman's failure to act on Zionist demands with regard to Palestine. When to this is added the resentment of all progressive people against Truman's behavior in the Wallace case, a very dangerous situation is created.

Truman's policy toward Palestine must be condemned and combatted. His policy is based on the Byrnes-Vandenberg imperialist drive toward world domination and oppression of nations. A fundamental aspect of this policy is collaboration with British imperialism, despite serious rivalries, in the subjugation of the Middle East in general, and the throttling of the independence of Palestine in particular. Hence the failure of Truman to carry out any of his pledges with regard to Palestine.

But for the Zionist circles led by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, to imply that the Jews have more to expect from the Republican Party, is to betray the Jewish people. For the Republican Party is an opposition party only in the sense that it does not consider the Democratic Party reactionary and imperialist enough. The Republican Party leadership wants to move more rapidly and more directly toward war and fascism. It will therefore even more speedily and more ruthlessly destroy whatever hopes and aspirations the Jewish people have in Palestine. With Palestine already built up as an imperialist military base, this Republican policy can only lead to disaster for Palestine.

There is an inexorable logic to events. Once reliance is placed on imperialism to solve the problem of Palestine, it is inevitable that the most imperialist and reactionary political party should be sought as an ally. And this is precisely what the Silver Zionists are attempting at this moment.

In addition to everything else, the Republican Party leadership seeks the support of anti-Semites, despite all the pious phrases in its platform, or the indecent support given it by reactionary Jews. We will never forget the Republican presidential campaign of 1944, when Dewey relied on the anti-Semitic slogan, "Clear it with Sidney," and on anti-Semitic provocations to win the election. And he has resumed this type of electioneering in his current gubernatorial campaign in New York, as indicated in his blast against Henry Epstein, American Labor and Democratic Party judicial candidate.

The Republican Party, with its reactionary policies, does not guarantee support for the struggle of minorities for equal rights. Dewey's whitewash of the Freeport, L. I. slayer of two Negroes, the failure of the Republican Party in the Senate to fight actively for the anti-poll tax, anti-



lynching and the permanent FEPC bills expose the Party's real position on all minorities.

The imperialist drive, of which the Republican Party is the spearhead, presents the Jewish people with two dangers. The drive to war will inevitably lead to an increase in discrimination and persecution of minorities, particularly the Negro people, and to little smaller extent the Jewish people. And a war itself, should it come, can very well mean the total annihilation of the Jewish people.

The Silver leadership of the Zionists is gambling with the security of the Jews in their irresponsible advice to Jews to go Republican.

The democratic Jewish masses, as well as all progressive Americans, will choose candidates on the basis of whether they support a democratic foreign policy, including a democratic solution for Palestine. Such a solution is the immediate abrogation of the British mandate, and the transfer of Palestine to the United Nations, with a view of establishing a Big Three Trusteeship which will help speed the independence of Palestine and guarantee the national rights of Jews and Arabs. This, and not imperialism, represented either by reactionary Democrats or Republicans, will bring peace to Palestine.

Candidates will also be judged, among other things, on whether they support the anti-poll tax bill, the anti-lynching bill, the bill to outlaw anti-Semitism by law, the establishment of a permanent FEPC, the opening of the doors of America to Jewish refugees, the immediate abolition of the DP camps in the American zone in Germany. And they will get votes when they underscore their expressions of agreement with guarantees that they will actively fight for these measures.

Such candidates will speak not only in the name of the Jewish people in the interests of the Jewish people, but of all the American people in the interests of all the American people.

## DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS

**T**HE Council of the City of New York has appointed a committee of its members to investigate discrimination in the city's schools. This is an outgrowth of recent protests against the use of the quota system against certain national groups by such institutions as Columbia University, which receive financial support from the state either directly through grants, or indirectly through tax exemptions.

It is also a result of a long fight put up by a group of educators against alleged discrimination against certain instructors in the College of the City of New York. And no doubt, the Council was moved to act also because of the outrageous whitewash by the New York Board of Education of May Quinn, the New York City school teacher who brought anti-Semitism and isolationism into her schoolroom during the war. To this must also be added the failure of Mayor O'Dwyer to heed the protests against his appointment to the Board of Education of George Timone, allegedly connected with fascists in the past.

An investigation of the school system was obviously

necessary. We are somewhat disturbed by the fact that the committee is authorized only to "examine," "study" and "investigate"; that it is not committed to call for specific action to prevent discrimination and to punish those guilty of discrimination. Nevertheless, it is an important step in the right direction, a step which other cities might well undertake.

Labor and progressive circles must guarantee that this will not be just another investigation. The Civil Rights Congress, the trade unions, the American Jewish Labor Council, the American Jewish Congress and other organizations must concentrate on making the open hearings fruitful, and really expressive of the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Jews and non-Jews. And they must guarantee that out of this investigation will come the outlawing by law of anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination in the City of New York, as well as in the State.

A step in this direction is a bill to bar discrimination by institutions of higher learning on the grounds of race, creed or color, proposed by the New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Education at a conference held recently in New York. This is a revised version of the Austin-Mahoney Bill which was introduced in the New York State legislature last year, but which got nowhere. It calls for the rescinding of tax exemptions for any educational institution found guilty of discrimination, except religious and denominational schools.

Any campaign to end discrimination in schools must include support for this bill. What is more, rallying support for the measure can begin immediately in a most effective manner, by utilizing the last weeks of the election campaign for getting commitments from candidates to work and fight for its passage.

## HECHT'S BIG TIME DEMAGOGY

**T**HE American League for a Free Palestine, offshoot of the extreme right wing of the Zionist movement—the Revisionists, is sponsoring the Ben Hecht play, "A Flag Is Born," currently appearing on Broadway.

Hecht's thesis is that the Jew is alone in a hostile world. Anti-Semitism is a mysterious force whose cause cannot be determined. There is therefore no one the Jew can look to for aid in his struggle for survival and equality.

Europe, according to Hecht, is a "garbage pile" in which there is no longer any hope for the Jew. The conclusion? All Jews must forsake Europe.

Certainly no one in his right mind would deny that there are Jews who are psychologically unable to rebuild their lives in Europe and that we must do everything in our power to make it possible for them to leave.

It is quite another matter to ascribe political motives to this tragic phenomenon and to draw the conclusion, as does Hecht that all Jews must leave because anti-Semitism is eternal.

This is abject defeatism and a call to mass suicide. For if this thesis is accepted the basis of Jewish existence has

been undermined in all lands. If it is "exodus from Europe" today, what is to prevent it from becoming "exodus from America" tomorrow?

Nor can there on this basis be any security for the Jews of Palestine. The Arabs, too, are non-Jews. What chance has the Jew to achieve peace and happiness in Palestine surrounded as he is by millions of Arabs of the Middle East?

Contempt for democracy and for the valiant efforts of the new democracies that are taking shape in Eastern Europe is apparent in Hecht's "garbage pile" thesis.

It is no accident therefore that there should be not a word in the play about fascism or about the role of American and British imperialism in relation to the DP

camps, to their support and aid to the Polish fascists, and to pogroms in Palestine.

It is no accident that this great "champion" of his people should sneeringly attack the Soviet Union, the country which eradicated anti-Semitism and which gave freedom, equality and full opportunity for development to the Jewish people.

By distorting and obscuring the real causes of anti-Semitism, Hecht would insure that what Hitler failed to accomplish, Hecht would have the Jewish people carry out.

"A Flag is Born" is a call to surrender to fascism and reaction. It is bred of despair and futility and can only undermine the morale of a people by paralyzing any constructive struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism.

## THE ROLE OF THE JEWISH INTELLECTUAL

By Prof. Hyman Levy

**A**N intellectual is usually regarded as a person whose training makes it easier for him to discuss abstract questions than to handle practical affairs. If this is taken to mean that one can serve a useful purpose as an intellectual without having had experience of the practical affairs of life, then it is false. A *lustmensch* is of no use to anyone. However abstract a problem is, it deals with real people, real issues, real situations, and no correct analysis can be made except on the basis of deep experience.

When therefore we talk of the Jewish intellectual and his role in the present plight of Jewry, we mean that the individual in question speaks from a personal knowledge with personal feeling of matters Jewish, that as an intellectual he shows this capacity to separate out important from unimportant Jewish matters, and to present them in a logical and objective way.

It is probably true to say that the Jews have always had more than their share of intellectuals. In the struggle for survival, social necessity has forced them over and over again to examine their position with the eyes of cold reason, whatever the turmoil of emotions that may have surged in their bosoms.

### Clear Thinking Essential

Today this is more urgent than almost at any previous period in Jewish history; certainly at no time within living memory has the position of Jewry been more complex, or the future been fraught with so many dangers and pitfalls. Large sections have lost their sense of security in the areas in which they are settled; whole communities have been

driven out and literally destroyed; the young and virile have been wiped out, the old incinerated or left to die of starvation.

Such a situation cannot but arouse an emotional and psychological atmosphere, so supercharged as to render clear objective thinking almost an impossibility. A people that cannot be master of its own fate must, in such circumstances, feel like a hunted animal.

Morbidly, neurosis, escapism, terror and fear—all the consequences of social and personal insecurity—must be expected to show themselves, and the voices that will speak on behalf of Jewry will, in varying measure, reflect these underlying abnormalities.

Today the Jewish intellectual can play a part of greater significance for his long-suffering brethren than at any previous time. He has to understand the nature and the origin of these neurotic symptoms. He has to weigh and assess proposals and policies objectively, and guard against their acceptance merely because they offer a fictitious escape from, or express an emotional reaction to an intolerable position.

The Jewish problem is primarily social. However distinct he may feel from his neighbors, the Jew is first and foremost a social animal, with more points of similarity with others, than points of dissimilarity. If the Jewish problem has become acute today, it is because the social problem has become acute.

### The General Problem and the Specific

The World War was a social phenomenon of world-wide extent into which the Jews were swept in their special way because of the special situation of the Jews among the peoples of the world. In disentangling the problem therefore the Jewish intellectual has to see both the general and the particular in the situation. Generally what happens to Jewry is what happens to other people. Their homes are smashed

HYMAN LEVY is Professor of Mathematics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, member of the research staff of the National Physical Laboratory. Prof. Levy has written many books on science and society, among them *A Philosophy for a Modern Man* and *Modern Science* which have been published in the United States.

by doodlebugs and rocket bombs, and they are slaughtered indiscriminately during a war just like others, apart from any torture especially reserved for them. A war is a period of social crisis, and Jewry slips into crisis with it.

But the Jews have particular characteristics that distinguish them socially from non-Jews. Bound together by a common history, and broadly speaking a common tradition, scattered in communities throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world, they cannot but be involved in every social upheaval of a local or of a general character. In particular for political reasons the Nazis had selected them for complete extermination.

In their history therefore can be read, for him who can read it aright, the story of the struggle of mankind everywhere. In this sense the peculiar characteristic of Jewry is that it is at one and the same time a body of people with certain of the components of a nation, and a scattered collection of peoples internationally distributed.

It follows that the Jewish intellectual has to understand world history if he is to appreciate its reflection in Jewish history, and he will be unable to understand Jewish history unless he sees clearly this dual characteristic of his people—the national, and the international aspect.

To regard Jewry merely as one more national body struggling for independence for a section of itself is to degrade the role of Jewry in the history of society. On the other hand to approach the Jewish problem as if national aspirations of this nature were non-existent is to falsify the whole situation.

### ***Jews in the Socialist World***

For that reason the Jewish intellectual is faced with a problem at once more complex and more profound than that of any other national or international group. His people aspire to live among the British but to remain distinct, to live among the Russian peoples but remain distinct, to live among the Arabs but remain distinct. To see this objectively, he has to inquire—what are the social conditions that can make this a possibility? For the social conditions specify the environment within which Jews will live and develop.

But this raises immediately a new and very vital issue. Today the world is split politically into two sections—socialist and capitalist—each with its social, national and cultural problems to solve. Jews are split almost equally between these two regions, united as they are as a people. They bestraddle the two worlds. In each the conditions for their survival and for their specifically Jewish cultural development, have to be examined.

The Soviet Union has made its position clear on this matter, lining up the problem of the development of the Jewish people in a socialist economy with the corresponding position of other nationalities within their borders in such a way as to ensure that with the flowering of socialism will also flower all the best elements of Jewish culture.

The Jewish intellectual has to understand this, to satisfy himself that it is so, and to make certain that it is understood by Jewry throughout the whole world. In this way

he can use the fact of the international distribution of Jewry as a cement among the peoples of the world at this critical moment in its history. Today unity among the nations is the paramount issue if peace is to be permanently established, and world Jewry has a vital stake and a vital interest in securing it.

The intellectual can make clear the significant role Jewry can play in this matter.

### ***Jews in the Capitalist World***

Turning to the conditions for Jewish survival in the capitalist section the position is rather different. Jews must have freedom before all else, and freedom can be attained only through an expanding democracy. They have therefore to throw their weight everywhere on the side of the forces of democracy. Today in the aftermath of the war precisely this struggle is occurring everywhere to expand the power of the people, and in that lies the greatest hope for the future of Jewry. The fact that this occurs just immediately after the blackest period in the history of Jewish persecution, and of fascist aggression against democratic peoples, is in itself evidence of the extent to which the history of our people and the struggle for their emancipation is intimately bound up with the struggles of peoples everywhere for freedom.

It is the duty of the Jewish intellectual today to make abundantly clear to his people that the wounds from which they are still bleeding have been suffered in the greatest cause in the world—the liberation of mankind—and that with this liberation comes their own final emancipation, wherever they may care to dwell.

What then is the practical role of the Jewish intellectual in this country, assuming that he has clarified these matters to himself? First, he must play a part in the life of his own people, and not divorce himself by slipping into mental isolation. He must contribute to its thought, help to enrich its culture and, if possible, its artistic expression.

He must write for its press, and help to extend it. He must play his part in the educational life of his people, and seek to make the teaching of Jewish history realistic, looking forward, rather than to the past. The lessons of contemporary politics must be brought out in relation to their national and their international situation in such a way as to encourage them to support the most advanced democratic movements.

### ***New Life, New Hope***

No one can say that Jews have ever under-valued culture and intellect, and today this high esteem must be turned towards instilling new life and hope, so that however severe and wounding the blows from which we have suffered, they shall not be mortal.

If our brethren on the continent of Europe have been physically and morally beaten to their knees during a darkness that has been deeper than the worst of the Middle Ages, it becomes especially the task of our intellectuals to rally British and American Jewry to the point of recog-



nizing that on their shoulders falls the duty of instilling new life and hope into the battered remains of our people, and of striving to the utmost for their rehabilitation.

In a word, when the new light of democracy is at last breaking they must turn towards the consolidation of Jewry on the international field, and frown on any attempt to deny that the Jew has a place, as a Jew, in the world at large.

The minions of fascism everywhere are still capable of inflicting severe damage in spite of the annihilation of its armies. The intellectual must be prepared to take the lead, and to rally his people in this country, so that the underground rumblings of anti-Semitism may be exposed, and the country cleansed of the last vestiges of fascism and reaction. By that single stroke he will strike a blow at one and the same time on behalf of Jewry and of democracy.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

By Steve Nelson

**M**OST people, when they speak about the USSR, speak of Russia. They think that all people constituting the Soviet Union are Russians. Yet the fact is that before the Revolution, only 43% of the people were Russians. The rest were oppressed nationalities against whom the ruling Russian bourgeoisie devised the most cruel ways of dominating them. Russia was known as the "prison of nations," and the oppressed nationalities were referred to as "aliens" in the official language of the Czarist regime. They were denied political rights, their culture was suppressed. In place of their own language, they were compelled to speak Russian. It was the policy of the Czarist government to keep these people in ignorance. This is best expressed in a document issued by a Czarist official.

"Experience of all kinds proves that it is easier to rule an ignorant people than a people that has received even the slightest degree of education."<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this attitude, some of the nationalities in Czarist Russia did not even have a written language until after the Revolution. Among those to develop written languages following the collapse of the Czarist regime were the Turkmenians, Tadjiks, Kirghiz, Buryat-Mongolians, Kara-Kalpakians, Mordovians, Adygeis and the Ingushes.

The cruelty and contempt of the Czarist regime were mostly strikingly expressed by the Czarist General Kuropatkin in 1904. In reply to a complaint by one of the national minorities in the Far East, he stated, "Bear in mind that if your people misbehave you will answer for it. If, God forbid, your people should dream of taking the slightest liberties, of resisting the will of our monarch, you will forthwith be wiped from the face of the earth. Not a trace will be left of you. Just see how many Russian

soldiers there are here. We can call on hundreds of thousands more, and in one instant you will be crushed and destroyed. It is not for you to demand. You may only beg a bone."<sup>2</sup>

The Czarist officials did not resort to idle threats. They organized pogroms against the Jewish people. These vile attacks were systematically planned especially when the Czarist government was faced with economic or political difficulties. Pogroms were organized against the Jews to distract the attention of the masses from the real problems facing them. The Russian people were made to feel that they have something in common with the ruling Czarist regime. The age-old policy of "divide and rule" was the core of Czarist policy.

### *Economic Base of Oppression*

Regions occupied by the peoples of the national minorities were kept in economic and industrial backwardness. The ruling classes of Czarist Russia feared the possible consequences of industrial growth in the territories occupied by non-Russian nationalities. Industry would have precipitated the growth of the working-class movement, which it particularly feared. Simultaneously the development of industry in the non-Russian territories would have encouraged the rise of a native bourgeoisie and increased competition which would have undermined the domination of the Russian capitalists. This attitude was clearly illustrated by Governor-General Samsonov of Turkestan. When a request for permission to build a textile mill in his domain was made, he replied, "Permission to build a textile mill in Turkestan refused since it would mean deleterious competition with the Russian manufacturers of Ivanovo-Voznessensk, Moscow, etc."<sup>3</sup>

It is obvious from this that the basis for national oppression is to be found in the economic position of a people. Their economic position is the barometer of their status in society. To bring the oppressed people forward, and to give them a chance for development, the Bolsheviks therefore tackled the economic question first, and made it the corner-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *The National Question in the Soviet Union* by M. Chekalin, International Publishers, p. 4.

STEVE NELSON, a veteran of the struggle against fascist Franco in Spain, is a member of the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States. He is responsible for work among the national groups. His article was written to mark the twenty-ninth anniversary of October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which took place on November 7, 1917 (October 25, Russian Old Style), and established Soviet Power.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

stone of their policy in dealing with the national question. Stalin stated this policy in 1923 in the following words:

"We have proclaimed equality of legal status and are practicing it; but equality of legal status, although in itself a factor of the greatest importance in the history of the development of the Soviet Republics, is still a long way from true equality." Even the encouragement of education, the opening of schools, and the development of the peoples' language—urgent as all these are—will not ensure real equality. What is wanted," emphasized Stalin, "is real, systematic, sincere and genuine proletarian assistance to the toiling masses of the culturally and economically backward nationalities. Apart from school and language, the Russian proletariat must take every necessary measure to establish centers of industry in the border regions in the republics which are culturally backward. . . ."<sup>4</sup> What backward races need in order to attain real equality is economic and technical assistance."

### ***Development of Soviet Nations***

Industrialization under the 5-year plans; staggering as it was for the whole Soviet Union, was even greater in scope and significance for the backward regions inhabited by the oppressed nationalities. Backward areas starting from industrial scratch reached levels of development within 15 years, that required other nations centuries to achieve. Modern industry and agriculture required a modern and educated man and woman. This led to the most phenomenal development of education and culture ever seen in history.

A few figures from the experience of the Tartars will illustrate the point. In the Tartar Soviet Socialist Republic there were 1,732 schools in 1941, in which the Tartar language was used. This figure compares to 35 schools in 1917. Today, 90.4% of the population are literate. In the 115 years of the existence of the Kazan University under Czarism, only six Tartars were educated there. In 1941, 11,000 students were studying in 14 universities of the Republic.

In the short space of 18 years, the status of the national minorities in the Soviet Union changed completely, reaching a new historic peak in the relationship between the various peoples. In the course of the anti-Hitler war, all the nationalities contributed their share in flesh and blood toward winning the war. A small republic such as the Armenian Socialist Republic, with a population of 1,800,000, produced 52 generals for the Red Army. The Chief of Staff of the Navy of the Soviet Union is an Armenian by the name of Issacoff. There were scores of Jews, Ukrainians, White Russians and Tartars prominent in the Red Army.

How was it possible for the Soviet Union to solve the national question? Why is it impossible for the capitalist countries, even of the most democratic type, to solve the national question completely? The answers are to be found in the different approaches to the national question by capitalism and socialism.

<sup>4</sup> *Marxism and the National Question*, by Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, 1942, pp. 144-5.

### ***The Socialist Solution***

Stalin, in his report to the 8th Congress of the Soviets (Nov. 25, 1936) on the Draft Constitution, explained the meaning of Soviet as it affected the national minorities, when he discussed "the proposition that all nations and races have equal rights."

"It proceeds from the fact that neither difference in color or language, cultural level, or level of political development, nor any other difference between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations irrespective of their weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society."<sup>5</sup>

When Stalin made this statement, it was not still an idle dream to be achieved in the far off future. It was a fact already realized in life. Its accomplishment was possible only because of the Soviet Union's Marxist approach to the national question. One of the very first acts of the Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917, was the proclamation of "The declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Russia." This document, signed by Lenin and Stalin on November 16, 1917, abolished by law all national privileges and restrictions. It proclaimed the rights of all national minorities inhabiting the territory of Russia. This was quickly followed by the granting of independence to the Ukrainian Republic on December 17, 1917 and Finland on December 31, 1917. On November 8, 1917, the People's Commissariat of Nationalities was established, and was headed by Joseph Stalin.

The position of the new Soviet Republic toward the national minorities was not confined to declarations and statements of policy. It became a new guiding concept of relations between peoples and a new mode of life. A sharp struggle was waged against the remnants of Great Russian chauvinism. At the same time, a basic struggle was conducted by the progressives within the national groups against nationalist tendencies among the national minorities. The result of this scientific approach to the national question strengthened the Soviet Union. The basis for unity of the peoples was laid. Strife and struggle among them was eliminated.

### ***Essence of Internationalism***

In developing the Marxist policy on the national question, which aided the development of all that was good in all peoples, the Bolsheviks thereby also guaranteed the proper advancement of true proletarian internationalism. This was especially well put by Mikhail Kalinin in a speech to Red Army Commanders and Commissars during the war:

"Some think that by calling themselves internationalists they cease to be Russians, Jews, Uzbeks, or the like. Such a

<sup>5</sup> "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R." by Joseph Stalin, in *Leninism*, International Publishers, 1942, p. 388.

view is naive. To be an internationalist means to respect every nationality; herein lies the crux of the matter.

"If you treat all nationalities with respect, then you have a right to consider yourself a good internationalist.

"The Stalinist national policy made it possible to arouse all the peoples of our country to rally to our patriotic war. The Stalin policy made heroes of all our nationalities and it opens a wide path for every gifted person of our land. Indeed, any person in our Soviet land, no matter what his national origin, once he possesses any talent, is certain to rise higher and higher. . . .

"Advancements in our country are accorded not by national origin but for intelligence and bravery. One who lacks intelligence and bravery will not advance. Let the individual—soldier or officer—display intelligence, initiative, and he is sure to go far, irrespective of national origin."<sup>6</sup>

In 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, he was assured by his advisors that the Soviet peoples were ready to "throw off the Bolshevik yoke" and come over to Hitler's side. The Ukrainian quislings made appeals to the Ukrainians to cease fighting, promising them that Hitler was going to give them freedom. The whole capitalist world believed the Soviet multi-national state would disintegrate. The Dorothy Thompsons and other "learned" commentators were caught by surprise and noted the "fantastic spirit of the Russians."

### **Stalin and the National Question**

Before World War II, writing in *Pravda*, Stalin answered Hitler's arrogant nonsense in the following words:

"It was formerly the 'accepted idea' that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into black people and white peoples, the former of which are unfit for civilization and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, while the latter are the sole vehicles of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former. The legend must now be regarded as shattered and discarded. One of the most important results of the Soviet Revolution is that it dealt this legend a mortal blow, by showing in practice that the liberated non-European nations once having been drawn into the channel of Soviet development, are no less capable than the European nations of promoting a *truly* progressive culture and a *truly* progressive civilization."

Little by little the world is beginning to learn about the way the Soviet Union solved the national question. The credit for this solution, history has placed on the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Stalin. This was recognized even by such an imperialist British historian as Prof. W. K. Hancock.

In his book, *Argument of Empire*, Prof. Hancock admits, "But in one fundamental matter I marked Stalin for higher than any British statesman. His theory declared open war against economic backwardness which is the toughest root

<sup>6</sup> Translated from the Yiddish, *Morning Freiheit*, February 7, 1944.

of racial inequality. Equality of status, he argued, was a necessary and excellent thing; but to achieve the solidity of 'real equality' an economic substance must be added to the legal form. . . . I got the impression from Stalin's writing that he personally was fighting total war not only against the constitutional, but also against the economic and social barriers which were impeding full and active partnership among the diverse races of the USSR."

It would be good for those who speak of the Anglo-Saxon bloc against the East to ponder these words. Most certainly the oppressed peoples of the world will.

### **Capitalism and National Oppression**

Some of the most outrageous aspects of national oppression can be removed under capitalism provided there is mass struggle by the oppressed groups and in support of them. But the national question cannot be *completely* solved short of socialism, because of the very nature of capitalism, and especially in its present imperialist stage of development.

One of the predominating characteristics of capitalism is competition for markets. Obviously, under such circumstances no capitalist country would go out of its way to encourage backward nations to develop as industrial competitors. On the contrary, advanced countries would seek to keep the less developed nations in a permanent state of retardation. In the epoch of imperialism, this tendency toward throttling nations is further developed. The need for raw materials and for markets completely monopolized by great powers, drives the imperialist powers to conquest and the destruction of nations. And in the process the most oppressive means, including terror, are used to enslave peoples economically, politically, culturally and socially.

The contrast between the free people of the Soviet Union and the oppressed people under British and American imperialism is very obvious. In the United States the position of the Negro people is that of an oppressed nation. Economically they are denied a chance to advance. Socially they are denied the rights generally enjoyed by whites. The few gains made by them during the war are being rapidly lost. Even today, at the height of employment, they are at the bottom of the economic ladder. Lynchings are on the increase and the government does very little to apprehend the lynchers.

In the various armed services, in the course of the war, the Negroes made up nearly 10% of our fighting strength. They were compelled to fight in jimcrow units and were officered by whites. To this date there is only one Negro general in the United States Army. Not a single Negro has ever been graduated from the Annapolis Naval Academy.

As to what is going on in the British empire . . . it's a long and sordid picture that would take too much time to elaborate. Suffice it to say that in a war against Nazism, the roots of which even the British government was pledged to eradicate, we find that the Social-Democratic Bevin and Attlee do not cringe with shame while they



employ Nazi prisoners of war to build concentration camps for Jews on Cyprus.

The solution of the national question on socialist principles, together with its policy of industrialization and collectivization, are the cornerstones on which Soviet Power is built. Its policies on the national question helped establish the unshakable unity of the Soviet people, the great love for the Soviet fatherland.

The fruits of the world-wide war for national liberation and freedom, through which we recently passed, are found today in the upsurge of the liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed peoples. From China to Palestine, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, peoples are fighting to determine their own destinies. For them the October Revolution has special meaning. They see in it the proof that the national question can be solved.

## THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA

By Samuel Barron

The policy of repression "not infrequently passes from a 'system' of oppression to a 'system' of inciting nations against each other, to a 'system' of massacres and pogroms. Of course, the latter is not always possible, but where it is possible—in the absence of elementary civil rights—it frequently assumes horrifying proportions and threatens to drown the cause of unity of the workers in blood and tears . . . 'Divide and rule'—such is the purpose of the policy of inciting nations against each other. And where such a policy succeeds it is a tremendous evil for the proletariat and a serious obstacle to the work of uniting the workers of all nationalities in the state." (*Marxism and the National Question* by Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, 1942 edition, p. 22.)

**T**HIS profound observation, set down in 1913 by the master theoretician on the national question, is applicable to the United States today.

One can read daily in newspaper headlines how "the absence of elementary civil rights" in the south has made it possible for reaction to pass "from a 'system' of oppression to a 'system' of lynching and terror" against the Negro people. And the evil has spread to the north, where civil rights are somewhat more extensive.

Such is the logic of national oppression. Once it starts anywhere within a state, unless it is sharply checked and rooted out, together with its apostles, it spreads to every section of the state. It eventually includes more "favored" nationalities. And it finally engulfs the "dominant" nation in the policy of repressions that instigated it. The last is, in fact, its fundamental purpose.

The Negro people are bearing the brunt of the repressive policy of American reaction. Theirs is a violent and terrible experience. It will lead to serious consequences if not curbed. The rising resentment against this cannibalism must be turned into militant and mass support of the American people as a whole for the Negro people in their struggle

SAMUEL BARRON was formerly the Secretary of the New York Workers School and one of its instructors. More recently, he was public relations director of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. His articles have appeared in the *Daily Worker*, *Jewish Voice*, *Jewish Survey* and in the *Morning Freiheit*, of which he is now the English Editor. He is also on the staff of the School of Jewish Studies. Mr. Barron is Managing Editor of *Jewish Life*.

for freedom and equality if we are to prevent disaster for all Americans.

The other minorities in the United States need only look at the fate of the Negro people to see their own future clearly delineated. The greater the success of reaction in persecuting the Negroes, the more certain and rapid will be the extension of this policy to other groups.

Already there has been a sharp increase in discriminatory practices against Jews, Italians, Catholics, Japanese-Americans, Mexican-Americans and others. And wholesale persecutions and deportations are being planned against the foreign-born, especially those who have actively allied themselves with the labor movement.

Of all forms of discrimination and persecution, anti-Semitism is one of the most persistent and widespread. Its history goes back to the dawn of "western civilization." It is the product of class and national oppression. It was used brutally by feudal forces who sought to maintain feudalism in the face of the rise of the bourgeoisie. It has since been taken over by the bourgeoisie as a means of maintaining and tightening their rule against the resistance of the working class and other democratic forces.

But in the last two decades, anti-Semitism has undergone a profound change. It is now an imperialist instrument not only for domestic repression, but for international intrigue. As such, anti-Semitism has become a barometer of world progress and of international relations. The rise of anti-Semitism is therefore of major concern to all freedom-loving peoples. Its spread in the strongest economic and military capitalist power in the world, the United States, is an evil portent that dare not be overlooked.

### Increase of Anti-Semitism

There is today little doubt about the increase of anti-Semitism in our country. We need only summarize some of the recent facts and trends to get a true picture of the situation.

There has been a sharp revival of anti-Semitic organizations. They have mushroomed all over the country. While they still lack a unifying center, they have enough interlocking leadership to give them a national character. They

have a widespread press and radio network, that reach millions beyond their direct membership. Some of the old hate emporiums, such as the German-American Bund, have not been resuscitated. But their forces have merged into the other groups. And many new outfits, like the American Relief for Germany, Inc., have taken their places.

A very significant and pernicious development is the emergence of a whole series of veterans' organizations with basic anti-Semitic and/or reactionary tendencies. There is the German-American World War II Veterans Association, the Society of World War II, the Christian Veterans Intelligence Bureau, the Christian Veterans of America and others. The breakdown of army education on the national question, the more open expression of anti-Semitism by some American army officers who restrained themselves with difficulty during the fighting, the demoralizing effect on soldiers and officers of the continued existence of DP camps, the activity of anti-Semitic propagandists in the American zone in Germany, which have already resulted in thirty percent of our army of occupation believing that Hitler was right in his treatment of Jews—all these are breeding the future mass following of these anti-democratic organizations.

And, of course, there is the revived Ku Klux Klan bidding for mass support. Just now, in its effort to win popular acceptance, to garner votes for its candidates, to tie up the former supporters of Coughlin and the Christian Front, the Klan tries to give the impression that it has exempted all but the Negroes from its hate list. Thus Talmadge, in his campaign for nomination as gubernatorial candidate of the Democratic Party in Georgia, declared, "I want all white Georgians to work for Talmadge. I want Catholics, the KKK and Jews." But the Klan always was, and is today, fundamentally anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-labor. It simply adjusts its program opportunistically and temporarily to the exigencies of the moment and to the locality. Certain Klans have already declared themselves as hating the Jews more than Negroes and Catholics.

### ***Rise of Job Discrimination***

Economically the situation is just as bad. The "Summary and Conclusions" of the Final Report to President Truman from the FEPC gives a disheartening picture of the rise of job discrimination since V-J Day. It states that "a sample study of job orders in eleven selected areas during February 1946, showed 24 percent of the orders to be discriminatory."

The veterans of World War II, whom we lauded so enthusiastically while the fighting was still on, are finding the going equally tough because of discrimination. Thus the FEPC reports that about a fifth of all firms question veterans about their religion. A fourth of the commercial employment agencies require religious identification. And a tenth of all Jewish veterans feel they do not get proper consideration because of their religion.

These facts are borne out further in a survey made by

the National Community Relations Council. It reports that discriminatory religious specifications in help wanted advertisements increased by 195 percent this year over last. Jewish agencies received 93 percent more complaints about job discrimination during the six months after V-J Day than during the same period the previous year. Additional figures in both the FEPC and the National Community Relations Council reports merely amplify these facts.

In addition, there has been an increase in the desecration of synagogues. Jewish children have been attacked and abused as Jews. Jewish families, moving into new neighborhoods, have been insulted and bodily harmed by some non-Jewish neighbors, and in some instances compelled to move. In New York, the prominent Jewish choreographer and stage director, Benjamin Zemach, was brutally attacked and cursed as a Jew. College quotas for Jews have been reinstituted by prominent universities, including that virtuous fighter for academic freedom for German and Italian fascist agents, Columbia University.

### ***Is the Policy Official?***

From these facts alone it would be clear that this is not merely the spontaneous behavior of a "lunatic fringe." But additional facts seem to indicate growing official sanction and encouragement of this policy of repression.

Thomas Dewey based his presidential election campaign on an anti-Semitic slogan and on anti-Semitic provocation. Yet he continues to be governor of the State of New York, which has a tradition of liberalism. And the Republican Party, the official party of opposition, has the impudence to renominate him for that post. And already he has given indication of proceeding along similar lines in his current gubernatorial campaign. Nor is his record the least bit improved by the fact that he could find reactionary Jews to help him frump it up.

May Quinn, having taught anti-Semitism in the public schools of New York, is whitewashed by the Board of Education. Though the "gangs" perpetrating violence against Jews are often known to the police, the authorities seem helpless to apprehend them. Universities with quota systems continue to get governmental financial support. The defeat of the FEPC has given legislative sanction to discrimination. To make it even more official, the FEPC reports that "in a large sampling of orders for Government jobs, ten percent had discriminatory specifications." Bilbo, who has built a political career on hate propaganda, is accepted by his senatorial brethren without a word of condemnation. All the current official investigations of the KKK have so far achieved nothing. Attorney General Clark has made a holy crusade out of his effort to deport Davidescu and Rubinfeld, two Jewish graduates from Buchenwald, while the government officially welcomes the anti-Semitic General Bor, at the same time that the State Department and the War Department, according to Senator Glenn Taylor, connive to import members of Gen. Anders' anti-Semitic Polish gang to form an American foreign legion.

But perhaps the greatest official act of anti-Semitism is being perpetrated on a high cabinet and policy making level in the continued maintenance of Jewish DP camps in the American zone of occupation in Germany. What certain forces in America dare not yet do at home, they feel safe in carrying out abroad. More than a year after the military defeat of Hitler, the greatest victim of Hitlerism still finds himself treated as an enemy. And this is not being done by Hitler, who in his hell can claim victory after all. It is being perpetrated by official American representatives, who are not only themselves anti-Semitic, but even dare use German police as guards. Through this policy they replace the Hitler poison of racism with an American brand, demoralize the Jews, deepen the degeneration of the occupied peoples we are supposed to regenerate, and debase our own occupying forces. This is official policy, and not merely the isolated acts of a few anti-Semites. A government cannot carry out such a policy externally without similarly affecting its internal policy.

### ***American Imperialism and Anti-Semitism***

There was a time when every serious student of the national question pointed to the United States as an example, how under its form of bourgeois democracy, national groups, while discriminated against and oppressed, did not experience the pogroms and massacres visited upon the national minorities in such semi-feudal countries as Russia. American capitalism was always second to none in its ability and readiness to use violence and terror against the working class. And its economically more backward section, the south, with its feudal remnants, could always give Hitler a run for his money in the fine art of economic, political and social subjection, of national oppression, of terror and lynching, such as the Negro people faced. From the south emanated some of the most reactionary policies which influenced the rest of the United States. But the American system as a whole still permitted democratic principles to operate.

But the first world war plunged the capitalist world, including America, into the general crisis of capitalism. This limited imperialism both in its ability to maneuver and in the area in which to maneuver. At the same time, it increased imperialism's political and economic necessity for expansion. Imperialism has, therefore, had to resort increasingly to constantly more horrifying forms of terror, including the annihilation of peoples. German fascism was an expression of this imperialist inner contradiction.

American imperialism faces the same dilemma. Today American monopoly has launched what it hopes will become the "American century." It has set itself the task of establishing Anglo-Saxon domination over every country in the world, and of destroying those nations who reject Anglo-Saxon economic, political, social and cultural blessings. In the process it is attempting to use every instrument set up for international cooperation, as a means for carrying out its exclusive aims.

But the very capitalist economic laws impelling American

monopoly toward imperialist expansion, similarly undermine the economic well-being at home. And the repressive measures required to fasten American imperialist domination abroad, are similarly needed to maintain monopolist control at home. External imperialism and domestic reaction are inseparable.

And when to this is added the example of the Soviet Union, a section of the world existing without imperialist ambitions or monopolist exploitation, living in a spirit of brotherly friendship among nations in an atmosphere of expanding socialism, American reaction cannot leave domestic repression to chance, but must increasingly turn it into official policy. This is the path of fascization, of which no capitalist country is exempt except through the democratic and militant intervention of the people themselves.

### ***Policy of "Divide and Rule"***

The age-old method of imperialist conquest is the policy of "divide and rule." American imperialism has adopted the policy. It supports materially the Kuomintang, thus encouraging civil war in China. It is discouraging unity in Korea and the Philippines. It continually gives diplomatic support to Mikolajczyk to disrupt the unity of Poland. It is lending support to the anti-democratic opposition in Rumania, Hungary and Austria. It resists Soviet efforts to denazify German industry in line with the Potsdam agreement.

It is no accident, therefore, that this considered anti-democratic policy on the part of American imperialism to ease its path to domination has encouraged reaction on a world scale. And this reaction, which American imperialism has selected as ally, has resorted to all its tried methods to prepare the ground for its next imperialist adventure. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that in Poland and Germany, where there is a concentration of the remaining Jews in Europe, there should be pogroms and a continuation of Jewish DP camps. The purpose of this anti-Semitism is, a la Hitler, to divide the people of Europe into antagonistic and warring factions, thereby disrupting the necessary unity against reaction and reviving fascism; to use anti-Semitism as a rallying point for the scattered and momentarily underground fascist forces; to create chaos in the new democracies in order to shake confidence in them and thus prove to the world their inability to maintain law and order. Incidentally, there are neither pogroms nor DP camps in the Soviet zone because there reactionaries and profascists get no quarter.

"Divide and rule" is no less the policy of monopolist reaction at home. The American people, and first of all the working class, is beginning to know its enemy. It has met Big Business toe to toe in the recent wave of strikes in defense of the nation's living standards. It has seen the trusts destroy OPA in a below-the-belt effort to take back the concessions they were forced to give as a result of the strikes. Through economic and political action, labor and the people have begun to step up their resistance. Monopoly reaction has been forced to dig into its bag of tricks. To



defeat the increasing strength of labor, to confuse the growing clarity of labor and the people as to the enemy, to safeguard its own privileged position, to subjugate labor and the people generally, monopoly seeks to splinter the ranks of the people and to divert the hatred and wrath of the people from itself toward scapegoats.

### ***Capitalism Seeks a Scapegoat***

The capitalist system is alone responsible for unemployment. The Negro people particularly suffer from this because of the intense job discrimination to which they are subjected by employers. In the face of this, monopoly tries to depict the Negro as a competitor of the white for jobs, thereby trying to hide its and the capitalist system's responsibility for unemployment. Monopoly has used other national and religious groups and the foreign born for the same purpose.

Reaction has launched the lie that all Jews are in business, that they are money-mad, that they carry on sharp dealings and are speculators. The fact is that Jews, like all other peoples, are workers in the main, many of them among the more impoverished as a result of discrimination. The Jewish businessmen, and the relatively few monopolists among them, act that way not because they are Jews but because they are capitalists. It is capitalism, dominated primarily by non-Jews, that is today anti-social. It has spread the lie against the Jews in order to blame the Jews for monopoly's anti-labor policies, for its campaign to lower the living standard. Thus it lays the basis for masking its own guilt for the inevitable economic crisis which the laws of capitalism and monopoly practices are bringing on.

Labor and the people are also slowly—perhaps all too slowly—beginning to grasp the real character of imperialism, its finance-capital base, its cartelist form. They are beginning to see, too, the imperialist blitz drive to war. Once again, American imperialism tries to mask its own role. On the one hand, it seeks to blame the Soviet Union for the deterioration of international relations. And on the other hand, it identifies Jews with international banking, preparing to lay the blame on them for American participation in any eventual war.

And in order to divide the working class from its most conscious section, and the people from its most unifying element, reaction identifies these same Jews with communism, and sets the stage for an inquisition against both.

### ***Mass Struggle Against Anti-Semitism***

This is the anatomy of anti-Semitism, of Negro baiting and other forms of discrimination. Thus do monopolist reaction, imperialism and fascism seek to corrupt the working class, and thereby weaken the entire American people. They sow anti-Semitism as a means of curtailing elementary civil rights. And they utilize the absence of civil rights to pass "from a 'system' of oppression to a 'system' of inciting nations against each other, to a 'system' of massacres and pogroms." And they will in such manner complete the fascization of America.

The struggle against anti-Semitism is therefore not an isolated struggle based solely on moral grounds. It is a political struggle against the mortal enemy of labor and all the people. It is part of the struggle for peace, democracy and security. It is therefore the responsibility of all the people, of Jew and non-Jew, of labor, the farmers, the middle classes, the intellectuals.

This struggle against anti-Semitism must be carried on on every front. It dare not be strangled with legalisms and with the demagogic use of democratic principles such as freedom of speech and of the press. Anti-Semitism must be ruthlessly rooted out if the American people are to be secure. But this cannot be achieved through hush-hushing the situation or through back door intrigues. It requires mass campaigns and mass struggles with labor taking a leading role. It means to fight for legislation such as the Patterson Bill in the last Congress making anti-Semitism a crime. It means reestablishing the FEPC on a permanent basis. It means ending the political careers of racists such as Bilbo and Talmadge by disqualifying them for office and placing them under arrest on the basis of their un-American campaign of incitement. It means eliminating anti-Semites and racists from all government agencies as soon as they show themselves. It means putting an immediate end to the DP camps. And it means energetic action on the part of federal, state and local authorities to apprehend racist culprits and punish them to the full extent of the law.

## **A BILL**

To suppress the evil of anti-Semitism and hatred of members of any race or religion because of race, creed, or color.

Congress hereby finds that anti-Semitism is a potent weapon in the hands of the enemies of this country and of its institutions, and the enemies of this country and of its institutions have been, and are, using the United States mails and the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to spread the doctrines and foster the feelings of anti-Semitism and of racial and religious hatred because of race, creed, or color thereby tending to destroy the unity of this nation, creating discord among our people, disrupting the normal channels of trade and commerce, and interfering with and dislocating the economic life of the country. . . .

Any person violating any of the provisions of this act, or who conspires or acts in concert with any other person or persons to violate any of the provisions of this act shall, for each such offense, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$5,000, or sentenced to imprisonment (at hard labor) for not more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

(Excerpts from a bill introduced in the 79th Congress by Rep. Ellis Patterson of California, and actively supported by the American Jewish Labor Council. It will be reintroduced in the 80th Congress.)

# WONDERS OF AMERICA

A Short Story  
By Sholom Aleichem

"**A**MERICA is a land of bluff. . . ." "American bluffers. . . ." That's what the foreigners say. But they are greenhorns and don't know what they're talking about. As far as that's concerned, America doesn't come up to our Kasrilevka—not by a long shot, and all your American bluffers are only babies compared to our Berl-Isaac.

You can get an idea about what kind of a person Berl-Isaac is when I tell you that in Kasrilevka if anybody lets his imagination run away with him or, as you would say in your American language, "he raps a teapot," we interrupt him with the words, "Greetings from Berl-Isaac." He gets the idea right away and stops spinning his yarn.

There is a joke they tell in Kasrilevka about a certain arrogant Jew. On Easter day the custom among the Gentiles in Russia is to greet each other with the glad tidings that Christ has risen again: *Christos voskresse*, and the answer is *Voistinoo voskresse*, meaning, that's right, he has risen indeed. . . . So it happened once that a Christian met that arrogant Jew and greeted him with the words, *Christos voskresse*. The Jew was in a quandary. What was he to do? He couldn't answer *Voistinoo voskresse* because it is against our religion . . . and he couldn't tell the Gentile, "No, he has not risen," because he might pay dearly for words like those.

So he thought a moment and then said to the Christian, "Yes, I've already heard it today from our Berl-Isaac."

Imagine, then! This same Berl-Isaac went to America, spent a good many years there and then returned to Kasrilevka. What wonders he has been telling of America ever since!

"To begin with, the country itself," he says, "a land flowing with milk and honey. People make plenty of money; you dig into money with both hands, you pick up gold by the shovelfull! And as for 'business,' as they call it in America, there is so much of it, it makes your head spin! You can do anything you like. You want a factory—so you have a factory; you want to open a store—so you open a

store. If you like to push a pushcart, you push a pushcart; and if you don't, you peddle or go to work in a shop—it's a free country! You can starve or drop dead of hunger right in the street—there is nothing to stop you, nobody will object.

"Then, the size of the cities! The width of the streets! The height of the buildings! They have a building there, they call it the Woolworth—the top of its chimney reaches into the clouds and even higher; it is said that this house has several hundred floors. You want to know, how do they climb up to the attic? By a ladder, which they call an elevator. If you want somebody on the top floor, you sit down in the elevator early in the morning, and you get there by sunset, just in time for your evening prayers.

"Once I had a notion to take a trip up, just for curiosity, to see what's going on there up on top. Well, I will never regret it. What I saw there I shall never see again. And what I felt—that can hardly be described at all. Just imagine, I stood there on the top looking down, and all of a sudden I felt something strangely cold touching my left cheek, something smooth like ice, yet not so much like ice as like very chilled jelly—sort of slippery and soft. I slowly turned my head to the left and took a look, and what do you think it was? It was the moon.

"Now take their life—it's all rush and run and hustle. 'Urry-hop,' they call it there. Everything is in a hurry, and even when it comes to eating it is also done in a mad scramble. You rush into a restaurant, order a *schnapps*, and as for the meal, I myself once saw a fellow being served something on a plate; something fresh, alive and kicking, and when he cut it in two, one half of it flew away to one side and the other half to the other side, and the fellow was through with his lunch!

"Still, you ought to see how strong they are! Iron! Regular athletes! They have a habit of boxing with each other right in the streets. Not that they mean to beat you up, kill you, give you a black eye or knock out some of your teeth, as they do here. God forbid! It's all just for fun. They roll up their sleeves and hit each other—they want to see who can hit better. They call it 'fighting.' Once, while I was taking a walk in the Bronx—I was carrying some merchandise—I met two boys, loafers, good-for-nothings, as we would say here, who started to dare me: they wanted to fight with me. I told them, no, sir, I don't fight. I tried to dodge this way and that, but they wouldn't let me go. So I said to myself, If that's the kind of loafers you are, I'm going to show you who's who. And I put down my bundle and took off my coat—and blows began to shower on me so fast it's a miracle I escaped alive. You

---

This year marked the thirtieth anniversary of SHOLOM ALEICHEM'S death. It was commemorated in every part of the world where Yiddish is spoken. In the Soviet Union, where his works are translated in eleven languages, where they have been published in 381 editions to the tune of 3,461,128 copies, and where he occupies an honored niche in Soviet literature, the occasion became a national event. In the United States, where he lived the last part of his life, where he died and lies buried, the most important event to mark the anniversary was the first appearance in English translation of a substantial number of his short stories in a volume called "The Old Country," translated by Julius and Frances Butwin. The story published here is not included in that volume.

see, I was only one against the two of them. Since then I don't fight any more—not even if you showered me with gold.

"Now, take their language. It's all turned upside down, as if for spite. If we call somebody a meat-merchant, they call him a butcher; if we say a house-owner, they say a landlord; a neighbor is a next-doorman or a next-door-woman; a rooster is a **chicken**.

"Now, take the respect which we Jews enjoy there. No other nation or race in America is so exalted, revered and glorified as the Jew. They make a whole fuss about a Jew. It's even a distinction to be a Jew. On the Feast of Tabernacles, let us say, you may meet a Jew walking right in the middle of Fifth Avenue carrying a palm leaf and citron, and not afraid that he'll be arrested for it. I'm telling you, they love the Jew in America, so what's the use of talking? They only hate Jewish beards—'whiskers,' they call them there. As soon as they see a Jew with whiskers, they let the Jew go his way in peace, but they do pull at his whiskers, and they keep on pulling until he must get rid of them, shave them off. That's why most of the Jews there have no beards or mustaches, and their faces are as smooth as a plate.

"You can hardly recognize who's a Jew and who is not, because there are no beards, and their language isn't Jewish, either. Except that you may perhaps tell a Jew by his haste when he walks, or by the way he talks with his hands, there's nothing else to distinguish him. Otherwise they are Jews—Jews in every respect: they observe all Jewish customs, love all Jewish dishes and celebrate all Jewish holidays. Passover with them is Passover. They bake matzoth there all year round, and as for the Passover mortar, they have a special factory for it—thousands upon thousands of workers sit in that factory and manufacture mortared nuts with apple. Jews make a living even out of the bitter herbs we use on Passover—that's America for you!"

"Yes, Berl-Isaac, these stories of yours are all very fine. But tell us just one thing that we'd like to know: do people die in America, too, just as they do here, or do they live there forever?"

"They die, why shouldn't they die? In America, when it comes to dying, they die a thousand in one day, ten thousand, twenty thousand, thirty thousand! Whole streets die out at once. Cities are swallowed up by the earth, as Korah was in the Bible! That's America for you!"

"Now, wait a moment, Berl-Isaac. If that's the case, then how, we should like to know, are they better off in America? If, as you say, they die there just as we do here?"

"Yes, they die. But—how do they die? That's the point. And not so much the dying itself. People die the same everywhere—they die of death. The main thing is the burying—that's what it is. In the first place, there is a rule in America that everybody knows beforehand where he is going to be buried. Because he himself, while he is still alive, goes to the graveyard—they call it there 'cemetery'—

selects a place for himself and bargains until they settle about the price. Then he takes his wife out for a trip to the cemetery and tells her, 'See, darling, that's where you are going to lie, and this is where I am going to lie, and there's where our children will lie.' Then he goes to the officer of the funerals and orders a funeral for himself—to be held after his death. He orders any class he likes. There are three classes: first, second and third class.

"A first class funeral—for very rich people, for millionaires—costs a thousand dollars. Well, that's as good a funeral as one could wish. The sun is shining, and the weather is a pleasure. The coffin stands on a black catafalque, inlaid with silver. The horses all wear black trappings and white feathers. The reverends—rabbis, cantor, sextons—are also dressed in black, with white buttons. And coaches follow the hearse—no end of coaches! Children from all the Hebrew schools walk in front and sing with sonorous voices, slowly: 'Virtue marches before him and directs his steps!' The whole town rings with this singing. A thousand dollars is a thousand dollars—it talks!

"Second class is also a fine funeral. But it costs five hundred dollars, and it isn't quite the thing. The weather is not so bright. The coffin is also placed on a black catafalque; but it isn't inlaid with silver. The horses and the reverends are dressed in black, but without feathers and without buttons. Coaches follow the hearse, but not so many. Children—of only a few Hebrew schools—walk in front, but their singing is in faster movement: 'Virtue marches before him and directs his steps!' The singing is bad, as you might expect for five hundred dollars.

"Third class—that's quite a common sort of funeral and costs one hundred dollars all in all. It is chilly outside, and cloudy. The coffin is not placed on a catafalque. There are only two horses and two reverends. Not a single coach follows. Children of only one Hebrew school walk in front, and they don't sing but mumble in a hurry, without any tune: 'Virtue march b'for'im and directs's steps.' They are sleepy and you can hardly hear them. After all, it's only a hundred dollars—what can you expect for a hundred dollars?"

"Yes, Berl-Isaac, but what about one who can't afford even a hundred dollars?"

"Well, then he's out of luck! Without money one is hard up everywhere. The poor man always lies nine feet underground! . . . Still, make no mistake! In America they don't allow even a poor man to lie unburied. They give him a funeral for nothing, it doesn't cost him a penny. Of course, it's a rather sad sort of funeral. No ceremonies whatever, not a trace of horses, or of reverends. And it pours cats and dogs. There are only two sextons; the sextons on each side and the corpse in between, and all three of them—poor fellows—have to walk all the way to the graveyard. . . . If you have no money, I am telling you, better don't get born at all—it's a lousy world. . . . Can any of you spare a cigarette?"



# DISCOVERING SHOLOM ALEICHEM

By Morris U. Schappes

THE struggle of the Jews for equality includes a fight for the recognition and proper evaluation of their culture. That part of our culture which is ancient and religious—containing the classics from the Bible to Maimonides, written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic—has received such recognition from all but the anti-Semitic bigots. But that part which is modern and secular, and written in Yiddish, the one language of the always poly-lingual Jewish people which is still used by more Jews throughout the world than any other, has been slighted in this country, and the language has been contemptuously relegated to a status of inferiority. Even the classics of Yiddish literature have not been translated into English, and both millions of American Jews who know no Yiddish as well as American readers in general have been deprived of the opportunity to read and appreciate a significant portion of our literary heritage. The main cause of this virtual repression is to be found in the forces of the dominating Anglo-Saxon culture. But a lesser responsibility is also to be borne by those elements in Jewish life who have made the philosophy of adaptation and subservience to the Anglo-Saxon the guide to their conduct and standards of value. When assimilation (which under capitalism is really submission) is the goal, there is no need to encourage translation of Yiddish literature.

It is in this context that the appearance of *The Old Country*, the first sizeable collection of Sholom Aleichem's stories, translated competently and intelligently by Julius and Frances Butwin, is an event of social and cultural significance. Four months after publication (Crown, \$3), the volume is already in its fourth printing and is appearing on best-seller lists. It is providing pleasure and insight to tens of thousands, Jewish and non-Jewish.

Of special import is the way in which many reviewers related Sholom Aleichem's stories to the struggle against anti-Semitism. In the Catholic *Commonweal* (August 9, 1946), John Broderick ended his review with this observation: "This collection has the additional value of reminding

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES is a lecturer, writer and teacher. His militant anti-fascism was recognized by the Rapp-Coudert Committee, a New York version of the Dies Committee, which concentrated during its life-time on the progressive teachers of the New York school system. It succeeded in railroading Mr. Schappes to prison on a trumped up charge of perjury. Mr. Schappes is a member of the Board of Directors of the School of Jewish Studies, and a member of the Editorial Board of *Jewish Life*. He has edited an edition of the Poems of Emma Lazarus, has published poetry and articles on political and cultural questions in *New Masses* and other progressive journals. He is currently working on a history of the Jewish people in the United States. This article is the first of a series on Sholom Aleichem by prominent American writers.

people who have no racial connection with ghettos and pogroms that there is much more to Jewish folk history than unusual monetary success." Benjamin Howden in the *Los Angeles Times* (July 21, 1946) declared that the book "should do much to bring about peace and understanding between the Jews and all but those crazily rabid anti-Semites among gentiles." *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (July 14, 1946) concluded that "any work which shows the Jews in their true light as people with a background, culture and history can only serve to calm the muddy waters of race hatred." Emerson Price in the *Cleveland Press* (June 18, 1946) thought that having read *The Old Country*, "you are likely to understand your Jewish neighbor the better for it." And J. J. E. in the Birmingham, Alabama, *News* (July 13, 1946) began thus: "The other day the account of a Polish pogrom horrified the civilized world." And he went on to show how his comprehension of the meaning of that event had been sharpened by his having just read "A Country Passover," one of the Sholom Aleichem stories that delicately reveals the characteristic fear of Jews that Passover may bring blood-ritual slanders and pogroms.

Is it not remarkable that Sholom Aleichem, of whom no one has ever thought as a "propagandist," is seen by these reviewers on his first appearance as a teacher, as one whose art is itself instructive? Here is another instance of a people's art becoming a people's weapon. Such has been a function of Sholom Aleichem in the Soviet Union, where he has been translated into at least ten languages already; such is now at last his function in our own country.

Besides winning understanding for the Jews, this volume has won respect for Sholom Aleichem as a Yiddish classic. Seeking to convey the quality of his work, reviewers used not only the common comparisons with Mark Twain and Dickens, but added new ones; John Cournos of the New York *Sun* invoked the Irish John Synge; Gerald W. Johnson in the Phi Beta Kappa *Key Reporter* was reminded of the Scot, J. M. Barrie; one reviewer damned Sholom Aleichem with faint praise as a forerunner of—William Saroyan! In general the reception was warm, except for Orville Prescott in the New York *Times* (June 24, 1946), who found that "fiction on the folk level soon becomes tedious," and for Sterling North, whose widely syndicated review in the New York *Post* (June 27, 1946) found the stories "over-written," delightful individually but unpalatable "taken en masse." To a certain extent, such comments were reacting to the not entirely representative selection of stories included, which did lay more weight than necessary on the elements of oddity and charm.

Finally, although this is not yet manifest and will have to be striven for, this book should advance the status of Yiddish as a language. Without entering into the question

of the desirability of learning to speak it, I think it is part of our struggle for equality as Jews to insist that Jews and non-Jews learn to respect the language. Yet Nathan Kaplan in the Indianapolis *Star* (June 23, 1946) reflects old habits by referring to Yiddish as "that mongrel tongue," while other reviewers use that more conventionally deprecating mis-nomer, "jargon." Any academic philologist will verify the statement that Yiddish is no more a "mongrel" or a "hybrid" than Greek or German or English, the last of which has been called by one scholar "the standard example of a hybrid language." (Prof. Murat H. Roberts, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 38, pp. 23-42.) As for "jargon," in the dictionary sense of a "hybrid language," Yiddish is as much, or as little, a jargon as any other living language today. Jargons that are a thousand years old and have a rich literature are entitled to be called languages, in any language except that of the anti-Semite or of the Jew who assimilates the judgment of, or adapts himself to the standard of, the anti-Semite. In relation to the subject of Yiddish, it is also worth noting

that the volume has dealt a serious blow to the myth of the untranslatability of Yiddish by which narrow partisans of the language have dazzled themselves so long and so dangerously. Some reviewers, notably Isaac Rosenfeld in the *New Republic* (July 22, 1946), still tried to make much of this myth in an obfuscating review so wrapped in mysticism that Sholom Aleichem was made to seem like a Yiddish Kierkegaard. But this preciousness is refuted not only by the facts of world literature, which has seen the "untranslatable" Shakespeare successfully translated into innumerable languages, but also by the fact that Sholom Aleichem himself has been widely translated. Is it only English which is so impoverished that it cannot render Sholom Aleichem's Yiddish? The present translation has high merits. As the work of translation proceeds, greater resourcefulness will undoubtedly be developed.

The active and planned encouragement of the art of translation is a task that forces all those who understand that the fight for the recognition of a literature is part of the fight for equal status for a people.

## THE AMERICAN SS

By Arthur D. Kahn

"Now folks, you judge if there is any un-Americanism in the Klan. The Jews have their organizations, the Catholics theirs and the Protestants have the Klan. We are here to stay and God help America if we die. Men, join the Klan and get both sides of the story first handed." (Adv. of the KKK in the August 23 issue of the Chambersburg [Pennsylvania] *Public Opinion*.)

**F**ROM New Jersey to California, from Michigan to Florida, the crosses are burning. The Knights of the White Camelia are riding once again, and if they are "here to stay," woe to the Negro, the unions, our democracy—woe to the Jew.

Since Elmer Roper, director of the Fortune Magazine Public Opinion Poll, warned of a national revival of the Klan in April 1945, the Kluxers have been boldly conducting a large-scale membership drive and renewing their traditional terrorist activities. Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Klan, claims a membership of more than 20,000 in Georgia. A Klan leader in New York boasted that 1761 men had joined the KKK in Brooklyn alone between January 1 and mid-April this year. Last winter the Kansas Klan trumpeted that there were 5,278 members in the main centers of that state and that the Kansas membership would soon be the largest in the union. A California investigation last spring uncovered more than 100 underground Klan groups in that state.

ARTHUR KAHN was chief editor of Intelligence for Information Control, Military Government in Germany. He is now working on a book on military government in Germany.

The Klan is bold. In Chambersburg, it advertises publicly in the newspaper for new members; in Orlando, Florida, it assembles "4,000 of the 8,000 members" in the locality for "special tasks" by advertising in the local newspaper and by a radio broadcast. Near Miami the Klan posts billboards to recruit new Klansmen. On May 9 the Georgia KKK used the newspapers to invite the public to the great white sheet initiation conclave that was held two weeks later on historic Stone Mountain.

Under the false cry of protecting "white Protestant, American supremacy" in the community, the Klan acts through terror to defend the political hegemony of reactionary groups whose positions are being increasingly threatened by the awakening of masses of whites and Negroes, and the advancement of unionism. Three crosses were burned during one week near Jackson, Mississippi, to warn the Negroes not to vote in the run-off Democratic primary of August 27. Dan R. McGehee, the incumbent Congressman from the Seventh District at Jackson, had been howling that he was the target of opposition from "Negro votes and the CIO-PAC." A fiery cross blazed near Saginaw, Michigan, on August 7 after Senator Van Wagoner, the Democratic candidate for governor, had called in a public address for a consolidation of labor's recent gains.

The revival of the Klan in the South has been reaction's answer in part to the CIO Operation Dixie for the unionizing of southern workers. "This is an open declaration of war between the Klan and the CIO," thundered Dr. Samuel

Green, the Grand Dragon, on May 13. "The CIO is for the Negroes and the Jews." It was to fight CIO organizing that the Orlando, Florida, KKK called for a mobilization of 4,000 Klansmen this past February. In various southern states numerous CIO (and sometimes AFL) organizers have been threatened with beatings and death. And in Detroit, a northern stronghold of Klanism, KKK-affiliated organizations seek to keep Jews, Negroes and Catholics in menial jobs. They play one group against the other and attempt to disrupt the unions.

The KKK not only fights for "white, Protestant supremacy" in politics and in unions but it also defends "white, Protestant" realty rates, using terror to keep Negroes out of "restricted" neighborhoods. In recent months, gallant Knights of the White Camelia have burned down the home of a poor Negro family in the Miami area, set blazing crosses of warning before a Negro housing development outside Trenton, N. J., and before a farm at Newark, Delaware, because the owner was planning to sell the property to a Negro.

The Klan has been doing an effective job. They have one Senator, Bilbo—that is, one by public admission—several sympathetic Congressmen, including Rankin, and at least one governor due for election, Talmadge. "We have just won a great victory for white supremacy," boasted the Georgia Klan on August 1 after the Talmadge victory in the gubernatorial primaries. "At this time there should be a foregathering of native born, white gentiles so that we can have great fellowship among Protestants. Your Klan has made rapid growth during the past three months and we hope, with your assistance, to more than double our membership in the next two months." The election of Talmadge provides new impetus to the Klan throughout the country and makes significant legal action against the Klan in Georgia very unlikely.

All over the country Klansmen have insinuated themselves into public positions and developed front organizations or have provided support to other subversive elements. At least 38 Atlanta policemen are known to be members of the KKK. Horace A. Demarest, a Dewey-appointee was Deputy Motor Vehicles Commissioner of Queens until he was exposed this spring by the *Daily Worker* as one of the leading members of the state Klan. In every state of the union, the Klan has organized "All American Associations," "Sons of Dixie," "Christian-American Associations," "United Sons of America," etc. In New York and other northern centers, the "Invisible Empire" works hand-in-hand with the Christian Front. Klan leaders have expressed warm support of the good work of Father Coughlin despite the historical opposition of the Klan to the Catholics.

The recent activity of the Klan is reminiscent of the SS terrorism before 1933. Like the SS, the KKK is the organization of hooligans and vandals for the maintenance of "racial supremacy." Like its European counterpart, the Klan has developed a mythology of knighthood. It, too, uses the "Communist (often meaning CIO, always meaning anything progressive) danger" and the "Jewish conspiracy" as justification for their extra-legal "justice." Like the SS,

the Klan does the dirty work for big business and industry, seeking to destroy the trade union movement. "Flag and Constitution"—the Klansmen are jingoistic like the German terrorists. (No wonder the Klan and the German-American Bund should have had close relations before the war.) Like the SS, the Klan specializes in beatings, terrifying torch parades, burnings and lynchings.

The Negro is generally the first victim of Klan terrorism. But those who say "nigger" will also say "kike." And for the Jews, too, the Klan is a real, immediate danger. According to Assistant Attorney-General Dan Duke of Georgia, a fearless opponent of the Klan, the KKK in Tennessee is primarily anti-Jewish, rather than anti-Negro. At the University of Southern California, Klansmen smeared the letters KKK on a Jewish fraternity house and burned a cross on the campus grounds this past May. A raid last April in California Klan headquarters uncovered thousands of anti-Jewish pamphlets.

The resurgent Klan unites a membership of thousands all over the country and relies upon hundreds of thousands of sympathizers for support. It is a militant secret army prepared for open aggressive action against "un-American" elements. Jews must be on guard against this rapid growth of the KKK. They are faced not only with a loss of gains achieved during all the years, with the extension of *numerus clausus* in schools and universities, with more restricted resorts and residential areas, with boycott of Jewish stores, additional social segregation. The Jews are faced with the real eventuality of open terrorism, such as is now developing throughout the country against the Negro.

The danger of the Klan to the Jews is part of this SS menace to all democratic progress in America. It is a danger to trade unionism, to all the minorities, to the maintenance and extension of political democracy. The fate of the Jew is tied to the fate of the Negro, the trade unions, and to the general fight for democracy in our country.

## THE NEW COLOSSUS

By Emma Lazarus

(This poem is reprinted on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty, October 28, 1946. The poem is inscribed on the base of the Statue.)

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,  
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;  
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand  
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame  
Is the imprisoned lightning and her name  
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand  
Glowed world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command  
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.  
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she  
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"



# EYE-WITNESS REPORT ON RUSSIA

By Louis Levine

**I**T HAS become some sort of tradition to expect "the inside dope" about the 180,000,000 Soviet people. Everyone takes it for granted that he will hear "the real story" of that one-sixth of the world. The truth of the matter is this. There is no "inside dope" about the Soviet people that has not been available to the American people for the past generation. There is no "real story" about the Soviet Union that has not been told and re-told.

That leaves only one thing for the honest observer, to tell simply and factually what he himself saw and heard. And that is all I propose to do.

Let me start with an incident that occurred at a reception of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow. It has a great deal to do with my report. A tall, sturdy Red Army man approached me towards the end of the reception and, in faultless Yiddish, said:

"Go back and tell the Jews of America that you spoke to and shook hands with a real Jewish general, and that this general was among his own people."

In these few words, the Jewish general summed up the story of the millions of Jewish people of the Soviet Union. For them, the ageless story of anti-Semitism is ended.

## *Anti-Semitism Wiped Out*

I met many Jews during my recent one-month tour as one of seven members of a Russian Relief delegation invited by the Soviet government and Soviet Red Cross to inspect distribution of our American relief and rehabilitation supplies and to study present day conditions in the war-scarred areas. . . . Because I represented the Jewish Council for Russian Relief, which has always received the support of a large section of the American Jewish community, I was additionally interested in finding the answers to

LOUIS LEVINE is national chairman of the Jewish Council for Russian Relief. He is also a member of the Executive Board of the World Jewish Congress, of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress, and of the Administrative Committee of the United Jewish Appeal. He toured the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government and the Soviet Red Cross as part of a delegation that included Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, chairman of the Russian Relief Interfaith Committee; Dr. Edward Young; Mrs. LaFell Dickenson, president of the American Federation of Women's Clubs; Dr. Louie D. Newton, chairman of the Southern Baptist Conference; Peter Grimm, president of the New York State Chamber of Commerce, and Fred Myers, former executive director of the American Society for Russian Relief. This article is a somewhat abridged version of a speech made by Mr. Levine at a mass meeting held at Manhattan Center, New York City, on September 16, 1946. While Russian War Relief ends operations in December, the Jewish Council for Russian Relief, 40 E. 26 St., suite 200, New York City, will continue activity.

questions we American Jews had concerning our brethren in the Soviet Union.

Many American Jews did not quite believe that the anti-Semitic scourge of several thousand years could be wiped out within one generation, and certainly not in a country in which it had been an official part of the state apparatus for many hundred years. Even those who believed that the "miracle" had been accomplished, frankly wondered whether it was accompanied by the loss of a Jewish life, by a decline in religious observances, and by a deterioration of Jewish culture. During my 6,000 mile tour, which included Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Minsk—all possessing major Jewish communities—I devoted considerable time and effort to learning about the Soviet Jews.

Anti-Semitism in any shape, form or manner simply does not exist in the Soviet Union. I actually searched for it and searched hard. But I could not find the slightest trace of it any time, anywhere during my entire trip. . . .

It was apparent, and even the sketchiest of observations would have disclosed it, that the Soviet Jews participate fully and freely on every level of government activity and in every phase of Soviet economic, social and scientific and cultural life. I met Jewish housewives and Jewish plant managers; I met rabbis and world-famous Jewish surgeons. The only qualification for advancement, and this applies equally to all Soviet citizens, is ability.

## *Special Attention to Jewish Problems*

Further than that, the Soviet government has recognized many problems peculiar to the Jewish people, and has taken daring steps to meet them. Desire among some Jews for a homeland within the USSR, for instance, brought about the establishment of the Birobidjan Autonomous Region, the only Jewish state in the world.

And at the outset of the war, as we all know, Jews were among the first evacuated from the western regions threatened by the Hitlerite invaders, and shipped to safety east of the Urals. The government knew they had been selected by the invading Nazis as special targets of destruction, and thus extended first consideration to them.

Moreover, similar preference was accorded Jews from near-by countries. Almost 800,000 Jews streaming across the Polish border also were sent to the east. All in all, the Soviet government rescued almost 2,000,000 Jews from the path of the Hitlerite advance.

I met some of these Polish Jews—both in Czechoslovakia and in the USSR. Many were returning to their homelands; others were creating their future in the USSR. Since my homecoming, I have learned that many Jews going back

to Poland, and then deciding they would prefer to return, have applied and have been re-admitted into the Soviet Union. According to a cablegram story from Warsaw, that appeared in the *Jewish Morning Journal*, the Soviet Consul is the only one of 22 foreign consulates granting visas to Polish Jews. . . .

So thoroughly ingrained is the democratic spirit in Soviet life that skillful Nazi-invader race-propagandists could do little during their three years of occupation to break through it.

### **Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee**

The center of Jewish life in the Soviet Union is the extremely active and influential Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee with chapters throughout the USSR. The views of the Committee, a non-government agency, always receive serious consideration by the government. When I spoke to government officials about the Jewish Council or the Soviet Jews, I was generally asked, "What does Mikhoels think about it?" Or I was told that "If it is OK with the Committee, it is OK with us."

Prof. Solomon Mikhoels, the inspiring leader of the Committee, is one of the outstanding personalities of the entire Soviet Union. Director of the Moscow Jewish State Theater, one of the chief cultural centers of Moscow, he is also known as one of the world's greatest Shakespearean actors. His most remarkable theatrical achievements, however, are his analysis and interpretation of Jewish life and outlook. His production of "Freilekhs" won him the coveted Stalin Prize. Beloved of all the people of the USSR, Mikhoels attracts as many non-Jews to his performances as Jews.

Incidentally, more so in the Soviet Union than in any other country in the world, Jewish literature, theater, poetry is considered basic to a full cultural life. I met many non-Jews who had read Sholom Aleichem in the original Yiddish. Many non-Jews, including the Ukrainian leader, Dmitri Manuilsky, were brought up in Jewish surroundings, and retain great interest and pride in their background. . . .

The Committee issues an almost endless stream of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books. They are, of course, written in Yiddish and cover the vast range of culture and tradition and every expression of social, political and economic life. The Committee's educational work digs deep into the hearts of all Soviet Jews and, I might repeat, many Soviet non-Jews. Its plans for the future are great. Only a paper shortage, affecting all Soviet printing alike, prevents the Committee from fulfilling its total program at this time.

I attended several meetings and receptions of the Committee. We had many splendid discussions and—this will surprise many of the "iron curtain" critics—many differences of opinion. It was interesting to note differing views on Palestine. As probably the only Zionist in the room, I too, participated fully and freely in the discussions. They were not sparing in their disagreements with me, nor I with them. What impressed me most was the friendliness

and the fact that we could agree on so many points; in fact, on most points. . . .

### **Enemies of Jews Are Enemies of Peace**

Dr. Boris Shimeliavitch's greetings to me, following my presentation of the Jewish Council's *American Jewry Book of Friendship*, was particularly enlightening. (Dr. Shimeliavitch, world renowned physician and chief surgeon of the famous Botkin Hospital in Moscow, is active in the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.) He said:

"The aid that the Jews in America gave to the Soviet Union was a great contribution toward the fight against fascism and also toward the strengthening of friendship between the Soviet peoples and the people of America. Now that the war is over, the no-less-important task facing the democratic peoples is the duty to fight the protagonists for a new war. The strengthened friendship between the people of the United States and the Soviet Union is a guarantee for lasting peace. The reactionary elements that are now carrying on an anti-Soviet campaign are the worst enemies of the Jewish people, because the fate of the Jewish people is closely bound with that of democracy. It is therefore the duty of the democratic Jewish organizations to carry on a continued fight against reaction, and for the strengthened friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Mikhoels, ending that particular meeting, commented, "The war is over, but the fight for peace on the part of the anti-fascist, democratic world continues. Fascism and reaction, which are now being revived, must be uprooted. Anti-fascism is the voluntary activity of peace-loving peoples. We can and must unite our efforts to destroy fascism and reaction. It is the duty of the democratic organizations to take first place in this obligation."

These views and proposals are important. They represent the feelings and attitudes of the Soviet Jews. I found this out after speaking to Jews wherever I went. I literally dropped in on many Jewish families at their homes or I visited synagogues unannounced.

### **Nonsense Talk About "Iron Curtain"**

A word about the "iron curtain" is in order here. This business about the "iron curtain" is a lot of talk—nonsense talk—dangerous talk. Certain people, apparently, would like to walk through the Foreign Office or State Department and write a story about it.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet people did not know what my reaction would be when I came back to the United States, any more than they knew what the others of the delegation would say. I walked around and saw whatever I wanted to see. Whenever I or other members of the delegation decided to go any place, we simply called the hotel and asked for a car. Most of the time, I just as simply left the hotel and walked along the streets, looked in the stores, rode on the subways and went to peoples' homes. I talked with everyone I met. And they, in turn, spoke to me about everything under the sun and they freely offered their

opinions and likes and dislikes. Some Jews think a lot of Birobidjan and hope to go there in the near future, and other Jews have the opposite view.

I wanted to learn how widespread Yiddish was, and so upon introducing myself, I would say that I could speak only in Yiddish. The almost unanimous reply was, "Let's talk." I found the Soviet Jews, typical of all Soviet citizens, amazingly well-informed on world events and with definite views which they conveyed to me quite freely. Their views on the Jewish problem were, in actuality, summed up by the two remarks I previously quoted. For themselves, they were satisfied that the Jewish problems were being correctly solved in the USSR.

In this connection, it is important to point out that the Soviet Jews, like the entire population, are one with the Soviet government. There is absolutely no distinction between themselves and the government, as some have tried to make out. They are happy under the Soviet system, and they say they have as much right to their form of government as we have to ours.

Amusingly enough, the favorite Soviet pastime is criticism of the officials, and these officials must work hard to toe the mark. As far as I could see, the Soviet people regarded an official as someone to remove from office unless he did an excellent job. It almost seemed that an official must labor with the talents of a genius to earn the full approval of his constituents. . . .

The Jewish people are unanimous in their love for Stalin. They regard him as the greatest friend of the Jewish people. They attribute to his understanding of national minorities and to his leadership the new, exalted status of the Soviet Jews. . . .

Another name the Soviet Jews mentioned with reverence was Roosevelt. On innumerable occasions I heard the Soviet Jews say, "If Roosevelt were alive, he and Stalin together would have done much to make this a peaceful world."

### ***Jewish Religious Life***

Moscow, itself, with 250,000 Jews, is the largest Jewish community in Europe, and the Jews there, as elsewhere in the USSR, are proud of their Jewishness; are as proud of their synagogues and cantors as we are; are as proud of their cemeteries as we are.

I remember once we spent an afternoon in a candy factory. The director and his staff and the union officials spoke to us about the problems of the factory. The entire conversation was conducted in Russian and English. At the end of the visit, the director presented to each a box of candy. I received mine the last, and on it was written a greeting in Yiddish. Just before we left, he wanted to know if I was a Levi and we spent a few minutes discussing our Jewish ancestry. . . .

The leader of the Moscow Jewish community is energetic Samuel Chobrutsky. I asked him about religious freedom, and he commented, "Those who want to pray, pray; those who don't, don't." He suggested that I visit the four major synagogues of the Soviet capitol. They are filled on the

Sabbath, and in comparison to us, an unbelievably large number attend the daily morning, afternoon and evening services. I have been told that during the High Holydays, the overflow crowd is so great that the blocks surrounding the synagogues are roped off from traffic and loudspeakers are installed to enable the thousands in the streets to participate in the services.

The overwhelming proportion of worshipers, as in the United States, are middle-aged and elderly. Many of them are extremely interested in Hebrew culture, and I was with a group in Leningrad that spent many hours discussing the finer points of the Torah. And likens here, they too complained that the Jewish youth are not interested in the religious services. Frankly, I was amused at the close similarity in the customs and thinking of the American Jews and the Soviet Jews; and I reached the conclusion that in these matters Jewish people throughout the world are tied together as one.

### ***Effect of War on Jewish Community***

The effect of the war upon the Jewish people is gathered best outside of Moscow, particularly in those areas which the Nazis had devastated or over-run. I am now thinking of Minsk and of Stalingrad. If possible, the Jews in those places are a little sadder than the rest of the population and perhaps show a more tragic figure. It is not that the Jews suffered and the non-Jews did not. All suffered unbelievable tragedies. It is not that the Jews suffered without being able to fight back. He who fights fascism lives, was the Soviet creed. The Soviet Jews fought heroically side-by-side with their Soviet brothers, and Jews have written some of the brightest pages of the mighty Soviet effort.

The answer lies in the fact that beyond all this, the Jews were marked for extinction by the Nazis and Rumanian fascists. Minsk, for instance, had a pre-war Jewish population estimated at 150,000. Aside from those who went east and those who joined the guerilla forces, about 80,000 Jews were in Minsk when the Nazis entered. To this number, the fascists added 39,000 from Vienna, Prague, Berlin and elsewhere. They were herded into ghettos and of the 119,000 Jews, 12—only 12—remained alive to greet the return of the Red Army.

I saw the place where 40,000 were killed. They were burned in piles. For seven or eight days the smoke and smell carried over into the city proper. The only reminders are sewing machines. The 40,000 had been told they were being re-settled and had been instructed to bring along all their possessions. These sewing machines mark the spot of their journey's end.

### ***Reconstruction Has Begun***

There are now about 8,500 Jews in Minsk. The number is steadily increasing. They have as much and as little as the other Soviet citizens. Minsk itself was completely devastated. The devastation is something that one must see to believe. Street after street, and as far as the eye can see, there is nothing left but ruins. Some skeletons of buildings remain. In some areas, you refuse to believe that



there once had been buildings and homes. Such thorough devastation could not have been accomplished by air bombings alone. The thorough Germans mined every single building before they retreated. And this, of course, was true in all the occupied areas.

The reconstruction is slow. The people must first tear down everything that was destroyed and save whatever material they can use for future use. The Jews and the non-Jews literally side-by-side are devoting all their energies in repairing what little can be repaired to satisfy the most immediate housing needs. I was most impressed by the spirit of the Soviet community. The women, the men, the children, officials and private citizens alike—all were pitching in with enthusiasm and confidence.

Minsk, quite naturally, has received much American relief and rehabilitation supplies. The last shipment was eight carloads. Everywhere American supplies contributed by the Jewish Council and American Society for Russian Relief, were evident. In the homes, in the hospitals, in the children's institutions, on the farms, in the factories, in the streets, you saw evidence of American aid. The Soviets themselves were the first to point it out to you. Whenever I saw someone wearing a fairly good suit, I looked to see if it was American made, and most usually it was.

As I saw it, there was a widespread and thorough distribution of our supplies, and they were distributed on the basis of need. This has meant, of course, that in those formerly occupied areas where there are Jews, they have received a proportionally larger share of our total American aid. . . .

The Soviet people need our help today; and they need it in large quantities; and we can and we must send this aid; and we must send it with a full heart. They have just begun their reconstruction. They have just begun to provide the proper hospital care for their wounded. They have just begun a full program of thorough child-care. . . .

### ***Peace Depends on American-Soviet Friendship***

The Soviet people, knowing in detail of our activities, regard our assistance in the same light we do. They say,

"Thanks. Your aid is needed, and it helps greatly. But most of all your aid is a sign of friendship between our two peoples and that is most important for the peace of the world rests on our friendship."

There are some in our country who are working feverishly to ease us into a world-wide conflict against the Soviet Union. We did not fight to destroy the German fascist war machine, just in order to clear the path for an atomized destruction of the entire world. We destroyed the Hitlerites to wipe away those who threatened to engulf the world. We fought and we won to strengthen democracy throughout the world, and we won to secure and maintain a lasting and firm peace. These were our objectives during the conflict, and now these objectives must be obtained.

Particularly, we American Jews, who know so well that another war means the extermination of the Jewish people all over the world, must sharply demonstrate our opposition to the war-mongers; to those reckless forces who, for their own selfish motives, are quite ready to plunge the entire world into disastrous atomic warfare. Only one thing will guarantee peace, and that is American-Soviet friendship. The Soviets want peace and our friendship; and we want peace and their friendship, and it is within our power to help bring this about.

The thought of war is furthest from the minds of the Soviet Union. The devastation, for one, is so thorough that it is almost inconceivable that any people could repair it within one lifetime. But the Soviets are a determined people. I have seen their eyes and have felt their effort, and I know that they will complete their reconstruction—with our help or without our help.

We American Jews must fight to win the peace. We must strive to make the story of the Soviet Jews and all the Soviet people, the common property of all American Jews and all peace-loving Americans. We must continue, on a larger scale than ever before, to express our friendship for the Soviet people by the shipment of essential supplies through the Jewish Council for Russian Relief. Our support of the Jewish Council thereby will also be our answer to war-mongers.

---

## **THE FIRST JEWISH SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

***By Kalman Marmor***

**T**HE first Jewish socialist organization in the world was formed by East-European immigrants in London in May 1876.

This London immigrant community seventy years ago was, like decades before, composed of toilers. They worked at different trades in the London sweatshops as early as the fifties, perhaps even earlier. At a meeting of the Jewish Socialist Society on November 18, 1876, a Jewish slipper-maker, Morris Bell, declared he had been working at that

trade in London for eighteen years. The fact that in 1867 there appeared a Yiddish newspaper—*The London Yiddish-German Journal*—indicates the existence of an appreciable number of Yiddish speaking immigrants.

The Jewish tailors of London first attempted to organize at the beginning of the seventies. Isaac Stone, a tailor, tells about it in Winchevsky's *Polish Jew* of August 1884.

"In 1872, for the first time in London, a Jewish tailors society was organized."

### First Efforts at Organization

The Jewish tailors were quite backward then. There were even some who would chase around with collection-lists, gathering funds to buy their boss a gold watch for a gift. Morris Rosenfeld informs us in his stories of the clothing workers, that there were similar types in New York even twenty years later, at the end of the eighties and beginning of the nineties. It is no surprise, therefore, that the then backward Jewish workers permitted themselves to be misled by a "couple of small bosses" and handed over to them the leadership of the union. Stone reports that the bosses soon saw what "good horses" their workers were. "A few weeks passed and no trace of the society could be found. There was no money, no membership, no society. It all disappeared like smoke."

This Jewish clothing workers union of 1872, the first in the world, was probably organized with the help of the English trade union. This was suggested in Winchevsky's *Future*, successor to the *Polish Jew*, in which the Jewish clothing worker, Robert Lazarus, told in the issue of January 12, 1885, that an Englishman had spoken to him about the Jewish clothing workers.

"They accept such low wages that an Englishman wouldn't work for. Because of it, they (the Jewish tailors) are obliged to work whole nights through. They created thousands of pounds in expenses for the trade union when the English workers tried to improve their situation in 1872."

For a long time after, Isaac Stone recorded, the Jewish workers of London could not unite because of their local patriotism. How could Poles, Russians and Lithuanians unite?

### Organization Partially Achieved

Finally, "several Lithuanians appeared who wanted to organize a society. They sacrificed time, money and health, and called mass meetings, and a society was with luck successfully formed."

Stone doubtlessly meant the Jewish Clothing Workers Society of 1876, which the first Jewish Socialist Society organized in the same year. In between, however—"in the year 5635" (1874-1875)—the Jewish clothing workers in London made another attempt to organize. Isaac Buchman, a tailor, described this at a meeting of the Jewish Socialist Society on June 24, 1876.

According to Hertz Burgin's *History of the Jewish Labor Movement*,<sup>1</sup> a Jewish Clothing Workers Society was

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1915, p. 36.

KALMAN MARMOR is a prominent Jewish historian who has specialized on Jewish literature and on the beginnings of the Jewish labor movement, in which he has made very important investigations. He has published a number of historical works in Yiddish, and has written extensively for the Yiddish press. Many of his articles have appeared in the *Morning Freiheit*, progressive Yiddish labor daily; and in *Yiddishe Kultur*, monthly organ of the Yiddisher Kultur Farband, Inc., of which he is president.

formed in London in 1874 with the cooperation of Mr. Louis Smith, a Polish Jew who had participated in the struggle of the Paris Commune in 1871. (He was later active in America.) This "society" "shortly fell apart. It had 72 members."

At about the same time (1874), there appeared in London a Yiddish weekly called *Hashofer*. The publishers were a printer, Samuel Distilator (later in America), and the Hebrew writer, Chaim Zalman Eliashewitch, who wrote under the name of Chazal. This periodical did not, however, concern itself with the economic situation of the Jewish clothing workers. In the seventh issue (March 13, 1874), which was found in the Jewish division of the Minsk State Library, a "society for Jewish workers" was warned to observe the Sabbath. It also had a job information bureau, which for a stipulated sum of money would tell workers where to find work.

### Ten Working-Class Founders

The ten founders of the first Jewish Socialist Society in the world were all workers. The members who joined later were also workers. Half of the ten worked in tailor shops: four of them (Abraham Isaac Goldstein, Nathan Levenkind, Isaac Stone and Israel Morris Rosenthal) as operators, and one (Solomon Jacob) as a presser. The other five were made up of a hat-maker, Jacob Alexander; a compositor, Lazar Goldenberg; a lithographer, Arnold Lieberman; a joiner, Louis Weiner; and a boxmaker, Georg Saper.

These ten East-European immigrants were among the most intellectual workers in London. Seven of them appeared as speakers at the first open meeting which the Jewish Socialist Society called to organize the Jewish clothing workers in London. Two of them, Goldenberg and Lieberman had studied in technological institutes. Rosenthal, according to one investigator (Dr. Elihu Sintovsky), was a student at the Kiev University. Weiner had studied in the Wilno Rabbinical School. Saper had attended a Russian school in the city of his birth, Petersburg (now Leningrad), devoted much time to the study of German, the language he used at international workers congresses. Stone was a simple man of intelligence and had contributed to Hebrew and Yiddish publications under his familiar name of Isaac Stein.

Goldenberg was one of the first Jewish revolutionaries in Russia, where he had already been arrested and imprisoned. Lieberman escaped when the Wilno Jewish revolutionary circle was discovered by the police in 1875. Both, Goldenberg and Lieberman, worked in the London printshop of

### GREETINGS

The Editors of *Jewish Life*  
take this occasion to greet

**KALMAN MARMOR**  
on his seventieth birthday,

October 11, 1946

the official Russian revolutionary organ, *Vperiod*, which was issued under the editorship of the populist-socialist theoretician, Peter Lovrov. Arnold Lieberman also published a series of articles in it, which made a great sensation. He had also published a Russian brochure on how to organize Jewish sections of the Russian revolutionary movement.

### Leader of the Movement

Lieberman was apparently the moving spirit in the organization of this first Jewish Socialist Society. He had experience in the Wilno Jewish revolutionary circle. His writing activities were in Russian, German (Wilhelm Liebknecht had already invited him to contribute to his German weekly, *Neie Welt*, to which Friedrich Engels also contributed), and Hebrew. While still in Wilno, Lieberman had published in Peretz Smolenskin's progressive Hebrew monthly, *Hashachar*, Vienna 1874, a long story, *Chazat Hakol*, which created a sensation because of its fresh content and fine style.

Lieberman also distinguished himself as an orator. His papers read in the German Communist Educational Society, to which Marx, Engels and Liebknecht belonged, were praised by significant individuals. In addition, while yet in the Wilno circle, he had already advocated the idea of propagandizing for socialism among the broad Jewish masses. When he escaped from Wilno to London, one of his first revolutionary works in Yiddish was a *Proclamation*, a call to the Yiddish-speaking masses to join the revolutionary socialist movement. Because of the lack of funds to print it, this brochure has remained unpublished to this day.

In this manuscript, finished in the autumn of 1875 and signed "The Jewish Socialists," Lieberman undertook to explain to the Jewish masses that the one way to liberation was through the international "unity of all the workers," a beginning of which was made in the founding of the First International in 1864. He also informed the Jewish masses that the writers of this very call "have joined the socialists, men of truth and justice, and we call to our people: Listen, brothers! Our salvation is near! We will live to see great things in our day! Truly, justice will come to the world, and all evil will quickly perish."

The appeal called upon all sections of the Jewish people to enter the socialist ranks, the Jewish poor as well as the Jewish working class. To the Jewish workers it spoke as follows:

"To you, you poor shop worker, you poor seamstress, flower-maker, and cigarette-maker; to you honest, unfortunate workers; to you, you joiners, tailors, shoe-makers, blacksmiths and all who sweat and toil, to you we call: Know your enemies! . . . Remember them when the workers arise! Be prepared!"

### From Small Beginnings

The Jewish Socialist Society began small and unnoticed. Its records tell modestly that "on the day of Sabbath, the 19th of Iyar, 5636, May 13, 1876, the persons who had de-

cided to form the organization, commissioned Citizen A. S. Lieberman to work out the rules for the society." On the following Saturday, these "persons" discussed the draft of the rules "Citizen" Lieberman had turned out. After a long discussion, in which "all present participated spiritedly, the draft, with one point altered, was unanimously adopted.

The altered rule referred to discipline. Lieberman's draft proposed to expel anyone who did not take an "active part" in the aims of the organization. The meeting changed it to read: "Anyone, whose actions do not agree with these rules, shall be expelled."

After the statutes were adopted, "Citizen A. S. Lieberman was unanimously elected as Secretary and Citizen I. Rosenthal as Treasurer."

The name of the association is given in the minutes in three languages: Yiddish—Yiddisher Sozialistischer Verein; English—Hebrew Union Society; and Hebrew—Agudath Hasozialistim Hebraim.<sup>2</sup> The minutes were in Yiddish, the rules in Yiddish and Hebrew.

The members of the Society were called "citizens," the custom at the time of the French Revolution and the Paris Commune. The names of the ten founders were listed at the beginning of the minutes. Next to the name of the Secretary, A. S. Lieberman, his literary pseudonym was added, "Ish Hamodos."

### To Win Jewish Intellectuals

The Secretary had the rules lithographed and printed "at his own expense" as a leaflet, Yiddish on one side, Hebrew on the other.<sup>3</sup>

The Hebrew name of the Jewish Socialist Society, the Hebrew dates and the Hebrew version of the rules stem from the Secretary's plan of trying to win the backward Jewish masses for revolutionary socialist ideology by first preparing propaganda cadres among the rabbinical students and young intellectuals who had to be approached in Hebrew. But that it was necessary to speak to the Jewish masses in Yiddish, Lieberman had not the slightest doubt, as he had clearly stated in his Russian brochure, "A Draft" of rules "For the Organization of a Social-Revolutionary Society Among the Jews of Russia" (London, January 1876). His "Germanized Yiddish" was probably influenced by his upbringing at home. His father, the Hebrew author and pedagogue, Eliar Dev Lieberman, was a teacher of German and his "German-Yiddish" was more German than Yiddish.

The purpose for the organization of the Jewish Socialist Society of immigrant Jewish workers in London (who were to begin with completely isolated from the English working class) was stated quite simply in the preamble of the constitution: "Since we Jews are a part of humanity, we can therefore find no salvation except through the liberation of the whole of humanity. . . . The liberation

<sup>2</sup> We use throughout the translation of the Yiddish name, Jewish Socialist Society, which is more descriptive than the English version given in the minutes.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> A copy of the by-lingual edition of the Constitution is in the files of the author.



(of) humanity from misery and slavery can be achieved only through the workers alone if they will unite for stormy struggle<sup>4</sup> against their robbers<sup>5</sup> to destroy the existing order, and establish in its place the rule<sup>6</sup> of work, justice, freedom and brotherhood for all people; and the workers of Europe and America<sup>7</sup> have already united in various organizations in order to reach this lofty goal and to prepare themselves for the revolution and to found the rule of worker-socialism."

### ***Influence of First International***

The words of the constitution of the Jewish Socialist Society, that the "liberation . . . can be achieved only through the workers alone," were influenced by Marx's preamble to the statutes of the First International, which began with the statement, "That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves."<sup>8</sup> From this preamble of Marx was also taken the statement that the members of the Jewish Socialist Society, who considered themselves part of the international working class movement, "Recognize truth, justice and

<sup>7</sup> In Russian, "of all countries."

<sup>4</sup> In the Russian translation of the constitution in *Vperiod* "violent struggle."

<sup>5</sup> In Russian, "exploiters."

<sup>6</sup> In Russian, "the state."

morality as the basic bonds of their behavior one toward the other and to all people, without regard for color, nationality or creed."

Marx's statutes stated that "this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice and morality, as the bases of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to color, creed or nationality."<sup>9</sup>

The international goals appeared in the first point of the statutes of the Jewish Socialist Society. There it spoke of "spreading socialist ideas everywhere among the Jews, and also among other peoples, to organize organizations where the Society will be able to unite the workers<sup>10</sup> against their oppressors."<sup>11</sup> This was later interpreted as the duty of the Jewish Socialist Society to organize trade unions. By undertaking these trade union activities, the Society was also able to do something about realizing the second point of the statutes, "to establish brotherly relations with labor organizations of other nations," i.e., with the English trade unions.

(Concluded in the December issue)

<sup>8</sup> Founding of the First International, International Publishers, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> In Russian, "for the struggle."

<sup>11</sup> In Russian, "exploiters."

## **PALESTINE: WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?**

(Continued from page 1)

as a scheme whereby a "Jewish state" will be set up, not in the whole of Palestine but in a part of it, a part that would be "adequate" for the development of "a viable" Jewish state.

What is the truth? The Jewish Agency plan for the partition of Palestine, presumably supported by Truman, is a proposal for a *reactionary and imperialist* solution of the Palestine question. It would mean splitting up the country, the homeland of Arabs and Jews, by foreign imperialist powers into an arbitrary number of parts without regard for and against the will of the overwhelming majority of the population of Palestine, Arabs and Jews.

Partition would violate every single precept of democracy. It would deny to the peoples of Palestine—Jews and Arabs—the democratic right to determine for themselves, freely and voluntarily, the ways and forms of their national lives and of their state life. It would forcibly impose upon the peoples of Palestine, both Jews and Arabs, new forms of foreign imperialist domination in place of the present, old forms. Where British imperialism now rules singly, the partition plan of the Jewish Agency would open the doors

to another foreign oppressor—American imperialism—or to the combined domination of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc.

### ***Reject Anti-Democratic Scheme***

Can the Jewish people support a scheme that is anti-democratic and imperialist, that promotes and strengthens national oppression and exploitation, that serves the interests of those who are planning and preparing a third world war by making Palestine and the Middle East one of the jumping-off places?

How can a people like ours—the Jewish people—which has suffered so much from the injustices of national oppression and discrimination; which has lost six million of its flesh and blood at the hands of extreme imperialist reaction and national oppression—fascism; which is at this very moment confronted with new fascist and anti-Semitic dangers largely because imperialist reaction in America and in England is once more on the offensive at home and abroad; which less than any other people in the world can afford another world war because that would spell the physical extinction of our people—how can a people like ours support a solution in Palestine which strengthens imperialist reaction and the incendiaries of a new war? It simply cannot. It must not. Our salvation as a people and as individuals lies in peace, democracy, and national freedom for all peoples. To support the violation of these prin-

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and General Secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association. He is also a member of the Editorial Board of *Jewish Life*.

ciples in Palestine is to endanger them all over the world.

But isn't the Agency's partition plan better than Britain's so-called federalization, or some phoney "independence" scheme? Isn't British imperialism the oppressor of Palestine and of the Jewish Yishuv? Isn't British imperialism our main enemy in Palestine? And wouldn't therefore the setting up of a Jewish state even in a part of Palestine be a democratic achievement?

There should be no argument among us about British imperialism being the oppressor and exploiter of Palestine; or about the need for rejecting totally and finally the brazen, arrogant and fraudulent imperialist "federalization" scheme of the British government. But we must reach the necessary *conclusions* from that. For there are some among us, especially the official Zionist leadership, who merely pay lip service to these truths, and only on certain occasions. But in practice they collaborate with British imperialism and are even now seeking a new understanding with it.

### **Some Basic Conclusions**

From our opposition to British imperialism in Palestine we must arrive at the elementary as well as basic conclusion that this foreign imperialist oppressor of the Palestinian Jews and Arabs must get out of there, and return the country to the peoples who live in it and to whom it belongs. In other words, we must support the democratic demand for an independent and free Palestine. And in the present world situation, the struggle for this demand would be advanced considerably by having the United Nations—or the Big Three within it—assume charge in Palestine with a view to bringing about its independence.

Having arrived at this conclusion, we must reach yet another, equally elementary and basic. There can be no democratic solution of the Palestine question, i.e., no independent and free Palestine, without a united struggle of Arabs and Jews for such a solution. And again, there are some among us who seem to believe in Arab-Jewish unity but only on condition that the Arabs agree to the Zionist program in Palestine. This is no unity at all but a policy of sacrificing the interests of one people, the Arabs, to the interests of another people, our people, the Jews. And no Jewish-Arab unity can ever be achieved on the basis of sacrificing the interests of the Arabs to those of the Jews, or the interests of the Jews to those of the Arabs.

A democratic solution of the Palestine question rules out from the outset any and all proposals of reactionary nationalists—Arab or Jewish—to sacrifice the national rights and interests of one people to those of another. Such proposals are fundamentally wrong in principle and therefore will not endure. Reactionary Zionist leaders do not consider the Arabs in Palestine a people at all, but just Arabs, so many and so many in number, who at best would be entitled to "equality before the law," while the Jewish people there would be the *people* and the Palestine state would be theirs. On the other hand, the reactionary Arab nationalists look upon the Jewish community in Palestine, not as a people

with definite rights as a people, but just as so many immigrants to be tolerated and perhaps granted certain elementary civil rights. Is it conceivable that Arab-Jewish unity can be built on these reactionary conceptions? Obviously not.

But is it conceivable that there can be a successful struggle for an independent and free Palestine without Arab-Jewish unity? Not in the present world situation. In the absence of firm democratic Arab-Jewish unity for a free Palestine, the imperialists, British and American, together with their collaborators, the reactionary Zionist leaders and the reactionary Arab leaders, will be able to promote *more easily* their schemes of division, partition, of fraudulent independence, national chauvinism and hatred. They will be able more successfully to impose an imperialist solution of the Palestine question, by force and violence, whatever the exact forms may be.

### **Position of Jewish Marxists**

That is why, as Marxists, we oppose on principle any policy which seeks to sacrifice the interests of the Jewish people to those of the Arabs. That is why, as Marxists, and especially as American Jewish Marxists, we must direct our *main* attack against the Jewish reactionaries and national chauvinists, against those who seek to sacrifice the interests of the Arab people to those of the Jewish people. In this we follow a fundamental principle of Lenin and Stalin, according to which the main task of the Marxists among any people, nationality or nation is to fight and defeat *first of all and always* the exploiters, the reactionaries, the national chauvinists and opportunists of *their own people, nationality or nation*. Only thus can one defend properly the rights and interests of one's own people, i.e., on the basis of democracy and progress.

In the past, American Jewish Marxists have not always displayed a positive attitude to the rights and interests of the Jewish people, to the special needs and problems of our own American Jewish national group, and to the interests and rights of the Jewish community in Palestine. The tendency was to identify more or less loosely the Jewish people's interests with nationalism and reaction; to identify, for example, the interests of the Jewish community in Palestine with Zionism, and to transfer and extend the correct opposition to nationalism also to Jewish interests in general and to the Palestine Yishuv in particular. It was a case of falling under the influences of bourgeois assimilationism, which is a reflection of the "superior" race theories of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, as well as of national nihilism, both of which have nothing in common with Marxism. And this happened largely because American Jewish Marxists went to the other extreme in their correct efforts to avoid the pitfalls of bourgeois nationalism—Zionism and Bundism—and of national chauvinism which are incompatible with consistent democracy and with Marxism.

But in more recent years, especially during the war against the Axis, American Jewish Marxists made considerable advances on the road to freeing themselves from the influences of bourgeois assimilationism and national nihilism.

They thus came closer to a correct Marxist position as well as to the masses of the Jewish people—their needs, problems and progressive struggles. It is thus that the American Jewish Marxists made their significant contributions to the anti-fascist Jewish people's unity for victory over the Axis.

But in doing so, in correcting many of the errors of assimilationism and national nihilism, we have not fully succeeded in avoiding, and in some fields failed to avoid, the other extreme, the pitfalls of bourgeois nationalism. Outstanding in this regard was precisely the error of not basing the fight for the rights of the Yishuv completely upon the foundations of Arab-Jewish unity for a free and independent Palestine, of not resisting sufficiently the nationalist tendency to ignore and subordinate the rights and interests of the Arab people in Palestine, of insufficient struggle for the correct Marxist positions and for the ideology of the working class. These errors must be corrected thoroughly and completely. A systematic struggle must be carried on against all influences of nationalism and chauvinism. And learning from experience, we must make sure *not to retreat back to the errors of assimilationism and national nihilism*, but to hold fast to the Marxist positions by combatting both dangers—bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois assimilationism.

### **Partition Is No Alternative**

It is from these Marxist positions that we are able to demonstrate the basic and vital need for a democratic solution of the Palestine question. It is from these positions that we are able to show that the democratic alternative to British imperialist rule in Palestine and to its present schemes of "federalization," is not partition, not reliance upon the penetration of American imperialism into the Middle East or collaboration with it, but Arab-Jewish unity for an independent Palestine state of Arabs and Jews, safeguarding the interests and national rights of both nationalities. This is also the answer to the Transjordan type of fake independence upon which Arab reactionaries and British imperialism may agree.

The idea that we can have "a viable," i.e., a livable, "Jewish state" in a partitioned Palestine is utopian and reactionary. It is utopian and reactionary because in this splinter state the Jewish community will not be able to develop an independent national economy freely associating with the national economies of the Arabs and of other peoples. Jewish economic life will be totally subordinated *to the narrow and special military and war needs of Anglo-American imperialism*. So will Jewish political and social life. It will not be a Jewish state but an Anglo-American military reservation, in which Jewish capital will make profits, but in which the Jewish people will be sweated and oppressed economically in a political regime similar to that in Singapore or Hongkong. Moreover, this military reservation, or base, is going to play a major role *in the war preparations of Anglo-American imperialism*. And this so-called "viable Jewish state" will be called upon to sacrifice itself—economically, politically and physically—to enable the Anglo-Saxon imperialists to extend and perpetuate their rule.

Is it not clear that the Agency's plan—if such it is—for the partition of Palestine, based upon subordination of the interests of the Jewish people to British, American and Anglo-American imperialism, as a way of setting up "a viable Jewish state," is utopian, reactionary, and would turn the Jewish people into a tool of the warmakers?

### **Silver Policy in the Elections**

It should be understood that the Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver leadership of the American Zionist movement favors, in substance, the partition scheme of the Jewish Agency, objecting only to Nahum Goldman's "diplomatic clumsiness" which is blamed for weakening the Jewish "bargaining position." Furthermore, the same Silver leadership is seeking to exploit Truman's waverings and failures to support the Zionist demands for the purpose of rallying Jewish and non-Jewish support in the November elections for the Republican Party, particularly for the reactionary Tafts, Brickers, Vandenberg and Deweys. This is a real danger to the democratic forces of the Jewish people and to the progressive camp in general—a danger to be combatted most energetically.

On the issue of Palestine, the delinquencies of the Truman administration are not its failures and hesitations to support the Zionist demands, for the official Zionist leadership now favors partition and Truman is understood to be supporting it. The real "failure" of the Truman administration is its reactionary and imperialist policy in Palestine, which is part of its general imperialist policy, its opposition and hostility to a democratic solution of the Palestine crisis, its failure to support the proposal of Senator Claude Pepper and other progressive leaders that the United Nations assume charge in Palestine for the purpose of arriving at a democratic settlement in the interests of the peoples of Palestine. Truman's policies in Palestine are bad for the American people in general and for the American Jews in particular because these policies promote the selfish interests of the American monopolies and of imperialist reaction and not the interests of America, of the Jewish people and of the Jewish community in Palestine. This being the case, can one consider the Tafts, Brickers, Deweys and Vandenberg as satisfactory alternatives to Truman, Byrnes and Connally, as the Rabbi Silver leadership would like us to believe? Criminal nonsense. For these Republican spokesmen of extreme imperialist reaction, Truman is not imperialist *enough*, not reactionary enough, not warmaking enough. These extreme Republican imperialists will betray the Jewish people no less readily, and even more so, than did Truman and Byrnes.

The American Jewish masses cannot consent to join hands with the agents of American imperialism—the Vandenberg and Byrnes—for facilitating the penetration of American monopolies into Palestine and the Middle East (oil, air bases, monopoly profits) and for preparing a new world war. The American Jewish masses—as Americans and as Jews—must fight hand in hand with the democratic and labor forces of our country—for peace, democracy, against



anti-Semitism and discrimination, for equal rights *and for a democratic solution of the Palestine question.*

This approach calls for a struggle for the immediate dissolution of the DP camps, the immediate assumption by the United Nations of responsibility for the care of Jewish refugees, for their entry and settlement into the lands of the United Nations, *and especially into the United States.* This view also calls for the most energetic resistance to all reactionary plans for a Jewish "Exodus" from Europe or from any particular European country, such as Poland, since this migration would endanger the general position of the Jewish people and constitute a surrender to reaction, anti-Semitism and fascism.

### ***A Complete and Lasting Solution***

In arriving at these conclusions, we are naturally guided by the fundamental Marxist idea that the complete and lasting solution of the Jewish question in every country in particular and in the world at large will be achieved only with the abolition of capitalism and imperialism and the introduction of socialism. This is the Marxist-Leninist way, the Stalin way, of arriving at a fundamental solution of the national question. It is clear, therefore, that the solution of the Palestine question, which must be sought on a democratic basis, will solve the national problems of the peoples of Palestine, and not of all peoples nor of the Jewish people of all countries, who have their own special problems; and this solution will be only a partial one, since only socialism will give the complete and final solution.

This does not minimize the importance of a democratic

solution in Palestine either for the Jewish people or for the world at large. We have already pointed out that a democratic Arab-Jewish solution in Palestine will promote world peace and democracy. And for the Jewish people, who, to say the least, are no less interested in world peace and democracy than any other people, this would mark a significant though partial solution of the national problem of a vital part of the Jewish people—the Yishuv in Palestine. This development will strengthen the democratic forces of the Jewish people and reinforce our struggle for survival. Like all democratic achievements, this will advance us further on the road of democracy to a complete and final solution under socialism.

The socialist solution is the one achieved in the Soviet Union, which no longer has a Jewish question or any other national question. Socialism provides the base for the real and complete equality of all nations and peoples, for their brotherly collaboration demonstrated so greatly in the struggle against Hitler, for their freest development as peoples, nationalities and nations—economically, politically, socially and culturally. This is how the Jewish question has been solved in the Soviet Union—real equality in all fields throughout the Soviet Union and special opportunities for complete and all-sided national development in the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan.

A democratic Jewish-Arab solution of the Palestine question now will help promote peace and democracy, will provide partial solutions of the national problems of the two peoples, and will open the road there to the eventual complete solution on the basis of socialism.

## **LETTERS FROM ABROAD**

### **AN INTERVIEW WITH THE PREMIER OF POLAND**

**P**REMIER OSUBKA-MORAWSKI received me for a special interview. It lasted more than an hour, during which he gave me his estimate of the situation of the Polish Jews and the panicky emigration.

The Premier stated that the Polish Government was read to meet the desire of some Jews by facilitating the issuance of passports. But the Government wants the Jews to stay and help rebuild the country, and rebuild their own life. Never in the history of Poland did the Jews have such possibilities for development, the Premier added.

According to Osubka-Morawski, panicky emigration plays into the hands of the anti-Semitic bandits. They figure that if an attack on one Jew can chase out ten thousand, the risky work is well worth it. On the other hand, the absence of panic would help crush the bandits even faster than it is being carried out now by the Government. There are many victims among Government workers as a result of the struggle, the Premier stated, but the fight against the bandits is bearing fruit.

"We might have already gotten rid of them," the Premier scornfully added, "if they would stop receiving arms and money from abroad."

Premier Osubka-Morawski emphasized that he understood the desire of some Jews to emigrate to relatives. But he deplored the conditions of those who, as a result of special agitation for emigration, land in DP camps in Germany and Austria. The Government was against illegal emigration, the Premier stated. It was not responsible, however, if some frontier guards, who might be under the influence of old ND (National Democratic Party, an anti-Semitic organization—Ed.) propaganda, assist illegal crossings.

The Premier expressed the hope that some Jews will return after the situation had been stabilized in Poland. He regretted that in countries to which Polish Jews flee, they do not get the governmental protection they get in Poland. "We punish severely all anti-Jewish acts," he stated.

In answering my request for a message to the United States, Premier Osubka-Morawski asked Americans to try to un-

derstand the new Poland. Poles, including Polish Jews, should help to explain the situation. Unfortunately, some did not understand the new Poland. Too many enemies had spread too many calumnies. Every right-minded American who has visited here, has come away with admiration for the new Poland, he added.

We discussed the protests of the Polish people against the Byrnes' speech at Stuttgart, in which the American Secretary of State proposed to altar the borders of Poland by returning some western territory to Germany. Osubka-Morawski declared that the friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union was strong before Byrnes made his speech, and did not need that kind of speech to strengthen it. But the speech confirmed the correctness of the friendship.

In the *Jewish Morning Journal* of August 23, there appeared a Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) dispatch under the heading, "Ninety Thousand Jews Will Flee Poland During the Month." In this report it was stated that "Polish Zionist organizations had decided to proclaim 'Exodus from Poland'." In connection with this story, the JTA correspondent, Lene-

man, was called in by Mark Bitter, acting chairman of the Jewish Central Committee, and representatives of the Zionist movement: Sonshein, Antek-Zukerman and Prof. Sak. They flatly denied the alleged decision of the Zionists for an "Exodus Poland." Fishgund, general secretary of the Bund, denied a story in the same cable concerning Mark Edelman. He declared that Edelman was neither

shot at, nor did he lose a leg, as was alleged in the story.

This JTA cable is a disgraceful example of the atrocity propaganda being spread against Jewish life in Poland. Leneman defended himself by stating that he was also sending stories concerning reconstruction, but that the JTA was suppressing them. Warsaw

PAUL NOVICK

## JEWISH DEMANDS AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

**D**ESPITE the fact that the work of the Jewish organizations<sup>1</sup> at the Paris Peace Conference still goes on, we can already draw certain conclusions from their attempts to bring in a memorandum on Jewish affairs.

The conclusions that we must draw are that the results were negative. One might even say they were a failure in a practical and a political sense. Not one out of the 21 delegates present were willing to accept the memorandum and bring it up for discussion before the Conference.

Does this mean that none of these countries were concerned with the fate of the Jewish communities?

There are, of course, those who will approach the question superficially and raise the cry that the "world" has closed its ears to the demand of the Jewish people. The truth is that the real friends of the Jewish people could not accept this memorandum, and even considered it harmful from the standpoint of the furtherance of democracy.

One does not have to know the full content of the 36 pages of the memorandum in order to know its spirit and its aims. It is enough to read the introductions to the chapters on Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary. The starting point was distrust of the present political regimes in the above mentioned countries, and a thinly disguised demand for help to the enemies of these Balkan democracies, and for steps to harm the prestige of these people's democracies. This can best be illustrated by the exchange that took place between the Jewish delegation and one of the Soviet diplomats. This diplomat, after acquainting himself with the memorandum, asked the delegation:

"Why do you demand special points in the treaty with Hungary with regard to the situation of the Jewish community? Don't you know that the constitution of Hungary guarantees full and equal rights to all of its citizens?"

<sup>1</sup> A joint delegation of representatives of leading national and world Jewish organizations sought to present a united memorandum on Jewish problems to the peace conference in Paris. Included in this delegation were representatives of the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the British Board of Jewish Deputies, the American Jewish Conference. This is a report on their activities.

A Jewish representative replied, "But there is anti-Semitism in Hungary, and we wish to guarantee ourselves against it through international power."

"And in the United States?" the Soviet diplomat asked. "Is there no anti-Semitism there? About this you remain silent. Why don't you demand international guarantees against the United States?"

The Soviet diplomat showed quite clearly the peculiar character of this Jewish representation at the Conference, which aims at intervention directed against the prestige of the Balkan democracies. Its entire maneuver was completely exposed when the British delegation undertook to defend the Jews of Rumania and Bulgaria.

Together with a series of other proposals, a number of which stem from the Australian delegation, the British representative brought in a proposal about the rights of the Jews in Hungary. All the proposals, the one on Jews included, were constructed in such fashion that they placed in doubt the legitimacy of the Hungarian regime, its democratic nature and its sovereignty. All the points proposed by the reactionaries for inclusion in the peace treaty with Hungary would make it a degrading document and an instrument for reactionary intervention at any time in the internal affairs of the country.

It is well known that the British delegation fought to force Hungary to declare itself against racial laws, as if Hungary had not already done this. It was obvious that this proposal had nothing whatever in common with Jewish rights in Hungary. It was rather an instrument of the anti-democratic delegates who were concerned not with the Jewish people but with their own imperialist interests. The representatives of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, White Russia, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia fought against this proposal, and either voted against it or abstained from voting.

Certain elements will no doubt be very elated with this accomplishment, with forcing the acceptance of this proposal, engineered with the help of England and Australia. But it is a tragic victory because the Jewish delegation with its memorandum and its intervention in favor of certain of the points, covered itself with shame in the eyes of many democrats and friends

of the Jewish people. In a certain sense, the maneuvers of some Jewish circles are similar to the line which was pursued at the Conference by the Australian minister, Evatt, who constantly supplied ammunition to the reactionaries. In other words, it will not be an exaggeration to say that these Jewish organizations pursued at times the "Australia line," a direction not exactly honorable.

Many representatives of the democratic countries do not understand, therefore, the policy of these Jewish organizations. Still less will the Jewish masses of the world understand the fact that these Jewish forces, who in another place and in another field declare that they are carrying on a struggle against British imperialism and for the national liberation of the Jewish people, should in Paris entrust the defense of Jewish interests in Hungary and Rumania to the British delegation. This exposes a peculiar contradiction in their approach. The Jewish masses will not be able to understand this double-faced policy, and will of course demand an explanation.

It is especially tragic that the World Jewish Congress, which lays so much stress on its democratic character, should have identified itself with the politics of the American Jewish Committee, the British Board of Jewish Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association, which incidentally seeks to save Bevin's Palestine conference by sending a delegate. These organizations often draw their political inspiration from monopoly capital circles.

The unity of all Jewish organizations could have been achieved on the basis of a democratic platform, and not through capitulation to the reactionary elements. The responsibility of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress is even greater because it refused to accept within its own delegation representatives from the progressive forces of the United States and of the European countries.

The important lesson to be learned from this Jewish intervention at the Paris Conference is a warning that if Jewish forces will not pursue a clear and democratic position and policy at international conferences, they will necessarily weaken their role and influence in world affairs, and will finally be reduced to a completely negative role. Or they will find themselves occupying a small corner in the camp of the reactionaries, which, it should be clearly understood, brings with it the danger of the complete destruction of our people.

Soon the curtain will open for the second and most important act in the struggle for freedom and democracy—the question of a peace treaty with Germany. It is still not too late to correct the mistakes made at the Paris Conference and to imbue the politics of the world Jewish organizations with a new spirit.

A. RAISKY.



## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 1)

Henry Epstein, American Labor and Democratic Party judicial candidate, very reminiscent of his anti-Semitic 1944 slogan of "Clear it with Sidney."

The New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Education is proposing a modified Austin-Mahoney Bill that would remove tax-exemptions from educational institutions found guilty of discrimination. At a conference sponsored by the Committee, the importance of getting commitments of support for the measure—from State candidates was stressed. The New York City Council has appointed a committee of its members to investigate discrimination against students or teachers in the city school system.

### PALESTINE

Attlee told the Palestine Conference in London that Arabs and Jews must make concessions to each other, while he failed to mention any need for Britain to make any concessions by way of speeding the independence of Palestine.

Jews in Jerusalem went on a two hour strike to observe the funeral of Yechiel Schwartz, who was killed when his body was hurled into the sea as he was hit by a tear gas shell thrown by British marines when they attempted to board the S.S. Palmach which brought 600 visalees Jews to Palestine.

The Soviet trade union newspaper, *Trud*, called

for placing the entire issue of Palestine before the United Nations. It stated that as long as a United Nations exists, Palestine should not be left to the private bargaining between Britain and the United States. It attacked Britain's "federalization" plan, which would prevent Palestine's development of political and economic independence.

Poles of Ander's army stationed in Jerusalem, recently held a memorial service for those who were executed by the Polish government for participating in the Kielce pogroms. Those executed were extolled as "martyrs."

### EUROPE

*Mishmar*, Palestine organ of the left-wing Zionist group, Hashomer Hatzair, stated that "thousands of Jews will remain in Poland." It goes on to say that "It is our duty to remember that Poles of a reactionary character will settle in England, in the Dominions and in the Near East. It is therefore necessary for us Jews to give a real helping hand to the new Poland, the Poland of today and tomorrow."

Bronislaw Teichholz, chairman of the Committee for Transient Jews, stated in Vienna that the number of Jewish emigres from Poland is decreasing. One hundred and twenty young Jews, who had already reached Palestine, have decided to return to Poland. One of the group remarked, as reported by the JTA, "The new Poland needs strong people with strong ideals and the determination to fight for these ideals." These are said to be only part of a larger group that is being repatriated to Poland from Palestine by UNRRA.

Prof. Oscar Lange, Polish Ambassador to the U.S.A., speaking about the anti-Semites in his country, declared, "The Polish fascist elements which organized the anti-Semitic excesses—and these excesses were organized—consider Bor-Komorowski and Anders as their leaders. They believe that these leaders now have the official support of the Government of the U.S."

A Soviet military representative, attached to the Allied Commission in Italy, visited a camp for displaced persons at Fasoli, near Modena, and offered the Jewish occupants an opportunity to register for emigration to the Soviet Union, promising them homes and employment. Several of the thirty Jews in the camp agreed to register.

The British government has issued an official recruiting poster which calls upon those who would like to do "a man's job" to join the Palestine Police.

Still another anti-Semitic organization, calling itself the Union for British Freedom, has recently been formed in England, and has already issued its first leaflet, "World Jewry Versus Britain."

All Jews in Czechoslovakia who were of German or Hungarian nationality, and who had been persecuted by the Nazis, were granted Czech citizenship. Minister of the Interior Václav Nosek took the occasion of this announcement to denounce racial discrimination and to pledge vigor-

ous government action to crush manifestations of it.

The Hungarian government has signed an agreement with leaders of the Jewish community, to the effect that it will shortly publish a law providing for government aid in financing Jewish rehabilitation and for the restitution of civic rights to the Jews.

The three main Jewish groups in Rumania: the Jewish Party, right of center; the Union of Rumanian Jews, center; and the Jewish Democratic Committee, leftist, have agreed on a common platform. The main planks include: 1. Assurance for the Jewish community that they will have the same rights as other national groups in Rumania; 2. Improvement of the law providing restitution of Jewish properties; 3. Compensation for losses incurred during the anti-Semitic regimes. As soon as this platform is ratified by the three groups, they will probably decide upon a common attitude in the coming elections, and begin negotiations with the Democratic Parties Bloc.

Eighteen German political refugees, part of a convoy of evacuated Germans from Spain, including such well-known anti-fascists as Otto Maassen, Heinz Brandes and Walter Toss, have been interned with Nazis and SS criminals in the U.S.-Administration Camp 76 at Hohen Asberg near Stuttgart. They are interned with no hope for freedom.

It has just been disclosed that Dr. Georg von Schnitzler, self-confessed instigator and financier of Germany's war and conquest, the man who admitted responsibility for the gassing of millions in the Oswiecim concentration camp, a member of the directorate of I. G. Farben cartel, has been released from imprisonment by American occupation authorities and was enabled to leave Germany for Lisbon, where he is now feverishly reconstituting Germany's powerful chemical trust.

### Greetings to "JEWISH LIFE"

Subscribers to *Jewish Life*:  
Make the **SCHOOL OF**  
**JEWISH STUDIES**  
your school!

### REGISTER FOR COURSES!

ATTEND OUR FORUMS  
EVERY SATURDAY AT 3 P.M.

HELP BUILD IT THROUGH  
YOUR CONTRIBUTION

### School of Jewish Studies

13 Astor Place, New York City  
Tel. GRamercy 7-1881

Please accept my contribution of \$.....  
to the \$30,000 fund.

☐ Please put me on your mailing list.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

### HAYM SALOMON JEWISH CHILDRENS SCHOOL

2328 Broadway (near 84th St.) New York 25, N. Y.

We teach Yiddish (reading, writing), Jewish History, Literature, Singing, Arts and Crafts  
OPEN MONDAY, TUESDAY AND THURSDAY FROM 4 TO 7 P.M.

Give your children a progressive Jewish education.

For information call AC. 2-0611

### Recommended Books

#### JEWIS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By DR. PHILIP S. FONER  
*Survey of the period from 1654  
to 1865* paper 35¢  
cloth \$1.00

#### THE BLACK BOOK

*The Nazi crime against the  
Jewish people* \$5.00

#### CRISIS IN PALESTINE

By MOSES MILLER  
*Popular pamphlet on the pres-  
ent situation* 5¢

#### THE OLD COUNTRY

By SHOLOM ALEICHEM  
*First translation of representa-  
tive works* \$3.00

#### ODYSSEY THROUGH HELL

By RAYMOND A. DAVIES  
*The epic struggle of the Jews  
in this war* \$2.50

#### HAYM SOLOMON

By HOWARD FAST  
*A novel for young people on  
the great Jewish leader in the  
American Revolution* \$2.50

Write for catalogue

#### WORKERS BOOKSHOP

50 East 13th Street  
New York 3, N. Y.  
We pay the postage



# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

*Devoted to the scientific study of the political, economic, cultural and social development of the Jewish people, and to militant struggle for equality and democracy.*

## WILL PUBLISH IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES:

- **REPORT ON JEWISH DP CAMPS** by a French Delegation. The results of an investigation conducted by representatives of French Jewish organizations, and their conclusions.
- **WHAT SOVIET POWER HAS MEANT FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE**, by Y. Peikin.  
A Soviet author tells of the achievements made by the Soviet Jews since the October Revolution, and their perspectives for the future.
- **THE STRUGGLE OF THE JEWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION**, by Samuel Barron.  
How major Jewish organizations in the United States have participated in the struggle against anti-Semitism, what trends they reflect and how maximum results can be achieved.
- **SHOLOM ALEICHEM**, by Meridel Le Sueur.  
An outstanding American writer examines what *The Old Country* adds to America's literature in English and shows what new techniques, qualities and themes he now puts for the first time before the American audience.
- Also short stories, poetry, critical essays, Letters From Abroad, Editorials and political opinion.

## SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

A year's subscription to JEWISH LIFE is \$1.50. If you use the coupon below, you can get at a specially reduced combination price . . .

THE OLD COUNTRY by Sholom Aleichem (retails at \$3.00) together with JEWISH LIFE for a year, for ..... \$3.25

ODYSSEY THROUGH HELL by Ramond Arthur Davies (retails at \$2.50) together with JEWISH LIFE for a year, for ..... \$3.00

## Subscribe Now

(USE THE COUPON BELOW)

JEWISH LIFE

35 E. 12th St., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$..... Please send me

☐ A year's subscription to JEWISH LIFE at \$1.50

☐ *The Old Country* and a year's sub to JEWISH LIFE at \$3.25

☐ *Odyssey Through Hell* and a year's sub to JEWISH LIFE at \$3.00

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....

