

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

John Roy Carlson-Ersatz Crusader

By **ALBERT E. KAHN**

SEVERAL years ago I persuaded a labor spy at the Ford Motor plant at Dearborn, Michigan, to make public everything he knew about the Ford labor espionage apparatus, including the details of his own devious operations. The spy, who regarded himself as an outstanding expert in his field, naturally did not want to sacrifice his promising career without adequate compensation. He requested and received, what he considered a fair price for his story, which was subsequently published in a series of articles in *PM*. One day I asked this labor spy what had really prompted him to make his confession. He drew himself erect, his face assumed what was intended to be a stern expression, and he replied: "I'm doing it for Americanism, and all that sort of crap."

There is not an exact parallel to be drawn between the case of the Ford labor spy and that of Arthur Derounian, or John Roy Carlson, as he is more widely known by his pen-name; but, in the words of Mercutio, "'tis enough, 'twill serve."

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MARCH 1947

SHOLOM ALEICHEM BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

A distinguished American author attacks the conspiracy to mutilate our international history and culture, to kidnap and incarcerate national cultures.

By **MERIDEL LE SUEUR**

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE BETRAYS ITS AIMS

The sordid story of the activities of the leaders who are turning the Committee into an instrument of reaction.

By **G. SELWYN**

JEWISH RIGHTS AND THE GERMAN PEACE

An open letter to the American Jewish Conference, offering amendments to its thirteen-point program for the German peace.

By the **MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION**

NOTES ON THE 22nd ZIONIST CONGRESS

A first hand account of the proceedings and what they meant by way of bringing a solution to Jewish problems.

By **B. JACOBY**

Letters From Readers

Again on Content

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I would like to take issue with the letter of Irwin Sharpin on the content of JEWISH LIFE that appeared in the February issue.

I think Mr. Sharpin is trying to pass on to others his own likes and dislikes in reading matter. He says that only a small segment of Jewish intellectuals will find the magazine to their taste because it is strictly a political magazine and does not deal adequately with Jewish cultural problems.

It seems to me that Mr. Sharpin gives our intellectuals too narrow an interest in life. If there is one thing characteristic today of the Jewish intellectual it is his sudden awakening to the problems of his people, and where else is he going to find an adequate treatment of these problems if not in a magazine like JEWISH LIFE. Even many of the most progressive magazines still do not treat Jewish problems to the degree which they merit because of their international importance. The Jewish intellectual will make a better contribution as an intellectual if he becomes more familiar with Jewish political problems.

I don't, however, want to minimize the importance of the proper treatment of cultural questions. But to say that unless this magazine "fills three-fourths of its contents with Jewish literary, critical and historical material it will fail in its mission and purpose for which it has been brought into existence," is to distort the picture and to narrow the scope of the magazine or the intellectual. First, because it is clear from the statement of the editors the magazine was not intended as a cultural magazine. Second, because what the intellectual needs today is a rounded picture of Jewish life. And I think the balance in the magazine is fine.

I don't know what the problems of the editors are, but I can imagine. I am sure adequate material on cultural and historical questions would be published if it were available. But knowing something of the American-Jewish intellectual as I do, I also know that with few exceptions he has concerned himself little in the past with such Jewish questions. And this was the point of Nathan Ausubel's article. JEWISH LIFE should become the inspiration and the outlet for them. But this is a process, with which Mr. Sharpin will have to be somewhat more patient. American-Jewish culture will not be created over night.

Recognizing the political necessity for such a culture will help create it. And it seems to me that the formula on which JEWISH LIFE is based is adequate both to inspire such a culture and to reflect it.

New York

JOSEPH CLARK

Encouraging New Talent

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Please accept my sincere praise and heartfelt appreciation for the splendid January issue of JEWISH LIFE. I think Ephim Fogel's poem was an excellent hard-hitting piece of work, and Howard Fast's short story, *An Epitaph for Sidney* is the finest short story that this great writer has yet written (and I've read almost everything he has written, including his journalist and reporting columns for the *Daily Worker* and the *Chicago Star*).

I am also confident that the high level of the magazine and the mere fact that in the cultural field you are bringing forward new talent (whatever their shortcomings may be) will serve as deep encouragement to unknown writers, whose fine working-class or anti-fascist material is not wanted by the bourgeois publications, and whose work had only a limited outlet in the labor press which gives little or no space to poets and short story writers. I hope that in the near future you will be literally swamped with creative

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VOL. I, NO. 5

MARCH, 1947

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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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material. The dialectical result of this policy of building a Jewish-labor culture will be the building of JEWISH LIFE as a magazine, enhancing the prestige of the Freiheit Association, and winning new forces to our position: a political factor that has great significance. The bourgeoisie has never underestimated the political value of culture; it is gratifying that the editors of JEWISH LIFE are alert to this, and that our Jewish comrades are showing the way to our Party.

Chicago

MIKE HECHT

History of the Jews

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

It is good to find at last a publication such as JEWISH LIFE, devoted to the best interests of the Jewish people. What is good for Jews is good for humanity at large, and vice versa.

I feel it is about time the Jews became intimately acquainted with themselves; a job that can be done admirably through the medium of a progressive magazine. What I suggest—and urge—is a history of the Jewish people from its earliest days. This history could be serialized and presented in a simple and concise format, perhaps something like H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*.

I feel that not only would such a presentation be important, but that it would be necessary. Too long have many Jews been apologists, and too long have they been ignorant and uninformed of the great culture and traditions of our people. Knowledge is a weapon in the fight for human rights. It is about time the weapon be put to use in the cause of democracy.

Brooklyn, N. Y. SIDNEY ROSENBLATT.

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

JEWISH RIGHTS AND THE GERMAN PEACE

*An Open Letter to the
American Jewish Conference*

GENTLEMEN:

With regard to your proposals for the protection of Jewish rights in the peace treaty with Germany (the "13 points")¹, the Morning Freiheit Association wishes to submit for your consideration one general observation and several specific amendments.

Our general observation is that Jewish proposals for the German peace treaty should be formulated in their final form collectively by the Jewish communities of all countries, and not by the American-Jewish community alone. Certainly, the Jewish communities in Poland, France, Hungary, and all other countries in Europe, and the Palestine Yishuv, are as vitally interested in a good, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist peace treaty with Germany, as we in the United States, if not more so. The right of these communities to have a very substantial say in any Jewish program for the German treaty is beyond question.

It is therefore our sincere wish that the American Jewish Conference request the World Jewish Congress to convene at once an emergency conference or convention, based on democratic representation from all Jewish communities, especially the European, and with adequate representation for all Jewish working-class and people's organizations. Special care should be taken for the full representation of all progressive and democratic currents in Jewish life. Particular care should also be taken at this emergency gathering of the World Jewish Congress to insure that the Jewish proposals for the German treaty be arrived at collectively and democratically and that no efforts be made to impose decisions undemocratically upon the Jewish communities in Europe who have most at stake in the peace treaty with Germany.

The following are our amendments to your proposals:

1. The central and all-inclusive aim of the German peace treaty from the standpoint of the Jewish people is to insure the total and complete eradication of fascism, nazism and anti-Semitism, economically, politically and in every other

way, and to create conditions for the development of a true democratic system in Germany where fascism, nazism and anti-Semitism cannot grow.

2. Successful formulation of a true anti-fascist peace treaty with Germany, which will protect adequately the rights and interests of the Jewish people, lies in the collaboration and unanimity of the big powers, especially the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. It is only such unanimity that will make possible the effective enforcement of an anti-fascist peace treaty with Germany.

3. Material reparations for the immense losses suffered by the Jewish people at the hands of the nazis should be made by Germany, first of all to the Jewish communities of the liberated countries in Europe through their democratic governments; and, secondly, to a special Jewish Commission made up of representatives of the European Jewish communities, of the Palestine Yishuv, and of the World Jewish Congress. This commission shall direct the disbursement of the reparations funds at its disposal for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation in accord with the policies of the Jewish communities of the liberated countries and of the Palestine Yishuv.

4. All provisions should be made in the German treaty for the full protection of the equal rights of the Jewish people, equal economic, political and national rights.

These are our amendments, and their purpose is to strengthen the proposals formulated by the American Jewish Conference.

We should also like to add that in order to avoid past errors, it should be the policy of the Jewish representation to the Council of Foreign Ministers to exert all its strength in favor of friendship and collaboration of the big powers, and against all influences seeking to undermine this collaboration and to arouse antagonism against the Soviet Union.

Sincerely yours,
MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION
Ben Gold, *President*
Alexander Bittelman, *General Secretary*

¹ See *Conference Proposals for German Peace*, p. 32, this issue.

OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM

THE fight to outlaw anti-Semitism is a major aspect of the struggle to safeguard the democratic rights of the people in the face of the offensive of reaction which has been encouraged by its victory in the last elections. A victory for the people on this front can well become the turning point in the struggle for democratic development in the United States.

The federal and state and municipal legislatures are vital battlefields that must receive the closest attention from all elements concerned with ending discrimination of all kinds.

Several bills of great importance have been introduced into Congress. The first is the Lynch Bill. According to this bill, introduced by Rep. Walter A. Lynch, Democrat of New York, provision is made for a fine up to \$5,000 and five years imprisonment for the circulation through the mail of newspapers, magazines or other publications designed to stir up racial ill will.

All the hate outfits, whose main purpose is to limit the freedom of Jews, Negroes and other oppressed peoples, operate under the protection of the constitutional provision prohibiting all limitations on the freedom of the press. They have been flooding the mail with their periodicals encouraging, urging and spreading hate. This situation has become worse since the close of the war, and despite the shortage of paper for labor and progressive periodicals, because through national and religious strife reaction hopes to offset the advances made by the people during the war, and to prepare the ground for the triumph of fascism in the United States.

The Lynch Bill, while not encompassing the whole question of outlawing anti-Semitism, takes an important step in that direction. It is now in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and deserves your utmost support.

Another bill in the House, is the Klein Bill which denies GI Bill of Rights payments to any school which discriminates. What we have recently heard about quotas in colleges that receive tax exemptions and other government privileges, makes any action by the government important in order to remove the stamp of official approval to discriminatory policies.

In New York State, the Austin-Mahoney Bill, designed to prevent discrimination by institutions of higher education, has been introduced simultaneously in the Assembly and the State Senate by Assemblyman Bernard Austin and Senator Francis J. Mahoney. This measure would establish a three-man commission to formulate plans to prevent and eliminate discriminatory practices in colleges and universities. The commission would be empowered to hold hearings and recommend remedial action.

This bill is much weaker than the Austin-Mahoney Bill of last year, which sought to withdraw tax exemption from any institution practicing discrimination. The responsibility for the failure of that bill to pass must be placed

at the doorstep of Gov. Thomas Dewey, who did not exert his influence on his majority party to get the bill passed. Where this governor, who is dying to be president, really stands can be seen from the fact that he failed to recommend any action against discrimination in his message to the Legislature this year.

But in the passage of the Ives-Quinn Bill, despite Dewey's position, the people have shown that they can overcome his power in Albany when they put their minds to it. The same thing must happen this time. Despite the weakness of the Austin-Mahoney Bill, the people must push it through as a first step to end discrimination in our school system.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

IN THE February issue, A. Raisky informed us in his letter from Paris that the progressive French Jewish organizations had temporarily withdrawn from the World Jewish Congress. Their complaint was that the executive had not even "one representative of a European Jewish community which went through the fires of a Hitler hell, and which as a result was reborn in armed resistance" and that the executive, "therefore, represents today a political and social anomaly"; that to judge from some Congress leaders, the World Jewish Congress was nothing but a tail of the Zionist Jewish Agency; and that the World Jewish Congress required greater democratization.

Since then, A. L. Kubowitzky, General Secretary of the World Jewish Congress, in a letter to the leaders of the Union of progressive Jewish organizations in France, has informed them of the following facts:

1. On the commission undertaking the political and technical preparations for the Second World Congress, all Jewish forces will be represented, including the left-progressive elements.
2. Discussions are now going on to broaden the composition of the European secretariat, and steps have been taken to guarantee a place on the secretariat for left-progressive organizations.
3. The World Jewish Congress has decided to extend support to the work of the Union in maintaining children's homes.

A. Raisky, general secretary of the Union, and B. Adamich, secretary, replied that Kubowitzky's letter was satisfactory in many respects, and that they were renewing their activity in the Congress in the hope that the World Executive would in the near future take on a really democratic aspect.

We wish to commend both the World Jewish Congress and the French union for coming to a rapid agreement. A democratic World Jewish Congress, representing all democratic elements in Jewish life, can become a fighting instrument for the rehabilitation and well-being of the Jewish people. And the relations between the various groups

could serve as a lesson for other sections of the Congress, and for other Jewish organizations.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

ONE must admire the promptness and energy with which the reactionary pack has gone to work since its victory in the last election. There is hardly an aspect of American life that has escaped their notice and for which they have not prepared a program for corrupting.

Even that sacred cow of American ideology—freedom of the press—behind which all sorts of scoundrels have been hiding their shady labor, has now come under attack. A proposal of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is to revoke the second class mailing privileges of all foreign language newspapers and periodicals which do not carry English translations in parallel columns. Carrying through this proposal will mean the shutting down of almost every paper in this category, except the richest and which are most likely to satisfy Representatives John Rankin and J. Parnell Thomas politically.

This is a case of reaction running riot, garbed in Anglo-Saxon racism. It is an attempt to bring to America the kind of "russification" that made Czarist Russia a prison of nations. It is an effort to blackmail the foreign language press into the camp of reaction. It is, therefore, an infringement on the civil rights of the foreign born and a menace to the democratic rights of all the people. America must be on guard against such un-American proposals.

EXODUS FROM EUROPE

DR. S. MARGOSHES, a "leader in Israel" and a columnist on *The Day*, writes on Jan. 24, 1947, "After speaking to the representatives of more than twenty Jewries in Europe I've come to the conclusion that all this talk about *Yetziath Europa* or Jewish evacuation of Europe is that much poppy cock. . . . The Jewish evacuation of Europe is a myth."

It took the doctor two trips to Europe to discover America. And "poppy cock" and "myth" are rather mild terms for the kind of loose-talk irresponsibility he displayed after his previous trip. Then he and Louis Segal of the Jewish Workers Alliance announced that the Jews were through with Europe, that Europe will never again have Jewish communities, that Jews were escaping in droves, that Palestine alone was the hope of world Jewry. While this talk did not get the Jews a fraction of an inch closer to Palestine, it did at the time discourage relief for the Jews of Europe and did cause demoralization, hardship and even death among Jews by encouraging a will-o'-the-wisp migration ending in an abyss of DP camps.

We raise this not because we disagree with Dr. Margoshes' current opinion; nor because his "flip-flop" has added an iota of stature or importance to the man. We do so because it is time the Jews refuse to forget and forgive lightly those who added to our burden of woe by insisting

on false panaceas. There must be no leadership without responsibility—and no misleadership without judgment.

There are those among us who still persist in such outrageous betrayal of our people as the continued maintenance of DP camps in the hopes of achieving Zionist aims thereby; the continued urging of an exodus from Europe with the aim of helping reaction undermine European democracy; the continued denial of a democratic solution of Jewish problems, thereby supporting world imperialism. But these elements are gambling with and sacrificing Jewish lives to achieve their reactionary purposes. And they must be sharply and emphatically repudiated.

It is not enough for such people to come suddenly out of the fog and admit that their previous position was wrong, and that the progressives and left-wing elements were correct in their estimate. This has happened too often in the past, not only on "exodus from Europe" but on terror in Palestine and on other questions. And more such blunders are in the making today, on immigration to Palestine, on partition and on other problems. It is not enough because these frequent political blunders are costing the Jewish people too much needless pain and suffering.

Perhaps it would be wise if instead of rushing into print to malign and discredit left-wing and progressive opinion which may later have to be accepted, the so-called "leaders in Israel" spent more time in soberly studying this position. It would not only save embarrassment, but human misery.

PASTOR OF WHAT FAITH?

WHATEVER else one might say about German reaction, one must note its genius for developing a colossal contempt for humanity and all its capacities. But why any other section of humanity should want to go out of its way to feed this contempt only an unsentimental class-angled approach can explain in a satisfactory manner.

A group of Soviet artists, paying a cultural visit to the United States, was insulted by being asked to register as foreign agents. They paid their respects to our national vulgarity for permitting such State Department boorishness by going home again immediately. But somehow or other, the State Department managed to study up enough of Emily Post's etiquette to admit Pastor Martin Niemoeller into this country to conduct a lecture tour. And he came here by invitation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Niemoeller purports to be a pastor of the flock, a minister of God. But Niemoeller was an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler and all his works in the early days. It was not until 1937, four years after Hitler's rise to power, that Niemoeller finally broke with him, not because they disagreed on the program of destroying democracy for the German people, or of persecuting the Jews. They parted because Hitler tried to regiment the churches of Germany, too. For this Niemoeller went to a concentration camp where, unlike anti-fascist inmates such as Ernst Thaelmann,

or Jews, he seemed to do all right, for at the beginning of World War II, he applied to Hitler's navy for re-entry into the German submarine service, in which he had distinguished himself—not as a religious shepherd—during World War I. And shortly after his release from concentration camp in 1945 he declared, "In time of war a German does not ask if war is right or wrong . . . a German wants to fight and die along with his fellow Germans." For a man in a concentration camp for eight years, he certainly came out rarin' to fight in defense of Germany—against the conquerors of Hitler!

All this Niemoeller expects the American people to forget. And the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America thinks equally poorly of America's memory. But the American people must not forget. Niemoeller will try to sell us in his lectures the junkerism he represents wrapped in evangelical tinsel. He will attempt to convince us of a penitent Germany awaiting forgiveness. He will speak of the voice of Christ that was not heard, of the acceptance of guilt by the wayward, of the joy to be found by the sufferer in forgiving. But he will be beating the drums for the revival of the inhuman crew of reaction that will once again attempt to destroy civilization.

Niemoeller is no guest of America. He is its enemy. We join with Dr. Stephen S. Wise in declaring "that Niemoeller has not so borne himself throughout the unspeakable Hitler years as to merit the respect or confidence of the Christian peoples of America." Or of any other decent human beings. Niemoeller cannot speak to us of faith. He had betrayed his faith to the enemy of mankind. He must return to Germany and go through his penance with the rest of his people. And they will judge of his progress back to faith.

As for our State and Justice Departments. . . . Their records for welcoming fascist, anti-Semitic and reactionary foreign visitors and persecuting anti-fascist refugees remains impeccable!

WISE RESIGNS

THE resignation of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise from all offices in the Zionist Organization of America is important for what it reveals about the situation in the Zionist movement. At a time when the Jewish people are facing their most critical period in history, when they are threatened with the greatest of catastrophes, the Zionist movement, which promised to lead the Jewish people toward a new liberation, finds itself splintered and embattled within itself. It exposes a bankruptcy of principle that must lead to collapse.

Could this situation be avoided? Not so long as the solution of the Palestine question is looked for in collaboration with or under the patronage of imperialism. Not so long as the solution of the Jewish question is made contingent upon an imperialist and chauvinist solution of the Palestine question. As long as the Zionist movement relies upon imperialism to achieve its aims, just so long will

Zionist leadership, consciously or unconsciously, be made the tool of imperialist forces in their fight against world democracy; in their inter-imperialist struggles; in their struggles against oppressed peoples. And the more obvious it becomes that imperialism is incapable of producing a "pro-Jewish" solution for Palestine, the more desperately sycophantic will Zionist leaders become to one or another section of imperialism.

This must be borne clearly in mind. For it is this, and not personalities, that is the basis of the differences between Wise and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. No person who seeks a democratic solution for Palestine has any choice to make between the positions of either with regard to that unfortunate country.

This does not mean, however, that we can place Silver and Wise in the same camp. Silver's "activism" is nothing but complete and utter capitulation to the most reactionary section of American imperialism in its drive for world, including Palestine, domination. This he has exposed in the last election campaign, when he threw his support to the Tafts, the most reactionary and imperialist section of the Republican Party. In this way, Silver proved his consistency, for he supported Republican reaction at home as well as American imperialism abroad.

Wise, on the other hand, has long been a leader of many progressive movements. The record of the American Jewish Congress under his leadership, his support of the democratic-labor-progressive coalition candidates, Lehman and Mead, in the last election campaign, even though it meant a head-on clash with the Silver-dominated leadership of the Zionist Organization of America, are proof of his concern for the welfare of the American people, and for their advancement in a democratic direction.

That position has been his greatest strength, as his reception at the recent convention of the CIO emphasized. And his continued struggle in this progressive direction, in which American Jewry will rally behind him, will also inevitably bring a progressive solution for Palestine.

WELCOME

JEWISH LIFE is happy to announce that with this issue, Albert E. Kahn joins its editorial board. Mr. Kahn is the co-author with Michael Sayers of such best-seller exposés of reaction as *Sabotage*, *The Plot Against the Peace* and *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*. Besides his writing, Mr. Kahn is also active in Jewish organizational life. He is president of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order, and he is a member of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress. We wish especially to call attention to Mr. Kahn's first article for **JEWISH LIFE** appearing in this issue.

We also want to take this opportunity to welcome home editorial board member, Paul Novick, whose extended trip to Europe has already been reflected in our pages. We hope in the near future to publish additional impressions of his tour abroad.

SHOLOM ALEICHEM BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

By Meridel LeSueur

I AM mad that I didn't get to read Sholom Aleichem sooner.

There were those who told me that he could never be translated at all. You will never be able to understand our incomparable Yiddish culture, they said, looking at me sadly. It is too bad. And I felt, well, it is no use, Jewish culture is something deeper, more mysterious than any other. So I will never know the reason for the wonderful laughter I heard in the Yiddish theater when I used to go there. I will never know what it was about. I used to go just the same, understanding not one word, but sensing something wonderful.

Then there were others who said there was no such thing as Jewish culture at all. Forget about Sholom Aleichem. Just cut off the great root of Jewish culture. This is America.

Now, since the translation into English by Julius and Francis Butwin of Sholom Aleichem's *The Old Country*, I know for myself that there is a rich, vital Yiddish culture, and that it is flowing at last into the great democratic stream of American culture is of utmost importance. I know also that all the arguments against its translation are of a piece with the conspiracy generally to lock national cultures away in language vaults. They are part also of a further conspiracy to lock up whole sections of working class democratic culture. It is these dangerous pockets of cultural aridity which keep us locked away from each other, segregated, and distort and impoverish our culture.

When this book first came out I was going up in an elevator in a building where there are many clothing workers. I was impressed because everyone noticed my carrying this book, *The Old Country* by Sholom Aleichem, and they stopped me in the halls, exclaiming with pleasure. It was wonderful to me to think of a writer like that, read and known so intimately by so many clothing workers. There were two aged fur workers in the elevator and they took the book lovingly in their hands until they saw, to their horror and disgust, that it was in English, a translation. "What," they said, "into the English? It is impossible!"

"No," I said, "there it is. It is done."

They almost dropped the book like a hot cake. "You cannot do it."

"But," said I, "someone has done it."

"No," they said with emphasis. Then they turned to each other and spoke feelingly and strenuously in Yiddish. Then they turned to me with deep and compassionate pity and explained to me that I would never, never be able to understand the true Sholom Aleichem. No one, who was not

Jewish, could ever understand the Jewish humor, to say nothing of the subtle untranslatable emotions and words and rituals. A translation was impossible, unheard of, a blasphemy. And here they looked closely at the names of the translators, putting them down for some future purgatory, and they turned their emphatic beards from me.

World of Little People

But that same evening I had quite another experience. I was asked to read some of the stories from *The Old Country* to a group meeting with one of the translators, Francis Butwin, to discuss the book. I must say I went with fear and trembling and a certain feeling of inferiority, remembering my experience of the afternoon. I didn't know if I could render the little people of the town of Kasrilevka, the schnorrers, the shlimazl, the man of little luck "who does not allow poverty to degrade him." If you ask them, "How do you live?" they will answer, with a shrug and a laugh, "How do we live? Who knows? We live!" A remarkable thing—whenever you meet them they are scurrying like rabbits, this one here, that one there. They never have time to stop. "What are you hurrying for?" "What am I hurrying for? Well, it's like this. If we hurry we think we might run into something—earn a few pennies—provide for the Sabbath."

To tell you the truth I was emboldened to read that night by these very words. How familiar. I have written something like that myself about the mid-American villages in which I grew up. Secretly—and I am emboldened to say so by the great sale of *The Old Country* now in its fourth or fifth edition, which proves there are many like myself—when I read these stories I put my hand on their shoulder, I shook hands with them, so to speak. I felt very familiar with Kasrilevka. I felt more familiar with these stories than I ever did with Chekov or Dostoevsky.

The idiocy of agrarian life, as Lenin said, is the same everywhere, the isolation, the poverty, the narrow feudal racial antagonisms, the wealthy on the hills, the poor across the track. These funny, tender, hilarious, sad tales remind me of Mark Twain and Sherwood Anderson and many mid-American folk writers and story tellers. What if Mark Twain could have read Sholom Aleichem? He did go to see him once and he said to him, "I understand I am the American Sholom Aleichem!" Perhaps he might have felt better if he could have read these tales, and he might have become the great people's artist his early river books augured.

Stories to Read Aloud

Yes, it is a part of capitalist culture to dry up national cultures at the root. Things would be different if language and culture circulated freely.

MERIDEL LE SUEUR is the author of *Salute to Spring* and *North Star Country* and is a member of the editorial board of *Mainstream*.

Well, I started to read, begging them all to help me out, tell me when I was wrong in inflection or enunciation. I read one of the marvelous Tevye stories. At first I felt timid but I began to swing into the fine colloquial rhythms and someone leaned over, a hand on my shoulder, to look in astonishment at the English words that must have caught very much of the flavor and the very style of the original. Once there was a friendly argument from someone from the Ukraine with another from Poland about a difference in truth of some pronunciation or ritual. One man bent over and laughed privately and silently to himself, the tears streaming out of his eyes. How funny and tender these are, sometimes farcical, so much like Charlie Chaplin.

Well, if I must say it I began to get pretty good. We all got pretty good, the audience, Sholom Aleichem and I. We all got better, including the writer. It was as if he had written his stories secretly always thinking of people reading them, and not only to themselves but together. It dawned upon me then how private and neurotic our writing and reading is, as if the author says: yes, I am a special, sad, lonely being and I am writing for you, dear reader, another special, sad and lonely and lost human being. Only the two of us, "lost and by the wing grieved, ghost come back again." Nothing like that here. We were all laughing, and the reader *had* to be better to rate all the fine response, and so did the writer and also the audience.

I have never seen such response and laughter, of things understood together. There's a man writing like that, the story flaming up cunning, comical, lyrical and immediately transferrable to the living voice and to the living heart. Why, these stories are like blueprints, when read to yourself the plan is there, but springing alive when read aloud like little flames, like laughing children and weeping women, warmed and brought to life by a group of people reading them together.

Of Common Experience

I noticed it was not only the Jews there who enjoyed it. A criticism was made of the story of the little boy who enjoyed so much being an orphan and someone said, now there, that is peculiarly Jewish. But a lady from upstate, a New Englander, said, why no, that was why she enjoyed that story so much because she knew it to be true that little children enjoyed anything that put them in the spotlight, and she knew of just such a case in her home town.

We went on to read *Home for Passover* and when we ended with the first story in the book, *The Town of the Little People*, where it says that the cemetery in the Jewish village, "the field," was the most important part of the town, and in the "days of weeping," how they came to pour their hearts out at the holy graves and if you happen to be a man of feeling and imagination then you will look upon this poor little town with its rich cemeteries and repeat the old verses: "How beautiful are your tents, O Jacob; how good are your resting places, O Israel." And we remembered all our dead, there was not a dry eye.

I kept thinking how literary, how dead, how pompous, incommunicable and special much of our writing is, and

how if you were reading Chekov, say, who has been so widely translated and influenced us all so much as writers, how sad, how melancholy—well, I have rarely read Chekov out loud. It seems a litany, a beautiful and sad thing you read to yourself. I thought also how much of the roistering, the brave, the comical, and fantastic in our own life is left out of writing. How much we can learn from this writer and this beginning translation of only a small section of his more than three hundred stories, five novels, many plays and other works.

I wanted to write stories that could be read aloud, that people would laugh together over until they cried, embrace each other, slap each other on the back, lean forward looking to see if you got it all to the last drop, to explain, help you, as if the words were little lights striking, illuminating abysses of racial and national separation. It seemed to me these stories made me know some of the people in that room, as if they illumined caverns of cultural difference in experience and made these differences not a peculiar separation, catastrophic and frightening. But the very differences became unutterably delicious and enriching, gifts to each other of innuendo, joke, ritual and above all common suffering, common courage, and common revolt.

Free National Cultures

What a narrow hurting thing to say that the great characters of all cultures are not communicable in the common experience. Tevye can stand beside the Italian Punchinello, the English Punch, the Turkish Karapet, Petrushka, the Flemish Til Eulenspiegel, all the folk heroes of the people whom nothing can defeat, not police, authority, the devil or death, incarnating their firm belief that in the long run it will be they who will defeat their enemies and conquer the world.

Yes, I am mad at this conspiracy to mutilate our international history and culture, the kidnapping and incarceration of national cultures, sometimes, as in the case of the American Indian, their complete annihilation.

In the Soviet Union we see how differences of national cultures not only can be preserved, but can flow into the reservoir of culture and become enriching because of their differences.

But those that set us against each other dread the time when we will find out that the myth and legend of our lives is the same in any language; that the tenderness and the courage of our common struggle can be mutually known; when we find that the heroes known to us are the heroes known to others, warmed by the same blood in the cold, fed and nurtured on the same courage through dark nights in lonely posts; that it is *man* who rises laughing, gigantic, free, in any language!

Only one sour gentleman said after the reading was over, "Well, you're different. Maybe you do understand it. But that's rare, you see. You have a *Yiddishe kopf* and a *goyische mazel*."

I said we have only a human head and a human heart and that is all the luck we need—the luck of man and the earth we live upon.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE BETRAYS ITS AIMS

By G. SELWYN

MEN, devoid of any principle save the advancement of their petty self-interest, and consumed by an insane hatred for everything progressive in general and for the Soviet Union in particular, today control the destinies of the Jewish Labor Committee, which would like to be considered as the "sole spokesman" for Jewish labor in the United States.

When the Jewish Labor Committee was organized in 1934, after Hitler's accession to power in Germany, the social-democratic movement in this country was in the process of decay after innumerable splits. Many of the old-line Jewish labor leaders had slipped into the seats of the mighty by exploiting the traditional socialist sentiments of the Jewish workers. These labor bureaucrats had entrenched themselves and surrounded themselves with corrupt henchmen following the brutal assaults in the 1920's on the democratic rights of their "subjects"—the progressive rank and file. At the time of the formation of the Jewish Labor Committee, some of these "socialist" labor leaders felt free to unburden themselves of their "socialist" past by openly attacking not only the Soviet Union, but even the very ideal of socialism and the teachings of Karl Marx.

The progressive needle trades workers had been chained to the bureaucratic machine of the Dubinskys with the aid of Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, of Edward F. McGrady who was appointed by William Green as a special organizer to help fight the progressives, and the manufacturers' associations. But the political and so-called moral influence of the social-democratic bureaucrats on their "subjects," the cloakmakers, dressmakers, etc., hit a new low.

Original Aims and Leadership

It was under such conditions that a group of labor leaders organized the Jewish Labor Committee, whose avowed aims were: 1) to aid the Jewish labor movement in various European countries; 2) to conduct a struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism, and for the rights of Jews everywhere.

Some of the original founders were sincere as to the aims and purposes of the newly-born Jewish Labor Committee, notably the late B. Charney-Vladeck, a conservative social-democrat, but a man of integrity, sincerity and high purpose. Vladeck visualized the Jewish Labor Committee as the collective voice and instrument of organized

Jewish labor of the various groupings, including Labor Zionists and even the progressive trade unions of the furriers and painters, who were affiliated with the Labor Committee for quite a few years.

With Vladeck as its head, the Labor Committee was more or less responsive to public opinion of the broad masses it was supposed to represent. The national conferences of the Committee, while Vladeck was at the helm, were public forums, where issues were often settled in open discussion by the various groupings. And the Jewish Labor Committee gained from it in authority and prestige.

But with Vladeck's death, control passed into the hands of the most reactionary leaders of Jewish social-democracy, such as Nathan Chanin, David Dubinsky, Raphael Abramowitch, the notorious arch-conspirator and anti-Soviet adventurer, and their coterie. Under this leadership, policy making and even national conferences became the private affairs of this narrow reactionary clique and their appointed henchmen. They have taken hold of a potentially useful organization and made it degenerate into a nest of intrigue that is a disgrace and menace to Jewish and labor interests both here and abroad.

We will confine ourselves to only a few of the most flagrant instances of betrayal of the aims of the Committee and the interests of the Jewish people by the Jewish Labor Committee leadership.

"Fighting" Anti-Semitism

1) The rise of Hitler to power encouraged the intensification of the anti-Semitic movement in our own country. The Christian Front, Silver Shirts, Ku Klux Klan and numerous other anti-Semitic and pro-fascist outfits grew and multiplied, often resorting to physical violence against Jews.

The Jewish Labor Committee turned a deaf ear to all pleas for action, despite reminders and prodding about its avowed aim to combat anti-Semitism. When in the thirties anti-Nazi councils and the Jewish People's Committee sprang into action with mass petitions, picketing, demonstrations, delegations and meetings, the Jewish Labor Committee was not content with merely advocating a "hush-hush" policy. Its representatives in various cities stooped to "informing." Whenever an anti-Nazi council succeeded in securing a public auditorium, a high school or a Jewish Center for a mass meeting against nazism and anti-Semitism, the leaders of the Jewish Labor Committee pulled wires, all the way up to the Chief of Police if necessary, claiming that the meeting against anti-Semitism was really a "communist conspiracy" and insisting that the use of the meeting hall be denied. In cities like Detroit, Pittsburgh and

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others, public buildings were closed to the anti-nazi councils as a result of the intervention of the Jewish Labor Committee.

2) The *Jewish Daily Forward*, the Yiddish language newspaper spokesman for social-democracy and the Jewish Labor Committee has during the past decade, defended and tried to whitewash many an outstanding anti-Semite, such as W. J. Cameron, Ford's former publicity agent and president of the Anglo-Saxon Federation who was distributing the vicious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Ford's anti-Semitic *The International Jew*; Hamilton Fish, and the white-guard pogromist General Anton Denikin, among others. But the *Forward* remains the spokesman for the Jewish Labor Committee.

3) On February 22, 1944, Mr. L. Vogelmann printed a vicious attack in the *Forward* on all movements fighting the anti-Semites in this country. He dubbed the fight against anti-Semitism "a communist maneuver" aimed at the Catholic Church. In the same article he blasted Rabbi Stephen S. Wise for his leadership in the struggle against anti-Semitism. This article blossomed into print, with full credit to the *Forward* and to Mr. L. Vogelmann, in *The Tablet*, rabid anti-Semitic organ of Father Edward Lodge Curran, eastern representative of Father Coughlin, and an active-pogrom agitator in his own right. Mr. Vogelmann is a member of the inner circle of the Jewish Labor Committee, which never repudiated him.

The "Tragedy" of Los Angeles

4) Mr. Jacob Pat, executive secretary of the Labor Committee, visited Los Angeles in August 1946 where he was faced with a veritable "tragedy" (his expression). A meeting of united Jewry in Los Angeles in protest against the brutality committed by the British Labor government's colonial storm-troopers against the Jews of Palestine attracted 7,000 people. But the meeting which had been arranged by local social democrats for Mr. Pat to address was attended by only 200 in a hall seating 1,800. Mr. Pat's disappointment at his own dismal failure is understandable. But the outfit Mr. Pat works for has as one of its expressed aims the fight for Jewish rights everywhere.

Mr. Pat's reaction to his sad experience in sunny California was rather violent. In the *Forward* of September 25, 1946, he raged against the "major tragedy" of Los Angeles, where Zionists joined communists to protest against the atrocities in Palestine. He came to the amazing conclusion that there were many Jews who had been profiteers and black-marketeers during the war. They had amassed fortunes. Now that the war was over, they had "skipped their hometowns" to Los Angeles to escape the just wrath of their former neighbors. And these rich Jews were the supporters of the left wing movement in Los Angeles. . . .

You rub your eyes in amazement. You think that the ghosts of Streicher and Goebbels have played a trick on your imagination, that Father Coughlin and his *Social*

Justice were back actively in business. But no! It is printed in Yiddish in the organ of the Jewish Labor Committee, and was written by the executive secretary of the Committee!

Under the leadership of the Chanins and the Dubinskys, the Jewish Labor Committee has adopted the arrogant tactics of the Jewish Bund of old Poland, Russia and Lithuania which pretended to be the "sole spokesman for Jewish labor." In a like manner the Committee now presumes to speak in the name of "half a million organized Jewish workers," although it is common knowledge that said "half a million Jewish workers" have absolutely no influence, no voice and no representation in the affairs and policies of the Jewish Labor Committee, which is run entirely by the inner circle and its henchmen.

Relief Activities

However, under cover of this arrogant claim of "sole spokesman," the Labor Committee succeeded in putting its finger into every pie. It expanded its activities to include relief. As "sole spokesman for organized Jewish labor," it insisted it was best qualified to dispense relief honestly, democratically and impartially. It engaged in large scale money-raising drives with the announced purpose of distributing the money impartially to all needy in the various countries of Europe, but mainly in Poland. Even a quick look at the record will expose the "honesty," "impartiality" and "democracy" in the distribution of relief funds by the Jewish Labor Committee.

1) The Committee's large relief collections began just before the outbreak of World War II. Its financial report for the year 1940 states that \$282,701.61 had been raised, of which \$13,000, or about five per cent, were turned over to the Joint Distribution Committee for actual relief. The report further states that \$53,932.38 was spent in the "fight against anti-Semitism."

But over \$184,000 was used by the Jewish Labor Committee to import into this country the discredited social-democratic leaders of various European countries and the Jewish Bund leaders of Poland (\$45,762.12 for Bund leaders; \$138,449.35 for the various other leaders).

Parenthetically it is worth noting that after importing the various leaders of the defunct Second (Socialist) International, the Jewish Labor Committee set up a little "Dies Committee" of its own to control the thoughts of these emigres, particularly after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, to make sure that they stayed within the fold of rabid Soviet baiters. The scandal was exposed when old Friedrich Adler, former secretary of the Second International, brought this information out into the open in the *Yiddischer Kaempfer* and the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* in the summer of 1944.

Now, there can be no objection to social-democrats rescuing their comrades from war-torn Europe. However, the money was raised for the specific purpose of impartial relief. But when five per cent of it is given to general relief

while the rest goes for narrow partisan purposes, then an obvious fraud has been committed.

Partisan "Generosity"

2) For the year 1941, the Jewish Labor Committee undertook to raise \$500,000, of which it pledged \$5,000 or one per cent to the United Jewish Appeal and a like sum to the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society—a total of two per cent for general relief to millions of Jews, and 98 per cent for its own clique.

In this connection it is important to realize that besides the "rich uncle," David Dubinsky, who forced his "subjects," the cloakmakers and dressmakers, to "contribute" a day's pay; out of which he gave generously to the Labor Committee, an equally lucrative source of income for the Committee are the various welfare funds and charity federations. (In 1943, the Labor Committee reached into the treasuries of 128 such charity funds, obtaining the sum of \$105,000. For 1946, the figure went to over \$190,000.) Obviously the donors to local charity in the 128 Jewish communities parted with their money not for the purpose of narrow partisan relief. Nor do the local idigents, the orphans, the widows, the hospitals and other beneficiaries of local Jewish charities, who are in need of the funds, appreciate especially these partisan maneuvers.

3) When Russian War Relief was established in 1942, N. Chanin (office committee chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee) and other Committee leaders kept up a continuous barrage of attack against any aid to the Soviet Union through the only recognized agency. But at the same time, the Jewish Labor Committee tried to capitalize on the good will of the Jewish people toward the Soviet Union, and it "branched out" also into this activity. It claimed to be sending its relief to the Polish Jewish refugees who had escaped into the Soviet Union, and this was supposed to be done through the diplomatic channels of the Polish government-in-exile on Soviet soil. According to N. Chanin's statement in the *Forward*, a total of \$56,000 was sent through these channels.

But came the Katyn Forest provocation, in which the Soviet Union was accused of the crime of murdering 10,000 Polish soldiers (later facts proved the murders were committed by the Nazis) and the agents of the Polish government-in-exile were expelled from the Soviet Union. In October 1943, there appeared before the executive committee of the Jewish Labor Committee a Mr. Ludwig Seideman, who was in charge of Polish relief in the Soviet Union for the Polish government-in-exile. We quote from page seven of a confidential mimeographed report of the executive meeting of October 28, 1943, at which Mr. Seideman was present.

"Mr. Jacob Pat (executive secretary of the Labor Committee): Will you please tell us, Mr. Seideman, how many families, how many individuals benefitted from the cash aid we sent through you for Polish refugees in Soviet Russia?

"Mr. Seideman: Sixty families, about 150 individuals."

There were about 500,000 Jewish refugees from Poland in the Soviet Union at that time. The Jewish Labor Committee solicited funds for the relief of all these refugees. But with true "impartiality" it selected sixty families—the top functionaries of the Bund—as its sole beneficiaries.

4) Upon the conclusion of hostilities in Europe, the Jewish underground leader, Mark Jarblum of Paris, and others confirmed in open charges what was until then an underground rumor that any assistance rendered by the Jewish Labor Committee during the war and occupation was given solely to the Jewish Bundists, to the exclusion of all other elements in the Jewish underground movement in France and elsewhere.

5) Immediately after the war Chanin flew to Paris in an effort to disrupt through bribery the unity of the Jewish workers, welded in the underground struggle. That his mission was not successful is surely not the fault of the leading clique of the Labor Committee.

Trading in Hatred

In deeds the Jewish Labor Committee has been shot through with narrow partisanship, rabid red-baiting and reaction. Under the mask of a movement for relief to the needy regardless of political belief, and with avowed anti-fascist aims, its main activity was always reactionary; most of its energies were devoted to the disruption of all efforts for united progressive action. Its shameful and undermining role in the American Jewish Conference is too well known.

In its insane hatred of the Soviet Union, the leading clique of the Jewish Labor Committee was never too choosy in picking partners. The reactionary Matthew Woll is its closest collaborator in the American labor movement and on the international scene. The Polish government-in-exile was its true love. Many thousands of dollars taken from Jewish workers and charities for the purpose of helping the needy were used by the Jewish Labor Committee to support the "underground" in Poland—not the partisans who gave their lives to fight Hitler and to save Jews, but the agents of Generals Anders and Bor-Komorowski, whose pogrom activities still continue.

Even after S. Mendelson, a leading Bundist emigre in New York, branded the Polish government-in-exile as murderers whose hands were stained with Jewish blood, the ruling clique of the Labor Committee did not repudiate its shameful contact with this "government." To this day the Labor Committee leadership opposes the people's government of Poland, as well as the people's government in Rumania, which are doing all in their power to wipe out anti-Semitism. In every country in Europe it supports reaction against the progressive forces. Its publication, *Facts and Opinion*, reprints every slander and fabrication against the Soviet Union and against the peoples' governments.

But, as stated above, all this is done under the mask of objectivity, impartiality and labor leadership.

The "New" Political Line

However, in the struggle around the formation of the American Jewish Conference, the top leadership found itself in a tight corner. It turned out that the majority of the executive committee of the Jewish Labor Committee was for joining the American Jewish Conference. A split threatened. It was avoided by a compromise whereby the ruling clique capitulated, agreed to join, but did so with the "best" intentions of wrecking the Conference from within. At the first opportunity the reactionary leadership of the Labor Committee went to work. It seized upon the "communist issue" when the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order and the American Jewish Trade Union Committee (now the American Jewish Labor Council) were admitted into the Conference to pull the Jewish Labor Committee out.

Immediately after that inner struggle, Abramowitch appeared at a special meeting of the Workmen's Circle

Division of the Jewish Labor Committee on April 7, 1943, and there he delivered the "line" of the Committee. Abramowitch stated that the British Labor Party was founded originally as an association of various groupings with no strict socialist principles; but experience had forced it to become a pure socialist party. (Note, for instance, its present foreign policy towards the Soviet Union and particularly in Palestine!—G.S.) Likewise the Jewish Labor Committee had been organized on a very broad basis. It had Zionists and even "communists." The time had arrived, however, to declare open warfare on the "red fascists" (communists) and on the "black nationalists" (Zionists), who are equally detrimental to the working class. From now on there was no place in Labor Committee circles for anyone who did not subscribe to this basic principle. . . .

At last, the words had caught up with actions! Of course, the leaders of the Jewish charity funds will not be asked to subscribe to this "new" principle. Their money will be graciously accepted. But Jewish workers must learn to recognize the true face of this most reactionary outfit, which still tries to pose as the "sole spokesman" of organized Jewish labor.

THE BRIGHT, THE GOLDEN LAND

Chapter from a Work in Progress

By Harry Granick

It was the Spring of 1904. After "stealing the Czar's border," Pop sailed from Hamburg; and after an eighteen day voyage in which all the powers by wind, by wave and by storm sought to block the way to the golden land, he made the City of Baltimore in the United States of America. A few hours later, he stepped out of the train into the beautiful City of Brotherly Love.

He walked out of the station into Market Street and gazed at America his new, his chosen home, and at once he loved it. He breathed the air of freedom; he stared about with open-mouthed pleasure while his adopted countrymen, Jews, Gentiles, black people and yellow, too, jostled one another in a long-dreamed brotherhood; and he did

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not mind that some grinned at his outlandish attire, because he knew that however long ago, their fathers or their fathers' fathers were as green as he.

Uncle Vogel's business and home was on Second Street—and that was another wonderful feature of America: even a foreigner need not feel strange in a community where the streets are numbered. Once, he stopped and stared at an old cemetery. And, directly below was a simple head stone marked, Benjamin Franklin, the great man who believed in the equality of all men. And once, turning a corner he was suddenly swamped by an outpouring of children from an immense building, a school, and they were of all races and religions, and none of them wore a uniform or a cap with a cross. Yes, this was the land for his children, America, the beautiful, the wondrous, the golden, the equal land.

In this exultant mood, he reached Second Street, turned confidently along it until he reached the correct house number and discovered that after all, he was not yet a native: he was as the big Irish policeman good-naturedly informed him, a grechorn who had yet to learn that there was a South and a North Second Street.

When at last he found the store and stood among the

kegs of nails and the show cases of tools and the brooms and pots, and a spry, impish old man came out of the gloomy rear and regarded him silently for a long minute and with a wry humor said, "So you are Joselle, David's boy? Why have you come? America doesn't need culture; it needs hands," pop recalled the beautiful brotherhood, the friendly naming of streets, Franklin sleeping where his dream could never be forgotten, and the school free to all, and the good-natured policeman, and he took Uncle Vogel's words for a welcome and held up his soft, nervous hands and answered him, "I have hands, also, Uncle."

UNCLE VOGEL WAS THE ACCEPTED HEAD OF THE LARGE TRIBAL family in Philadelphia and Camden. He had a thin, grey face with a long sensitive nose, a sardonic mouth, observant, wise old eyes; and everyone came to him for advice and help because, though his wit was jagged, it was only that he hated boredom, and saw life whole and therefore, in humor; in action, he was invariably practical and kind. "What can you do?" he asked Pop.

"I can do nothing," said Pop. "Which means I can do anything."

"Can you become a shoemaker, a tailor?"

Pop blanched, for he had been brought up to consider these crafts as belonging to a vulgar caste. Nevertheless, he answered, "I will do anything that will bring my Lisa and my children here the quickest. When they are here, I will look around for something more suitable."

"When they are here," said Uncle, "you won't have time to look around."

Pop laughed politely. In his bag, wrapped in his underwear, lay the handsome glass plaque bearing his name, testifying to the admiration and respect of his colleagues for a fellow intellectual. As soon as he had the language.... Surely, Uncle was a joker.

A few days later, he was learning to sew cuffs on ladies' shirt-waists. He sat in a dark, dirty, airless fire-trap with ten others and together they deafeningly thundered down endless stretches of cloth from seven in the morning to seven at night, six days a week. Uncle had paid the boss ten dollars to teach him the course and Pop humped over the saddle of the power machine, riding it with a bitter pride in his aptitude and fierce conviction that everytime he spurred it on, his family was closer.

He was too tired after work to do more than go to bed. But Sundays he rose early to see America; for surely the shop was not America. America was street-cars and the Liberty Bell and men speaking their minds freely or listening to band music on the river pier. And America was Uncle's youngest son, Ike, who shared his room with Pop. In a few months, Ike was to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania, a university where not religion, not money, but scholarship was all the test. No, not the sweat-shop, but this was the real America.

By the end of the first week, Pop was turning out perfectly acceptable cuffs. But precisely now, the sickly, red-

eyed little man who had taken Uncle's money, became hyper-critical. "You are ruining me!" he raged.

At the end of the second week, Pop requested to be put on piece work. "Ai," moaned the boss. "A greenhorn! The smell of the ship is still on him, and already he knows that in America it's money, money! Have some decency."

AT THE END OF THE THIRD WEEK, THE CASCADE OF WAIST-bundles became a trickle. The workers stood about in the unusual quiet, distrustful of each other, waiting for the boss to say which of them still had jobs. "You are a good cuff-operator," the boss told Pop as though congratulating him in a game they had been playing. "Come back in three months when the season is on again."

Pop walked slowly down the three dark flights of worn, wooden steps, and into the sunshine. He gazed intently at the faces of the passers-by and with an involuntary shudder, he suddenly knew that the shop, the boss, the season and the slack was common to many of them. This too was America.

But almost a month in the new land and still eating another man's bread! How could he write Mom that she was not the hope of a penny nearer him? Nor could he confess to Uncle that they had both been gulled by a lesser man than either.

The next morning, he went out to look for a job on his own. He crossed the river to Camden and found himself with a shovel in his hands, one of a gang of Italian, Negro and Irish laborers. They began by laughing at his ineffectual but prodigious efforts; then some tried to teach him the small knack; they ended by shaking their heads discouragingly at him. The foreman gave him a dollar and a half and told him, "Don't let me catch ye here again, mister. Ye're a disgrace to the grand company of ditch-diggers, you are!"

Now, his family seemed further away than ever. He sneaked into his room so that Uncle would not see his muddy trousers.

But next morning Uncle was watching for him. Instead of answering Pop's greeting, he said wrathfully, "Hold up your hands." Pop tried a disarming chuckle. "My hands?" he echoed and looked innocently down at his closed fists. "Open them." Pop painfully unlocked his fingers. His hands were swollen, blistered, and broken.

"So!" said Uncle Vogel. "You think you can already do without advice or friends? You think one little failure and life is over between us. You are embarrassed, you can't come to me anymore? I see you are selfish. You think more of your pride than of your Lisa and your children."

"I didn't want to trouble you," said Pop. "I wanted to try for myself."

"Go and get some breakfast," said Uncle. "A man without breakfast is still in yesterday. And get some more sleep. I want a man of sense to talk to. And do something about those hands!" He was very angry, but with the sweetest kind of anger.

And so, after a few days to let his hands heal, Pop

entered Hagen-Fottleman's, the largest work-shirt manufactory in the East. For another of Uncle's ten-dollar bills Hagen-Fottleman's consented to teach Pop to be a sleeve-operator, "to throw in sleeves, single and double stitch."

AGAIN POP RODE A POWER-MACHINE DOWN ENDLESS STRETCHES of cloth; his lungs coughed blue lint. He received his first pay-envelope at the end of the fourth week, \$2.14. But now he had his trade, he was an employee and the very frenzy with which his fellow workers shook the huge factory structure for 72 hours a week, far from shattering him, infused him with confidence that soon he could bring his family over, earn a living for them, make America come true.

Three months later he was earning up to \$8.00 a week, but after deductions for power, for needles, for belts, for part replacements and for repairs when his machine broke down, his pay envelope contained between \$6.50 and \$4.00. He drove himself cruelly, lost weight, appeared increasingly haunted and harrassed—and then, at the peak of his despair, the ship companies went to war.

"Well, Joselle," said Uncle, "this is your day! You can buy yourself a family for \$25.00. Tomorrow, it may be twice as much, and the day after, maybe again \$100.00."

"Uncle," began Pop, "I've been in America five months. I owe you \$20.00."

"Pish pash," said Uncle. "A sensitive man! How much have you saved?"

"Twelve dollars."

"All right, here's ten and three makes twenty-five. And run! You can't tell about these ship companies."

"But Uncle," protested Pop weakly.

"Again? Again with your pride?" and Uncle pretended to be losing his temper. "Certainly, it's for your good. But it's a favor to me, too. I can still find thirteen dollars. But a hundred? I'm saving money!"

"Uncle," said Pop trying to find words of thanks.

"Greenhorn! You are wasting time!" said Uncle. "In America time is money."

Pop took the morning off to buy the amazingly priced tickets, to write us a triumphant letter wishing us good journey, and to walk his great happiness around America, to greet America as a man soon to become whole again.

Now, he really put his back to his work. It was possible to earn as much as \$10.00 a week after average deductions. This was the goal he set himself. When he learned that Mom had almost been drowned when crossing the border river, he was horrified but also relieved to have six more weeks in which to save for a down payment on furniture and to attain a subsistence wage. Then came Mom's cry of defeat and despair from Liverpool—the shipping war was over and the company had found a pretext to confiscate the tickets—and Pop felt that he had been trying to empty the ocean with a fork.

He simply could not go to work that day; it was too close to futility. He sat out on the pier, listlessly watching

the ferries and ruminating his position. But all the answers were questions. What now? What should he do?

TOWARD EVENING, HE WALKED BACK TO THE STORE. AND THERE, as if one of his intermittent day-dreams had burst through the crust of reality, a hundred dollars was waiting for him! It was his inheritance enclosed in a letter from his only remaining sister in Buenos Aires. He could not catch his breath; he could not weep or shout; it was such a miraculous coming.

And, suddenly, in keeping with the amazing coincidence of appeal and gift arriving in his hands from different ends of the earth almost simultaneously, Pop knew rightly, brilliantly, what to do!

Uncle tried to dissuade him. "But Joselle, suppose you lose the money? Suppose it turns out that you are not a business man?"

"That certainly would be strange. All around me, former shoe-makers, tailors, louts and ignoramuses are in business and doing well. And I am less than they?"

"Joselle," said Uncle impatiently, "your family is stranded in England. You have money now. Send it to them. Bring them over. If you're going to be a businessman, you can start after they are here."

"But how, Uncle, how will I start with no money? Hagen-Fottleman's is a trap. I will never be able to break away from it if I don't do so now. No, Lisa may have to stay in Liverpool awhile, but at least when she comes, I'll be able to make a living for her—and I won't be dead of consumption in five years, either."

That night, Pop and Uncle went to visit Tante Eva. She was the fabulous member of the Philadelphia family, fabulously wealthy, fabulously miserly, a terrifying sigher and gasper, with a cadaverous head, eyes like holes, a body thin as a straw, a woman always dying, whose fever of acquisitiveness kept her alive while it shriveled and eventually killed her husband and two of her sons.

Pop had visited her once before. She lived in the meanest flat of the meanest house of the many slum tenements she owned. She had made a gasping fuss over him; but in order to head off any appeal he might possibly be considering, she had actually leaked huge, discolored tears, while deluging him with the imminence of her death, the laziness and improvidence of her family, the dangerously depleted state of her finances. "My dear child, son of my most beloved brother, oh, what a disgrace, what a pity! Here you came to America, to your own Tante, and where is the tea or even a cracker for you? But never mind, next time you come you must warn me. I will be prepared. We will have chicken. Yes! Though where the money will come from—and for chicken, such prices! Oh, what a miserable world we live in!" Pop had not returned.

But now he and Uncle were visiting Tante Eva because she owned a large neighborhood department store. When she learned that Pop actually had money to spend with her, she forgot about her impending death. Two days later,

she had his money and Pop had a push-cart neatly displaying aprons, cheap cotton dresses, socks and stockings, underwear and waists. He was in business! He had been told that either the Litts or the Gimbels had begun as peddlers; but he did not long to be a millionaire. He only wished to make enough money to bring his family home and to provide for a simple living.

OH, THE LIFE OF A PEDDLER! AWAY WITH THE LINT-LADEN shop, the hateful foreman, the thousand sewing machines riveting into you, the fierce, desperate unflagging speed that could never attain its goal! What if his hours were even longer now, and the cobblestones curled his feet, and an occasional blue-coated cask-belly ran the greenhorn off his beat, or a woman snatched his day's profit, or he had to make a visit later that night or Sunday because, "This dress suits me fine. And a \$1.09 ain't so bad. But it's me old man has the money, the dirty, tight-fisted brute."

Now, he pushed his way down new streets every day; he explored the city. He avidly sought the faces of people; for whatever their trouble, they did not appear to be ghost-ridden like the faces in the shop. He stretched his ear toward conversation; he strove mightily with language. And everywhere, he gazed with a passionate longing at children, the running, rowdy children, the carriage babies, the children swinging books, because for him children were America and his children would some day be men and women with these children and that is what America would be in twenty years. Abandoning all caste-pretensions, he raised his voice with all other peddlers, "Aprons! Dresses! Stockings! Piece goods! Cheap, cheap, cheap! Ladies!"

And the ladies came and spoke to him in many different tongues of the earth and all the accents of English; but all their say had a common root: the bargain, the much for little, the something for nothing.

With the passing weeks, Pop began to sense that all was not going well. Too often, he was outbargained, had things stolen, had to lose money on slyly inflicted damages or on goods soiled by careless handling. On the other hand, all businesses had losses; it takes time to build up a trade; no

business can succeed on pessimism; and not to be gain-said was the inspiring example of the Brothers Litt and Gimbel. In any case, he had wagered the price of his family's passage; he had to persevere to win for them and against Hagen-Footleman.

By the fourth month, though he still hadn't earned his original investment, he had a small but friendly customers' route and even Uncle thought he would soon be making money.

Then, one noon, as he was about to pass a house in process of construction, he was hailed by a workman eating his lunch on a platform beside a huge trough of cement.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON

By William Gropper



Pop brought his cart alongside and the man said, "Whatta you got for a nice big mamma, big-a-like this?" After a few moments, Pop brought out and displayed a huge flowered dress. Meantime, men sitting with their lunch boxes in their laps on the brick-scaffold twenty feet above, began cat-calling and jibing at the cement-mixers. "Isa my old lady's birthday!" he called to them. "I make her a surprise. How you like-a this dress?"

"Old lady, me jaundiced eye!" shouted one amid a burst of derisive, but good-natured laughter. There was a chorus of, "Don't give us that, Dominick. Who's the young heifer you're courtin'?" And, "Wait till the old woman catches you!" And, "That ain't no woman, that's an elephant!"

"Aw, you go to hell!" laughed Dominick and shook his fist at them.

Then, as he turned to Pop and said, "What you got better, eh?" someone on the scaffold kicked a brick into the cement below. It splashed over Pop and Dominick and the dress. Dominick shouted, "Hey!" and jumped to the ground; and at the same moment, a number of men, roaring with the fun of it, hurled a shower of bricks into the trough. The splash inundated Pop's cart.

In the small silence that followed, Pop could only make ineffectual noises as he stared at the ruined goods. Then the foreman blew his whistle and the sobered men gratefully turned their backs on a thoughtless act and went back to work. Only Dominick tried to make amends. He put his arm around Pop's shoulders. "Atsa bad, atsa shame, mister. How much-a this dress? I buy heem." But now the extent of the disaster hit Pop fully. "Take! I make present!" he cried. And grabbing armfuls of the splattered stuff, the tears raging from his eyes, he flung it into the trough, crying to all the men, "Take! Take! I make present everybody! Dank you! Dank you! Dank you!"

The next morning, he was humped over a machine in Hagen-Footleman's. The tremor of the floor vibrated in him; the fine dust rose in his nostrils; he was framed in the shadow of the transverse window bars.

Thus unseasonably, illogically, by no impulse within his control, Pop lost the treasure that had so miraculously come to him from the Land of Silver, lost his business, lost his fine freedom, and for a long time, lost us, too.

ONCE MORE, NOW, HE FOUGHT THE MACHINE FOR A \$10.00 goal. And once more, he tried to get himself to believe that the 1600 men and women spending their work-life with him must have a reason for hope. But the weeks passed with frightening regularity and sometimes his envelope contained the coveted sum and sometimes, the machine having broken down, his pay was as little as \$7.00 and even four. And now it was January and there was nothing to indicate that February, or August or next January would bring his family closer.

"Nu, Joselle," said Uncle, "what will be?" But Pop had no answer; and that was an answer in itself.

"There is only one thing you can do," said Uncle. "You

must go and have a talk with Tante Eva. Be bold. She is your father's sister. She cannot use her money in the grave. Tell her the whole story. And tell her I sent you."

So that Sunday, Pop put on the new second-hand suit he had bought during his perspective of prosperity and walked to the other side of the city to Tante Eva's miserable flat, determined not to let pride diminish the force of his plea. Uncle and the others in the Philadelphia family had their own troubles and obligations and not much more. Tante Eva was the absolutely last resource. If she did not respond . . . he would not let himself imagine the consequences.

The old lady greeted him with gasping, struggling cries of welcome and affection. "A stranger! My own dear brother's son, a stranger from his poor Tante Eva. I could have died a hundred times. Only this morning—but never mind. You are young, you are busy, you have your own affairs, and you have health. Health is the only riches. How would you know what it is to stand always at death's door not knowing whether tonight or tomorrow—well, come in, sit down, you are in your own dear Tante's home. Better keep your coat on. For a bucket of coal they try to take your shroud these days. But I will make some tea. Unfortunately there's no lemon in the house and I've just run out of bread. But we'll bite sugar and warm up and have a real cosy visit. Sit down, Joselle, sit down. Oh, oh, this crazy heart of mine!"

Pop sat down. His small confidence was evaporating. He had seen the tiny haunted monsters, the sly, clever beasties in her ruined eye-sockets and he knew that she was going to make a chattering run for it to circumvent him. He tried several times to break across her path, but each time she began such a wild performance of gasping, sighing, belching, breast-clutching, dead-eye rolling and near fainting, that for all his cynicism, Pop was frightened into leaping for glasses of water and patting her shoulder-bones. And again, she would be out in the open running with feverish energy.

FINALLY, POP BECAME ANGRY. HE SEIZED HER WRIST AND HELD it; he held her eyes with his; he would not let her deploy. "Tante," he said, "I have come to you because I don't know where else to turn. My position and that of my family is desperate. Only you can help us. No, no," he said putting pressure on the bone in his hand as she began to gargle her breath, "don't do that. Let me say what I have come to say. I have been here two hours and this is the first time I have been able to open my mouth. You must at least listen to me, Tante."

And she listened. Now she sighed and gasped in sympathy with his telling. The soupy tears came out of the holes in her face. Pop released her hand, for now he seemed to be gripping the very core of what humanity she still possessed. "You see, Tante," he finished, "you must help us. The money would mean nothing to you—I swear I will repay it some day—but for us it means life."

The old lady took a long time wiping her eyes and blowing her nose and shaking her head; and with her cracked

voice dripping pity, she moaned, "Oh, what a world. What troubles there are. Why do we have to suffer so much? And such a nice wife. Such sweet children."

"Tante!" said Pop sharply.

"Yes, yes," said Tante and Pop saw the calculating little demons reappearing in her eyes. "Of course, I will do what I can. That is a handsome suit you have on."

"Tante," cried Pop despairingly. "I asked you for my life."

"Yes, yes," she said. "Of course. Tomorrow, you bring me that nice suit and I will lend you two dollars on it—maybe two and a quarter. Go now, Joselle. I must lie down. I feel I am going to die. Oh, this miserable, this dreadful life! Why do we live?"

Later, reporting to Uncle, Pop cried with rage and humiliation.

"I was an old fool to send you to her," said Uncle. "But, when you're poor, you have to try every way. Now I will try another way. Don't worry, Joselle. We will yet dance at your children's weddings."

Uncle called upon his loyal tribe and two days later he handed Pop a hundred dollars in small bills.

Many years later, I asked Mom how she felt during this period, especially when on every side she saw the vast gulf dividing the haves and the have-nots of Liverpool. She replied, "I knew all the time that I had a husband who loved me dearly and that he would bring us together as soon as he was able."

NOTES ON THE 22nd ZIONIST CONGRESS

By B. Jacoby

THE 22nd World Zionist Congress is only two days off.

Delegates and visitors are milling about the lobbies and corridors. The offices of the Congress are filled. People are registering and being briefed on the proceedings. Newspapermen are receiving press releases.

There is plenty of propaganda available. I have just picked up a piece of literature which states: "While the Arab countries now have seven independent states with full sovereignty, the Jews still remain a people without a homeland. . . ." Is this what the Zionist movement wants for the Jewish people—to be able to achieve the "full sovereignty" of such "independent states" as Iraq and Transjordan, whose rulers are nothing but British puppets, where Britain is complete master?

* * *

The Congress bureau has announced the attendance of 375 delegates: 100 from Mapai (Jewish Labor Party), 115 General Zionists and 60 members of Mizrachi (Orthodox religious group). The opposition groups are the left-wing Hashomer Hatzair and the left Poale Zion who have 50 delegates and the extreme right-wing Revisionists who have 35 delegates.

* * *

The first Congress storm broke when the Actions Committee proposed Chaim Weizmann for chairman of the Congress. Out of 375 delegates only 191 voted for him. The Revisionists and the Mizrachi have taken an outspoken position against him.

The storm rose to even greater fury when the Hashomer Hatzair sharply attacked the Revisionists and demanded their exclusion from the praesidium on the grounds that

they were fascists and that they had no right to be at the Congress. The Hashomer Hatzair stated that it would continue to fight for their exclusion from the Zionist organization.

However, after this scathing attack, the Hashomer Hatzair entered the Praesidium and sat side by side with the Revisionists as if nothing had happened.

* * *

Weizmann and David Ben Gurion have spoken. Both have called for complete exodus of Jews from Europe, pointing to this as the only solution. Ben Gurion declared the task of the Zionist movement was to bring into Palestine in a short period of time one and a half million Jews still left in Europe. How? Aside from eloquent and militant phrases, he had nothing to offer.

Even more disappointing was the analysis made in both speeches of the Palestine question and its solution. There was not one word about the major problem of the country—colonial rule and enslavement, and the means by which to achieve freedom. There was no expression of concern for the fact that the Middle East was being turned into a powerful imperialist base with Palestine as its main bastion. Instead we only heard a long argument with Britain about immigration.

Imperialism and Partition

Both Weizmann and Ben Gurion called for the immediate establishment of a Jewish state in a sizable portion of Palestine. And Weizmann assured Britain that the Jewish Yishuv has no "desire to drive Britain out of Palestine."

And let no one imagine that because Ben Gurion was more militant in his speech, he had anything different to offer. Despite his usual tirade against Britain he could not hide the fact that he was for partition. "We ourselves," he

B. JACOBY is a French Jewish journalist who covered the entire proceedings of the World Zionist Congress at Basle.

said, "will never propose partition. But if someone will come to us with a concrete proposal, we will turn it over to the proper bodies for consideration." Many in the hall laughed. And when delegates insisted upon a clear cut answer, it was Dr. Moshe Sneh, the chairman, who had to rescue him by begging that all these questions be held over for the political commission.

Thus did Ben Gurion's ringing words about a Jewish state and independence end in dead silence.

* * *

The political debate has clearly revealed the lack of faith to be found in the ranks of the Zionist movement in the possibility of any basic change in the present situation. There is a complete absence of understanding that the Jewish people can push for and achieve a satisfactory solution of the Palestine question.

Not one speech has been made as yet that touched upon the very crux of the Palestine problem—the problem of colonial oppression, and that enunciated a clear political program to help the country generally and Yishuv in particular to achieve a free and secure development. It is therefore quite simple to understand why the debate brought forth such disappointment and disillusionment among so many people at the Congress.

I had the opportunity to meet a number of people from various groupings and I encountered the same disappointments, the same pessimism among all of them. Their attitude was a completely fatalistic one, an attitude of facing a future which was being decided by others, by foreign imperialist forces in whose hands the Jews were a pawn.

The political debate began with a sensational statement by Ben Gurion. "Before the debate is formally opened, I consider it my duty to declare in the name of the entire executive that the mission of Dr. Nahum Goldmann to Washington in the early part of August was undertaken with the full responsibility of the executive." Ben Gurion went on to add that Dr. Goldmann fulfilled his mission with "exceptional competence." And the President of the Zionist executive promised to prove in the political commission that Goldmann's mission was a "very successful one."

Apparently the entire executive stood four square behind Goldmann, the official diplomat of the Jewish agency, who had negotiated in London and in Washington for the partition of Palestine and for the preparation of this eventual "Jewish State" as a British military base, with the agreement of the Jews.

After this declaration of Ben Gurion, nothing new could be expected from any members of any party that was part of the coalition making up the executive. There were of course many divergent views and many sharp clashes. Some, like Dr. Goldmann, openly developed the plan for partition. Others spoke of "militancy" and "struggle." There were even those who spoke against going to the London Conference and against the policy of reliance upon Britain. But despite the nice phrases and speeches, they were unable and in many cases did not even try, to hide

the fact that they were all basically for cooperation with Britain, for reliance on Britain or American imperialism or both, and for partition.

Oppose UN Trusteeship

Characteristic of the orientation of the coalition parties was their attitude toward the problem of an international trusteeship over Palestine. It is no secret that these groups are bitterly opposed to such a solution. But this was the first time that they publicly took a stand against it.

Dr. Goldmann spoke brutally and with none of his finer diplomatic phrases. There could be no greater tragedy than a trusteeship, he said. It was true that the UN was more democratic than the League of Nations, but for Jews it was no good. The whole Charter of the United Nations was against the Jews. The purpose of the trusteeship, as the Charter described it, was to develop a democratic regime concerned with the well being and security of the native population. This might perhaps be good for other countries, not for Palestine. The Arabs would gain by it, but it would prevent Jewish immigration, Dr. Goldmann concluded.

Thus, Dr. Goldmann prefers the brutal British program of daily terror, pogroms, internments, deportations and persecution of refugees, to a democratic solution for Palestine.

His stand against trusteeship was only one part of his speech. The other part was devoted to defending partition. "Who does not know," he cried out, "what horrible difficulties we will have with the problem of unavoidable boundaries and corridors? . . ." But he could not see any other way out. Goldmann is chained to the imperialist chariot, and can not even conceive of the possibilities of a peaceful, democratic solution.

The confusion is so great that it is often very difficult to ascertain the exact position of any one group. It has happened more than once, during this five day debate, that members of the same group came forward with various political orientations and views. And what is even worse, often one person would make several speeches each contradicting the other.

* * *

The Achduth Avoda Party is in a dither. This Party, as is known, was created a few months ago as a result of a merger of the left Poale Zion and the Tnuath Achduth Avoda (a group which split away from the Mapai—Jewish Labor Party.) I listened carefully to the speeches of its leaders, Tabenkin, Zisling and Zrubavel.

"Activism," opposition to partition and to the principle of a "Jewish state" in all of Palestine were common to all of their speeches. But they were unclear about a concrete political program to change the present tragic situation. Tabenkin who began by breathing defiance against Britain, ended with a declaration that "we have no aggressive aims against Britain. We have cooperated with her. It is not we who have declared war."

Zrubavel pointed out correctly, "We must not tie the fate and the future of the Jewish people to the interests of

imperialism." But that is as far as he went and failed to draw the conclusions that flow from his statement.

The impression I got was that the new party has itself succumbed to the nationalist pressure which it had militantly opposed not so long ago.

Nothing much new can be added about the Revisionists. Their position is, as it always was, the demagogic and chauvinistic preachments of force: force directed externally in order to convince Britain; force against the Arabs; force for the purpose of a nationalistic-chauvinistic Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan.

The Revisionists, however, were not content with merely presenting their program. Their leader Meir Grossman, let the Congress know that if the new leadership did not carry through a militant policy, then terror would be directed against it. This was met with a tremendous outburst of cries of "murder," "throw him out." But despite all the hullabaloo, no one has yet brought in the simple and logical proposal that the Revisionists be excluded from the Congress and from the Zionist organization.

That is how things go at Zionist congresses. Much noise, much tumult and storm. But things remain as they were.

The most progressive of all groupings at the Congress is the Hashomer Hatzair. It is the only group which calls for Arab-Jewish unity, for an international trusteeship and that takes a stand against the Jewish state (Biltmore) program.

The speakers of the Hashomer Hatzair bitterly assailed the Zionist leadership for its lack of faith and belief in the possibility of an agreement with the Arabs; for having done nothing to achieve such an agreement and having gone out of its way to prevent it. But such is the inconsistency of this party that these very same leaders believe in the possibility of an agreement with Britain.

I watched the people in the hall while the delegates of the Hashomer Hatzair were speaking. Aside from their own group and a few guests that applauded, the majority remained coldly indifferent. The Zionist movement, tragically enough, is not prepared for a democratic solution that is urgently needed.

The American delegation, the majority of which is under the leadership of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, has been attacking Weizmann straight down the line. Silver has aligned himself with the so-called militants and "activists." His position when shorn of its rhetoric, is nothing but a call for the Zionist movement to place itself in the hands of American imperialism. Dr. Berman of Poland quite aptly characterized Silver's position as one of "orientation on the ultra-capitalistic imperialism."

It is quite obvious that the Silver group seeks to capture the leadership of the world Zionist movement, and its super-militancy and general tactics are intended to convince the delegates that the leadership should be turned over to it.

* * *

After five days of heated discussion, the political debate has finally ended. The Congress hall was jammed for the closing speeches of Ben Gurion and Weizmann. Everyone

eagerly awaited the answers of the president of the world Zionist movement, and the president of the executive.

Ben Gurion delivered a fiery and militant speech. But despite the fiery words, the content and the essence of his talk was as usual, capitulation to Britain. He even declared, amidst an ironic outburst from the audience, that he personally was against partition. Why then did he agree in the executive? He refused to discuss it in public, but promised to do so at the closed session of the political commission.

On the question of partition, of participation in the London conference, and of the future policy in relation to Britain, Ben Gurion was much less "activist" in his speech. When it came to these earthy problems, he urged against resistance and urged that decisions be left to the incoming executive.

The speech of Weizmann at least had this to its credit. It was straightforward and did not seek to hide its capitulation behind nice phrases. Weizmann spoke of the tragic position of the Yishuv and called for collaboration with Britain. "Churchill," he declared, "offered his people blood and tears . . . and I can only promise you further trouble for many years to come . . . the longer we wait, the worse the situation will become."

And his conclusions? "I have heard much talk here that we must orient ourselves on other countries. This is only talk. . . . Which countries? . . . America is friendly to us. . . . But if anyone imagines that Byrnes will convince Bevin, then I am crazy. Bevin will convince Byrnes much sooner than Byrnes will convince Bevin. . . . I can therefore see no new way other than the path which we have trod till now."

* * *

After 24 continuous hours of stormy debate the 22nd Zionist Congress came to an end without even electing a new leadership. This task was turned over to the new Actions Committee.

Dr. Weizmann was not present at the last meeting. He said his farewells in the morning and left Basle.

The general expectation was that a majority would be for some kind of compromise policy, with Weizmann remaining at the helm. But the session on Monday night brought certain surprises. When the resolution on participation in the London Conference came up for action, the Mapai and other forces did everything in their power to prevent the adoption of any definite and concrete position on the issue.

But despite their efforts, the Congress decided by a small majority (171 to 154) not to attend the Conference under the present circumstances. This was naturally a victory for the "activists," the opponents of Weizmann. But it would be foolish to imagine that this meant any real change in the orientation of the Zionist movement. It was also decided that if new circumstances arose, the Zionists would participate.

* * *

Those who expected that the 22nd Zionist Congress would bring a little clarity into Zionist politics, or produce

a clear cut political formula, will be definitely disillusioned.

The Zionist Congress ended in confusion worse confounded. These two weeks only revealed the absence of any perspectives and the deep crisis into which the Zionist movement has sunk. The Congress showed no way of emerging from the crisis, was unable to establish a concrete program for further political work, was even incapable of electing a new executive.

The Congress made many political decisions. But in their majority they are nothing but hollow phrases, not based on a concrete program. They express an almost complete indifference to the major problems of Palestine—colonial enslavement and the methods of fighting it.

It is now clearer than ever before that it is impossible to fight effectively for the rights of the Yishuv without tying up this struggle with the struggle of democracy generally, with the struggle against imperialist oppression. The resolutions of the Zionist Congress remain completely silent on this issue. They do speak out against anti-Jewish oppression, against the White Paper, against the Morrison-Grady federation scheme. But they do so only from the standpoint of immigration and colonization, with no understanding of the fact that the anti-Jewish attacks and discrimination are but a part of the general anti-democratic policies, and that it is impossible to really fight the first without fighting against the latter. The resolutions are devoid of any concrete program of struggle.

The same is true of the resolution on "resistance," a theme which has become so popular in Zionist circles. The Congress decided "to support the resistance of the Yishuv." But what were the conditions of this resistance, what were its concrete forms and responsibilities—about this the resolution said not a word. The word "resistance" was therefore devoid of any meaning and any content but was brought forth as if it were some magic formula with the purpose, probably, of trying to fool people. Unless, of course, all that is meant by "resistance" is the continuation of illegal immigration!

One would imagine that on concrete political questions which were so hotly debated the resolutions would be clear. But this is not so at all. The resolution against participation in the London Conference under present circumstances leaves the door open for the Actions Committee to act and to participate "if conditions change." But the resolution does not describe the changes. In fact this actually means leaving the door open for new negotiations on the basis of a different partition scheme.

The Congress also adopted a resolution on the question of Arab-Jewish relations. This resolution promises the Arabs that all of their rights would be guaranteed in a Jewish state. This is similar to the resolution which the Arab Committee recently passed which promised to guarantee Jewish rights in an Arab state. It would have been much more in the interests of the Yishuv to speak of an agreement and understanding with the Arabs *now* and on the basis of a common front against imperialism. But such a simple thing never occurred to the Congress delegates.

On one issue, international trusteeship, the Congress spoke up clearly. Only a handful voted in favor of a trusteeship. The Congress showed unmistakably that, despite its fine phrases about "resistance," it was in essence for the continuation of reliance upon imperialism.

It can be seen therefore that the victory of the "activists," of the Silver forces over Weizmann has nothing to do with a change of direction of a democratic program. This victory indicates perhaps a change in methods: more propaganda and militant talk rather than the secret negotiations of Weizmann. But in essence the Zionist movement is still at a dead end. No wonder, then, despite the victory of the "activists," the Congress ended in such a disheartened mood. The victory over Weizmann did not advance Zionist policies even a single step and the difficulties remain the same.

Only one thing can pull Zionist policies out of the swamp. This is a real turn in the direction of the progressive and democratic forces, a turn in the direction of a democratic policy.

But tragically, the Zionist leadership as yet rejects such a solution.

Epilogue

The Actions Committee of the Zionist organization, after an all night session, decided by a vote of 47 against 32 not to elect a president. But it did finally elect a new executive by a vote of 54 to 17 with Ben Gurion as its President.

The new executive consists of the same parties as did the old one.

PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

A new pamphlet has just been issued by the New Century Publishers which is required reading for every Jew or non-Jew who is concerned about the peace and well-being of the world. Although the pamphlet, *Program for Survival*, deals specifically with the Jewish question, its implications affect everyone.

The constantly deepening crisis which the Jews face in Palestine, Europe and here in the United States, makes it imperative that a clear-cut and consistent solution to our problems be found.

We believe that *Program for Survival* presents such a solution. The pamphlet contains the Resolution of the National Groups Commission of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. on *Communist Work Among the American Jewish Masses*, and an analysis of the Resolution, entitled *Program for Survival: the Communist Position on the Jewish Question* by Alexander Bittelman, member of the National Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., and general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association.

Mr. Bittelman makes a basic contribution to the understanding of the Jewish question in presenting the program of the Communist Party which has a long history of study and struggle on the national question.

WHAT IS PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURE?

A SERIES OF DISCUSSION ARTICLES

The Editorial Board of *JEWISH LIFE* is happy to have published an original story by Howard Fast, whom it considers one of the outstanding progressive American writers. "An Epitaph for Sidney," which appeared in the January issue, was a story of a Jewish youth's development as a militant and heroic fighter for human progress. The favorable reaction from most of our readers confirms the opinion of the Editorial Board, and brings to Howard Fast additional evidence of the high regard in which he is held by progressive America.

Howard Fast's story has the further virtue of opening up a theoretical discussion of great moment in the development of progressive Jewish culture in America. The question has been frequently asked by our readers, "What is progressive American Jewish culture?" And before we could begin to answer, an outstanding American Jewish progressive like Alexander Bittelman, as well as the Communist Party, raised the task of building a progressive American Jewish life and culture. *JEWISH LIFE* sought some way by which to inaugurate a basic discussion on the character of progressive American Jewish culture, the principles upon which it was built and its relationship to American culture.

The opportunity came with the publication of Howard Fast's story. For it raised some questions in the mind of Morris U. Schappes, which he felt he could with profit place before the readers. Though a member of the Editorial Board, Mr. Schappes expressed his personal views in his article in the February issue, entitled *Commentary on "An Epitaph for Sidney."* The discussion continues in the current issue with contributions by Milton Blau and Moise Katz. The Editorial Board hopes the readers will not hesitate to join freely in the discussion, giving their opinion as to what is progressive American Jewish culture.

THE EDITORS.

RIGHT AMMUNITION—WRONG TARGET

By Milton Blau

PUT forward as a general thesis, Morris Schappes commentary on the building of a progressive American Jewish culture in English moves our thinking in a correct direction. Progressive Jews, and especially communist Jews, must be keenly aware of the fact that imperialist capitalism, among its other monumental crimes, is destructive toward the culture of peoples—nation, national groups and oppressed classes.

It tries to accomplish this in two general ways. First, and this is its main method, is to foist its own empty standards and values regarding culture upon the people as a whole. It does this through the various apparatus which it controls: the movies, radio, school systems, publishing industries, etc. Nor does the bourgeoisie relax for a moment with the assurance that such an iron control of the avenues of communication will guarantee the dispensation and absorption of their oppressive culture and ideology; it is also necessary for them to offer great bribes of money to those cultural workers who best measure up to their standards.

Secondly, in order to further protect itself, the bourgeoisie tries to head off such cultural workers who rebel against the mandated commodity culture by winning them to

pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-progressive ideological concepts which serve finally the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In writing his comment on Fast's *An Epitaph for Sidney*, Schappes correctly shows how these general drives of bourgeois ideology appear in the context of Jewish culture and among the Jewish people. He points out to us "the pressure of bourgeois assimilationism . . . (which) . . . would deny the existence of Jewish life in this country" and "the pressure of bourgeois nationalism . . . (which) leads . . . into false paths." Having thus loaded our ideological cannon with the proper ammunition, Schappes proceeds to fire it at the wrong target. Schappes' attempt to four-square Howard Fast's short story against the correct general ideas which Schappes maintains has only the effect of confusing those concepts correctly advanced, because no matter how we cut it *An Epitaph for Sidney* is a contribution toward a progressive American Jewish culture.

The story is such a contribution because it satisfies our main demands in the direction of a progressive American Jewish literature in English, and Schappes is quick to point out that the story is a contribution toward working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist progressive American culture and toward "general" Jewish literature. Now where is it that the angel has fallen from the head of the pin? What is it, in Schappes' opinion, that prevents us from admitting the progressive Jewish nature of this story?

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Sidney's Thoughts

It is simply this: "... (in) Fast's story we get not the slightest inkling that Sidney thought of himself as a Jew ... in a positive sense. ..."

"Is it likely," Schappes asks, "that Sidney, when he was subjected to the special tortures of the Nazis because he is a Jew, did not in some way reveal some sign of Jewish consciousness, did not in some way try to steel himself to bear his special burden by somehow connecting himself with Jewish fighting traditions?"

Schappes bases this second query on a paragraph in Fast's story which *relates* that Sidney was imprisoned and tortured by the Nazis because he was a Jew. The passage is a narrative recapitulation of this event. It is not a passage in which we are given any evidence as to Sidney's thoughts.

Yet we are given the evidence of Fast's thought in this same paragraph. Fast writes, "... they had theories about Jewish blood and Jewish powers of resistance, and it was always interesting to test those theories under actual conditions." Certainly, the author's pride in the fighting traditions of the Jews is here not expressly but by strong implication, for Sidney, his subject, does not break and, moreover, confounds his oppressors by enduring their hell for six weeks and on top of that, escaping.

Still we must grant, even if Fast did not include it in his story, that Sidney must have done a great deal of thinking during his imprisonment. And since it is not written in the story, we must speculate as to what thoughts Sidney might have turned to in order to steel himself. Schappes *only* speculates on the idea that Sidney might have drawn upon Jewish history and progressive tradition for his courage but he overlooks in this rationalization the greater possibility of Sidney steeling himself with the great ideas and courage of Marxism-Leninism. If we speculate let us do so more broadly—Sidney Greenspan was not only a Jew. He was also an American and a communist.

And Sidney Greenspan was a "professional revolutionary." He "would have been the first to criticize himself had he been made aware of this one inadequacy." Who could choose to deny this? And who could say for sure, *on the basis of the story*, that Sidney Greenspan possessed this "one inadequacy"? Still if Sidney suffered the "affliction" which Schappes reports would he not also say: "You see, comrades, how the bourgeoisie robs us! Here I am a Jew from whom they have stolen a great, proud and ancient culture. We must not forget this. While we live under capitalism we must fight to retain not only our identity as a people, but we must fight to preserve our people's culture and, moreover, to develop it. In doing this we can be assured that when we have won socialism we will have in our hands a rich culture which is ready to break out into man's most beautiful bloom!"

I think it is evident that Sidney could have said and done

many things which he did not say and do in the story. It also goes without saying that had Fast turned more probing lights on his main character, readers and critics would have received greater reward both in literary and in ideological terms. But since neither Schappes nor I have written the piece we must refrain from rewriting it and content ourselves for the purpose of this discussion with determining if the story is for a progressive Jewish American culture or if it is not for such a culture.

In my opinion *An Epitaph for Sidney* is for such a culture. It brings into literature the character who represents the highest type of progressive—the communist. It presents this hero, this worker for the liberation of mankind, as a Jew—as a Jew by more than origin. It is a story which will make all progressive Jews feel proud that we produce such sons. It does not register a brief for assimilationism any more than it argues for bourgeois nationalism.

"It is clear that a progressive American Jewish culture in English will not suddenly appear full blown," Schappes has written. There is no doubt that this is so. I only regret that Schappes who is so splendidly equipped to contribute to the nurturing and building of this culture did not begin by studying the work of American Jewish writers as a group. A study of this kind would have great values for the purpose of orienting Jewish audiences and literary workers toward the task and its problems. On the other hand, Schappes' remarks on a story which is rich in the material we are seeking, a story which appears in the time of the infancy of a progressive American Jewish culture in English, do not help us to move forward.

Where will we find heroes such as Schappes demands? A "flawless" Sidney Greenspan is not our major need in progressive culture. We need more the programming of an educational and activities program which will enable Jews and non-Jews alike to grasp the meaning of Jewish life, for it is from *life*, from the living Jewish community, that fully conscious Jewish heroes will arise. It is on this score that Schappes makes his best contribution.

Howard Fast's contribution in the form of *An Epitaph for Sidney* is a considerable one. As a leading author he points the way for other American Jewish writers. Fast's story, aside from the material it contains, says to his fellow Jewish writers: "How can you be a Jewish artist without producing works which spring from your own rich experiences as Jews? How can you devote your lives to 'creation' which in effect denies, since it denies your Jewishness, this great vital experience of being a part of a people whose direction is always freedom?"

There is much work to be done. To my mind, since Howard Fast and Morris Schappes do not hold basically opposing views, each of them will make worthy contributions to that progressive Jewish American literature which steers clear of bourgeois assimilationism and bourgeois nationalism—a literature which reflects the life and aspirations of the Jewish masses.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

By Moise Katz

I WAS very interested in Howard Fast's excellent and moving story, *An Epitaph for Sidney*, in the January issue of JEWISH LIFE. I was especially glad to note the warmth and love of the author for Sidney and his kind, and the fact that he wrote about him not as an outsider who happened to meet an interesting type, but as "one of us," who feels close ties with the Sidneys, their work and their lives.

It was to be expected that such a story should provoke a discussion among the readers. But I must confess that Morris U. Schappes' *Commentary on "An Epitaph for Sidney"* left me wondering, especially his statement that although Howard Fast's story "is a contribution to progressive American literature," and to "working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist American culture" and even "to 'general' Jewish culture," it is nevertheless "not a contribution to progressive American Jewish literature and culture."

I sincerely believe that our friend Schappes is in this instance very much mistaken in principle and in practice.

Marxists ought to know by now—and Lenin and Stalin discovered and announced it long ago—that there was really no such thing as a "general" national culture, and that every nation or people really had two kinds of culture—a progressive and a reactionary one. If Howard Fast's story is, as Schappes maintains, a contribution to "general" Jewish culture but not to *progressive* Jewish literature, then it must belong to the *reactionary* part of Jewish literature and culture. But Morris Schappes himself assures us that the story is a contribution to working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist American culture and American progressive literature. It is clear, then, that the story can in no way be considered a part of the reactionary wing of Jewish culture. Ergo: it must belong to the *progressive* section of our literature.

What Is Progressive Literature?

Let's take it from another angle. What *is* progressive literature? It is literature influenced by the ideas and struggles of the progressive groups of the people. Does Sidney represent by his ideas or actions the reactionary or progressive part of our people? Schappes answers this himself: "They (the Sidneys) are our friends and comrades. . . . We are proud of them. We honor them and ever shall." Sidney then is a progressive type and he was presented so by Howard Fast. What then is the trouble?

The trouble, according to Schappes, is that although

Sidney is conscious as a worker, an American, a communist, an anti-fascist, and "things happen to Sidney because he is a Jew," and "he is devoted to the struggle for socialism," which is good for all people and "helps the Jews too," he nevertheless "lacks the element of Jewish consciousness." "In the story," says Schappes, "his level of Jewish consciousness is practically zero. And zeros add nothing to a man's stature."

What would Schappes want Sidney to do more than he did? "This more: that such progressive Jews (like Sidney) take up the struggle against the reflection of imperialist ideology: bourgeois assimilation and bourgeois nationalism. And this more: that such progressive Jews begin to develop a progressive Jewish life and culture. On these things the resolution of the Communist Party on the problems of the Jews is very eloquent indeed."

We know, of course, that Sidney died long before the eloquent resolution of the Party on the problems of the Jews appeared, and the lives of many of our Sidneys were shaped in the direction they took long before the splendid ideas of the Resolution were accepted by the Party. We might even say, that Sidney belongs to a type that shows his consciousness—Jewish, American, radical, etc.—not by words or talk, but by deeds. He is generally a man of very few words. We don't even know, for instance, how and by which words he managed to win his girl, Jane Albertson, and make her love not only him but his old father and their surroundings. So that it is very possible that Sidney was fully conscious of his Jewishness and swiftly transformed this consciousness into the action we know about and which we really like.

Participation in Jewish Life

But I'm not going to quarrel with Morris Schappes about that part of Sidney's consciousness of which we don't know enough. I agree with him it would be very good indeed—it is very important and very urgent—that more of our Sidneys should participate in our Jewish life actively and directly as leaders and creators—or at least propagators—of a progressive Jewish culture. In such a case they would certainly bring Jewish life in America to a higher level, and through it the whole of American life and culture.

But if they are still the exception rather than the rule, is this Howard Fast's fault? Is it the fault of his story?

We have many Sidneys in our social life and, as Schappes correctly states, we love them and we are proud of them. True, very few of them are conscious about their special duties towards the Jewish people, especially at times like these; and still fewer are actively interested in the problems of progressive Jewish culture and literature. But it is not

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their fault. The blame falls on the surroundings in which they grow up, on the social education they get at school and at home.

Let's take Sidney, whom Howard Fast describes with such sympathy and understanding. Of course he is a Jew, and feels and acts as the best Jews would feel and act in his circumstances. But what does he know about the positive side of his Jewishness, about progressive Jewish culture and literature? In his father's house, where he grew up, there was never any question of Jewish progressive leadership, of "fighting alien class ideas of bourgeois assimilationism and bourgeois nationalism," the very existence of which they didn't even suspect. Sidney's mother went through her life like a shadow, never demanding anything, "not even love." His father knew nothing about the higher problems of Jewish life. He didn't even understand his most elementary class interests, and lived through his life like "a piece of putty." Could Sidney's mother and father teach him anything, or did they send him to a school, where he could learn something about his Jewish problems and duties? Unfortunately, no, and in this respect they were not different from millions of other Jewish fathers and mothers in America.

Consciousness and Action

But Sidney nevertheless felt—if even we accept that he did not completely understand—with every sense, at every step, that he was a Jew, and that his Jewishness was something for which the society he lived in made him suffer. He did not become "a bourgeois assimilationist" on account of this. He was conscious enough to understand that not his Jewishness, about which he knew very little, but the bad social order was to blame for the sufferings inflicted on him and on other millions of Jews and non-Jews. So he looked for and found a progressive outlet for his protest in the progressive movements of America, in the workers' movement, in the fight against fascism, against jimcrowism, in the Lincoln Battalion in Spain, in the Communist Party, and finally on the last battlefield against nazi Germany.

Even his love for Jane Albertson, a daughter of old American stock, whom he converted to his ideas and life, brought to his father's house and made her like and love his way of life—even that was, in fact, an act of fighting and defeating the obstacles that society put in his way as a Jew.

In a word: Sidney is a Jew, and although he makes no speeches about it, he does not hide his Jewishness and comes to his own conclusions about the society in which he was born a Jew. His conclusions, transformed into action, are right and progressive. In this respect, Sidney is not only acting as a progressive Jew, but he can serve as a shining example for many of his kind. Howard Fast's *An Epitaph for Sidney* leaves no doubt about that, and that is a contribution not only to American literature in general, but specifically to Jewish progressive literature.

But, Morris Schappes argues, is it not a fact that Howard Fast did not show Sidney as Jewish-conscious for even one moment, or as a progressive leader in Jewish life and culture?

Of course, it is true. But if Sidney had none of these attributes and did not show them himself, it is not the writer's fault, but a defect of our Jewish life in America, for which we have to blame none but ourselves, the progressive elements, who should have given the Sidneys the necessary Jewish knowledge and ideas, and did not do so.

As a sincere progressive writer—yes, a Jewish-American progressive writer—Howard Fast could not endow Sidney with traits and ideas he did have. The task of a progressive writer is not to color life so as to hide its faults, but to give us the life as it is, with all its social implications, so that we ourselves shall be able to see the faults, to think about them and to look for means of correcting them.

In this respect Howard Fast made an important contribution to our Jewish literature. He showed us Sidney as he was and made us think about the reasons that kept the Sidneys away from progressive Jewish culture and leadership. Let us put the blame where it belongs. But surely the one to blame is not Howard Fast or his story.

TWO POEMS

FOR THE PEACEFUL OCEAN

The day outstrips the train's fleet motion;
We're heading for the peaceful ocean.
Birch woods appear anew in flight;
The train speeds on through dust and light.
A grove, a hut, a town flash by;
Birds wing among the wires on high.
House and fences are all in motion;
We're heading for the peaceful ocean!
My homeland spreads itself for me;
Its vastness keeps me company.
The forests murmur, rivers flow,
Millions of eyes greet me—and glow.
I know the wind at every bend
Of the road; every tree's my friend.
Dear to me are each glance and motion;
We're heading for the peaceful ocean.
Behind me now the Baikal lies;
Its last rays sparkle in my eyes.
I love the air I breathe with zest;
The breeze with my own tongue I test.
As it flies by, my home is vast—
All mine, and in my heart locked fast . . .
There's still so much to see, to scan:
Chita, Ulan-Udo, Biro-Bidjan.
We're heading for the peaceful ocean. . . .

JOHN ROY CARLSON — ERSATZ CRUSADER

By Albert E. Kahn

(Continued from page 1)

I first knew Carlson in 1939 when I was the editor of *The Hour*, a newsletter which specialized in exposing fascist activities in this country. One of the ways in which I secured information for *The Hour* was by buying it from certain members of fascist organizations. Carlson was among the individuals who sold me such information. He also sold his reports to other anti-fascist agencies. He himself was not a fascist, although he never impressed me as being motivated by the intrepid "true love of country" with which he demurely credits himself in *Under Cover* and *The Plotters*. He earned his living by selling the information he gathered while posing as an anti-Semite, pro-Axis propagandist. His reports were usually accurate and sometimes highly revelatory, since Carlson was on intimate terms with many fascist leaders. So I was not deterred from buying these reports because they were written in a

By Itzik Feffer

Translated by Morris U. Schappes

ALL MINE

Go into the field, see the growth of corn,
See the kernels weigh the ears to the ground,
See what the hard lean field has borne,
See what comes of earth, dust, and seed sown.

Go into the park, when the sun drops on tree-tops,
See the children, laughing, dancing, leaping in fun,
See the bright young heads, currant-cheeks, flashing eyes,
See the bronzed children, like sparks from July sun.

Go into the square, see the clear sky,
See the steel birds, plowing, slashing the light;
Laden with happiness as if to purple born,
Laden with a future lovely and bright.

Go out on the river, see the gay waters,
See the ships, freighted with riches, free from worry;
The gold of Altai, Stalino steel, Kuzbas coal,
Greetings from field, park, square—from the Socialist glory.

Come into my house, see how strong, solid and sturdy I am,
See my home, my land, all now forever mine—
Everywhere, wherever I come, I can say with pride—all
mine!

The two translations were originally published in the Chicago Jewish Forum, Winter 1946.

semi-pornographic, chauvinistic style or because I regarded their author as an obsequious opportunist who might some day be found really on the fascist side of the fence.

There are times when even opportunists can serve a socially useful function. Carlson's first book, *Under Cover*, is a case in point. The book was published in the summer of 1943, shortly after the Red Army's epic victory at Stalingrad and at a time when the popularity of the Soviet Union was at a peak in the United States. Under Roosevelt's leadership, a broad coalition ranging from conservatives to communists had been established in support of the American war-effort. Red-baiting, though by no means non-existent, was decidedly not the fashion of the hour. In this setting Carlson felt he could afford to write a book devoted almost entirely to exposing the American fifth columnists with whom he had spent the major portion of his previous five years. Nor did he consider it necessary to denounce the communists until the second from last page of his 521-page volume, at which point, with characteristic discretion, like a cautious burgher taking out robbery insurance on a seemingly theft-proof vault, he included two brief paragraphs declaring that "communist propaganda is as undesirable as nazi propaganda."

Largely because of Walter Winchell's promotion, *Under Cover* became a sensational best-seller; and despite being prolix and repetitious, and failing to expose big business as the prime mover of fascism, the book was a valuable catalogue of pro-Axis organizations and individuals, and awakened many Americans to the menace of the fifth column in the United States.

Theme Song of Reaction

But times change. Today reaction is dominant on the American scene. Red-baiting is the theme song of the powers-that-be, the hit tune to which all the sycophants are dancing. And, as was to be expected, Carlson is dancing with the rest.

In Carlson's new book, *The Plotters*, which purports to be an exposé of anti-democratic forces seeking "to capture postwar America's most precious prize: the mind of the veteran," instead of two short paragraphs denouncing the communists, there are two entire chapters. It is not that Carlson has uncovered any more evidence of subversive communist activities than he presented in his original two paragraphs (which offered no evidence at all); it is simply that two red-baiting paragraphs would be clearly inadequate investment at the present market rate.

Like most red-baiters today, Carlson denies he is a red-baiter, and pictures himself as an honest, patriotic, well-

meaning, truth-seeking critic of the Communist Party. "I want to know," he writes, "if one has the freedom to criticize the Republican and Democratic Parties, the Protestant and Catholic churches, whether one also has the right of 'fair criticism and comment' on the tactics of the American Communist Party." Red-baiting? Heaven forbid! It is only because of his passionate search for the truth and his implacable determination to record all the facts that Carlson is compelled to reveal that the Communist Party follows a "policy of boring within democratic groups, and at the strategic moment using disruptive methods to break up the democratic solidarity of an organization"; that "No organization today is safe from communist infiltration"; and that the Communist Party is "subversive" because it is "dedicated to the overthrow of the established order." Only the spirit of "fair criticism and comment" inspires Carlson's observation: "Fascism and communism are like twin vultures feeding on the corpse of democracy."

(In his objective analysis of the Communist Party, Carlson happens, by sheer chance of course, to fail to mention the role played by American communists in building the trade union movement, working to achieve social security, fighting for the rights of the Negro people, combating anti-Semitism, supporting the war effort, etc., etc.; but, after all, you can't expect even Carlson to include everything within the covers of one book. . . .)

Leading the Parade

As one thoroughly familiar with fascist propaganda techniques, Carlson is well aware of the real purpose of red-baiting. "Red-baiting was the Hitler way of fighting communism . . ." he writes in *The Plotters*. "When done systematically, as it is today, red-baiting is a propaganda device used to camouflage fascist ends and purposes." And Carlson asks these questions: "Was it not Schicklgruber who rose to power through the dominant cry of anti-communism? Didn't the masses and the classes (a quaint distinction—A.E.K.) believe in his promise to save Germany from Red ruin? Aren't some of us falling for the same line? In our zeal against communism, through fear and hysteria, aren't we letting the nationalist paranoia creep upon us—as happened in Germany?"

The answer to those questions is yes. To which it must be added that Carlson is today among those leading the parade.

It would not be fair to conclude from Carlson's stern attitude toward the communists that there is no kindness or tolerance in the man. On the contrary, Carlson has a thoroughly gentle and tender-hearted side to his nature. This side is revealed in Carlson's treatment of capitalists. The blurb on the jacket of *The Plotters* describes Carlson as "an undercover agent who dares to give names, dates and places." But you can search high and low in the book without finding the names of the American corporations and big businessmen who helped finance Hitler's rise to power, have maintained immensely profitable arrangements with

the German cartels, and are the chief instigators of fascism in the United States.

Since practically every literate person knows that capitalism has something to do with fascism, Carlson cannot exclude all mention of American big business. Once in a great while in *The Plotters*, he refers to the fascist proclivities of reactionary financiers and industrialists. But he always shows the utmost consideration for the tycoons by not specifically identifying them and by using such conveniently general terminology as "the big money boys," "the monopoly-seeking interests," and "the giant trusts." At one point, Carlson actually mentions that the National Association of Manufacturers is an organization with some reactionary tendencies; but this is the sole instance of such severity on Carlson's part. Needless to say, he scrupulously avoids reference to distasteful incidentals like General Electric's financial tie-ups with A.E.G., the German electrical trust; Standard Oil's cartel agreements with I.G. Farbenindustrie; Henry Ford's support of the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, the KKK, and other fascist organizations here and abroad; General Motor's contribution to the America First Party, etc.

Fascists Pay the Piper

One has to recognize that Carlson's benevolent attitude toward big business is not dictated by entirely altruistic motives. An author who specializes in exposing fascist activities and whose chief interest is making money is faced with a complex problem: the most important fascists are, after all, the big industrialists and financiers; but to expose them would naturally antagonize them and thus impair one's earning capacity, since these powerful interests control the newspapers, radio and all other chief media for promoting, selling and publicizing a book. Carlson prudently solves this dilemma by restricting his exposés of fascists to notorious rabblers, petty racketeers, storm-troop elements and other such denizens of the fifth column underworld. He picks his way in the realm of fascism like a Gulliver determined to remain among the Lilliputians and never to visit the kingdom of Brobdingnag, the land of the giants.

It goes without saying that, the international situation being what it is, a man of Carlson's circumspection would include in his book an attack on the Soviet Union. "The idea of a one-party, one-voice, one-labor-union commissariat of party members is not my conception of democracy," writes Carlson. "It's the Russian idea . . . a government by and for the benefit of the communist-believing masses *only*, under conditions where no political liberty exists . . . liquidating those in disagreement." With ready adaptability to contemporary semantics, Carlson defines Soviet Russia as "an aggressive empire-nation."

The famous Latin poet Horace once remarked, "Times change men, and men change with them." Carlson is an example. Ten years ago his attitude toward the Soviet Union was very different than it is today. In November

1936 an article by Arthur Derounian, alias John Roy Carlson, appeared in *Soviet Russia Today*. The article dealt with the land of Carlson's birth, Armenia, and was entitled "Armenia Awakens." In this article Carlson declared that Soviet Armenia was "undergoing one of the most amazing and vitalizing struggles for regeneration in the entire Soviet Union." He related that a cultural renaissance was sweeping the country—"Ninety-four per cent of the population is literate, whereas in Tsarist Armenia 85 per cent were illiterate"; how rich collective farms and vast publicly-owned factories "and a hundred other examples of reconstruction now dot the region where once stalked misery, famine and disease"; that the Armenian people had "at last been accorded the opportunity denied them during the centuries of oppression"; that their "dormant literature, creativeness, great capacity for work and innate resourcefulness are finding full expression"; and that they were "well-fed, well-clothed, each sharing in the opportunity for rebuilding the new homeland."

Carlson quoted the words of a fellow Armenian-American journalist who had just returned from a visit to Soviet Armenia: "We are no longer a crying and starving people, but smiling, jubilant, buoyant. . . . Our heads are upturned toward the future." This was the concluding passage in Carlson's article in *Soviet Russia Today*: "Sixteen years of loyal cooperation with the program of the Soviet Union have infused the Armenians with the boundless energy of a grateful people. Nor is the debt paid. It has just begun payment. Future years will show the lengths to which a liberated people will go to demonstrate its gratitude toward a workers' government which saved it from extinction in 1920."

All Men Change

The truth of these words has been amply demonstrated in the intervening ten years, particularly during World War II, when no Soviet citizens defended their land and government with greater heroism and devotion than the Armenian people. But unlike the people among whom he was born, Carlson is no longer stirred by feelings of gratitude toward the Soviet government. He now slanders that government. It is true, as Horace declared, that all men change. But some men change for the better and some for the worse. Carlson has not changed for the better.

In 1939, when Carlson was an undercover agent in the fascist movement, he submitted to me a report in which he wrote, "In this game the dirtier you look and the worse you smell, the quicker you are initiated into the fellowship of the racketeers." But the uncleanness of fascists is of course not chiefly a question of personal appearance and body hygiene. Their most unsanitary quality is their way of thinking. And apparently Carlson's lengthy intimate association with the fascists resulted in his becoming contaminated by some of their ideas. This infection was not infrequently indicated in his confidential reports to me.

One of Carlson's reports, for example, contained this com-

ment: "Bartel had taken him to see a short, fat guy, with a big nose and looking like a Jew."

Another report, giving an account of a Madison Square Garden rally in honor of Martin Dies, which had been addressed by Gene Mathias of the Jewish War Veterans among other speakers, included this passage: "I was very, very highly impressed with Mathias' speech, and I daresay it went a very, very, very long way in showing Jews in a favorable light. I am very sure of this. All these mass meetings should have one such speech by an emotional Jewish speaker. But the thing should not be overdone. One such speech . . . is enough. . . ."

Here is an observation by Carlson on the fifth columnist George E. Deatherage: "Deatherage has a coarse face, with thick and fleshy lips . . . somewhat protruding lips—which protrude because of their thickness and size. 'Nigger lips' is by no means an inaccurate description."

And this is the way in which Carlson described the "soporific atmosphere" of a hotel where he attended a fascist meeting: "The colored busboys together couldn't excite the hottest wench in Harlem. . . ."

One of the ways in which Carlson today earns his living is by delivering lectures to Jewish organizations on the dangers of anti-Semitism. When I hear of these lectures, I am reminded of an episode I witnessed several years ago. A heated argument was taking place between Carlson and a member of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith. During the argument Carlson completely lost his temper, and he burst out with a sentence which began with these words, "The trouble with you Jew-boys is . . ."

In his book *The Plotters* Carlson reports how he interviewed John Gates, Irving Goff and Saul Wellman, three World War II veterans who are leading members of the American Communist Party. All three of these veterans saw action overseas in the U.S. Army, two of them were decorated, and one was permanently disabled; all three of them also fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade against fascism in Spain. It is men like these, who were the first Americans to risk their lives in the fight against fascism, whom Carlson lumps together with the fascists and slanders as "plotters" against American democracy. When the ersatz anti-fascist Carlson throws mud at these actual anti-fascists, he not only presents a sickening spectacle, he also performs a valuable service for the fascists themselves.

April Issue:

SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

DP PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED

TO the horrible tragedy of the Jewish people, the annihilation of six million of its sons and daughters, there has been added a second tragedy, which is a result of the first. It is the tragedy of the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Jews who are seeking a place for themselves and a home.

About 250,000 Jews are today wandering on the roads of Europe or waiting in camps to be taken out of there. A large part of them are men and women who had been rescued from crematoriums and do not wish to return home. Another considerable group are Polish Jews whose lives have been endangered by the activity of the Anders gangs. There are also Jews from other East European countries. The total number is, as already stated, approximately 250,000 and there is a possibility that the number will grow.

Such is the origin of the new problem in Jewish and international life, the problem of the displaced persons, the homeless people without a country. Should a speedy solution not be found, there is the danger that hundreds of thousands of Jews will be morally and physically destroyed, and that their need and tragedy will be exploited for secret reactionary plans.

The majority of the Jews who let themselves be taken to the camps had believed that their detention would be very short and that they would soon be able to travel on. They were imbued with this belief by well organized propaganda. We do not mean to say that were it not for this migration propaganda, the Jews would not have gone to the camps. The propaganda, however, created illusions which have quickly dissolved, deepened the moral suffering of the masses of people, and misled them to their collective spiritual crack-up.

But now is not the time to try to place responsibility. The camps are a historic fact, and as realists we must concentrate on finding a solution for them. The present and the future will judge us according to whether we showed the correct way to save the homeless, or wasted our time in debate instead of action.

In certain parties and circles, people are very busy with the discussion over the "Exodus from Europe." Theories and philosophical schools are being built up, which aim to prove that Jews will never again be able to live in Europe. They say "Europe," but they actually mean "democracy." For the conclusions do not refer to a geographic point. It is implied that even where fascism has been destroyed and people's democratic regimes have been estab-

lished, there are no possibilities for the continued existence of Jews. What is involved therefore is not a geographic problem but a political one.

It is the responsibility of the progressive Jewish movement to place the question in its true aspect. It should be put in this way: Is the process of migration in the Jewish communities of several European countries a sign that the progress and development of democracy are not a solution to the Jewish question? An objective analysis of the migration phenomenon will show that the progressive forces among the Jewish people dare not remain on the defensive ideologically on the relationship of democracy and the Jewish question. They can and must go over to the offensive in this ideological struggle. The latest developments confirm the failure of the idea of "Exodus Democracy."

It is already more than a year since the hundreds of thousands of Jews are confined to the camps, and up to this day no practical solution has been brought forward. What are the causes for this lack of solution? There are two.

The first is the policy of world reaction to maintain large armies of homeless refugees, of fascists and Nazis of all countries, in order to have mercenaries for anti-democratic adventures. The Jewish camps serve to cover up the dirty work that is being carried on in the camps of the Poles, Russians, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, etc. In general, world reaction wants to make a permanent institution of the concentration camp as an instrument of rule, and the opening of new camps on the island of Cyprus is another indication of this.

The second cause is the policy of official Zionist agents to consider the Jews in the camps as a "pressure group" on England for the realization of their political demands with regard to Palestine. Zionism demands that all Jews should be admitted into Palestine, while it knows perfectly well that only a small number of them will be able to get in there. Thereupon Zionism maintains that it is better for Jews to remain in the camps than migrate to another country.

How does the situation appear today? The large majority of the Jews who live and suffer in the camps have gotten a new faith in democracy and in its victory. Their presence in the camps has further strengthened in them the determination not to prejudice the democratic regime of their country despite the fact that they had left their old homes for moral and psycho-

logical causes. They fortify themselves in the conviction that no matter what country they get to eventually, they will tie their fate with the fate of the whole nation and its struggle against reaction, for freedom and democracy. Therefore, what the greatest majority of the displaced Jews need today is a struggle conducted against world reaction which does not want to abolish the camps; a struggle for the opening of the doors of all countries to Jewish refugees. We bear witness to the fact that hundreds and thousands of refugee immigrants who come to France or Belgium very quickly find their way to the progressive organizations and seek to stabilize their lives.

Yes, hundreds of thousands of Jews, sorrowed and seared by Hitler, consider themselves forced to migrate and forsake the places where they had experienced the horrible tragedy. But the followers of the "Exodus from Europe," the theoreticians of despair in humanity and its ideals, have nothing to brag about. On the contrary, they can today begin to see for themselves their ideological defeat. The migrating Jews will sooner or later find a home where they will return to normal life. And never will their migration from one geographic point to another be considered a victory for an ideology, for a theory that aims to prove that Jews can never again live among other people even when they are democratic.

If some are pleased to continue the theoretical discussions, the Jewish workers and progressive elements however will not permit themselves to be diverted from the main task. They will instead begin action to rescue from destruction the hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives. In reality, only these progressive elements saw the correct path as far back as a year ago, when they offered the solution of abolishing the camps and opening the doors of all lands to Jewish refugees. Upon them, therefore, falls the responsibility to be the first and most stubborn in the struggle to rescue the Jews from the camps. These labor and progressive forces will confirm once again that they understand best the national interests of the Jewish people.

The progressive forces must now deduce all the lessons from the newly created situation, which is characterized by the stream of migration and the ineffectuality of Zionist action. They must appear as an independent force, that fights with all other forces for a correct solution which can be achieved through the struggle for opening the doors of all countries. In this struggle, the progressive Jewish forces can involve also non-Jewish democratic elements.

The time has come when labor and democratic organizations must raise their voices louder, and assert their leading role in Jewish life.

Paris

A. RAISKY.

NEW DANGEROUS TENDENCIES

THE worst fears about the future of the Jews in Great Britain are gradually materializing. Very few would take note of the warnings or support the demand for the application of effective measures for the suppression of the evil-doers. The demand for the outlawing of anti-Semitism is received in British political circles, especially labor—tory and liberal—with cautious warnings against the implied threats to "the sacred rights of the individual." In a letter to the *Glasgow Forward*, Ethel Mannin, a novelist of some standing, writes, "May I suggest that any attempt at restriction on fascist propaganda, whether from Sir Oswald Mosley and his associates or any other source would be itself the thin end of the wedge of fascism in this country."

The Palestine events have been made great use of by the promoters of anti-Semitism and Jew-baiting. Every opportunity was used by the British press—with very few exceptions—to work up feeling on the question of the Jews. If ever the freedom of the press was abused, particularly by those who should be its greatest defenders, this was the most glaring example.

The campaign of "scare stories" about the alleged arrival of Stern gang terrorists to plot against the lives of the king, prime minister, Field Marshal Montgomery, etc., was followed up a few weeks later by another "series." This time no fewer than twenty-five warnings were received by the authorities about impending blowing-up of important places in London. Buckingham Palace, Scotland Yard, the British Broadcasting Company, Victoria Station were among the places mentioned. After the first warnings guards were placed and search parties combed the buildings. The loss of time and inconvenience was considerable. However some of the papers began to see through this epidemic of "warning" calls.

The *Daily Herald* wrote, "The 16 hoax phone warnings received in the London area up to last night may well be the work of an anti-Jewish organization. The possible aim is the stirring up of anti-Semitism in Britain. For months now, men and women formerly allied with fascist institutions have been trying to fan anti-Semitism into violent hate in this country. It cannot be ruled out that these people may be using 'tools' to make these calls." The *Daily Express* went further on Dec. 17, 1946. It wrote editorially, "From this day forward the *Daily Express* will not print news relating to telephoned false alarms of impending bomb outrages. . . . It will not encourage Jew-baiters who seek to besmirch Jewry and cause public resentment by spreading rumors about the so-

called activities of the Stern Gang or any other gang."

That anti-Semitism is growing in Britain is an accepted fact. The *Manchester Guardian* writes on Nov. 21, 1946: "Certainly the Jewish terrorists have only themselves to blame if anti-Semitism spreads—as it is doing—not only in Palestine but in this country also." How serious is the growth of anti-Semitism among British troops in Palestine can be further gauged from the comments of the same newspaper on Nov. 25, 1946, on the occasion of Field Marshal Montgomery's recent visit to Palestine: "He will no doubt concern himself not only with strictly military problems but also . . . to combat that hideous growth of anti-Semitism which events encourage."

The Mosleyites are eagerly awaiting the return to Britain of some thousands of British soldiers from Palestine. We can but guess at the increase in the dangers to the Jews following the arrival of these anti-Semitic and Jew-baiting forces. With the "experience" acquired at the expense of the Jews in Palestine and Cyprus one can easily imagine what may follow here. The burning of the Sefer Torahs at a North-East London synagogue may prove yet to be child's play compared to things to come.

However, the most disquieting feature of the present phase in the growth of anti-Semitism is its prevalence and expression in new circles. Mr. Hector McNeil, minister of state, considered it necessary to use language, when admonishing Phil Piratin, the communist member of Parliament, which one is not accustomed to associate with the Labor Party. He told Phil Piratin that "it must sometimes be possible for the honorable gentleman to believe a British man speaking in the House." The newspapers report that he was loudly cheered for this retort. The next day this was followed by an outburst by Earl Winterton, directed too against Phil Piratin, who has been made the target of all reactionaries in Parliament. He abused him in Parliament by referring to him first as "a foreign communist," afterwards as "a communist of foreign descent." A few days ago, a journalist (Parliamentary correspondent of the Press Association), incidentally a member of the Labor Party, was involved in an incident with Phil Piratin within the precincts of the House of Commons. No comment can be made as the matter is now sub judice.

Parliament is not the only place where such outbursts take place, or where Jews are referred to as "foreign." At a meeting of the Liverpool City Council, an Alderman told a Jewish councillor to "go back to Palestine." *Truth*, an anti-Jewish weekly,

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advised the government in view of the "Palestine incident" that "one of the first precautions usual in a war is to round up and intern all enemy nationals in the country. In addition to promoting the public safety, the measure might, incidentally, do much to relieve the housing shortage and frustrate the black market."

Meanwhile the fascist movement itself is striving to broaden out. Meetings and conferences take place all over the country. Propaganda in the form of books, pamphlets, memoranda, flow from Mosley's headquarters. Attempts are being made to purchase provincial newspapers. There is talk of a fascist daily, weekly and Sunday paper. Fascist splinter organizations are encouraged and given support. A number of them were mentioned a few days ago in Parliament, The League of Ex-Servicemen, the British Vigilance League, the Kingdom House Group which

tries to deify Adolf Hitler, the British People's Party with which is associated John Beckett, the ex-fascist, and the Duke of Bedford, the Face the Facts League and others. H. L. Austin, Labor member of Parliament, stated that "it might be that the fascists were also in possession of fire-arms." (*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 21, 1946.)

The Under-Secretary of the Home Office went further. He admitted that "It may be there are fascists, who have fire-arms, and in certain circumstances may resort to their use."

Lord Sherwood, who admits quite candidly, that "he (Mosley) is a personal friend of mine," protested in the House of Lords against the government's intention not to grant a passport to Mosley. According to him it involved "the question of the liberty of the subject."

Pursuing this line, Mosley through his publishing company is suing a number of trade union officials who, he alleges, have prevented the distribution of the *Mosley Newsletter* by news agents.

What is the British government doing about this development? Is it contemplating taking any measures which would eliminate the present threat? There is nothing to suggest any action. On the contrary, the government is pouring scorn on those who raise the matter, in spite of the self-confessed statements such as the one referred to above. Answering H. L. Austin in Parliament on Dec. 20, 1946, Mr. G. H. Oliver, Parliamentary secretary to the Home Office, said: "It would appear that wherever Mr. Austin looked he could find a fascist—in the House, in industry, in the services—and he had no doubt that if he looked under the bed that night he would discover one."

This is the opposite of the government's policy toward the communists. A questionnaire sent out to army commanding officers requires them "to furnish in their own handwriting every quarter" material on the question, "Are there any communist activities in your command which might be a danger to the state?"

However, public opinion is becoming alarmed—and taking action on its own. A worker engaged in the distribution of newspapers is reported to have said, when asked to distribute *Mosley's Newsletter*, that "he had been fighting fascism for four years and was not prepared to handle it." Similarly as soon as it becomes known that a fascist organization is running a meeting, conference, etc., protests pour in to the hall proprietors, and if the meeting takes place it cannot proceed because of the indignation of the audience.

How long the government will be able to avoid taking action is difficult to say. *London*

L. ZAIDMAN.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

AT HOME

President Truman expressed alarm at "a latent spirit" of racial and religious bigotry in the United States and warned against the development of Ku Klux Klanism "unless we do something tangible to prevent it." He promised his newly formed Committee on Civil Rights the assistance of the Attorney General and the office of the President in getting "tangible results" in implementing the Bill of Rights. He authorized the Committee to make "a very broad inquiry" into the problem of civil rights.

☆

Columbia University claims the right to question applicants at its placement bureau on their race, religion and nationality, despite the fact it is illegal under New York's anti-discrimination law, because the law presumably does not cover educational institutions. This is challenged in a brief filed by the American Jewish Congress with the New York State Committee Against Discrimination. AJC holds the placement service operates like any other employment agency in securing positions in outside industry for students.

☆

The Davenport, Iowa, school board has halted the distribution of the New Testament to school children following a protest by Rabbi Abram V. Goodman of the local Temple Emanuel. In a letter to the school board, Rabbi Goodman pointed out that the "distribution of sectarian literature violates the historic separation between church and state" in this country. "Since the school system is non-sectarian, there is no justification for the division of children according to religious backgrounds in the classrooms."

☆

Hundreds of textbooks used in the nation's schools and colleges contain offensive references which tend to perpetuate and extend group tensions, the American Council on Education announced, following a two-year study conducted under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on a grant from Milton Biow and Associates. The textbooks fail to "come to grips" with basic issues in human relations. Their greatest weaknesses were omission of pertinent material, over-simplification and unwarranted generalizations. The report urged alteration of teaching material, including revamping of curricula.

☆

Prof. Sol Liptzin, chairman of the German department of the College of the City of New York (CCNY), announced that the CCNY German department will give next fall courses in elementary and advanced Yiddish. This is the first time in the western hemisphere that courses in Yiddish language will be offered by a liberal arts college as a regular part of its curriculum.

☆

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, N. Y. Democrat, has introduced a bill to provide for the establishment of a permanent FEPC to prohibit discrimination in employment. Other FEPC bills have been introduced in Congress by William Dawson of Ill., Helen Gahagan Douglas of Calif., Democrats, and Everett Dirksen of Ill., Republican. No FEPC bills have been introduced in the Senate to date.

American Jewish Conference has lodged a protest with the State Department against activities of British Consular officials who are using their official position to "sow discord between American Jews and their neighbors." According to the Conference protest, Eric Carbell, British Consul General at Los Angeles, had attacked our government and groups of American citizens because of their expressions of sympathy for the persecuted Jews in Europe and Palestine. Carvell is charged with characterizing Jews as "trouble makers." Joseph Robinson, British Consul in Minneapolis, is charged with attacking Jews on Jan. 2. He referred to the "irresponsible American press which is under the influence of the Zionists in this country."

☆

Ira A. Hirschmann, who returned early in January from a tour of DP installations as a special inspector-general for UNRRA, told a press conference that authorities in Poland were doing everything possible to enable surviving Jews to rebuild their lives; that the lives of thousands of DPs in Austria "would not be worth ten cents" once the occupation troops withdraw and that the DPs must be transferred from that country; that the morale of Jewish DPs had deteriorated in Germany since last July as a result of the inability of the refugees to leave Germany for any other country and urged the U. S. to take the lead by immediately admitting 50,000 DPs.

☆

The 32nd annual meeting of the Joint Distribution Committee, which took place in January, was told by Edward M. M. Warburg, who was reelected chairman, that the year marked the greatest activity in its entire history. The 1947 budget cuts allotments to Poland, and eliminates the Soviet Union entirely. Proposed amendments to the JDC by-laws supposed to increase the participation of the American Jewish community at large in the policy making deliberations of the organization were ratified. The new by-laws increase the authorized number of directors from 210 to 350 and provide for annual nominations by each of the seven DC regions. Moses A. Leavitt was elected executive vice-chairman.

☆

The American Federation for Polish Jews has launched a \$3,000,000 drive for aid to Jews in Poland and Polish Jewish refugees in other countries.

THE AMERICAS

Admittance of 1,000 orphaned Jewish children from Europe has been approved by the Argentine Government, and arrangements for their entry will be announced soon, Foreign Minister Juan Bramuglia has informed the DAIA, central body of Argentine Jewry.

☆

A memorandum protesting recent anti-Semitic incidents has been filed with Gen. Filomeno Velazco, Buenos Aires police chief, by the DAIA, central Argentine Jewish representative body. The memorandum reviews the damaging of the principal synagogue in the city, the defacement of Jewish buildings, the stoning of Jewish newspapers and the anti-Semitic slogans shouted by newsboys selling the organ of the Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista, extreme right-wing organization which is behind most of the anti-Jewish in-

cidents. Not only have the police failed to prevent such incidents, but the perpetrators have never been punished, the memorandum points out, stating that it is "evident" that the occurrences constitute "a systematic campaign of violence and intimidation against the Jewish community."

☆

Canadian government circles are considering the introduction of an immigration quota system similar to that in effect in the U. S. Agriculture Minister James G. Gardiner declared in Vancouver recently that Canada needed an additional 12,000,000 persons and urged the admission of immigrants from Europe in order that the western areas might be developed. However, there are powerful forces in Canada which oppose mass immigration regardless of its purpose. In Quebec the Council of Catholic Unions has adopted a resolution opposing "any move towards permitting mass immigration into Canada."

EUROPE

Fascist elements are conducting a war of nerves against the Jewish community in Britain during recent weeks. Synagogues in various parts of London and in other sections of the country have been attacked. Shops have had their windows smashed. Individual Jews have been threatened on the telephone with flogging and murder. All this is supposedly being done in retaliation against the terror in Palestine.

☆

Harry Hynd, member of Parliament for Central Hackney, has offered to guard the Hackney District synagogue as a protest against recent acts

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of vandalism. The Council of United Synagogues of Great Britain has arranged for members of London synagogues to maintain all-night guard in front of their respective synagogues to prevent further arson attacks.

☆

The London *Daily Worker* demands action against fascist speakers who have repeatedly advocated the burning of synagogues in addresses to East End London audiences. The *Daily Worker* declares it is in possession of names of the speakers and the place and dates that they spoke. Communist member of Parliament, Philip Piratin, announced that he intends to question the Home Secretary on the question of anti-Semitic attacks as soon as Parliament reconvenes.

☆

Home Secretary James Chuter Ede, replying to a demand that legislation be promulgated forbidding anti-racial propaganda, said in Commons that recent anti-Semitic activities in Britain, such as the attacks on several synagogues, broke existing laws, and therefore the problem was not to create new laws but to catch the offenders.

☆

The Polish government has ordered the removal from the Catholic church in Leczyca, near Lodz, over the opposition of the church, of a picture depicting Jews murdering a child for ritual purposes. The picture was shown to correspondents by M. Sluczaski, an official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He emphasized that a part of the Catholic clergy in Poland is still engaged in spreading anti-Jewish propaganda and said that the government is taking all possible measures to combat it.

☆

A convention of representatives of Jewish cooperatives in Poland was held in Wroclaw in October 1946. There are, at present, as many as 125 Jewish cooperatives in Poland, and they have more than 3,000 members. They are for the most part producers' cooperatives. Total sales for May 1946 amounted to Zlotys 1,324,000, for June—Zlotys 1,312,000, for July—Zlotys 1,437,000 and in August the figure rose to Zlotys 5,909,000.

☆

The Rumanian Ministry of Finance has increased government subsidies to Jewish religious communities by 70 per cent so as to enable them to raise the pay of their employees to the salary level of government workers.

☆

The question of pensions for the widows and orphans of Jews killed by the Nazis in Rumania and the victims of pogroms and deportations was raised in the Rumanian parliament for the second time.

☆

Solomon Herscovici, a Rumanian Jewish lawyer, has been named Rumanian consul at Haifa.

☆

The Bulgarian Ministry of Health has allocated 10,000,000 levas (about \$35,000) toward the reconstruction of the Jewish Memorial Hospital in Sofia.

☆

PALESTINE

Moshe Levin, president of the Jewish Community in Haifa, and two Palestine Arab sheiks were on King George's New Year's Day honor

list, and were awarded the Order of the British Empire.

☆

Moshe Shertok remains the head of the political department of the World Zionist executive. (Shertok is the gentleman who admitted to the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission that Arab leaders had agreed to substantial immigration of Jews to Palestine for a ten-year period beginning in 1936, provided the Jews joined the Arabs in anti-imperialist, anti-British struggle, and that this proposal was rejected by the Jewish Agency.) Mrs. Goldie Meirson heads the department in Jerusalem. The department also includes Dr. Moshe Sneh, Prof. Selig Brodetsky, Berl Locker and Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

☆

Military plan to suppress terrorism in Palestine, which a spokesman for the Colonial Office admitted had been considered in Palestine, provides: 1) Palestine to be cut off from the rest of the world by closing of all frontiers on land, sea and air, including ports to all commercial shipping; 2) traffic on roads within country to be allowed only under special permits issued by authorities; 3) all means of transportation, including Jewish cooperative buses, to be requisitioned or put under military control; 4) collective punishment

system to be introduced where terrorist acts occur, and a nightly curfew to be imposed; 5) martial law might be imposed and certain Jewish leaders might be detained.

☆

A two-day sit-down strike by 1,500 Jewish and Arab workers employed in the oil refineries at Haifa was called off when the strikers agreed to negotiate their demands. They are asking wage increases and improved working conditions.

☆

In the strongest measure yet taken by the Jewish community to curb terrorism, the Jewish National Council adopted a resolution calling on Palestine Jewry to resist terror by force if necessary.

☆

The Tel Aviv municipality has released a message from the president of the province of Thuringia, in the Soviet zone of Germany, asking it to inform former Thuringian Jews now living in Palestine that they are entitled to receive compensation for immovable property they left behind. The message stated that the Jews will receive compensation even in cases where they sold their property under duress.

Conference Proposals for German Peace

The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference adopted on January 22nd a thirteen-point program which will be submitted to the meeting of the Foreign Ministers for inclusion in the peace treaty with Germany. The points are:

1. Germany must acknowledge her shameful guilt for her monstrous crime against the Jews. Without such acknowledgment, a peace treaty with Germany would distort the records of history beyond recognition.

2. Germany must cleanse her public and private life from the invidious poison of anti-Semitism. She must show by her conduct that she is ready and willing to purge herself of diseased ideologies of race superiority. Equal rights for all and non-discrimination must be imposed and secured as the guiding principles of her laws and practices.

3. Germany's readjustment to the principles of democracy will be a slow process. Her past conduct has shown that the treatment of Jews within her borders cannot safely be left to her discretion for many years to come. Their status and treatment must therefore be a matter of international concern and supervision.

4. To attest her atonement for her crimes against the Jews, Germany must effectively punish all those who had a hand in the persecution of Jews or benefited from it.

5. Jews who have been deprived of their nationality by discriminatory laws and practices must have the right to reacquire it, but shall not be compelled to do so.

6. No Jew should be forced to remain on soil soaked with his brother's blood. Jews in Germany must have the unfettered right to emigrate from Germany and to take their belongings with them.

7. All Jewish displaced persons, who find themselves in Germany by force or circumstances, must have the protection of Allied or other international authorities and must never be allowed to fall under German jurisdiction, but Germany, re-

sponsible for the uprooting of these people from their former homes, must provide the means for their subsistence until these unfortunate people can go to the country of their choice.

8. Jews who will remain in Germany must be given freedom of association and the right to pursue their religious, communal and other activities with the same status and privileges they enjoyed before January 30, 1933, the date of Hitler's ascent to power.

9. The property of which individual Jews have been robbed must be returned to them or their heirs. Heirless Jewish property must be transferred to and applied by a responsible Jewish body to be set up for the purpose of relief and resettlement of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution.

10. Germany must indemnify fully all Jews who have suffered in their person or property from measures and acts of Nazi persecution.

11. Reparations should be paid by Germany for the damage and suffering she has caused by her persecution of the Jews. It can be no more than a token because the damage and destruction she has wrought on the Jews is immeasurable.

12. Jews and their property must be exempted from any measures which are applied by the Allies to the property of enemy nationals, for it would be grossly unjust to treat them as enemies. Jews and their property must be equally protected against use by Germany for paying her war debts.

13. The enforcement of all treaty provisions concerning Jews cannot be left to German authorities. The clauses must be supervised by international machinery to which Jewish individuals and their organizations and communities must have access. In addition, the treaty provisions must also be enacted as part of the constitutional law of Germany and Germany must be obligated to implement them by appropriate legislation to be approved by the Allied authorities.

