

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

Creative Years— The Freiheit Story

By Alexander Bittelman

THE contribution of a quarter of a century of the *Morning Freiheit* to American Jewish life is the contribution of the progressive forces of the American Jews, and particularly the workers. These progressive Jewish masses, headed by Moissaye J. Olgin, created the *Freiheit*, maintained it through the stormy years of struggle, and brought it to its present position of influence and leadership in American Jewish life.

Let us recall the exact nature of the time of the *Freiheit's* birth. It was a period of profound change throughout the world and in America in particular. The general crisis of world capitalism, which began with the first imperialist world war of 1914-1918, was unfolding rapidly and forcefully. The victorious Socialist Revolution in old Russia, which opened a new epoch in the life of humanity, was consolidating its position and extending its progressive influence throughout the world. Powerful proletarian and general people's movements, directed against imperialist oppression, reaction and anti-

(Continued on page 22)

MAY 1947

LOOK OUT, AMERICA!

The American people dare not permit the anti-communist and anti-Semitic hoax to destroy our country's future of peace and progress.

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM

A Call to Action on

H. R. 2848

Letters From Readers

War Vet Likes Us

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed please find full payment for two subscriptions. The subscription from Georgia was obtained from a very active member of the Jewish War Veterans who belongs to a Georgia Post. After reading the write-up of the Columbians situation in the February issue, he pronounced it the most true report he had read pertaining to those events. The sub is his answer to what he thinks of *Jewish Life*.
Cleveland

JOSEPH HILL.

Cultural Organization

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Your magazine is filling a great need of the Jewish community. I am sure that many of your readers will be interested to learn that an organization has been formed in New York City with ideals similar to those of this publication. Because of our need for stimulation and guidance, we have affiliated ourselves as an English-speaking section with YKUF (Yiddisher Kultur Farband), at 189 Second Avenue, New York City.

Meetings are held the first Sunday of each month at 8:30 p.m. At each session, a competent speaker presents some phase of the Jewish problem, political or cultural, followed by general discussion.

All interested please communicate with me at 220 Wardsworth Ave., New York, N. Y.
New York GLADYS KROLL.

More on Content

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In the March issue of *Jewish Life*, Mr. Joseph Clark takes issue with my letter that appeared in an earlier edition. While I do not expect agreement with my point of view, I must say that of the two of us it is Mr. Clark who narrows the perspective of the Jewish intellectual by stressing the virtues of a strictly political magazine.

As this writer sees it, it is not so much a question of what we think the Jewish intellectual needs as of giving him the opportunity and incentive to participate in the creation of a progressive Jewish culture. And this is the premise of my argument—an argument which, incidentally, rests on one of the cardinal points set forth by the editors in the initial issue of *Jewish Life*, to wit, that "... *Jewish Life* dedicates itself to reviving and spreading the progressive Jewish culture and tradition and to encouraging the further development of this culture. ..." In this connection, even Mr. Nathan Ausubel says that "... one of the most effective instruments of our self-defense as well as social progress is our Jewish culture."

Mr. Clark, of course, does not minimize the importance of the creation of a Jewish cultural movement. He merely says that "... adequate material on cultural and historical questions would be published if it were available." This is sheer nonsense. Mr. Clark would be amazed at the amount of material that would be forthcoming with a little encouragement from the editors.

If Jewish culture is indeed a means of our survival as a people then it is imperative that we devote at least equal attention to its promotion as we do in the treatment of the political aspect of Jewish problems. That the Jewish question is a political question is no longer new. What is new and vital in recent political developments is that the Jewish people may be saved from oblivion,

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. I, NO. 7

MAY, 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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if not from destruction, by means of reviving its fighting traditions and by the creation of a new progressive culture. Far from limiting the scope of the Jewish intellectual, a political and a cultural magazine will enlarge his vision and enhance for him the significance of the projected International Congress on Jewish Culture.

While the last issue shows a definite improvement in that direction we look for a great deal more of the same in future issues.

Los Angeles.

IRWIN SHAPPIN.

In All Modesty

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I have just finished reading the fifth issue of

the magazine and I want to tell you that I think it is excellent. It is the only source of good perspective for the American Jewish community on the key problems of the domestic scene and international affairs in Jewish life. I think your letter to the American Jewish Conference on the German peace was excellent. The analysis of the Basle conference should, I think, be reprinted in pamphlet form for broad distribution. As for the letter by Raitsky on the DP's, I think that this particular item should be given as much circulation as possible. I wonder if it would be possible to send it out to all of the Jewish weeklies and the Anglo-Jewish wire services.

Washington, D. C.

R. K.

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

LOOK OUT AMERICA!

An Editorial Article

"You said before that 60 per cent of the members of the Communist Party here are aliens. Now what percentage of them aliens are Jews?"

"Now take this drive against the British Empire by the Zionists—ain't that a communist front?"

"One of the outstanding Zionists in this country has two communist children. We got to go into Greece because Palestine is taking up so much British time."

"The man who gave me that information on the number of Jews in the Communist Party is a Jew himself."

"Them people in the Ukraine—they's the white people of Russia, ain't they—the Nordics?"

"Are you aware they (the communists) teach N—s to blow up bridges?"

EVERY progressive and liberal American should study these quotations very carefully, as carefully as a medical chart at the bed of a very sick patient. Every Jew, every Negro, every member of every national group, every foreign born person must consider these sentences as a personal message. Every American must take heed.

There is danger in these comments. There is danger to everything every decent human being holds dear—the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, life itself. Nothing is excluded and no one is exempted.

The quotations above are not a translation from the German. They are not the invention of a lurid imagination. They were uttered on March 24, 1947, at the hearings on legislation to outlaw the Communist Party conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities, a Congressional body. And they were spoken by John Rankin, an alleged Congressman from Mississippi.

These statements express not just Rankin's feelings. The fact that members of the Un-American Committee showed discomfort on hearing these words from Rankin does not remove from the Committee responsibility for their utterance. The fact that members of the government try to dissociate themselves from him, does not absolve the administration. For even though they were uttered by the foulest of the members of Congress, these statements were spoken in an atmosphere that encourages, rallies, creates, feeds and spreads this kind of expression. And this atmosphere the government — and the Un-American Committee—have created by their anti-labor and anti-democratic actions inherent in the red-baiting hysteria they whip up.

American reaction and Wall Street imperialism have entered upon a campaign to Hitlerize America. They are already resorting to the very crudest imitation of the Hitler pattern. They expect to succeed where Hitler met only disaster—although at an exorbitant price for the people of the world. And they expect to succeed even though Hitler's efforts had achieved only the further reduction of the area of world imperialist domination, and enlarged the area of people's democracy.

We dare not forget the main purpose of Hitler's campaign of anti-communist hysteria. Its aim was to rid Germany of the Communist Party. But this

was not its *only* aim. Its overriding purpose was to destroy the German labor movement, to splinter and brutalize and degenerate the German people, to break the resistance of the German people to the bestial domination of fascism, to make possible world fascist domination by undermining democratic forces throughout the world. Its purpose was to make possible an anti-democratic victory at home and abroad for German fascism.

The two hundred odd anti-labor bills now jamming the congressional hopper—they are the essence of the anti-communist campaign. The continual rise in the cost of living—that is what hides behind the anti-communist drive. The cleansing of Washington of the last of the New Dealers—that is the sense behind the anti-communist hysteria. The gagging of the people's protest against the usurpation of power by reaction—that is the meaning of the anti-communist drive.

And now we see its further development. Since the end of World War II fighting, one of the stumbling blocks to world peace has been the ability of Wall Street imperialism to hide its evil intentions behind the honeyed words and pious gestures of an increasingly pliant American government. But now the halo has slipped off like an ill-fitting toupé. President Truman expressed the fondest dreams of Wall Street when he announced that America was setting out on a policy of limiting the sovereignty of all other peoples by intervening at its own discretion in the internal affairs of all other peoples. And the excuse given by the President to cover up the aggression is "the danger of communism," which requires the United States to assume the self-appointed role of political guardian of the world.

This gag is so familiar that it fools none of the nations that had been through Hitler fascist conquest. They know racism when they see it, and they do not like it any better if it is Anglo-Saxon domination. They did not shed their blood getting rid of German imperialist domination in order to replace it with American imperialist rule. And they will resist and beat back American imperialism no less than they fought German imperialism.

Has not recent history sufficiently impressed upon us that rampant, unbridled imperialism is a threat to all peoples? Are we still not aware of the special role that the anti-communist hoax is supposed to play? Is it necessary for the world to deliver up more millions in sacrifice before the American people learn that German imperialism did not hold a monopoly on fascist reaction, that Wall Street imperialism has the same dreams of world conquest, the same hopes of enslaving the masses of people at home as well as abroad, and will use the same means to demoralize the people in order to achieve the same ends?

Is it necessary for Jews to prepare more millions of corpses from among their own depleted ranks before they grasp fully what Rankin went out of his way to prove: that anti-communism and anti-Semitism are inseparable? They are inseparable because reaction uses both for the same purpose. It is disastrous to wait until the Hitler-type of anti-Semitism engulfs the Jewish people. It is necessary to fight anything that must inevitably lead to anti-Semitism.

The future is at stake for all people, for all nations and national groups. As a result of victory in World War II, the people of the world are more determined than ever, and more capable than ever, of resisting imperialist domination. What is necessary is a consolidation of forces, a determination to stand up and fight . . . to stand up and fight as our brothers and sisters did in the Soviet Union—as they fought in the Warsaw ghetto.

It was at great cost that humanity glimpsed the future. We must not be robbed of it by the gluttonous ambitions of Wall Street imperialism. Nor dare we be hoodwinked by imperialism's hoax of anti-communism into supporting its adventures. America must be a democratic beacon, not an imperialist master.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND PALESTINE

THE Jewish people have felt the curse of imperialism to the tune of six million dead. The Jews, therefore, should be alerted by the evidence of the re-emergence of aggressive imperialism, and they should fight every manifestation of it. But apparently not all Jews are sufficiently sensitive to the fate of our people. Or they do not consider our survival of prime importance.

The open imperialist moves in Greece and Turkey announced by President Truman, reveal how little the Jews had to expect from American imperialist "generosity" in Palestine and the Middle East. They also expose the reactionary and bankrupt policies of some of our currently accepted Jewish leadership. For, while some Zionist leaders once tried to pose American democracy as against British imperialism, it is now clear that it was always simply a choice between one imperialism and another, neither of which held any hope for the Jewish people, a fact which progressives have been trying to hammer home all these months.

But Dr. Emanuel Neumann, acting president of the Zionist Organization of America, still pursues the policy of reliance on American imperialism. In the March 14 issue of *The New Palestine* he gleefully accepts the open American imperialist line. "Greece and Turkey may well be only the beginning," he hopes. All he wants to know is "whether our financial and military assistance are to be given in order to underwrite British policies and the British imperialist position in the Near East, or in order to pursue an American policy. Are we to be full partners with Great Britain or only its junior partner? . . ." (Our italics—Ed.)

The important thing, however, is not whether we are full partners, junior partner, or, more exactly, *senior partner, but in what kind of racket are we partners?* Dr. Neumann does not question our imperialist policy in Greece and Turkey. He simply wants us "to pursue an American policy" in Palestine. "A forceful American initiative with regard to a speedy solution of the Palestine problem, both in a definite form and in its interim aspects, is therefore clearly indicated. The time to do it is now," Neumann declares. And just as Greek and Turkish fascists "invited" America openly into their countries, so the reactionary Zionists are "inviting" America openly into Palestine.

And this open American imperialism is logically also applauded by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, the friend of Taft, the man who urged the Jews to express their objection to Truman's hitherto indecisive action in Palestine, by voting Republican in the last election. According to a March 14 *New York Times* report from Palestine, Rabbi Silver is said to think that "U. S. (is) Helping Zionists," and "That the United States Government 'might be prepared to go a little further' in its policy on Palestine now that it was taking a greater interest in the Middle East and proposing to make large loans to Greece and Turkey."

This policy of reactionary Zionists does not bring a solution of the Palestine question or the Jewish question one whit closer. But it is deepening the danger to the Jewish people.

In the face of this offensive of American imperialism, the Jews can only turn to the anti-imperialist camp for support in their struggle for security. This camp is also conducting a struggle against the anti-labor, anti-democratic forces. This camp includes such eminent Americans as Henry Wallace, Sen. Claude Pepper, Sen. Glenn Taylor, former mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, who have spoken out against both the foreign and domestic betrayal of the American people being perpetrated by a Republican-Democratic reactionary coalition. Organized American life, led by the Progressive Citizens of America, has also taken a stand against the backsliding of the present administration. The Jewish people in their own self-interest must come to the whole-hearted support of these progressive individuals and organizations.

But the Jewish people must do more. They must bring forward their own progressive leaders and organizations to take their place in the effort to plug the dam against the reactionary flood. Never was the urgency so great, or the responsibility so unavoidable, for the large section of Jews who have followed the leadership of Dr. Stephen S. Wise in rejecting the reactionary Silver leadership to consolidate their ranks and take steps to rally the Jewish people for democracy, against imperialism. Never was it so necessary for these elements to strike out against the reactionary forces within Jewish life, who for the sake of kow-towing to American imperialism are ready to sell the Jewish people down the river. The security of the Jewish people calls for such progressive leadership on the part of the Wise camp. The security of the American people demands it. Jewish and non-Jewish Americans will support such leadership.

MAY DAY

WE have frequently been asked, how can we demonstrate our hatred for imperialism, our support for labor, for the other oppressed nationalities, for the democratic forces?

Especially today, in the face of the red-baiting hysteria which reactionaries are working over-time to create, there is a desire to stand up and be counted—as communists, as progressives, as democrats, as believers in the Bill of Rights and the Four Freedoms for which we have just fought and bled.

Reaction needs a sharp blow. It needs to be reminded that the American people are not easily cowed. That the blood flowing through the veins of Americans from the days of the Revolution, through the anti-Federalist struggles, the conquest of the west, the capture of Harper's Ferry, the Civil War, the Homestead Battle, Willow Run,

the Battle of the Bulge, does not turn blue at the ranting of a Rankin.

The Jews of America have their special reasons for demonstrating their determination to help restore the supremacy of the Constitution over the Un-American Committee. They must avenge their six million dead, and prevent the further decimation of their ranks at the hands of fascism.

The May Day demonstrations this year, whatever the form they may take, whatever the city in which you live, have a special significance since they come in the midst of the offensive of reaction and imperialism. Their slogans and their demands will express the determination of America to hew the democratic line. Every Jew who values his self-respect, the dignity of his people, the lives of his sorely tried brothers and sisters, belongs in the ranks of the demonstrators—with his allies, of all walks of life, of all colors, of all nations, of all America.

May Day is America's day—democracy's day—equality's day.

THE VATICAN AND RACISM

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish a most interesting document relating to the attitude of the Vatican toward the Vichy government of France. So far as we know, the only English language publication in the United States to make use of it is that long-standing and persistent fighter against anti-Semitism, *The Protestant*, which reprinted it in its February-March 1947 issue. We believe this document deserves very careful attention. It seems to explain much that was hitherto somewhat inexplicable.

Certainly it explains why phenomena like Coughlin and Edward Lodge Curran, crass anti-Semites and violent hate-mongers, are possible in priestly garb, without being unfrocked. It explains also the behavior of Cardinal Hlond of Poland who blamed the Jews for the Kielce pogrom because they participated in the government. It explains why the hierarchy in New York suddenly came out against the Austin-Mahoney Bill that sought to curtail discrimination in New York colleges. The document contains anti-Semitic and racist justifications for each of these acts, and many more which we do not here recount.

Now it is true that the document is couched in terms which permit the Vatican to deny its agreement. It can claim that these were solely the opinions of M. Leon Berard. But the Vatican cannot deny the acts listed above, and the many others of which it is as well informed as the editors.

A mere denial will not be sufficient. Church support for a bill like H.R. 2848 to outlaw anti-Semitism and discrimination, without equivocation about the powers of the State, will weight more heavily than words. The elimination of the *Brooklyn Tablet*, reactionary Catholic paper, will be infinitely more emphatic. The Catholic people, except those contaminated with Christian Frontism, will welcome these

acts of good will. For it will express their solidarity with all oppressed peoples whose security is the measure of the security of the Catholics.

"FREIHEIT" JUBILEE

THE twenty-fifth birthday of the *Morning Freiheit*, the only consistently progressive Yiddish language newspaper in the United States, is an event of vital importance to the whole of America. For it is through this newspaper that the Jewish people of this country made their major contributions to the welfare and security of the American people during the last quarter of a century.

The very occasion of its birth was an indication of the ideological vitality which has governed its entire existence. For it was born in stern struggle against the social betrayal, the crass opportunism, the cultural vulgarity of the Jewish daily *Forward*. And while the *Forward* has sunk to the very gutter of political life, trading its socialist birthright for a mess of anti-Soviet pottage, the *Freiheit* has been the clearest voice fighting for the unity, the security and the welfare of the Jewish communities throughout the world. The struggles in which the *Freiheit* has engaged in the interests of the Jewish people and in the interests of our American nation are too numerous to list in an editorial. But its record is written in its pages for all to see.

There is really only one way to celebrate the birthday of a newspaper, and that is to guarantee its continued existence. We believe the English speaking Jews of America have a responsibility to their Yiddish-speaking fellow-Jews, a responsibility which they must fulfill in order to consolidate the Jewish people into a fighting progressive force. This responsibility is to spread the *Morning Freiheit* as the true voice of progressive Jewish America. As the grateful son of a proud parent, *Jewish Life* urges a flood of birthday and gift subscriptions to the *Morning Freiheit*.

SPRING STUDY

AN excellent preparation for that summer vacation you are planning is a course of study during the spring semester at the School of Jewish Studies. You are going to meet a lot of new people during the summer. There is going to be a lot of conversation while you are relaxing from the strain of a year's work. And a lot of this conversation is going to turn on Jewish problems which the current troubled world situation is aggravating.

These conversations can be productive of understanding of Jewish problems, and of proper action to help solve them. It would be a shame to miss the opportunity. But for that a fund of knowledge is necessary. The School of Jewish Studies, at 13 Astor Pl., N. Y., can supply you with this information during its spring term, beginning April 14.

TO YOU, MY PEOPLE

By Moissaye J. Olgin

MY people, our cause is just. We draw strength from the justice of our cause for the great hour.

My people, we are not alone. In every people, in every land, human hearts beat for us, for our defense.

We have journeyed long. Our history reaches into the far past. We have gathered power and resistance from generation to generation.

We have journeyed long. Our history reaches into the to battle wherever freedom's flag was raised aloft. Our name is recorded among the builders of a new world.

We are proud. We never suffered the enemy to conquer our spirit. We held our head high. We despised the enemy and towered above the forces of darkness.

We took to our heart young Leckert, youthful Botwin, the lads of the Lincoln Brigade, sons and daughters in the defense guard, who gave their blood for freedom, for our liberation.

My people, again the hour is grave. The enemy is bestial. Our blood pours forth, our hearts are heavy. The cloud presses leaden against our breasts, against our flesh and life. The time is evil, my people.

A false prophet appears with a false vision. He says: "Tremble, people, hide! Into your cellars. Do not show anger. Do not cry, do not beat back the enemy. Let him not hear a murmur from your sealed lips."

A false counselor comes, with seductive words. He says: "Plead,

promise, soften the heart of your enemy. Bow your head, bend the knee. Let this Haman see that you are ready to cringe, O people. Perhaps, then, he will relent."

My people, turn from this false vision. Drive away this false prophet. Let us be true to ourselves. Let us remember our ancient pride. Let us remember two thousand years of our history. Be strong, be proud.

My people, from sore travail we draw our greatest strength. Out of blood we forge the sword of battle. We shall defend ourselves. Rise up! Resist! Through struggle to freedom—was not this, then, always the way?

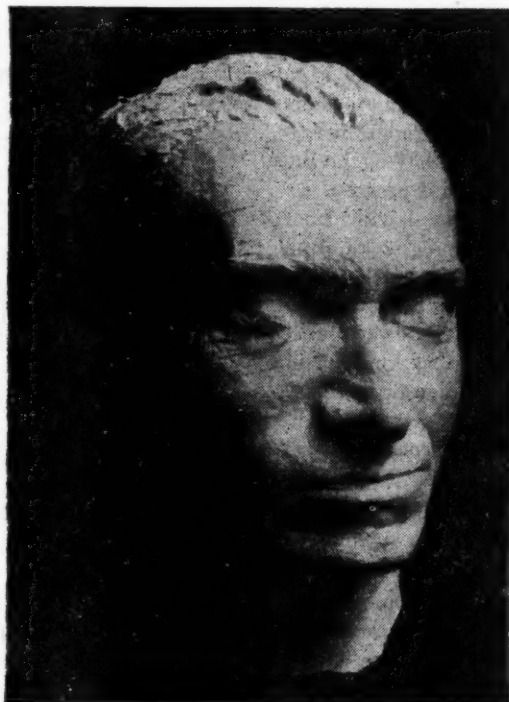
Once there was a Tsarist land. There we were persecuted. There pogroms were visited upon us. Our blood poured out, it trickled, it gushed, it burned on every street. There, too, false prophets came and tried to lure us into hiding places. Our best sons and daughters did not heed. They withstood the enemy. They locked hands in brotherhood with the best sons and daughters of every people in that dark land.

And a bright day came. The enemy vanished. Gone was every trace of pain. The heart of our people beats free and strong there.

Our cause is just. Throughout the world, men of good will stand at our side. Together with us, the best of human kind bleed, suffer, seek liberation.

The day is not far off. Light will dawn. Truth will come. We shall be free.

Be strong, my people.



OLGIN—DEATH MASK

By Aaron Goodelman

MOISSAYE J. OLGIN, who was identified with the *Freiheit* from its inception in 1922, was born on March 24, 1878, and died on November 22, 1939. He became active in the Russian revolutionary movement in his student days. Caught in Germany by World War I, and unable to return to Russia, he emigrated to the United States, and joined the editorial board of the *Forward*. He broke with this

opportunist section of the working class in 1921. We reprint the above article, which appeared originally in the *Freiheit* on November 19, 1938, not only as an example of Olgin's political and literary work, but also as an indication of his inspiring leadership to the newspaper to which he was devoted. The *Freiheit's* 25th birthday is a fitting memorial to this outstanding communist and Jew.

THE MILITANT SPIRIT OF JEWISH LABOR

By Morris U. Schappes

AMONG American Jewish trade union forces today there is open and acute conflict between two tendencies,

On the one hand, there is the reactionary camp which in effect undermines the living standards of the people. To achieve this aim, it opposes labor unity, supports red-baiting, and fights political action in the interests of labor and the people. In foreign affairs, this camp supports American imperialist domination of the world.

On the other hand, and it is a powerful hand, there is the broad camp of the progressive labor forces, united against this reaction. This camp stands for labor unity and people's unity against the many-sided onslaught of the trusts. Most of the Roosevelt forces are in it. The program includes Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights, equal rights for national, religious and racial minorities, and unity of the Big Three as the basis for world peace and world progress.

Superficially, this division of American Jewish labor forces into the camp of reaction and the progressive camp of unity against reaction might seem very much like a similar distinction that exists in the American labor movement as a whole. There are several features, however, that distinguish this Jewish element from the general movement of which it is a part. First, there is a tradition of militancy common to the entire Jewish field. Secondly, there is a tradition of socialist ideals and socialist thinking common to all these forces. Third, reactionary leaders in the Jewish field are dominated by social-democratic, opportunist elements.

Social-Democratic Reactionaries

Nowhere else in the labor movement in our country do social-democracy and opportunism have such a base as they do among the Jewish workers. And nowhere else do recognized communist leaders enjoy such confidence and have so large a union following as among the Jewish workers.

Social-democratic opportunism is the result of imperialist pressure on the working class, and leads to the capitulation of unions to the employers, to making the welfare of labor seem to depend on the prosperity of the capitalists, to accepting capitalism as the necessary condition for the existence of labor, to bowing to the will of monopoly in all basic economic, social, and political questions at home and abroad. Opportunism always speaks in the name of the immediate gains of the workers, but it betrays them in the end because it betrays them all along.

The communist leaders, while recognizing the might of the ruling class, are not overawed by it because they have confidence in the courage, intelligence, and strength of the working class and its middle class, Negro, and national group allies. In Lincoln's pregnant phrase, such leaders

recognize the priority of labor over capital. They know that labor of all kinds, physical and mental, is indispensable to society, while capital is today, in the military sense of the term, expendable. Capital is necessary under capitalism, but capitalism itself is not eternally necessary. Such workers and their leaders win from the employers the best present conditions of work and also further the permanent interests of labor by always strengthening the strategic position of the workers in relation to the capitalist class as a whole, economically and politically.

Dubinsky, Dominant Misleader

The dominant leader in the camp of reaction among Jewish labor forces is the social-democratic opportunist, David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Hearst's favorite labor leader. Dubinsky, after a hasty flirtation with the Congress for Industrial Organizations, led his union back into the American Federation of Labor, in which he is now the "left" false-face. Together with William Green, William Hutcheson and Matthew Woll, Dubinsky zealously serves reaction, trying to make imperialism sweet in the nostrils of masses of workers. He will cross a picket-line of C.I.O. workers to hear Churchill call for war against the Soviet Union, and he will feel glad that Churchill is expressing so well what he, Dubinsky, himself has been thinking and saying, while feeling sad, perhaps, that Churchill no longer is in the official position openly to direct British imperialist policy. He will wire Truman his support of the military, political and economic aid the administration has pledged to fascist Greece and to a Turkey eager to serve fascism. With William Green he will agree with Senators like Ball and Taft that the Wagner Act gives labor an unfair advantage over the monopolies because it makes illegal an employer's interference with the right of a worker freely to choose whether a union should represent him and which union it should be! There is opportunism writ large: the agreeable Dubinsky "agreeing" that too-too-powerful labor has for ten years been taking advantage of the puny trusts!

Yet Dubinsky plays his reactionary role with a difference. Matthew Woll, for instance, representing the worst in the general American labor movement, is opposed to socialism in theory, to socialism in practice (in the Soviet Union), and to the independent action of labor in the economic or political field. David Dubinsky, however, could not appear before his membership quite so naked. After all, he is the David Dubinsky who was a "revolutionary" in Poland in 1907, a member of the Jewish "Bund"; imprisoned by the Tsar in 1908, he fled from Siberian exile in 1909, came to the United States, and was a speaker for the Socialist

Party in New York in 1910. And in his union there are many, especially among the older Jewish workers, who themselves had gained their first working-class experience in the ranks of the Bund in Poland, Russia, and Lithuania.

Dubinsky therefore must wear a pink fig-leaf. He will orate that he is for socialism, "in words," but he is "therefore" opposed to Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-real-socialism-in-practice as you have it in the Soviet Union. He is not against the independent action of labor "in general"; he is just against the American Labor Party and the Progressive Citizens of America in particular, and he will toss into the arena, to mislead his followers, a decoy like the Liberal Party. He is *for* internationalism "in theory," and *for* the kind of practical "internationalism" that leads him to support the anti-Semitic Polish underground against the new democratic Polish government; but he is *against* the international unity embodied in the World Federation of Trade Unions. Lenin once said of the Menshevik opportunist Skobelev that Skobelev brandished his fist in the face of Tsarism, and then brought the fist down on the heads of the working class. Times have changed a bit since then: an opportunist like Dubinsky no longer even brandishes a fist at a Hoover or a Churchill, but sometimes he does make a face at them to placate his working class following.

Progressive Jewish Labor

In the camp of progress among the Jewish labor forces, men like the late Sidney Hillman and Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C.I.O., are outstanding figures. Born in conflict with the A. F. L. bureaucrats of the United Garment Workers, this union has been vacillatingly progressive. The first decade of its existence, after its birth in 1914, was marked by strong progressive trends; but the second decade was marred by compromising with reaction. Since the growth of the C.I.O., however, this type of leadership has become more and more resistant to reaction and opportunism. Hillman and Potofsky are men with a socialist background and socialist ideals, while large sections of the Jewish workers in their union share that background and ideal.

The communists and left forces in the Jewish labor field are worth special note. No union in the country is so united, so militant, so politically and socially conscious, so democratic as the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union. Ben Gold and Irving Potash, members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, head a union leadership that is unified and non-partisan, including socialist and former "right-wing" elements. No union has so great a proportion of its members that know the socialist pattern of the future and that expect to live to fight for and enjoy it in the United States. Whatever mistakes this union and its leadership have made have been literally *errors* in the application of the sound basic principle of defense of the workers against their main enemies, the fascists, imperialists and monopolists. But the opportunists, in capitulating to and collaborating with imperialism, made no mistake; it is their basic principle so to collaborate.

Socialist Tradition

But why does a man like Dubinsky still have to make faces at reaction? Why can he not play the hand of reaction straight, with a poker face like Woll's? The answer lies in the socialist traditions and aspirations of the Jewish members of his union in particular and of the early Jewish labor movement as a whole. Back in the 1880's, when the great tide of East-European Jewish immigration began to swell, the Jewish trade unions were born of socialist parentage. It was at a meeting of the East Side Branch 8 of the Socialist Labor Party in October 1888 that Jacob Magidow made the motion that the Branch establish the United Hebrew Trades. On October 19, 1888 the organizational conference that founded the U.H.T. was held at the New York Socialist German Labor Lyceum, 25 East 4th Street, with delegates from Branch 8 (Yiddish-speaking Jews) and Branch 17 (Russian-speaking Jews chiefly) of the S. L. P., the socialist led United German Trades, the German newspaper, *Socialist*, and the Jewish typographical, choral singers, and actors unions. (*Di Tseit Shrift*, November 1907.)

The statement of principles of the United Hebrew Trades of New York and Vicinity called for the organization of the workers "for the purpose of mutual protection against the oppression of capitalism, and to make clear to the workers that they can free themselves from the yoke of capitalism through organization and trade unions on the one hand, and through political struggle on the other." To them it was "clear and obvious that, with the accumulation or concentration of capital in a few hands, so-called political freedom becomes no more than an empty phrase. There can be no peace between capital and labor under the present social system, for the simple reason that capital consists of interest, rent, and profit unjustly taken from the worker who owns no land, property, or means of production. . . ." This statement of the Marxian theory of value, price, and profit was re-enforced by the paraphrase of another Marxian slogan: "The liberation of the working class can be brought about only by the workers themselves, because no other class has any interest in bettering their conditions."

In 1890 we have the first notable evidences of the militancy that characterized these Jewish immigrant workers. In January, 3,000 cloakmakers went out on strike and won recognition of their union, and in May 4,000 walked out in a strike that lasted nine weeks and aroused tremendous public interest. Even "the influence of the policemen's rough and ready argument" (*Eighth Annual Report, New York State Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1890*, p. 1035) could not break the strike, nor could weakness and capitulating tendencies on the part of the leaders.

Evaluating the great victory that was achieved, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, official organ of the U. H. T., pointed the way forward: "While fighting, while going from victory to victory, you workers must ever bear in mind that the main goal of your struggle is the ultimate *liberation* of the working class, and the complete *annihilation* of the domination of capital. Do not forget that just as you strive for

bread you must also fight for freedom; that such spirit as you display in your unions you must also show in the ranks of the workers' political party. Go forward, hand in hand with your progressive brothers and help to smash the rule of the money-bags! Remember the immortal words of our teacher, Karl Marx, that 'the economic liberation of the working class is not possible without its political liberation.' " (August 1, 1890.)

AFL Militancy

There are those who would ascribe such militancy and such political consciousness to some alien influence imported from overseas. While it was true that the immigrant waves came from countries (Russia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Italy) where autocracy reigned, where all labor and democratic movements were illegal, where the simplest defense of the interests of the common man brought him into harsh conflict with the authorities and involved him in open political struggle, these elements in the background of the immigrant were only one factor. Another, and decisive one, was the foreground, the conditions of the working class in the United States at a time when Big Capital was openly taking control of the country. In the 1880's and 1890's the new labor movement was militant and politically conscious. At the early conventions of the American Federation of Labor socialism was openly and favorably discussed. In New York, moreover, which was the cradle of the Jewish labor movement, the Central Labor Union had a socialist program. The Socialist Labor Party was affiliated with it. The president, Peter McGuire, was a socialist. The platform of the United Hebrew Trades, far from being a foreign importation or an expression of peculiarly Jewish reaction to the American scene, was copied paragraph for paragraph from the program of the Central Labor Union. What is distinctive in the picture is this: while the American Federation of Labor and the New York trade union center soon went off on other paths, the Jewish trade union masses, all of them in ideal, and many of them in deed, remained loyal to that early tradition of militancy and socialist aspirations.

The Jewish masses who were coming to the United States in the hundreds of thousands from 1880 to 1914 arrived not looking perhaps for gold-cobbled streets, but certainly not expecting the streets to be lined with sweat-shops. It was not the immigrants in general or the Jewish immigrants in particular who created the sweat-shops. But it was the Jewish immigrants in particular who, when driven into the sweat-shops, organized and fought and smashed the sweat-shop system. Isaac A. Hourwich sums up the situation thus: "Throughout the second quarter of the past century native American and Irish women worked in the sweat shops of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia for only board and lodging, or even for board alone, depending upon their families for other necessities, whereas the Jewish factory girls of the present day are at least self-supporting." (*Immigration and Labor*, New York, 1912, p. 25.)

Although not in basic industry, the garment trades, in

which the Jewish workers then predominated, fought on levels and in masses that startled and inspired the whole labor movement. From July 7, 1910 to September 2, sixty thousand New York garment workers, most of them hitherto unorganized, struck and fought heroically—and won. Reporting to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor on November 14, 1910, Samuel Gompers could not refrain from this tribute: "From the beginning it [the strike] was characterized by an unexpected spirit of enthusiasm, resistance, and solidarity on the part of the workers."

Even more dramatic, although involving fewer workers, was the great Shirt-waist Makers strike, in which 20-25,000 women workers held out from November 22, 1909 to February 15, 1910. Of them Gompers said: "The girls were willing to go hungry, and many of them did so; they braved the ruffianly police while peacefully picketing, went to imprisonment as a part of their duty to their comrades when sentenced by unsympathetic magistrates, skilfully and energetically aroused a sentiment in their favor in the community, and finally convinced their employers that they had learned the merits of combination for their plainly just purposes." When Gompers speaks of the "revolution" in the shirt-waist industry," he may be using a figure of speech, but when Clara Lemlich made the motion to strike at the historic Cooper Union mass meeting, socialism was in her heart and Marx was on her lips. Her speech a few days later at the Central Trades and Labor Council, asking for support, ended with a quotation from Marx. She got the support.

Such was the militancy and social idealism that brought many tens of thousands of workers into the trade union movement. This militancy was of course directed primarily against the employers and their open agents: police, injunction judges, and underworld elements. It was also, when necessary, turned against those within the labor movement, and even in the leadership of it, who sought to compromise the interests of the workers. Thus in the July-September 1910 cloakmakers' strike, Gompers interfered against the workers. But he was an "outsider"; he needed an "insider" to do his job. Here is the way Louis Levine, official historian of the I.L.G.W.U., relates the story: "to meet the radical element which was opposed to the idea of a conference, B. Schlesinger, who was then manager of the *Vorwärts*, was called in to act as one of the ten members of the strikers' committee." (*The Women's Garment Workers*, New York, 1924, p. 187.) The closed shop was a prime issue. At first the *Forward* supported this demand. Suddenly it switched. On August 27, 1910, after eight weeks of striking, the courageous workers overwhelmingly rejected a compromise proposal that omitted the closed shop, and then marched down to East Broadway, where they demonstrated against the treachery of the *Forward* and smashed its windows. Nevertheless, a week later, with the leaders capitulating, and not giving the workers a chance to vote on the agreement, the strike was suddenly called off, and the famous Protocol was instituted.

(Concluded in June issue)

OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM!

A CALL TO ACTION

THE recent anti-Semitic behavior of John Rankin in the Un-American Committee hearings referred to elsewhere in this issue, has brought into sharp focus the necessity for taking prompt action to outlaw anti-Semitism in the United States. When a Congressman can permit himself such license, then the danger not only to the Jewish people, but to the American people as a whole, looms large indeed.

The opportunity has now presented itself to rally the forces for an all-out fight for the outlawing of the evil of anti-Semitism. On March 28, 1947, Congressman Charles A. Buckley of New York introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to outlaw anti-Semitism. The Bill is known as H. R. 2848, and has been referred to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

The Bill declares that "anti-Semitism and bigotry are potent weapons in the hands of the enemies of this country." It calls for preventing "the spread of anti-Semitism, religious, and racial hatred because of race, creed, or color, through the use of the mails and the channels of interstate and foreign commerce." The Bill prohibits the distribution in any form of all things which "expose the Jews or any other group . . . to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy. . . ." It calls for a punishment of any violation to the extent of \$5000 fine or five years imprisonment or both.

Already the American Jewish Labor Council has begun a campaign to rally the labor movement to the support of the Bill. All Jewish organizations must make this their number one immediate task. All organizations of the American people must see in this measure a vital strengthening of the democratic bulwark against reaction and fascism. They must see this Bill as a vital aspect of their well-being. The Bill must develop a groundswell of support from all ranks of American life.

Organize letter campaigns on this Bill to your Congressman and to the Congressional Committee to which it has been referred. Organize delegations to your Congressman when he comes home for a visit. Keep the issue hot until the Bill is passed.

Complete text of the Bill follows:

H. R. 2848

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 28, 1947

Mr. Buckley introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. To suppress the evil of anti-Semitism and the hatred of members of any race because of race, creed, or color.

MAY, 1947

A BILL

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

Section 1. (a) Congress hereby finds that anti-Semitism and bigotry are potent weapons in the hands of the enemies of this country and of its institutions, and that the enemies of this country and of its institutions have been and are using the United States mails and the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to spread the doctrine and foster the feelings of anti-Semitism, religious, and racial hatred be-

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2848

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Copies of this Bill, H. R. 2848, are available by writing to Rep. Charles A. Buckley, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. Congressman Buckley should hear of your support for the Bill.

cause of race, creed, or color, thereby tending to destroy the unity of this Nation, creating discord among our people, disrupting the normal channels of trade and commerce, and interfering with and dislocating the economic life of the country.

(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act, through the exercise by Congress of its powers to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations and the other powers granted to it by the Constitution of the United States, to prevent the spread of anti-Semitism, religious, and racial hatred because of race, creed, or color, through the use of the mails and the channels of interstate and foreign commerce.

IMPORTATION, MAILING, AND SHIPMENT

Sec. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person to bring, or cause to be brought, into the United States, or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or to deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the United States mails for mailing and delivery, or to deposit, or cause to be deposited, with any express company, or other common carrier, for carriage, or to send or carry from one State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, to any other State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, any book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, print, or other publication which exposes the Jews or any other group as a nation, people, or any substantial portion of them, to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy, or which causes or tends to cause them to be shunned or avoided, or which has a tendency to injure them in their occupations, employment, or other economic activities, or exposes any race because of race, creed, or color to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy, or which causes or tends to cause the members of such race or religion to be shunned or avoided,

or which has a tendency to injure the members of such race or religion in their occupations, employment, or other economic activities.

RECEIPT AND DISTRIBUTION

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person to take or receive from the mails, or any express company or other common carrier, with intent to sell, distribute, circulate or exhibit the same or to read the same to others, any matter or thing forbidden by section 2 of this Act to be imported into the United States, or to be deposited for mailing, delivery, or carriage in interstate commerce; or to sell, distribute, circulate, or exhibit, or to read to others, any such matter or thing, knowing the same to have been imported into the United States or carried in the mails or interstate commerce in violation of the provisions of section 2 of this Act.

PUNISHMENT

Sec. 4. Any person violating any of the provisions of section 2 or 3 of this Act, or who conspires or acts in concert with any other person or persons to violate any of the provisions of section 2 or 3 of this Act shall, for each such offense, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$5,000, or sentenced to imprisonment (at hard labor) for not more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

JURISDICTION

Sec. 5. Any person charged with violating the provisions of this Act may be prosecuted in any district in which any part of the offense has been committed by him or by his actual associates participating with him in the offense or by his fellow conspirators.

OUR TORAH

DEDICATED TO SLAVES OF THE GHETTO

Day and night, steeped in sterile study,
With your pale features, ever withered by poverty,
Within your cobwebby Talmud, hunched,
Your enslaved souls reseek with passion,
To find what our Torah writes.

But O blind, in your march of time,
In this ancient faded faith, have you not sensed
The archaic oil-lamp snuffed? A new light ahead on our
road!

The life's quick unfolding no longer seeks
To find what our Torah writes.

Like a myriad mouthed hydra, the thick skinned Lord, O
Horror,
Will suck you insatiate, in your divine sentence,
While your slave soul, miserable crumb, shadow of a rag,
Moulders each day. But he, (know it,) does not seek
To find what our Torah writes.

O brothers, bewitched by your ancient grandeur,
Come, let us scan the living book of life,
There you will find something underscored
With the rod of the satrap and the chains of the worker,
Horrible that our Torah does not write that!

By Eluyia

Translated from the Greek

By Rae Dalven

THE NIGHT WATCHMAN

A Short Story

By Leon Kobrin

Translated by L. B. Yedlin

IT was early fall when I landed in New York. A distant relative received me at Ellis Island, and soon after that my troubles began. Of course, I was not then the expert cloakmaker I have since become, but I could, with much less effort than now, knock a fellow out with one punch. In my home town in Russia even the police captain of our district, whom everyone feared, had steered clear of me.

It was different here, in America. No one had any use for me. Times were bad and I walked the streets for days at a stretch, looking for a job. Finally, just when the little money I had brought from home all but petered out, a countryman of mine got me a job. A wealthy member of his synagogue needed a night watchman. He made an appointment for me and the next day we found ourselves in the rich man's home. I was dazzled—tall mirrors in gold frames reaching to the very ceiling; pictures on the walls; chairs, sofas, tables—all of gold. Even the walls had gold stripes on them!

The man himself, a short, stout, jolly looking fellow, with a red beard and freckled face, asked me all sorts of questions—what town was I from, how long had I been in the country, and was it true that I could fell an ox with my bare fist. He told me that the former watchman he had employed at the row of houses he had been putting up, had a bad habit of dozing off. As a result, the people who lived in the neighborhood stole laths, nails and anything else they could carry away.

"Can I rely on you?" he asked.

"Of course."

"You're not going to sleep on the job, are you?"

"Sleep? I should say not!"

"And you know how to strike out when necessary?"

At first I could not make out what he was driving at, but he made it plain to me:

"I mean, strike out with your fists—biff-baff, bing-bang!—so that the thief will never again as much as come near my buildings."

I assured him he could rest easy, and the job was mine. I was to get ten dollars a week—an enormous amount of money to me then. Before I took leave of him, my new employer admonished me once more:

"Remember now, no sleeping! If you should fall asleep, my wife will swoop down on you in the middle of the

LEON KOBRIN, whose lamented death occurred on March 31, 1946, was widely known and loved wherever Yiddish was read. As in the case of Sholom Aleichem, the translation of his stories into English is long overdue. He was one of the literary figures that surrounded the *Freiheit*, and was a staff contributor to its pages.

night. And don't forget, when you catch a thief—biff-baff, bing-bang!"

The houses he was building were located in a newly developed section of Brownsville and seemed to be far away from the rest of the world. There was nothing but fields and meadows all around. At night—a gloomy blackness settled over the vacant lots, and the lights of distant inhabited houses gleamed like cats' eyes.

"Croak-croak!" boomed the frogs' chorus from a nearby marsh. Sometimes, on clear nights, the bell of the trolley car livened up the solitude. But whenever it rained and stormed, a feeling of untold misery came over me. The wind howled and raged and shrieked outside the hut like a maddened demon. The rain struck heavily on the thin roof of my shanty, and each drop sounded like a pebble hurled maliciously from above.

I'm not a coward but I couldn't help feeling a bit uneasy on such nights. To sit idle, just pondering and listening and pondering again, made all but a nervous wreck of me. Often it seemed to me that I was alone in the whole world, cut off from all other human beings, and that ghouls and ghosts and devils were prancing in a hellish dance around my shanty. Sometimes I prayed out loud or sang to hear a human voice. But on stormy nights my voice made such weird echoes around me that I shuddered and fell silent. Then, nothing remained but the storm, and the darkness and my troubled thoughts.

Then, again on quiet nights, the croaking of the frogs reminded me of the frogs in my home town, and oh, how I would long for my wife and darling little girl! I had never loved them as much as I did then. My thoughts of them reminded me that I was not, in spite of everything, all alone in the world; that far away, across the ocean, there was a sweet little woman who kept thinking of me all the time and that a lovely baby in her arms kept asking for her daddy. . . .

THE FIRST WEEK PASSED WITHOUT TROUBLE. MY BOSS'S WIFE, a tall, spare woman, with a mouth shaped like a windmill, would appear at my shanty almost every evening, quite late, and rap on the window:

"Hey, there, are you asleep?"

When I came out to her, she would raise her lantern and examine my face to see whether I had taken a nap. "Good," she would say approvingly, "if you keep it up you will surely get somewhere." And she would leave without another word. Not once did she even say good-night to me. I soon got to hate her worse than a pious Jew hates pork. My tongue itched to say something nasty to her, something that would hurt to the marrow of her bones.

Not so her husband, the fellow with the red beard and freckles. He was not a bad sort. Always in good humor, he would hand me a cigar now and then and exclaim:

"My missus wishes to be remembered to you. And, the main thing, as soon as you catch a thief—don't forget—biff-baff, bing-bang!"

One night, on the Monday of the second week, I was sitting in my shanty with my first ten dollars in my pocket. I was picturing to myself my wife receiving her first money order from America and crying for joy. And I, too, felt like crying. . . .

"Croak-croak," the frogs' song reached me as though in a dream.

Suddenly—crash! It sounded like nails falling on wood. I recalled that boxes of nails were standing on the boards outside. A thief? I listened closely. The suspicious sound came once more and, after a while, cautious steps. I took my lantern off the hook and tip-toed out into the darkness. The sound and movement ceased. I halted and cried out in Russian:

"*Kto tam? Hey, kto tam? (who's there?)*"

Silence. I waited. "Croak-croak," came from the marsh, but not another sound. I cried out, louder than before:

"*Hey, kto tam?*"

I moved over the boards, holding the lantern in front of me. All of a sudden, the glass in my lantern was shattered, the light went out and a rock, having barely missed me, dropped at my feet. I saw red and made for the nail boxes with a wild outcry. A rock hit me on the right shoulder, but that only angered me more. I was burning to get hold of my invisible enemies, but they kept running and shouting something I could not understand. Soon I heard their footsteps die away across the vacant lots.

Later, back in my shanty, I felt a keen pain in my shoulder, but my heart was singing. I knew now that even American rowdies would run if properly scared. I was no longer afraid of them.

I unbuttoned my shirt—my shoulder was inflamed. "Just wait till I get hold of you!" I muttered to myself. "I'll teach you a lesson in biff-baff, bing-bang!"

In the morning I discovered that the rowdies had attempted to steal a box of nails. Heaps of them were lying scattered on the boards, and the box itself had been dropped in the ditch while they were making off. The boss and his wife came to see me. Both were in high spirits. He asked me:

"Did you give them a taste of your biff-baff, bing-bang? I'm sure you did." He looked admiringly at my hands. "You've earned a drink. Here." He was about to hand me a dollar, but his wife snatched the bill from his hand, gave me a quarter, instead, and walked off in a hurry. Her husband laughed heartily, looked around to see if she was gone, and took another dollar out of his pocket:

"Here, grab it, quick—you deserve it. And if you lay your hands on one of them—"

"He'll get what's coming to him!"

"Fine! Don't spare your fists. You see," he added with

a confidential air, "I was a peddler once upon a time, and what those rowdies didn't do to me! So, when you get hold of one of them, wallop and sock him without any mercy. Beat him; kick him! Break a leg and arm! Twist his head off! In short, remember—biff-baff, bing-bang!"

ANOTHER WEEK PASSED. I HAD SENT MY WIFE MY FIRST AMERICAN money order and was trying to figure out how soon I would be able to send her a larger one. And, then, unexpectedly, all my hopes were blasted.

It was a terrible night—a cold rain, a strong wind. The storm was raging. It was frightful outside, and still more frightful to be alone in my shanty. I don't know why, but something made me look out of the window. For a while I could see nothing but the rain lashing at me from the other side of the window pane. The wind was roaring like a wild beast. It was rattling the glass, then hurling itself on the roof of the shanty and tearing and tearing at it, as if trying to bring it down. And then—out of the pitch black darkness, a light! I strained my eyes and, sure enough, the light was moving nearer and nearer the boards. A visitor was coming! I got ready for business—tightened my belt, rolled up my sleeves, and was all prepared to get even for the rock that had hit me the other night.

I opened the door and stepped out of the shanty. There was a lantern on the ground right near the boards. The storm was carrying on. I was chilled to the bone, but walked on steadily, on tip-toe. At last I saw a man bending over the boards. A few more stealthy steps and I was right on top of him. I got hold of his foot from behind and pulled with all my might. He fell face down and remained motionless. I picked him up and smashed him on the mouth, socked him in the eye, struck his face, boxed him on the ears and then began walloping him all over again. At last, my fellow began to yowl, but I paid no attention and just went on—biff-baff, bing-bang, smack, whang, whack!

But what's that? Someone is biting my leg and screaming fearfully. A dog? I wrench my leg free and pick up a piece of lead pipe. I am about to strike, when I see before me a little girl of five or so! She is soaking wet and shivering like a drenched kitten and crying at the top of her lungs, and staring and staring at me—good God! That little girl's eyes! Oh, what eyes! Had the angel of death himself been staring at me like that I would not have been half so scared.

The child's eyes shut the rest of the world out of my sight. I saw nothing but those eyes—those angry, beautiful, threatening, crying eyes! I could not utter a word. My hands and feet became numb. So it was the little girl who was biting my leg while I was beating the man. Her father? If so, how could he have the heart to take her along at night, in this sort of weather, and to help him steal, into the bargain! No, it could not possibly be her own father!

She turned from me and ran over to the man lying, all bruised, on the boards. She began crying more bitterly and kissed his bleeding cheeks. The man sat up, drew the

girl closer to himself, kissed and fondled her and talked to her soothingly. It occurred to me—maybe they were homeless. Anything might happen in this heartless country. And then it dawned on me—maybe he did it for his child's sake. Would my hands become paralyzed before I touched him! I picked up his lantern and walked over to him. The little girl began screaming once more, kicked me with her foot and struck at me with her clenched fists. Her father was saying something in a hoarse whisper and stretching his hands out to me.

Tears filled my eyes. Another minute, and I myself would have cried like a child. I talked to him in Russian and in Yiddish. I reprimanded him for having taken the child with him on a night like this. The man was talking and moving his hands, the girl was screaming, the rain was lashing and the wind was howling. I said to the little girl in Russian:

"Don't cry, *Golubushka*, my little dove. Stop crying. I'll never again touch your father."

Of course, she did not understand me. I took half a dollar out of my pocket and handed it to her. She threw the coin on the boards and went on crying. But here my man staggered to his feet, picked up the money and gave it back to me. I took the silver piece and pressed it into his hand. He uttered a piercing cry just like a dog patted by his master after a severe whipping. He kissed me on the shoulder, and something clutched at my heart.

"Come along," I said to him, pointing in the direction of my shanty. He took the child in his arms and followed me. He was so bruised and bleeding that I was ashamed to look him in the eye. I handed him a bowl of water and a towel to wash up. The little girl was standing in the middle of the shanty, pale, emaciated, dripping wet and her large, black, reproachful eyes kept staring at me. I buttered a bagel and offered it to her. She looked at it, but wouldn't touch it.

A LITTLE LATER, THE MAN, A MIDDLE-AGED ITALIAN, THE CHILD on his lap, was sitting at my stove, trying to warm up. We got to talking, he in his language, and I—in Yiddish and Russian. He rolled up the little girl's dress to her knees and showed me that she had no underwear on. We continued our conversation by means of sign language. And, strange to say, we understood each other perfectly. When I told about it a few years later to a friend of mine who writes for the papers, he said that both, the Italian and I, were speaking the language of misery and distress which all men understand, without knowing the words.

From what I could make out, the man was a banana peddler. He took in hardly a dollar a day. He had a wife and four young children to support, and it was cold and dreary in their hole of a home. . . . He came to the buildings to get some firewood and took his daughter along to light the way for him.

And—it flashed through my mind—who knows, maybe it was just as cold and dreary in my wife's home, too—. Curses, why had I butchered him so?

I handed him the bagel and, sure enough, the girl accepted it from him. With what appetite she was devouring it! I thought of my own little girl Esther—maybe she, too, was starving! I walked over to the Italian's child and asked her:

"Good?"

She turned her head away from me.

"I'll never again hit your father." I patted her on the head. She stamped her little foot on the floor and threw away what was left of the bagel. She wouldn't forgive me. Had anyone beaten me up like that, I'm sure my Esther wouldn't have forgiven him, either. . . .

About a quarter of an hour later, the Italian rose, ready to leave. I took him and the girl to the boards and loaded him up with all the firewood he could carry.

"Go now and good luck to you!"

And that very moment, who appeared like a ghost out of the darkness in the cold, pelting rain, if not my boss' wife? With a lantern in one hand and an umbrella in the other, the rain dancing on it, she was standing there, speechless, staring now at me, now at the man with the firewood and the little girl at his side.

Truth to tell, I was scared out of my wits, but I recovered at once and said to the Italian:

"Go, go, and quickly!"

The woman's umbrella dropped out of her hand, and the wind flung it away into the darkness. She got hold of the man's sleeve.

"What—what do you call this?" She finally found her voice.

"Kindling—you have no use for it—such a pity—his wife and children freezing—just look at the poor little girl!"

"Thief!" She uttered a shrill cry. "Is this what I'm paying you for?"

"I'm no thief, missus dear. Better be careful what you're saying to me!"

My anger got the best of me. I tore her away from the Italian. He limped hurriedly away, the wood in his arms, the little girl with the lantern walking ahead.

The missus changed her tone.

"Please let go of my arm, Berel dear. You're hurting me. I have a weak heart. Well, suppose you did give away a few splinters—it won't drive me to the poorhouse. You're an honest man—you have a heart of gold—let go my arm, darling."

I released her. She picked up her umbrella that got stuck somewhere between two boards and said good-night to me—for the first time since we met. Another instant, and she vanished in the rain and mist.

She returned the next morning, accompanied by her husband.

They discharged me.

On the way to the trolley I ran into the Italian with his pushcart. He recognized me. I told him, in Yiddish, about my bad luck and he repeated, in Italian, the tale of his troubles, and once more we understood each other perfectly.

FOR GOD AND PSYCHIATRY

By Morris Holtman

SOME recent writers have tried to prove that science and religion, far from being contradictory, actually support and supplement one another. Such efforts must fail, at least with the serious reader, since these two systems, based on incompatible foundations, cannot possibly be reconciled and harmonized.

Religion is based on faith and therefore permits no challenge of its basic beliefs. A clergyman can not prove empirically that there is a God; he can not supply facts to prove his assertions about immortality. But you are not supposed to question these assertions; you must *believe* that they are true. As a matter of fact, if you doubt them, you are a heretic.

Science, on the other hand, takes nothing for granted, or, as Webster defines this word—"Knowledge amassed, *severely tested*, coordinated, etc." It *cannot consider any assertion as true unless it is substantiated by concrete facts*. A scientist, therefore, cannot get any help in his work from religion. Even if he happens to be religious, he knows that he must keep his faith out of the laboratory or study room. He knows that, as far as science is concerned, all his assumptions and beliefs are worthless unless he can verify them with scientific fact.

A dietician of the vegetarian school, for instance, may maintain that cancer, tuberculosis, as well as all other diseases are caused by (what he calls) improper diet and can therefore be cured by a prescribed change in diet. Or a chiropractor may assure us that almost any illness can be cured by certain manipulations of the spinal column. But medical science cannot accept any of these assertions as true, since they have not been scientifically proved.

Religion Marries Science

Of those who try to marry science and religion, Dr. Joshua Loth Liebman, Rabbi of Temple Israel in Boston, is perhaps the most persuasive, since his book *Peace of Mind*¹ has become the non-fiction best seller. Dr. Liebman is, however, quite careful not to stress the idea that religion can help psychology. He tries to emphasize mainly that religion can get help from psychology. And in this respect he is surely right. It is well known that psychology is one of the most important weapons in the arsenal of the salesman. Psychology is essential in the salesman's approach to new customers and in holding on to old ones. Now, a clergyman is also a salesman. But since he sells spiritual wares, he needs even greater knowledge of psychology than those who sell more mundane items.

MORRIS HOLTMAN is a veteran student of Marxism, and active in progressive struggles.

The greatest part of *Peace of Mind* occupies itself with describing the findings of modern psychology and psychiatry; only the last two chapters deal with religious questions. Dr. Liebman describes the inner conflicts of a human being in masterly language decked with flowery trimmings. This appeals to some people who are ready to overlook the shaky foundations of an idea so long as it is attractively garbed. But such eloquent phraseology, frequently used by clergymen, serves at times to cover up half-truths and distortions, which pass the non-critical reader unnoticed. In this book, however, a number of distortions are so openly made, that they cannot escape even the naive reader.

Atheism and the Sick Soul

Apparently, as is usual with disciples of Sigmund Freud, Dr. Liebman does not recognize the ability of people to reason, to come to logical conclusions and to form certain convictions. For Dr. Liebman there exists only one phenomenon—complexes formed by impressions in early childhood. Take, for instance, his approach to the question of non-believers. One may assume that the word "atheism" is so common that its meaning should be clear even to a freshman in high school. And should such a student have to look it up in a dictionary, he will find it very simply defined by Webster: "Disbelief in, or denial of, the existence of a God, or supreme intelligent Being." But Dr. Liebman finds it necessary to give his own definition:

"Atheism at bottom means the inability of a man to utter an all-embracing 'yea' to existence. This is the denial of meaning of life. It is the distrust of the universe (sic!). The atheist's real creed might be reduced to these sentences: 'I honestly believe that this world is an accidental creation of exploring suns, a place of terror and of death(!?). I honestly believe that man is an animal who happens to be endowed with more cunning than the rest of the animal kingdom—so don't try to convince *me* that there is a superintending Deity who watches over me with love.'"

As you see, the erudite Rabbi, who possesses a penetrating psychic eye, made a remarkable discovery: he found out that atheism is not a philosophical conception of the universe, but a horrible psychic disease caused by terrific despair. And if this is so, the job of a clergyman, anxious to correct the ideas of an atheist, is much easier than before. The preacher must no longer strain his mind to convince the atheist that an almighty God exists. All he has to do is to refer the dangerously affected fellow to a psychiatrist. This soul-healer will put the patient on a couch and let him talk

¹ *Peace of Mind* by Joshua Loth Liebman. Simon and Schuster, N. Y. \$2.50.

without end, until the poor guy finally spills out his subconscious mind, revealing the incident of early childhood that crippled his soul. The cure then is simple, requiring only a few applications of a spiritual salve.

Clerical Psychiatry

Dr. Liebman has a handy diagnosis of the atheist: "... This is what happened (to the atheist): as a child he was prepared to believe his father implicitly, to trust his mother devotedly. Then, somewhere in the crucial years of his development, in some very important area in his life, his parents let him down catastrophically. In his unconscious mind he condemned them as untrustworthy and faithless."

The less aggressive unbeliever, the agnostic, who thinks God is unknown and unknowable, should also look for an explanation of his philosophy in the behavior of his parents. Dr. Liebman's diagnosis in this case is quite similar:

"Many agnostics and victims of cosmic instability come to this inner uncertainty because in early childhood they lived in an atmosphere of unconscious conflict between their parents' way of living and their parents' way of believing. The father acted one way and believed another."

But not only are non-believers victims of certain spiritual misfortunes in their childhood. A great number of believers also should be psychoanalyzed in order to correct twists in their poor souls, where residues of false beliefs have accumulated. Dr. Liebman states this as follows:

"... also certain forms of theism can only be understood genetically as derivatives of childhood experience. There is a vast difference between a sick-minded theism and a healthy-minded theism, between morbid faith and mature faith. ... Religion can be grateful, indeed, to psychology for exposing childish God ideas for what they are—illusions and emotional distortions—grateful because the elimination of infantile notions of God will clear the ground for the growth of a truly adult idea of God."

According to this theory, only a small percentage of humanity could get a clean bill of health, and all the rest would have to undergo psychiatric care. However, although clergymen of various denominations will be very reluctant to accept Dr. Liebman's diagnosis concerning believers, they will surely be willing to overlook this minor matter in view of the great service his book renders them in general. This service is certainly very useful from different angles. Not the least important is the fact that it can serve as an excellent guide in their business, for it gives them many valuable hints and concrete instructions on how to handle parishioners by modern psychological methods. From this viewpoint Dr. Frederick M. Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association, is absolutely right in his statement: "If I had my way, I would see to it that a copy of this book was placed in the hands of every liberal minister."

A Religion of Imperialism

Dr. Liebman deserves even greater recognition from the imperialistic politicians of this country for the new and very

important (for them) idea he develops about the present day tasks of the church in the United States. He describes it briefly under the heading: "A New God Idea for America." Our country is now the richest and most powerful capitalist state in the world. The devastated and impoverished European countries are dependent in many ways on the terms upon which our country is willing to help them maintain their existence. Therefore, their "culture" and our "culture" are of a different nature. If the people of the United States were willing before to share the God in whom the Europeans believed, it is necessary for Americans now, under the changed conditions after World War II, to have a different type of God. Now, even more than before, the Europeans must consider themselves helpless creatures, who have to look up to an almighty God and to depend upon Him. But we here, in the United States, can now consider ourselves His equals. Here is how Dr. Liebman expresses this idea:

"One of the great troubles is that in our religion we have continued to picture our relationship to God in the terms of helpless, poverty-stricken, powerless motifs in European culture. Now, a religion that will emphasize man's nothingness and God's omnipotence; that calls upon us to deny our own powers and to glorify His—that religion may have fitted the needs of many Europeans, but will not satisfy the growing self-confident character of America."

"There is a chance here in America for the creation of a new idea of God; a God reflected in the brave creations of self-reliant social pioneers. We can really begin to think of ourselves as *responsible co-workers with God*. ... Europe and Asia too often emphasized dependence; America must emphasize independence and interdependence. It should come to its God idea not in defeat, but in social victory. ... The religion of the future, for the first time, may become a partnership religion in which men will not only *say*, but will *feel*, that they are indispensable to God." (All italics by Dr. Liebman.)

Convinced now that we can consider ourselves not only on an equal footing with the Almighty, but even "indispensable" to Him, we can also now declare our imperialistic policies to the pitiful human creatures in Europe and Asia in imperious tones of a Godly Voice. The churches of all denominations in this country will have to give us their blessings in our imperialistic adventures. Our Senators of the type of Vandenberg and Taft, and their lieutenants in the State Department can now rest assured that their foreign policies will find theological approval and moral support from certain churches.

A "Western Religion"?

However, our junior imperialistic partners, like Great Britain and others, need not feel hurt. The author of *Peace of Mind* has thought of them too and, while discussing a new God for America, he also refers to "western religion" which fits in neatly with the conception of "western democracy." True, Dr. Liebman does not attempt to define even approximately the territorial boundaries of this religion.

Does this border-line start in Greece, where Great Britain's "western democracy" begins? Since the Greek-Orthodox church, which predominates there, spreads its dominion also in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and (alas!) the Soviet Union, this would not be a convenient line. Should it start in Italy or France? But the Roman Catholic church, which dominates there, has its hold also on Poland, which is politically in the sphere of "eastern democracy." Probably for this reason, Dr. Liebman preferred to omit the definition of his new term. But our red-baiting and Soviet-hating politicians may begin to refer to "western religion" in the same breath that they pronounce "western democracy."

In the introduction to the book Dr. Liebman states: "It is undoubtedly true that . . . unjust economic conditions do create neuroses and maladjustments in countless personalities. Social reformers and revolutionaries are right when they insist that multitudes of human beings can never experience true peace of mind so long as they are compelled to engage in a relentless and too frequently defeating battle for work and bread."

Fortified by this gesture against criticism by readers who believe in materialistic interpretations of life, Dr. Liebman proceeds to ignore material conditions throughout his book and at the end even contradicts the above quotation by stating dramatically: "Matter—the most important thing in world? No! Ideals! Companionship of inspiring heroes, martyrs, saints, teachers, leaders. These are the indispensables for human achievement."

God and Heroes

And why does our Rabbi so emphatically denounce matter? Because materialistic interpretations of the universe

cannot help our Rabbi, nor any other clergyman, in their defense of theological theories, for which only "idealism" is convenient and useful. Because at the present moment their purpose is better served by proclaiming the slogan: "Give us Heroes!" Because only with the aid of philosophical "idealism" can one give such a "convincing" explanation of the need for heroes: "Man loses his sense of direction when the compass of his soul is not magnetized by some great human star within the orbit of his experience." This makes it easy to come to the desired conclusion: "Religion should encourage men and women to . . . enlist as volunteers in the regiment of the mature, whose commanders are the noble and the immortal heroes of the human race."

Dr. Liebman's ideas about the necessity to create a special American God as well as immortal heroes, invite comparison with Alfred Rosenberg's "theories" on the same subjects. Hitler's chief theoretician also promoted the ideas that the Germans must have their special God and hero (*Fuehrer*).

Whether these dangerously slippery theories of Dr. Liebman are seriously influencing our youth is doubtful. But there can be no doubt that his *Peace of Mind* is becoming some kind of new Bible to many American youths. Some of them, especially Jewish young people, consider the book an irreplaceable treasure to which they refer, when hesitant about a decision. What appeals to them mainly is not his discussion of religion, but his description of modern psychological and psychiatric discoveries which interest them so greatly.

Why the American youth in general and the Jewish youth in particular is interested so much lately in psychology and especially in the Freudian explanations of human behavior is an important matter which deserves to be studied. Such an attempt will be made in my next article.

RESTRICTED

By Eve Merriam

Quite, quite.
Oh I agree
With everything you say.

Still, in a way,
It's a kind of service to them
In reverse.

Let's face it,
You wouldn't want to come
Where you'd feel out of place.

Like this,
It saves us all from awkwardness.

And really, you know,
They're hyper-sensitive.
(Something in the blood, I guess.)

Ah,
If only one could wake
And find it banished overnight
Like city snow,
And Spring for all men
Shine with equal green. . .

But human nature's something
else again.

You understand
That personally I feel
Indeed, I'd just as soon shake hands
Why, lots of them are just as
Why
As you and I.

Not
That I'd want my daughter ever to
But still,
Some of my—.

JEWIS ARE NOT EXPENDABLE

By Paul Novick

THE Germans had driven Alter Berger to Dachau, together with his wife and children. He was released from Dachau alone. His family had perished. Almost two years had passed since his "liberation." He was still in Munich.

Alter Berger, formerly of Dachau, told me his story as he drove the car through Munich, and concluded with the question, "How much longer will we rot here?"

The question still haunts me after these many weeks, the question of a quarter of a million Jews in Germany.

The day was gloomy and rainy. We were driving to the railroad station where I was to take the train to Paris. We passed many ruins—the wrecks of the former Brown House, of nazi monuments to the participants in the beer hall putsch in 1923. But Alter Berger's face was like the sky, like the streets we passed—gloomy and furrowed. He found no satisfaction in it. What was the use, if he must still rot in Munich, among the Germans, not far from Dachau?

I had visited the big camp near Munich, Feldafing, the day before. There too I had been asked the question Berger had raised. Similarly in Doppelzenter camp in Berlin. I spoke to the "residents" of the camps, to the uprooted who live a nomad existence in Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich. I spoke to leaders of the Jewish Central Committee in Munich, to Joint Distribution Committee representatives in different parts of Germany. All were oppressed by the great tragedy which the Jews in Germany were currently experiencing.

Our Jewish people are today going through a new catastrophe. A great many survivors, who had weathered Hitler's inquisition, are in danger of destruction! As though the annihilation of six million Jews were not enough!

How many Jews are involved? How many Jews are there in German camps? How many are wandering around through German cities?

Until recently there was talk of "a hundred thousand." The plans for "a hundred thousand Jews to Palestine"—demagogic plans from reactionaries in Washington and Albany who make our misfortune a political football—were supposed to solve the question of the DP camps. But actually many more than a hundred thousand are involved.

The leaders of the Jewish Central Committee in Munich gave me the following figures on Jews in DP camps: in the American zone, 160,000; in the British zone, 30,000; in the

French zone, 5,000; in Austria, 30,000—225,000 in all. Add those in Italian camps and Jews who are simply floating about, and the figure will amount to a quarter of a million. Some claim between 300,000 and half a million. They insist there are absolutely no statistics on the tens of thousands of uprooted Jews who had passed through the camps. But let us stick to a quarter of a million. What is their situation?

Despair, Defeatism and Demoralization

The December 31, 1946 issue of the Landsberg camp *Jewish Press*, which devotes its main feature to the Zionist Congress in Basle, publishes the annual report of the secretary of the camp leadership, Hirsch Altusky, "1946 and Jewish Life in Landsberg." Altusky declares:

"Our situation here gets worse from day to day. *Despair and defeatism* grip all sections of the population. *Demoralization* grows daily. Where are the people who used to fill the halls on literary evenings? Where are the people who filled the classrooms of the people's universities? Where are the students of the various evening courses? A *frightful stagnation* has settled on all sections of our society. Our people are no longer anxious to participate in activity. A peculiar social structure has emerged among the survivors. The worker is paid not according to the value and usefulness of his work, but according to the amount of alms available for distribution at any particular moment by our providers, UNRRA and the Joint (Distribution Committee). No wonder the interests of the camp people are reduced to a package of cigarettes or a can of evaporated milk."

Alms, then, is one cause for the demoralization. And another is *contact with the Germans*. About this there is the following statement in the Bergen-Belsen camp paper, *Our Voice*, in an article by Paul Trepman, entitled, "Our Ban Against Germany":

"We must unfortunately point to many instances of good relations between Jews and former SS men who have masterfully disguised themselves as democrats, socialists or simply liberals. One bad calculation brings with it much evil which will torment us and our cremated, gassed and smothered brethren. *Unwillingly*, and only because we live among them, do such things happen." (All emphasis in both quotations are mine—P.N.)

Jews have been forced to remain in Germany, where they have no desire to be. They are compelled to live among Germans, including those who took part in the burning, gassing and strangling of Jews. Some individuals, often

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against their own desires, come into contact with Germans. This weighs upon the Jews. Yet a quarter of a million Jews are kept in Germany by force, on alms, and no end is in sight.

This is the worst of it. There are no perspectives. Therefore, "despair and defeatism" reign, and people become continually more demoralized, physically and spiritually. The present is miserable enough, but it is even more bitter because there is no future.

Living Conditions

At Feldafing I come into a flat of two tiny rooms. One of the rooms is also a small shop. Foodstuffs and empty bottles lie about. In this flat 12 people "live." Here children are raised. Two young men ask the question all are thinking. "When are we getting out of here?"

Feldafing is among the "better" camps. Most of the houses and barracks are good. This was once a Hitler Youth camp. During the war it was a hospital for thousands of German soldiers. When liberation came, the Jewish slaves from nearby Dachau—those who lived to see the liberation—took over the camp. There came inmates from other concentration camps, Jews from Poland and other countries, and it became more and more crowded.

Little by little a small Jewish city comes into existence, along lines familiar in the old country. There are assorted prayer-houses, chassidim centers, all kinds of political parties and factions. And there are—small shops. . . . These shops are perhaps the worst of all. In the window of a crowded little room you hang a couple of salamis, you lay down several apples, a little sweets, or buttons, or ribbons, and you have a little store. One little store like that is bad enough, but when you have one on top of another. . . . And the Germans pass by and smile. . . .

Who buys from whom? Where do the DP's get the money to trade? What do they use for money—German marks, which they refuse to touch; or the "money" so popular in Germany, cigarettes? And where do they get merchandise when almost everything is controlled through ration cards? I did not have the chance to study the "economics" of the little shop, but the picture of it is sufficient. . . . At the beginning, the camp leadership prohibited small shops for sanitary and other reasons, mainly perhaps for "other" reasons. Under German conditions, such "businesses" could lead to no good—trade with Germans and what not. But the leadership itself apparently fell into "despair and defeatism." And what should the people do after all? An unhealthy situation breeds unhealthy dealings.

There are more than four thousand people at Feldafing. In this camp, there is some cultural activity which is not just Zionist propaganda. (In the children's schools, however, Yiddish is not taught.) Workers of different political beliefs, communists, members of the Hashomer Hatzair and the Bund and others collaborate, and have their own center. This is, however, the exception, and is not permitted in other camps.

In the Doppelzenter camp near Berlin, where there are more than 3,000 persons, like in all other camps, only Zionist activity is permitted. But the Palestine solution (no mention of any other is allowed) no longer has its former appeal to the people who want to leave, for no matter where, so long as they leave.

This camp is not badly managed. But the housing question is serious. Tiny rooms stretch on both sides of the corridor of the wooden barracks. Adults and small children and utter strangers live in the same room. You cannot feel too happy on a winter's day, when the barrack is wet and cold and not especially clean because of the overcrowded conditions. And when leaders of the camp population have to haggle with UNRRA officials about what should go into the common food pot, and when this goes on day after day, you realize how life has been degraded. . . .

Alms and Idleness

But there are not too many such big camps, with thousands of inhabitants. Most of the uprooted Jews in Germany are scattered in small camps. According to the latest figures of the Joint Distribution Committee, there are 72 camps in the American zone alone, some with very few inmates (for instance, Stuttgart Degerlok with 193 inmates, Reu, near Bamberg, with 120). There are more than 150 communities, among them many that have no more than a couple of dozen Jews. The same thing holds for the *Hachshara* camps (training camps for Palestine) and children's camps. Several dozen adult Jews or *hachshara*-youths, surrounded by Germans!

People become demoralized from living among Germans, from alms, from idleness. There is no lack of effort to productivize the DP's. Workshops are set up, courses are given, but there is no basis for productivity. You cannot work in a void. For whom shall the Jewish DP's work and with what shall they be paid? The Jews will not work for Germans. They resist being absorbed into the German economy. The camps themselves require few workers to press clothes, to fix shoes or mend stools.

But even if they have finally gone to work for UNRRA camps, there still remains the question who will pay for the work and how? German marks are turned down. Foreign currency is forbidden (even American military personnel, correspondents and others cannot use dollars; the American military government has created special scrip for them). There is a plan to issue certificates, redeemable in full in foreign currency when the DP leaves the country. But who will pay? UNRRA does not pay for work. It maintains the camps. Shall the Joint pay? If only 50,000 of the quarter of a million Jews work, and if each receives only \$15 a month beside food and shelter, it would amount to \$750,000 a month. Quite an item!

But even if this question is solved—and no solution is yet in sight—when will the DP's leave the camps? It is difficult to work, when all you get every month is a piece of paper worth \$15—when the millennium comes. . . .

People are impatient. They want to settle somewhere, and start life anew. And time passes. . . . They had suffered enough! "Old age pushes on," Alter Berger of Dachau said to me. If they make him wait another two years, he will be a candidate for the poorhouse. When he thinks of this, he told me, he begins to envy his wife and children, who did not come out of Dachau alive. . . .

"Despair and defeatism" has reached this point. . . .

Preserve and Productivize

But there are those who still insist on Palestine as the sole solution, despite the fact that this solution has already cost plenty; despite the fact that the prolonged wait involved no longer appeals to the Jewish DP's.

In Feldafing I found a Hashomer Hatzair group packing to move. The group had been in camp for seven months, and they could wait no longer. There was danger that the group might disintegrate. They must move on. Where to? "To Cyprus," I was told. This was adventurism not because it was uncertain whether the young people would ever get to Palestine, but because people were still being taken to concentration camps. People who hang around camps for any length of time are in danger of becoming demoralized.

It is not enough merely to preserve Jews. Obviously this is the first requisite. Living Jews are necessary. But this is not all. It is necessary that Jews be productive, no matter where they settle. In Munich it is an open secret that certain Jews who arrived in Palestine have become a problem. So much so that the Jewish Agency now maintains in Munich a staff of more than a hundred people to work in the camps not to take Jews out more quickly, but to "prepare them."

The matter of productivity reminds me of a discussion that took place in Warsaw on August 5, 1946 at a meeting of the presidium of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. The point under discussion was the panic that had been skilfully created among the Jews of Poland. Representatives of Zionist circles had declared that "Jews become panic-stricken because of the activities of Polish anti-Semites (at that time). Jews want to emigrate!" This was true, but not wholly true. It was known to everyone that the activities of the anti-Semites were being *utilized* by certain elements to create panic. False rumors about pogroms were spread daily.

The opponents of panic answered the Zionist leaders: yes, Jews want to emigrate, but you are obligated to tell the Jewish masses the truth! You are obligated to tell them what awaits them in the camps. They will make things *worse* for themselves by fleeing to the camps!

In the discussion I raised the question of productivity. While Jews in Poland *can become* productive, can work in shops, factories, cooperatives, this is impossible in the camps. There you must live on alms, there you find yourself in an environment of physical and spiritual demoralization. But this made no impression on those who had set

themselves the goal of "liquidating" the Jewish community in Poland—a plan that did not and cannot succeed.

Leadership by Speculating on Bandits

Certain Jewish "leaders" in America also had a hand in helping to fill the camps. The "famous" reports which the representatives of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. S. Margoshes and L. Segal, brought from Poland almost a year ago; the activities of the Segals in Poland and in the whole of Europe, helped bring misfortune to masses of Jews. The results can now be seen in the camps.

On January 24, 1947, in an English column in *The Day* which he had written aboard ship while returning from Europe, Dr. S. Margoshes declared himself against "Exodus from Europe." That is very fine, even though a little too late. "Exodus from Europe" has cost innumerable sacrifices, and about the bankruptcy of this solution even infants in their cradles now know. But when I read his column I realized that he was still the old, bitter enemy of the Jewish community in Poland, and a propagandist for dragging tens of thousands more Jews into the camps.

Dr. Margoshes is big-hearted enough to admit that "Exodus from Europe" is bankrupt for all countries of Europe—except Poland. He figures it this way: in Poland there are seventy thousand Jews; more than 30,000 live under false names; "Just as soon as spring brings new troubles," meaning bandit terror (Dr. Margoshes has hopes), 30,000 Jews will leave Poland (*Margoshes* says all this). And he indicates that preparations are being made in the camps to receive 30,000 Jews from Poland.

But there are now *more than 120,000 Jews in Poland*. No one has counted the Jews with changed names, just as no one has counted Jews with anglicized names in America. As for bandits, Dr. Margoshes will have to guess again, especially now that Mikolajczyk has been defeated. The story that preparations are being made in the camps to accept 30,000 Jews would be funny if the situation were not so tragic. The facts are quite the opposite. I was at a small meeting in Berlin attended by Joint and Zionist representatives. There it was repeatedly stated *that several thousand Jews had already returned to Poland from the camps*. (The Joint can inquire about this from its representatives in Berlin. For certain reasons I cannot say where the meeting took place.) And many more would return if those who had previously worked for the "liquidation" of the Polish Jewish community would not decry everyone who wishes to return to Poland as a "traitor."

I witnessed an inmate of Doppelzenter camp requesting to return to Poland. He asked for material help in the form of cigarettes. Now everyone knows that cigarettes act as a sort of currency in Germany. But the DP was accused of almost everything on the books for making the request. In Munich, I met someone I had met in August in Lodz. I had advised him against going to the camps, but to remain in Poland where he was engaged in productive work, and to wait there for the possibility of emigration, if he had

to emigrate. This time, in Munich, he regretted not accepting my advice. Now he was lost, demoralized, without the energy to return.

Dr. Margoshes, who has only just discovered that "Exodus from Europe" is bankrupt, who proposes the solution of "Exodus from Poland," who speculates on bandits in Poland, has lost every right to leadership in Jewish life. The progressive Jewish leaders in Paris, who represent the majority of the French Jews, believe also that his role as a reactionary and a Soviet-baiter has disqualified Dr. Margoshes as a representative of the World Jewish Congress.

Unity on Saving the DPs

To dream of packing the camps with additional Polish Jews is a crime. We must warn against it. It is necessary to remove Jews from the camps. On this almost all sections are in agreement, including Zionists.¹

A little while ago I sat in the offices of the Jewish Central Committee in Munich and chatted with the vice-president, Dr. Abraham Blumewitch. Dr. Blumewitch is a Zionist. He has no other solution for the Jews but Zionism, and he believes 98 per cent of the Jews want to go to Palestine. But I did not argue with him on this matter because he agreed with the conclusions arrived at by the DPs, leaders of UNRRA and the Joint, and that I myself accepted. Dr. Blumewitch did not cease to emphasize that the Jews must be taken out of the camps—into America, Canada, South America, Australia, no matter where! And they must be taken out promptly!

It is true that Dr. Blumewitch emphasized that this would

¹ In connection with this it is worth noting the declaration which, according to a report in *The Day* of January 29, 1947, was made at the convention of the Agudah in New York, that "it is necessary to rescue the Jews in the camps and not wait until they can go to Palestine." This is the opinion of the greatest majority of the Jews in the camps, of the greatest majority of Jewish leaders in Germany.

be a "transition period" for the Jews; that they would settle in other lands only "temporarily." But even about this there was no point arguing. If some Jews, after coming to America, will want to and be able to—this is vital: be able to—go to Palestine, they should have the right to do so. The essential thing is that Jews must be taken out of the camps, out of Germany, now! On this all shades of Jewish opinion now agree.

It is my opinion that a minimum of 25,000 Jews would now return to Poland if the ban were removed, and if these Jews were given a bit of material aid. From what the then Polish premier, Osobka-Morawski, had told me last September,² and from what is now known to everyone, it is clear that the Polish government will give returned Jews every possibility of rehabilitating themselves.

I am *not* saying that the only solution must be a return to Poland. Place for the DPs must be found everywhere, in America and Canada, in South America and in Australia, and of course in Palestine, as well as in Poland. Jewish leaders in Europe—responsible Jewish leaders—are in agreement with the Jews in the camps, that the main responsibility falls on the Jews of America. If the American Jews would consistently, and without stop, carry on a campaign for the opening of its doors for a number of Jews from the camps—and in fact for 100,000!—if the American Jews would mobilize for this public opinion, the labor movement, the best elements in the country, results could be achieved. This would also have influence on other countries. Let no one insist on guarantees. Let us first develop such a campaign. Not for one day, not for one conference, but a consistent campaign without let-up.

We must constantly remember: *a quarter of a million Jews in the camps are perishing!* The camps must be emptied. The Jews must be removed from Germany!

² See *An Interview With the Premier of Poland* by Paul Novick, *JEWISH LIFE*, November, 1946.

A CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE LIFE

By Alexander Bittelman

(Continued from page 1)

Semitism, against national domination and capitalist exploitation, were spreading through all countries and continents. Everywhere the progressive and creative forces of the peoples and of the working class were organizing and uniting.

And in the struggle against the treacherous policies and leadership of the reformist parties of the Second International, new Marxist-Communist parties were coming into existence in all capitalist countries, under the ideological influence of the Third, the Communist International.

America was no exception. Though more slowly and with greater difficulty, the progressive, anti-imperialist and

socialist forces of the American people and its working class were beginning to become articulate in a more effective way. Broad masses of the American working class were learning from the heavy defeats suffered by labor in the post-war "open shop" offensive of the monopolies in 1918-1920, the need to discard the reformist policies of Gompers and Hillquit. Learning from the example of the European labor movements and from the rich history of the class struggle in the United States, masses of American labor were discovering the need for militant industrial unionism and independent political action. As a result, numerous general progressive, left and communist

currents in the American labor movement were rising and developing. A Communist Party came into existence.

Upsurge Against Reaction

In these surroundings, and influenced by the progressive upsurge in the world at large and in the United States in particular, a genuine revolt was maturing among the American Jewish masses against the reactionary, deadening, vulgar and cultureless tyranny of the Jewish daily *Forward* and against the reactionary social-democratic bureaucracy grouped around the *Forward*. This progressive upsurge against *Forward* reaction and domination in the unions, in the Workmen's Circle, in the Socialist Party, as well as in Jewish literature, the theater and general culture, was the chief moving force of the period in the development of a progressive Jewish life in America. This upsurge gave the movement its main motive power. A most significant role was played by the militant struggles of the cloakmakers, dressmakers, furriers, etc.

The *Forward* leadership was the main enemy of everything progressive in American Jewish life and that is why the struggle of all progressive movements of that time were directed chiefly against the reactionary dominance of the *Forward* group. In the vanguard of this historic struggle were the general progressive, the left and communist forces of our people.

At that moment, in the unforgettable spring of 1922, the present *Morning Freiheit* was born. From the outset, the *Freiheit*—edited by Moissaye Olgin—has been the organ of the progressive and labor forces of the American Jews. It drew inspiration from the world-liberating ideals of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917. It was intimately linked with the beautiful traditions of the first Jewish socialists and of Morris Winchevsky—the traditions which Comrade Kalman Marmor so effectively revitalized. It was a vital and organic part of all the progressive, left and communist forces of the American people as a whole and their great traditions of freedom and democracy.

The *Morning Freiheit* is now celebrating its 25th Anniversary. Through the quarter century of its existence, through errors and experiences, it absorbed, continued and further developed the best progressive traditions of freedom and justice of the Jewish people.

Left Socialists and Communists Merge

It was natural that the left Jewish socialists and communists should assume a leading position in the life of the *Morning Freiheit* from the beginning. The historical fact is that the appearance of the *Freiheit* in the spring of 1922 was made possible only because of the unification and merger of the Jewish communists and the left Jewish socialists, headed by Olgin, in 1921. This event was part of a general unification of the communist and left socialist elements in the American labor movement—which later produced a single and united Communist Party. Naturally, all the past differences and distinctions between the left socialists and communists disappeared in the course of time. They now belonged to one party and jointly made their

great contribution to the building and development of the *Morning Freiheit*.

It is therefore obvious that the American Jewish communists made a most significant contribution to the building of the *Morning Freiheit* and, through it, as well as in many other ways, to the struggle for a progressive labor movement and a progressive Jewish life in the United States. This, of course, did not make the *Morning Freiheit* a party organ in a narrow sense. On the contrary. The *Morning Freiheit* has always been the fighting organ of the progressive American Jewish masses. And with the formation of the Morning Freiheit Association during the war, the *Morning Freiheit* continued to grow and develop as a true center of all fighting anti-fascist forces of the American Jewish national group.

The fact that Jewish communists have always occupied a leading place in the life of the *Morning Freiheit* has given it Marxist consistency in all matters of principle, effective militancy, broad and far-reaching perspectives of national and social liberation. It has given the *Morning Freiheit* and all the movements grouped around it their specific *vanguard influence and driving force*.

Herein lies the main strength of the *Morning Freiheit*, its unique value to the American Jewish masses. The paper marches in the front and at the head of the people's movements. It mobilizes the masses and fights with them for the satisfaction of their daily needs and interests and brings to them the light of Marxist-Leninist knowledge. This elevates the daily struggles for immediate demands to higher political levels and enhances the strength and influence of labor and the people. This conception of the vanguard role of the *Morning Freiheit* is the Marxist contribution of the Jewish communists—a contribution of historic significance for the growth of a progressive Jewish life in America.

Mistakes Corrected

This does not mean that the American Jewish communists have always defended in the *Morning Freiheit* a correct and positive attitude to all progressive developments in Jewish life, or that they have always fought consistently for the survival of the Jewish people and for a progressive Jewish life. We have often pointed out that in the course of devoted and effective struggles for the interests of the Jewish workers and people, through the 25 stormy years of the life of the *Morning Freiheit*, we have made many mistakes. These mistakes we have ourselves exposed, self-critically, publicly, and have striven to correct *with the help of the people themselves*. What other organ of the press or social current among us has displayed a similar honesty, responsibility, courage and confidence in the practice of this sort of self-criticism? This kind of self-criticism we learned from Lenin and Stalin, the great master-builders of the new world, and have placed it at the service of the masses of the Jewish people and their progressive movements.

We have made various mistakes. Correctly striving to avoid the dangers of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, which isolate the Jewish people from the progressive movements of other peoples, we have frequently taken negative

or indifferent attitudes to progressive developments in Jewish life. This has hampered a consistent struggle for the survival of the Jewish people. In all these instances, we have allowed ourselves to be influenced by bourgeois assimilationism, by Cahan—*Forward*—assimilationism and by tendencies to national nihilism.

On the other hand, while trying to avoid these dangers which strengthen national oppression, which stem from the imperialist ideologies of national and race superiority, which demoralize and weaken our people and isolate its progressive vanguard from the masses—we have frequently allowed ourselves to be influenced by bourgeois nationalism, Zionism and Bundism.

The resolution of the Communist Party on the Jewish question sums up a quarter of a century of experience and formulates a program of struggle for the well-being of the Jewish masses, for the survival of the Jewish people. It corrects past errors, helps avoid new ones, and provides for systematic resistance to all bourgeois influences—nationalist and assimilationist.

Progressive Jewish Life Secures Survival

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the survival of the Jewish people can be secured only on the basis of a progressive Jewish life. For reactionary currents and forces in Jewish life are in effect hostile to the cause of our people's survival.

In relation to reactionary bourgeois assimilationism, this is obvious. Bourgeois assimilationism supports the system of imperialist domination and ideology, thus fighting *against* the survival of our people. It is clear that reaction in Jewish life leads to our disappearance as a people. This is the effect of the reactionary assimilationist tendencies among the *Forward* leadership. The same is inevitably true of reactionary bourgeois nationalism, as for example, the Zionist policies and program of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. It is a historic fact that reactionary bourgeois nationalism, despite its position as "traditional" defender of the cause of Jewish survival, has become *in the present world situation* a force working *against* our people's survival.

What is the main avenue of struggle at present for the survival of the Jewish people? It is, first, the further development of a progressive Jewish life on a socialist foundation in the Soviet Union, especially the upbuilding of Birobidjan. It is, secondly, the struggle against national persecution and discrimination in the United States, against anti-Semitism and for equal rights, and for the upbuilding of a progressive Jewish life in America. It is, thirdly, the democratic solution of the Palestine crisis and the upbuilding of a Jewish national home for the Yishuv in an independent and free Palestine of Jews and Arabs enjoying equal national rights. It is, fourthly, the upbuilding of the new Jewish communities in the liberated countries of Europe. Fifthly, and lastly, it is the further progressive development of the Jewish communities in Canada, Latin America and in all the other countries. These are the battlefields, so to speak, on which the struggle for the survival of our people in the present epoch is being fought.

And what do we see here? The success of the struggle for our people's survival, in each country separately and in all of them together, depends upon the further development of socialism, democracy and general progress among all peoples, including the Jewish people. The survival of our people in the Soviet Union is intimately bound up with the further growth and strengthening of the socialist system. In the United States, the fight for the survival of our people is linked inseparably with the victory of the democratic forces of the American people against imperialist reaction and with the growth of the influence of the progressive forces in Jewish life. The same is true for the Jewish communities in Europe and in all other countries. Their future depends upon the victory of the democratic forces in their respective countries and in their own communities. And as regards the Palestine Yishuv, its future and free national development can be assured only in an independent and democratic Palestine of Jews and Arabs and only in alliance with the struggles of the democratic forces of the world.

Reactionary Bourgeois Nationalism

But reactionary bourgeois nationalism is the enemy of all these socialist, democratic and progressive developments; that is, it is opposed to the *main conditions* for the successful struggle for survival. Reactionary bourgeois nationalism allies itself everywhere with the reactionary, imperialist and pro-fascist forces. It supports all these hostile elements, lets itself be used by them, thus endangering both the *immediate* interests and security of the Jewish masses as well as our long run interests and future as a *people*.

This precisely is the meaning of the reactionary Zionist program and policies of Rabbi Silver—the policies of support for extreme imperialist reaction in America (Taft, Bricker, Dewey), the policies of opposition to the democratic forces of the American people in general and of the Jewish people in particular. These are the policies that are endangering the future of the Palestine Yishuv, that are aggravating the difficulties of the Jewish masses in America, and are undermining *those democratic foundations* which alone can assure the survival of our people in the present epoch of human history.

Leadership of Rabbi Wise

The leadership with Dr. Stephen S. Wise at its head, though Zionist, has apparently begun to perceive some, but not all, of the dangers in the reactionary Silver policies. It is necessary, however, in the interests of our people, for the Wise leadership and its broad following to draw practical conclusions from this situation—conclusions towards unity and united struggle of all general democratic and labor forces of the American Jews against the Silver reaction, for the well-being of our people, for its survival. We must draw the very practical and immediate conclusion that as Americans and Jews, we—the American Jewish national group—must make all efforts to help bring about the defeat of reaction, preparing for the national election of 1948, so as to become an effective part of the growing anti-fascist and democratic coalition of the American people.

It is also necessary that the progressive-minded elements among the American Zionists, those who reproach us unjustly for failure to fight for our people's survival, should earnestly reflect upon the present anti-national role of reactionary bourgeois nationalism and Zionism. For example, let the editors of *Congress Weekly* begin to realize that the policies of Rabbi Silver and our people's survival are not compatible, that our salvation lies only on the road of democracy and progress.

Freiheit's Contribution

By campaigning for such policies the Jewish communists have participated in the work of the *Morning Freiheit*. Thus they have helped the *Morning Freiheit* to make its great historic contribution to the labor movement, to the democratic development of America and to the struggle for a progressive American Jewish life. Led by our unforgettable Olgin, and since his death—in the spirit of his Marxist-Leninist heritage and his beautiful fighting life—the *Morning Freiheit* has fought against all forms of national oppression and anti-Semitism, for equal rights for all, for the happiness and well-being of the Jewish people.

The *Morning Freiheit* has consistently and militantly struggled against imperialism, imperialist domination and imperialist war. The *Morning Freiheit* has made its special contribution to the fight against reaction and fascism, to the military victory over fascism in the Second World War, to the present historic struggle for the uprooting of the economic and social basis of fascism, for the creation of a world in which fascism and anti-Semitism cannot live.

The American Jewish masses have responded with particular pride to the struggle of the *Morning Freiheit* for true friendship between America and the Soviet Union, for friendship and collaboration between the American and the Soviet Jews, and against the reactionaries and fascists who are slandering the Soviet Union and who seek to provoke war against it.

Itself a child of the general progressive, left and communist currents in the labor movement, the *Morning Freiheit* became in the course of its history one of the chief instruments for the further building of progressive and honest trade unionism, for the development of a progressive people's fraternal movement, for the growth of a progressive Jewish mass-culture and various cultural institutions. The contribution of the *Morning Freiheit* in all these fields, as well as in the field of Jewish journalism, is truly far-reaching. *Because in practice this has meant building a progressive Jewish life in America, it has meant actual struggle for the survival of the Jewish people.*

Every single day of the 25 years of its existence, the *Morning Freiheit* has loyally served the Jewish workers and their progressive movements as well as the American working class as a whole. The *Morning Freiheit* has helped organize the workers to struggle for their immediate daily interests—economic, political, cultural—as well as for the development of the influence of Jewish workers in the general progressive life of our people.

The communists in the *Morning Freiheit* have educated the masses to the historic liberating mission of the working class—the mission of leading all oppressed and exploited to the final liberation from the domination of capitalism and to the establishment of socialism. We have spread widely the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and have demonstrated to the masses that these were the teachings that helped liberate the people in Czarist Russia and create the socialist Soviet Union which became the main leader in the fight for world peace, for equality and brotherhood of nations and peoples, for true democracy and social justice.

When the fascist menace first appeared, through the years of war and military victory, and now in the post-war struggle for the destruction of all roots of fascism, the *Morning Freiheit* has actively participated in the struggle for the anti-fascist unity and collaboration of the Jewish people. This is our major struggle today. And on the basis of this struggle, the *Morning Freiheit* has made a significant contribution to the work of relief and rehabilitation of the Jewish communities across the sea.

To meet the immediate needs of our people and to strengthen the fight for its future existence, the *Morning Freiheit* helped organize the American Jewish masses for active support for upbuilding Briobidjan as a Jewish Autonomous Region, for active support to the construction of the Jewish Yishuv as a national home for the Jews of Palestine in a democratic and independent country of the two peoples—Jews and Arabs—and for energetic aid to the new Jewish community in Poland.

The more advanced sections of the American Jewish masses will attach particular importance to the contribution of the Jewish communists in the *Morning Freiheit* for the upbuilding and development of the Communist Party of America. We have already pointed out here that the *Morning Freiheit* is an offspring of the modern progressive movement among the American workers born in the general crisis of world capitalism and the general-democratic and socialist upsurge developing out of that crisis. Quite naturally the *Morning Freiheit* had to play, and did play, an important part in the growth of the American Communist Party, as well as in the growth of all left and progressive currents in the American labor movement.

It was here that the *Morning Freiheit* has made one of its most effective contributions to the systematic and successful struggle against the reactionary social-democratic *Forward* group. In this field, the *Morning Freiheit* always stood in the front ranks of the general Jewish-progressive revolt against the demoralizing and corrupting role of the *Forward* group in American Jewish life. There have been many achievements but much remains to be done.

Entering the next quarter century of the *Morning Freiheit*, we can say with confidence, that in the rising struggles of the democratic forces against the offensive of the reactionaries and war-inciters, conditions will be created for great historic victories of the people. In this historic struggle the *Morning Freiheit* will occupy a leading, honorable place.

WHAT IS PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURE?

A SERIES OF DISCUSSION ARTICLES

WHY THE ANGEL FELL FROM THE HEAD OF A PIN

By Mary Himoff Neff

IN the main I agree with the answers of Milton Blau and Moise Katz to Morris U. Schappes. I, too, believe that Howard Fast's stirring *An Epitaph for Sidney* is definitely a contribution to progressive American Jewish culture.

In my opinion, however, there is a problem provoked by Comrade Schappes' article, that neither Katz nor Blau have dealt with. Neither touched on the question of what happened to Morris Schappes' generally correct guiding principles when he started applying them to a concrete problem—namely, a story like *An Epitaph for Sidney*.

By examining this aspect, I think we shall find out why Schappes' angel fell from the head of the pin. . . .

Schappes concludes from his consideration of Fast's story that the test of whether literary works by progressive American Jews about Jews contribute towards "progressive" American Jewish culture, is the presence or absence of "Jewish consciousness." The fact that such works may be "progressive" in no way modifies his measuring gauge.

I disagree with his test. To me the test is whether or not the net result of a work by an American Jew about Jews adds to the progressive character of American Jewish life and struggle and in this way to progressive American Jewish culture.

The first reason, which in my opinion, steered Schappes to his conclusion is that one important element was missing from his generally correct guiding "background." The missing element was the year 1947, so to speak. . . .

What is the essence of the life and struggles of the Jewish people today? It is the struggle for survival. And "survival" today has been placed on the agenda of our people's long history of struggle for life as a people by pro-fascist imperialism, including the American. It is, therefore, no accident that the recent pamphlet by Alexander Bittelman explaining the communist position on the Jewish question is entitled *Program for Survival*.

No Jew can forget, nor allow himself to forget, that "fascism is the mortal enemy of our people. Where fascism is allowed to grow, our people must die, no matter what form of national existence it has had" (Bittelman, *ibid.*, p. 32).

The progressive character of the American Jewish community is emerging and will develop further in the course of this anti-fascist struggle for survival. Progressive American Jewish culture today, and in the days ahead, will reflect our struggle both as a Jewish nationality group within the American nation, and as we take part in the struggle as individual members of the working-class and other progressive sections of the American people.

Like any true people's culture, our own Jewish culture should not only mirror life. It must also strive to play its own special role in helping to hew out, to inspire us along, the correct and only path for survival: the anti-fascist, progressive path.

Without a successful anti-fascist struggle as part of the whole American democratic coalition the Jews will not survive as a people, let alone as a culture. Therefore, the communist program, the struggle against bourgeois assimilationism and bourgeois nationalism is mainly an anti-fascist struggle for survival.

But Schappes makes a different emphasis. He writes: "Since fascism is bad for all peoples, including the Jews, his (Sidney's) anti-fascist struggle helps the Jews too." Has Comrade Schappes forgotten that fascism isn't just "bad" for the Jews—but means no Jewish people; that anti-fascist struggle is not just "good" for us "too"—but is our only salvation?

Has he forgotten that socialism not only "helps the Jews too," but is the only lasting solution for our age-long problem? Has he forgotten that without labor's struggle for socialism, of which the anti-fascist struggle is part, there can be no *final solution* to the national question?

Schappes' angel began to wobble around the question of "Jewish consciousness," when this became the *decisive* factor in his consideration of *An Epitaph for Sidney*.

From the viewpoint of inspiring American Jews along the correct anti-fascist path, *An Epitaph*, written by one American Jew about another, is definitely part of the stream of progressive American Jewish culture.

The second reason, in my opinion, that contributed to Schappes' faulty reasoning is that, in his attempt to struggle against bourgeois assimilationism, which had been "operating for a longer period," he moved towards the other pitfall—bourgeois nationalism. Hence his balanced introductory warning about the need for struggle against both dangers, was distorted as he applied it to a concrete problem. I fear that Comrade Schappes saw Fast's story through spectacles somewhat tinted with Jewish nationalism. . . .

The more I study Schappes' arguments, the more I am convinced that, from his viewpoint, the real weakness of the *Epitaph* was not what he *said* it was. He rejected the story as part of *progressive* American Jewish culture. But his arguments say that, in actuality, he has rejected it as part of *progressive American Jewish* culture. In other

words, Schappes was disputing the Jewish, and not the progressive, aspect of the story.

Schappes writes: "But from Fast's story we get not the slightest inkling that Sidney thought of himself as a Jew not in the negative but positive sense, not as a target of special anti-Semitic treatment, but as the heir of, the embodiment and transmitter of the *progressive* values and traditions of Jewish life."

What do we consider the essence of "progressive values" in any national culture? Lenin said: "In every national culture there are, even if undeveloped, the elements of a democratic and socialist culture, because in every nation there are toilers and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to democratic and socialist ideology" (Lenin, *On the Jewish Question*, p. 11). Here is the basic element in the struggle against bourgeois assimilationism and nationalism—and not some abstract "national consciousness!"

Fast has told us that Sidney was the son of a poor Jewish worker, that he was a victim of "Jew-baiting." These conditions of his life as a member of the toiling class of a persecuted people molded him as a progressive, a communist Jew. His story is therefore part of our democratic and progressive American Jewish culture.

Progressive Jewish Values

Lenin singled out for praise as an important element of the "progressive values and traditions of Jewish life . . . its internationalism, its responsiveness to the advanced movement of our times" (*Ibid.*, p. 13). Jewish Americans who embody this "great and universally progressive feature of Jewish culture" (Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 13) are the heirs and transmitters of the progressive values and traditions of Jewish life.

It is the job of Jewish Marxists and progressives to claim such Jews, and claim their stories as part of our growing progressive American Jewish cultural heritage. And our magazine, *Jewish Life*, which fights for such culture, was one hundred times correct in acknowledging this fact by printing the story of our Sidney Greenspan.

Stories like Fast's contribute to the defeat of such dangerous thinking as that of Hecht's *A Flag Is Born*, which also parades under the mask of "Jewish fighting traditions." Today our people, our youth, are weighed down by the unforgettable tragedy of fascist extermination, continued existence of DP camps, terror against the Yishuv in Palestine and growing anti-Semitism at home. They are becoming more "Jewish-conscious," they seek an answer, a path of struggle. The path our Sidney chose, the life he made, are an eloquent answer to those who would tell us that we are "alone," "the Jew in the Gentile anti-Semitic world!" *An Epitaph for Sidney* tells our people that there are many non-Jewish haters of fascism; that an anti-fascist movement exists with which our people can wage a common battle. It teaches that we have strong allies in labor, the Negro people, in all democratic peoples. . . .

The story symbolizes the fact that the Jewish people and its sons, will be accepted with open arms and on equal terms, into the growing anti-fascist coalition. Our Sidney, therefore, represents a "profound and integrated" type as a Jew also, linked with the positive fighting traditions of the Jews.

And in the year 1947, epitaphs to our Jewish heroes like Sidney will deepen the *progressive* content of American Jewish life and culture. It can help to defeat dead-end "separatism" into which many "Jewish-conscious" Jews, including progressive Jews, are falling. . . .

Jewish Contribution to America

And now my final point.

In the struggle against bourgeois assimilationism as an ideology and a movement the story also stands the test. Bourgeois assimilationism tends, on the one hand, to tie the masses of American Jews to the imperialists of our country and their "Anglo-Saxon" mono-culture. On the other hand, it helps to isolate them from the non-Jewish American workers and progressives. The bourgeois assimilationists hope to remain among "some of the best friends" (and sharer of profit) of the non-Jewish reactionary imperialists by preventing the Jewish masses from "disgracing them" and by struggling against them and their class brothers through common battle with the non-Jewish masses.

The assimilationists don't tell the American Jewish people to stop being Jews! On the contrary, they give "Jewish culture" through their "Jewish commentary!" But they tell the Jews to stop being *fighting* Jews, radicals, New Dealers, liberals, trade union leaders, fighters against anti-Semitism, communists. Let's give the Jewish masses their fill of "unassimilated Jewishness" to satisfy the most "Jewish-conscious" Jew—as long as every progressive and fighting element has been "assimilated out" of it! That is what the bourgeois assimilationists want.

Sidney Greenspan did not live in a vacuum. He, too, was bombarded with advice: "You're a Jew. It's bad for you and the Jews to stick their necks out in the labor and progressive movements—and especially among the communists! That gives ammunition to the anti-Semites! Hush! Hush, Jewish son, and the fascist won't get you!"

We say that our Sidney, and others like him, are our gift to all progressive America. They too represent us and the best of our Jewish traditions honorably among our non-Jewish comrades in the fight against our common fascist enemy.

Let bourgeois assimilationists rant at them! Let bourgeois nationalists sit *shiveh* over them because in their eyes they are "lost" people!

But to us they are no less Jewish heroes than any other Jewish fighters! Let the Howard Fast's write more epitaphs to them! Let our *Jewish Life* continue printing such stories! And let Morris Schappes, together with all of us, guarantee that no one takes their "brightness" away from us. . . .

DOCUMENTS

THE VATICAN AND ANTI-JEWISH LAWS

MORE than five years ago Marshal Petain received from his Ambassador to the Holy See a long confidential report on the Vatican's alleged attitude towards the Jews. This report, dated Sept. 2, 1941, has now been reproduced textually, without editorial comment, in the current issue of *Le Monde Juif*, of Paris.

In his report, the Vichy Ambassador, M. Leon Berard, told Petain not to worry about the consequences of anti-Jewish legislation: there never had been any protests on the part of the Papal authorities, who, he claimed, actually pursued "charitable" discriminations against the Jews.

"In your letter of August 7, 1941," wrote M. Berard, "you did me the honor of requesting certain information as to the questions and difficulties that might crop up, from the Roman Catholic point of view, in connection with the measures adopted by your government in regard to the Jews. In an earlier reply, I had the honor of stating that at no time has anything been said to me at the Vatican to suggest that the Holy See is critical, or views with disfavor, the aforesaid legislative measures. Now I am able to affirm moreover, that the pontifical authority shows no sign whatever of ever having paid the slightest attention to this feature of French policy."

After declaring that his report was based on long and scrupulous investigation, M. Berard said: "The Church has condemned racialism as it has condemned communism. It should not be inferred, however, that the Church necessarily condemns any and every measure taken by the State against what is termed the Jewish race. The Church makes mental distinctions and provides for nuances which are worth noting. . . .

"We know from general history that the Church has often protected them against the violence and injustice of their persecutions, and that at the same time it relegated them to the ghettos. One of its greatest doctors, St. Thomas Aquinas, has handed down teachings explaining this attitude. Here is a summary of his doctrine: One must be tolerant towards the Jews in the exercise of their religion. . . . But, while proscribing any policy of oppression towards the Jews, St. Thomas recommends none the less that proper measures be taken to limit their activities in society and to restrict their influence. It would be unreasonable to permit them in a Christian State, to exercise the functions of government, thereby subjecting the

Catholics to their authority. Whence it follows that it is legitimate to forbid their access to official posts; and likewise legitimate to impose a *numerus clausus* on their entry into the universities and the liberal professions.

"In fact this practice was very strictly adhered to in the Middle Ages. To this end, it was prescribed that the Jews shall be distinguished from the Christians by some mark of recognition on their apparel. . . . In principle, there is nothing in these measures [the Vichy regime's anti-Jewish legislation] to arouse criticism on the part of the Holy See. The latter deems that in instituting such regulations a State legitimately wields its power and that the spiritual authority has no cause to interfere, on this score, in the internal policy of the State. For the rest, the Church has never professed that equal rights ought

to be accorded to, or recognized for, all citizens. . . . The Church has in no wise ceased to admit and to practice an essential distinction—full of wisdom and reasonableness—between thesis and hypothesis: the thesis where the principle is invariably affirmed and maintained, the hypothesis where practical matters regulated.

"As someone in authority told me at the Vatican, there is no intention to take us to task, in any form or fashion, over our Jewish legislation. A twofold wish was, however, expressed by representatives of the Holy See, with the obvious desire that this be submitted to the head of the French State: that no provisions should be made in our Jewish legislation on the subject of marriage, which would provoke difficulties of a religious order . . . and that in the application of the law, the precepts of justice and charity should be taken into consideration. My interlocutors appeared to be thinking, above all, about the liquidation of business concerns involving Jewish interests."

(From *The Jewish Chronicle*,
London, Nov. 8, 1946).

DECLARATION ON PALESTINE

*By the Conference of
Communist Parties of
the British Empire*

THIS Conference of representatives of Communist Parties in the countries of the British Empire, extends its warmest greetings and pledges its full support to all the people of Palestine who are struggling for national liberation against the military, political and economic domination of British imperialism and the economic penetration and strategic plans of American imperialism.

We protest against and condemn the regime of brutal colonial oppression which weighs upon Palestine. We extend our deepest sympathy to the masses who suffer under this rule.

We call for the ending of the imperialist policy which seeks to retain Palestine, not only as an outlet for oil and point for the military control of Suez, but as the strategic base protecting imperialist interests throughout the Middle East, against the interests and rights of its peoples, with the consequent threat to the peace of the world.

We are of the firm conviction that all who love freedom and who seek peace in Palestine and throughout the world, should unite to demand and secure the immediate withdrawal of the British troops from Palestine, the abrogation of the Man-

date, and the creation of a free, independent and democratic Palestinian State, which will guarantee equal rights of citizenship with full religious freedom and full opportunities to develop their culture to all its inhabitants, Arab and Jewish.

Only thus can Palestine achieve freedom and security, not only from the military forces of imperialism, but from the economic domination of foreign capital which, in whatever guise, seeks to exploit the peoples of Palestine and crush their movement for national liberation. This is not a matter for Anglo-American maneuvering. Let the United Nations support the people of Palestine in their struggle to secure the independence of their country now.

We greet the rising forces of the Arab National Movement, which is daily gathering strength throughout the Middle East in the struggle for liberation, and the growing forces among the Jewish masses in Palestine who realize that they have a part to play in the common struggle with the Arabs to free Palestine from the imperialist hold.

We warn all Jewish people that Zionism, which seeks to make Palestine or part of Palestine a Jewish State as an ally of the imperialist powers and their base in the Middle East, diverts Jewish people from the real solution of the problem of anti-Semitism, which is along the lines of democratic development and full equality of

rights within the countries where they live. It is in the interests of Palestinian Jewry to oppose the Zionist conception which seeks to put them in the position of being an instrument of imperialism in the Middle East, in opposition to the struggle for National Liberation in Palestine, in op-

position to the progressive forces in the democratic countries in Europe, and against the Soviet Union.

But not only has Anglo-American imperialism used Zionism in pursuit of its policy of divide and rule; it also seeks to secure the support of reactionary Arab elements to strengthen the Middle East as a base for operations against the Soviet Union and against the liberation movement of the masses throughout the Middle East.

We have to warn the Arab people against those Arab reactionary elements who are ready to betray the movement for national liberation, upon securing the support of imperialism for their sectional interests against the interests of the masses.

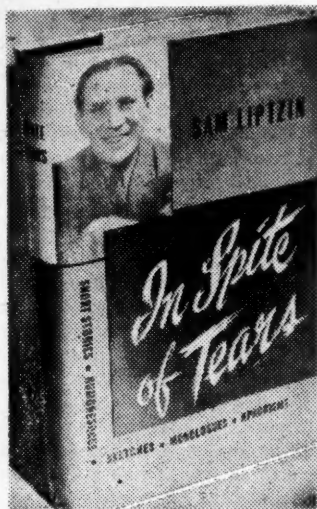
We in this Conference, therefore, appeal to the Arabs and Jews in Palestine to recognize that it is in their mutual interests to join in common struggle against imperialism.

At the same time the wider problems facing Jewish people all over the world, are not the problems of Palestine. Anti-Semitism, a weapon carried to barbaric extremes by fascism, is a weapon used by the ruling class to split and divert the masses of the people away from the struggle for their real interests.

No man or woman today can think of the plight of Jewry without burning memories of Maidanek and Belsen, without feelings of profound horror at the crimes committed by the fascists against European Jewry, and without expressing their deep sympathy with those who have survived this horror.

It is the duty of all free peoples to succor these victims of fascism. It is their duty to demand the closing of the camps in which some of these victims are still housed, and to aid in their re-establishment in their own countries. We welcome the new status of freedom which Jewry has attained, not only within the Soviet Union, but within the new democracies in Europe, a position which should inspire Jewry throughout the world to intensify its struggle for this democratic solution in all countries. For those who, full of bitter memories of past persecution, do not wish to return, we demand that as an emergency measure, Britain, Australia, Canada, the U.S.A. and other free countries shall provide opportunities for their re-settlement in these countries, so that these victims of fascism may find there new hope and new life. No democrat would wish to force immigration on Palestine by imperialist power against the wishes of its people. We believe that the question of immigration into Palestine can only be determined by the people of an independent and democratic Palestine. But we are well aware that throughout history there has been no enmity between Arab and Jew until the imperialists used Zionism

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to attempt to divide and disrupt the Middle East. And we believe that conscious of the terrible suffering inflicted on European Jewry by fascism, a free, independent Palestine, in association with the other free countries in the world, would be as ready to offer succor and security to the victims of fascism as would any other free country.

We therefore express our earnest hope that the forces of the Arab National Movement, and the progressive forces within Palestine Jewry, recognizing their identity of interest, will move rapidly towards their common goal, and to this end, will seek to create among Arabs and Jews in Palestine, those conditions which can ensure, not only political agreement, but

common action and unity in the struggle for the liberation of their country.

We confidently believe that progressive and democratic forces in other countries will give support to the struggle of the Palestinian people, and in their own countries will combat anti-Semitism and aid Jews to expose the Zionist illusions that have been spread, and thus win them for the common struggle for freedom and democracy.

This is the way forward for Palestine.

This is the way forward to help European Jewry.

This is the way forward to strengthen the forces fighting for peace and democracy throughout the world.

February 26-March 3, 1947.

sumably in the population's name, with the representatives of the company concerned.

There were days when the British finance bosses did not disguise their hatred for their American competitors in the oil industry. Thus, in 1919 an American geologist was expelled from the country after he discovered oil fields at the shores of the Dead Sea. But with the change of times came the change of tune, and the finance capitalists of the two countries agreed on "equality of rights." The Anglo-American oil agreement, recently signed in London, assures to the financial giants of both countries "equal rights and opportunities, on the basis of decent competition and without discrimination."

Although the Palestine government tentaciously refuses to grant the most elementary freedoms to the country's inhabitants, she has a great many privileges to bestow on the inhabitants of London's City and New York's Wall Street. Here are some exhibits: the Iraq Oil Company can import all goods and raw materials free of customs or any other duty. The Company has the right to ask shore-duties, anchoring duties, or any other duties from ships using her part of the Haifa Bay. The Company also has the right to create an armed force in case of strikes, lockouts, etc., and its use can be ordered not only by the High Commissioner or any other government official, but also by the Company. It is obvious that the Company has achieved powers and rights usually vested only in the government. These privileges are ample evidence how far the government supports the present oil companies and those that shall come in the future.

Concessions like these, granted to British or American capitalists, are made at the expense of Jews and Arabs alike. The price paid for the oil in Palestine is higher than the price paid for the same oil in Britain or the U.S., although the latter

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BUSINESS AS USUAL IN PALESTINE

SEVERAL "usual" events have occurred in Palestine. One of the big U.S. firms, the Transarabian Pipeline Company, got the concession to pass a pipeline from Saudi Arabia through the territory of Palestine. In the Zebulon valley, near the power station of the Palestine Electric Company, the Iraqi Oil Company is erecting its main stores, workshops and repair shops. All these activities are connected with the laying of the second pipeline, and investments will amount to hundreds of thousands of pounds.

In Kirkuk a great power station is being built to satisfy the requirements of the second pipeline. Preparations for drilling for oil are being made in southern Palestine and for the erection of pump-stations near Gaza. It is said that the search for oil is being carried out in the

neighboring countries of Syria and Lebanon as well. Estimates of the length of the new pipeline vary between 1000 to 1200 miles. It is expected to carry a daily average of 40,000 tons, or 14,000,000 tons per annum. The existing pipeline, Kirkuk-Haifa, and the pipelines to be built in the future will make Palestine the fourth biggest oil-handling center in the world after the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Venezuela.

The opinion or consent of the inhabitants of Haifa or Gaza, the Zebulon valley or Kirkuk, was not asked for when concessions were granted to the lords and senators of London and Washington. They are not being troubled with such "unimportant" questions, which "solve" themselves so easily alone. The High Commissioner will confirm the plan for a second pipeline and will sign the agreement, pre-

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includes the expenses for transport and duty paid in those countries. Yet the companies are exempt even from taxes in Palestine. The gigantic oil reservoirs in Haifa are built at the expense of the Palestine government, i.e., on the account of the taxpayers in the country, including the many indirect taxes which come chiefly from the Jewish and Arab masses. It is interesting to note that the Anglo-Iraqian Co. had undertaken to pay £30,000 per annum for the use of said reservoirs. But in the year 1941-42 it paid only the sum of £21,000, and the government lowered the charge still further to £14,000 for the year 1943-44. Conclusively, the inhabitants of Palestine have been promoted to partnership in the oil business—alas, only as far as the expenses are con-

cerned.

It should be noted that there was little reaction to all this in the daily press with the exception of *Mishmar*. On the contrary, in one of the bourgeois newspapers there was a complete identification with imperialist consolidation methods. In the *Haaretz* of Oct. 26, 1945, Dr. Sneh, one of the spokesmen of the Jewish Agency, wrote the following: "We do not regard strong British bases in this country as opposed to the idea of mass-immigration and a Jewish state; on the contrary, we observe such development benevolently." These words disclose the agreement of Dr. Sneh and circles close to him with the political oppression of Palestine under the imperialist yoke. An endless stream of military flows to this country in connec-

tion with the strained situation here, the plans of the oil companies, and the strengthening of the old, and the establishment of new, bases. The many announcements of an Anglo-American agreement on the fate of Palestine go to prove that the partnership of the oil companies in the Middle East compels the finance magnates of both nations to a more closely knit and united political partnership, too. Instead of the realization of the San Francisco charter with regard to the advancement of self-government in dependent countries, we are witnesses to the advancement and consolidation of the absolute power of the monopolies and the oil-princes.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

AT HOME

The fact that Lilienthal is Jewish has been one of the suppressed reasons for the fight over confirmation of his nomination to the Atomic Control Commission. The Senate cloak rooms were buzzing with this fact. One Southern Senator said: "So you're going to turn over the atom bomb to that Jew!" Another remarked that "The two most important problems in the country today are the Jews and the Niggers."

Delegates to an Intercollegiate Race Relations Conference at Swarthmore, representing 16 Eastern colleges, have named a six-man board to plan a campaign against racial discrimination in American universities and colleges. Colleges represented included Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Swarthmore, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Howard, Mt. Holyoke, Antioch, Wilson, Lincoln, and Cornell.

The final report of the FEPC issued in Washington presents three major conclusions: 1. Discriminatory practices against Jews have markedly risen since V-J Day and promise to increase as manpower shortages ease. 2. Discrimination against Jewish war veterans follows the same pattern and occurs with the same frequency as against non-veterans. 3. The amount of discrimination in cities with FEPC's is far lower than in other cities and suggests that legislation does help to reduce discrimination.

Discrimination in employment in New York State has decreased since the establishment of the State Commission Against Discrimination under the Ives-Quinn Law, according to a report from Gov. Dewey. The Commission said that 752 complaints were received during 1946, of which 442 came from Negroes, 118 from Jews and 32 from persons of Italian extraction. Two hundred and ninety cases were settled through conferences, 277 were withdrawn, rejected or declared outside the Commission's jurisdiction and the remainder are still under investigation. In no case was punitive action taken.

A bill giving New York State sanction to the released-time program of religious instruction already in operation in the schools in New York City and other communities was approved by the Legislature. The measure, which goes into effect on July 2, 1947, allows pupils to absent themselves to take religious instruction.

Lt. Col. Charles I. Schottland, chief of a section of the Displaced Persons Branch of SHAEF, has been appointed national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans.

The forced retirement of Prof. William E. Knickerbocker as chairman of the Romance Language Department of New York's City College because of anti-Semitic bias was urged by two student committees, representing the college's student council and its Hillel Foundation. They also recommended that two Jewish students, who were runners-up for an award given to the best student in the Department, be declared the winners of

the prize on the basis of their marks, which were higher than those of the non-Jewish winners. The investigation also disclosed that virtually no Jews have been appointed to Knickerbocker's Department since he was named chairman, although previously about one-third of the instructors were Jews.

The broadcasts of pro-fascist Upton Close on more than 60 stations of the Mutual Network ended on February 11, 1947. Close admitted that his funds are inadequate. However, he is intensifying his publishing activity by issuing "Supplements" to his newsletter, *Closer-Up*. First supplement is a virulent anti-Semitic booklet.

Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, with a membership of 30,000 largest union local in the world, has affiliated to the Jewish Labor Council.

THE AMERICAS

The Argentine Chamber of Deputies adopted a bill making permanent a 1943 decree providing for compulsory Catholic religious education in schools. The bill is certain of approval in the Senate. The Deputies defeated an amendment which would have allowed non-Catholics to receive instruction from clergymen of their own faith. This bill marks a break in the separation of Church and State that has obtained since 1884.

Zionist meetings have been banned in Argentina following a meeting in Buenos Aires at which Bevin's solution of the Palestine problem was attacked by a speaker. Shortly before the meeting was held, police officials informed the Jews that speeches "endangering" relations between Argentina and Great Britain were prohibited. Jewish circles believe the ban was made under British pressure.

A Peronist Jewish Party has been formed in Argentina. It is believed that the new "Organizacion Israelita Argentina" will urge Jewish industrialists, businessmen and professionals to join its ranks, emphasizing that membership will indicate support of the present government.

The Uruguayan Government has issued a new immigration law which Jews believe will facilitate the immigration of refugees and displaced persons. Immigrants must be immediate relatives of Uruguayan citizens and must fulfill vocational and financial requirements. As a special incentive for agricultural workers, immigrants who are brought over by government agencies or approved colonization groups are exempted from the financial provisions.

EUROPE

Provisions outlawing racial and religious hatred will be incorporated in the new Bulgarian constitution now being drafted. Propaganda aimed at spreading racial, national or religious hatred will be punishable by law and minorities will be given the right to study in their mother tongue and develop their national culture.

Scotland Yard has uncovered a well-organized gang of young storm-troopers whose object is to terrorize London Jews and who operate under the leadership of a former associate of Oswald Mosely who was recently released from prison where he was interned during the war. The center of anti-Jewish activities was in districts of nearly 50 per cent Jewish population.

Thirty-three thousand of the approximately 100,000 Jews in Poland are gainfully employed, it was reported by the Economic Rehabilitation Department of the Central Jewish Committee. Of those employed 13 per cent are working for government or communal organizations, 39 per cent in coal mines or other basic industries, 22 per cent as artisans or in cooperatives, five per cent in the professions, three per cent in trade and two per cent in agriculture. The largest proportion of Jewish workers are in Lower Silesia, where 13,300 live, and in Lodz, where there are 7,400.

Over 60 per cent of the German people are still deeply anti-Semitic and only two per cent are opposed to race hatred, according to an official survey of the American Military Government made in the U. S. zone. About 18 per cent of the Germans are so rabidly anti-Semitic that they would still restrict public eating places to "Aryans" and bar marriage to "non-Aryans." About 20 per cent would have no objection to actions against Jews. The report stressed that there was a greater tendency to anti-Semitism among regular church-going Protestants and Catholics than among those who are either indifferent or lax in participation in church functions.

PALESTINE

Arab and Jewish workers at Haifa joined in a sitdown strike against the Iraq Petroleum Co. which is 23 per cent American-owned. Although only 21 of the 1,700 strikers are Jewish, the strike is being supported by a union of 700 other workers of the company, of whom only 120 are Jewish, by the Arab-Jewish Civil Servants Union and other unions.

Jewish workers employed at the Migdal Zadek Quarries at Tel-Aviv responded to a call from striking Arab workers at the quarries by opening direct negotiations with the Arabs for settlement of their demands. The chairman of the local workers council opposed collaboration with the Arabs, but the workers went over his head under threat of expulsion from the Histadruth.

It was estimated that 15 days of martial law in Palestine cost the Jewish community \$10,000,000. Fears were expressed that protracted martial law would have spelt economic disaster to the Jews. While it was in force, Mayor Israel Rokach of Tel-Aviv stated that "The military is treating us like bastards. The authorities say that the action is not punitive, but we feel it is punitive." One old man was imprisoned for a year for passing from one zone to another without a permit. There is ample evidence to show that the martial law of two weeks was directed against the entire population rather than at the terrorists.

Britain spent a quarter of a million dollars to maintain its armed forces in Palestine from July 1, 1945 to January 31, 1947, said British Defense Minister A. V. Alexander recently.

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