

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

## Some of My Best Friends Are Union Members

By *RUTH SIMON*

**T**HE Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has now stepped out on a course which completely negates its program and raises grave dangers for the Jewish people. In its relations with its own employees, the ADL is demonstrating that its program of combating defamation and prejudice and extending democracy is merely intended to sound fine on the bottom of its stationery. The leadership of the League means to pay only lip service to it.

The ADL is denying its workers the most fundamental democratic right of freely choosing their own union. In fact, the ADL has gone even further. It is resorting to red-baiting, smearing, name-calling — yes, defamation — to break the union already chosen by the majority of its office workers as their representatives. The ADL is making a shambles of its own program, and endangering the growing alliance of labor and the Jewish people.

It began in November 1946. The majority of the employees of the ADL joined the Social Service Employees'

*(Continued on page 26)*

JUNE 1947

## KEEP CHURCH AND STATE SEPARATE

Not since the early days of our democracy have the principles of separation of church and state and free public education been so ominously threatened.

By *MOSES MILLER*

## PALESTINE VISITED

An eye-witness report on British terror against the Yishuv and on conditions in Palestine.

By *G. KOENIG*

## EPILOGUE TO "THE MERCHANT OF VENICE"

A poem by the famous German anti-Nazi novelist and poet who reinterprets the Shakespearean character.

By *ARNOLD ZWEIG*

## LABOR ACTS AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

One of the great labor unions of America takes action in support of legislation against anti-Semitism by endorsing the Buckley Bill, H. R. 2848.

# Letters From Readers

## Epitaph for Sidney

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Howard Fast's characterization of Sidney in his short story *An Epitaph For Sidney* is definitely a contribution to progressive American Jewish culture.

Let us now talk to Sidney himself and let us hear what he has to say:

Sidney, my friend, is it true that your "level of Jewish consciousness is practically zero," as Schappes says?

What is all this discussion about me anyway? answered Sidney. Let me tell you a few things in my simple way and give you some clear-cut facts.

Like thousands of other Jewish boys living in America under the capitalistic system, I have been made Jewish-conscious ever since my childhood. In my first days in elementary school the children would often insult me by calling me "dirty Jew," isolate me from their games, chase me and very often beat me up. As a young man I was assaulted and beaten by Coughlinites on 14th Street, because I was a Jew. I was aware of the pogroms upon Jews in Poland, Rumania and other European countries. After Hider came to power in Germany in 1933, mass persecution of the Jews started there. My soul cried out against those injustices of which my people were victims, not only because I was human but mainly because I was a Jew.

Then I saw that the Negro people were victims of a similar persecution as the Jews—in many instances far worse.

In my shop wage cuts were applied to the Jew, the Negro, the Italian, the Irish and the American who claimed that his great-grandfather had participated in the American Revolution. All this made me think, and I came to the conclusion that I had to fight back wherever I found myself. The teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin helped me realize that the enemy of the Jewish people, of the Negroes and of all the people was a common enemy—the capitalist system.

In 1936, the fascists of Spain, helped by Italian and German fascism, began to strangle the Spanish Republic. A fire was spreading that would engulf the whole world. I went to Spain to fight for democracy, for freedom, and to help defeat fascism. It was in Spain that I met other Jews like myself, coming from all parts of the world—ready to sacrifice themselves for the same cause.

And now let me sum up. I hate to brag about myself, but I feel that my act of becoming a Communist and fighting in their ranks for my people, for the Negro people and for all the people and engaging in the fight for a free Spain has helped the enrichment of progressive Jewish culture.

Sidney, having listened to you, it is my belief that more of us need to rise to your level of Jewish consciousness, if progressive Jewish culture is to flourish.

New York

HENRY PERCIKOW.

## Cultural Ignorance

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Mr. Schappes rightly points out that Howard Fast's story is not a contribution to progressive Jewish culture or thought. However, he is weak on the constructive side. Sidney, it is true, could never have heard about the American Jewish poets of protest, Booshoover and Edelstat. But Sidney, as a college boy, had certainly learned of the Spanish Inquisition and its thousands of Jewish victims. Why, taken prisoner in Spain, and singled out as a Jew, did it not occur to him that the very hierarchy which was working hand in



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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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hand with Hitlerism to crush the Spanish people, had, in the historic past, victimized Jews and Moors, too?

In other words, Jewish progressives like Sidney suffer from an ignorance not only of the Jewish cultural present, but also of its past. For such progressives, it is somehow embarrassing to be found aware of the names of Jehudah Halevy, Ibn Ben Gabirol, and the like—to say nothing of the meaning of Kiddush Hashem! To such progressives, knowledge that in the past and even in Warsaw, fighters for Jewish religious rights were progressives in their day seems like giving

comfort to religion!

However, I see that Mr. Fogel's poem which is progressive and beautiful, too, dares even to refer to the Jewish psalmists.

Knowledge of the Jewish past should be many-sided to make for an enrichment of present day progressive Jewish culture. We see that Sholem Aleichem could take his place beside the people even though he knew the inside of Yiddish books and was at home in Hebrew works, as well. And Ilya Ehrenburg, it is to be noted, has written with warm insight on aspects of Hassidism.

New York

H. BEN ELIAS.

# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

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## PALESTINE AND THE U. N.

AS we go to press, the fight for the right of the Jewish people to be heard on the Palestine question still rages at the special session of the UN General Assembly. Many new developments will have unfolded by the time *Jewish Life* reaches its readers. But the shape of things to come is already quite clear. It is clear that Britain is using the UN to avoid the issues and delay a solution. And the United States, Britain's senior partner, is in fact leading the fight to prevent discussion of the substance of the Palestine question and to limit the UN to procedural questions.

*Jewish Life's* special UN correspondent, Moses Miller, will deal at length in our next issue with the many extremely important problems that arose in the special session. For the present we shall mention one issue which has unmasked the so-called "friends of the people" and exposed their game.

Our estimate that our own government, like Britain, was concerned with its imperialist interests and not the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples, has been confirmed by events at the present UN Assembly session. On numerous occasions we had warned the Zionist leadership not to rely upon the United States government to champion the cause of our people. The present session has exposed the futility of this Zionist policy. More important, the session has made crystal clear that the United States and Britain are playing a game that will prevent a quick solution and which means, therefore, that the Yishuv will continue to suffer repression.

Regardless of the outcome of the fight of the Jewish people to be heard, one thing is already a matter of record. The Anglo-American bloc has led the fight to prevent the Jewish Agency from being heard before the General Assembly. The so-called compromise solution offered by U.S. delegate Austin, provides not that the Jewish Agency be heard by the Political Committee, as some newspapers have misinformed the public, but rather that the Committee shall hear them, if it chooses. And to add insult to injury, Senator Austin accepted the British amendment allowing any organization which considers itself an interested party on the Palestine question, to ask for a hearing. Thus the Jewish Agency would be in the same category as any other organization and would make it just one more group knocking at the door of the UN.

Three nations have made a stand up and dignified fight for the right of the Jews to be heard before the General Assembly—Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Polish Ambassador Winiewicz twice delivered moving speeches on behalf of a Jewish voice in the proceedings. Soviet delegate Gromyko answered Senator Austin's argu-

ments with clear and unassailable logic, saying that a Jewish hearing would raise rather than harm the prestige of the UN. He said that the world would neither understand nor forgive the denial of an opportunity for the Jewish people to present their case before the UN.

Facts are terrible things. And the facts are testimony to the bitter truth that our government is waging a battle against the Jewish people, while those governments behind the "iron curtain" are staunchly defending the right of the Jewish people to be heard before the world.

## UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

THE connection between anti-communism and national oppression is today very clear. The first concrete results when the red-baiting hysteria whipped up by the House Un-American Committee was translated into terms of human relations, was felt by the Negro people.

On the basis of the slander and pressure by Rankin and his un-American pals, the city fathers of Peoria, Ill., have decided not to permit the use of their public buildings to any "avowed or active propagandist for un-American ideology." And they selected Paul Robeson as the first victim by banning a scheduled concert. This was followed up by a similar ban in Albany, New York, the great progressive state of the Union.

Paul Robeson is a great American artist. But he is much more than that. He is a Negro and an outstanding leader of his people, a fighting spokesman for their liberation. But even this does not fully describe the man. He is also a powerful progressive leader of the entire American people, an unremitting fighter for democracy and against fascism, who has never failed to be in the midst of the battle where the fighting was toughest. Robeson is truly a people's artist and a people's leader.

While Robeson was being banned, a concert was permitted to be given at Carnegie Hall in New York City, the center of progress in America, by Kirsten Flagstad whose "Americanism" has been seriously questioned as a result of her dubious behavior and relations with the Nazis during the recent war.

That the two attacks on Robeson are of concern to all the American people, can be seen from the action that has followed since. Now it is Henry Wallace who has been banned from using the Hollywood Bowl for a speech. And this merely confirms the reactionary and pro-fascist aims behind the hysteria that is being spread through the land. The objective is to silence all criticism and to destroy all opposition to the drive of monopoly against the living standards and democratic rights of the American people, and of American imperialism to establish its world domination.

The precedent set against communists and against the democratic artist, Robeson, is being used against all liberals. And the liberal who indulges in red-baiting in order to proclaim his own purity merely seals his own doom.

The ban on Paul Robeson must be lifted, and the harassment of other anti-fascist artists must cease. The progressive and liberal critics of America's current suicidal policies must be free to lead America back to sanity. But this will not occur until the people take the direction of culture out of the hands of obscurantists who have appointed themselves as censors of our culture; until the people remove from political life the subverters of American democracy—the Un-American Committee and its political god-fathers. The American people must protest these un-American acts by American officialdom in no uncertain terms.

## IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE

**W**E have maintained all along that immigration of the Jews to Palestine was not the problem that created the crisis of Palestine. Imperialist control was the sole cause of trouble. The question of immigration, we insisted, could be quickly and amicably solved through agreement with the Arabs, on the basis of anti-imperialist struggle, and not by reliance on either British or American imperialism. Imperialism, we declared, would stand in the way of Jewish immigration.

But every time we stated this position, we were always faced with two questions that proponents of pressure on British and American imperialism to open the doors of Palestine persistently fling at us: (1) Are there Arabs who will agree to Jewish immigration? (2) Will not negotiations be prolonged, and therefore add to the suffering of the Jews in the DP camps?

We have recently come upon additional information which we hope will finally answer these two questions. This information indicates that the Jewish Agency rejected proposals on immigration when agreement could have been reached. The information comes in an article entitled "Into the Abyss" by Nathan Hofshi, one of the founders of the Agricultural Workers' Organization and of the Histadruth. The article appears in a book called *Towards Union in Palestine*, which is edited by Dr. Martin Buber, who was professor of the Science of Religion at the University of Frankfurt-on-Main, and is professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University, chairman of the Hadassah Council in Palestine and chairman of the Middle East Committee of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; and Ernst Simon, who has been educational advisor to the Youth Aliya and is a lecturer in the principles of education at the Hebrew University. The book was published this year in Jerusalem by the Ichud (Union) Association.

We quote from Mr. Hofshi's article (p. 38):

"Well, then, was there or was there not, the possibility of an agreement on the basis of large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine? Is it true that the refusal came from our own responsible leaders?"

"Let those who want to know read in Medzini's *Ten Years of Politics* of the Jewish-Arab conference which was to take place in Lebanon in 1913, but was prevented by our leaders on the ground that 'it is not necessary, the Government is on our side.' Let them read of the energetic warning given by one of the Arab leaders in reply to our refusal.

"Further, let them read the details of the plan which was accepted in 1919 by King Feisal, the pan-Syrian Congress and the leaders of the Palestine Istiklal party. This plan, which was excellent in all respects, especially in respect of free Jewish immigration into Palestine, was rejected by the 'Commission of Delegates' of the then Zionist leadership, who were actuated by contempt for the Arab movement and by faith in our power in Europe and America.

"Since then, there have been further opportunities, especially in 1928 and again in 1930. And then in 1936—in the midst of the terrible disturbances—an agreement was proposed granting 30,000 Jewish immigrants annually for the next ten years. This proposal, too, was turned down, since our national 'prestige' demanded everything or nothing. [In his testimony before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission in Jerusalem, Moshe Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Jewish body officially recognized by the Mandatory Power, explained this rejection as follows: "Some of our Arab interlocutors seemed prepared to accept the idea of a very substantial Jewish immigration, but they set conditions which we at the time could not fulfill. It was not for us to liquidate the British Mandatory Regime in Palestine, nor did we at that time particularly cherish the prospect of an early liquidation." (*Palestine*, organ of American Zionist Emergency Council, April-May, 1946)—Ed.]

"And it was thus that we paved the way for the 'Patria,' the 'Struma' and similar tragedies. . . . Even in recent years, there were various important proposals, as recorded by B. Rabinowitz in *Zionism and the Arabs* and the pamphlet *Banativ* (On the Path), both published in Hebrew by the League of Jewish-Arab Cooperation. The last Arab offer, as recorded by *Banativ*, was submitted to the Jewish Agency in the beginning of 1943 through the League for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, the main points being as follows:

"1. Palestine to be a bi-national State.

"2. Jewish immigration to be kept within such limits as to enable the Jews to reach numerical parity with the Arabs in the course of some years.—This paragraph meant *the immigration of 700,000 persons* in the very near future.—No decision to be made regarding immigration after parity has been reached.

"3. Bi-national Palestine to join a federation of the neighboring countries.

"Shertok rejected the Arab offer, it being 'contrary to the fixed policy of the Jewish Agency!'"

Shertok and the Jewish Agency will have to answer to the

six million Jewish corpses, to the suffering Jews in the DP camps, to the Jewish people as a whole for this all or nothing policy that has neither solved the crisis in Palestine, nor relieved the suffering of the Jews in the DP camps.

## WRONG COMPANY

**T**HE April 10, 1947 issue of the *Legislative Information Bulletin* of the National Community Relations Advisory Council contains a survey of anti-hate bills pending in the state legislatures outside of New York. Although there are 80 such bills pending in 28 states, the *Bulletin* declares that "there is no substantial likelihood that any great number of the bills described above will pass."

Although the Committee issuing the *Bulletin* includes representatives of such organizations as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish War Veterans, and the Jewish Labor Committee, we are informed that "material for inclusion in the *Bulletin* is drafted initially by the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress."

The information in the *Bulletin* is fairly objective, mainly reporting the contents of bills and their status. But about one bill the *Bulletin* becomes quite opinionated, and that is a bill against the dissemination of national or religious hatred that has already been enacted into law in Indiana with the approval and support of the state administration.

According to the *Bulletin*, "the law forbids (a) combinations for the purpose of spreading malicious hatred against any person or persons because of race, color or religion, and (b) any malicious dissemination of hatred against a person or persons because of race, color or religion which tends to cause riots or other breaches of the peace or a denial of civil rights. Persons violating the Act are guilty of 'racketeering in hatred.' They are denied civil rights and may be fined up to \$10,000 and imprisoned up to two years. Violations may be restrained by an action for an injunction by the state. Corporations organized for the purpose of violating the Act or which do violate it are to be denied the right to do business in the state."

To any reasonable person, the law would sound as though it meant business; that it was not just a gesture for the record, but actually intended to restrain the hate-gang. Those really concerned with the problem of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism, might be expected to hold this law up as a model for other states and the federal government to emulate. As a matter of fact, the Indiana bill was the finest introduced to date. It is a credit to the Indiana administration forces that at a time like this, when reaction is running riot, they saw the need to fight for such powerful legislation against discrimination, and carried through a successful campaign for it. The people of Indiana will remember this and evaluate it properly.

But the outfit that publishes the *Bulletin* has other ideas. And in order to make its position clear, it was ready to drop its objectivity. Rational people welcome this law, but the

*Bulletin* announces that "The Indiana Bill has not been approved by any of the national member agencies of the NCRAC, and there is grave doubt of its constitutionality."

One can expect such an opinion from the assimilationist leadership of the American Jewish Committee, from the hush-hush artists in the Anti-Defamation League, or from the reactionary leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee. But coming from the American Jewish Congress, which "drafted initially" the opinion, or at any rate, concurred in it, it raises some fundamental questions and serious concern.

The American Jewish Congress is known for its progressive stand on domestic questions, and particularly for its fights against anti-Semitism, including support for legislation like the Austin-Mahoney Bill. How could the Congress lend itself to such an unprincipled attack on the will of the Indiana people, an attack which is so inconsistent with the program and tradition of the Congress?

## SOME NEVER LEARN

**W**HEN he returned from Europe after the Basle Congress of the World Zionist movement, Dr. S. Margoshes, columnist of *The Day* and leader in the Jewish community, announced that he wished to correct a previous error of judgment he had made. "After speaking to the representatives of more than twenty Jewries in Europe I've come to the conclusion that all this talk about *Yetziath Europa* or Jewish evacuation of Europe is that much poppycock. . . . The Jewish evacuation of Europe is a myth."

This was not anything new that the progressive Jewish elements had not been saying all along. But it was good to hear Dr. Margoshes say it, and it was hoped that this was but the beginning of a trend.

It is apparent, however, that some leaders in Jewish life will never learn. And how determined these elements are on playing politics with Jewish lives, on gambling with Jewish security, can be judged from a series of reports that have recently been published in the press.

On April 6, *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Gruson reported from Warsaw that unnamed Jewish leaders had informed him that the "mass migration of Jews from Poland has finished." But they also stated that "Poland's endemic anti-Semitism, plus harrowing memories of the war years and shattered economies will drive all but 10,000 of Poland's remaining 90,000 Jews out of the country by the end of 1948." It is important to note that while this bit of correspondence begins with unnamed Jewish leaders, the report ends with the use of the name of William Bein, director for Poland of the Joint Distribution Committee, as a source of information.

On April 10, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency correspondent, Leon Leneman, reported from Warsaw that "more than 1,000 Polish Jews who fled (Poland) last year have returned to explore the possibilities of permanent resettlement. . . . Most of the returnees hope to settle in Silesia."

On April 16, a special report to the *New York Times* from Berlin stated that "a most significant reversal in the migrating tendencies of Polish Jews" was disclosed by Polish and Jewish officials. Jewish sources "worriedly confirmed the fact that despairing Jews were 'talking' of returning home. A Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch from Warsaw asserted that 15,000 Polish Jews in the American zone had registered for repatriation. . . . That a Jewish news agency carried the dispatch with the categorical statement of the registration figure is considered little short of sensational *in view of the Zionists' efforts*. . . . If nothing is done on the Palestine situation before fall the 'tendency' will probably develop into a mass trek." (Our italics—Ed.)

On April 27, *New York Times* correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt reported from Munich that "in the swarming Jewish displaced persons camps of the United States zone this spring there is a great deal of talk about 'a march on Palestine' but very little marching. A group of vigorous leaders, most of whom belong to the revisionist groups . . . is trying to stir the inhabitants of the camps to action. Apart

from hundreds of private gatherings, public demonstrations such as those protesting Dov Gruner's execution are exploited to kindle Zionist enthusiasm. But attendance is poor. . . . Both the officially recognized moderate Central Committee of Jews in the United States zone and the unrecognized extremist revisionist group insist for the record that 'all Jews must leave Europe, scene of the extermination of 6,000,000 Jews where Hitler is dead but Hitlerism is still alive.' The present state of mind of the Jews in Germany, however, makes it seem unlikely that they will undertake drastic steps to attain this end."

It is obvious from these reports that the exodus from Europe was not altogether a spontaneous movement but was to a great extent organized deliberately by reactionary Zionist and revisionist elements in order to achieve ends other than the security of our people. And these elements persist in this mad campaign, in spite of the fact that conditions in Poland are becoming stabilized, and greater possibilities are opening up for the productivization and the political and social development of the Jews.

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## KEEP CHURCH AND STATE SEPARATE

By Moses Miller

SERIOUS encroachments are being made upon the principle of separation of church and state as well as upon our free public school system. Attention has been focused on these problems by a recent decision of the Supreme Court (*Everson vs. Board of Education*) upholding the right of the State of New Jersey to use public funds to pay for bus transportation to parochial schools.

It is ironic to note that the capitalist class, which in its early days was forced to battle against the Catholic Church in order to smash feudalism and to take over state power for itself, has today become the spearhead of the move to re-establish the authority of the church in all spheres of life. The rising capitalist class, because it needed the results of scientific discovery to promote the development of industry and production, became the champion of enlightenment, of science and of education. But the present day capitalist class, sated with power and fearful of the advances of the working class, is prepared to turn back the wheels of industry, to frustrate scientific development, to nullify the tremendous achievements in the field of free education. It was Engels, who once remarked, after analyzing this trend: "Nothing remained to the French and German bourgeoisie as a last resource but to silently drop their free thought, as a

youngster when sea sickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he brought swaggeringly on board; one by one, the scoffers turned pious in outward behavior, spoke with respect of the church, its dogmas and its rites, and even conformed with the latter as far as could not be helped."

The capitalist class, so revolutionary and so militant when the historic task of gaining power for itself was on the order of business, can today with complete equanimity agree with Luther that: "I shall always side with those who condemn rebellion and against those who cause it."

### Early Struggles

The struggles of the rising bourgeoisie for the separation of church and state were of great historic and progressive import and at the same time inevitable. For the bourgeoisie could not do away with the feudal state which prevented it from attaining full freedom of action and enterprise without striking at the Catholic Church, which was the central organization of the feudal state and the creator of the theological frame upon which rested the social and political theories of the state.

Here in America, too, the struggle was a long and bitter one. Thomas Jefferson, one of the great leaders of this fight, himself looked upon this battle as the most bitter in which he had ever participated. His contemporary, Abraham Bishop of New Haven, exclaimed bitterly: "The clergyman preaches politics, the civilian preaches of orthodoxy, and if any

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man refuse to join the coalition, they endeavor to hunt him down to the tune of 'the church is in danger.'" Jefferson, who struggled for seven years to get a statute on religious freedom incorporated into the laws of Virginia, was more than once accused of being the leader of an anti-Christ movement. His classic statement on this question is well worth repeating:

"The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."

The struggle for free, public education based upon a scientific outlook and free of interference from any religious group or sect was as bitter and stubborn as that for separation of church and state and in most cases was only won long after the principle of separation of church and state had been established. In the colonial period and for many years after the revolution, education was accepted as the function of the church and of it alone. "The most prominent characteristic of all the early colonial schooling," writes Ellwood P. Cubberley in his *Public Education in the United States*, "was the predominance of the religious purpose in instruction. One learned to read chiefly to be able to read the Catechism and the Bible and to know the will of the Heavenly Father. There was scarcely any other purpose in the maintenance of elementary schools."

### **Industrialism Needed Education**

As America began its industrial development, new problems arose which forced the issue of public school education to the fore. After the revolution, and particularly in the early 1800's, America began to shift rapidly from an agrarian to an industrial economy. One of the first results, which clearly indicated the course of economic transformation, was the rapid growth in urban population.

The problem of mass education could no longer be avoided. While the emerging industrial capitalists were quite willing and anxious to use religion to keep the working people in check, they too realized that religion alone could not achieve this purpose. Furthermore, an industrial economy, if it was to grow and flourish, needed a working class sufficiently educated to exploit technological advance. Industry needed technologically trained, skilled and adept workers. A minimum education had to be provided. This immediately required freedom from interference in and from supervision of education by religious groups and sects.

But the need for technologically trained workers was not the only reason for the rise of mass education. In this era struggle for political power was becoming intensified and ramified. Property qualifications for voting were gradually being removed and by the early 1800's, the right to vote (for men) had become widespread. The need for a citizenry that could understand and digest basic political and social issues was deeply felt, particularly by the demo-

cratic forces intent on breaking the hold of the merchant capitalists and the landed interests. The argument was stated clearly and persuasively by Thaddeus Stevens, in his defense of public education before the Pennsylvania Legislature.

"If an elective Republic is to endure for any length of time, every elector must have sufficient information not only to accumulate wealth and take care of his pecuniary concerns, but to direct wisely the legislature, the ambassadors, and the Executive of the Nation—for some part of all these things, some agency in approving or disapproving of them, falls to every freeman. If, then, the permanency of our Government depends upon such knowledge, it is the duty of Government to see that the means of information be diffused to every citizen. This is a sufficient answer to those who deem education a private and not a public duty."

It is important to note that even in the days when the capitalist class was progressive and ready to fight and did fight for broader education and participation in democracy, the major burden fell upon the shoulders of the emerging working class and of the small farmers. It was no accident, for example, that the Democratic Societies which arose during the Jeffersonian period and which carried on a vigorous struggle for the extension of democracy, while led by intellectuals and merchants, were in the main composed of "working farmers, mechanics, craftsmen and day laborers." Nor was it an accident that these Democratic Societies should have been the leading force in the struggle for popular education. "As the Democratic Society of Philadelphia put it: 'The establishment of public schools upon proper principles will insure the future of independence and republicanism.'" (Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*).

The landed and commercial interests fought bitterly against free education, arguing that it would put dangerous ideas into the heads of the poor and give them notions unfit for their station in life. And to their side flocked churchmen with ready-made theological arguments to prove that a system of free, secular education would make for a godless society in which moral, religious and ethical values would be destroyed.

### **Limited Victory**

It is of course a matter of recorded history that tremendous advances were made during this period both in the struggle for the separation of church and state and for free, secular education. Yet it is equally a matter of history that victory was never complete or decisive, not only because of vigorous opposition but also and perhaps equally because of the limitations of those who led the struggle. The capitalist class was fearful of the movement it had itself started. This class wanted and needed public education but even while encouraging it, feared the results if the working class gained too much knowledge and began to fathom the laws of history.

For if separation of church and state were carried to its logical conclusion, it would lead to the establishment of

guarantees not only for freedom of religion but also freedom from religion. Those who led the struggle, while fighting to free government and education from the encroachments of any specific religious group or sect, were not, however, neutral as to the necessity of religion itself. With few exceptions, they believed in and defended religion. Their firm belief in God and religion was incorporated in all their official documents and statutes.

The American state attitude toward religion is clearly expressed by John Somerville, as follows: "Broadly speaking, our state stands on the principle of freedom of religions in the sense that the state itself promises not to establish any one religion as official and not to interfere with any sect by way of preventing it from worshipping. . . . But our state could hardly be said to stand on the principle of freedom from religion. It is not neutral about religion itself. . . . Its official literature contains abundant evidence of its religious orientation in the form of prayers, references to a Deity, invocations of Divine blessing, Divine guidance and the like. There is no doubt that the state, so to say, believes in God. Official oaths are taken in the name of God, and even in relation to one sacred writing—the Bible. Hence it is that atheists, agnostics and others can by law be barred in many cases from giving testimony in court in various states. Not only houses of legislature, conventions of political parties, and official gatherings of all sorts, but the public school as well, set aside time for prayer. . . . While it is true that clergymen of various sects are usually invited in turn to lead such services, it is also true that they are not followed by an atheist or an agnostic so that he can give expression to his views. . . . While the state does not compel citizens to believe in God, it does not itself hesitate to proclaim this belief, and lend encouragement to it, not only spiritually, but materially as well, by placing church properties in an especially privileged position in respect to public taxation." (*Soviet Philosophy*.)

The bourgeoisie failed to write into fundamental law freedom from religion for the same reason that it failed to carry to its logical conclusion the principle of freedom of religion, namely, its limited and vacillating struggle for democracy itself. One need not look far to be convinced that the formal recognition of freedom of religion did not lead to equality in fact. The hardships and severe trials to which the Catholics were subjected during the 1880's and particularly during the 1850's with the oppression and pogrom-like attacks from the Know-Nothing Party, are only a single type of evidence for the limited freedom of religion in America.

### Public Education in Danger

Despite these shortcomings and historical limitations, both the battle for freedom of religion and its outcome had historic import and represented an advance in the struggle for democratic freedom. It is therefore deeply alarming that the free public school system as well as the principle of separation of church and state today face the concentrated fire of

many highly organized groups. Not since the opening days of the struggle has the attack been so intensive and persistent. Encroachments are steadily gaining and legislative and judicial sanctions for these encroachments are rapidly accumulating. To state that the free public school system is in grave danger is not alarmist but a frank recognition of facts available to all.

In his dissenting opinion, in the case of *Everson vs. Board of Education*, referred to above, Justice Rutledge indicated very emphatically that "this is not just a little case over bus fare." Taking issue with the majority of the court, he warned:

"Two great drives are constantly in motion to abridge, in the name of education, the complete division of religion and civil authority which our forefathers made. One is to introduce religious education and observances into the public school system. The other is to obtain public funds for the aid and support of various private religious schools. In my opinion both avenues were closed by the constitution. Neither should be opened by the court."

This observation, which is confirmed by the facts, indicates the strategy of those who are bent on destroying the free public school system. They realize that the time is not yet ripe for a full scale offensive and they are therefore now concentrating on breaching the structure here and there in order completely to undermine it.

"Sectarianism in the public schools includes any influence which indoctrinates pupils with the tenets of a particular religion. Employment of public school teachers wearing distinctive religious dress might be a sectarian influence. Pupils may be exposed to religious exercises in the school building during school hours and under control of the public school authorities. During school hours pupils may be excused for attendance at church schools conducted off the school premises and not connected with school control."<sup>1</sup>

So extensive are these indoctrinating "influences" in our public school system today that it would be impossible to itemize them all within the limitations of an article. Let me, however, indicate a few.

### Released Time

The practice of releasing children from school for religious instruction now prevails in some 1,800 communities in 47 states. The constitutionality of this plan has been upheld in every court which has had occasion to review the question. These court decisions were made against the arguments of opponents of the plan that it represented a violation of the principle of separation of church and state, that it helped to destroy the functioning and efficiency of the public school system, that it helped to create and to deepen antagonisms between children of different religious and national groups, and above all, the fact that released time was an entering wedge by which religion would ultimately become an integral part of the public school curriculum.

<sup>1</sup> *The State and Sectarian Education*, National Education Association, February, 1946.

Time and experience have confirmed these arguments. Whereas religious instruction under the plan was supposed to be carried on outside of the schools, more than 42 per cent of these released time programs are today being conducted in public school class rooms.<sup>2</sup> Whereas in most instances the law states that the released time program is voluntary and that children are to be released only upon presentation of a written request from their parents, the fact is well known that there are many cases in which teachers have brought pressure upon children to take religious instruction.

A letter written by a group of mothers who live in one New York neighborhood, was recently brought to my attention. It shows how the released time plan is working in the public schools of that neighborhood.

"At the beginning of the hour set aside for religious instruction, the children are told to line up; Catholics on one line, Protestants on another, and Jews on a third. A priest then comes and marches off the Catholic children and corresponding functionaries lead away the others to the churches and synagogues where the instruction is given.

"The situation of the child who does not want this 'education' or whose parents have no religion, is made very difficult. In one case of which we know, the child of an atheist was asked a long series of questions before the class. It is necessary for such a child to bring a note from his parents. If excused he is placed for an hour into a special class."

### **Authorities Lend a Hand**

That this is not an isolated case was proved by a survey made by the Public Education Association in 1943. The survey discovered that, despite a rule of the New York Board of Education which states that "there shall be no comment by any principal or teacher on the attendance or non-attendance of any pupil upon religious instruction," there have been violations of this rule in one form or another in at least 25 schools.

In Kentucky and Maine public school authorities are required by law to ask each pupil whether or not he or she intends to take religious instruction. Here we have the public school, with full sanction of the state, carrying through a religious census. It is well known that religious bodies have been able similarly to involve school authorities into taking a religious census in many other states. In many cases, as in Buffalo, New York, the census is openly made by teachers by lining up children of various religious groups at different ends of the room. In other cases the method is less flagrant. Cards are handed out to the children who are asked to take them home, get them filled out by their parents and returned to their teachers.

The released time program is not however, the sole encroachment of religion upon the public schools. Mandatory

<sup>2</sup> In Illinois, for example, there are a number of communities where nuns are employed by the school boards to conduct religious classes in the schools.

Bible reading is prevalent in practically every state.<sup>3</sup> The celebration of religious holidays is increasingly being instituted in many schools. It is now an accepted practice in most schools to begin the day with a reading of the Lord's prayer. And at this moment, strenuous efforts are being made to get the public schools to introduce some form of non-sectarian religious education as an integral part of the curriculum.

### **Use of Public Funds**

One of the most alarming aspects of this whole problem is the grant of Federal aid to education. It is well known that practically all states find it exceedingly difficult and in some cases practically impossible to raise the necessary funds for an adequate program of education. Educators have therefore for a long time recognized the extreme urgency of a real federal aid program. Despite all their efforts they have made no headway because of organized and vigorous opposition by reactionary big business, the Catholic hierarchy and lately by leaders of some Protestant denominations.

The Catholic Church has never accepted the principle of separation of church and state. A Jesuit priest, the Rev. Paul L. Blakely, in a pamphlet entitled *May an American Oppose the Public Schools*, declared in no uncertain terms: "Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance. . . . The first duty of every Catholic father to the public school is to keep his children out of it."

In this connection the position recently taken by the Education Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce is interesting. This committee has insisted that the primary task of education must be the "development of a deep, true, religious understanding and viewpoint," and that, in addition, children should also be taught "to read, write and figure reasonably well."

Archbishop Spellman has opposed a Federal Aid Bill on the grounds that "the health and welfare of children in private schools should be just as much a concern as the health and welfare of children in the tax-supported schools" (New York *Herald-Tribune*, November 15, 1942). Some Catholic Church leaders felt it was not advisable to oppose federal aid in principle. In November 1944 Rev. Hochwalt, Director of the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference said: "Sooner or later, legislation is bound to be introduced which will have behind it the united support of most of the important educational groups of the country. These groups will in turn enlist labor, business and industrial organizations in the cause. It seems that those who favor federal aid to education will prevail." He therefore counselled that the leaders of the Church should not oppose federal aid but should

<sup>3</sup> Controversy has arisen over this practice not only on the ground that it represents religious indoctrination. Various religious groups object to the particular Bible version used. As is well known, there are three versions of the Bible—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish.

fight for the inclusion of support for private schools in any Federal aid bill.

Today, there is hardly a bill on education in the Congressional hopper that does not include a provision making federal funds available to private schools. Many educators and organizations opposed to such aid are in a very serious dilemma. Either they refuse to support such bills and thereby forfeit funds for the public schools which are so critically needed or they support the bills and insure further encroachments upon the public school system. The dilemma becomes even more apparent when one considers that such a drain on public funds for the upkeep of private schools will make utopian any thought of expanding our public schools or improving them.

When hearings were held on S. 181 providing aid to public schools only, the lineup in opposition was very revealing. Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, George W. Robnett, a prominent advertising man who spoke on behalf of the Church League of America and Rev. Hochwalt, the Catholic spokesman, opposed the bill.

Another phase of the problem, already mentioned, is the use of public funds for transportation to parochial schools. The Supreme Court decision affects not only New Jersey, but many other states in which similar laws had been passed. In the State of New York, for instance, a constitutional amendment has been passed to permit the use of public funds for this purpose. Provision of free text books for parochial schools paid for by public money is another phase of the problem. At present only two states, Louisiana and Mississippi, have such provisions. In both instances the

courts of these states have upheld the constitutionality of this practice. A similar practice was attempted in New York in 1922 but was held to be unconstitutional by the New York courts. Pressure is however being exerted in New York for reconsideration, and evidence points to a strenuous campaign to push this measure through.

This article is hardly an exhaustive treatment of the subject. There are many facets of the problem which this writer has been unable to examine due to obvious limitations of space. The pattern is however clear and unmistakable. The assault upon the principle of separation of church and state and upon popular education is steadily mounting. Here and there the attack goes by unnoticed. In many cases a local incident is pooh-poohed even by those who, if they understood the full implications, would be vigorously opposed.

The struggles which many thought had been settled in the early days of American history have re-emerged. There are necessarily many differences in the situation, both quantitatively and qualitatively. In the early days the rising bourgeoisie was itself concerned with advancing the separation of church and state and with promoting the free public school and participated in the struggle, even though with vacillations and great hesitancy. Today, however, the monopolistic leaders of the capitalist class in alliance with reactionary church leaders represent a force bent upon the destruction of these great democratic achievements.

The conclusion is obvious. Labor must assume vigorous leadership if these encroachments are to be halted and if free, secular education for our children is to be continued and improved.

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## PALESTINE VISITED

*By G. Koenig*

**W**HEN our ship left the docks of Haifa at the end of February the last preparations for the establishment of martial law in Palestine had been completed. The whole country and especially the big cities had been transformed into a huge military camp. The Palestine highways were clogged with British trucks, carrying troops, tanks, cannon and all kinds of ammunition.

Soldiers with red hats, black hats, and uniforms from all parts of the British empire were visible everywhere. A modern and well equipped army of at least 150,000 soldiers was at hand, an army larger than any in Palestine during the most critical days of the war when it was necessary to drive back Rommel's armies from the gates of Alexandria.

I had spent four months in Palestine. In that time I

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G. KOENIG is a French Jewish journalist, who recently returned from a four-month stay in Palestine.

witnessed the brutal, disgraceful domination by the British occupationists. In Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Rishon Lezion, Nathania, Rechovoth and many other places I saw bands of English soldiers play havoc with the peaceful and innocent Jewish community. They attacked Jews coming out of the movies and cafes—beating, robbing and leaving them lying in a bloody mess on the streets. The British forced their way into private houses; they destroyed and burned automobiles after throwing passengers into the gutter. These were daily occurrences during my stay in Palestine.

### *"Normal" Brutality*

The situation deteriorated every day and every week. In the "good" days before martial law was established, people traveling from city to city had to put up with serious delays. Busses were held up in mid-journey. The people were

forced to step out, were searched and their papers scrutinized. Very often a journey that took one hour under normal conditions, lasted three or four hours. One was never certain at the start of a journey if one would return or whether some new "emergency law" would suddenly be declared. Every few days rumors spread that a new "emergency" was to be proclaimed, and immediately men and women would rush about getting essential foods to tide them over the "emergency." At such a time prices would naturally sky-rocket and the working masses would immediately feel the effects on their lean budget. The economy of the country as a whole began to deteriorate very quickly.

I remember one Thursday evening in January in Tel Aviv. Hundreds of Jewish women with their children are in the market place, buying food for the Sabbath. The streets all around are alive with people. Workers are returning home from work. Suddenly the sound of firing is heard. Electricity is turned off. Darkness everywhere. Police and soldiers pour in from all directions. Terrific confusion reigns. Cries and shrieks of pain fill the market place. People trip over each other. Children cry, women faint. Stores are hurriedly bolted. People rush to the security of the nearest house. The shooting grows more intense and continues late into the night. The next day it becomes known that some Jewish districts in the poor part of Tel Aviv had been encircled. Thousands of Jews were driven out of their homes. Hundreds were beaten by the police.

### **Pogrom by Error**

A particularly barbaric incident was the raid on Sochnos Montefiore. In addition to beatings and the looting of homes, the troops dragged dozens of Jews into the streets, made them form in columns and forced them to run the gauntlet of soldiers who beat them brutally. Other Jews were forced off the busses and put through the same torture. In this way the Jews were driven to the place where they were questioned. At the entrance hundreds of English soldiers began the sport all over again, beating their victims with clubs, with rifle butts and kicking them with their feet, crying: "We will kill all of you. We will do a better job than Hitler did."

Most of the Jews were a bloody mess. Many fainted from the effects of the blows. Some suffered concussion of the brain. The Jews were then taken to Jaffa where, after a long investigation, they were declared innocent and freed. The pogrom was declared to be the result of a misunderstanding.

Such murderous acts were re-

peated in a number of Jewish communities in Palestine. And all of this occurred in so-called "normal" times, before martial law was officially declared.

Simultaneously, thousands of Jews were ordered to get out of their homes within 24 hours. It is impossible to describe the tragedy of these people who found themselves overnight without a roof over their heads. At the stroke of a pen many who had saved for years and years and had scrimped even on food to buy some kind of dwelling, now found themselves robbed of their home. Whole sections were cut off and occupied by soldiers. In Jerusalem early in February one could hardly take a step without running into barbed wire and machine guns. "It is forbidden to enter this area," was the order one heard everywhere from the lips of Bevin's soldiers.

Of course all this was done with the excuse of fighting the terrorists of the Irgun and the Stern gang. Without trying to analyze this terrorist movement, one thing is clear: the whole British military apparatus and martial law were not inflicted on the Jews because of terrorist activity. The acts of terrorism were rather used by the occupation power as an excuse to realize its plan of *militarizing the Near East, of protecting the oil concessions, of establishing military bases and of destroying the economy of the country.* Not only Jews, but also Arabs were thrown out of their homes, and not only in Jewish communities but also in Arab communities such as Shchem and Azah. Military fortifications are being built in non-Jewish as well as Jewish areas.

Since June 29, 1946, when the bloody deeds of the occupationists were brutally stepped up to persecute the Jewish community militarily and economically, the Zionist leadership has shown no other initiative than to run about the corridors of the British and American government offices. While thousands of families were being driven out of their



**TEL AVIV — a Modern City**

homes and new divisions of soldiers were being brought into Palestine, the Palestine Zionist press was mainly concerned with the question of whether Dov Gruner's sister was coming by airplane or not. With shrieking headlines the Jewish community was informed that a number of Jews had been beaten up in a little town in—Rumania. All proposals of the Communist Party to turn to the United Nations were systematically rejected by all Zionist parties. Zionist circles began to talk about the UN only when the proposal was made by Bevin.

The leader of the Zionist executive, Goldie Meyerson, issued a call to the British government in February which read as follows: "We appeal to common sense and hope that this call is heeded; as a result it will become easier both for the government and for ourselves to achieve the goal of peace and security in this country." Obviously Goldie Meyerson is still convinced that the aim of the British government is to bring peace and security to Palestine.

During the war the Jewish community of Palestine participated all-out in the struggle against fascism. The Jewish community, by its work, its voluntary contributions, and its daily acts of aid to the allied armies placed itself in overwhelming majority on the side of democracy. Over 25,000 Jewish men and women went into the army where they battled heroically on the far-flung battlefields of the world.

Already in 1939 over 3,000 Jews had enlisted as sappers' aides. In 1940 when the British government allowed Palestinian citizens to enter the RAF, 2,000 Jews enlisted immediately. When the government called for chauffeurs and craftsmen for the army, 4,500 Jewish chauffeurs volunteered at once and were organized into their own brigade with Jewish officers.

### ***Bravery of Jewish Soldiers***

In the battles that raged in the Lybian deserts Jewish soldiers played an important role. They fought in bloody battles against an enemy that was already storming the gates of Alexandria, and were among the troops who drove Rommel's armies back to Tripoli and Tunis. It should suffice to mention that the system of defenses of El Alamein was built by the Jewish Sappers Brigade 462. When the armies of Rommel broke through the Egyptian city of Salum, the British general staff ordered this very same brigade to Syria in order to bring back reinforcements, and the brigade fulfilled its mission gloriously. It crossed over Egypt, Palestine and Syria and brought back a whole Australian brigade on trucks. And those who had enlisted as chauffeurs took up arms and participated in driving back the enemy.

This very same Brigade 462 suffered tremendous casualties. When it sailed for Malta, its ship was torpedoed by plane and submarine and several hundred Negroes and 138 Jews were killed.

In addition to the men who enlisted in the army, 2,500 Jewish women also enlisted for work in the hospitals, field kitchens and as chauffeurs.

In 1943 two Jewish companies fought at Salerno and helped free southern Italy. In 1944 the Jewish Brigade was created, incorporating the existing "Palestine Regiment." This brigade consisted of three infantry battalions, a company of chauffeurs, two artillery companies and a company of sappers—in all between five and six thousand men. English and Canadian Jews also belonged to this brigade. It went into action about two weeks before the end of the war in northern Italy. In its assigned sector of ten kilometers it so distinguished itself that the general staff of the 6th Army gave it special mention in an order of the day.

The brigade remained in Italy for a time after the conclusion of hostilities and was then sent to Belgium and Holland. When the Jewish brigade went through Germany they used the occasion to take care of some Nazis. The British commanders didn't like this very much and the Jewish brigade was quickly removed from the occupation zone.

### ***Plight of Jewish Veterans***

These Jewish soldiers of Palestine who voluntarily enlisted in the British army because they wanted to fight fascism were forced to endure insults and discrimination by the British military leaders during the war. For instance, in the beginning they received much lower pay than British soldiers. It was only later after much protest that the Jewish soldiers won equal pay. In the canteens, wash-rooms, etc., there were two sections—one for English troops and one for non-English troops. During the entire war, families of Palestinian soldiers received two-thirds of the monetary help given to families of British soldiers. Actually the discrepancy was much greater, because the cost of living in Palestine was two or three times as high as that in Britain. After many demonstrations and protest actions there was formed in the Yishuv a special "League for Aid to Soldiers" which gave one to two pounds a month to the families of soldiers. This of course could not help very much to alleviate the plight of families whose husbands and fathers had fought so heroically under the British banner.

During the war about 5,000 invalided Jewish soldiers were demobilized. I spoke to many of them who by the end of 1946 had not yet been able to settle down. After their demobilization no one paid any attention to them. They organized demonstrations and began to occupy empty rooms wherever they could find them so as to have a place to sleep. They took over a number of bridge clubs where the wealthy people of Tel Aviv came to amuse themselves, but the British police attacked these invalids and many were horribly beaten. The police killed one of them and wounded many others.

As wave after wave of demobilized soldiers returned to Palestine the protests of these fighters for their rights grew stronger. But they had to fight alone to get a job and a place to live. Not until January 1946, was a special bureau created by the Jewish Agency to help them in housing and

rehabilitation, and then only as a result of pressure by the veterans themselves. In March 1946, a law went into effect requisitioning empty rooms in larger houses, but the requisitioning moves at a snail's pace. One delegate at a conference of veterans exclaimed, "In the month of April 1946, twenty demobilized Jewish soldiers committed suicide!"

### **Conference of Jewish Vets**

These facts I learned only after I began to investigate more closely the fate of these Jewish fighters. Clearly the main responsibility for the situation rests with the British administration, which spends millions of pounds for prisons and police and practically nothing for those who volunteered and fought in the British army.

My visit to Palestine coincided with the campaign to elect delegates to the country-wide conference of demobilized soldiers. The elections were not very democratic. The election committee ruled that there was to be one delegate for every 60 veterans in the larger cities and one delegate

for every ten veterans in the smaller communities. As a result one-third of those entitled to vote were able to send 160 delegates while two-thirds could send only 60 delegates.

The outcome was interesting. In Tel Aviv the communists got 22 per cent of all the votes and elected seven of the 31 delegates. They ran second to the Mapai (Jewish Labor Party), which had twelve delegates, and left far behind them the Achdut Avodah (movement for the Unity of Labor) and the Hashomer Hatzair (Zionist left wing party) who received three delegates each. In Haifa the communists received 18 per cent of the votes and elected four delegates. In contrast to this, in Jerusalem, where the voting was not by proportional representation, the communists could not elect a single delegate despite the fact that they received 25 per cent of the votes. And in Rishon Lezion where the communist candidates received 42 per cent of the votes, they were also unable to get even one delegate.

The main speech at the opening of the conference was delivered by the political director of the Jewish Agency, Moshe Shertok. He had very little to say about the demands and



**HAIFA — a City of Contrasts**

*Photo copyrighted by United Palestine Appeal*

the needs of the Jewish veterans. He did not criticize the Palestine administration's treatment of the demobilized soldiers. Not one word of protest came either from him or from any other official speakers at the opening session against the barbaric pogrom perpetrated by British troops against the Jews of Tel Aviv only the day before. They spoke as if nothing in the world had happened. The impression created during the whole conference was that an attempt was being made to exploit these ex-soldiers for political ends, rather than to help them solve their immediate problems or to help make this important organization a great democratic movement. One incident that evoked intense indignation among many delegates was the refusal of the chairman to put to a vote of the conference a resolution against the Anders bands which demanded their withdrawal from Palestine and the turning over of their homes to the demobilized soldiers.

Of all the cities in Palestine, the most interesting, colorful and dynamic is Haifa, with the ocean at its foot and Mount Carmel towering over it from the other side. It is a city of contrasts. I loved to stand in the city and look up into the hills where thousands of houses and huts clutter up the hillside that gives the impression of hundreds of streets suspended in mid-air. But even more enthralling is the view looking down from the hill. The whole city and the broad span of the ocean lie before one's eyes. One sees large modern homes and small barracks, factories and small stores, ships and schooners, autos and busses, winding narrow lanes choked with loaded camels and a mass of humanity in constant motion. Ocean and mountain, factories and business, Jews, Arabs and Christians—an international port-city stretched out over an area of 75,000 dunams (a dunam is one quarter of an acre).

The ocean, however, is guarded by huge British battleships. Mt. Carmel is cut off by thousands of British soldiers. The city is surrounded by British forts and a network of barbed-wire. Smoke from the oil factories reminds one that here is the heart of the interest of imperialism. The tanks and the cannon one sees speak clearly in the language of military bases and plans.

Twenty-five years ago Haifa had 24,000 inhabitants of whom 9,000 were Mohammedans, 9,000 were Christians and 6,000 Jews. By 1931 there were 50,000 inhabitants of whom 20,000 were Arabs, 16,000 Jews and 14,000 Christians. Today Haifa and its environs have about 145,000 population. According to figures given me by the president of the Municipal Council, Shabsai Levy, there are now 80,000 Jews, 40,000 Mohammedans and 25,000 Christians. Arab informants told me that there were over 50,000 Mohammedans.

### ***Jews and Arabs Work Together***

The non-Jewish community is concentrated in the heart of the city itself, along the port and a little higher up almost as far as the beginnings of Hadar Hacarmel. In this community of 70,000 inhabitants live 12,000 Jews. During

the day, however, the proportion of Jews is much higher, for the Jewish workers and businessmen who live in Hadar Hacarmel come down to the town.

Jews and Arabs work together in business, in various undertakings in the port, in the refineries and in the surrounding military camps. On the main street, Rechov Hamlochim (Kings Highway), Arab and Jewish shoeshine boys sit on little stools or on the ground. The Jews are mostly from the East and look very little different from their Arab neighbors. And more than once you will find a good Zionist, who wanted to gain the *mitzvah* (blessing) of giving work to Jews, getting fouled up and committing the terrible "sin" of allowing his shoes to be polished by an Arab kid whom he mistook for Jewish. Incidentally, these very same Jews who are so scrupulous when it comes to letting an Arab worker earn a piastre, are not at all scrupulous about closing a good thousand pound deal with some Arab capitalist.

On Hadar Hacarmel, which is 25 years old, approximately 45,000 Jews live. They represent 90 per cent of the population in this area. Here you will find Jewish shops and stores, schools, technical institutes and other important institutions.

What contrasts are encountered in Haifa. What a mixture of wealth and poverty, of elegance and filth. Beautiful six or seven story buildings stand next to dirty and decrepit little huts in which seven or eight people live in squalor and poverty. The town has palatial homes of wealthy Jews and Arabs and also the dingiest shacks. On the mountain are sumptuous villas bathed in sunshine and bedecked with flowers, while a little lower down in Hadar Hacarmel and in the city hundreds of families are jammed together in small dark rooms without air or light or proper sanitary conditions. Behind the city of Haifa there are rows upon rows of tents. Here Arab workers of the port and of the military camps live. But I also saw many, many Jewish families living under the most horrible conditions. To get a place to live one must pay hundreds of pounds, a sum beyond the dreams of the poor working family. The situation is particularly hard for many veterans, students and new immigrants, who very often live five and six to one hotel room and pay four or five pounds a month for a place to lay their heads.

In Haifa and the vicinity the greatest industries of the country are concentrated, employing more than 40,000 Jewish workers and officials. Of these about 80 per cent are members of the Histadruth (Jewish Federation of Labor), 10 per cent of the Hapoel Hamizrachi (orthodox trade union movement). The Revisionist unions have very little influence.

At the beginning of this year the Histadruth in Haifa, according to the information given me by its secretary, had 34,000 members among the following categories: 2,000 construction workers, 4,000 metal workers, 3,000 military camp workers, 1,000 oil workers, 3,000 workers in collectives, 1,000 transport workers, 500 in cooperatives, 300 communications workers, etc.

The Histadruth owns a number of enterprises and is also in partnership with capitalists in others. It also runs outfits in the city such as an employment bureau, a restaurant, a workers bank, a library and lecture hall, a sick-benefit institution, a building for Histadruth offices. At present it is building a large theater. The Histadruth budget is £70,000.

### *Sabbath in Tel Aviv*

Any Friday evening one can observe a Jew riding about the streets of Tel Aviv trumpeting forth the news that the Sabbath is about to arrive. Soon all shops close. All busses stop running. In many Jewish homes candles are lit and a little later old Jews can be seen wearing silken *kapotes* and *shtreimlech*, promenading up and down. From the synagogues and the little houses of worship established by the Chassidim, and later from homes, one can hear all sorts of melodies. From other homes can be heard radios blaring full blast the Sabbath prayers sung by leading cantors.

But the majority of Tel Aviv Jews are not religious. The devoted orthodox Jews are agitated over this fact and speak of Tel Aviv as a "goyish" city where the Sabbath is openly desecrated. I remember an incident in a large square in the city's center where an old Jew with a long beard cried out to a large group: "Jews, don't you see that all our troubles come from the fact that the Sabbath is desecrated, that the cafes and restaurants are open, that young men and women bathe together in the ocean!" A few earnestly agreed, but the majority smiled indulgently.

Nevertheless the atmosphere on Saturday is decidedly different from the rest of the week. The theaters and movies are closed. Music is forbidden at any affairs held on Saturday. The people therefore have little to do but promenade, visit friends, or go to a lecture. The busses do not run. But taxis are available to take you from one end of Tel Aviv to the other. This makes transportation hard for the workers who can hardly pay the taxi rate, which is at least five times the bus rate.

On Saturday the city employees also rest. The streets are not cleaned on Saturday. Consequently the main streets of Tel Aviv, which are cleaned every day of the week, are quite filthy on Saturday, particularly because on Friday evening the storekeepers sweep all their refuse into the street.

"Why don't you clean your streets around here on Saturday?" I asked one Jew.

"What do you mean? This is a rest day. Who's going to do the cleaning?" he answered.

"Why don't you hire some Arabs on this day if you don't want Jewish workers to work on the Sabbath?"

The Jew stood there speechless. He looked at me with a mixture of contempt and pity. "What a greenhorn! What kind of talk is this of hiring an Arab in a Jewish city?"

Both in summer and winter most people of Tel Aviv promenade at the edge of the ocean. The *nouveau riche* of Tel Aviv get all decked out in fancy clothes and jewelry

and try to outdo each other. Much more simply but just as clean, the workers walk with their wives and children to get a few hours of well-earned relaxation after a week of work in factory or shop. From time to time you might see a young girl from a *kibbutz* (collective) in a *halutz* blouse and shorts. The girl will very often be stopped and scolded by an orthodox Jew: "Tfu—you witch, aren't you ashamed of yourself—a big girl like you walking around with bare legs in public."

### *City of Two Councils*

Almost twelve years have passed since the last elections for the city council were held in Tel Aviv. At that time there were 65,000 people in the city and 22,000 were eligible to vote. It is clear that the 15 councilmen then elected are no longer representative of a population which now has 70,000 eligible voters. It is said that new elections will take place this year. It is no secret that there is much dissatisfaction with the present administration both in the matter of taxes, which fall most heavily on the poor, and with its political line. Demonstrations of unemployed and of demobilized soldiers, who receive no aid, often take place before the council.

The city budget for the current year amounts to £2,000,000. Normally the government should cover 50 per cent of the budget, but it has in fact contributed less than £200,000.

The general secretary of the city council, who gave me detailed information about city council activities told me of plans to build a park near the edge of the ocean, a modern hospital, a new central auto bus station, new schools, etc. At the present moment, however, the park cannot be built because the British have set up a military camp on the location. Although the Tel Aviv city council could do much to fill the needs of the majority of its citizens, the present administration claims lack of funds. And no wonder. Jews like Mr. Rokach, the mayor of Tel Aviv, are careful not to disturb the wealthier Jews or to dig too deeply into their pockets.

But Tel Aviv has another parliament of its own. The deputies of this parliament are not elected. Reports and discussions are not recorded. The newspapers write nothing about it and outside of Palestine very few people know that it exists. But the people of Tel Aviv know it quite well. This parliament holds sessions on the benches and around the trees of Rothschild Boulevard. Here gather on weekdays and particularly on Saturdays Jewish workers to discuss local and world problems. Here you will hear a real Polish Yiddish. The order of business of this parliament is very full. Here the community leaders and Mayor Rokach are hauled over the coals. And when this is finished, the workers start on the British. And believe me, when they get through with the British very little is left. Then comes the atom bomb, the problem of war and peace, the strategy of the Soviet Union. Latest news reports are discussed and analyzed.

The parliament of Rothschild Boulevard is a very important institution in Tel Aviv.

# EPILOGUE TO "THE MERCHANT OF VENICE"

By Arnold Zweig

Translated by John Manifold

*Shylock, dressed as in the Court scene, comes forward from the wings.*

Make merry, treachery, and couple fast,  
And hold the moon responsible for all  
Your mad and music-drunken appetites!  
Still shall I stand a nightmare's height behind you,  
Feet firm on earth and head against the stars  
Casting my shadow darkly on your cities.

You overcame me—by the law. Could frenzy  
Have urged me further than to butt my head  
Against the deep foundations of the town,  
Venice, the Lady of the rich Levant,  
Enthroned on forty thousand oaken piles  
Rammed in the waste and horrible lagoons?  
Truly, my cause was good, and not all mine,  
But that of every Jew reviled and spat on  
By these prim-lipped Bassanios and Antonios,  
These silken sons of a stone-hearted mother.  
I might have known, for I had seen that when  
These men invoked the Law, the state complied,  
And set troops, ships and all in motion for them;  
So I invoked the Law, the self-same Law,  
And look! the state's appointed serjeant comes,  
Politely lets my adversary go,  
And seizes me!

Can one man's mind contain so gross an error,  
And run so far astray? One man with only  
Two arms to fight injustice with, two legs  
To tread injustice down, one single throat  
Wherewith to curse injustice, and two eyes  
To scan the blank and silly heavens with  
In search of justice?

O Venice, while your fingers tore my flesh,  
Your harlot's tongue was eloquent of Mercy.  
Mercy's a pretty word in palaces  
Where thrones the Doge and his magnificoes  
On the stripped backs of the ten thousand slaves  
That lug his battle-galleys, the pressed peasants  
That sweat in fields, the glass-blowers who scorch  
Over their molten work, the weaving-girls  
Coughing their lungs up in the shuttle's dust.  
The soldiers, hired like whores, who sell their bodies

ARNOLD ZWEIG is the famous German anti-fascist author of *The Case of Sergeant Grischa* and other novels. He is now a resident of Palestine. The *Epilogue* was originally written in 1936 and is published in America for the first time.

When nothing else is left for them to sell  
By princely, princely Venice. . . .

And myself?

What then has Venice, Shylock, left to thee?  
My child is gone, gone to a Christian—good.  
My gold is gone, that was my steering-oar  
In these deep waters of deceit—all gone.  
My faith, that was my mast, is shorn away  
In form of law. Allowed. And was it good?  
Wrapped in my faith, apart, I was a prince,  
And yet enough a fool to ask for justice  
Of those who scarce afford me tolerance.  
Such was my arrogance, and such my fall;  
And while I lie, stripped, shorn, unmanned, disowned,  
While my blood cries to Heaven for justice, Venice  
Laughs herself sick at such an April Fool.

She laughs! But who laughs longest, tell me that?  
The Scriptures that have warded Jacob's seed  
Through thirty centuries until this night,  
Whose name my every pulse of blood extols;  
The height of spirit that still bears me on;  
These very hands that tremble with my purpose. . . .  
No! Fantasy! This passion masters me.  
But yet the holy Scriptures do not lie,  
Nor does the mind that whets itself on them.  
Nor does the vision of man who fell  
On ruin by presumption.

Hear me, Venice!

Now you have christened me, I have no people;  
Now you have robbed me, I have no more power;  
But all whom you have robbed shall be my people,  
Whom you denied the law shall be my brothers,  
Whom you have disinherited, my heirs;  
And those you mocked and spat upon (and I  
Once mocked and spat upon) shall be my army.  
The injustice yesterday you did the Jew  
Today has overcast your summer sky;  
For every street and field and stretch of sea  
Sends up the self-same cry for justice, justice!  
An end to all misusage done to man  
By fellow men who drank too deep of power!

Blind as a beggar was I, and received  
The kicks we give to beggars, even I.  
But when I fell, my eyelids were unsealed,  
And I have eyes again, and ears, and, yes!  
A nose for coming struggle, coming justice,

New ways of thought and other forms of law;  
And that wild strength I feel which brings a boxer  
Back from the ropes to land one final punch  
Smack on the other's jaw, and knock him cold!

Venice, salute! Touch hands, for here am I  
Back in the ring to battle with your champions,  
Down once and out, but on his feet again,  
Sure of the future, Shylock's here, the Jew.

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## YOUTH AMONG THE PSYCHIATRISTS

By Morris Holtman

THE youth of this country is restless. Sections of it are confused, dissatisfied, even embittered. The more intelligent elements of our young generation—those who look within themselves and search the concealed folds of their soul—are trying to find a solution for their troubles. They want to get to the roots of their emotional problems. They know that they must find ways to rid themselves of this inner disorder, if they are to live a healthy life.

Therefore many are trying to look into the findings of modern psychology. They expect this science to serve as a projector for throwing light into the dark tunnels of their inner selves and thus to help them deal with the disturbing causes of their unhealthy spiritual life. Psychology often seems to them to supply the necessary key to the locked-up reasons for their spiritual condition and to promise the desired cure for their maladjustment.

But is it so? Before answering this question we first need to consider the underlying causes of the spiritual condition of our young generation and then to examine the approach of modern psychology to these problems.

### *Depression Hits Youth*

It is generally accepted that the "young generation" includes men and women between 18 and 35. Even a superficial review of the conditions through which this young generation has had to live convinces us that its experience was unfortunate. Its old members (let us say, those between 27 and 35) were either children or hardly out of childhood when the severest and longest of all depressions hit this country in 1929. Whether they were sons and daughters of workers, farmers, professionals, or the lower strata of the middle-class, they immediately felt the ruthless whip of the economic crisis on their young spines. Their parents, who overnight lost their life-long savings in Wall Street or in the bank crash, were left either without any income at all or with such a shrunken income, that their families could hardly get the bare necessities of life. The young people suddenly had to give up not only many comforts to which

they had been accustomed but also many necessities. Their outlook was thrown off balance; they slid into an abyss into which few rays of hope could penetrate.

Their gloomy situation was worsened when these youngsters tried to find a job to help out the family or to satisfy their own needs. They realized how slim a chance they had to find any kind of employment even for low pay. But when one has to undergo an unsuccessful job hunt day in and day out for weeks, months or even years (as was not seldom the case during the ten long years of depression), even a person with a strong character becomes depressed, degraded, sceptical, embittered. Naturally many among the millions of those unemployed for a long time developed inferiority complexes. In their depressed mood such people told themselves: "It is true, many millions are jobless; nevertheless Joe is working, Ann has not a bad position, Ben has found a part-time job, and my sister Gertrude was smart enough to open a shop of her own. Since I am jobless, this proves that I am good for nothing, a person without initiative. . . ."

In addition to the many material and spiritual troubles of all American youth in common during the years of depression, the *Jewish youth* of this country had its special problem. During the crisis when the supply of "hands" was so plentiful, the insolent Lady Discrimination could afford to be even more rude in her humiliating selection of employees. On this account Jewish youth had to go through added material and spiritual sufferings which left a special imprint on their depressed lives.

And as if this was not enough, Jewish youth of that period had to undergo more specific strains during that period. Even the most assimilated part of the Jewish youth in this country, who hated to think of themselves as Jews, were increasingly reminded of that fact when the Hitlerite bandits came to power. The crack of the nazi whip on the backs of German Jews sounded louder each day over here, when our own fascists, allied with the German-American Bund, put on ever more arrogant anti-Semitic campaigns. Jewish youth of this country was forced to become conscious of the "Jewish problem" in a painful way which contributed much to the emotional confusion of its sensitive members.

But when economic conditions improved during the war

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

so, that finding a job ceased to be a problem, the young generation had to join the military forces and experience all the horrible physical and moral trials of war. And when these young men and women finally came home, even in good physical condition, all their sweet dreams about a finer new life were mercilessly shattered against the wall of bitter reality. They realized that the promises of Roosevelt and the G.I. Bill of Rights leaked out through the reactionary sieve of Truman's policies. Today disillusioned veterans go about with empty moral pockets which they thought would be packed with the joys of a happier life.

Not much better was the fate of their younger brothers and sisters (now between 18 and 27). When the depression hit their parents over the head, these young people were infants or small children. Their parents' standard of living was extremely low. Bad economic conditions at home inflicted on them not only material privation, but also the cruel lash of spiritual misfortune. When father is sullen, worried about where to get overdue rent, he often takes it out on the mother and children; when mother is dissatisfied and grouchy, she gives the child an extra pinch or curses it when she finds no other way to give vent to her feelings. The atmosphere at home becomes tense and unpleasant. The unfortunate children go around not only with black and blue marks on their bodies, but also with wounded feelings. Economic need at home entirely stopped, or at least seriously curtailed plans for the children's education. If a child was ambitious enough to fight its way to a good education, it had to make many physical and spiritual sacrifices and in many cases did not succeed in getting one anyway. The older children were pulled out of the colleges and thrown into the battlefields; and many of the younger ones, as soon as they begin to grow up, are now being called into the army.

### ***Psychiatry and Objective Conditions***

Needless to say, such experiences left an indelible stamp on the spiritual condition of our young generation. This condition was revealed during the war when psychiatrists working for the military forces discovered that many draftees were suffering from all sorts of complexes. And since the war's end the situation has become so much worse that, according to experts, we now face a shortage of 14,000 psychiatrists in this country. But what kind of help could such a huge army of specialists applying the theories of modern psychology and psychiatry give to our young generation?

During the last few decades these two branches of science have been strongly influenced by Dr. Sigmund Freud and more recent schools of psycho-analysis. Dr. Freud based his theory so completely on sexual impulses as to reach absurdities that modern psycho-analysts are willing to discard. But psycho-analysts of any school base their work on the theory that some impressions and experiences of childhood influence the subconscious mind to such an ex-

tent, that they govern the emotions, inclinations, moods, and even ideas throughout life.

No one can deny that sexual impulses play an important role in life. There can also be no doubt that certain experiences make a strong impression on the sensitive mind of a child. But to maintain that these factors determine the main outlines of the mental and emotional structure of life is to mistake obscure paths for the main highways leading into the inner self. A psychologist should, of course, devote some attention to the byways of the emotions, but he should also not forget that neither body nor mind take on final form in childhood. *Both are constantly changing as modified by the objective conditions under which we live.* At all times, at every stage of life, the mental and emotional structure is being influenced by the economic, political, social and cultural conditions, *with all their changes*, under which we happen to live. The one-sided explanation of behavior given by psycho-analysts may prove to be not only ridiculous but very dangerous.

### ***The Troubled Veteran***

Let us take a very simple individual case characteristic of our young generation. A veteran, who spent three and a half years in the army and participated in many severe military campaigns, finally returns home in good health. The only place he can find to lay his head is a couch in a room of his parents' home. The same small apartment is shared also by his sister, who lost her husband on an unknown island in the Pacific. Her two small children wake up our veteran early each morning, depriving him of a few precious hours of sleep. So he is always tired, irritable. In the army he had a well paid job as navigator. Upon his return to civilian life he could find no better occupation than his pre-war, poorly paid job of shipping clerk. So he is dissatisfied with his work. He cannot realize his dream of marrying his sweetheart because they cannot find a place to live. So he is unhappy; he is restless and impatient with people, even those dearest to him; at times he feels as if he were superfluous, not needed or cared for by anyone.

The veteran's educated friend, a high-school teacher, notices his melancholy moods, his attitude of resignation and persuades him to be psycho-analyzed. The specialist, of course, probes first of all into his biography as far back as he can remember. The veteran is an accommodating patient, and very soon the specialist hits upon the key to our veteran's subconscious mind. When our veteran was not yet four years old, he was accused of misbehavior, and although he did not admit his guilt, he was spanked in the presence of neighbors. Must a psychologist know anything else about him? Isn't this sufficient to get a full picture of the veteran's character? Well . . . he was punished when he did not feel that he deserved it, so, of course, this eradicated in him the belief in justice; it caused him to distrust people, even his own father, whom he respected very much. He was spanked in the presence of strangers, which hu-

miliated him to such an extent, that he developed an inferiority complex and as a result has no confidence in his own abilities, no initiative, and is unsuccessful in life. As a "failure" he is depressed and melancholy. One may come to many other conclusions of this kind.

### **Danger of Social Apathy**

Even if we should grant some truth in such conclusions, we must recognize that such a diagnosis is not of much value to the patient and to millions of other veterans in a similar position. But there are even greater dangers in such theories. Not only are psychoanalysts misled by such quasi-scientific theories. *Many intellectuals of the young generation accept these theories.* Some of the best elements among our youth, who may become or have already become leaders in their communities, are followers of such theories. These theories of modern psychology are also influencing and misleading modern socialists. Instead of applying the healthy dialectical approach, which would make clear to them, that *the objective conditions, which are constantly changing, are affecting our subjective conditions, which are also undergoing a steady change,* the psychoanalyst keeps his eye glued upon a single event in early childhood, whose effect dominates consciousness throughout life. The more responsible psychologists, who should be interested in seeing their field of activity put on a real scientific basis, must realize the danger of such theories and prevent such theories

from taking a larger place in psychology than they are entitled to. The social effects are even more dangerous. For these theories may prevent youth from realizing that its spiritual suffering is caused by *objective conditions*, and from seeking ways to correct those conditions in order to improve living standards and *thereby* to bring them peace of mind. But if they believe that the wobbling equilibrium of their mind and emotions is the result of *subjective conditions*, they consider themselves pitifully helpless and consequently become socially apathetic.

Because of this danger from psychoanalysis a book like Joshua L. Liebman's *Peace of Mind*<sup>1</sup> is harmful to social welfare. His description of the wonders of psychoanalysis appeals to the layman, who is not equipped or does not care to read a more serious book on psychology. And after reading *Peace of Mind* such a naive victim believes that he has found a guide to correct his instability and to understand other people. Fitted with such a quasi-scientific monocle, this naive reader thinks he has a full view of the world. Such theories hinder a sound, objective, *realistic* approach of our youth to social problems; and if the vision of leaders today and tomorrow is thus obstructed, we must do something about this danger and expose the falsehood of these theories.

<sup>1</sup> *Peace of Mind* by Dr. Joshua L. Liebman, Simon and Schuster, New York. See "For God and Psychiatry" by Morris Holtman in May issue of *JEWISH LIFE* for an extended review.

## **FOUR VIGNETTES**

**T**HE perspiring young man wearing the broken shoes untied his awkward newspaper package and said, "I got a special in physician's samples, Doc: Normone Tabules, Sedozol Tabules, Sedozol with Aspirin, Sedozol with Caffeine, Sedozol Compound, Fralikon Tabules, Sedozol with—"

"Not in the market," answered Israel Franks from behind his prescription counter.

"Good prices," the young man continued, trying to mop his face and open his package to some sort of neatness. "Sundries, I have Flixies, medicine droppers, sputum cups, Birmingham Nasal Ducks, dropper bottles—"

"Sorry, young man. I'm stocked up."

"I got nail files, Doc. Baby fine combs. I'll give you a wonderful price Doc. Combs, pacifiers—"

"I just loaded up. I told you that. I don't need anything."

"Give me a chance to break the ice, Doc. You can always use a dozen baby fine combs."

Franks still didn't answer. This thing could go back and

### **From the novel, *The Apothecaries***

**By Sid Schumann**

forth all morning. Still, if Chaim Flaks hadn't come in half an hour ago he would have bought some things from this young man. He looked over the prescription case at the perspiring young man now putting all the items back into a frayed newspaper, folding it around the unruly articles and trying to tie a knot in the string the same time. The kid had probably been out all day seeing druggists in this broiling sun, thought Franks. Those shoes . . . if he had a job would he have to peddle?

The youth looked up and saw Franks' face behind the case. "I won't steal anything off your counter—don't worry. Things are tough but it's not that tough I have to have dealers watching me!"

"I wasn't watching."

"It's all right," the young man said. He walked out, hugging the newspaper package, throwing a hate-look at old Franks. "Perfectly all right!"

Franks started another Rx. Trouble was you were so used to fighting off salesmen that no came quicker than yes . . . should still have given the boy a break. Should have bought a dollar's worth, a dollar and a half's worth of

## SID SCHUMANN

We regret to announce the untimely death of Sid Schumann on January 15, 1947. A few weeks before, he had visited the offices of *Jewish Life* to discuss the publication of the vignettes printed in these pages. We had met him then for the first time. We had already found him then an enthusiastic friend of *Jewish Life*, despite the brief period of its existence. His enthusiasm was particularly aroused because he felt the magazine would prove to be an invaluable home for progressive American-Jewish writers.

Mr. Schumann was born at Ekaterinoslav, now Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine, and came to the United States when he was one year old. He was reared in New York's lower East Side, Harlem and the Bronx. While seeking an education, he earned a living as a Wall Street runner, insurance collector, a waiter, construction worker, handy man in an old ladies' home, a house-to-house brush salesman, and later a violinist in New York summer resorts. He graduated from Fordham University Pharmacy School in 1926.

Mr. Schumann was always interested and concerned about people and their problems. His drug store, during the depression years 1928 to 1936, was a rich source for exploration of people's struggles, as well as a center for progressive political activity. Throughout this period, he was preparing for a writing career, which was his main ambition. He applied his writing craft mainly to point up the people's struggles.

In 1937, Mr. Schumann went with his family to California, where he settled permanently. It was there that he began to write short stories and also consumer articles for the *People's World*, a west coast progressive daily newspaper, showing the fraudulent practices of monopolies and the effects on the poor consumers' pocketbooks. He also wrote popular articles on the Soviet scene. His short stories have appeared in *Common Ground*, *Liberty*, *Tomorrow*, *Opinion* and *Negro Story*.

His novel, *The Apothecaries*, from which the vignettes published in this issue are excerpted, is now awaiting publication.

baby fine combs. But he had everything. The old days you could afford to stock up reserves. But every penny in the bank was counted now and no one knew how long the banks would stay open—how long the depression would last. And he was an old man. An old man who supported a house heavy with mortgage, a store heavy with debt and a married daughter . . . if you started buying from every Tom, Dick and Harry because you felt sorry for them. . . .

He took the ingredients from the shelves and, weighing them off, slid the contents into a mortar. He triturated the powders, looking up now and then at the sun beating against the store entrance. He commenced picking up with his spatula the clinging powder particles inside the mortar. When he was all finished he checked the prescription. He picked up two of the powder bottles and scrutinized them realizing suddenly he would have to compound the Rx all over again. Stupid, he should have used cerium oxalate instead of caffeine citrate. Where was his head!

### II

NAFTAL Herz Mativetsky stood watching the snow from the inside of his store on Faile Street. The odor of cat urine had completely conquered the store and Naftal's nose spasmed from long habit rather than disgust.

Snow always calmed Naftal. It muffled the milkman's wagon. It muffled the belching autos, the sound of the barrels of herring banging on the sidewalk en route to Sam's pickle store, the noise of the ashcans, the sustained crash of coal chuting into the sidewalk, the cries of the cash-clothes merchants, the clothesline repairers, the awning surgeons, the sounds of trucks disgorging their wares to the neighborhood shops. The narrow street grew whiter, more soft-spoken, cheerier.

From the rear of the store he heard Morton Downey

crackling out "Night and Day." It had followed a rebroadcast from Rome in which Guglielmo Marconi spoke and Pietro Mascagni conducted a symphony orchestra. Everybody was selling things. Morton Downey and Stokowski sold cigarettes. John McCormick sold a mouthwash and Albert Spalding, the fiddler, a remedy for bellyache. Nino Martino sold laundry starch and Lawrence Tibbett sold tires. Boake Carter sold suspicion and Irvin S. Cobb sold gasoline and humor. Everybody sold things. Marconi, the world-famous electrician and Mascagni, the world-famous organ-grinder, had just celebrated the 10th anniversary of fascism.

And what couldn't you sell on the radio, thought Naftal? Paul Whiteman sold cheese. The Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra sold Chesterfields. Pietro Mascagni sold an assassin.

Naftal went to the rear and switched off the rebroadcast from Rome.

The kids were just coming from school in their knitted stocking-hats, their oversize lumberjacks and rubbers. Not so long ago that Nomi used to visit him after school, bringing onion rolls and milk and Naftal would entrance him with his stories of the drug-pickers and their families. Nomi was eight now and Naftal was losing him although he still came in, listened, asked questions. An eager, restless, growing boy with a mind like fertile grain that spilled itself into all sorts of speculative crannies, seeking germination.

He was losing him just the same. Nomi's mother, with whom Naftal boarded, would say: "What he's gunna be, he's gunna be. Don't want anything from him only he should make a living," she said. "Only a living—not like his father to work every week two days when you have to eat every week seven!"

Naftal felt he was being defeated and yet he kept his

hope. If only he could prevent Nomi from growing up into a slickness—a slick businessman, a slick apologist for rottenness. If only he could get somebody else to see what he saw in Nomi. If only there was the wherewithal to train Nomi to see the world.

He glanced at the new list of rules for giving medicines to relief clients.

In his mind he heard again the lack-lustre future Nomi's mother had outlined. Nobody but a fool could blame her for prizing the making of a living. But one ought to understand, thought Naftal, one ought to understand how to make a living without making for your spirit a dying.

### III

LEONARD Hauser, Henry Dormer's classmate and friend, always welcomed four o'clock. He was a slight man, given to quick intense movements, speaking and doing things rapidly.

All day the clinic was full. He not only had to get the medicines out to visiting patients but he had to fill special orders for the doctors, had to run the little switchboard near his counter, get the medicines for the treatment rooms ready, direct befuddled patients to the proper windows and see that the hospital orders went out on time.

All these duties, sometimes carried on concurrently, made Lenny perform a more or less routinized St. Vitus dance. But it flew the time and there was always four o'clock to look forward to.

At four the phone no longer rang; the patients had all been treated and medicined; the doctors had left and the nurses were preparing to. He locked the outside door and then brewed some coffee on his hotplate. Manuel and Maria would be the only ones in the building and the clinic would start to drowse as Maria, upstairs, would scamper about changing linens and Manuel would start his polishing machine a-rumbling over the waxy floor.

By four forty-five, his duties completed, Lenny would seat himself near the window and within the clinic's drowsiness he would scan his little notebook in which were recorded the activities of the Drug Clerks' Union.

The phone rang and Lenny jumped with the shocked stillness. "Mt. Hebron Clinic," he said.

"Hauser? Lenny Hauser?"

"Yes. Who's this?"

"Ed Laura."

Ed Laura. Ed Laura—that was the nervous guy from... "Oh, yes. You're with Kastow's pharmacy. I see Boda's signed you up. Congratulations. What's on your mind?"

"Say Hauser, who—where do you keep those signed applications?"

"Why?"

"I just wanna know."

"George Gassler keeps those. He's our president."

"How can I get it back?"

"Get it back! What's the matter with you. What are you—."

"—Listen, Hauser, I'm worried. I got a wife'n two kids. I can't afford t'lose my job. I signed up without thinking."

"Where you calling from?"

"The candy store near where I live. I just talked it over with the wife."

"And what does she say?"

"She's scared even worse'n me. My boss is a son of a bitch on unions!"

"Kastow, huh. What are you afraid of? What can he do? You know we'll back you up."

"He's a big shot in the Association."

"I want to ask you a question, Ed, and I want an honest answer. I want to know where you stand if Kastow refuses to negotiate."

"What d'you mean 'stand'?"

"The picket line."

"That's just it. I can't afford to be outa work. Not a week—not a day. I know unions are a good thing. Sure. But you're a small outfit. Suppose you can't deliver. Suppose we lose the strike. My boss sees me on the picket line he'd blackball me right in the Association journal! You know what he's angling for now?"

"What?"

"I'm telling this so's you'll know what you're up against. The Association's calling a special meeting. Morse from the State Board is going to be there. Now supposing the State Board gets a notion to suspend our licenses—."

"You believe that!"

"Listen Hauser. I'm a married man. I got kids. There's too many guys outa work now. Sure conditions are lousy. But they'll be a goddam sight lousier if Kastow gets his teeth into me."

"When did you decide to quit the union?"

"When I heard Kastow on the phone. I ain't slept all night, Hauser. One of my kids had her tonsils out last summer and I still owe the doctor. I'm scared stiff. I'm puttin' in 70 hours a week for crap. But I tell you I can't afford to be outa work!"

"When are you at the store?"

"For Chrisesake, don't come to the store!"

"Are you going to be home tonight?"

"Y-yeah."

"I want to see you. I'd like to come over with George, our president. I want you to meet him—and listen, Ed."

"Yes?"

"We've got almost 300 clerks signed up, registered men, juniors and apprentices. A lot of them are family men, too. Should we be hit over the heads by the proprietors because we've got college degrees—or because we're family men? We're sticking to the union. And we're going to fight when the time comes. I want you to hold on to yourself, Ed. Once the boss finds out you're scared, what's to prevent him from working you 80 hours—or 90? What's to stop him from handing you a cut?"

"You'll have to convince the wife."

"You tell her we're both coming now, will you, Ed?"

#### IV

SLATTERY the cop opened the pages of the newspaper. "Smart kid you got working here mornings, Herman." He rested his girth on the counter, shoving bottles aside to make room for his paper.

Herman Balchik started counting pills for a prescription. Slattery looked up, counting too. Then he asked, "What are them pills for, Herman?"

Balchik lost his count, dumped them back into the bottle and started all over again, said, "T'sa a diuretic—helps pass the water whatchucall."

Slattery went back to the sports. "Some a these cold nights I could use them pills. Yep—that Boda's got plenty a grey matter. They got more'n they know what to do with, them Communists." He turned a page. "We been havin' quite a chat here, mornings. Quite a guy." Slattery looked forward reflectively. "You see all them things you got on them shelves?"

Balchik held him away with two fingers while he finished his count. Slattery continued, "Them's commodities."

"Hmm," said Balchik.

"But you gotta sell 'em first," Slattery observed.

Takes up my whole counter and then spills philosophy over it, thought Balchik. To be polite, he answered. "Yeh—that's what we try to do. That's what the landlord, yussee, wants."

"Ex-Lax is no commodity until you sell it." Slattery folded his paper, seemingly satisfied with the nature of things. "Yep—tomorrow we're gonna take up value." Slattery picked up the menthol bottle and smelled it. Then he got up. "Be seein' you, Herman."

"Fine," said Herman Balchik, watching Slattery lumber out.

This business was to Balchik both disturbing and exhilarating. He didn't mind Simeon indoctrinating a pants-presser, a housewife. If it took, it took. Still—maybe Simeon

knew what he was doing. There were Jewish cops, Negro cops, Catholic cops. But a Communist cop. Now that was something he would have to see. That and the coming of the Messiah.

He wished Simeon didn't talk so much politics. And this business of selling *Daily Workers* before he opened the store. . . . And suppose he convinced Slattery—it was still putting your head into the mouth of a lion. Whatever Simeon pumped into Slattery they would probably pump out. Would Slattery, yussee, work on the Father. Pure whatchucall idiocy!

The following week he asked Slattery, "Well, officer Slattery—what's new? How's the politics?"

"Herman, it's like this." He leaned over intimately. Balchik suddenly became breathless. "Sit down, Slattery. Sit down over here. Tell me."

"How old is Boda?"

"Over twenty."

"Old as that? Well, as I say, he's got a good head on 'im. And I like 'im. If I didn't I wouldn'a been taking the trouble listenin' to 'im." He sat down ponderously. Then he unbuttoned his overcoat, loosened his belt, peered through the peephole and then lit a cigarette.

Balchik watched him. His curiosity started in him and kept in him until he thought he must choke on it. "You mean—you think that really some day—?"

"I think it's just a matter of time."

"You do?"

"Sure I do. Facts is facts, ain't they? Logic is logic, ain't it?"

"When." Balchik realized he was treading on exceedingly thin ice and he wondered just how one phrases such a thing. "When do you think it could—?"

"Oh, it won't take long. You know what I figure?"

"What do you figure?"

"I figure a couple of weeks maybe and I'll have him thinkin' my way." Slattery turned to Balchik. "He's got too much sense not to."

## THE MILITANT SPIRIT OF JEWISH LABOR

By Morris U. Schappes

(Concluded from May Issue)

THE role of the Jewish daily *Forward* in the life of the American Jewish workers is an important one and deserves its own lengthy treatment on other occasions. Essen-

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tial, however, is this fact. Born out of a conflict against the left-sectarianism of the Socialist Labor Party in 1896, the *Forward* promptly exhibited its characteristic right-opportunism. In 1898, when even the Second (Socialist) International denounced the Spanish-American War as an imperialist war on the part of the United States, the *Forward* supported the war and praised Hearst as the voice of the people! The militancy and socialist ideals of masses of Jewish workers in the 1890's, reinforced by the arrival of new forces after the 1905 revolution in Russia, pressed the

*Forward* into positions in which it was a help in organizing mass trade unions among the Jewish workers and a factor in fighting the sweat-shop system. But its essential opportunism came out in every crisis, when it always yielded to the American ruling class in general, to the Jewish bourgeoisie, and to the Jewish petty-bourgeoisie. The cunning of the *Forward* lay in its ability to deceive its mass of readers by wrapping every blow it dealt them in shiny socialist phrases. By 1912, the *Forward* was so intertwined with decisive elements in the trade union bureaucracy that it completely dominated the Jewish labor scene, and dictated the conduct of high union officials even in trivial matters of personal relations. Inner conflict between the rank and file and the bureaucracy developed long before "Moscow orders" were invented and "communist interference" became an epithet continually on the frothing lips of the bureaucrats.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918, and the one great positive gain for labor and all humanity that came out of it, the Bolshevik revolution, changed all social relationships everywhere in the world, and had its immediate effect on the Jewish forces in the American Labor movement. It was not long before the opportunism of the *Forward*, which had led to support of imperialism, brought it openly to attack the new Soviet republic, and to confuse the American Jewish workers in the period of the post-war reaction, with its wage cuts, high prices, deportation drives, Palmer red-hunts, and anti-Semitism. A split took place in the most politically conscious elements in the general and Jewish labor movement, in the Socialist party and the Jewish Socialist Federation. "The Left-wing of the Jewish Socialist Federation was a *leading part* of the national Left-wing of the Socialist Party, which organized the Communist Party in September, 1919." (Alexander Bittelman, *Program for Survival*, New York, 1947, p. 6, my emphasis—M.U.S.) The *Freiheit*, organ of the Yiddish-speaking communists, appeared on April 2, 1922, almost two years before *The Daily Worker*, voice of the general communist movement. The militancy and socialist aspirations of the Jewish workers now had new avenues of expression.

### **Great Clothing Strikes**

New great strike struggles were waged by the workers. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, born in 1914 out of a rank and file battle against the bureaucrats of the United Garment Workers, A. F. L., became a progressive independent union. On November 11, 1918, Armistice Day, 60,000 workers began a three month strike that ended in winning, among other things, the 44 hour week for the first time in American labor history. The A.C.W. was also active in progressive labor politics then, and gave both moral and financial support to the Soviet workers by organizing the Russian-American Industrial Corporation on the initiative of Sidney Hillman after his return from a visit to the Soviet Union. And the A.C.W. contributed \$100,000 to the great steel strike of 1919!

On June 15, 1922, in New York, 55,000 women's garment workers struck, to be joined on June 21 by 40,000 men's

clothing workers, each one of these and the previously mentioned strikes being followed, of course, by strikes in other garment manufacturing centers throughout the country. On February 15, 1926, the New York furriers, all 12,000 of them, launched a strike that did not end until June 11th. In addition to the fur-bosses, the furriers, led by Ben Gold, fought the courts, the cops, the underworld, the A.F.L. and *Forward* leaders, and capitalist public opinion that now cried "red." There were 1,500 arrests of workers in that strike, many of them were beaten by thugs and police, and the judges were generous with jail sentences that totaled over 1,000 days. But when the blood dried and the sentences were served the fur workers had won many things, including the five-day, 40-hour week, for the first time in America labor industry. In addition, thousands of furriers talked and wanted socialism, and socialism now had a concrete meaning for them from the Soviet experience.

### **Forward to the Rescue**

Such victories required the concentrated attention of Big Capital and its agents in the ranks of labor. The Jewish labor leaders grouped around the *Forward*, which was, by this time, a militant red-baiting organ, rushed to the rescue. Let them speak for themselves: Morris C. Feinstone, in "A Brief History of the United Hebrew Trades," in the 50th Anniversary volume entitled *Gewerkschaften* (New York, 1938), gives the following damaging testimony: "In December 1926, the United Hebrew Trades took the initiative. It sent out a call to all affiliated unions and internationals, and to the American Federation of Labor, inviting delegates to convene and discuss the organization of a counter-movement against the Communist penetration of the trade union movement.

"There was an overwhelming response. More than 500 delegates attended, electing A. L. Shiplacoff as Chairman, and Morris C. Feinstone as Secretary. They organized a Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions. This Committee developed a program for practical resistance to the destruction by the Communists. Its success was enormous, since the whole Labor movement co-operated with it. Great numbers of Communists were driven from cover and *forced to start open opposition unions*, a form of conflict far less dangerous than the earlier 'boring from within.'" (p. 21, my emphasis—M.U.S.)

There it is: militant workers wanted better conditions and a five day week, independent labor action, and friendship with the Soviet Union, and the "socialists" of the *Forward* drove thousands of them from the unions, and therefore from their jobs, and "saved the unions" for Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, but not for the workers on the eve of the worst capitalist crisis in history. The reactionary purge split and weakened every union in which it was perpetrated, particularly in the I.L.G.W.U. and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, led by Max Zaritsky. In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers there were no sweeping purges, but there were some expulsions, and curbs and restrictions on democracy were introduced that hinder

that union to this very day. In the fur industry, when the bureaucrats expelled the membership (which is literally what they did), the membership reorganized itself and, since it controlled the labor market, made the bosses come to terms with its real leadership.

### "Socialism" of Words

It must be understood, however, that the mass expulsions were always accompanied by beating on the drum of the socialist ideal. This was a "pure" socialism, uncontaminated by reality, especially by the Soviet reality. This was a non-Soviet, non-Communist "socialism"; this was an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist "socialism." This was a "socialism" to be given in the miraculous future to the workers; not a socialism to be fought for continually and won in the future by the workers. This was a "socialism" fed as an opiate to the masses, not a socialism brought forward to inspire their militancy. This was a "socialism" meant to drain the workers of their militancy, or, if that was impossible, to deflect that militancy from the class enemy to progressive workers themselves. This is Hearst's favorite "socialism," and Hoover, the feeder of men, will forever feed Dubinsky for such "socialism." Intelligent workers, however, are fed-up with such "socialism." Among the Jews and Italians and Puerto Ricans and Slavs and Negroes in the unions headed by the Dubinsky type of leadership, the rank and file opposition is slowly solidifying itself and struggling daily to break the strangle-hold of the bureaucrats.

This sketch has been focused on the main elements in the Jewish labor movement, especially as it was built by the successive waves of the immigrants themselves. But the sons and daughters of these immigrants are now, many of them, workers, particularly in the clerical crafts, semi-professions and professions. During the crisis from 1929 on there were laid the foundations for new unions for such workers, and these unions grew rapidly in the New Deal period. Nurtured on the crisis, the leadership and membership were militant and progressive, although the specific ideal of socialism did not have the same hold upon them that it had

on the organizations of their parents. But they were reared in the struggle against economic crisis and fascism, and in an elementary sense they know the meaning of both. Today there are tens of thousands of Jewish men and women among teachers, public workers, office and professional workers organized in unions, with fellow-workers of all national origins in our peculiar American nation of many origins. By the attacks they draw from reaction and the Rankin Committee, as well as by their record of achievement for their workers and their progressive stand on current issues, one would infer that the Jews in these unions have not forgotten the militancy and social ideals of their parents. Significantly, the *Forward*, the *New Leader*, and even Victor Riesel have no real influence upon either the leadership or the membership of these new progressive "white-collar" unions.

Since 1888 the Jewish workers have come a long and a round about way. The Social-Democratic opportunist leadership has betrayed the ideal of socialism and stifled the militancy of the masses it dominates, so that their current economic conditions are not so good as they are in other sections of the Jewish labor movement, and the weight of the unions is felt in the scales of reaction. The progressive wing, which includes a broad front of which the communists are a part, has more consistently expressed the militancy and the social ideals of the workers, which are the ideals of all progressive mankind. The Social-Democratic right wing leadership, more and more openly allied with the imperialists, are a great menace not only to the Jews in the labor movement but to that movement as a whole. **Defending themselves and the entire labor movement**, the progressive forces of Jewish labor need more and more vigorously and resourcefully to combat the dominant Dubinsky influence. The Jewish workers, young and old, are still militant in the fight for immediate demands, and still want to go beyond and through the struggle for immediate demands into a better world in which the working class will lead society forward. These workers have made history in the past with their militancy and social ideals; and they will continue to make such history.

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## BOOK REVIEW

### MIDDLE CLASS ANTI-SEMITISM

NOT too often does a book on anti-Semitism arouse enthusiasm and the hope that it will receive the widest possible distribution. Such a book is *Gentleman's Agreement*

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LOUIS HARAP was formerly the managing editor of *The Jewish Survey*. With this issue, he joins the staff of *Jewish Life* as editorial associate.

By Louis Harap

ment<sup>1</sup> by Laura Z. Hobson, daughter of the well-known Jewish socialist of the early years of the century, Michael Zametkin. The book has been so extensively reviewed that I need only remind the reader of its ingenious "angle." A

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<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Agreement* by Laura Z. Hobson, Simon and Schuster, New York, \$2.75.

famous young magazine feature writer has been assigned to do a series of articles on anti-Semitism. This non-Jewish writer hits upon the brilliant device of getting under the skin of his problem by passing himself off as a Jew and the story unfolds his sensitization to various forms of anti-Semitism of which he had been unaware before. The impact of his assumed "Jewishness" upon middle class people in the course of his personal and professional life brings the problem home to him with sharp clarity.

The book uncovers little of the hooligan, lunatic fringe of anti-Semitism which Arthur Miller treated in his psychologically more penetrating *Focus*. Mr. Miller's non-Jewish character has the role of Jew thrust upon him by Christian Fronters whose violent tactics would shock Mrs. Hobson's more genteel anti-Semites. Her hero, Philip Schuyler Green, voluntarily assumes the role of Jew, and his experiences throw into clear relief the suppurating, almost unconscious anti-Semitism that has eaten into the very marrow of middle class consciousness.

### "Flicks" of Anti-Semitism

Mrs. Hobson's clever trick of catapulting a non-Jew into the Jewish predicament provides an accommodating structure into which she fits numerous types of anti-Semitic manifestation. Green's Jewish friend, Dave Goldman, compares Green's encounter with anti-Semitism with his own life-long experience: "You're concentrating a lifetime into a few weeks; you're *making* the thing happen every day, writing letters, asking questions, going to meet it. The facts are no different, but it does telescope it." Living as a Jew for eight weeks, Green becomes sensitized to the little "flicks"—"a flick here, a flick there"—of anti-Semitism. They crop up, for instance, in phrases that are unthinkingly dropped, "Jew down," "Jew boy," "Kike," as almost involuntary eruptions of the festering common attitude that all Jews conform to an unpleasant, peculiar stereotype. He learns at first hand what it means to be excluded and undesired in residential areas, clubs, communities, resorts. He feels the effects of anti-Semitism in his love affair and family relations. Above all he learns that the disease is so virulent that "liberals," and many who considered themselves free from it are infected. The point is made so plainly throughout the book that a reading of it will certainly induce many middle class readers to search into their own attitudes for evidence of this polite, genteel, but none the less positive form of anti-Semitism.

The book is admirable in its sincerity and indictment of this cancerous evil: the book is honest. The story moves swiftly and is well told. It is, in my opinion, one of a valuable species of novel (other examples are *The Snake Pit*, *Wasteland*, *Strange Fruit*) being written today, which has greater social than artistic value. But the book also has the defects of this species. Like most novels of this kind, *Gentleman's Agreement* throws a brilliant surface light, rather than an X-ray, onto the problem it treats.

### The Price of Anti-Semitism

True, Mrs. Hobson is not content merely to record the "flicks" of anti-Semitism on the consciousness of Jews. She also suggests the larger relation of anti-Semitism to the survival of democracy. Green's Jewish friend tells him in conversational jargon: "It's your fight, brother. . . . The Jewish part of it, anyway. The rest of it is everybody's fight. I bet we're in for a hell of a fight. I bet. The Jews are always just the first. The hell with the Jews, as Jews. It's the whole thing, not the poor, poor Jews. . . . The price of anti-Semitism is so damn big, Phil. And there's always a price for it!" "You mean the price reckoned in constitutions and preambles, things like that?" "You know damn well what I mean. Don't force me to make with the big words." And later, Phil Green writes into his article the parable of the corrupt tree and its fruits. "They had known it, the patient, stubborn men who for years had argued and written and rephrased and fought over the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. They had known that injustice could corrupt the tree. They had known that its fruit would pale and sicken and fall at last to the dark ground of history where other dreams of equality and freedom rotted."

But a mere glance at the fruits is not enough to yield a thorough diagnosis of the disease that has corrupted the tree. A clue to this shortcoming of the book can be found in Mrs. Hobson's allusion to the communist solution of the problem. "Take Communism," she writes. "It's got one good thing anyway—equality among white and black, all minorities—only the price is so big, too. If we did it (*i.e.*, stop anti-Semitism—L.H.) without the price of free speech, free opposition, free everything—then we'd really be fighting the Communists where it counts." But have you ever thoroughly considered, Mrs. Hobson, just who are not "free" under communism? Are they not the anti-Semitic, anti-Negro tycoons like the Lockhart Jones of your story? This finance capitalist had made big money on "aviation and steel" during the war, and now was talking about investments in "new railroads in Europe and a copper mine in South America." The warp and woof of Jones' imperialistic mentality is connected with the "joke" that he tries to inflict on his hearers at the social gathering in the story. "So you hand a thousand dollars to each of them and ship them off to Africa, and with thirteen million coons that's thirteen billions, and the kikes go running after it, so we'll be rid of them at one swoop." Basically the "deprivation of freedom" about which Mrs. Hobson complains reduces to a shearing of the Jones' financial and political power by the socialization of the means of production. Their power of aggrandizement is thus removed, as is their power to use anti-Semitism as an instrument of aggrandizement.

### Today's Solution

If Mrs. Hobson studied the problem of anti-Semitism down to the roots, she would discover that the only solution lies in the progressive and firm regulation and control of

the economy by people's governments, with the extension of democracy, economic and social, that is at the core of such governments. Certainly the facts of our present day world confirm this. It is a matter of record that the *only* countries where the gentleman's agreement and anti-Semitic hooliganism are being fought effectively are those democracies where nationalization is being carried out and where the native communist parties are a strong component of the government. And, conversely, those capitalistic countries—like our own—where only a legalistic and therefore insufficiently effective battle is being waged against anti-Semitism, are those countries where the communist parties are weak or their participation in the government is strongly contested. Finally, in the Soviet Union, where socialization is complete and communists are in power, anti-Semitism and every form of national oppression have been eliminated. The so-called limitation of freedom to which Mrs. Hobson refers is thus part of a large, consistent democratic pattern to ensure freedom for the majority—freedom from anti-Semitism, from want, from fear and from exploitation of the many by the few.

If Mrs. Hobson had probed more deeply into the suppressed basis for the gentleman's agreement, she would have seen that only one way exists to tear out anti-Semitism, root and branch, and that is by realizing the broadest possible democracy, economic as well as political and social. But this remains a pious wish unless economic and political con-

trol is wrested from monopolistic finance capital with the consequent restraints on its power. And this can be achieved only by the establishment of a broad people's democracy, which removes the economic and ideological underpinning from anti-Semitism.

Although *Gentleman's Agreement* would have been an even more effective assault on this corrupt anti-Semitic fruit of capitalism if Mrs. Hobson had grasped these basic facts, the book nevertheless stands as a valuable weapon in the fight. The book can be put to good use by any American who takes democracy seriously, as Mrs. Hobson obviously does, in mitigating the virulence of anti-Semitism and in finally rooting it out altogether. Her book helps by bringing the evil to consciousness in an arresting way, as Phil Green did in the book to his Vassar, pro-Roosevelt fiancée, to his liberal editor and to the other well-intentioned people in the story. The book has moreover appeared at a strategic moment, when American imperialism is every day taking on the lineaments of fascist tendencies with its anti-Semitic accompaniments. The book should help especially middle class people realize that they must be more sensitive to anti-Semitism at a time when they are becoming alarmed at the direction of anti-labor domestic policy and the Truman Doctrine in international affairs. The book should help them to the conclusion that the inevitable anti-Semitic consequences of these policies can be headed off only by an aggressive, united fight.

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## SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE UNION MEMBERS

(Continued from page 1)

Union, Local 19, of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO. This Local is the CIO union having jurisdiction in the non-profit field in New York City. Its 5,000 members are employed in nearly 100 social and community service agencies. The S.S.E.U. has collective bargaining agreements with every major Jewish communal organization in New York. This list includes the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Jewish Appeal, the Joint Defense Appeal, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the Zionist Organization of America. The Union has established a ten-year record of outstanding achievement in raising salaries and improving working conditions of workers in non-profit organizations.

### ***ADL Rejects Recognition***

From the moment the employees of the League asked to be represented by the Social Service Employees' Union

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RUTH SIMON is the pseudonym of an experienced journalist who specializes in labor matters.

*By Ruth Simon*

and to begin collective bargaining, the ADL arbitrarily refused their request. For four months, the Board of Directors offered one excuse after another for not recognizing the union. For some time the Board cited the existence of a "contract"—an agreement reached between a few confidential secretaries and the ADL. The other office workers never accepted this "agreement" and, in any case, it expired in 1946.

In the meantime, professional and lay leaders of the League, including Benjamin R. Epstein, assistant national director, Frank Trager, national program director, Jacob Alson, chairman of the personnel committee, and Paul Richman, director of the Washington office, began a campaign of intimidation and pressure, aimed at destroying union organization. And to a certain extent they succeeded. The professional workers buckled under the pressure and dropped their union membership. With the benign approval of the ADL, these professionals formed a "staff association" with which the League negotiated at once.

But the office workers were not so easily intimidated. They refused to budge from what they knew was a right

guaranteed to all workers by the Wagner Labor Relations Act. When they continued to press for recognition, offering proof of majority for the clerical workers, they were subjected to group meetings during office hours, "star-chamber grillings," and threats of dismissal. Thus during an hour work-stoppage on February 20, to protest against ADL procrastination, Mr. Epstein, then Eastern regional director of the League, warned that the stoppage was grounds for mass dismissal and threatened the union organizer, Miss Jean Rosensaft, to "get off the premises or we'll call the police."

On numerous occasions, Mr. Epstein and others told these clerks and stenographers: "You can join any union you wish, AFL, CIO or your own independent group—that is, any union except the one you've chosen!" The ADL even went out of its way to expedite matters. No sooner did its employees ask to be represented by a CIO union than they were urged to join the AFL. The "suggestion" was implemented by the ADL by turning over the names and addresses of their workers to the Office Employees International Union, Local 153, so that they could be reached at their homes. Mr. David Keefe, president of the United Financial Employees of the AFL was invited by the ADL management recently to speak for one hour to the ADL workers, at the ADL offices, on ADL time, on the advantages of AFL affiliation. The League apparently interprets its slogan of "promoting amity between American groups" to mean setting one section of organized labor against another.

### **A Jewish Matter**

When the S. S. E. U. asked the State Mediation Board to intervene so that the dispute could be settled amicably, the ADL refused the Board's invitation to a conference, saying it did not even want "to discuss the matter." The New York Board of Jewish Ministers, disturbed by the "shame this would bring on the Jewish community," appointed three prominent rabbis to act as mediators. The ADL rejected their offer saying, "This is not a Jewish matter."

Now, this is a high-handed method of operation. One of the purposes of the League is "to preserve and translate into greater effectiveness the ideals of American democracy." Apparently, the League sees no contradiction between this proclamation and denying a universally recognized democratic right to its own employees. The League seems not to realize that in fighting a CIO union it is fighting one of the strongest allies, as it says in its own publication, that the Jews and other minority groups have in licking discrimination and prejudices. And this makes the question decidedly a "Jewish matter." The leaders of the League do not seem to understand that when they tell their employees, "We love labor; we believe in collective bargaining; we just won't recognize this particular union," they are saying the same thing as the anti-Semite who insists that "some of my best friends are Jews."

What is the reason for the ADL's adamant stand? The ADL neither issues statements nor acts out of naivete. Its

board of directors does not take a position casually. The case is not merely a matter of unfair labor practices by an employer (such charges have been filed by the union with the National Labor Relations Board). As a matter of fact, the ADL does not question that the majority of the workers have freely chosen the S. S. E. U. to represent them. This is a case of a Jewish agency with stature as a fighter against anti-Semitism to all intents and purposes lining itself up with anti-labor, reactionary, and therefore anti-Semitic forces.

### **Excuses Are Inadequate**

The reasons given by the ADL for not recognizing the S. S. E. U. simply do not hold water. In a letter to Jewish organizations explaining its position, dated February 28, 1947, the ADL says "that we are not included within the jurisdiction of any Federal or State Labor legislation, being a non-profit educational agency. . . ." But this is simply not true. The ADL is not exempt from the Wagner Labor Relations Act. The National Labor Relations Board has repeatedly taken jurisdiction over non-profit organizations whose activities affect interstate commerce. The case of the Central Dispensary in Washington, D. C., is but one of many in which the NLRB has so ruled.

In the same letter, the League stresses its work as an educational agency devoted to fighting bigotry and intolerance, its harmonious relations with both the CIO and AFL (except on a contractual basis) and asserts that it "refuses to associate itself with any Fascist, pro-Fascist, Communist or Communist dominated organization, since it is convinced that these groups are not only inimical to the democratic concept, but plan its ultimate destruction."

In the first place, bracketing communism with fascism does not correspond to historical fact. Did the German people preserve their democracy, their labor movement, and the Jews their lives, by refusing to "associate" with communists or communist-led organizations in the fight against fascism? Did the American people preserve their democracy and national security in the war against fascism by *associating* with communists and a communist-led government, the Soviet Union? When Judge Meier Steinbrink, national chairman of the ADL, acts as a character witness for George Timone, whose name appeared on a sponsors' list of a Christian Front meeting—was that refusing to associate with fascists?

In the second place, by what right does ADL presume to dictate the kind of leadership workers should have? Has the ADL, which presumably fights for democracy, the authority to limit the democratic processes of a union? The ADL submits no evidence to support its charges of communist-domination against the Union. Can the League give one instance of an action taken by the Local which did not reflect the will of the majority of its 5000 members? The democratic well-being of the union is the proper concern solely of the members of the union, and the ADL employees, who were evidently satisfied that the policies and program of the Local reflect their will.

The ADL states further, in this letter, that recognizing the S. S. E. U. "would seriously handicap the proper functioning of the League and would affect adversely our present relationships with important agencies." This public statement by the ADL is defamation of the very sort the agency purports to combat. The League is quite familiar with the fact that the S. S. E. U. has contracts with such agencies as the American Jewish Committee, the United Jewish Appeal, the American Jewish Congress. The League did not advance an iota of evidence to prove that the functioning of these and other Jewish agencies has been impaired in the slightest as a result of contractual relations with the union. This is simply unprincipled slander that casts proper doubt over the whole position of the ADL.

### **"Non-Political" Double-Talk**

The give-away of the position of the ADL is its statement in the same letter that "we are ready and anxious to engage in collective bargaining with any *non-political* organization of our staff whether affiliated with the A. F. of L., CIO or not." (My italics—R.S.) Just what did the ADL mean by this double-talk about "non-political"? Surely the leaders of the League have heard of the CIO's Political Action Committee. Surely these gentlemen must be aware that the whole labor movement is, or should be, engaged in a desperate struggle to defeat the various anti-labor bills now before Congress, and thereby secure the existence of the trade unions. By this restriction, the ADL disqualifies every union, except those that might just as well pass for company unions, so thoroughly ineffectual will they be.

But perhaps this is precisely what the ADL means to achieve. Either it intends to disqualify every union from ADL recognition; or, at a time when reaction is on a political rampage, it intends to prevent unions from retaliating politically by dealing only with ineffectual "non-political" unions, and branding all others as "communist," thus establishing itself as an organizational stool-pigeon for reaction. The leaders of the ADL have built up the red menace in order to mask this position, which is a betrayal of the Jewish people.

### **Role of Jewish Reaction**

There are two reasons why organizations like the ADL are taking this reactionary position. The first is that small groups of Jewish reactionaries have captured control of these organizations, and are using them in their own reactionary interests. The second reason is that as part of American reaction, these Jewish reactionaries hope to secure their future status by out-Romanizing the Romans, and out-red-baiting the anti-Semitic red-baiters.

Today the American people are faced with a triple menace—anti-labor, anti-communism and anti-Semitism. Any Jew who thinks he can indulge in the anti-labor and anti-communism orgy in order to avoid anti-Semitism, is in for a rude and disastrous awakening. The ADL got its answer as early as March 24, in the ranting of John Rankin.

At the hearings of the House Un-American Committee on that day, the hooligan from Mississippi called the League "a leader . . . in this most dangerous movement . . . against western civilization . . . oriental communism." And how is the League rallying to protect itself from such attacks? Instead of seeking an alliance with labor, it is seeking the protection of the jackal by turning its own guns upon organized labor.

In the April issue of *JEWISH LIFE* we reported on the disastrous direction in which the National Council of Jewish Women was headed.<sup>1</sup> It had opened up a witch-hunt against its own employees and a red-baiting campaign against the union which the workers had joined for their own protection. If there is any glory in it, the Council might claim that it had preceded Pres. Truman's "contribution" to American democracy when he proclaimed the inquisition against government employees. The Council and the ADL have anticipated the anti-labor bills that are now coming out of Congress.

### **"Radical" Advisors**

But it is interesting to note that in both organizations, the anti-labor, anti-union actions are being carried out by reactionary management under the advice of political riff-raff that is from time to time spewed up by the maturing labor movement. Generally they are Trotskyite elements who contribute to the present situation by acting as the "radical" advisers to reaction seeking the means to make their reactionary purposes in "revolutionary," "working class" phraseology. But the net result is the usual Trotskyite splitting of the workers, their being misled into vulnerable positions where they can become the fair game of reaction.

In the Council it was Sidney Hook who was advising and Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein who was carrying out this Trotskyite policy. In the ADL it is Frank Trager, national program director, who is reputed to have staked his career on this fight, and to have said, "If Local 19 comes in, I go out." Trager was formerly secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, and a member of the committee that tried to whitewash Leon Trotsky. Perhaps under the circumstances, Local 19 could make a terrific contribution to the ADL by coming in.

There are beginnings of rumbling from the membership of B'nai B'rith. Several lodges have passed resolutions demanding that the ADL's board of directors grant union recognition. A few local leaders are incensed and determined to carry on the fight until it is won. The outcome is of concern not only to the members of the B'nai B'rith, but to all the Jewish people. And now, if at any time, the Jewish people can express an opinion. The Anti-Defamation League gets its funds from the United Jewish Appeal which is now conducting its national campaign. This is an effective instrument by which the democratic masses can exert their influence. Your money is thrown away if labor has no protection in the very agency your money is supporting to fight for democratic rights.

<sup>1</sup> "National Council of Jewish Women Faces Test" by Ruth Simon, *Jewish Life*, April, 1947.

## DOCUMENTS

### LABOR ACTS AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

#### *Resolution by International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, CIO*

**I**F we have learned anything from the Hitler terror, it is that racism is an instrument to crush and exterminate the Jewish people, to oppress the Negro people and to terrorize not only minorities but whole peoples and nations. The victims of nazism were six million Jews and thirty million other people of all nationalities and faiths. The death camps at Buchenwald and Maidanek, the crematories and gas chambers in Nazi-occupied Europe furnish grim reminders of what anti-Semitism means. Here, in the United States, we have reason to be disturbed by the rise of anti-Semitic activities of Gerald L. K. Smith, Carl Motes, Elizabeth Dilling, and other native fascists. The growth of such organizations as the Columbians, the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Action, Inc., etc., are becoming alarming. The desecration of synagogues, the increase of discrimination on jobs, and in schools is a reflection of the poisonous effect that anti-Semitism has on our democratic way of life.

Labor, as a true ally and defender of the rights of all oppressed and discriminated people and also because of its own interests cannot afford to remain passive in the face of the treacherous activities of the anti-Semites. Labor must act swiftly and with vigor to defeat the pestilence of race hatred.

The American Jewish Labor Council is an organization of American trade unionists whose program is to mobilize the American labor movement for a relentless fight against anti-Semitism in the United States and to assist in the rehabilitation of the victims of anti-Semitism, the survivors of Hitler's hell overseas. Therefore

**BE IT RESOLVED**, That the 7th Biennial Convention of the ILWU, CIO, shall become one of the sponsors of, and cooperate with, the American Jewish Labor Council, the purpose of this sponsorship being to aid and assist the American Jewish Labor Council wherever necessary in its fight against anti-Semitism. We shall give the American Jewish Labor Council our financial support in order to help it carry out its program, the amount to be determined by the International Executive Board.

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, That our International will call upon local unions and regional organizations to like-

wise support the American Jewish Labor Council financially whenever possible; and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, That we, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, endorse HR 2824, the bill against anti-Semitism introduced into the United States Congress on March 28, 1947 by Congressman Buckley of New

York, and sponsored by the American Jewish Labor Council. We call upon all our affiliated local unions and our entire membership to help mobilize public sentiment for the bill and for its passage by the Congress of the U. S.

**BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED** that our incoming National Board and the officers of our Union shall assist the American Jewish Labor Council in its campaign to get the affiliations of unions and to establish organizations in all major labor centers on the Pacific Coast.

April 14, 1947.

### POLITICS AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUMANIA

#### *A Letter from the Jewish Community in Rumania To Stalin, Truman and Attlee*

**T**HE Jewish population of Rumania expresses through its organizations, to your peoples, its deep recognition of the glorious struggle they carried on against fascism and Hitlerism—the enemies of all mankind and the hangmen of peoples.

At the same time the Jewish population of Rumania expresses through us the hope that your continued assistance will contribute to the development of our Rumanian fatherland.

We have gone through very hard times.

Although we constitute a population long established in Rumania, until the end of the first World War we were deprived of citizenship rights as well as most civil rights.

The end of the first World War brought legislation granting equal rights to all the peoples in Rumania—and as a consequence, to us too.

However, our emancipation was prevented by the anti-Semitic state policy of the old parties of government. In consequence we did not enjoy equal rights with all other inhabitants.

Even our right to work was limited, until the day came when it was completely forbidden.

Under the regimes which followed the first World War we knew bitter anti-Semitic movements, accompanied by the looting of Jewish homes, businesses and schools, the desecration of Jewish synagogues and cemeteries, as well as the maltreatment and murder of Jews. Whole localities with Jewish populations were devastated and burned without those guilty being punished.

We were subject to every kind of boycott.

We could not attend the state schools or the universities because of "numerous

clausus," which was the exclusive work of the old governmental parties.

These parties have done everything possible to protect and encourage anti-Semitic groups led by A. C. Cuza and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

The murderers of Jews and of the fighters for democracy were proclaimed national heroes.

Vaida Voevod, Mr. Juliu Maniu's first collaborator, and on a number of occasions the prime minister of National Peasant Party governments, claimed himself to be the creator of the Iron Guard of C. Z. Codreanu.

In a very short time these old governmental parties succeeded in impoverishing the Jewish population.

The reactionary chauvinist and anti-Semitic policy of these parties had led to the installation of the Legionnaires (followers of Horia Sima—now wanted as a war criminal), and Antonescu regimes, which culminated in the robbing and massacring en masse, of the Jewish population in Rumania.

Neither the Liberal Party of Mr. Dinu Bratianu nor the National Peasant Party of Mr. Juliu Maniu undertook any action against the robberies and assassinations committed during the Legionnaires and Antonescu dictatorships.

The nefarious policy of these parties inflicted deep wounds on the Rumanian people and the Jewish population.

But by the actions of the 23rd of August, 1944, and 6th of March 1945, His Majesty, King Michael I, has created for all the peoples of Rumania possibilities of reconstruction and free development.

The Government of His Majesty, King Michael I, presided over by Dr. Petre Groza, in its pursuance of the task of general reconstruction of the country, ensures the Jewish population equal rights and conditions for a worthy, free and prosperous life within the Rumanian democratic state.

The parties of Mr. Juliu Maniu and Mr. Dinu Bratianu oppose this reconstruction activity and the good relations among the various peoples of the country, re-introducing instead the former fascist and anti-Semitic practices and habits.

Although the defeat of Hitlerism by the United Nations has given us back our freedom, the fascist and anti-Semitic elements, the profiteers from the former spoliation have run for shelter to these parties, through which they continue their sinister activities.

Protected and encouraged by these parties, from as far back as 1945 they carried on activities which resulted in many Jewish victims.

In the November 1946 elections the Historical Parties, basing themselves on the legionaire fascist and anti-Semitic elements, carried out their electoral campaign under the banner of anti-Semitism. Thus:

1. Mr. Ion Mihalachi, the vice-president of the National Peasant Party, opening the electoral campaign, made an inflammatory speech to Rumanian students, launching anew the old anti-Semitic and pogromist slogans.

2. The members of Messrs. Juliu Maniu's and Dinu Bratianu's parties integrated themselves into terrorist organizations like *Sumanele Negre* (The Black Cloak), *Graul Sangelui*, (The Word of

Blood), "Avram Iancu," etc., which destroy Jewish homes and synagogues.

3. At Hateg in Transylvania bands of these terrorist organizations have destroyed the synagogue and during the night attacked Jewish citizens in their homes.

4. At Panciu (County of Putna) on the day of the elections, Jewish homes, shops and synagogues were destroyed and Jewish inhabitants maltreated by the bands of Messrs. Juliu Maniu's and Dinu Bratianu's Parties. They accompanied these anti-Semitic demonstrations with shouts of "Death to the Yids!" and "Long Live Juliu Maniu."

5. At Dej instigators belonging to these parties gathered groups of peasants whom, through lying propaganda, they urged to attack the Jewish and Hungarian populations. Fortunately the intervention of the local authorities as well as of the democratic forces prevented the prepared pogrom.

6. In Bucharest, on the day of the elections, Mr. Juliu Maniu's bands of hooligans had the temerity to demonstrate outside the American embassy—and in the presence of American journalists, shouting anti-Semitic slogans like "Death to the Yids!"

In the face of the anti-Semitic policy of Messrs. Juliu Maniu and Dinu Bratianu, the whole Jewish population closed its ranks, creating a United Front against anti-Semitism.

The Government of His Majesty King Michael I, presided over by Dr. Petre Groza, assures us equal rights and is a guarantee of our defense against the attempts of the pogromists.

The parliament of the present democratic regime contains also representatives of the Jewish population.

Through these clarifications we are convinced that we are contributing towards enlightening world public opinion on the chauvinist and pogromist attitude of the parties of Messrs. Juliu Maniu and Dinu Bratianu, who consider they are defended abroad. We hope you will appreciate our statement.

PRESIDIUM OF THE JEWISH  
DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE  
OF RUMANIA

M. H. MAXY

M. SARATEANU

*President of the Union of Rumanian  
Jews—Democratic Organization*

E. M. ELLENBOGEN

*Representative of "Palestine Workers"  
Bloc of the Zionist Socialist Groups:  
Ichud and Mishmar.*

PROFESSOR PAUL ISCOVICI

NORBET GOLDHAMER

*Lawyer*

M. LAX

*President, Jewish cultural organization,  
IKUF*

I. DUBOVIS

*General Secretary, IKUF*

LASCAR SARAGA

*Lawyer, Counsellor of the Bar Association of Rumania, General Secretary of the Federation of the Union of Jewish Communities of Rumania, Member of the Central Committee of IKUF.*

PROFESSOR B. SCHNAPP

*President of the Jewish Community of Bucharest*

S. ALDEA

*General secretary of the Central Orthodox Bureau of Rumania (The Union of Jewish Orthodox Communities of Rumania).*

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## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

### AT HOME

A survey conducted by the American Jewish Congress reveals that there are at present 34 anti-Semitic publications in the United States emanating from 19 states. Twenty of these are monthlies, nine are weeklies and the rest are published irregularly. Most of them run from eight to 16 pages. The impression gained is that their total circulation is not comparable to that of Coughlin's *Social Justice* of pre-war days. It seems that anti-Semitic propaganda is not a big or profitable business just now. Most dangerous source of anti-Semitism today, concludes the survey, is the pattern of racial discrimination and prejudice in the economic, political and social fabric of America.

Publication of a 325-page manuscript, *Fascism in Action*, prepared by the Library of Congress at the request of Rep. Wright Patman, is being blocked by Republican Congressional leaders. Republican objection to the book is said to stem partly from its characterization of Franco Spain and Salazar Portugal as fascist countries like those of the defeated Axis. Spain is noted as "the most important survivor of the fascist era." Patman proposed the study after Rep. Everett M. Dirksen had the same agency prepare *Communism in Action*, of which half a million copies were promptly printed at government expense. Patman has introduced a resolution authorizing publication of the book.

Identical bills against discrimination in employment were introduced into the House by Reps. Helen Gahagan Douglas and William M. Dawson and into the Senate by Sen. Irving M. Ives. According to Sen. Ives, the bill is not an FEPC bill but a formula for "a new approach in the handling of discrimination in employment" through education and conciliation rather than legal compulsion.

Five members of the 12-man executive board of a government workers union were discharged from their government jobs on unproven charges of "communism." All five were Jews, while all of the seven not fired were non-Jews.

Charging that 18 colleges in New York State request photographs of applicants for admission in order to facilitate discrimination against Negroes, Jews and other minority groups, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise wrote to Chancellor S. P. Capen, president of the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York, suggesting that association members cease to request photographs from prospective students. Colleges involved are: Adelphi, Alfred, Barnard, Brooklyn Polytechnic, Clarkson, Colgate, Columbia, Cornell, Hamilton, New York University, Rensselaer, Rochester, Russell Sage, Skidmore, St. Lawrence, Syracuse, and Union.

Alan Siegler, president of the Queens College AYD, was the recipient of a letter from the "Queens College Student's Anti-Dote Org. (against communism)" which stated in part: "Warning . . . at long last Christian Democracy will rule Queens College. . . . Beware of bloodshed on the campus."

The opening of a complete Yiddish library at City College of New York and the introduction of courses in elementary and advanced Yiddish were announced by Prof. Solomon Liptzin, chair-

man of the college's German Department. The library will contain a collection of rare books, motion pictures and recordings.

Refugees coming to the United States to escape political and religious persecution in recent years "have had a beneficial effect upon this country out of proportion to their numbers," it is reported on the basis of a two-year scientific study, "nationwide in scope and based on first-hand and verifiable information," whose results were published in *Refugees in America* by Maurice R. Davie, chairman of Yale's sociology department and outstanding authority on immigration. Conclusions were based on 11,000 questionnaires collected from 638 communities throughout the country, and several thousand more specialized questionnaires to professional and business people.

### THE AMERICAS

Peru's Cardinal Juan Gualberto Guevara in a press interview condemned recent anti-Semitic demonstrations during strikes by textile and other workers of Lima.

The Bolivian government will not discriminate against prospective immigrants on grounds of nationality or religion, Dr. Luis Ponce Lozada, Immigration Minister, told a Jewish delegation. He stated that Bolivia's population was still small and that more immigrants were needed to develop its resources. He described the role of Jews in Bolivian life as "useful."

The Lima, Peru, weekly *El Intransigente* published an attack on immigration of Jewish refugees to Peru. The article forecast that if Jews were allowed to enter, persecutions would follow. The article gave blanket approval to the Nazi persecution of Jews, insisting that they were shown "no mercy." It also approved Britain's policy in Palestine and urged the conversion of the country to "semi-colonial" status.

Three attacks were made on synagogues in Buenos Aires within a month. Police authorities say they have started a search for the terrorists who were believed to be members of an anti-Semitic group. In a memorandum submitted to the chief of police, the Jewish organization DAIA cited attacks on synagogues, a Jewish school and private homes and the appearance of anti-Semitic slogans in public places. It said that in only two cases were the persons responsible for anti-Jewish incidents apprehended.

### EUROPE

The trend to Jewish emigration from Poland has been definitely reversed. More than 1,000 Polish Jews who fled from Poland to DP camps last year have returned to explore the possibilities of permanent resettlement, mostly in Silesia. It is estimated that 15,000 Polish Jews in the DP camps have registered for repatriation and are awaiting transport back to Poland. Arrangements for mass-repatriation of Polish citizens are now being worked out in Warsaw between Roland Berger, chief of the UNRRA Repatriation Department, and Polish Minister of Labor Kazimir Rusinek. Many of the Jews who have registered for repatriation left Poland at the height of the anti-Jewish terror waged by anti-Semitic and anti-government forces. Disappointed with conditions in the camps and encouraged by reports from Poland that the terror against the

Jews has been checked, they are reported to be willing to return to the larger Jewish centers. Meanwhile the Polish Security Ministry has informed the Jewish Central Committee and heads of Jewish political parties that further illegal emigration from Poland must be halted. The Committee was told that Jewish leaders, particularly the Zionists, would be held responsible for further illegal emigration.

The Central Jewish Committee of Poland has voted to affiliate with the World Jewish Congress if the latter is "reorganized and modeled along democratic lines." The Committee resolution declared that the Congress had played a "negative" role in Europe and must be reorganized. The resolution also proposed that the Congress convene a meeting of all European Jewish organizations, whether members of the WJC or not. The Committee's proposal is scheduled to be placed before the forthcoming European WJC conference opening in Prague on April 23. The Jewish Socialist Bund threatens to withdraw from the Committee if it decides to join the WJC.

The Zionist organization of Rumania has issued a warning to the Jews against joining a movement for a mass exodus to Palestine which is being spread through the country by what the Zionist organization terms as "irresponsible elements." The movement is gaining strength particularly in provincial towns. The Zionist warning, published in the entire Rumanian press, emphasizes that any such movement undertaken on private initiative involves heavy personal risks and jeopardizes organized Zionist efforts to ensure emigration to Palestine under carefully prepared plans.

### PALESTINE

Fourteen Palestine Jewish youth organizations with a membership of 80,000 men and women banded together to issue a joint appeal calling for an end to terrorism in the country. The groups represented in the united front ranged politically from the extreme right to the far left. Commenting on the call, a Jewish Agency spokesman said that this appeal might hamper the activities of extremist groups, since their membership is comprised largely of men and women in the same age groups as those organizations urging unity and peaceful construction. A 20th anniversary meeting of the Hashomer Hatzair, attended by 1,000 delegates and guests, adopted a resolution condemning terrorism as "strangling our upbuilding work."

In a recent letter to the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement the central committee of the Young Communist League of Palestine offers its support to the Hashomer Hatzair against the repeated attacks on their centers by Jewish terrorist organizations who demagogically declare themselves to be anti-imperialist. Terrorists have recently attacked workers' clubs, kidnapped members of the working class movement, committed acts of arson on workers' clubs and have perpetrated such acts in many places in Palestine.

International oil companies which have major Middle East bases and installations in Alexandria are preparing to transfer them to Negev, Palestine, the Arab newspaper *El Wahda* reports. The paper stated that the decision to move followed Britain's final promise to withdraw troops from Egypt. According to the newspaper the companies have acquired large tracts of land in Southern Palestine and will erect some of the largest petroleum storage depots in the world here. A representative of one of the companies denied these reports.

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