

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

JANUARY 1947

Rogge Report Signals Danger To America

By **ROB F. HALL**

IT is a bitter commentary on America of 1946 that the Rogge report caused so mild a flurry. Being named as Nazi sympathizers or even as recipients of funds from the Hitler government has apparently caused nothing more than a slight but passing annoyance to the dozen prominent Americans cited in the report of the special assistant to the United States Attorney General.

Sosthenes Behn is still president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. James Mooney continues as official of General Motors. *Reader's Digest* editors DeWitt Wallace, Paul Palmer and George T. Eggleston have not been removed from their posts on one of the widest circulated American magazines. John L. Lewis has not bothered to answer charges that he helped the Nazis obtain Mexican oil, and ex-Senator Burton K. Wheeler, close friend of President Truman, is currently reported slated for appointment as United States Attorney General.

Yet these men were named by high German officials as Americans upon whom Hitler counted, in one way or

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AN EPITAPH FOR SIDNEY

A distinguished American novelist tells of the heroism of a Jewish youth in a moving short story.

By **HOWARD FAST**

THE ROLE OF JEWISH COMMUNISTS

A member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., replies to *Congress Weekly*.

By **ALEXANDER BITTELMAN**

IMPERIALIST INTRIGUE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

What is the meaning of Transjordan "independence"? What is behind the crisis in Palestine?

By **I. RENNAP**

ANTI-SEMITISM AND OUR CHILDREN

The effect of anti-Semitism on Jewish children can be overcome through a progressive approach to the problem.

By **DR. JOSEPH WORTIS**

Letters From Readers

Jewish Youth

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The Jewish question in relation to youth is indeed a critical one. Today, the term "youth" is not so much applied to years, but to the section of the population most susceptible to change, new trends, and a revitalized and questioning outlook.

Jewish youth today falls readily into the above categories. With the ruthless slaughtering of their brothers in Europe, and now with the electrically-charged atmosphere in Palestine, there are factions within factions, each with different outlooks and each offering different solutions to this complicated and often obscure situation. Because of the shenanigans and pro-British sentiments of our State Department, the just anger of the Jewish-American population is being used by many reactionary forces in our country. Some, led by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, look to the Republicans for the solution. Others become ultra-nationalistic with regard to Palestine, and go so far as to advocate acts of terrorism. Many Jewish youth, incensed by the Palestinian crisis, are being drawn into these various factions. One group of young Jewish patriots is training for a "mission" . . . namely, to go eventually to Palestine and make it the true homeland, via terrorism in some instances, with the final goal of a complete mass migration of Jews throughout the world. This view is comparable to Bilbo's infamous solution of shipping all Negroes to Africa thereby eliminating the problem of jimcrow.

That the above views solve no problems is easy for us to say. But just to say so and feel justified is as bad as saying nothing at all. The responsibility for educating, and agitating for education, falls on those of us who have a broader and clearer perspective. And now we have something concrete to base facts and figures on. JEWISH LIFE can and should become a major force for understanding for Jewish as well as non-Jewish youth of America.

A lot of us belong to various organizations—political, social, fraternal, etc. Where there are Jewish people, mainly young Jewish people, there we can begin educating . . . and learn as they learn. This means getting subs for JEWISH LIFE. We can organize classes, forums, study groups, etc. Functions such as these prove popular as well as stimulating, because of the diversity of opinion, as well as for the timeliness of the topic.

Let's hope JEWISH LIFE continues to grow and expand, and that the editors will concentrate on the education of youth.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

ROSA ROSS.

History of Zionism

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

For some time now I have wanted to see a clear and detailed exposition of the history of the Zionist movement. Such a historical analysis would clearly reveal, it seems to me, the basic appeasement line of Zionism to British imperialism in particular and world reaction in general.

Many Jewish intellectuals, confused about the issues but used to mouthing Zionist phraseology, are now slowly beginning to realize that the Jewish people can gain their independence only by unified opposition to British and American imperialism.

One sees these intellectuals making the radical departure from Zionist pacifism to supporting Stern-gang terrorism. They fail to understand that the Stern gang does not hit at any real basic issue and in fact serves as an excellent justification to the British to bring troops into Palestine.

To show what Zionism is and stands for is an important service to progressive Jewish thinking. The understanding of Zionism is basic to an understanding of Jewish problems today. A history of Zionism will go a long way to bringing

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

THE EDITORS.

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about such understanding. I hope that the undertaking of such a study will be given some attention.

Berkeley, Calif.

MARK BLAUG.

Knowing Jewish Problems

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

JEWISH LIFE is a magazine which has long been needed. From this first copy, I can see that it is going to help me in answering many questions in my own mind and in the mind of others.

About a year ago, I was a delegate from Portland to a progressive conference on our national minorities held in Seattle. Not one person, including myself, was able to speak clearly and intelligently on the many problems confronting the Jews of America. This was brought up on the floor and it was acknowledged to be a serious error which must be remedied. Too often we progressives work and fight for the rights of minorities to the exclusion of the Jews. Of course we must never stop in our efforts to secure more

equitable conditions for our Negro citizens and all other minorities within the existing capitalist system. But we must also start to understand the difficulties faced by the Jews and the rising tide of anti-Semitic organizations.

I just finished reading *The Old Country* by Sholom Aleichem, a thrilling experience for which I am extremely grateful to the translators. The additional story in this issue of JEWISH LIFE was delightful. I hope you will print more from time to time.

Taft, Oregon

RUTH STOVALL.

Simple Language

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We found your new publication very interesting. Our only criticism applies to your publication and many other publications, to wit, your language is that of an intellectual and not that of the worker or the ordinary person. Most of your readers, I presume, are not scholars, students and intellectuals. Give us ordinary persons a break.

White Plains, N. Y.

FRANK ROSEN.

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

LENIN

LIKE all profound Marxists, Lenin never sacrificed principle to practicality. On the contrary, he found the most practical in the deepest principle. One example, of particular importance to the Jewish people, and to all national minorities, will suffice to illustrate the point.

The basic problem of allies for the working class of Russia occupied a great part of Lenin's thinking, planning and activity. In his study of the social structure of Russia, he had found it to be a "prison of nations," a conglomeration of peoples each experiencing its own particular type of oppression at the hands of the ruling class of the dominant nation, the Great Russians. Of especial severity was the pogromist oppression of the Jews.

What Lenin saw in this phenomenon was the inalienable right of a people to liberation, freedom and equality. What he saw was that anti-Semitism and other forms of national subjugation was a curse on humanity, stunting the development of the working class, distorting its outlook, dulling its perception. He set the task of rooting out from the minds of the workers all vestiges of chauvinism and anti-Semitism; of cleansing the workers' state of all remnants of dominant nation oppression.

Lenin and his collaborators, foremost among them Joseph Stalin, defied popular prejudice by decreeing the death penalty for anti-Semites. They raised aloft the banner of "the right of nations to self-determination," and fought for it as an unconditional right. And they demanded of the formerly dominant nation, no matter how severe its own situation, to make recompense for its historic guilt of enslavement by giving special consideration to the formerly subject nations. And most of the oppressed nationalities, within sight of freedom, recognized the working class as its liberator, and became its "natural" allies.

Lenin had no need for demagogic political promises to win allies. The Marxist principle of the solution of the national question was one of his great allies. Out of this has come the historic Soviet example of the brotherhood of nations—national in form, socialist in content—which has spread the concept of the equality of peoples throughout the rest of the world. The dream of the ages was fashioned by Lenin out of Marxist principle into reality.

That is why today, twenty-three years after his death on January 23, 1924, the stature of Lenin is still growing, and his works remain indestructible. Every event of the intervening years, every experience of humanity deepens the conviction of how profoundly he thought, how wisely he led, how well he wrought. It is commensurate with the man that his monument is not of cold, inorganic stone, or of any other materials that give the impression of perma-

nence through rigidity. His monument is living socialism that constantly grows and develops, sinking its roots more deeply, more broadly, more firmly in the warmth of humanity.

Lenin was a Marxist, a historical materialist, a believer in the concept that society was governed by laws discernible by man, and therefore capable of being transformed by man. His historic contribution to Marxism was the revelation of the laws by which society operated today, in the epoch of imperialism; of the course by which man might step into the new epoch, the epoch of human freedom, of socialism. He led his people along this path and thereby laid the groundwork for the saving of human civilization, and eased the way for countless other peoples who sought liberation.

The Jewish people, who today are an international target for imperialist reaction and fascism, can seek no surer future than in the heritage of Lenin, no surer friends than in the disciples and followers of Lenin.

ELECTION RESULTS

IT WOULD be underestimating the situation if it were not clearly noted that the people of the United States sustained a serious defeat in the last elections. Nor is the danger minimized by the fact that the people sustained a self-inflicted wound in voting for a Republican victory. The American people in general—labor, the progressives, the national minorities including the Negroes and the Jews, in particular—are in for hard times as a result.

But it would be equally underestimating the situation if both the Republican victors and the defeated masses were to misread the meaning of the results. The people cast a protest vote—a vote protesting the Truman administration's betrayal of the program for which the people had voted in 1944 when they elected Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the fourth time. By no stretch of the imagination were the results of 1946 a mandate to the Republican Party to carry out its most reactionary and imperialist program, which is an even more fundamental betrayal of the Roosevelt program. The results were not—as some of the press would have it—indicative of a shift of the people to the "right."

This can be seen from the fact that wherever it was possible for the people to express themselves clearly, there the progressives maintained or increased their strength. Thus the American Labor Party emerged with its position unimpaired in New York. The Communist Party, with a partial ticket of candidates primarily for secondary offices, received one of the highest votes in its history although, and

because, it concentrated its campaign on building the labor-democratic coalition.

Elsewhere the protest was marred by confusion. This confusion did not come from the fact that the people did not know what they wanted. It came from the ineptness of even Roosevelt elements in the Democratic Party, from the vacillations of liberals, from the hesitations of progressives, from the failure of the labor-democratic coalition to fight sharply on issues and to reject red-baiting.

Jewish communities responded to progressive influence. In a preliminary analysis of areas in which Jews predominate in New York, the following were the results: Where the area was primarily working class, there Dewey made no headway. Where the area was middle class, a shift to Dewey was indicated. But even here it was not equal to the general trend. That the reactionaries were not more successful can, to a large extent, be attributed to the sharpness and promptness with which the progressives met and exposed the demagogic appeal of reactionary Zionists and Revisionists for Jews to vote Republican in protest against Truman's failure to act on Palestine. The Morning Freiheit Association deserves the greatest credit for initiating this campaign of clarification. And JEWISH LIFE is proud of having played its part in offsetting the Silver-Taft attempted blitz against the Jewish people.

This analysis shows clearly the correct policy that must be followed if the machinations of reaction in the 80th Congress which now comes into life are to be defeated. A strong counter-offensive on the part of the progressives can win the overwhelming support of the people and can defeat the plans of reaction. On foreign policy, on labor legislation, on price control, Congress can be compelled to meet the needs of the people, if the labor-democratic coalition is consolidated organizationally and programmatically. And Congress can be forced to safeguard the democratic rights of the people by outlawing anti-Semitism, lynching, the poll-tax, and by establishing the FEPC on a permanent basis. The negative protest of the people can be converted into a positive advance by the energetic and consistent activity of labor and the progressives.

OUST BILBO

WITH the presentation of a formal petition to the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee charging Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi with fraud, intimidation and violence in his election campaign for the Senate, the case of the people of Mississippi vs. Bilbo became the case of the people of the United States vs. the most outspoken proponent of native fascism.

The petition, signed by 50 qualified voters, gives the Senate a legal basis for action. It also opens the way for thousands of decent-thinking Americans to express their opposition to racism, lynch-terror and reaction by joining a nation-wide campaign to bar Bilbo from the Senate.

To rally the anti-Bilbo sentiment into a sweeping demon-

stration of public opinion, the National Committee to Oust Bilbo, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, has launched a popular petition campaign addressed to the two Senators from each state, demanding that Bilbo be denied the right to take the oath of office.

The campaign will require the fullest support and mobilization of the people. For there are some Johnnie-come-latelies who have entered the picture who are more expert at whitewashing scoundrels than at expelling them. The Republican Party reactionary leadership, which was not beneath forming a partnership with the Bilbos in order to subvert the Roosevelt program, is now ready to sacrifice if necessary the most odorous member of its southern bourbon allies.

Anything that will help rid American public life of the Bilbonic plague is welcome. But it will be necessary to rally the broadest mass pressure in order to guarantee that Republican reactionaries will carry through the ouster fully. The American people's experience with Republican investigations to date has not been satisfactory. Nor will even the ouster of Bilbo suffice. With it must come the passage of the anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and FEPC bills, and the outlawing of anti-Semitism. But to achieve all this, the people will have to intervene. Republican affinity to Bilbo in principle, regardless of party label or geographic origin, is too close to merit reliance.

THE FONER CASE

ONE wonders what is going on in the educational system in the State of New York. A person who had associated with known fascists is appointed to the Board of Education. A teacher who smuggled pro-fascist propaganda into the classroom is given a polite tap on the wrist. Institutions using a discriminatory quota system get tax exemptions. But a young substitute teacher who believes in democracy, and was willing to endanger his life fighting for it, is denied a regular permanent teaching license by a group of crusted reactionaries that calls itself the Board of Examiners, even though he has passed two written examinations, an oral examination, a practical test, a classroom test, and an interview, and even though he has been recommended by principals, department heads and supervisors for work he did as a substitute teacher.

This is the experience of Henry J. Foner, who is now appealing his case to the State Commissioner of Education. As a student, Mr. Foner was elected president of the Student Council of City College by the highest vote in the history of the school, after winning endorsement from the most important college organizations. As a substitute teacher he has won unqualified praise from Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, principal of the high school at which he taught, from Conrad J. Saphier, his department chairman, from Mrs. Helena L. Blue, another department chairman, from Miss Edna Ficks, principal of still another high school. He was praised not only as a teacher, but as a faculty advisor of

student activity, for "outstanding leadership qualities," for "his outlook upon life," for his "genuine American principles," for being "generous with his time in extra-curricular activities."

As a soldier for three and a half years, Mr. Foner was appointed an officer in the army, was awarded the Legion of Merit, the Italian Military Valor Cross, three battle stars and numerous letters of commendation from his commanding officers.

But all this was not enough for the Board of Examiners, and especially for its chairman, Dr. Henry Levy. And what was his crime that has made Mr. Foner so unsatisfactory to this finicky doctor? It seems Mr. Foner is a brother of the three Foner brothers who were expelled as teachers by the Rapp-Coudert Witch-Hunt Committee from the New York school system for daring to be genuinely anti-fascist at a time when it was not yet illegal to be otherwise openly. All the other hair-brained reasons for refusing Mr. Foner a teaching license were eliminated by the exacting doctor, when he told Mr. Foner on July 29, 1946, "What are you kidding yourself for, Foner, you know that isn't the real reason for your failure?"

Perhaps city and state politicians that permitted the whitewash of May Quinn, that appointed George Timone to the Board of Education, have an explanation for keeping Foner out of the school system and for keeping the meticulous doctor in it. But the people of New York cannot and dare not accept any such anti-democratic explanation if they value their freedom and the future of their children. Once and for all they must strike back at the subversive gang of reactionary politicians, doctors and such who are trying to take over the educational system to divert it in a reactionary direction.

Send your protest to State Commissioner of Education Francis Spalding, Department of Education, Albany, N. Y., and to President of the Board of Education, Andrew G. Clauson, Jr., 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y. Insist on the granting of a regular teacher's license to Henry J. Foner, and demand an examination of the Board of Examiners, especially its head doctor.

TIME FOR SCHOOL

TO BE conscious of one's origin carries with it certain responsibilities. Of what use is it to one's people, or to humanity for that matter, if national consciousness is not accompanied with action? And how can one act without knowing the direction?

The wave of national consciousness that has swept up the Jewish people is one of the outstanding phenomena of this period. It has revitalized the whole people, set them moving along new paths, stimulated them to new activity. But there is also a danger in this revival of consciousness, for it makes the Jewish people prey to all manner of medicine-men, offering a wide assortment of cure-all

panaceas that can only lead to disillusionment, defeatism and disaster.

It is a fact that every wave of consciousness affects primarily those who had been furthest away from their people, those who had forgotten most about their people's history and tradition, those who had been least concerned with the problems of their people. The Jews are no exception. Our brothers who found no security from fascist man-hunting in assimilationism; our youth who had rebelled against a meaningless traditional Jewish education, and who sought escape from their Jewishness in a crisis-ridden, bigotry-infested world; our intellectuals who mistakenly substituted cosmopolitanism for internationalism—these are the elements who have responded most sharply to revived Jewish consciousness.

But they may swing the pendulum to the other extreme, in the direction of a super-nationalism, which is no less dangerous. These elements have weakened their roots in Jewish life. They lack continuity in their Jewish thinking. They are without direction, having missed the new guideposts that have been raised in the Jewish community. They need orientation. They need a scientific approach to Jewish history, tradition and perspectives.

It is the virtue of the School of Jewish Studies in New York City that it gives precisely such a scientific approach in all its courses of study. A year of experience is now behind this institution, during which it has overcome many difficulties and enriched the collective understanding of its teaching staff. For these reasons it serves the Jewish people—both Yiddish and English speaking—as no other Jewish educational institution.

The new semester begins in January. Registration is now going on. We urge our readers in New York City to take advantage of the opportunity by going back to school for at least one course.

COMMUNISTS CONFER

ON Nov. 29 and 30, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. held in New York a historic national conference to discuss the Jewish question. Both theoretical propositions in the light of the present situation, and practical problems were given a thorough airing.

This is the first time that a political party devoted itself to an analysis of, and to a rounded-out program for, the solution of the problems of the Jews. It is no accident that the Communist Party, a party of the working class, should have taken the lead. The conclusions reached are of profound importance to the American people. Documents of the conference will be published shortly, and merit the most serious attention not only of those concerned with the security of the Jews, but also with the security of the American people.

More than anything else, the Jewish people need unity within their own ranks on the basis of a democratic program. Unity will not only strengthen Jewish forces, but will attract and hearten non-Jewish allies. The achievement of Jewish anti-fascist unity was the goal set by the conference.

THE ROLE OF JEWISH COMMUNISTS

By Alexander Bittelman

THE EDITORS,
Congress Weekly,
New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen:

The *Congress Weekly* issue of November 22, 1946 carried an editorial devoted to the Resolution on Jewish Work issued by the Communist Party of the United States. Public discussion of Communist documents is welcome, and the seriousness with which the *Congress Weekly* editorial approached the issues involved is especially appreciated. This discussion around basic issues affecting vitally the needs of our people must not prevent united action for mutually agreed objectives. And common action will help clarify and place in proper perspective existing differences.

It is in this spirit that I should like to discuss the very important editorial in *Congress Weekly* for the purpose of further clarifying the position of the American Jewish communists. I do this with the full consciousness of the important contribution made by the American Jewish Congress to the development of progressive Jewish life in the United States.

The best and most dependable defenders of the rights and interests of the Jewish people are the Jewish workers and their closest allies, the poorer sections of the middle classes and the progressive intellectuals and professionals. Not the monopolistic bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, not the allies of and collaborators with British, American or Anglo-American imperialism, but the Jewish working class together with all other anti-imperialist and progressive forces in Jewish life are the true spokesmen of our people, the defenders of its interests, the backbone of the struggle for its survival, the promise of its future.

Marxism and the Working Class

Jewish communists are part of the Jewish working class, its vanguard, its most consistent fighters. Consequently, Jewish communists—as the vanguard of their class—are the best defenders of the rights and interests of the Jewish people. Just because the loyalties of the Jewish communists are to the Jewish workers and their allies, that is, to the masses of the Jewish people; and just because the loyalties of the Jewish communists are to the ideology of the working class, to Marxism, for these very reasons the Jewish communists are the most loyal, devoted and self-sacrificing

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*.

fighters for the well-being, progress and happiness of the Jewish people.

The best and most dependable allies of the Jewish people among non-Jewish peoples in each country in the struggles against oppression and discrimination, against anti-Semitism, for equal rights, for the free development of various forms of national existence, appropriate to the specific conditions of each country, are the working classes. The more deeply the working classes are imbued with the Marxist ideology and with communist principles, the more consistent and militant is their fight in support of the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples, the greater is their contribution to the liberation struggles of the Jewish people. Consequently, Jewish communists are capable of rendering a particularly valuable service to their people precisely because they are an inseparable part of the general communist movement of their countries; because the Jewish communists in each country are flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the general anti-fascist army, headed by the working class. This is our answer to the assertion of the editorial that the interests of the Jewish people are not our primary concern and that we are not able to defend them properly.

Fascism and the Imperialists

Fascism is the mortal enemy of our people. Where fascism is allowed to grow, our people must die, no matter what form of national existence it has had. But who is the destroyer of fascism and who is its cultivator and promoter? Does not *Congress Weekly* know the answer? The cultivators of fascism are the imperialists and reactionaries, the very same forces upon whom official Zionist policy orients for the solution of the Jewish question, the very same reactionary and pro-fascist forces with whom reactionary Zionist leaders are allied and are collaborating. We must not forget that the Silver-Segal Zionist leadership contributed its share to the last election victory of the Republicans, the victory of the Hoover-Dewey-Taft-Bricker reaction which stimulates and promotes fascism and anti-Semitism at home and abroad.

And who are the destroyers of fascism? Who are the saviors of the Jewish people? The democratic and anti-fascist camp, of the working class and its progressive allies, the camp from which the communists come, the very same camp which the editorial in *Congress Weekly* declares incapable of defending the interests of the Jewish people.

Congress Weekly is right in saying that Marxist or communist ideology is the ideology of the working class. But from this great truth some other truths follow, which

Congress Weekly does not mention. The first is that the working class is the most progressive force of its people and its best defender; and, secondly, that the ideology of Zionism and of Jewish nationalism, is also a class ideology. Zionism and nationalism are the ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie, that is, the ideology of a class among whom imperialist reaction finds allies and collaborators of considerable influence, even though certain Jewish bourgeois circles are inclined in a progressive direction and are collaborating with the progressive camp.

In short, there are no classless ideologies. There are ideologies of progressive classes and ideologies of reactionary classes. The former are progressive ideologies, and the latter are reactionary ideologies.

Communists and the Yishuv

Any assertion, no matter from what source or how motivated, that the communists have adopted a negative and hostile attitude to the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, is untrue, has no basis in fact, is nothing but slander and distortion. Such an assertion may be helpful to reactionary Zionist politics, but it hurts the Yishuv which needs all the allies, sympathy and support it can get. Nor is it true that we oppose or are indifferent to Jewish immigration into Palestine. Nor is it true that we are hostile or indifferent to the progressive developments in Jewish culture in Palestine.

Our position on all these questions is crystal clear. It has been made so by the Party's resolution on Jewish work. We consider the Yishuv a vital part of our people, which is developing as a nationality. And we are determined to do all in our power to help realize the equal national rights of the Yishuv, including the right of Jews to immigrate, by fighting with the entire camp of anti-fascism and democracy for a democratic—not imperialist and not reactionary—Jewish-Arab solution of the Palestine crisis, a solution which will lead to an independent Palestine of Jews and Arabs guaranteeing the equal national rights of both peoples. We believe that such a solution can be advanced materially by transferring Palestine to the United Nations. We believe, furthermore, that the key to the solution of the Palestine crisis is Jewish-Arab unity for an independent state of the two peoples.

This, of course, is very much different from and opposed to official Zionist policy, which the editorial in *Congress Weekly* makes its own. But it is a progressive Jewish position shared by considerable sections of the Jewish people in the United States, in Europe, and—very important—in Palestine itself. It is a position capable of serving Jewish people's interests much better than official Zionism, especially the Silver-Segal version.

Jews in the Soviet Union

The editorial in *Congress Weekly* is not satisfied with Jewish life in the Soviet Union. But this is not because Jewish life there is not Jewish enough in form, as the edi-

torial suggests, but because it is *socialist* in content. The editorial quite obviously does not like the socialism of the Soviet Union even though it likes the system of national liberation and true national equality which prevails there. But the inescapable objective fact is that the reason the Soviet Union has this complete system of national liberation and true equality and friendship of nations and peoples is because it is a Soviet socialist state which has solved the national question on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. That is why the Jews of the Soviet Union enjoy complete and real, not only formal, equality in all parts of the country and in all spheres of life. That is why the Soviet Jews have now the opportunity, never before enjoyed by our people anywhere, of building a Jewish nation in Birobidjan, Jewish in form, socialist in content. That is why anti-Semitism is treated in the Soviet Union as a crime.

Our advice to the editors of *Congress Weekly* is to make up their minds that since the great socialist revolution in Russia in October, 1917, many nations and peoples have gained the opportunity to develop a national life not on bourgeois but on socialist foundations; that nations and peoples began to develop national lives that are national in form and socialist in content; that the same has happened to the Jewish people in the Soviet Union; that, consequently, we now have in various parts of the world forms of Jewish national existence that are different in content—some being bourgeois in content or predominantly so, while others are socialist in content or predominantly so; and, lastly, that the democratic, progressive and anti-fascist forces of the Jewish people of all countries, regardless of their social systems, are capable of collaborating for the welfare, freedom and survival of our people, are capable of working together as a people for the good of our people.

Unity of Jewish Progressive Forces

Lastly about the concern of the editorial for the future readiness of Jewish communists to cooperate with other Jewish progressive forces. On this score there should be no need for any additional assurances on our part. First, there are our deeds. We maintain that no other group in American Jewish life has cooperated so loyally with other progressive forces for common and agreed ends. Secondly, there is our resolution which is built completely on the policy of anti-fascist Jewish unity of all democratic forces. And the editors of *Congress Weekly* know very well that communist resolutions are not just words but deeds, that with communists a resolution is a guide to action. And this is what our resolution will be—a guide to the further cooperation with all other progressive forces for the rights and interests of our people. That we shall propagate our Marxist ideology goes without saying. But aren't the editors of *Congress Weekly* propagating a bourgeois nationalist ideology, doing it not in a Zionist journal but in a publication of a non-party organization, the American Jewish Congress?

The American scene is for us the central and major scene. So it is for the masses of our people in the United States. We are therefore glad to note that the editorial in *Congress Weekly* is able to say that, as regards a number of points in our resolution dealing with the American scene, "we of the American Jewish Congress, as well as all genuinely progressive groups, can substantially agree." For this agreement we shall work. We shall strive to make the struggle

for a progressive Jewish life in America the central and all important struggle in the American Jewish national group. This is dictated by the best interests of the Jewish masses in America as well as of our people in all other countries.

Sincerely yours,

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

AN EPITAPH FOR SIDNEY

WE thought at first that an epitaph for Sidney should be more than a few words, and I and some of the others who had known him well set out to collate what information we had; but in the end we did not use the material, and it was handed over to me. From what we have, you will be able to see why we were able to write an epitaph for Sidney in a line.

Some of us knew Sidney Greenspan when we were very young. He was born in the year 1915 in Washington Heights, and he grew up there and went to Public School 46, and then he went to De Witt Clinton High School, and then he went to City College—but he didn't finish at City College. He was a thin, spindle-legged little boy, and he never really achieved height or any sort of muscular efficiency, and since he read a lot and studied a good deal afterwards, he came by myopia early, and it remained with him.

He came from a family of very poor Jews, one of five children, with a thin, tired mother and a father who worked at a sewing machine in one sweat shop and then another; actually, he didn't have to work in sweat shops; he could have worked in union shops, as Sidney told him and pleaded with him, but he had been fifteen months out of work in the long strike during the twenties, and that had taken the starch and the heart out of him and turned him into a piece of putty. The result was that he worked ten and twelve hours a day in sweat shops, always thinking that if a strike came, it would leave him alone. Sidney's mother, who was like a shadow moving here and there, cooking and cleaning, but always like a shadow, gave to the children and never asked anything in return, not even love, until she died in 1932. Sidney had just entered college when she died. In a letter to a friend of his, he wrote "...I

HOWARD FAST is the distinguished Jewish-American author who has written a whole series of historical novels on America. Included are *Conceived in Liberty*, *The Unvanquished*, *The Last Frontier*, *Haym Salomon*, *Citizen Tom Paine*, *Freedom Road* and his latest work, *The American*. He is also the author of a book of short stories, *Patrick Henry and the Frigate's Keel*.

A Short Story
By Howard Fast

don't feel pity or sorrow, only anger. . . ." Mr. Greenspan lived on and shriveled up; he went on with his work motions, like an old clock that was winding out, ever more slowly.

Of Sidney's brothers and sisters, only two grew to maturity. One fell under a truck at the age of seven, a little boy named Lester. Celia, the eldest sister, died of a mastoid. Adrian and Fannie are still alive; Adrian became a school teacher, and the old man, Mr. Greenspan, was most proud of him. Fannie married a fur worker; she was two years younger than Sidney, and when she was a little girl he adored her.

EVEN in this brief outline, there is enough to indicate that Sidney Greenspan was not of the stuff of which heroes are made, at least in the conception of heroes which is most popular in America today. The tenement district in which he lived and grew was not a slum, but very close to a slum; the fact that he was a small, thin boy gave his life reasonable hazard, in the way of Jew-baiting and the run of fights. He was often afraid, and there was much and subtle variation in the types of fear; he feared death and being beaten up and going hungry and not passing exams, but one fear and another was woven into the fabric of his life and accepted, just as he accepted the fact of work from the age of eleven, first as a delivery boy, then with a newspaper route, then as a canvasser for the local Tammany Club, then as a hack political street corner speaker at the age of sixteen. His father went around with a bright hope burning in his heart that Sidney would study law, but in the first year at City College, Sidney's jaw was fractured in a student demonstration, and in between reacting to the pain of his son's bruised body, his father realized that the boy was a radical and came to accept the fact that he would not be a lawyer, not an alderman, nor even an assemblyman, not even a school teacher.

But fear did not make Sidney a radical. Such cloth is woven of other stuff, and for Sidney there was a world

lost that should not have been lost. Some are made or shaped or fashioned to see all the parts of the whole, not one direction or one street or one narrow alley, but all the roads that lead on; and it was for a part of that horizon that Sidney stayed with the class that made him. If he had accepted, his epitaph could have been more easily written, but he didn't accept—he had to understand. In one way, there was a tremendous health and vitality in his small, skinny body, an identification with life that was more than matched chromosomes or cell clinging to cell. Death gives the lie to life, refutes it, and all the misshapen things that Sidney saw were part of that death. And he walked into life with his head up; vitality is a manner of saying other things. The vitality of Sidney made him a prow rather than a rudder.

"I told him," Mr. Greenspan said long afterwards to one of us who knew Sidney, "that it was no good. He would get in trouble, he should try to be a good, hard worker and keep out of trouble."

But Sidney didn't look for trouble. As a boy, he hardly ever won a fight; he wasn't a tough kid, and he stayed away from fights whenever he could. He always had a job after school, and even to go to a free college like C.C.N.Y. he had to work during the summers. Two summers he worked at Lang's Wholesale Grocery Warehouse downtown on Hudson Street, until he became involved with attempts to organize it and was fired. And then he had a job one summer at Coney Island, handling props for a magician's show. But the point is that he never looked for trouble, and you could see that just by looking at him.

HE DIDN'T LOOK ANY DIFFERENT AT EIGHTEEN THAN HE DID AT twenty-five, about five feet seven inches in height, a hundred and thirty-two or three pounds, with sloping shoulders, a prominent nose, and thin brown hair. His brown eyes were reflective and gentle; giving an impression of sympathetic softness, you were surprised to find something hard and absolutely unyielding underneath; no matter how long you knew Sidney you were always surprised at that.

When he was eighteen years old, a freshman at City College, he met Jane Albertson and fell in love with her, in spite of such obvious obstacles as both her parents having a little money and being descended from what they call old American stock, and she being an inch taller than he was. And the strange part of it was that after the usual initial fumbling and antagonism, she fell in love with him, something nobody understood except those of us who knew Sidney. The first time he brought her home with him, to the same, tiny apartment where the Greenspans had always lived, the old man was still grieving over his wife, with a kind of awful, dumb-animal suffering. The apartment was dirty and messy; Fannie tried to keep house, but it was not the kind of thing she was good at, and Adrian was already married. Janie walked in with the air of a person who had spent most of her life in such places, and she kissed the old man. The old man began to cry, and Janie remembers that Sidney was the most embarrassed one there, and when

she said she would stay for supper, he put on his jacket and ran down to buy things in the delicatessen. But after that, Janie and the old man were like a daughter and father.

The way they fell in love and the way they went together all the time Sidney was in college was a little curious, for time was something Sidney never had much of. He clerked in a dry goods store after school; he was active in the student movement; and then in 1934, he joined the Young Communist League. But, somehow, he and Janie were closer and closer. She joined the YCL, too, and had some terrible fights with her people at home, and then, in 1935, they were quietly married at City Hall, something they kept a secret for almost four years.

ONLY A FEW OF US, WHO KNEW SIDNEY QUITE WELL, ALSO knew about the marriage. It was in 1934 that I first met Sidney, and I was with him when his head was cracked by a nightstick in the big downtown demonstration, and I got him home then and stayed with him while the doctor came and put seven stitches in his scalp. It was then that Mr. Greenspan, almost tearfully, raised the question:

"Why, why should he have to mix up in such trouble?"

Lying there, Sidney said, "Please, poppa, don't worry about it."

"A good boy, a boy who works as hard as he does."

"Poppa, I don't look for trouble," Sidney explained very patiently. "I never look for trouble. You think I like to get cracked over the head?"

"I don't know what to think," Mr. Greenspan said. "Wherever you look, those communists make trouble. They got nothing else to do except to make trouble."

"This is such a good world, you want me to accept it?" Sidney said.

He changed after that; they say that no scar is skin deep. When you tell it this way, looking back, with all of us a good deal older, and in retrospect, none of us ever having been very young, it doesn't seem that there was so much in Sidney's life; there is no ABC formula to put your finger on to explain Sidney. He said to me once, I think when he was nineteen years old:

"Do you know, I'm a professional revolutionary," as if it had only occurred to him that moment; but as a matter of fact, it was so, and every other action he engaged in was on the periphery. In those days—it seems a thousand years ago, five histories ago—it seemed that the world we lived in could not go on; and indeed that world is dead today, washed out in the blood of thirty million souls, even if the fight is not over. But someone like Sidney belongs to that world; when there is a perspective, sometime in the future, the long, long future, when the fighting is over, when the guns no longer thunder, when the scars left by the atom bombs have healed, when the gray ships lie peacefully on the ocean bottoms, then there will be a whole understanding of Sidney, of what he was and what went into the making of him. Then, perhaps, they will be able to analyze the trivia as well as the bigger things. They will know what the expression on Sidney's face meant when he

heard his father say once, speaking of his not long dead mother, "All she wanted was two weeks in the mountains, with a little grass and some birds, maybe, but she never got that."

But Sidney's hatred—and there must have been a fierce, terrible hatred of the things that pervert and destroy human beings—found expression only in what he did; the mildness in this small, sensitive Jew was so entire that even we who knew him well were surprised when he left college to join the International Brigade in Spain. He hated and mistrusted guns; the most complimentary thing we could say was that a person as politically developed as he might make a very good advisor, or commissar, as they were beginning to call them. But as a matter of fact we were wrong, and after the retreat across the Ebro, they made him a captain.

III

I HAD the story of the retreat across the Ebro, and the last attack, afterwards, from at least six or seven people who had known Sidney and fought next to him. Also, in his letters to Janie and to old Mr. Greenspan and to Adrian, his brother, and to his sister, Fannie, there were enough details to make some sort of a blueprint, but he didn't figure in that blueprint; he wrote of the things all around him, and it was his comrades who filled in the place he occupied.

Remember how it was then, in 1937, when the Lincoln Battalion first raised its banner with the International Brigade! Madrid was to be the tomb of fascism! Boys who had never seen anything more lethal than a cop's revolver signed up for the battalion; skinny, myopic boys from the city streets marched off alongside the workers to face the Messerschmitts and the Panzers. The final conflict was being fought among the treeless buttes and canyons of Spain, and from the devastation wrought by the first fascist monsters would arise the beginnings of the brave new world. We believed that—and looking back, it might have been that way.

It was early in 1937 that Sidney Greenspan arrived with his contingent in Spain. Between then and April of '38, when the retreat across the Ebro took place, he had two slight wounds; he became a lieutenant, he learned how to assemble a machine gun with his eyes closed, and he learned more thoroughly that if you considered in advance what you were going to do and did it, it was better for body and soul than to straddle the horns of a dilemma. But on the outside, he remained the same; he still studied a good deal. In those days he read everything he could have sent to him on the working class in America, and when he talked about the future, it was with the certainty that this phase of the struggle would soon be over, and he thought he would like to be a labor organizer in the South, going there to live and taking Janie with him.

WHEN THE BIG RETREAT BEGAN IN '38, HE WAS WITH THE 58TH Lincoln Battalion. But they didn't know that it was a retreat then. It was determined at GHQ that the tide had to

be turned, whatever the cost, and Dave Doran, the Brigade Commissar, wrote orders to advance and keep advancing until otherwise instructed. So the 58th Battalion advanced, not knowing that everywhere else the line was breaking, and all up and down the long front the battered Republican Army was in retreat. Here is the matter-of-fact way in which Sidney told about that in a letter to Janie:

"... please don't worry, because I'm all right now. But it was bad a few weeks ago, and we lost most of the Battalion. Maybe you will read about it in the papers, but here is the truth of how it happened. Johnny Gates, our Commissar—you remember, you met him at Milt's house—told us about the general orders to go ahead, and we went ahead and we just kept advancing. First we were low and very thirsty, but we captured a fascist water truck, and we felt better. But we were moving fast with just the ammunition we could pack and we had no liason and we didn't know that everywhere else our people were retreating. I don't know who was to blame for that; I don't want to blame anyone now.

"Well, we went on with our crazy, wild advance until about three o'clock in the afternoon, and then we were resting under some olive trees when we realized something was wrong. Bob Merryman—he was from California U., Brigade Operations Officer—came up and told us to get the devil out. There were about three hundred of us then, I mean boys from home, and we hit out cross country. We got to a hill above Gondese, and we looked down, and we could see the fascists attacking in the streets, and some of the houses were burning, but our people still held a good part of the town. Merryman thought the wisest thing to do would be to break through to the defenders, and we sent out a patrol of about twenty-five guys. They were wiped out, all of them. It was like the end of something, the first end. We retreated onto two hills, the Americans on one, the Spaniards and others on the other. They sent cavalry against us then, and we repulsed the charge, cutting them up pretty good. Then the cavalry dismounted and set up lines, and along about dusk, they started in with artillery. Then Vernon Selby—he's that boy from Virginia Military Institute—found a way out for us, and it seemed that Corbera was still open.

"Here's where we lost all our men, including Spaniards. We went Indian file and travelled at night, across country. Men would go to sleep and not wake up, just out of weariness. They would crawl into the bushes and go to sleep, and we'd lose them. We'd think they were there and go on. How can we forgive ourselves for that? Then we ran smack into Corbera, into a German radio station. They started in with grenades and machine guns, and cut us to pieces. Merryman and Doran were killed there, but I didn't know that then. But that broke us up, and I took off with two other guys, Smith and Goldstein. Somehow, we got to the Ebro. They were both wounded, and the next night we had to crawl through a whole sleeping Italian division. But only sixty of our guys got across the Ebro—only sixty..."

SIDNEY DIDN'T TELL HER, IN THE LETTER, THAT SMITH AND Goldstein were wounded, that he cared for them, nursed them, and sometimes carried them, that he bore them both across the Ebro. He didn't tell her that the next day he re-crossed the Ebro and found Abel Clark, and dressed his wounds and returned with him. How he did it and where his strength came from can't easily be told; he belonged to something new and incredible, that came out of the people. For the moment, it can merely be detailed, as an epitaph or as a requiem. He stopped a tank once with a bottle of petrol and a rag, and once he broke his glasses and fought for two weeks in a shadow world.

He was in the nine days on the Sierra Carbolam after they had mounted the last offensive back across the Ebro and had won almost to Gandesa. Then he was a captain—he became a captain after the retreat across the Ebro—and his company hung onto the rocky lump of Hill 366 and then was pushed off it under the fire of heavy artillery, with no

other cover than some sandbags and the bare rock. In three days, he led twelve attacks to take back the hill. But afterwards, when he spoke about it once, the thing he mentioned was how, coming back to the lines after a short rest, they met the Dimitroff Battalion, the Slav Battalion; all the boys in the Brigade knew that the Slav Battalion was the best, iron and steel, and not to be broken by anything short of hell: and when the men from the Dimitroff outfit, beat as they were, saw the Lincoln Battalion going up to fill the hole for them, they broke down and wept. The big, blond Slavs stood there, crying, and then they joined the Americans and all of them went up together, with some rifles and some pistols, against the heavy artillery, the armor, and the Junker-filled sky.

After that, Sidney was not afraid; he would say that he only had to remember that and he wouldn't be afraid. And it was not long after that that he was taken by the Moors. Some of the boys who were there remembered exactly how

HERITAGE

By Ephim G. Fogel

I

The voices of my ancestors
Ring in the wilderness of wars.
The good, the valorous, the wise,
Dreamers with planets in their eyes,
Psalmist and warrior and seer
Sustain me through the swamps of fear.

Honor them, every resonant name,
Brilliant in battles, fiercer than flame:
David, armed with a sling and a song,
Met and mastered the merely strong;
Samson, a Jew, one day alone
Slew thousands with an ass's bone;
Moses, Joshua, Gideon,
Who smote the host of Midian,
Bar Kochba and the Maccabees—
They died, but never upon their knees.

II

Eras go by. The Warsaw ghetto
Replies to thumbscrew and stiletto.
In sewers where the odor stifles
The fighters come to cache their rifles.
Surrounded, doomed, but still defiant,
Once more the Jew becomes a giant
And raises arms in roaring answer
To Stuka, Messerschmitt, and Panzer.
Nobility his ammunition,

He dares the legions of perdition,
Confronts the cancerous brigades
With grandeur and with hand grenades.

O round about the bleeding globe
The Jew wears honor like a robe.
In Greece the sons of Samson speak
The golden language of the Greek,
While farther west their speech and stance
Are ineradicably France.
Eastward, his arms and accents Russian,
The Jew destroys the fleeing Prussian.
On islands alien and far
Stands many a stark six-angled star.

• Master of wars, I shall not pray
For death to be deferred one day.
When rifles shrill a fatal tune
I shall not ask to be immune.
Author of victories, I ask
For courage equal to my task.
If night should menace me at length,
Provide me with the needed strength:
Take terror from the trembling limb
And fill my heart as with a hymn;
Fierce to the very fingertips,
Make valor vocal on my lips:
O make me, in these worthiest wars,
As worthy as my ancestors.

Winter, 1944.

it had happened. The Battalion thought there was a Spanish outfit on their right flank—good men, not fascists—and a patrol went out. Sidney took the patrol out; Jim Lardner was with him, and that was where Lardner died, and Sidney was taken by the Moors.

IV

ABOUT the time in prison, Sidney had least to say. A jail is a jail in any land, and the rats, the mice, the bedbugs, and the soul-destroying monotony are international qualities. But the fascists, wherever they are, develop refinements. The Moors amused themselves by breaking all the fingers in his right hand, and Sidney thought he would never be able to use it again. They found out that he was a Jew and they turned him over to the Nazis. The Nazis, who were more creative even than the Moors, had developed in Spain the standing cells, which they were putting to such good purpose against members of the German underground. A standing cell is two and a half feet wide and a foot and a half deep; you stand in it until your legs and your mind go, and then you fall, but there is no place for you to fall. For six weeks they gave Sidney the standing cell for two days a week; they were scientifically curious about how much such a small, frail young man could take, and they had theories about Jewish blood and Jewish powers of resistance, and it was always interesting to test those theories under actual conditions.

How Sidney escaped still cannot be told; Franco still sits like a blood-fatted spider in Spain, and the gentlemen in our Congress still debate. But he escaped, and he made his way to the coast, and a small boat took him to France. He was twenty-four when he came back to America, and his hair was turning gray, and he didn't care to talk much about how it had been in prison. His main interest was to find out whether he could ever use his right hand again, and when the operation turned out successfully, his whole state of mind became better. He and Janie went away for the three months his hand was in a cast; it was the only time Sidney had anything like that, three months in the country, with nothing to do but sit and read and taste the sweetness of life.

He could have gotten a job in a good berth; he had friends; he had people who felt a debt. But he was able to talk Janie around to his old dream of organizing in the South, and she went down there with him.

V

AN epitaph for Sidney should explain as well as tell, but how are you to explain what the movement for freedom means for one human being? The papers, the magazines, the press of the whole nation explain why people like Sidney Greenspan are corrupt, evil, selfish, and enemies of mankind, and to that they devote countless millions of words; so, in return, what can one say about Sidney except to state that there was no rest for him so long as one man was enslaved, oppressed, or exploited by another. He

went to the South and joined in the struggle to organize the sharecroppers. He spent fourteen months down there, and that was in the area where three organizers were killed—where they simply disappeared, vanished from the face of the earth.

And this he did for thirty dollars a week, to live day in and day out with the threat of the Klan hanging over him, to be shot at three times, to win neither glory nor credit nor wealth nor fame. I remember speaking to him when he was back from that, a few months before he managed to enlist. A group of us were in the little place downtown which he and Janie shared, and someone asked why a person like him did what he did.

"It's not so much," Sidney said. "I saw the party people in Spain. They stayed there. I could go home."

"But why do you do it?"

"Why does any man do anything? The factors in him add up. They make a sum total, and he adds to that out of his understanding. Then he does what he has to do."

Then someone said, "Suppose you won and suppose you built your brave new world, do you think anyone would remember?"

"It isn't important," Sidney answered slowly. "But they'll remember."

Once before, many years ago, when we were very young, and Sidney and a good many more of us were brought into court during the unemployment demonstrations, a magistrate asked him the same question, why he did what he did; and it was then that I realized, for the first time I imagine, with what zest and joy a person can taste of life, for Sidney, leaning forward on the rail, told the magistrate, his voice level:

"You don't question what you do. You do it because you have to—and you're paid for it. You want me to make you understand why I do what I do—could I make you hear a million voices? I'm paid in my own coin!" holding out an empty hand.

Again, not so long ago, I went to call on the old man Greenspan, still alive, more shriveled, more used out, but still working, and after we had spoken about other things, he asked me:

"Why couldn't Sidney be satisfied to live quiet?"

Seeing the old man with his rheumy eyes, his bent back, his poor-swollen feet, I was brought back to the time when I first knew Sidney, and I realized that what he had always wanted was to live quiet, as the old man said, to step into the old, generous stream of life, and to taste it deeply and comfortably for the time that is given to any man; I had it for a moment, the full answer, and then I lost it.

VI

AFTER Pearl Harbor, Sidney managed to enlist through a fraud. It doesn't hurt to say that. Young as he was, he was no good physically, but he knew an Army doctor down at Monmouth, and he got in. But because of the inescapable condition of his eyes, and because of headaches—they called them migrain, but they were the result of fas-

cist efficiency—he was placed in the medics and shipped to a camp in Georgia. For a year and a half he remained in that Georgia camp, and three times he tried to be transferred to the infantry. There were long periods when none of us but Janie heard from him; we went in all directions as the war spread over the face of the earth. I had one letter from him in that time, in which he said:

"... It's not like Spain. Some officers here found out I was in the Brigade—I never could or wanted to keep my mouth shut—and they gave me no peace, day or night. It's you red bastard this, and you red bastard that, and what did they pay you to go to Spain? I'm trying to get into a combat outfit. In a war, the only safe place, from a mental point of view, is at the front..."

He went over to England as a combat medic, and from England into North Africa. In North Africa, he ran into Johnny Graham, from the Brigade, who was with the 1st Rangers. Johnny told me about it afterwards; it was one of those crazy coincidences, which happen so often in life. Johnny fell over with a bad splinter in his thigh, and he was lying in the sand and plucking at it, and swearing because the amount of blood frightened him and unnerved him, when this small medic crawled up and said, "Let me try," and got the splinter out and put the sulfa on, and was bandaging it when Johnny saw his face and recognized him. That calmed Johnny, and I can understand how he was able to relax, and take the cigarette that was offered to him, and say, "Hullo, Sidney."

"I'm in the medics," Sidney said. "Isn't that a hell of a note. I'm in the medics."

"I'm glad you're in the medics," Johnny said. Just that; then some stretcher bearers came up, and they took him away. But Johnny afterward remembered that to be there, Sidney must have come through the Straits, and seen those bare, brown hills that make the southern lip of Spain—because to men like Sidney, there's no end, but always a time when you come back to where you began.

On and off, in the months which followed, someone who knew Sidney would run into him, first in Sicily, and then in Italy; and then, from that and from those who had never known him before, there grew up a legend about him. There had been no legend from the work he did in Spain and in the States, but now in Italy there was emerging a quality of calm and certainty for men who had no certainty, many of whom didn't know where they were going or what they were fighting for, who only knew that in sunny Italy it rained like hell, and when you got over one mountain, there was another behind it, and that the Nazi was not someone who threw away his gun and surrendered after the first round of artillery; and for these men, Sidney Greenspan was something out of another world and another struggle. He had an answer that no one else could give them, and a faith in men compounded from different stuff than the Nash-Kelvinator ads. It would be said, more and more often, and by more people, "I met a guy called Greenspan, a medic who was in Spain—I guess he's a red, but he knows from where—."

One of them, who had looked up Janie when he came back to the States, said, "You'd be afraid, you'd be so goddamn afraid, and then you'd talk to Sidney, and it would be all right."

VII

HE was killed at the beginning of '44. The United States Army, considering it above and beyond the call of duty, wrote in its citation:

"Private First Class Sidney Greenspan, Medical Department.

"Near Carano, Italy, January 24, 1944, he crawled sixty yards under enemy machine gun fire to administer first aid to a wounded infantryman and then continued forward another fifty yards to care for two more wounded infantrymen. He administered first aid to one of the men and dragged him into a covered position. He then returned to the other man and treated him. While so doing his right hip was shattered by machine gun fire and a second burst splintered his left forearm. Nevertheless, and in spite of severe bleeding which he could not quench, he finished administering aid to the wounded man and dragged him to a place of cover. He then crawled 60 yards in an effort to regain contact with his unit, but was forced to discontinue from weakness caused by loss of blood. Death resulted from shock and loss of blood."

I guess the best way to tell such a thing is the way the Army tells it, as a routine job by the T4 who writes citations as the casualties come in. They are not bothered with reasons or subjective factors, and having a war against fascism to win, they could be more objective about a man like Sidney than certain people who write about such things today. Sidney's name was brought up for the Congressional Medal of Honor, but that was a big-time operation, and they went into his past, and the matter was dropped.

And that could be left out of an epitaph for Sidney. There will be other awards some day, other citations, and when that time comes the stones and the fields and the broken cities will give tongue and speak of all the nameless. They buried Sidney Greenspan in Italian soil, good soil, and the soil of Spain is good, too, and the soil of America, and the soil of the Soviet Union, and of China—and if he had his choice, I don't think there is any place he wouldn't have been at home, fully and completely at home.

Some of us who knew him, when we heard of his death, thought that we would write down an epitaph for him. Then, in the personal columns of the paper he read and loved, there were many boxes with heavy black lines to bind them in, and whatever the name, there was a reference to the struggle against fascism. That was how we came to put together what we knew and remembered of Sidney; but nothing we could tell and nothing we could compile and no reasons we could give were enough to explain the fabric of him. So we gathered it into a word and wrote: "To the memory of Sidney Greenspan, anti-fascist, who fell in the people's struggle—from his comrades."

IMPERIALIST INTRIGUE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By I. Rennap

"O Arabs, you should be prepared to befriend Britain, for strong powers that opposed her failed."

"Be strong, O Arabs, cautious, honest and alert Britain will be with you and befriend you."

Emir Abdullah in his recently published book, "My Reminiscences."

A Treaty of Alliance, concluded on April 20, 1946, between Emir Abdullah of Transjordan and the British government terminates the British mandate and makes Transjordan an "independent" state. The treaty permits Britain to maintain her air bases. The Transjordan government undertakes to provide facilities for the maintenance and training of British troops. Communications and transport for these purposes remain under British control. Britain will continue to supply the Transjordan government with "advisers." And the "independent" country's foreign policy will be subject to consultations between the two governments.

This treaty has been described by the London *Times* as merely a formal recognition of an "accomplished fact." Reuter's diplomatic correspondent is more outspoken, and states that "at the time when the maintenance of foreign troops on the territory of an independent state is one of the most controversial policies in the world, the provision that British troops are to remain in Transjordan can hardly escape criticism."

The implications of this treaty, however, are far wider than "controversial policies" and danger of "foreign criticism." Recent events indicate that the Middle East is one of the focal points of the intensified national independence struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The whole structure of British imperialism is threatened as a result. Increased nationalist pressure for the withdrawal of British troops (recently the Levant States—Syria and Lebanon—today Egypt) has made necessary a strategic regrouping of Britain's vast troop concentrations in this area. The terms of the treaty make provisions for this possibility.

A Vast British Military Camp

The so-called Arab-Jewish problem, which constitutes Britain's "justification" for the maintenance of troops in Palestine, is today the smokescreen behind which military preparations of a formidable character are taking place. In Iraq, there are also large numbers of British troops. Al-

most simultaneously with the signing of the British-Transjordan treaty, Iraq signed a "security" pact with Turkey. Abdullah of Transjordan played no small part in these negotiations.

Thus, an "independent" Transjordan, reported ready to unite with Iraq in the near future under the rule of Abdullah, who has pledged to assist Britain in transforming Transjordan into a British garrison, is the final link in a vast military camp stretching from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Completing this chain is only a further step towards the fulfillment of a policy inimical to peace and security.

This policy involves the creation of a powerful barrier in the Middle East, with the assistance of upper-class Arab and Turkish reactionaries, against the "threat" from the resurgent national movements in this area, and against the Soviet Union whose successful solution of the national question in nearby Soviet Republics and whose role in the war have so deeply influenced the liberation movements in the Middle East.

In June 1921, Churchill, then Colonial Minister, declared in Parliament that a "policy based on support of the Hashemite dynasty (i.e., present rulers of Transjordan and Iraq) was best calculated to satisfy Arab nationalism." This policy, of which the recent treaty is but a continuation, was the basis of the Middle East "settlement" at the end of the first world war. Despite the promise of Arab independence given to Abdullah's father, Sherif Hussein, the Arab territories were carved up between England and France. Abdullah's eldest brother, Emir Feisal, was driven from Syria by the French when he proclaimed himself constitutional monarch over an independent "Greater Syria," and the Levant States were placed under French mandate. Abdullah attempted to raise a force of tribesmen to march against the French in Syria.

Imperialist-Feudal Alliance

But "cautious and honest" Britain successfully maneuvered these two Hashemite princelings, Abdullah and Feisal, to serve the British imperial policy, and simultaneously removed the friction between the two groups over the sharing of the booty. Britain took advantage of its mandate to establish Feisal as King of Iraq under British "tutelage." It set up a dummy constitution and parliament, and thus squelched an imminent national revolt in Iraq. But Britain maintained her air bases and her control of the country's economy.

Abdullah also received a consolation prize. According to the "interpretation" of the Balfour Declaration contained

I. RENNAP is a British journalist specializing in the Middle East.

in the Churchill White Paper of 1922, Palestine, which was understood to include Transjordan, was not promised as a National Home to the Jews; but the Jews were promised a National Home *in* Palestine. On the basis of this "interpretation," Transjordan, historically and geographically a part of Palestine, was ruled to be outside the sphere where the terms of the Balfour Declaration operated. Transjordan was made into an Emirate under the British mandate, with Abdullah as "ruler."

Transjordan, some four times the size of Palestine, is the most backward of all Arab territories. A large area is desert. Its population of 350,000 is divided into two main groups, nomads and settled peasants, living and toiling in the most primitive conditions. Apart from a few small cigarette factories, industry is non-existent. Of considerable importance, however, is the Haifa-Mosul oil pipe line which traverses some 200 miles of territory, and which gives employment to thousands of workers. Despite Transjordan's 454 villages, there exist but ten municipal areas. Its upkeep (including the Transjordan Frontier Force under British officers) depends largely on British subsidies and those from the Palestine administration, which is also responsible for the limited public services now existing.

Thus was established the alliance between Britain and the Hashemite chieftains. They became the Arab custodians of British oil interests in the Arab countries, and Britain's chief support within the Arab upper-class, on which her imperialist domination over the Arab lands was established.

In the Arab Peninsula, however, Sherif Hussein, who had become King of the Hedjaz, refused to be as pliable as his sons. Whereupon "honest and alert" Britain disposed of him. Ibn Saud was given support in his successful war against Hussein, his dynastic rival, and the latter was driven from the Peninsula, and died in exile. The victorious Ibn Saud established his dynasty as virtual rulers of the Peninsula and received subsidies from Britain.

Enter American Imperialism

The events that followed tightened the bonds between Whitehall and the Hashemites. Feisal and Abdullah and their cliques of landlords had not become "infected" by the penetration of the American imperialist rivals of Britain into the Middle East. Since before the war, American oil interests had moved into Saudi Arabia (as well as into the

other Middle East countries); and the "traditional" friend of Britain, Ibn Saud, showed himself to be no amateur in utilizing imperialist rivalry to lubricate his royal coffers, and to prevent Abdullah and Feisal from establishing Hashemite hegemony in the Arab lands. Thus Sheikh Asail al Fazl, Saudi Arabian minister to the United States, told a press conference that the American oil companies would have a first chance at any new oil fields discovered in his country, because Saudi Arabia "had tried the American companies and found they went quite well."

The entry of American monopoly into the Middle East gave a further impetus to imperialist intrigue. The Iraqi ruling circles played a leading role in the formation of the Arab League. Through its Hashemite lackeys Britain hoped to win League support for the creation of the "Greater Syria" Federation, composed of Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and part of Palestine, with eventual union with Iraq, under Hashemite rule. Behind the facade of an "independent" Federation, Britain expected to maintain her grip on the Arab countries and curb American penetration. At the same time, the Federation was supposed to act as a barrier against increasing Soviet influence. But apart from limited support among reactionary Syrian monarchists and certain chieftains of the Druse people who live in the Lebanon mountains of Syria, this plan was bitterly opposed in the League.



MASS DEMONSTRATION, organized by the Communist Party of Palestine, was held in Tel Aviv on Saturday, October 26, 1946 at 5 p.m. Slogans include: Shift the Problem of Palestine to UNO! Jewish Agency Leaders, Stop Negotiations with Imperialism in London! For a Jewish-Arab Agreement! Withdraw British Troops from Palestine! For a Jewish-Arab Democratic and Independent State!



MASS DEMONSTRATION in Tel Aviv. Slogans in this photo include: Against Deportation of Refugees! Halt the Persecution of the Refugees Who Reach Our Country! The Blood of Amram Rudenberg and Yechiel Schwartz, As Well As of All the Victims in the Yishuv, Demand the Immediate Withdrawal of British Troops from Our Land! The Way to Victory Over Imperialism Is Through Jewish-Arab Unity!

In Egypt, the growing movement for complete independence and the evacuation of British troops from the Nile valley has made it extremely difficult for the most pro-British reactionary to support any project which would entrench British rule more firmly in the Middle East; nor would Egyptian ruling circles tolerate Hashemite hegemony in the Arab countries.

In the Levant States, the Federation plan was exposed by the broad nationalist movement as an imperialist maneuver, and Ibn Saud, with one eye on Standard Oil royalties and the other on any move which might strengthen the position of his dynastic rivals, was also a bitter opponent. A powerful anti-Hashemite grouping thus crystallized in the League, constituting an obstacle to the maneuvers of Britain and its allies.

The situation in the Middle East was further complicated by recent events in Iran which have alarmed not only the British (and American) vested interests but their Arab friends as well. In an interview with Jon Kimche, Reuter's Middle East specialist, Abdullah declared in relation to the situation in Iran, that Soviet policy "menaced every Middle East country from the Suez to Afghanistan." Dr. Fahkeril Jamali, director-general of the Iraqi Foreign Office, speaking of the prospective revision of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1932, declared "certain Iraqi circles feel that British air bases give Iraq security."

"No-Man's Land of Security"

If Britain's "power bloc" was to be established, new allies had to be found against the anti-Hashemite group and a new strategy had to be worked out. In this Abdullah has played a major part. Within the Turkish ruling class there is no dearth of anti-Soviet reactionaries who feel the same need for "security" as Abdullah and his kinsmen. This anti-Soviet orientation is to be seen from the London *Sunday Times* article written by Ahmed Eman Yelmani, editor of the Istanbul *Vatan*, in which he advocates making the Balkans and the Middle East into a "no-man's land of security" where "Russia would be left alone in the role of would-be tutor and creator of friendly governments"—in other words, left alone by exclusion and isolation.

Hence Abdullah's statement to a correspondent of the Istanbul *Cumhuriyet* that Turkey enter the Arab League met with a certain response. Negotiations between Iraqi statesmen and the Turkish government began in Ankara last February, ostensibly

on cultural and economic matters between the two countries.

In the meantime, Abdullah launched an open offensive against his opponents in the League and the League generally, with the publication of his book, *My Reminiscences*. This had the effect of a bombshell in the Arab countries, particularly in Egypt.

Of the League he writes, "the present call for Arab unity is of doubtful origin and should be examined . . . subversive efforts are current and thus a union of Arab States is an intangible project" (p. 237). Egypt's dominating position in the League is attacked; "as long as the Arab League is centered in Egypt it is extremely dangerous." His eagerness to serve his British paymasters finds expression in reminding Ibn Saud of Britain's protest against the granting of oil and gold concessions to the American companies in the Peninsula, and in denouncing the concessions as ungodly and not in accordance with Allah's will; "these regions are holy and Ibn Saud may not desecrate them by permitting foreigners to introduce industry which would cause people to forget the Almighty" (p. 258). His hated rival is designated as a butcher and plunderer; while Syria and Lebanon are given a stern warning for not having accepted the "Greater Syria" project.

It will be seen then, that the British-Transjordan Treaty, coming almost simultaneously with the Iraqi-Turkey Pact,

is part of the new strategy adopted to achieve the same imperialist end. Britain is now attempting to bring its new puppet into the United Nations; and Abdullah as an "independent" monarch, strengthens Hashemite prestige in the Arab League.

Palestine Partition

There are already indications of further developments which may follow the eventual union with Iraq. The British partition plan for Palestine leaves the way open for the eventual inclusion of the non-Jewish part of Palestine into Abdullah's kingdom. This possibility has been strengthened by the revelation made in the London *Jewish Standard*, that "a meeting was brought about between Moshe Shertok (Zionist leader in the Jewish Agency) and Emir Abdullah" at which the latter "indicated that he was prepared to allow the entrance of 150,000 Jews into Transjordan, provided the Jews agree that he be crowned ruler of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan," and that "he is prepared to grant Jewish autonomous zones under his sovereignty." This has a remarkable resemblance to Ahmed Emin Yelmani's "solution" of the Palestine problem in which he advocated a "small Jewish state" as part of his "no-man's land of security."

It is not surprising, therefore, that these recent developments, coming on the eve of negotiations for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, have caused grave concern and dismay in Egypt. There it is asked how "independence" for Transjordan is compatible with the maintenance of British troops in that country when the core of Egypt's demands is the evacuation of British troops. In Syria, Transjordan's "independence" has been exposed as an imperialist trick. *L'Orient* stated explicitly that "this Treaty concluded outside the framework of the Arab League constitutes a handicap to all Middle East countries which would have liked to withdraw from foreign influence and to organize themselves outside the limit of any established systems and power blocs."

The constant splintering of Palestine, which historically and economically includes Transjordan, creates a fertile soil for recurrent communal frictions and for imperialist rule. And this "ending" of the tutelage of a mandated territory with the assistance of its ruling cliques is another indication of how British foreign policy has deviated from the principles of Teheran, Crimea and the San Francisco Charter.

In the next issue:

SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN-JEWS

An Epic of the Tats in the Caucasian Mountains

Dedicated to Stalin

Translated by BER GREEN

JANUARY, 1947

NEXT TO GODLINESS

Mike Hecht

Near the huge stacks of clothing which had been cast off in the crematory by prisoners about to die was this sign, prominently displayed: "Cleanliness Is a Special Obligation Here. . . ."

—*The Black Book*, p. 160.

They took him

—He was a Jew or Communist, I forget which—

from the concentration camp and cattle-carried him to Maidanek, Treblinka, Oswiesim, Dachau, Berger-Belsen—I can't remember exactly, and it don't matter nohow.

First they hung him by the wrists, with his toes just off the ground;

Then they lashed him with cat-o-nine whips with barbed fish hooks.

To bring the color back to his cheeks they rubbed itching powder into his bleeding wounds,

And for relief, they held cigarette lighters to his eyebrows, palms, and soles.

When he regained consciousness, they chased him around nude in the snow for twenty minutes, with a bayonet tip prodding his protruding ribs;

Next they paraded naked women before him to the tune of a Strauss waltz as they chopped off his frostbitten toes for good-luck charms, plucked his hair for the stuffing of mattresses, drained his blood for scientific research, and poured hot sulfuric acid on his genitals for general amusement.

Now he was quite dead. His body hacked into quadrants, and boiled in vats to make pure kosher fat for soap;

—now I do remember: he was a Jewish Communist—

What was left, was burned as decadent residue in the crematorium.

From midnight till two every morning, when the furnaces had been banked, and the moon smiled cheerfully down upon the officers who retired to caress themselves or their mistresses or their paramours, or perhaps to write love letters to their wives, husbands, and sweet-hearts—

Five privates under supervision of a technical sergeant scoured the floors and walls with *bon-ami*

Until the chambers glistened unmarred by the tiniest speck of blood; unsullied by the faintest trace of bone.

"We Germans must maintain our reputation for cleanliness."

ANTI-SEMITISM AND OUR CHILDREN

By Dr. Joseph Wortis

THIRTY years ago, when I went to school in New York, we were exposed to anti-Semitism. But it seems to me it was milder than the sort we see nowadays. The situation in those days was different in a number of ways, and I think there is some danger that some of us may gloss over the differences and mistakenly think that our children are exposed to a type and degree of anti-Semitism that resembles what we experienced when we went to school.

I was born and raised in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn over towards Greenpoint. The school I went to was in a foreign-born section of the city and almost all my classmates were children of immigrants. They were predominantly Italian and Polish; Jews were in a minority, perhaps four or five in a class. The others could have licked us easily, if they wanted to. Usually they did not want to. But there was plenty of talking and teasing. They used to refer to us sometimes as "Jew bastards," I remember. I did not realize then that it was a reflection on the moral integrity of my parents. For a long time I thought it was one word. It was only later in life that I realized there were other varieties of bastard, too.

When I ask myself why it was that in spite of those taunts and teasings I, like the other kids, was not particularly affected, I think the answer lies in the general social situation. So far as the actual conduct of our lives was concerned, we really were not split off from each other. We swapped toys and played games together. The teachers were nice to all of us. My family had a relatively secure position in the community. My father had a little shop where people of all national origins used to come around in a friendly way. Tensions were not as sharp then as they are now. I think we reflected the relative lack of sharp tensions when we were kids, and so felt relatively secure in spite of occasional incidents and provocations.

Nowadays my own three children go to a neighborhood school, which in some respects is like the school to which I went. It has a largely foreign-born first generation population, mainly Spanish-speaking, with quite a few Negroes, and a small proportion of Jews. Many of the kids come from homes where English is not spoken. I know when my boy first went to school he was sufficiently tainted by chauvinism to announce when he came home that he was the only American in his class.

DR. JOSEPH WORTIS is a prominent psychiatrist practicing in New York City. This article was delivered as a speech at a meeting sponsored by New Masses to launch a campaign for a National Jewish History Week.

Children React to Anti-Semitism

Yes, the situation is different now. For one thing, my children take anti-Semitism seriously. They know the war has been a terrible one. They hear of the persecution of the Jews. They know they are Jewish, and they cannot help feeling threatened themselves. The rebuffs and insults to which they are occasionally, not frequently, exposed, are sharper, more meaningful. There are roving bands which sometimes come through the streets and look for Jews. And the children cannot help seeing the relationship between the things they hear at home about the Nazis and fascists, and the things that happen in the streets and in the school.

And they also hear anti-foreign, anti-Negro and anti-Jewish remarks from some of their teachers, who are people in authority for whom they are supposed to have respect, and before whom they cannot help cringing.

Children are not isolated from the world. In a world in which anti-Semitism has become a sharp dangerous issue, the children are not spared its effects, and they react to this danger in various ways. Some of them get frightened, or exclusive in their attitude toward people. They retreat to the circle of their family, to the narrow circle of their parents, close friends and relatives. Or they compensate for their insecurity and inadequacies with excessive spurts of chauvinistic feeling—with perhaps excessive pride in their intellectual traditions. Jewish children sometimes react to this situation by asserting that Jews are smarter than other kids; they narrow their interests to competitive intellectual productivity at school to compensate for their isolation from the casual group games in which the children's community engages on the vacant lots or in the streets.

But whether Jewish children react with supercilious chauvinism, or with withdrawal and defeat, the psychological core of their reaction is much too often a feeling of isolation. It seems to me the antidote for the psychological effects of the onslaughts of anti-Semitism must be directed towards relieving this sense of isolation. The children have got to realize that the fight against anti-Semitism is a big fight. It is a broad fight. It involves lots of people. It involves most of the people in the world. Certainly it involves the best people in the world. The children have got to be made to feel that they are part of something big and strong and broad and solid. In other words, they have to realize that the attack of anti-Semites is primarily a fascist attack, and not only or primarily an attack against Jews. Knowing that, the children must know they have many allies in the fight against fascism.

Danger of Divisive Solution

Now, it seems to me, that in dealing with this problem of the psychological effects of anti-Semitism on Jewish children, we have to do two things. We have to make the children feel they are part of this broad, important, mass fight against the narrow, cunning, restricted and pernicious propaganda of fascism. At the same time, the Jewish children have to learn to hold their heads high, to acknowledge their Jewishness, to acknowledge it with dignity and with pride, and to feel that Jews are no better than others, but certainly no worse. In that spirit, it seems to me a Jewish consciousness, a pride in the cultural heritage of Jews, is an absolutely essential step toward achieving this goal.

There is a danger that in cultivating this consciousness of the dignity of the Jewish heritage among Jewish children, we may play into the hands of those divisive and reactionary forces that seek to make the consciousness of our cultural heritage an isolating and a divisive element. The true line is not always easy to see. I think more than a few people have been confused. As progressive parents we should be guided by our special interest in the progressive aspects of Jewish culture and our antipathy to the narrow reactionary aspects of that culture. It is in these progressive aspects of Jewish culture that the connecting link will be found with the progressive aspects of our American culture and with the forward movement of all humanity.

I should like to suggest, within the framework of the topic under discussion, that children should regard themselves as workers (or potential workers) as well as part of a cultural group. The distinction needs to be made in relation to the schools just as it needs to be made in relation to work in the office or shop. A consciousness of the cultural heritage of Jews ought not to lead to the separation of workers in the shop, nor to a segregation of trade union groups on a racial or a cultural basis. Such a segregation would be reactionary, and would play into the hands of the enemy. In the same way, a division of school children into racial or cultural groups is, similarly, a divisive tactic.

I should like to refer specifically to the practice which has been introduced in the New York school system of dividing the children along religious lines for the so-called "religious instruction periods." It seems to me that many well-meaning people are being hoodwinked by that tactic into allowing children to be divided off from their comrades on the pretext that it is fostering religious or cultural feeling. Our children should be made to feel that their place of work, at school, is a place where they can join hands with their fellow-students and feel a community of interest and a community of productivity.

I recall a similar effort that was made some years ago in a local hospital, where an attempt was made to introduce sectarian religious organizations among the doctors. Word went out to the doctors throughout the hospital that a Jewish medical group was being formed with sponsorship in high circles, and that Jewish doctors were invited to participate. Simultaneously, and I am sure not without some planning, a call went out among the medical students for

the organization of a Christian medical student's organization. Both these efforts (which failed) represented the divisive tactic of attracting people with religious and cultural interests into segregated groups at their place of work, in connection with their productive activities. We must be on guard against such tactics.

Learning from Experience

While we cultivate a consciousness, a dignity of Jewish feeling, and pride in the progressive heritage of our people, it seems to me we must not neglect having our children participate actively at school, and in the community, in the fight against anti-Semitism and in the fight against fascism. Our children must not be idle bystanders in the struggle but have to learn, on the level where they can be useful, that they too have responsibilities, opportunities and important tasks in this struggle.

It is important too that our children learn from their own experience in life what respect for the culture of other peoples means. It seems to me there is a dangerous tendency, even in some well-meaning circles, to rely too much on the spoken word, too much on dictation, and too much on theory to cultivate respect for cultural traditions in other national groups among our children. Our children must be made to realize not so much through word of mouth, but through active participation in play and in work activities with other children that there is a common bond of friendship and a common human interest, and common decencies among all religious and cultural groups. A parent who teaches his or her child to have respect for Negroes, but who never gives the child an opportunity to play with Negro children, or to see that the parents themselves can function in their own homes and their shops on an equal and comradely basis with Negroes, is denying the right to learn through actual experience what respect for cultural traditions means.

I hope then the campaign for a Jewish History Week will prosper; that our children will learn more about their Jewish progressive tradition, will meet the onslaughts of anti-Semitism with firmness and dignity, and with the realization that the fight against the enemy is broad and strong and deep, and that they are not so much a persecuted minority, as a significant part of the broad masses of the people—the broad democratic masses who are withstanding the onslaughts of a small and bigoted minority.

When I was a kid, I remember that every once in a while there was a pageant in which the various national groups at the school participated. These pageants would show how the Italians made their contributions to American culture, how the Czechs and the Poles and others made their contributions. But I do not recall ever having seen any Jewish group on the stage, nor do I recall any of the children asking why the Jews were omitted. I look forward to the time in the not too distant future, when I can see Jewish children on the stage at school, participating in such a pageant, showing proudly what the Jews have done to contribute to our national culture.

POLISH DIARY

By Paul Novick

JULY 4:

I have just returned from a session of the Presidium of the Jewish Central Committee. I heard a delegation report the results of its historic meeting with Premier Osobka-Morawski, regarding the Kielce pogrom.

Adolph Berman, vice-chairman of the Jewish Central Committee and a Labor Zionist leader, stated that the fascists had caused the pogrom; that the fascists were trying to avenge their defeat in the recent referendum by instituting a new reign of terror and a new round of attacks upon the government and especially upon the Jews.

It will be remembered that since the days of Pilsudski, Beck and Ridz-Smigly, anti-Semitism was one of the most deadly and major weapons of the reactionary Polish government. Anti-Semitic propaganda poisoned the minds of many Polish people then. And today this poison continues to be distilled. It still is an important factor, a residue which still remains, intensified by the Hitler occupation forces. Many Poles, during the occupation, willingly participated in the Nazi extermination-of-Jews program.

But both of these factors cannot fully explain the situation which exists in present-day Poland, for these anti-Semitic elements represent but a minority of the people of Poland. We know this to be true because of the results of the last referendum in which the reactionary Mikolajczyk boasted that his party would capture 75 per cent of the votes. What actually happened in the vote for the referendum was that Mikolajczyk and his party—an organization made up of open and secret anti-Semites—received only 30 per cent of the votes. The other 70 per cent—the figure that Mikolajczyk clamored he would get—went instead to the government-bloc which had bitterly been attacked by the reactionaries as a “Jewish” government.

It was to avenge himself for this stunning defeat at the polls that Mikolajczyk and his followers began their diabolical outburst of anti-Semitism.

The present government is the most democratic one in the history of Poland, not only concerning itself deeply in the welfare of the Jewish people, but also giving money, from its own meager treasury, to the Jewish community—more money than to any other section, proportionately. In addition, the present Polish government is also striving to create favorable conditions for speedy reconstruction of Jewish community life.

PAUL NOVICK is the editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, and on the editorial board of *JEWISH LIFE*. He is currently touring Europe.

Intervention in Poland

Why then has the government been unable to crush the fascists, unable to stop the pogrom? Every single foreign correspondent in Poland knows the answer, for the answer is a simple one:

Great Britain and America are intervening in the affairs of Poland and are lending material, moral and financial aid and assistance to the fascist forces in order to prevent a democratic reconstruction of the country.

Consider these outward facts, known to everyone in Poland. Among the pogromists arrested for participation in the Kielce pogrom were many former Anders army soldiers . . . soldiers still wearing their British-issued uniforms with the word “Poland” on their shoulder patches. Agents, equipped with modern weapons and provided with large sums of money, are secretly being parachuted into Poland to help the reactionary forces.

The records of thousands of Poles who might have been allies of the Hitler occupation forces have not been examined or investigated mainly because the government knew that such an investigation would give Mikolajczyk a chance to raise a hue and cry about it, and the “free press” of America and England would immediately blazon huge headlines, screaming “Bolshevik terror.”

Nor is this all. Striking swiftly, in order to prevent any thorough de-Nazifying of the country of fascist murderers, America and Britain forced premature elections upon Poland (as in a number of other countries). Thus, before there could be a sifting and examination and exposition of the persons and issues involved in an election, the power of America and Great Britain forced Mikolajczyk on Poland. And through these three men—Mikolajczyk, Anders and Bor Komorowski—American and British imperialists are deliberately sabotaging the democratic reconstruction of the country and are aiding the continuation of pogroms and reaction in Poland.

This battle going on now is apparent everywhere. When I first arrived in Warsaw, on the evening of the referendum, I could sense the struggle. I saw trucks, decorated with flags and placards, moving all around town. The trucks were loaded down with young people, shouting slogans and distributing leaflets.

And opposed to them, another campaign was going on at the same time . . . an underground campaign, fervently carried on by fascists and anti-Semites who were secretly distributing illegal literature, inciting against the “Jewish” government and calling for drastic action against the “Jewish” democratic-bloc. I personally saw many leaflets calling openly for pogroms.

That is why the reactionary forces in Poland were defeated, but not entirely crushed.

JULY 5:

The Jewish community is deeply shocked by the barbaric Kielce pogrom. The organ of the Polish Workers Party, *Glos Ludu*, stated in a front page editorial:

"Words are not enough. Severe punishment must be meted out to the pogromists. The world must learn that Poland mercilessly crushes those who use Hitler's tactics. The honor of Poland, the interests of the people demand that anti-Semitism be stamped out."

Kielce has thus aroused the democratic forces and the government of Poland. The most stringent security measures have already been put into effect, with the government initiating relentless warfare against the fascist gangs. One has to be on the spot to really see and appreciate and understand the courageous fight now being waged, the campaign of the Polish press, the meetings of the workers and the demonstrations to get a true picture of the seething anger against the pogromists.

JULY 6:

I am writing these lines in the office of the Jewish Central Committee after just having talked to a number of Jews who have just arrived from Kielce. From the descriptions of these eye-witnesses and from what I already have gathered from other sources, it is quite clear that this pogrom was the result of some very carefully planned and organized action and that it was especially a vital and integral part of the reactionary campaign to undermine the new Polish democracy.

For instance, some of the eye-witnesses reported that at the very height of the pogrom, bandits were running around, shouting, "Long live Anders!"

The government, stepping in with a firm hand, has already arrested a large number of these bandits as well as a number of militiamen who will be tried by a military tribunal within the next three or four days. And all of the Warsaw press, with the exception of Mikolajczyk's organ, has condemned the pogrom.

JULY 9:

I have just returned from Kielce where I attended the trials of the fascist pogromists.

The decision of the court was: nine sentenced to death, one for life imprisonment, one for ten years imprisonment and the only woman defendant—seven years in prison. This was the first trial of a series. Others are beginning immediately.

One of the things which impressed me most at the trial was the fact that so many Poles came forward voluntarily to testify against the fascist gangs. Another thing was that the military had control of the streets and intersections leading up to the courthouse.

The speed with which the trial was organized, the thor-

oughness with which the bandits were rounded up and the results and manner of the trial itself, all prove that there is a new type of Poland in existence today. . . .

AUGUST 7:

I talked to Molly Picon and Jacob Kalisch today.

These prominent Yiddish theatre people, who are quite popular in the United States, had just arrived in Poland a few days ago, and they said, "At eleven p.m. on Sunday night we broadcast over the government station." Molly added that she had sung songs in Yiddish for 15 minutes. Both of them stated that, while they had been in Paris preparing to go to Poland, they had been warned it would be dangerous for them to walk the streets at night. But that same Sunday they had not only gone to the station to broadcast a Yiddish program but had been with us at a great mass meeting. They had also attended a children's affair at one of the children's camps of the Jewish Central Committee, entertaining about 300 youngsters. It had been a beautiful party, with the children's choruses singing songs in Polish, Yiddish and Hebrew. Group dancing followed, and Jacob Kalisch had been thrilled by the entire spectacle.

"Who would have believed this from what they told us in Paris?" he cried out.

My reason for including this little anecdote is that this idea of hysteria and panic flooding the country is being whipped up and fabricated both inside and outside Poland by its enemies. When wires burn up with flashes of new and better pogroms, of more hundreds killed since Kielce, it is only natural that outsiders get the impression that life in Poland is impossible, that a reign of terror exists, that danger lurks on every street corner. I am not trying to give the impression that everything is just fine here. Not by any means. The situation is still a very difficult one because Poland, like the rest of Europe, is just recovering from the ravages of war and from the fascist plague. And many fascists remain yet to be crushed—a process in which great suffering and great difficulties are bound to rise.

Such a difficulty arose in Lodz. There, I was told by Abraham Kagan, an active Zionist, of the way the security department and the workers crushed an attempt of bandits to instigate a disturbance in that city. The bandits had tried to start a pogrom there but, because of the quick appearance of security police and brigades of Polish workers, the riot was quickly put down and many of the bandits arrested. This energetic action brought forth such sentiments among the Jews, that even Kagan himself kept repeating, "Lodz is the safest city in Poland!"

Yet, despite these preventative measures, panic and hysteria do hit Lodz and other cities. Yesterday, while I was at the Central Committee's offices, a phone call came from Lodz. A pathetic voice wanted to know whether a pogrom had burst out in Bialystock. Calls also started to come in about this same question from Lower Silesia. But people who had come from Bialystock that same day vehemently denied that any pogrom had taken place there. "Bialystock is the safest city in Poland," they too said.

Struggle Against Hysteria

What is going on? Who is spreading these rumors? Who sent out the news which later appeared in the American press on the 12 and 13 of July that "22 Jews were killed," or the story that "160 had been killed since Kielce"? Who is responsible for these lies and provocations? Who is interested in creating this panic and thus driving thousands of Jews to those camps in Germany and Austria where already 100,000 Jews, living there for a year and a half, are being demoralized physically and spiritually?

There are, of course, many who want to leave Poland for any number of reasons. Some want to join relatives in America, Palestine and other countries. Others refuse to remain in Poland because of the social revolution which is taking place in the country.

The Central Committee is doing everything in its power to keep an orderly flow of emigration of those who want to leave. At the same time the Committee also encourages meetings or concerts or entertainments to show that there is no actual widespread panic and hysteria. The Jewish Actors Society, a newly created group of entertainers, made their first appearance in Lodz to a packed house, with hundreds turned away. On the Sunday before that, also in Lodz, some 2,000 Jews came to listen to Rubin Saltzman of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and myself as speakers. Last Friday, in Stettin, 5,000 Jews flocked to our meeting. And in both cities, bedecked streets and giant placards in Yiddish announced and advertised the meetings.

Thus the Central Committee is making every concerted effort to help those who want to stay or who want to leave. But, at the same time, the Committee does not consider this desire of those who wish to leave the country a contradiction of the fact that a Jewish community will remain in Poland. As a matter of fact, the Committee considers its paramount task to be that of building the Jewish community while at the same time helping those who want to leave.

How Panic Is Created

That the panic and hysteria are artificially manufactured is a fact recognized by all groups. Who is responsible for it? How is it being done?

Let me answer the second question first. A rumor suddenly spreads throughout the country that a pogrom has taken place in Bialystock. One hundred and twenty-four Jews killed. Then another rumor. . . . Twenty-two Jews killed on the train from Lodz to Breslau. A few days later, another rumor. . . . A pogrom in Czeszochov.

And in the midst of these wildly circulating rumors comes a report that the government will allow the borders to be open only for one week . . . and that after this deadline the borders will be blocked and sealed, with no one allowed to leave. And on top of this comes still another rumor that the government actually wants all the Jews to leave. And so on and so on. . . .

Finally, after long delays, after checking and re-checking, one reaches Warsaw by telephone and learns that the whole batch of rumors is lies and fabrications. But no sooner does one start to squelch this rumor than another one has sprung up.

The falsehoods and lies cost lives. Jews throw up their work and livelihoods (and many Jews have a means of livelihood) and they start to flee the country. They wade across the border into Czechoslovakia. But in order to cross the border you need some help. And there are those who are ready to help—for a price. For this sort of helpers the boom and prosperity season is on. They are cleaning up millions. Thus, these "border-helpers" are one kind of people who are interested in starting rumors.

Then there are the Zionist-Revisionists who made themselves a notorious record during the occupation. (The famous poet-partisan, Abraham Sutzkever, as well as others, told me that there were quite a few Revisionists amongst the Jewish police in the ghettos . . . that is, the Jewish police who did Hitler's bidding.) Now they have gone so far as to distribute illegal literature. They, together with others who work closely with them, are interested in getting as many as possible to go to the DP camps. The Zionist-Revisionists feel that, by this method, they will force the British to open the doors of Palestine. True, there are already 120,000 Jews in the DP camps, but if there will be more the cry will be greater.

Revisionist Morality

The fact that the Jews are becoming demoralized in these DP camps, that so many are too weary and sick to wander any longer, concerns these reckless Revisionist adventurers little. "The end justifies the means," one of them told me. "Even if only a very small portion will reach Palestine, it will have been worth it." Another one, told that the young Jewish girls had become so demoralized in these camps that they had become prostitutes, answered, "Too bad. The main thing is the goal."

Reactionary Zionists have had their hands deep in this panic. There is no doubt that certain elements, outside of Poland, are playing deliberate roles in organizing this dangerous panic-migration. Many persons are making deeply injurious, irresponsible and rash statements harming the interests of Polish Jews. Polish papers recently printed the "prophecy" of Rabbi Philip Bernstein, chief Jewish chaplain of the American army. Gazing into his crystal ball, the Rabbi turned Nostradamus and pulled out a magic number . . . the number 100,000, saying that by the end of the year that many Jews will have fled Poland. This is not only stupid talk but it is dangerous talk. Where did the good Rabbi get his facts, his figures? The Polish anti-Semitic underground no doubt jumped with joy that the Rabbi agreed with them about Jews leaving Poland. No doubt, they even figure they might hasten the Rabbi's prophetic utterance by creating another Kielce pogrom. . . .

But the Zionists and the Rabbis are not the only ones guilty. I feel that the Jews of America bear great responsi-

bility for the panic and hysteria which has been and still is responsible for the loss of so many Jewish lives. Months ago, the Jewish Central Committee warned American Jewry that tens of thousands of their brethren were coming from the Soviet Union and that, in order to be able to help these people settle down and rebuild their shattered lives, millions of dollars were necessary. But American Jewry did not heed the warning and made no great effort to respond to this call for help. True, a few single organizations sent small sums of money. But the real tragic fact is that material and financial assistance that was so vital and necessary was not begun by the Joint Distribution Committee until late in June of 1946. But Jews had begun to return to Po-

land as early as February, March and April. Thus, in the city of Stettin alone there were already 28,000 Jews in May. . . . Jews with practically no means of support. People actually dropped dead of hunger in the streets. Jews became demoralized, grew cynical and bitter, not knowing to whom or where to turn.

And in America, instead of organizing campaigns to send funds for food and so that the Jews could organize themselves for productive labor, the "big" Jewish leaders did nothing but cry, "All Jews must leave Poland!"

By so doing, they were aiding in the killing of hundreds of thousands of Jews.

ROGGE REPORT SIGNALS DANGER TO AMERICA

By Rob F. Hall

(Continued from page 1)

another, to aid his fight for world domination. O. John Rogge spent three months in Germany, interviewing and grilling Nazi officials, to compile the information contained in his report.

Back in the United States, Rogge submitted the 400-page document to his chief, Attorney General Tom C. Clark, on the assumption that the material would be used to prosecute those American citizens who in their sympathies for Hitlerism overstepped the bounds of law. When nothing was done with the information, Rogge concluded the report was in the process of being buried and took steps to put some of his material before the public.

Within a couple of days after he had spoken on the subject before students at Swarthmore College, Rogge was fired by the attorney general—fired, according to reports in Washington, on the instructions of President Truman. Rogge charges, and there is evidence to support the charge, that Truman acted after a long conference with Senator Wheeler.

The Fascist Threat

Rogge is not by any stretch of the imagination a left-winger. In one of his recent public statements, he quite gratuitously attacked the Communist Party and praised FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover for his campaign against communism. But Rogge believes that fascism, not communism, is a menace to American institutions.

"The fascist threat to democracy is greater today than it was at any time prior to 1930, the year the Nazis showed their first big gains," Rogge told a radio audience recently. The threat is all the more serious, he held, because most people are unaware of it.

ROB F. HALL is the Washington editor of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*.

"Those who wish to attack fascism and tell the facts about Nazi penetration in this country, no matter whose name is involved, find themselves gagged," he said.

He revealed that he understood only too well how crusades against communism provide protective coloring for those with fascist designs.

"It is a great advantage to the fascists," he said, "who always stress the communist menace, when government officials discuss communism but are not free to disclose factual data on the activities of the fascists in this country."

Apparently Rogge appreciates the implications in the suppression of his report. The material in the report is important. But most important is that the leaders of the government, some of them elected on the Roosevelt platform of a fight for the complete destruction of fascism, are willing to suppress that document because it gives unfavorable publicity to persons in high places. Rogge apparently believes that the threat to American democracy involved in that suppression is many times more dangerous than the activities of a few dozen Americans cited in the report.

Strength of Pro-Fascist Forces

It is true this material would have been highly embarrassing to the American friends of Hitler in 1939 or the early forties. Its publication would have been followed by social ostracism, financial ruin and in some cases federal prosecution.

But today the man who uncovers the material is driven from office. It is he, the accuser and not the accused, who faces ostracism among his former associates, who must be having his own financial difficulties as a result of his dismissal, and who may yet face court action for "libel."

The men Rogge accuses are no more powerful at present than they were five or six years ago. Why, then, are their positions today so much more impregnable? Why can they

maintain such an unruffled calm while facts are brought to light which show them to be anti-Semitic, anti-democratic, anti-labor, and friendly towards Hitlerian principles?

The answer to these questions is what must shock Rogge as well as every patriotic American.

In America in 1946, it is no crime to be anti-Semitic. To be anti-democratic is increasingly fashionable among the powerful vested interests. And to be anti-labor is to agree with the platform of the political party which has just won a comfortable majority of seats in the Congress of the United States.

Anti-Semitism and anti-democratic ideas have always been tolerated, if not encouraged, by the ruling classes of

the nation. They were virtually outlawed during the war with Hitler because that period represented a peak of the influence of labor and other democratic elements in American life.

The attitude of the Truman administration, the press and the Congress to the Rogge report is a danger signal. It testifies to the new strength and arrogance of the undemocratic and pro-fascist forces in our national life.

It points unerringly to the need of crystallizing as soon as possible a new, broader and stronger progressive coalition of labor and the people for the preservation of peace and democracy.

SUPPRESSED HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ROGGE REPORT

Here are some of the highlights of the O. John Rogge report which Attorney General Clark has suppressed. It is interesting to note that finance capital is involved together with legislators, the press, prominent individuals, leaders of the American fascist movement, even reactionary labor leaders. They make the familiar pattern of fascism, an unholy alliance of reactionary elements from the respectable upper classes, from labor and from the hoodlum fringe, bound together by and serving finance capital.

- *Reader's Digest* editor, DeWitt Wallace, ordered \$4,300 paid to Lawrence Dennis, alleged seditionist and self-styled intellectual leader of American fascism. The money was to "tide Dennis over" while he discontinued his pro-Nazi *Weekly Foreign Letter*, which Wallace feared would land Dennis in jail. The payments began in 1941 and continued after Pearl Harbor.
- James D. Mooney, vice president of General Motors, who subsidized the native fascist Society of Sentinels, met with a Nazi agent, Gerhard Westrick, and told him he would try to sell Pres. Roosevelt on getting along with Germany, even after Hitler had overrun France, Belgium, Holland and Norway.
- Sosthenes Behn, president of International Telephone and Telegraph Co., not only met with Westrick and discussed doing business with Hitler, but after the Nazis occupied Czechoslovakia discussed the division of the assets of some Czech companies with the Germans.
- Sen. Burton K. Wheeler's famous isolationist slogan, "We don't want to plow under every fourth American boy," originated with the Nazi propaganda ministry in Berlin and was brought to Washington by an unnamed person. Roosevelt attacked Wheeler after the senator used the slogan in an America First speech.
- Carl Byoir, top-drawer New York public relations counsel, received more than \$100,000 from the Nazis for propagandizing for them.
- A purported interview with Hitler, signed by Karl von Wiegand, June 14, 1940, and circulated by Hearst-owned International News Service, the Hearst and Patterson-McCormick papers, was a phoney. The report says the

interview never took place. Instead, the Nazi propaganda minister formulated some questions, had Hitler answer them and then gave the material to von Wiegand, who wrote he had personally interviewed the Nazi feuhrer and could assure the world that Hitler and Germany desired peace.

- *Reader's Digest* editor, George T. Eggleston, and Douglas M. Stewart of *Scribner's Commentator* received \$39,000 from mysterious sources, at least \$15,000 of which was personally given to them by the Nazi press attache in Washington. The money was used to circulate pro-Nazi propaganda in the *Commentator* and in the *Lake Geneva Herald*, a paper they started for that purpose.
- *Reader's Digest* senior editor, Paul Palmer, met with Nazi agents in this country. Regarded as the contact man between the Germans and the *Digest*, he introduced Dennis to DeWitt Wallace and asked the Nazis for help in starting a new subtle pro-Nazi magazine. Former Nazi Ambassador Hans Thomsen is quoted as saying, "Palmer seemed to be a special admirer of Germany and wanted to engage in some sort of activity."
- Father Charles E. Coughlin sent Leo T. Reardon, a special emissary, to Berlin. There he met with Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, assured him of Coughlin's admiration for the Nazis and their principles and spoke against Roosevelt and the Jews. He also transmitted some suggestions from Coughlin for a more effective use of Nazi propaganda in the United States.
- Charles A. Lindbergh was the Nazis' favorite. His work in the United States was regarded so highly by Berlin that Paul K. Schmidt, head of the German foreign office press department, ordered that Lindbergh's name should not be praised too highly in the German press since it would tend to discredit his great work in the United States. Lindbergh gave Goering a silver dish as a birthday present for Goering's daughter.
- Anne Lindbergh's articles were allegedly ghost-written for her by Dennis, according to a statement by Dennis' secretary, Betty Kern.
- One of the most sensational aspects of the report was

the charge that John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers (AFL), helped the Nazis obtain Mexican oil for their war machine, aided Hermann Goering's plan for a negotiated peace and then agreed to a fantastic German scheme to defeat Roosevelt for reelection in 1940. The report details State Department documents, written by then Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr., at the specific request of Roosevelt, which cites the

labor leader's activities on behalf of the Nazis. Associated with Lewis in these ventures, and pictured as completely dominating him, is the late William R. Davis, a wealthy oil promoter who allegedly acted as a Nazi agent and was the link between Lewis and Goering. The report says the Nazis had a \$5,000,000 slush fund available to defeat Roosevelt in 1940, but there is no evidence that Lewis received any part of it.

SOVIET POWER AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

By Y. Peikin

OUR country has followed a complex course of development during the Soviet period. In carrying out the policy on the national question formulated by Lenin and Stalin, Soviet Power cemented friendship among peoples, and built up in our country a powerful "multi-national socialist state, whose stability can be the envy of every national state in every part of the world" (Stalin).

The Stalin Constitution sums up the historical achievements of the Soviet people. It recorded in law the victory of socialism in our country. It established equality among races and nations as a principle of government. The Stalin Constitution thereby strengthened even further the firm foundation for the moral and political unity of the Soviet peoples. It guaranteed to all nationalities new, unlimited possibilities for economic and cultural development, for their continued advance toward Communism.

Jews in Czarist Russia

Czarist Russia was a prison of nations, in which the Jewish laboring masses faced extremely cruel oppression. Jews could live in only fifteen of the provinces of European Russia, and in those provinces of Poland then part of the Russian Empire. They were not allowed to set foot outside this pale. Moreover, they were subject to innumerable restrictions within the pale itself. They could not live in villages, nor even in certain cities such as Kiev, Nikolaev and others.

Rich Jews had some privileges. In addition, they frequently bribed Czarist officials to get around the restrictive laws. Hardships and persecution were the lot of the Jewish masses, who were doubly oppressed socially and nationally.

Fully 95 per cent of the Jews in Czarist Russia were herded into the cities and towns of the Pale, which was like a vise stunting their economic development and distorting their social structure. They were deprived of the right to work on farms or in industry. Only 4 per cent were industrial workers. A little more than 2 per cent were farmers. About 18 per cent were impoverished handicrafts-

men. A substantial part of the Jewish population was forced into various non-productive occupations. There appeared the *luftmensch*, immortalized by Sholom Aleichem in *Menachem Mendel*.

Masses of Jews were in a chronic state of poverty. About 30 per cent of the Jewish population depended upon charity. Government jobs were completely closed to Jews. They were not even allowed to hold positions in municipal home-rule administrations. They could not work in educational institutions. Jewish students in schools were limited to ten per cent of the total enrollment. Many schools would not accept Jews at all.

More than 600 restrictions against Jews cluttered the Czarist statute books!

Anti-Semitism—Weapon of Reaction

The ruling classes fostered anti-Semitism in order to disunite the forces of the people. Anti-Semitism served as a means of throttling the growing dissatisfaction of the masses.

In 1905, the Czarist regime, beginning to shake under the revolutionary pressure of the working class, attempted to drown the revolution in blood by establishing the "Black Hundreds," a terrorist police organization. One of its main functions was to provoke pogroms against the Jews, 690 of which occurred in October of that year alone.

The Bolsheviks constantly explained to the masses the counter-revolutionary essence of anti-Semitism, unmasked Czarism as the organizer of these pogroms, and called the working class to armed struggle for the overthrow of the Czarist regime.

During elections to the Duma, all sorts of administrative tricks were used to nullify even the minimum rights of voters. "Announcements" concerning Jewish voters came thick and fast. According to one such "announcement," the right to vote was taken away from all Jews whose residence permits were conditional. This affected thousands of Jews living in St. Petersburg, Kiev and other cities. In Smolensk, five hundred voters, all of them Jews, could not be "located." In many cities with large Jewish populations, elections were held on Saturdays, to keep religious Jews from voting.

Y. PEIKIN, Soviet journalist, has appeared in many Soviet journals. The present article was first published in *Einikeit*, organ of the Soviet Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

The Governor of Ekaterinoslav informed the Chief Rabbi, "Your Jews are busy preparing to take part in the elections to the Duma . . . are joining in a bloc with the progressives. This business may cost the Jews dearly. Tell that to them from the altar. . . ."

The Czarist government even stooped to spreading the libel regarding the use of Christian blood in Jewish ritual.

Lenin showed that "no nationality in Russia is as persecuted and oppressed as the Jews." (Collected Works, Vol. XVII.)

Jewish People Achieve Freedom

The "Declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Russia," written by Stalin and published on November 17, 1917, abolished all restrictions against Jews. Soviet Power gave the Jewish people political freedom, and full opportunity to participate in all phases of government. In the very first days of its existence, the Soviet government began a decisive battle against anti-Semitism—that dread inheritance from Czarism. The Soviets branded anti-Semitism as counter-revolutionary and pronounced the severest penalty on active anti-Semites.

In the difficult days of civil war, Lenin signed a decree (July 25, 1918) concerning the struggle against anti-Semitism and pogroms. Lenin added in his own handwriting, "Pogromists and pogrom-agitators are to be placed outside the law." The decree was telegraphed to all local Soviets.

On March 31, 1919, Lenin made a speech against anti-Semitism that was recorded on phonograph discs for greater popularization. The speech ended with the following words: "Disgrace and infamy to the damnable Czarism which tortured and persecuted the Jews! Disgrace and infamy to whoever sows enmity against Jews and hatred against other nations!" (Collected Works, Vol. XXIV.)

Stalin always paid great attention to the problem of uprooting anti-Semitism. He considered anti-Semitism a most dangerous remnant of cannibalism, and a phenomenon that was fundamentally inimical to the Soviet system.

Stalin wrote, "In the USSR, anti-Semitism is suppressed as anti-Soviet. According to the laws of the USSR, active anti-Semites are punished with the death penalty."

The legislation and the directives of Soviet state officials regarding the fight against anti-Semitism were unprecedented. In addition to legislative and administrative measures, the entire system of cultural enlightenment and agitational and propaganda activity in the USSR serve as a mighty weapon for destroying remnants of anti-Semitism.

Assistance to the Jewish People

Stalin points out "that legal equality, although of greatest importance in the history of the development of the Soviet republics, is still not the same as actual equality." Therefore, one of the first principles of the policy of Lenin and Stalin on the national question is "to assist backward nationalities in their cultural and industrial development,

without which so-called 'equality of nations' becomes an empty phrase."

To Stalin belongs the credit of initiating all important measures that were taken toward the socio-economic readjustment, the industrialization, and the cultural development of the Jewish people. Soviet Power gave extensive assistance in the achievement of actual equality for the Jewish people.

As early as 1919, the Central Committee of the Communist Party called on the Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture to settle Jews on the land. As a result, much was done to draw Jews into agriculture. In 1924, a special government bureau was set up to aid in settling Jews on the land (*Comzet*).

The question of drawing masses of Jews into industrial work was given a great deal of attention. Thousands of young Jewish people from small towns were sent for technical training to large industrial centers in the Urals, Gorky Region, Kuznetsk Basin, etc. In time, many of them became outstanding figures in industry.

The old *luftmensch* was put to productive work by the Soviet Power. Tremendous numbers of urban Jews were drawn into artisan-cooperatives.

Before the Great Patriotic War, the proportion of workers and employees in the Jewish population had reached 70 per cent. Industrial workers amounted to 58 per cent. Twenty per cent were in artisan-cooperatives.

The Czarist government had done everything possible for generations to keep Jews from farming. Yet, in spite of the difficulty of converting urban Jews into farmers, a compact network of Jewish cooperative farms was created under Soviet guidance in the Ukraine, Crimea and other areas.

Equal Among Equals

All measures of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government to productivize the Jewish masses were carried out on an extensive, nationwide basis, as part of the general plan for industrializing the country and strengthening socialist construction.

As a result, all distortions in the socio-economic structure of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union were completely wiped out. The conditions that had been forcing the Jewish masses into economic and moral degradation were done away with.

The Jews of Poland and other lands who found in the Soviet Union a refuge from fascist terror went through a great school of productivization in the Urals, Kazakhstan and other regions. Thousands of former merchants and untrained people became qualified experts in industry and agriculture.

The highest expression of the actual equality of the Jewish people in the USSR is found in the moral and political atmosphere of friendship and brotherly relations toward the Jews on the part of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Thanks to this congenial atmosphere, every Jew in our land experiences a deep sense of importance and freedom. This

is an incalculable achievement, one which affects the spirit of the people.

In Czarist Russia—wrote Lenin in 1914—"the schools, the press, parliament, all are used to spread a wild and evil hatred of the Jews." (Collected Works, Vol. XVII.) Only in Soviet Russia did the Jews hear the vital words of historical recognition that they "belonged."

M. I. Kalinin announced in 1926, "The Jewish people have inhabited the soil of Russia for a thousand years. They have the right, as much as Ukrainians and Russians, to regard the USSR as their fatherland, the socialist fatherland."

In 1936, after the fascist murderers had already begun to carry out on a mass scale their anti-Semitic, cannibalistic program of annihilating the Jews, the Soviet Union announced, through a speech by V. M. Molotov in the Congress of Soviets:

"Regardless of what may be said by contemporary cannibals among the fascist anti-Semites, our brotherly feelings

toward the Jewish people are determined by the fact that this people gave birth to the creator of the ideas of communist emancipation of mankind—Karl Marx; by the fact that the Jewish people, along with the most highly developed nations, contributed many of the outstanding geniuses of science, industry and art, many of the most famous heroes of the struggle against the oppressors of the toiling masses; and in our country, the Jewish people brought forth, and are still bringing forth, amazingly talented leaders and organizers in all phases of the building and defending of socialism. All of this determines our attitude toward anti-Semites and anti-Semitic outrages, wherever they occur."

These were our country's words of support and warning. The actual force and power behind this warning became clear to the world during the Great Patriotic War, when the heroic Red Army saved the Jewish people from complete annihilation.

(Concluded in the February issue)

LETTER FROM A GI

By James J. Green

Indianapolis

DEAREST:

On the last leg of my trip from home I had to run into a little incident. It was on the bus to camp. After it was all full a colored sergeant got on. He'd apparently had some words with the ticket seller; anyhow he was a bit sore and ruffled. He had a few words with the bus-driver, too, nothing serious, then walked up the aisle and noticed there were no seats. So he walked back and said: "Better give me my ticket, I don't want to stand."

Hereupon a lanky and somewhat drunk soldier in the front seat said in a nasty way: "G'wan, git off the bus!" The colored fellow answered angrily: "You mind your own business, you're not running this bus." They exchanged threats a little but it came to nothing since the Negro soldier got off the bus in his own good time. When the door closed and the bus started the drunk sort of half-turned in his seat and said over his shoulder: "By God, it's a long time since I killed a nigger." Then he went on to the effect that up here they arrested you . . . imagine that! . . . if you killed a n---r, where he came from all you had to do was kill him and say he was fresh to your girl, and that was that, etc. And he winds up, "There's two things I don't like and that's niggers and Jews."

My boiling point had been going up; but I'm sorry I waited as long as I did; for then it seems as though he had to bring Jews in before I'd speak up. That isn't it—but it was his climax; and the exact time I opened my mouth and told him in a voice hoarse and shaking with anger to shut

up. And I said very shortly that he was disgracing his uniform with that kind of talk, that our country had had to sacrifice many lives because of it, that we'd had enough of it—and well, just to shut up! He started to mumble but the driver and some other GIs—I'm not sure—also said OK, that's enough, that's enough. He subsided; before long he was asleep. But I was somewhat nerved-up and tense long after the tenseness of the moment was gone.

Why had I been the only one to speak up in a bus full of GIs? Yes, I know the answer; but still what an indictment of the army, and of our schools and "free" press and so very democratic institutions! And yes, in that tense moment in the bus I did not know how many were with me and how many with this drunken lynch-spokesman. There were officers in the bus—I had seen them go in—they sat silent. If I had been an officer I would have arrested him on the spot. One lieutenant sat beside me; he was Jewish I think. We had exchanged a few idle words previously. He sat silent and dumb through it all. About a half hour later, after the bus had been rolling shakily along the road to camp, he reached over and patted my knee and whispered in my ear: "I like a guy with guts." Very fine—but why did not he get angry enough to forget a little about the possibilities for his own guts and speak up? So I muttered some reply.

I'm no hero with "guts"; such individuals as that, violent and cannibalistic, horrify me; I shrink from the idea of getting into brawls. Something makes me speak though; and I hope it always will. As for the rest, let us hitch up our belts and strive mightily when the time comes. . . .

JACK.

JAMES J. GREEN is the organizer of the Communist Party of Texas.

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

DANGER FOR BRITISH JEWRY

FOR a number of days the British press—almost without exception—has been publishing the most hair-raising stories about alleged preparations for terroristic activities by Jewish terrorists. Headlines screamed out at readers: "Jewish Terror Gang Threatens Attacks on Cabinet Ministers and London Buildings," "Scotland Yard Protection for Ministers and Public Buildings," "Stern Gang: Yard at 'Ready,' Parliament Opening: Royal Route Windows Checked," "Extra Guards Placed on Ministries: Armed Police Patrol War Office. News Ban on Montgomery. Three Companies Stand By."

One newspaper told of a "Whitehall milkman" who had seen three Jews "behaving suspiciously at the back of a government office." Another wrote of a young woman "in red," described as the fiancée of a member of the Stern Gang. A Polish Jew, suspected of being associated with the Sternists, has been detained. At the same time, some 800 to 900 Polish Jewish soldiers, brought to England for transfer to the Polish Resettlement Corps, are reported to have been transferred instead to a camp for special "screening."

Thus we have the beginnings of concentration camps in Great Britain—and the first occupants are Jews. Britain's policy of rehabilitating the Jewish Displaced Persons is adding British camps to those recently set up in Cyprus.

The press "scare" coincided with the reopening of Parliament. The occasion was used by the police authorities to add their share to the tension caused by the press. The authorities behaved as though the "threat" was a real one. The streets along which the King had to pass on his way to Parliament were heavily guarded by armed police and troops. A "black-out" on Field Marshal Montgomery's movements was decreed. An ingenious reporter "disclosed" that "The reasons why Monty has been placed on the 'death list' by the terrorists is that it is known that the Field Marshal resisted for some time the move in Parliament to have General Barker removed from his post in Palestine." The same "black-out" was imposed on the movements of Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister; General Barker, referred to above; Sir John Shaw, former Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government; Viscount Hall, the former Colonial Secretary. As if this was not sufficient as a scare story, it was added that potential victims of the Jewish terrorists would be "prominent critics of their activities among the Jewish community in Britain." At the same

time, a spate of photographs was published illustrating the "security" measures taken by the authorities.

For the time being, this is the way the effects of the policy of the British government toward Palestine are extending to Britain itself. Unfortunately this carries a real and growing danger for British Jewry.

As a consequence of the Labor government's foreign policy—with its heavy military commitments in many parts of the world—there has been considerable delay in the demobilization program. There have again been reports of British soldiers' "walk-outs" at Tel El Kabir in the Suez Canal Zone and at Port Said, Suez and Abbassia, because of new delays. In addition, the loss of life caused by the events in Palestine is bringing home to many in Great Britain the heavy price involved in these commitments. Much discontent is expressed by the British people with this foreign policy and its effects upon the common folk. There is the large vote against the government's foreign policy at the recent Trades Union Congress. This discontent is also indicated by the differences exhibited publicly by the Labor group in Parliament. This recently led to a sharp debate on foreign policy in the House of Commons, during which on a vote of confidence, Churchill came to the support of Attlee and Bevin while 160 Laborites abstained from voting in protest.

However, despite the presence of this clear-cut discontent with the government's foreign policy, propaganda blaming the Jews for the demobilization delay is very current. The Mosleyites are reaping a rich harvest. Their anti-Semitic propaganda has received a great stimulus. The press "scare" stories—as well as the "ac-

tivities" of the police authorities—have added grist to their mill. There exists at present a real danger that anti-Semitism will grow and become more effective before long. The London *Daily Worker* reports that in Bethnal Green, in East London, the Jew-baiting fascists, very active lately, "are already putting around the lie that 'there are arms in the synagogues,' backed up with incitement 'to burn them down.'" (Nov. 14, 1946.)

This is the pass to which British policy in Palestine has brought things. The policy of "divide-and-rule" and imperialist domination in Palestine is leading to an explosive situation not only in Palestine, but in Britain itself. From what was at first sight simply a question of diverting attention from Palestine itself to the misdeeds of some Jews, a pogrom atmosphere is being created.

Unfortunately, the Zionist's propaganda is not easing the tense situation. It continues to press for its demands regarding the future of Palestine. On the other hand, the Board of Deputies of British Jews steps quickly in to give support to the authorities' "scare" stories by expressing "great distress" at the reported threats to extend terrorist activities to Great Britain, and to assure the authorities that the "importance of all security precautions is fully realized" by the Board.

A great responsibility rests upon the British government in these circumstances. It would be intolerable if, under a Labor government, a pogrom atmosphere were to be produced and excesses to take place. Will this be avoided? The question cannot be answered affirmatively. The persistence with which the British government is pursuing its present foreign policy can hardly avoid such consequences. Public opinion, both Jewish and non-Jewish, in all countries, must indicate its strong disagreement with such a policy and thus, by its pressure, make possible a change of policy.

London

L. ZAIDMAN.

CANADIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

ACCURATE information on the earliest settlement of the Jews in Canada is lacking. Although some Maranos did enter the colonies, the French court prohibited professing Jews from settling in its North American territories. Not until Britain wrested the rich prize in 1763 were practicing Jews able to reside legally in the country.

At the outset, immigration was slight. The first Jewish settlers came mainly from Portugal, Spain, England and Wales. The British allowed them to own property,

conduct their own worship, and take part in the general communal life, but forbade them to hold any civic or legislative office. In 1831, thirty-six years before the Dominion of Canada came into existence, when the name Canada applied only to the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, this discrepancy was eliminated when the phrase that a legislative member takes his oath "as a Christian" was expunged.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries the trickle of Jewish immigrants became a flood. Thousands came to Can-

ada seeking equality. The flood's height was reached in 1913-14 when 18,031 were admitted. Since then it has dwindled. Stringent laws, containing secret clauses branding Jews as non-desirables, have shut the doors tight. The Jewish population is estimated at 170,000 or approximately 1.5 per cent of the total population.

In general the problems of Jews in the United States and Canada are identical. Anti-Semitism has increased. Symptoms of it are not new, and prior to the war the native fascists boldly flaunted their Jew-baiting. As the struggle of the Canadian working-class to stem the government's course and consolidate the peace becomes more acute, anti-Semitism too may be expected to increase in severity.

The greater number of Jews belong to the petty bourgeoisie. But there is a strong proletarian element in the main Jewish centers of Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg. Most Jewish leaders in Canada are Zionist, but a substantial number of Jews accept instead the policies of progressive Jewish thought. The leader of progressive Jews is Joseph Gershman, a mem-

ber of the national committee of the Labor-Progressive Party, a trade unionist in background and a pioneer in mobilizing the Jewish masses.

One example can suffice to indicate the influence of the Jewish proletariat upon the Jewish community as a whole. The Canadian Jewish Congress, representing all Jewish organizations, agreed to seat progressive members on its executives during the war when Jewish unity was at its peak. Following the arrest and conviction of Fred Rose, the Jewish member of Parliament from Montreal, as an alleged agent of the Soviet Union, a surreptitious move to oust progressives from the national executive of the Congress was started. It failed abysmally. The Jewish reactionaries did not dare to press the issue, so considerable had been the progressives' contribution to Jewish unity. It is no accident that a distinguished Rabbi should have admitted to this writer a few days ago that the only persons trying to develop Jewish culture in Canada in an organized fashion are the progressives.

Toronto

NATHAN COHEN.

ANTI-SEMITISM FATAL TO RUMANIA

THE recent anti-Semitic provocations, engineered by the Maniu-National Peasant Party leadership, which culminated in the anti-Semitic speech made by Ion Mihalache before a university student body, have been recognized by practically the entire Rumanian press as a bid for pogroms and civil war aimed at the Groza government. They had in mind the recent elections.

Mr. Mihalache is no small fry. He is the national vice-president of the National Peasant Party.

Mr. Mihalache tried to impress the students, who have been poisoned for years with the Nazi doctrine, that thousands and hundreds of thousands of Jews have come from other countries without the permission of the Rumanian government. He intimated that the Rumanian people are terribly upset by this phenomenon.

Mihalache went further. He warned the Rumanian Jews, via the anti-Semitic students, that they "shouldn't make use of the present situation which is favorable to them." He told the Jews that they "shouldn't seek revenge by denunciation" of fascists and anti-Semites; that "they shouldn't seek governmental posts" or any other good posts. If they persist, the Jews are bound to be resented by others, and so on and so forth.

¹ Ion Mihalache was denied by the Rumanian government the right to run for office in the recent elections because of his expressed anti-Semitism.

The speech of this national misleader for many years of the now "historical" party of Maniu, who did not hesitate to shake hands with the criminal Antonescu in the People's Court when he was on trial, was immediately rejected and energetically condemned by almost the entire press, both on the radical and conservative sides.

Mr. Tudor Teodorescu-Braniste, veteran journalist, director of the *Jurnalul de Dimineata* (*The Morning Journal*), and whose prestige is quite great even among Rumanian-Americans, condemned Mihalache's statement bitterly in that paper. He wrote:

"The country needed peace within and a good reputation without; anti-Semitism was the tool for creating dissensions within and loss of the country's prestige abroad."

Referring directly to Mihalache's speech, Mr. Braniste said that Mr. Mihalache made several mistakes.

"In the fatal game of anti-Semitism in Rumania, the number of Jews (in our country) played a decisive part. I remember that about 1930 some manifestoes issued by Cuza (notorious anti-Semite—Ed.) stated that there were 4,000,000 Jews in Rumania, which was a blatant lie. Nevertheless a good many simple-minded people believed it. It would be well to publish official figures in order that the imagination of anti-Semites should not be worked up by exaggerations. One thing is certain,

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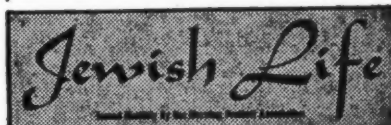
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however, that after the persecutions they
have been through, the number of Jews in
Rumania is greatly reduced."

Mr. Braniste continues, "We do not
ask the anti-Semites to be generous be-
cause they cannot be. We do not ask them
to renounce a prejudice which makes it un-
necessary for them to take the trouble to
judge. We do not ask them to be fair
because their horrid doctrine is based on
unfairness. We ask only one thing of
them, to listen to their own instinct for
preservation. Miraculously we've escaped
once the danger into which anti-Semitism
had hurled us. We shall most certainly
not be able to escape a second time. And
besides it is not fair that millions of hard-
working and decent folk who do not ac-
cept that foolish slogan, should suffer
through a noisy minority which imagines
it can solve all problems by shouting,
'Down with the Jews!'"

He exposed Mihalache's lumping of
Jews into one pot, pointing out that the
generalizations made by Mihalache are
mean and violently dangerous.

"It is less trouble to say: the workers
are so and so... the peasants are so and
so, the Moldavians are so and so, the
Transylvanians are so and so, the Jews
are so and so... It is less trouble, but
the general judgment is defective..."

"Under every regime," Mr. Braniste
said, "there are Jews who are for and
Jews who are against the regime according
to whether they profit or not through that
regime..."

Taking himself as an example of a
Christian, Mr. Braniste added, "So far as
I am concerned I would have felt very
wronged indeed if anyone had lumped me
in the Rumanian community with Stelian
Popescu, a former owner of the newspaper,
Universul (a most reactionary, corrupt and
fascist newspaper owner—Ed.), not to
mention any more recent names."

The writer concluded his editorial by
giving this warning: "Today more than
ever anti-Semitism does not rise up only
against the Jews, but more especially
against the supreme interests of Rumania.
To speak plainly, anti-Semitism is the
most dangerous form of anti-Rumanism.
It is necessary that that elementary truth
be grasped now by everybody..."

Mr. Maniu, faced with the resentment
and condemnation of practically the en-
tire press, with the exception of the anti-
Semitic sheets of Maniu and Bratianu,
felt it necessary to say something about it.

Maniu had the gall, in the face of his
own newspaper and anti-Semitic rantings,
and those of his vice-president, to say
that they were innocent, that in reality
"we are the ones whom the Jews are
persecuting."

And such a man even pretends to be
animated by democratic principles!
Bucharest H. F.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

AT HOME

On constitutional grounds, Chief Justice Bolitha J. Laws dismissed the sedition case against 25 defendants, charged in April, 1944, with conspiracy to interfere with the draft and to undermine the morale of the Armed Forces. The defendants include some of the crack anti-Semites in the country. Department of Justice announced it will appeal.

☆

Homer L. Loomis, Jr., organizer and secretary of the Columbians, Inc., new hate organization, told a United Press reporter, "I want a nationalist state, but an American nationalist state. . . . I plan a small, solid society I can control." Among the demands of the Columbians is to deport all Negroes to Africa and to make America "a one-race nation."

☆

Columbia University came out on top in its fight to maintain a quota system, when New York's Court of Appeals refused to review a lower court's decision to dismiss a suit seeking to deny tax exemptions to the university on the grounds that it practiced discrimination.

☆

The first four of the six-point program to combat anti-Jewish discrimination in higher education, adopted recently at a two-day conference on Higher Education for Jews called by the American Jewish Committee, deal with undertaking a thorough study, consulting with authorities, informing the public and calling to the attention. The last two deal with supporting legislation making non-discrimination a condition for federal grants, and supporting a State university. No mention is made whether the last two come before, during or after the thorough study, consultations, public-informing and attention-calling.

☆

The American Jewish Congress has demanded the retirement of Prof. William E. Knickerbocker, chairman of the Romance Language Department of CCNY, because of his "philosophy and pro-

gram of anti-Semitism." The AJC has also filed a brief in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Los Angeles challenging the legal basis for jim-crow in schools against children of Mexican and Latin descent.

☆

The Jewish Community Council of Detroit has launched a drive to pass a state FEPC law in Michigan.

☆

After a two week trip to Germany, George Meader, counsel to the Senate War Investigating Committee, accused Jewish DPs of black marketeering, laziness and unwillingness to work, and of being unfit for immigration to the U. S. or any other country. He accused Jewish organizations of organizing and financing an exodus campaign from Poland and recommended closing the zone borders. His main informant was Col. Stanley R. Mickelsen, director of DP division of the military government.

☆

Sidney Flatow, former UNRRA director of the Zeilsheim DP camp in the U. S. zone, and currently executive director of the American Federation of Polish Jews, told a press conference that 27 young Jewish DPs committed suicide in despair in the last three months. Morale in the camps was steadily deteriorating. He charged that numerous cases of beating of Jewish DPs by American troops who are under the influence of "German frauleins, the most unregenerate of all Germans and the darlings of the American boys."

☆

While 48 Estonian refugees, who came to the U. S. without authorization, are being permitted to stay in this country as a result of the direct intervention of Pres. Truman, 1700 refugees, a large number of them Jewish, who came to this country two to seven years ago on emergency visas gotten through the Advisory Committee on Political Refugees which Pres. Roosevelt established, have received deportation notices from the Department of Justice, headed by Attorney General Clark. According to Eugene M. Culp, special assistant to Immigration Commissioner

Ugo Carusi, during the last year deportation proceedings had been taken against "certain types of cases."

☆

The eighth national convention of the CIO concluding on Nov. 22, unanimously called for federal legislation outlawing "anti-Semitism and other forms of anti-racial prejudice," and, while supporting a Jewish commonwealth, demanded that the government "stop quibbling" and open America's "doors to the thousands of homeless and desperate Jews in Europe."

☆

According to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report of Oct. 25, "United Nations officials dealing with the refugee problem indicated that at the core of the matter (of a proper solution of the DP question) is the question of whether the United Nations shall concentrate on securing admission for displaced persons in new countries, keep them in camps in Europe, or send them back to their countries of origin."

☆

Variety, entertainment trade publication, recently reported Station WOR, Mutual Network outlet in New York, was receiving as many as 200 telephone calls after each of Upton Close's broadcasts, protesting his appearance. His contract, due to expire in October, had not been renewed as this paragraph was written.

☆

The Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress has announced results of a survey of insurance companies it made in the spring of 1946. Out of 850 insurance companies having home offices or branches in New York State, the survey covered 198 individual companies employing some 25,740 persons. Only 4.3 per cent of the clerical workers were Jewish and only 0.3 per cent were Negro. Reasons given for the small number of Jews include: alleged Jewish aggressiveness; individualism; lack of interest in routine and mechanical work; preference of Jews for higher pay than that paid insurance clerical workers; failure of Jews to apply for such work; slow promotions as a result of anti-Jewish attitudes of non-Jewish employees; inconvenience caused by Jewish holiday observers. None of these "Jewish characteristics" seemed to hold in the case of two Jewish owned companies and a government insurance office, where from one-half to two-thirds of the employees were Jewish. Of the personnel managers interviewed, 4 per cent

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from previous page)
thought the N. Y. State FEPC progressive, while 26 per cent were opposed to it.

EUROPE

The Union of Resistance and Mutual Assistance, French Jewish organization has demanded the immediate liquidation of the DP camps and the transfer of their inmates to new domiciles, whatever their final destination. The Alliance Anti-Raciste and other democratic organizations, have initiated a campaign to secure the admission of as large a number of DPs as possible to all the western countries, including France. French authorities are cooperating by providing DPs with transit visas.

The only "incident" in the Bulgarian elections occurred when militia had great difficulty in holding back infuriated Jews from attacking a number of speakers for the opposition to the Fatherland Front government who had rushed against Jewish members of their audience shouting, "Oust the Jews, beat them up."

A new educational law for minorities recently passed in Bulgaria, will give state support for all Jewish schools. Jewish teachers will get the same salaries and privileges, including pensions, as Bulgarian teachers. The Bulgarian language will be used in teaching all subjects except Jewish history, which will be taught in Hebrew.

All Jewish organizations in Rumania agreed to support the democratic bloc behind the Groza government in the elections that took place recently.

Forty members of a fascist band, which had planned to murder Jews and overthrow the government, were sentenced by a Rumanian military court to prison terms up to life imprisonment. Chief defendant was Gen. Aurel Aldea, who was the first Minister of the Interior in the government which overthrew the Antonescu regime just before Rumania capitulated to Russian forces.

Polish police have rounded up an underground band which has been killing Jews, Poles, Russians in the Brest-Litovsk area and have seized a large arms cache of the fascist Polish Home Army, hidden in a church in the town of Drohiczyn on the Bug River. All the weapons were new and of British manufacture.

The Jews have a future in Poland and the government is ready to aid them in the reconstruction of their social, economic and cultural institutions and to assure them full civic rights, the Commissioner of Productivization told a conference of Jewish social workers in Cracow.

Edward M. M. Warburg, chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, in an interview with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, said he was impressed by the "vitality of the Jewish community in Poland," which he had just visited. After discussions with President Boleslaw Bierut and other government officials, Warburg, "came to the deep conviction that they have a warm and

sincere understanding of the fate of the remaining Jews in Poland."

While the Austrian police force is being cleansed of Jews and anti-Nazis, a number of known Nazi police officers who served under Hitler, many of them recipients of the Ostmark Medal for service in the Nazi campaign against Austria, are still members of the police force. These men are known to have accompanied Jewish transports to the gas chambers during the rule of the Nazis, and most of them are now employed by the security department.

PALESTINE

The Communist Party of Palestine informed the JTA on Nov. 28, that it had sent the UN a memorandum demanding the abrogation of the British mandate over Palestine, the establishment of an independent and democratic Jewish-Arabian government, the withdrawal of British troops, and the sending of a UN commission to investigate the anti-Jewish riots by British troops in Tel Aviv.

Izvestia, Soviet newspaper, described the British authorities in Palestine as "guardians with a swastika" and charged British troops in Jerusalem with acting like "real conquerors."

Ivan M. Greenberg, former editor of the London *Jewish Chronicle* and now an elected delegate to the Zionist Congress by the British United Zionist Revisionists, is reported by the Hebrew Palestinian dailies, *Haboker* and *Mishmar*, to have stated while on a visit to Palestine, "It is a mistake to suppose that the U.S.A. does not agree with Britain with regard to Palestine. They look at the problem of Palestine from a strategical point of view of their own. It is our duty therefore to convince the British and the Americans that just in this respect an independent Jewish community in Palestine is a positive rather than a negative factor in the struggle between the Anglo-Saxon world and Russia. We must convince the British that their military interests and the Zionist endeavors are identical . . . we must be a link in the chain of Anglo-American defenses."

Soviet UN delegate Nikolai Novikov, has demanded that Britain transfer the Palestine mandate to the UN Trusteeship Council. "One thing is clear," Novikov told the Trusteeship Committee, "the attempts of the British government to solve the question of Palestine by negotiations with the U.S. government as well as with Arab and Jewish representatives apart from the UN organization does not correspond to the principle of the UN charter." There were only two legal ways of dealing with former mandates: granting "true independence" or transforming them into trust territory. Novikov was supported by A. D. Voyna, Ukrainian delegate, and Frol P. Shmigov, Byelorussian delegate.

David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency executive, told the 32nd annual Hadassah convention meeting in Boston, that the Zionist movement is opposed to a trusteeship for Palestine.

Sources that knew of the ex-Mufti's arrival in Egypt five days before it was announced, now state he will move to Damascus. The Arab Higher Committee has decided to include a number of pro-fascist leaders who worked with the Germans during the war. These elements are living in Damascus.

Fawzi Husseini, wealthy Arab land-owner and cousin of the ex-Mufti, was murdered in Palestine. The motives for the murder are believed to be his sale of land to Jews and his efforts to promote Arab-Jewish understanding. Once arrested for his activities in the Arab nationalist movement, he had in recent years openly expressed his conviction that Arab-Jewish cooperation was the only means of obtaining joint independence. He opposed partition and advocated establishment of an Arab-Jewish state, which would control its own immigration and cooperate in other matters with the Arab League. He had been threatened on many occasions because of his activities along this line.

Kol Ha-am (People's Voice), Hebrew weekly organ of the Jewish Communist Party of Palestine, becomes a daily on January 1.

HAGANAH ATTACKS FREE PALESTINE LEAGUE

By R. S. Gordon

THE Haganah broadcast on November 13, 1946 a blistering attack on Peter Bergson's groups in America over the Jewish Defense Movement's secret radio station.

Speaking in the name of the Haganah, a woman announcer read a special declaration branding the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, the American League for a Free Palestine and other Bergson "front organizations" as enemies of the Jewish people. These Bergson groups, the Haganah station said, are guilty of "shameful profiteering in human misery."

Misleading sections of the American public with false propaganda, the broadcast continued, their collections of large sums of money from well-meaning people constitutes "a black market in Jewish suffering." The Bergson groups were called "dangerous manifestations outside Palestine" comparable to the terrorists inside the country.

The Bergson groups, said the broadcast Haganah declaration, have not brought a single Jew to Palestine despite the vast monies they have raised. It charged them with collecting money under false pretenses and said they stand "outside the pale of the Yishuv."

Coming from the Haganah, this declaration carries an obvious import. It is clearly an attempt to challenge the Bergson groups' propaganda in America which has been enjoying considerable success. The bona fide character of these groups has now been challenged by the very spokesman of the people they claim to be helping.

Jerusalem

