

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15c

## Demand America Grant Justice To Yishuv

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

By Alexander Bittelman

WE are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union and its delegate to the United Nations, Andrei Gromyko, for its just and democratic position on the Palestine question.

Gromyko demanded justice for *both* peoples in Palestine—Jews and Arabs. He demanded *equal* justice as befits the delegate of a socialist country that is carrying on a world struggle for a democratic, anti-imperialist and durable people's peace.

Gromyko's heart is with the Jewish people because we had suffered from fascism more than others; because we had paid for the victory over fascism more than others; because we have earned as a people—our six million corpses are proof of this—that the United Nations shall respect and seek to fulfill our national feelings, strivings and aspirations. This is what Gromyko said. And with his speech about Palestine, Gromyko opened a new and happier chapter in the thousand-year martyrdom of our people.

We demand that Truman and Attlee give us the same recognition as Gromyko.

(Continued on page 3)

JULY 1947

## THE PALESTINE QUESTION

WHAT NEXT? *by Moses Miller*

CONVERSATIONS ON ARAB-JEWISH UNITY

*by G. Koenig*

THE IRGUN HOAX *by Catherine Wilson*

IMPERIALISM STRANGLES PALESTINE ECONOMY

*by Meir Vilner*

---

X-RAY ON "COMMENTARY"

*by Louis Harap*

## Letters From Readers

### Dear Reader:

This column is an open forum—open even to the Editors of JEWISH LIFE. So we are using this prerogative to talk to you informally about *your* part in the magazine.

A magazine is not a soliloquy. It is a dialogue between writers and readers. But the reader is out of earshot of the editors, and the only way to overcome this mechanical disadvantage is for the reader to put his thoughts on paper and send them in. We have been very glad to hear from you, but not enough of you are writing to us.

Of course we know that we are provoking you to agreement or disagreement. In either case your ideas are helpful to us: such interchange is vital for the clarification of those pressing problems that make it necessary for us to write and for you to read. But our common purpose of working through to a democratic way out of our people's problems will surely not be furthered unless you also write and we read.

What do you think of our analyses of the various aspects of the Palestine question? Of our treatments of anti-Semitism and discrimination? Of our discussion of Jewish culture? Or have we neglected to write about important problems that are troubling you?

We are deeply interested in your ideas on these subjects. Let us know about them!

THE EDITORS

### Wrong Implication

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We have noted with some concern an editorial entitled "Some Never Learn," appearing in the June issue of JEWISH LIFE, which cites a *New York Times* dispatch filed from Warsaw by Mr. Sidney Gruson on April 6, 1947.

By indirection, JEWISH LIFE's editorial has assigned to Mr. William Bein, director for Poland of the Joint Distribution Committee, certain statements which are not supported by a reading of the *Times* article. Mr. Bein's remarks to Mr. Gruson, incorporated into a general story, were confined exclusively to the problems of relief and rehabilitation in Poland, and do not bear on the question of mass migrations from the continent.

At a time when the J.D.C. is devoting itself—with traditional adherence to a non-partisan policy of relief and rehabilitation—to a program which includes not only direct relief assistance, but reconstruction aid to those who choose to remain in the countries of their birth, the implications of JEWISH LIFE's editorial are unfortunate, and deserve early correction.

New York

LOUIS H. SOBEL, Secretary  
AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT  
DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, INC.

We are very happy to print the letter from Mr. Louis H. Sobel to correct any wrong impressions our editorial may have created. However, we have reread the *Times* story. We repeat that the sudden use of Mr. Bein's names after a whole series of opinions are credited to unnamed Jewish leaders leads to misinterpretation. We sug-



VOL. I, NO. 9

JULY, 1947

### EDITORIAL BOARD

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

ALBERT E. KAHN

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

SAMUEL BARRON, *Managing Editor*

LOUIS HARAP, *Editorial Associate*

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

THE EDITORS.

### CONTENTS

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| DEMAND AMERICA GRANT JUSTICE TO YISHUV, <i>an editorial article by Alexander Bittelman</i> | 1    |
| FROM MONTH TO MONTH  |      |
| CHOICE OF ANTI-SEMITES   | 3    |
| TWENTY-EIGHT LYNCHERS  | 4    |
| REFUGEES OR DPs  | 4    |
| WHAT NEXT ON PALESTINE? <i>by Moses Miller</i>   | 5    |
| A NAZI VICTIM <i>by A. Walkowitz</i>   | 7    |
| PALESTINE CONVERSATIONS ON UNITY <i>by G. Koenig</i>                                       | 8    |
| THE IRGUN HOAX <i>by Catherine Wilson</i>  | 12   |
| PALESTINE COMMENT ON GROMYKO SPEECH  | 16   |
| THE BEERS ARE ON ME, <i>a short story by Lorraine Kobrin</i>                               | 17   |
| X-RAY ON "COMMENTARY" <i>by Louis Harap</i>  | 19   |
| JUDGMENT DAY, NUREMBERG 1947, <i>a poem by Harold Applebaum</i>                            | 23   |
| WHAT ABOUT WHITE SUPERIORITY AMONG JEWS? <i>by Earl Conrad</i>                             | 25   |
| DOCUMENT   |      |
| IMPERIALISM STRANGLES PALESTINE ECONOMY <i>by Meir Vilner</i>                              | 27   |
| LETTER FROM ABROAD   |      |
| STATUS OF JEWS IN BULGARIA <i>by D. B. L.</i>  | 29   |
| FROM THE FOUR CORNERS  | 31   |
| LETTERS FROM READERS   | 2    |

JEWISH LIFE, July, 1947, Vol. I, No. 9. Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1947.

gest that the J.D.C. ask the *NEW YORK TIMES* to correct that impression. It is still not too late.

—Editors

### Care of Jewish Culture

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

What I get from Moshe Katz's article, *Who Is to Blame?* in the March issue, is that any story by a Jew about a Jew is part of Jewish culture. I don't think that can be true. And I honestly don't know what the answer is. Like many young American Jews, I was only vaguely con-

scious of the fact that I was a Jew until Hitler made me realize it. Now I am trying to understand what it is to be a Jew, irrespective of religion, and what Jewish culture is.

It would seem that there must be a specific core in that culture. This much I have gathered from my reading of history and Jewish literature, what of that has been translated into English. But it is hard for me to see that specific core in American Jewish life and culture. I think we need more articles, more honest discussion.

Bronx

M. ROSS.

# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

(Continued from page 1)

yko did! We demand that the American government carry out the obligations assumed by the United States, and support the Jewish national aspirations in Palestine. We demand that the American government shall not sacrifice the people's interests to the imperialist interests of the oil trust, and shall work together with the Soviet government and with the British government for a democratic solution for Palestine in the spirit of Gromyko's speech.

We make a special demand on the British government. We demand that it immediately cease its terror in Palestine, free all political prisoners and institute civil liberties, release at once the inmates of the Cyprus camps and permit their entry into Palestine.

We demand of the United Nations that it shall immediately take over responsibility for the Jewish DP camps; that it immediately adopt all necessary political, financial and other measures to free our brothers and sisters in the camps, to open the doors of all countries of the United Nations for them, and reach an immediate agreement and democratic solution for Jewish immigration to Palestine. We demand that the doors be opened more widely for Jewish immigration to America.

We appeal now for greater and closer Jewish people's unity. We say to the Jewish Agency in Palestine: You now have a great opportunity to help realize the thousand-year-old national dream of our people in Palestine. You now occupy a position of grave responsibility in the struggle for the existence of the Jewish people. This imposes great obligations upon you—first, to work for an understanding with the democratic forces among the Arabs in Palestine, and for a Jewish-Arab independent democratic state in Palestine with equal national rights for both peoples; second, to work for the unity and collaboration of America, England and the Soviet Union in the solution of the Palestine question, and to orient yourself politically on the collaboration of these three leading states.

We appeal to the American Jewish Congress, to the American Jewish Conference, and to the World Jewish Congress: Let us create a stronger, closer Jewish people's unity that shall demand from the United Nations the establishment of a Jewish-Arab independent democratic state in Palestine.

## CHOICE OF ANTI-SEMITES

A REPORT issued recently by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith informs us that while "organized anti-Semitism . . . is not making much headway," there is a "growth of subtle forms of anti-Semitism."

Practically speaking, we doubt very much if the Jews

can see any difference whether their *tzores* come from "organized" anti-Semites or from "subtle" ones.

From the point of view of fighting the menace, however, the view of the ADL seems rather superficial. Does the ADL really mean that the "growth of subtle forms of anti-Semitism" is altogether spontaneous? Isn't it more likely that "organized anti-Semitism" has become more "subtle" in its operations, and that therefore organized anti-Semitism is making headway except where people are roused to struggle against it?

How superficial the approach is can be seen from the legislative program suggested by Justice Meier Steinbrink, head of the ADL, on May 11, 1947. He suggested legislation against racial and religious discrimination in employment, against discrimination in higher education, to protect the civil rights of minority groups, against restrictive covenants in real estate, and finally, as reported in the *New York Times*, "legislation making mandatory the disclosure of the origins of defamatory literature."

All these laws are very good as far as they go. But if we were to agree with Judge Steinbrink that legislation is no panacea but that education is, why not then a law that would prohibit the spread of anti-Semitism through education—through propaganda, the method through which "organized anti-Semitism" spreads "subtle anti-Semitism." Or what use is knowing the names of the spreaders of hate literature, if there is nothing we can do about those names once we have them? Yet it is a law against the spread of anti-Semitic propaganda that Justice Steinbrink leaves out of his program. The Jews, according to Judge Steinbrink, must wait until the disease of anti-Semitism hits them before they can seek some form of therapeutic. But they must not do anything about legal preventatives.

We feel that it is about time that Jewish organizations cease worrying about the civil rights of anti-Semites, and start worrying about the civil, political, legal, economic, social, cultural and physical rights of the Jewish people. If some Jewish organizations would be as assertive in getting proper laws passed, as they are about declaring anti-hate laws unconstitutional, anti-Semitism might be delivered a powerful blow.

We pointed out in the June issue of JEWISH LIFE that the National Community Relations Advisory Council, which includes the American Jewish Committee, the ADL, the Jewish War Veterans, the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Jewish Congress, attacked the Indiana law against hate-propaganda, the finest passed to date, as unconstitutional. Now the American Jewish Congress has issued a blast against the Buckley Bill, H.R. 2848, which would do on a national scale what the Indiana law does on a state scale.



If it is true as the ADL states that organized anti-Semitism has been stymied somewhat, it is because an Indiana bill has been passed, because local FEPC laws have been enacted, now including Minneapolis, which has been claimed as a center of anti-Semitism. On May 24 Chicago joined the cities with ordinances prohibiting the spread of anti-Semitism. More such local bills and ordinances are necessary. And especially necessary is the organization of a mass campaign for the passage by the present Congress of the Buckley Bill, H.R. 2848. Contact the American Jewish Labor Council for petitions and further information.

## TWENTY-EIGHT LYNCHERS

**T**WELVE citizens of the United States, sitting as jurors in Greenville, South Carolina, have done more to undermine the American way of life, the American government and Constitution, than could the most rabid fifth columnists during the war against Hitler.

Twelve citizens of the United States, maintaining "racial superiority," have done more to drag American prestige in the mud than could the most frantic anti-American propagandist in Europe.

Twelve citizens of the United States, guardians of law and order, have jeopardized the security of every Negro, of every Jew, of every minority group, of every trade unionist, of every American citizen.

Twelve citizens of the United States have become accessories to a crime of murder by aiding and abetting twenty-eight self-confessed lynchers to escape justice.

There are today in South Carolina at least forty outlaws who must be hunted down and brought to maximum justice if the American people are to be safe from murderers, if American democracy is to be secured from slavers and their slave agents, if the American nation is not to be held in contempt by the peoples of the world—the kind of contempt that brought disaster to nazism and the German people.

There are forty citizens today in South Carolina who are reaching the depths of degeneration, for they are not touched by either conscience, or faith, or spirit. They are moved only by the bestiality of the cannibal.

The American people have a great responsibility to check the spread of this virus of spiritual and physical corruption. Already several other lynchings have been attempted by brutish individuals who have been encouraged by the acquittal of the twenty-eight South Carolina lynchers by a jury of their peers. More such attacks—and not only against Negroes—can be expected, if this eruption of savagery is not challenged by decent America.

The American people must demand that the federal government move into the case; that martial law be established if necessary; that the lynchers be rearrested; that the death penalty be instituted for lynchers; that the federal anti-lynch bill be passed immediately.

America is in danger! Lynchers are at large!

## REFUGEES OR DP'S

**T**HE Stratton Bill to admit 400,000 refugees into the United States during the next four years has won wide support, including on the one hand the White House and the State Department, and on the other both houses of labor.

The measure is a substitute for the original demand of progressive Jews and non-Jews for the admission of 100,000 Jewish DPs to the United States. But some of our best hush-hush elements in the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Conference objected to the earlier proposal on the ground that asking for special privileges for Jews might lead to anti-Semitism. The fact that Jews were the greatest victims of fascism and therefore required special consideration meant little to them, not as much as it means to Andrei Gromyko and the Soviet Union who spoke up for special Jewish consideration at the special meeting of the UN General Assembly.

The hush-hushers prefer that the entry of Jews be covered by a blanket admission of "refugees," even if fewer Jews are admitted and more of the executioners of Jews get in.

The danger in the Stratton Bill lies in the fact that there does not yet exist a proper definition of "refugee." Is a refugee one who ran *from* Hitler, or one who ran *with* Hitler? Is a refugee one who ran from the *fascization* of his country, or one who ran from the *democratization* of his country? Until the definition is fully and firmly established, the indiscriminate admission of "refugees" can only result in the exclusion of genuine refugees, such as Jews, while admitting boatloads of anti-democratic, anti-Semitic Poles, Ukrainians, Balts, Yugoslavs, and other political riff-raff who were pro-nazi overtly or covertly, and are the trained reserves of the mercenary anti-democratic, anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet armies that are now organized in European refugee camps. One of the major reasons the Jewish DP camps are being maintained is to cover up this scandal.

America, labor and the Jews can have no use for such anti-democratic elements in our country, and will be endangered by their admission. It is essential therefore that the Stratton Bill be fitted out with the most rigid guarantees against the admission of phoney refugees, anti-democratic and pro-fascist, anti-labor and pro-war hooligans who may have the protection of Herbert Hoover, David Dubinsky and Dorothy Thompson; and the exclusion of real anti-fascists tested in the Spanish war, in the underground and resistance movements of Europe and in the anti-Hitler war, simply because they do not fit the queer "definition" of democracy that is being palmed off by such "experts" as Victor Riesel, Westbrook Pegler and Frederick Woltman.

And Jews can best fight in the interests of their long suffering brothers and sisters in the DP camps by continuing the demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews to the United States, and giving full support to the National Coordinating Committee for the Admission of 100,000 Homeless Jews into the U.S. which is carrying on this campaign.



# WHAT NEXT ON PALESTINE?

By Moses Miller

**H**AVING established an eleven-nation Inquiry Commission and outlined its terms of reference, the General Assembly completed the first stages of its work on the Palestine question.

A number of points have clearly emerged which give us the basis for an evaluation of the General Assembly meeting. They indicate certain trends and pose certain tasks. It is now clear beyond doubt that when Great Britain turned the Palestine problem over to the UN it had no intention of giving up its hold on this strategic area. Certainly, Britain would not feverishly build fortifications, strengthen its naval bases and bring in more troops if it were preparing to leave Palestine. Its aim was to use the UN to gain a breathing spell. Nor does it take great political acumen to realize that Britain would not have brought the issue to the UN without the backing of the United States.

At the UN sessions the American delegation, and not the British, led the fight in behalf of British strategy. Senator Austin and Herschel Johnson, were in the lead of those who worked to limit the sessions to procedural questions, who prevented the acceptance of the Polish-Czechoslovak-Soviet proposal that the Jewish Agency be heard before the General Assembly and who led the opposition to the inclusion of the question of independence in the terms of reference.

There is no doubt that the Jewish people throughout the world and those who sympathize with the aspirations of the Jewish people were not much concerned with procedural questions, but were interested mainly in airing and reaching a solution of the burning issues which are plaguing the Jewish people. These millions of people could not easily understand why the United States delegation should oppose every proposal to enhance the status of the Jewish people and to reach a speedy solution.

There is no doubt that the United States and Great Britain won out on a number of major issues. But of equal and perhaps of greater import is the moral victory won by Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

## *Climax of the Session*

The speech of Andrei Gromyko near the end of the General Assembly meeting and its overwhelmingly favorable reception throughout the world leave no doubt as to the sentiments and judgments of the people on the whole Palestine question. Thus, despite Britain's intentions and

America's maneuvers a number of results favorable to our interests have emerged from the presentation of the Palestine question to the UN. Although they do not guarantee an immediate solution, they do open up perspectives hitherto entirely absent. The presence of the problem within the framework of the United Nations provided and will continue to provide an opportunity to the democratic forces of the world to speak out on behalf of a just solution and to win over countless millions of people to such a solution.

The Gromyko speech, which all observers agreed was the dramatic highlight of the entire meeting, has profound significance and its effects are already being felt throughout the world. What did Gromyko really say? I shall summarize its salient points not only because of its general significance but also because partisan interpretations are confusing its real import.

The speech was anti-imperialist from beginning to end. The solutions offered were predicated upon an anti-imperialist approach. The abrogation of the mandate and the granting of full freedom and independence to the peoples of Palestine were basic to the utterance. From this orientation Gromyko pointed out that the aspirations of Jewish people for statehood were heightened because of the tragic inability of the Western powers to aid the Jewish people and were therefore just and should be fulfilled. In order, however, to achieve this statehood on a democratic basis, he said, Palestine must be recognized as a land of two peoples and the only real and lasting solution is a democratic Arab-Jewish state with both peoples achieving full national rights and statehood.

Gromyko further stated that, if it were definitely proved that conditions had deteriorated so far that it was impossible for Jews and Arabs to live together, then it would be necessary to consider the establishment of two separate, independent states. His contention was, however, that the only genuine solution is an Arab-Jewish state. And even the two separate states which Gromyko suggests as a possible expediency that may have to be considered under extreme circumstances, is a far cry from the partition proposals which Britain envisages and by means of which Britain would retain control of both the Arab and the Jewish sectors.

The universal acclaim accorded this speech flows from several fundamental considerations. First and foremost is the recognition that Gromyko, as the representative of one of the world's greatest powers, spoke out so thoroughly and unequivocally on the deep sufferings of the Jewish people and placed his government squarely behind the aspirations of the Jewish people. Thus the Soviet Union raised the Jewish question to a new level and placed it quite properly

---

MOSES MILLER was formerly the president of the Jewish Peoples Committee. He is now assistant general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association, on the staff of the *Morning Freiheit*, and a member of the editorial board of *JEWISH LIFE*.

among the major international problems which the nations must solve.

In the second place, Gromyko brought to the fore the inestimable tragedy of the Jewish DP's and insisted that the problem raised by this tragedy be dealt with immediately by the United Nations in relation to the inquiry.

In the third place the Soviet delegate devastatingly shattered the arguments which had been going the rounds that the reason the United States and Great Britain hesitated to fulfill their promises to the Jews was because they feared that otherwise the Arabs might be catapulted into the Soviet camp. This argument, though based on a distortion of the facts, was quite prevalent and was used even in certain Zionist circles.

### **Effects of Gromyko Speech**

There is no doubt that the Gromyko speech will also have a profound effect upon the Arab world. The leadership of the Arab world, as is well known, has been extremely hostile to the Jewish community in Palestine and to the problems of the Jews generally. The Arab delegates at the UN, most of whom are known to have had connections with the nazis, indulged in vicious attacks upon the Jewish people. These leaders are opposed not only to the aspirations of the Jewish people but of the Arab masses as well. They are a group of feudal and semi-feudal reactionaries who have consistently oppressed their own Arab masses and who have systematically combatted all democratic developments in their own countries. The Gromyko speech will no doubt accelerate the unification of the democratic and progressive elements in the Arab states and will help to clarify many issues upon which there has been much confusion.

Gromyko's position, as well as the UN session generally, poses a number of major problems for us in America. For our activities in the next few months can have a major effect upon the outcome of the Palestine deliberations.

What is American policy on Palestine? How is it shaped and what factors underlie such policies? What are the prospects for a democratic American policy? The Jewish community and Americans generally who are sympathetic to Jewish aspirations are deeply puzzled and disturbed by the present trend of government policy. They know that president after president and Congress and Congress have affirmed their full sympathy for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The people are aware that during election campaigns Republicans and Democrats vie with each other in delivering high-sounding pronouncements on the question.

Yet everyone knows that our government has contributed nothing concrete towards a solution. Our government has not made a single public protest against British terror in Palestine. Our delegate to the UN went out of his way to prevent the Jewish Agency from being heard. And most astounding of all, when General Marshall was asked to restate American policy on the Palestine issue, he declared that he was not prepared to say what the American position would be.

The Jewish press sought comfort in the fact that American delegate Senator Austin had successfully fought the Soviet proposal of inclusion of the question of Palestine independence in the terms of reference. They assumed that this indicated U.S. sympathy for the Yishuv. Yet, how much comfort may be derived from this is extremely questionable. And Jewish leadership is quite well aware of this. Opposition to independence might well work against Jewish as against Arab interests. For if America's interest in Palestine, as in the Middle East, derives from a policy of expansion and conquest, there is little hope that the aspirations of *any* people will loom large in its strategy.

Moshe Shertok, political director of the Jewish Agency, indicated his awareness of American imperialist interests in an article in the *Jewish Frontier* published prior to the special session. He wrote: "Moreover, America as a great power is becoming more and more interested in the Middle East, interested politically and interested economically, in a general sense and also in a more particular sense, through their interest in oil. This interest of America in Middle Eastern oil tells in certain directions, not quite favorable to us" (May 1947).

Despite this apprehension Shertok and other leaders of the Jewish Agency have since then and even since the conclusion of the UN sessions, clung firmly to their orientation of reliance upon the United States and Great Britain.

A much more intimate close-up of actual American policy is afforded by Bartley Crum in his book *Behind the Silken Curtain*. He tells two revealing incidents. The first is a conversation with Loy Henderson, chief of the Near East Division of the State Department. Henderson told Crum: "There is one fact facing both the United States and Great Britain, Mr. Crum. That is the Soviet Union. It would be wise to bear that in mind when you consider the Palestine problem." The second incident relates to a confidential file made available to the members of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee by the State Department. "According to this file," says Crum, "since September 15, 1938, each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent messages to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine."

### **American Policy Must Be Changed**

Thus two features of American policy emerge which, if retained, will militate against fulfillment of solemn promises made to the Jewish people. The first is America's present adventure in "containment" of the Soviet Union and national liberation movements by bolstering fascist and reactionary regimes in areas adjacent to the Soviet Union with the Middle East as the major concentration point. The second is America's successful drive to gain major control of the world's oil reserves, with the Middle East, once again,



as the major objective since this region possesses the greatest oil potential.

In relation to Great Britain, the second feature makes for certain tensions and conflict. For while there is on the whole agreement between the two on the first, the second causes rivalry. Britain is not at all pleased with the prospect of being pushed out of the dominant position it has held all these years.

We need not, however, be defeatist. American policy is not firmly fixed and congealed. It can be transformed into a democratic approach on the Palestine question.

It is extremely significant that the United States government, despite its behind-the-scenes agreement with British policy in Palestine, has not dared to approve it publicly, let alone back it up with open military, political and economic aid.

The American government is treading warily in the face of the vast majority sentiment in favor of Jewish aspirations, a sentiment which the American government has helped to mold. The masses of American people traditionally oppose the sending of American troops abroad for conquest and would most certainly be hostile in the case of Palestine.

These sentiments, if quickly and properly channelized and translated into action, could be a powerful force in behalf of an immediate and democratic solution for the Palestine problem. There should be no illusions, however, as to the direction in which such organized pressure must be exerted. It must press for full participation by the United States in reaching a democratic solution in complete co-operation with Great Britain and the Soviet Union within the framework of the United Nations.

Any movement oriented on an American decision arrived at by itself alone or on the basis of a unilateral Anglo-American agreement will militate against Jewish interests and aspirations. Any decision which bypasses the Soviet Union and the UN will have no other aim but self-aggrandizement and domination.

A democratic approach must recognize that Palestine is a land of two peoples. Therefore the problem on which all else hinges is the effort to achieve Arab-Jewish unity. Without resolving this problem there can be no real hope for the fulfilment of Jewish aspirations. Anyone who attempts to build the future of the Yishuv on the premise that differences between Jews and Arabs are irreconcilable, dooms from the very start any hope for real security and freedom.

Similarly, it is important to recognize that any program, no matter who its proponent, which fails to recognize the two-people character of Palestine and insists on full power for one people as against the other, must inevitably aid in strengthening and continuing foreign rule.

### **Position of Jewish Life**

From its very first issue JEWISH LIFE has consistently advocated and fought for a Jewish national home in Palestine but pointed out that this would be impossible

so long as imperialism remains master. That is why we have on all occasions advocated the abrogation of the mandate. We have similarly affirmed that there can be no just solution until both peoples are accorded their full national rights. We have called for a democratic, independent Arab-Jewish state. We have also insisted that the establishment of such a state can not be left to the good graces of any imperialist powers, but that it must be the responsibility of the Security Council and particularly of the Big Three to assume collective responsibility to guarantee such a state and to insure that no one will violate the rights of either people.

Jews want a Jewish state not only in name, but with power, authority and sovereignty. We want no puppet state as in Transjordan, where Britain remains the real master. Nor do we want a state which will each day have to fight for its existence, politically, economically and militarily. We want a state in which Jews can prosper and develop in the fullest measure. Such a state is impossible under imperialist rule. Such a state is impossible unless there is Jewish unity with the Arabs of Palestine and of the entire Middle East.

It is evident that, if we are to influence our government before the next meeting of the General Assembly on September 15th, we must act with dispatch. Such action must take the form of resolutions, petitions, and mass gatherings which call upon our government to join hands with Great Britain and the Soviet Union for a just and democratic solution as outlined in Gromyko's speech.

Decisive action at this time for the establishment of a democratic Arab-Jewish state, will help realize the aspirations so deeply desired by Jews throughout the world.

## **A NAZI VICTIM**



By A. Walkowitz

# PALESTINE CONVERSATIONS ON UNITY

By G. Koenig

## WITH DR. JUDAH L. MAGNES

**D**R. JUDAH L. MAGNES, president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is widely known throughout Palestine and outside it as a bourgeois democrat. He is famous for his fight for Jewish-Arab understanding, his frequent negotiations with Arab leaders and his connections with Arab intellectuals. He is the leader of the Ichud (Unity) group whose aim is the achievement of agreement between the two peoples of Palestine. He has published many pamphlets and edits a magazine propagating these ideas.

Among the student body in Palestine, Dr. Magnes is popular for his tolerance of progressive-thinking students who frequently found him their defender against reactionary professors and chauvinist groups. It is therefore no wonder that Dr. Magnes is considered a "traitor" in certain Zionist circles, although he considers himself a good Zionist. There is an effort to circumscribe his influence in the University itself.

In spite of his 69 years, Dr. Magnes looks no more than 50. He makes a very fine impression with his simplicity and the clarity and courage of his thinking. Dr. Magnes came to Palestine three times, in 1907 and 1912 on brief visits, and in 1922 to organize the Hebrew University.

"When and how did you come to concern yourself with the Arab problem?" I asked.

"From the very beginning. How could it be otherwise? Two peoples live in one country next to one another, mixed in with one another. Anyone who sees at all clearly must understand immediately that without cooperation between Jews and Arabs there can be absolutely no possibility to achieve peace in the country. In my opinion the possibilities for agreement are very great. But they are not being used."

"Do you think, then, that mistakes have been made on the part of the Zionist leadership in this regard?"

The gentle face of Dr. Magnes clouded. He spoke without excitement but with noticeable effort, as one would speak of something that hurts.

"There is not one sphere in which the Zionist leaders did not commit errors. Our group has made a number of efforts to come to an agreement with the Arabs. For us it was clear that the Jews with their abilities, their knowledge and their love for the country have achieved much and can achieve much more. But the constant conflict between Jews and Arabs endangers everything. It was as if our achievements

were built on sand. We therefore considered it the most important national task for our people to work for peace between the two peoples. We came to an agreement with the Arabs: political equality, immigration at a rate equal to the ability of the country to absorb. But the Zionist leaders spoiled everything."

"For what reason?"

"For the reason that they wanted the Arabs to adopt the Zionist program. They project such a solution as a Jewish state. I was always against this terrible solution. Palestine can find peace only through the co-existence of both peoples in a bi-national state and—under proper democratic conditions—as a part of a federation of Arab countries, in which Palestine should have its autonomy. Such a solution, it seems to me, means life without danger."

## Chauvinist Policies

Dr. Magnes spoke with bitterness about the chauvinist policy of *Kibbush Avodah* (conquest of labor by the Jews). He considers unacceptable the clause in the contract that must be signed by everyone who gets land from the *Keren Kayemeth* (fund for the purchase of land), pledging not to engage Arabs (named "alien labor" in the contract).

We asked Dr. Magnes for some details about the unsuccessful efforts to come to an agreement with the Arabs. Dr. Magnes replied: "It would be necessary for me to insult and compromise too many people if I were to tell publicly how many mistakes and how much bad feeling the Zionist leadership has created on Jewish-Arab questions. There will, however, come a time when I will publicize various facts and documents. . . . People will be horrified at the number of excellent opportunities that were missed because of the political short-sightedness of these people. It must not be forgotten that yesterday Jewish-Arab understanding was comparatively simple to achieve. Today it is already somewhat difficult, and tomorrow it will be even more difficult."

"What forces in the Jewish Yishuv understand the importance of cooperation with the Arab neighbors?"

"There are many people in the Yishuv who grasp the importance of it. A number of Zionist groups are among the supporters of an understanding. We have the support especially of labor circles, the communists, a number of intellectuals and certain parts of the *Aliyah Chadashah* (the New Immigration). . . . But I must repeat, the Zionist leadership persists in its shortsighted policy."

We got on to the question of education. Dr. Magnes informed us that he is following with consternation the chauvinistic education that Jewish youth is getting in Pal-

G. KOENIG, editor of the French-Yiddish paper, *Neue Presse*, has recently returned from a four month visit to Palestine.



estine. They are taught to look with contempt on other peoples, and on all social and cultural achievements of other peoples.

"I am in absolute opposition to the theories of 'liquidating the diaspora' and of 'exodus from Europe,'" he said in reply to my question. "I believe in the importance of the various Jewish communities in the world. It is necessary to help build a healthy Jewish life everywhere, wherever Jews live. During my last visit to the United States I was especially convinced of the profound meaning of the community of five million Jews there. During the opening ceremonies of the new academic year at the University in November, 1946, I especially commented in my speech on the Jews of America and on the relations that the Jews of Palestine have to the community there. What I said about American Jews is equally true about the Jews in other countries."

### ***On the Future of Jews***

This is what Dr. Magnes said, among other things, to the assembled professors, students and guests:

"Without doubt there are in this hall many who say with a shrug of the shoulder that everything the Jews of America achieve is very nice. But those Jews have no future, because there is in general no future for Jewry in the diaspora. They are certain that the hatred for Jews will spread so much in America, that the Jews there may possibly come to the same end as the Jews of Germany. God preserve us! . . . If it comes to such a pass in the world that even America adopts the Hitler methods—do they really believe that it will then be possible to find a place in the world, and even in Palestine, where Jews will be able to live and create?"

"When Hitler came to power there were many who were happy, declaring that despite the horrible tragedy of the persecutions, this tragedy nevertheless justifies the teachings of Zionism that no existence for the Jews is possible in the diaspora. In my opinion, these people sinned against the teachings of Zionism by having such ideas. Zionism does not need the destruction of any Jewish community to justify its program. Let us not repeat the same mistake with regard to American Jewry. Without a people there is no country. Without the diaspora there is no center. Let us not interpret everything that happens in America as a sign of the disappearance of the Jewish community there. We should rejoice at every positive Jewish manifestation and consider as a matter of honor to give it the maximum of help not only spiritually, but with personnel. The Yishuv in our country and Jewry in America need each other as a body needs a heart and vision.

"As I have said," Dr. Magnes concluded, "I have the same positive position with regard to the Jewish communities in Europe and other parts of the world."

We talked about the development of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Dr. Magnes declares that he would like the university to be progressive in spirit and to be able to attract Arab students and professors. In the mean-

time few Arabs come to the Arab section of the national library.

"My opinions," he admits with a smile, "are shared by a minority of the University faculty. The main thing is, however, that up till now no one has succeeded in interfering with the ideas of the minority."

"Why is there no chair of Yiddish at the University?" we asked.

"There was such a project before the war—there were even available the necessary funds for it. Unfortunately the leadership of the project categorically rejected it. Needless to say I was very much in favor of such a chair of Yiddish."

"Are you acquainted with the project to call a world Jewish cultural congress and are you prepared to participate in its organization?"

"I have heard about it. I can only greet the proposal. Unfortunately I do not see how I can participate in its preparations. I have too many problems on my mind now."

Dr. Magnes asked me to give hearty regards to the Jews of Europe. I thanked him and expressed my pleasure at the fine and warm Yiddish with which he had spoken throughout the interview.

"I learned Yiddish," he informed me, "as a reply to the persecution by the Hebrew-chauvinists against the Yiddish language. Only through tolerance and through mutual understanding in the Jewish community, and through friendship with the neighboring peoples and the world democracies shall we be able to build the future of our people."

### **WITH MOSHE SMELANSKY**

**M**OSHE SMELANSKY is a prominent figure in Jewish life in Palestine. With his name is connected the building of one of the oldest Jewish colonies in the country—Rechovet, which now has over 10,000 inhabitants. An old Zionist leader, he participates to this day in various Zionist institutions. At the same time he is a prominent Hebrew author and journalist. His articles in the bourgeois *Haaretz* always create a great deal of interest and discussion. Now over seventy, he is himself a rich orange-grove owner, and is the head of the association of the Jewish plantation owners.

Smelansky cannot be accused of "leftism." He has, however, one thing that is not common among most Zionist leaders—a great sense for reality. Knowing thoroughly the country and its inhabitants, coming daily up against the main problem of Palestine—Jewish-Arab relations—he, together with a number of other prominent Jewish bourgeois leaders, has come to the conclusion that only an understanding between both peoples can bring peace and security.

He speaks quietly and slowly, but with great clarity of thought and in a beautiful Yiddish. He reaches immediately to the heart of the question which had brought us to him.

"It is my deepest conviction," he said, "that without an

understanding between Jews and Arabs it is impossible to continue to build the country. But I have never believed, and I don't believe now that such an agreement between two nations can come only through an agreement between leaders. The understanding cannot be something on paper, but must be a matter of life. It must be built so that the Jews and Arabs can live together, work together, and create common institutions. Unfortunately, the Zionist leaders have done much to create an abyss between both peoples and to cut off the avenue to rapprochement. We let go by opportunites without number. It is a little late now because the Arab people have been pushed into the arms of such leaders as have special interests in struggle and unrest."

### **Contact With Arabs**

Mr. Smelansky told us how he became acquainted and more deeply concerned with the Arab question.

"I came to this country 56 years ago as a boy of 16. Almost immediately I met some of our Arab neighbors in the most natural way. We lived among them. Our relations with them were good. Jews and Arabs worked together in the colonies. We learned about agricultural problems from them, and they from us. Very often, when a Jew had no bread, an Arab would lend him a sack of wheat. Even then I was convinced that the fellaheens and the Bedouins were primitive but very goodhearted people. Even later, in the most difficult days of unrest in 1929 and in the years between 1936 and 1939, I continued to meet with Arab friends. Often I was compelled to dress like an Arab, and they had to dress like Jews before coming to see each other.

"Every time relations between Arabs and Jews deteriorated," Smelansky agreed, "it was a result of outside influence. In this manner, before the first World War, did the consuls of Britain, Germany and Tsarist Russia try to instigate the people against each other in order to exercise influence in their own interests. At that time they tried to worsen Arab-Jewish relations through religious irritations. In later years, British, Germans and Italians played on nationalist feelings. But all this would not have mattered too seriously, had not Zionist leadership made very serious mistakes in this regard."

Smelansky spoke bitterly about the policy of *Kibbush Avodah* (employ Jews only). He insists that this was one of the main reasons for the break in the spirit of friendship with the Arabs.

"There is much complaint," he declared, "against the boycott by Arabs against Jewish goods that brings great harm to the Jewish community. However, it must be said to our shame that without using the word, this boycott was begun first by the Jews against Arab workers in the cities and in the colonies. In the colonies this took even sharper forms because it involved—and continues to do so to this day—driving out Arab workers who were already employed on orange groves and in other places. Often when there was a temporary shortage of agricultural workers, Arabs were engaged. But the moment Jewish laborers were available in

the cities, they would be sent to the colonies to drive the Arabs out. This constantly created conflicts, and tended to embitter relations between the two peoples."

### **Causes for Disagreement**

"But the Jewish plantation owners," I remarked, "are accused of paying the Arabs low wages, and that is the reason why the Histadruth (Jewish Federation of Labor) leadership carry on such a sharp struggle against Arab labor."

"It is true," Smelansky replied, "that the Arab workers are paid less, and I don't want to defend the landlords. I maintain, however, that it is the task of the Histadruth to struggle so that the Arab workers receive equal pay with the Jewish workers, and not to struggle to drive Arabs from work!"

"I saw in Tel Aviv and in Haifa," I told him, "how Jewish youth attack Arab merchants and destroy their merchandise. What is your opinion of this?"

"My opinion is that driving Arabs from the market is scandalous. Merchandise should compete in a legal manner. Jews should not rely on such unheard of methods as pouring kerosene on products and beating up merchants. This is not decent, and brings bad results."

"And what about buying land? Are not there also known instances of conflict around the driving of Arabs off the land?"

"I am well acquainted with all the important land purchases of the last decades. There were many instances when the deals were consummated under normal conditions. The land involved was not worked, or the Arabs who lived on the land, were given other acreage. There were, however, other instances that were very regrettable. I myself am active in the *Keren Kayemeth*. But I was always opposed to driving the Arabs from their land. There is plenty of unoccupied land. There are also many possibilities of friendly dealings with the fellaheens. Besides, I have always maintained that when 10,000 dunams of land are purchased, and Arab peasants remain on 1,000 of them, it is not an absolute tragedy. On the contrary, the fact that Arabs will find themselves among Jewish colonists can only help to bring the two peoples together. Unfortunately, no one in *Keren Kayemeth* circles paid very serious attention to my opinion."

Smelansky then told me about a number of unfortunate dealings of Zionist leaders on the question of *Kibbush Ha-karka* (conquest of the land). The facts would be extremely important for our readers as documentation with regard to a terrible chauvinist policy. Smelansky, however, asked me not to publish these facts.

### **The Problem of Immigration**

"We are told," I said, "that the principal cause for the impossibility of understanding with the Arabs is their opposition to Jewish immigration."



"That is not true," Smelansky replied. "There were many times when it was easily possible to come to an agreement also on the question of immigration. Thus in 1936 we had meetings with outstanding Arab leaders who proposed to us an agreement to admit 40,000 Jews every year for ten years. At these discussions there were five Jewish representatives: Dr. Magnes, Ruthenberg the engineer, Judge Frumkin, Novomeyesky the engineer, and I.

"On the basis of the Arab proposal, the question of further immigration would have been determined after ten years. If we had adopted that project, we should now have 200,000 more Jews than there are in Palestine, and we should not have created a front of all Arab countries against us. The Arab proposals were, however, rejected and a few months later unrest in the country began."

"Who rejected the negotiations for an understanding?"

"Who? The Mufti. . . . But also Ben Gurion, Sher-tok. . . ."

As is well known, the Arab leaders demanded that the Jews join with them in speaking up against the British mandate over Palestine.

"Were further attempts made in recent years to reach an agreement with the Arabs?"

Smelansky told me about the many efforts made during the war by the Ichud group, headed by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, to find a general basis for agreement with the Arabs. Unfortunately, the policy of the guiding powers of Zionism disturbed the efforts of the far-sighted Jewish leaders.

"The proclamation of the Biltmore program for a Jewish state in Palestine was a terrible blow against agreement. I later told Ben Gurion of the evil of his policy. Now the Arabs no longer believe us when we say that we want the country to be for both peoples. This also helped to strengthen the influence of the most reactionary elements among the Arabs."

Moshe Smelansky proved to us with the facts of daily life what possibilities there are, given the will, to talk things over with our neighbors. Among them was the six-year-old Arab-Jewish committee of planters to regulate exports and prices of oranges, which was an example of cooperation. "Why cannot workers, peasants and intellectuals of both sides do the same?" he asked.

He spoke up sharply against the supporters of partition. "There are some who think that if we were only given a bit of Palestine we would have a Jewish state and be the equal of others. . . . This partition would, however, be the greatest danger for the Jewish community. In the first place, I do not believe in general in small states. Further, it will place the Jews at the point of a sword against the Arabs and the Arabs against the Jews. The greatest part of the budget for such a Jewish 'state' will go not for construction, but for an army. Both the Jews and the Arabs will maintain that they have too little territory, and there will without doubt be enough hotheads on both sides to attempt to grab a piece of the other's 'state.' Can you imagine the situation? No, partition will mean the third destruction for us!"

"And what is your opinion about the terrorist activities in the country?"

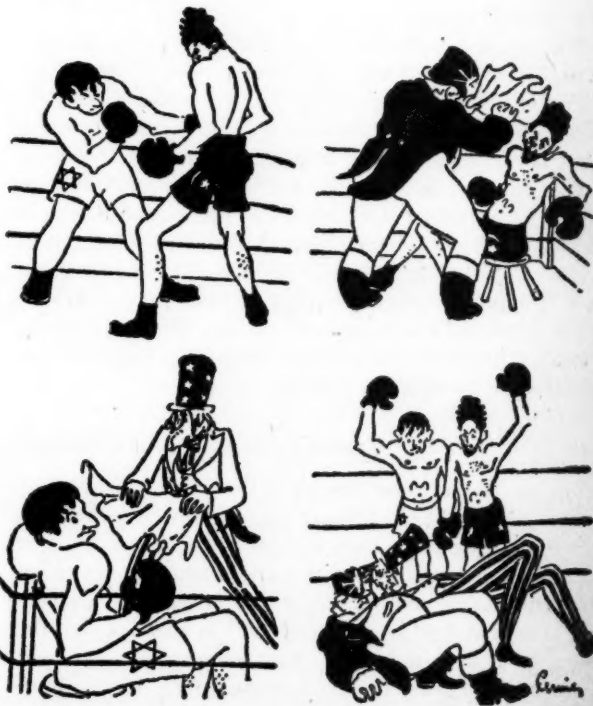
"I believe that the terrorist acts bring great harm to the Jewish people. The youth is being brought up in the worst military spirit. They find themselves in the hands of evil leaders."

Smelansky maintains that there is no great difference between the Revisionist terrorist organizations, the Irgun and the Stern gang, on the one hand, and the Haganah on the other. He emphasized that the Haganah is in conflict with the other two organizations not because of their bad deeds, but because these groups reject common discipline. In many instances they even worked together.

"Certain Zionists speak about an 'Exodus from Europe,'" I said. "Do you consider this a correct solution?"

"I think that 'Exodus from Europe' is an absurdity. Palestine cannot absorb even a couple of hundred thousand in a brief time. Even if Britain should permit unlimited immigration and the Arabs should agree to it, such a large immigration would mean a catastrophe for the country and for the immigrant Jews. We have to deal with a small country that hasn't too much good free land and also lacks raw materials. I believe that many Jews can still be brought to this country, but that is a long and difficult process of decades."

## THE WINNER



Palestinian view of the key to the problem, reprinted from the January 1947 issue of *Volkstimme*, German language monthly issued by the Palestine Communist Party.

# THE IRGUN HOAX

By Catherine Wilson

**T**HE exploits of the Palestine terrorist movement, Irgun Zevai Leumi, have aroused among many American Jews great sympathy and pride in the fact that Jews too can fight back. This sympathy and pride are grounded more in emotion than in a knowledge of the facts. For the facts, when studied, reveal a tale far removed from the propaganda build-up that representatives of the Irgun in America have astutely engineered.

"This is the Resistance . . . Palestine's Fighting Army of Liberation" is the title of a pamphlet, recently issued here by the American League for a Free Palestine, one of these American representatives, to glorify the Irgun Zevai Leumi (National Military Organization) of Palestine as a people's liberation movement, fighting for "an independent, democratic republic" and promising "full freedom and equal rights to all, whether Jew, Moslem or Christian." The appearance of this pamphlet marks the climax of one of the most skillful propaganda hoaxes perpetrated on Americans in recent years: the endeavor of the political representatives of the Irgun in the United States to cloak this terrorist organization in the inspired tradition of the wartime underground armies, which forged united people's fronts to wage exalted wars for the liberty and independence of their homelands.

The Irgun appears to have the trappings of a genuine resistance movement. Its acts against British terror, its killing of British soldiers and policemen, breaching of British prisons, derailment of trains and blowing up of government offices seem—to the uninformed—the heroic acts of Jewish Maquis. In the United States, representatives of the Irgun, organized in a network of publicity-mad organizations, publicize proposals for a "Hebrew" government-in-exile to direct the fight for a free Jewish state in Palestine. The propaganda of the Irgunists here stresses that the Irgun stands for attack, open war, action in contrast to the "cautious line," the "collaborationism," the "restraint" of the organized Jewish community.

## *Irgun's Friends and Enemies*

The record and achievements of the Irgun and its representatives in the United States suggest, however, that it is far from being a genuine resistance movement. A true liberation movement draws its strength and character from the participation and support of the people. Its genuineness may be judged by its friends and its enemies. But the Irgun, with a membership estimated between 4,000 and 10,000 has alienated the Arab masses with its revolting

chauvinism. It has been condemned by every responsible Jewish group in Palestine. Its enemies are all groups in Palestine from left to right which understand well how the Irgun harms the cause of the Yishuv. For the Irgun unleashes its terror not only against the British but against the innocent Arab and Jew, as well.

In true terrorist tradition it secures its funds by extortion, blackmail and robbery of the Yishuv which it would not need to do, if it were a genuine people's movement. The *Palestine Post* in March 1947 reported that ten Jews and ten Arabs had been killed by terrorist action in one week alone. The Irgun has bombed the print shop of the newspaper *Neu Velt*, organ of the left *Poale Zion* (Labor Zionists), burned newspaper stands which sell Yiddish and German papers, kidnapped labor and Haganah people, attacked and burned down workers clubs of the Hashomer Hatzair (Socialist-Zionist Youth). Haganah, the defense agency recognized by a majority in the Yishuv, addressed a recent leaflet to the terrorists: "You are a deserter. . . . We struggle in a disciplined way. But you throw bombs without rhyme or reason. You inflict terror on the Jewish public. You are sabotaging our struggle." Fourteen Palestine youth organizations, from the left to right, recently issued a joint appeal for an end to terrorism.

These are the opinions of the people in whose interests the Irgun is presumably fighting. The elements against whom the Irgun is supposed to wage its struggle, however, think quite differently of its activities. The attitude of the Arab fascist clique, guided by the pro-Nazi Mufti, is publicly known. Jamal el Hussein, the former Grand Mufti's deputy as chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, was quoted by the *New York Times*, May 2, 1947, as saying: "As for Jewish terrorism, I pray to God that it may continue, as it is in our interest." Nor is the Irgun hated by all the reactionary and rightist elements in the Jewish community. In a dispatch from Jerusalem, April 27, 1947, *PM* correspondent I. F. Stone wrote, "The two terrorist groups (the Irgun and the Stern gang) are shot through with the contempt for the masses and for life that is characteristic of fascist movements. Covertly cooperating with them are rightist and conservative groupings which see in the Irgun Zevai Leumi a way to smash Palestine's powerful labor movement and labor party under the cover of patriotic and national fervor."

## *The British Don't Mind*

Most interesting of all is the opinion of what is presumably the main target of terrorist activity. The British attitude to the Irgun and Stern terrorists was described by Mr. Stone in the same dispatch. "As for the British," he wrote, "just as they covertly support the Husseinis and the ex-

CATHERINE WILSON is an experienced New York journalist.



tremist Mufti faction of the Arabs—shutting their eyes to their assassinations and making life uncomfortable for the anti-Husseini Arabs—so they seem constantly to adopt policies and take steps which strengthen the hold of terrorist leadership on the Jewish community.”

This British attitude is understandable. For the Irgun terror campaign, although apparently directed against the British, is not prompted by any overall program against British imperialism. Such a program would demand cooperation with the groups already engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Irgun not only refuses to cooperate with these groups but rejects the will of the Jewish majority. The bombing of the King David Hotel last year is a case in point. After the arrest of Zionist leaders, June 29, the major Jewish organizations planned an organized demonstration in which the entire Yishuv was to take part. Before this plan could be carried out, however, the Irgun bombed the hotel, taking the initiative out of the hands of the people, and giving it to the British authorities, who promptly took punitive action against Tel Aviv.

That the Irgun's aim is to seize power for itself, at whatever expense to the Yishuv, is made clear in a dispatch from Jerusalem by World News Services correspondent R. S. Gordon, in February 1947. He described the terrorists as “the truly imperialist-minded elements in the Jewish community,” and “not the least bit interested in democracy for Palestine Jews or anyone else,” adding: “Their basic aim is not so much to wage war against the British as to create an empire of their own in the Middle East. . . . The Irgun Zevai Leumi, the Stern gang and their supporters plan and execute their acts of violence with the aim of attaining a Jewish State in all of Palestine by force. By the same methods, they propose to extend the projected Jewish state to include neighboring Transjordan. Some calmly talk of turning at least part of the Middle East into a colonial hinterland to be exploited and developed by their as yet non-existent Palestine-Transjordan state.” Since the Irgun's outrageous aims cannot possibly be attained in the face of the resistance of 70,000,000 Arabs, and are therefore no threat to British imperialist control, Britain can well afford to encourage and safeguard the Irgun's existence as an instrument in its profitable colonial policy of “divide and rule.”

### **Origin and Paternity**

This characterization would not be such a shock to many Americans, Jewish and non-Jewish, if they were aware of the origin of the Irgun. And the enthusiasm of these generous Americans, beguiled by the exploits of the Irgun, might be somewhat abated if they knew the organization's political paternity. The Irgun was originally organized out of a gang of strikebreakers, called “The Strong Arm Squad” (in Hebrew, *kvutzat habiryonim*) and developed from a political movement which preached strike-breaking and the crushing of the trade unions as a patriotic duty. Irgun was formed in 1931; its first activities were raids on union halls, breaking up union meetings, wrecking the offices of labor

papers. It won prominence in the period of the Arab riots, 1936-39, when the Yishuv adopted the policy maintained since the early days: active defense against attack but no blind or indiscriminate retaliation. This concept of *havaga*, self-restraint, developed as an extension of the concept of self-defense and was intimately associated with the idea of a defense corps made up of the workers themselves. The Irgun not only refused to take part in the defense of the Jewish community against the Arab terrorists but launched a terror of its own, bombing Arab market places and riding through Arab villages mowing down everything in sight with machine guns.

Politically the Irgun emerged from the Revisionist movement—the Jewish form of reaction—led by Vladimir Jabotinsky. In Palestine today the Irgun placards the walls with posters hailing Jabotinsky as its prophet and proclaiming his inspiration of its revolt. Prof. Johan J. Smertenko, a leading spokesman for the American League for a Free Palestine, makes the Irgun-Revisionist relationship clear: “A group of Revisionist youth organized an underground self-defense corps which soon became famous as the Irgun Zevai Leumi.” Revisionism early saw the need for such military organizations. One of the Revisionist leaders was Aba Achimeir, of whom Jabotinsky wrote in the *New York Morning Journal* in 1930, “I take my hat off to my friend and teacher, Achimeir.” This friend and teacher proclaimed: “We must create groups for action; to exterminate the Histadruth (Jewish Federation of Labor) physically; they are worse than the Arabs, bomb their gatherings.”

Around Jabotinsky's banner rallied the right wing of the Yishuv which demanded a Palestine without “socialist illusions” and with unlimited possibilities for capitalist exploitation and profit. Revisionism called for a strong hand against Jewish workers: it fed on the widespread disillusionment with British policy, limited immigration and growing poverty of the working class in the world economic crisis of the thirties. Revisionism proclaimed that “the danger comes from within” and identified the inner enemy as the worker. The attitude of Revisionism towards the working class struggle is clearly indicated in its *Basic Principles of Revisionism* (1929), which states: “Differences between Labor and Capital are to be adjusted solely by means of compromise. The Yishuv must proclaim a national arbitration regime and create a system of national arbitral courts. . . . Any infraction of the decision of the national arbitration bodies (lockouts, strikes, boycott of Jewish labor) are to be regarded as treason to the Nation.” At one Zionist Congress a Revisionist leader warned the workers' delegates: “Don't boast about your strength. There was a workers' movement in Germany, too, and it turned to dust and ashes overnight.” Jabotinsky, canon saint of the Irgun, proclaimed: “Every labor strike is treason.” He preached strike-breaking: “I remove the moral stigma attaching to the expression ‘strike-breaking’ in Palestine.” He called the Histadruth “this cursed cancer feeding on the body of the Yishuv.” Under this incitement, his brown-shirted followers did not hesitate to put his precepts into action.

### ***Kinship with Fascism***

Revisionism's kinship with fascism was clearly recognized by those best able to judge. The Italian Information Bureau, "Oriente Moderne," reporting greetings sent to the Revisionist Congress in Vienna in 1935 by the Mussolini government, said: "The Revisionists take a friendly position towards Italy. Its paper, *Hayarden*, has supported Italy in the Ethiopian affair, since the Revisionists are radical-nationalists and active enemies of the workers." Another Revisionist document declared: "Mussolini is the man who saved humanity from Communism. We are the pioneers in the struggle against socialism, Marxism and Communism. For ten years we have been seeking a Jewish Mussolini. Help us find him."

The brown-shirted, black-tied Betar Youth movement, of which Jabotinsky was commander-in-chief, received permission from the nazis to parade in Germany in 1934. The anti-Semitic Polish Government in 1937 urged Jewish youth in Poland to join Betar. In both Germany and Poland, the Betar movement, which was organized on the military lines of the Hitler youth movement and subscribed to a similar ideology, betrayed the Socialist-Zionist Jewish youth group, the Hashomer Hatzair, to the fascist authorities. The London Revisionist weekly, the *Jewish Standard*, was discovered in 1942 to be on the subsidy list of the anti-Semitic Polish government-in-exile. That same year an underground report smuggled out of Europe by Jewish partisans charged that some Revisionists were acting as ghetto police for the nazis. That the Revisionist movement has not changed its pro-fascist orientation is clear from the fact that today the *Hamashkif*, organ of the Palestinian Revisionists, supports Franco in Spain and the Greek monarchist government against the EAM.

The year nazism came to power in Germany found the Revisionists smashing collection boxes of the Jewish National Fund and, in the murder of the Socialist-Zionist Arlosoroff, carrying out the precepts of Jabotinsky's "friend and teacher" Achimeir, who preached assassination. Achimeir once declared: "It is by the amount of bloodshed that we can evaluate a revolution and not by the beautiful ideas for which the blood is shed."

### ***Relations with Imperialism***

With a program which proclaimed hostility to the Arabs, declaring that "voluntary reconciliation with Arabs is out of the question," the Revisionists sought allies elsewhere. In 1921 Jabotinsky entered negotiations with the White Russian Petlura, instigator of pogroms which killed thousands of Jews. In 1936 he proposed that Mussolini's Italy take over the Palestine Mandate. In 1937 he was negotiating with the Polish colonel Beck and offering a solution of the "Jewish problem" which provided for the evacuation of three million "surplus" Jews in Europe.

It was in its relations to the Mandatory Power, Great Britain, however, that the true character of the Revisionist

movement was most clearly exposed. On occasion, when it suited their purposes, the Revisionists posed as the most valiant fighters against Britain. The very nature of their movement, however, again and again inevitably brought them into collaboration with Britain against their fellow-Jews. This was apparent in their repeated demands that the British government dissolve the Jewish agency and in their willingness to hand over basic Jewish rights and organs of Jewish autonomy to the British administration. In 1940, for instance, the Revisionists petitioned the British Palestine government to outlaw strikes and to take over from Jewish labor bureaus the responsibility of regulating employment.

Reliance upon Britain is a basic feature of the Revisionist, as it is of the whole Zionist movement. Jabotinsky repeatedly proclaimed his allegiance to England, outlining the Revisionist doctrine on this point in *Jewish State Zionism* in these words: "But a Palestine predominantly Jewish, Palestine as a Jewish state, surrounded on all sides by Arab countries, will in the interests of its own preservation always tend to lean upon some powerful empire, non-Arab and non-Moslem. This is an almost providential basis for a permanent alliance between England and a Jewish (but only a Jewish) Palestine." This policy of alliance with Britain is still pursued by the Revisionists, with some elaboration to meet changing conditions in the Middle East.

The Revisionists are now putting forward the thesis that not only Britain, but also an expanding American imperialism can find a worthy bulwark in an "independent" Jewish Palestine. One of England's leading Revisionists, A. Greenberg, put the proposal bluntly at a press conference in Tel Aviv, August 21, 1946: "It is our duty to convince the British and Americans that just from the strategic point of view an independent Jewish community in Palestine is a positive and not a negative factor in the struggle between the Anglo-Saxon and the Russian worlds. . . . We have to convince the British of the identity of their military interests and the Zionist demands. . . . We have to be the link in the Anglo-American chain of defense." The anti-Soviet bait was offered again by *Hamishkif*, October 4, 1946, when it said: "We desire an alliance with the British Empire, not with the Asiatic countries and not with the Soviet Union."

The present terrorist campaign of the Irgun, which was initiated with a "declaration of war" against Britain, is an essential part of this basic strategy of winning imperialist support for a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan, a Jewish state, cleansed of "socialist illusions" and democratic institutions, a state ready and eager to assume a puppet role in the imperialist combination being organized against the Soviet Union. In Palestine, Irgun's purpose and role is generally understood.

### ***Irgun Fronts in the U.S.A.***

The Irgun dares to take the offensive at this time because of the failure of the dominant leadership of the Zionist movement to conduct anti-imperialist struggle. Even left-wing



Zionist organizations have been inconsistent and indecisive in leading the Jewish masses against imperialist domination in Palestine. The Irgun is capitalizing on the failure of legitimate Jewish leadership. Only the Communist Party of Palestine has been conducting consistent struggle against imperialism, together with Arab progressive forces.

But the Irgun has also found encouragement for action in the support won for it in the United States by an energetic group headed by an adventurer called Peter Bergson. This group has straddled the country and has had remarkable success in deceiving a large number of distinguished Americans, Jewish and non-Jewish, from political left to right, into sponsoring or supporting their shifting "front" organizations and in collecting huge sums of money from generous Americans. The Irgun recently expressed its appreciation for this work, declaring, as reported in the *New York Times*, April 19, that Bergson's Hebrew Committee for National Liberation and its associated bodies "support our struggle and conduct a great work of enlightenment for our cause."

The key men in the front committees which have been working for the Irgun here arrived in the United States between 1939 and 1941. Some came as a delegation of the Irgun from Palestine, some were emissaries from Europe. Altogether there were ten who formed the nucleus of the successive paper committees, and nearly all had been associated with Irgun or Betar, or both. Bergson, the leader, whose real name is Hillel Kook and who is the son of a Tel Aviv rabbi, took his alias in the mid-thirties when he left Palestine to work in Europe and the Middle East as an agent of the Irgun. Alexander Hadani, for several years an Irgun agent in Europe, headed the Irgun delegation to the Zionist Congress in Geneva in 1939. Considered to be one of the chief "brain trusters" of the group is Samuel Merlin, for many years political secretary to Vladimir Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky died in the United States in 1940 and Merlin joined the Irgun group here at that time. Other members were Jabotinsky's son Eri, Arie Ben-Eliezer, a member of Betar since its inception, Captain Jeremiah Halpern, another Betar leader and close collaborator of Jabotinsky's, Yitshak Ben Ami, a member of both Betar and the Irgun, and Theodore Bennahum, Phinhas Delougaz and Aaron Kope.

This Irgun group operated through a series of "front" committees—the American Friends of a Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, and the American League for a Free Palestine—and always claimed to speak in the name of the whole Jewish people, although they were bitterly opposed by most organized Jewish groups and never sought affiliation with other groups.

In the United States, the Irgun speaks not only under a variety of different names, but with another voice. Here its front committees in full page ads and in pamphlets present the Irgun as the vanguard of an oppressed people,

fighting a "revolutionary war of independence" and dedicated to democratic ideals. It tries to be all things to all men. With such a political doctrine, it was possible—and typical—that the Revisionists in the United States in 1944 called for an end to the British Mandate, while the Revisionists in Palestine through *Hamashkif* said, Oct. 4, 1944, "Revisionists want one thing, ties with the British Empire."

At the same time, the Irgun outfits in the United States carried on a campaign for a Jewish state in Palestine "on both sides of the Jordan" and continually attacked the recognized Jewish agencies as "do-nothing" and ineffective. Through the American League for a Free Palestine, the Bergson group in February 1947 called for the dissolution of the Jewish Agency in Palestine and in the pamphlet, *This Is the Resistance*, supported the Irgun demand for a "Provisional Government" and an interim "National Council."

But the fundamental reactionary political doctrine of the Irgun and its American agents explains why its non-Jewish political front in the United States is a gentleman who was on President Roosevelt's purge list as an arch reactionary, ex-Senator Guy Gillette; why its Jewish political front in the United States is a gentleman who wrote one of the most revolting of anti-Semitic books, Ben Hecht of *A Jew in Love* ill-repute. And this political doctrine also explains why the sole political action taken by the American Revisionist organization on the domestic front was to call upon the Jews to vote in the 1946 elections for the most reactionary section of American imperialism, the Dewey-Taft-Hoover gang in the Republican Party, after this party had conducted a presidential election campaign in 1944 on the anti-Semitic slogan of "Clear It With Sidney" and with the open support of the most notorious anti-Semites of the country.

### Publicity and Facts

On its record, the purpose of the Bergson group is to confuse public opinion and to win support for the Irgun. It has made lavish use of flamboyant, sensational and sometimes clever press agency and publicity. "For Sale to Humanity—70,000 Jews, Guaranteed Human Beings at \$50 a Piece. . . . Rumania will now give Jews away practically for nothing," read one of its ads, reprints of which were mailed out with requests for contributions. The public may be forgiven for having believed that a \$50 contribution would save a Jewish life, although, as it turned out, such was not the case. The financial appeals of the Irgunists invariably suggested that the money collected was intended for relief and rescue of the suffering Jews of Europe. Certainly the contributors to the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe believed they were giving money to do just that.

However, Ira Hirschmann, special envoy of the President's War Refugee Board in Istanbul, stated on November 23, 1946: "I authorize you to state in my name that as a representative of the American government I had control

over all the funds which Mr. Eri Jabotinsky, representative of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, received in Constantinople from America, and I say that while I was there I had no evidence whatever that Mr. Jabotinsky—the only one there representing his Committee—saved one European Jew.”

The Irgunists, largely on the basis of appeals for help to the displaced Jews of Europe, succeeded in collecting more than a million dollars from generous Americans. Not one cent of this money was used to bring Jewish refugees to Palestine. “The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,” wrote Jesse Zel Lurie in *Congress Weekly*, February 21, 1947, “is that *not one single immigrant* has been brought to Palestine by the League, or through its funds, and every immigrant, every Jew in Palestine knows this for a fact. If Ben Hecht can prove anything to the contrary, he can sue me for libel.”

In October 1944, Peter Bergson, who was then maintaining a Hebrew Embassy in Washington, housed in the former Embassy of Iran, purchased for \$63,000, boasted at a press conference that his Hebrew Committee for National Liberation had collected “one million dollars from generous Americans.” Under questioning by the *Washington Post*, however, he admitted that this Committee, of which he is chairman, says the *Post*, “is not American; has no right to collect funds; is taking no action toward direct relief to ‘Hebrews’; and does not to their knowledge represent either European or Palestinian ‘Hebrews’” (Oct. 4, 1944).

Bergson and his various “front organizations” were denounced in November 1946 by the Haganah radio as “enemies of the Jewish people,” who are guilty “of shameful profiteering in human misery.” Their collections of large sums of money from well meaning people constitutes, declared the Haganah radio, “a black market in Jewish suffering.” The publicity and clamor raised by the Irgunists in their pretense at repatriation has made more difficult the illegal work of the Haganah, which is actually carrying out the immigration work that the Bergson group falsely claimed to be doing.

In recent weeks the Bergson group has for the first time

launched an *open* appeal for aid to the Irgun terrorists, utilizing the emotional appeal of the execution of Dov Gruner, a leading figure in the Palestinian Revisionist movement. The American group has announced a drive for \$7,500,000 to be allocated “to repatriation work, to winning recognition of the Hebrew nation and to relief and aid for the fighters of Palestine.” Some Americans assert that the Irgun has brought the Palestine problem to world attention and therefore merits support. But this view does not probe very deeply. For the basic causes of the climactic developments in Palestine are the complete breakdown of the imperialist “solution” of the Palestine problem and its demonstrated failure, the aggravation of the problem of Jewish DP’s, and the deterioration of the situation in which world imperialism finds itself today. In Palestine itself the claims of the Irgun are characterized by all Jewish parties and groups as completely false. According to representative groups in Palestine the Irgun has succeeded only in arousing all forces against the Jews, has enormously increased the tension between Arab and Jew and has given British imperialism just the provocation it needed to attack the Yishuv and completely to convert Palestine into a full-fledged military base of operations for Middle Eastern imperialism and against the Soviet Union.

Emotionalism will not effect a solution for the Palestine community, terrorized and intimidated as it is by imperialist brutality. If it could, the Palestine problem would already be solved. Only by hard, clear thinking and by a political program that will weld a democratic people’s movement can imperialist mastery be ended. No doubt the brutality, terror and killing instigated by imperialism has driven many young Palestinian Jews to acts of violence and terror, to indiscriminate killing as a result of disillusionment and despair. But the Jews are in too tight a spot both in Palestine and in other parts of the world to allow emotional reactions to an apparently militant struggle against British imperialism—that does not in fact exist—to govern their judgment. It is imperative that Jews re-examine their sympathy and support for the Irgun in the light of the real purposes and effects of this movement.

## PALESTINE COMMENT ON GROMYKO SPEECH

*The historic speech of Soviet UN delegate Andrei Gromyko at the UN Assembly session on May 14, 1947, elicited the following reactions from Palestine:*

Palestine Communist Party: “We welcome the results of the UN session but regret the removal of the demand for independence and the exclusion of the Big Five from the fact finding committee. Gromyko’s speech, the highlight of the session, was hailed throughout the Yishuv. The attitude of the Soviet Union is in the interests of both Palestine

peoples. Gromyko showed a people’s Palestine solution as an independent, democratic Arab-Jewish Palestinian state. This objective was contained in the resolution of our Tenth Conference. We opposed partition as being against the national economic interests of both Jews and Arabs. The Zionist press conceals the first and most important part of Gromyko’s speech, giving pre-conditions for any solution as the abolition of the mandate, the evacuation of foreign troops and an independent Palestine. Palestine Zionists



omit from the speech that an Arab-Jewish state is the "only" solution and they present the case as if Gromyko gave partition as an equal alternative. This led Ben Gurion to proclaim at the National Assembly, while praising Gromyko, that the aim is to erect a Jewish state immediately in the Jewish part of Palestine, while the Arab part is to remain under the mandate until it is enclosed in the Jewish state too. The Zionists disregard Gromyko's declaration that two peoples live in Palestine with equal rights."

Jewish Agency: "Gromyko's speech caused great satisfaction and gratification to world Jewry and the Palestine Jewish community and to the Jewish Agency. It is obviously an event of extraordinary importance when one of the three major powers makes a public declaration in which a number of basic principles guiding us in our analysis of the Jewish position and our work are accepted and underlined. It is of extreme importance that the USSR's representative should underline the historical connection between our people and this country."

*Mishmar*, organ of the Hashomer Hatzair Party, which together with the Ichud (Unity) group headed by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, are the chief proponents of bi-nationalism within the Jewish community, termed the speech an "historic declaration which will be entered as such in the annals of Jewish and world history." Referring to it as the "Soviet Balfour Declaration," the newspaper continued: "At a

time when the successors of Balfour and Wilson are selling out the right of refuge of the Jewish people to Arab reaction for oil, one of the most powerful factors in the world came to the defense of the Jewish people. The Soviets now support the fundamental principles on which our liberation movement is built. We are gratified that Russia, and with her, all the progressive forces in the world, demand that an Arab-Jewish agreement be fostered and that in any case the right of the Jewish people to national independence be safeguarded. We feel that this is a declaration of principles not motivated by a desire for practical advantages."

*Davar*, organ of the Histadruth (Jewish Federation of Labor), declared that "Russia's lifting of its boycott of Zionism will, in effect, undermine Britain's position in the Middle East." It asserted that Gromyko cut the ground out from under the British Labor Party's policy of intimidating British public opinion with the threat that if the government granted the Jewish demands the Arabs would rush into the arms of the Soviet Union.

*Haaretz*, conservative General Zionist newspaper, said: "Gromyko's historic speech will undermine the basis on which the experts of the British Foreign Office build their Middle East and Palestine policies . . . appeasement of the Arabs at Jewish expense in order to prevent the Arabs from joining Russia against the Western powers. Now, this basis is devoid of value."

## THE BEERS ARE ON ME

A Short Story

By Lorraine Kobrin

"HELLO, Frank," he says and his voice is like an old man's. He don't look so hot either. All gray—with flabby cheeks—and his pants fit like burlap sacks.

He's standing in the door—holding onto the knob—like he's afraid to let go. For a few minutes I don't recognize him. Then you can knock me over with a spool of cotton!

There've been some funny birds floating around our local of the Upholsterers' Union. Like the guy who used to be a wrestler. For a week straight the jerk broke every piece of furniture he touched.

But—Goldfarb—

"Hello . . . Mr. Goldfarb. . . ." My voice ain't exactly sweet cream. I'm remembering the time his wife threw hot water on us when we were picketing his store.

The pinochle sharks from Samson Brothers are waiting for my move, but I decide to see what he wants, so I let Abe, the *linker* ("Lefty"), take my hand. I might just as well take and give them the money. That Schlemiel used

to get skinned even before the war, and now, since they got out of the Army their technique is like an atom blitz!

Anyway, when Goldfarb sees me coming he lets go of the knob and comes in a couple of steps.

"It's been a long time since we seen each other, Frank," he says, kind of low.

"Yeah, must be around ten years."

He starts figuring when his daughter got married, his son went to California and his wife died—then he tells me—no, it's twelve years.

"How are you, Frank?" he asks.

"Me . . . can't kick."

"And Rose . . . and the baby . . . she must be a big girl," he says kind of thinking. "I remember . . . like it was yesterday . . . your wedding. Some girl . . . your Rose . . . a face like a picture. . . ."

Too many guys've tried sob stuff on me . . . so I cut through the hearts and flowers.

"How come you're here?" I ask him.

"I heard . . . a lot of men come here . . . on Saturday night . . . and talk . . . and play cards. . . ." His voice kind of fades away.

LORRAINE KOBKIN is a young writer who makes her first appearance with this story.

"Union men, Mr. Goldfarb. You never liked union men, remember?" He knows I'm talking about the time he went uptown and brought two guys to take our places, then locked us out.

"You mean I can't stay?"

The whole thing is going way over my head—and Abe is flashing me an SOS, looking kind of sick. Good clean sport, they call it!

So I say, "You want to sit here? Sit here. We don't throw nobody out. Over there." I point to the benches outside the gate.

He sits down and opens a mussed paper that somebody left behind. He makes believe that he's reading. But he ain't. Over the paper he's looking at us. . . .

When we get up to go out for beer he's gone.

HE DON'T SHOW UP FOR THREE OR FOUR DAYS. THEN, AROUND the end of the week, one morning, while I'm looking through the calls, he comes in again.

"Frank," he says, "I want to talk to you."

"OK, Mr. Goldfarb, shoot."

He mashes an old cigarette butt with his toe and keeps looking at the floor. Finally, he says kind of fast, "You know I'm not in business, anymore."

I'm really surprised, because being job director I usually hear about those things. "I didn't know, Mr. Goldfarb."

"Yes, I failed about five months ago."

"That's tough," I say. But what the hell is he doing here, I'm wondering.

"So . . . I thought . . ." he begins, then stops. "Frank," he starts all over again, "I need a job . . . bad. . . ."

"Sorry. . . ." I begin and I can tell him plenty. Here's a guy who used to say all Unions were run by Communists—who tried sixty times a day to get us arrested when we picketed his shop. Now he comes to the Union for a job!

"I know, Frank, it's because I was always against the Union."

"Look, Frank," he says quietly, "what if I asked you to join—even if there is no job?"

"I don't get it. Why should you?"

"You remember when I hated the Union. Sure I hated it. I thought it was taking my bread and butter, that I worked hard for."

"But now," he ain't looking at me, but at the men starting to come in. "Now it's different. The other night I sat here. I saw men together. I heard them talking. I wanted to talk to them."

"I saw Spotty Louis," he smiles a little. "You know why we called him, Spotty, Frank? He used to sweat all over the furniture when we worked for Wald & Rosen. We worked together when I came from the Other Side."

"So why didn't you go over and talk to him?"

I notice he's leaning kind of heavy on the gate—so I push up a chair for him. No use breaking the gate.

He sinks into it and starts rubbing his foot like it hurt him.

"It ain't just Louis," he says after a while. "It's all the

men. After supper to be with somebody. Last night I went back and forth in the subway—three times to the Bronx—just to be with people—not alone. . . ."

What the hell could I say to him?

"You know—the Union ain't a social club," I say kind of formal. "We got duties and obligations."

"I know . . . I know . . . look, Frank, I ain't a boss . . . I ain't a worker . . . I'm a nothing. At least, let me be a man with other men. . . ."

"How old are you, Goldfarb?" I ask.

"Sixty," he says, looking puzzled. "Why? You got an age limit?"

"No. I've got to get you a job, to get you into the Union."

"Then it's no use, Frank. I been all over. They don't want me. I'm an old man. . . ."

"Don't be nuts." I'm looking at him like a boss would. What would he see first, I'm asking myself. His gray hair!

Then I remember a sample bottle of tinting liquid one of the boys brought in to show me. Some new stuff to cover frayed corners on upholstered furniture.

"Say, Goldfarb, I got an idea."

He looks at me.

"If not for the hair you don't look so old. . . ."

"So what can I do?" he asks.

"Maybe we can fix it up a little."

"What do you mean?" He sounds like he thinks I'm crazy. Maybe I am. I take out the bottle.

"I'll just rub this on your hair. It says it can't hurt the most delicate fabric."

"Frank!" he yells, "you'll burn up my head, yet!"

"Listen, Goldfarb, if it's all right for worn out couches, it's all right for your head."

He don't like the idea but finally he agrees and I take him into the Men's Room. As I'm pouring out the stuff I have my own doubts. After all, a beauty parlor expert I'm not; and theory, as they say in Arabic, does not fill the stomach.

BUT YOU SHOULD SEE HIM WHEN HE COMES OUT—A HEAD OF black hair like on an eighteen-year-old boy. Maybe not eighteen; maybe a ham actor of forty. But he don't look sixty!

There ain't much that I can do about the suit, but I tell him to get four or five beers on the way. To kind of pep him up.

"But where am I going?" he asks.

"To get a job. Didn't I tell you? We got a call—cutting slip covers by machine. It's easy. All you have to do is follow the pattern."

He's beginning to sit down again.

"I never cut by machine, Frank, always by hand."

"It's not hard. Get the machine in clean, under all the material. Point the knife straight. Hold onto the handle and keep your eyes on the pattern."

"Well . . ." he still hesitates.



"Look, Goldfarb, do you want this job—or should I send somebody else. . . ."

The psychological approach, I found, always works!

Anyway, I give him the address and for the next couple of hours I keep watching the door. Why; what do you mean, why? I'm waiting for a special delivery letter from Kalamazoo telling me I'm a millionaire!

Around three in the afternoon he comes back—running—carrying his coat. His forehead is sweating bluish black sweat and around his eyes he's got such black rings he looks like Boris Karloff.

"Frank," he says, when he catches his breath, "I'm a member! I'm an A-100 per cent union member."

Then he walks through the gate and sits down on one of the inside benches, grinning at me.

"What happened?" I ask him, when I can't stand it anymore.

"First he gives me a test. You know a batch to cut."

"Yeah . . . so. . . ."

"I'm so nervous, I'm making in my pants. The machine is wobbling. He's beginning to say he's sorry. And I'm sweating like it was a river running from me!"

"So. . . ."

"So . . . I remember what you said. I'm holding the machine like a good Jew holds the Torah. With all my strength I'm pushing it against the pattern. Then it cuts! It cuts through! It splits the chalk line. In half!"

"So I turn to the Superintendent but he's laughing so much he don't even see what I'm doing."

"Pop," he says, "It's raining ink on your forehead. A guy who can think up a trick like that is a guy after my own heart."

A couple of weeks later Goldfarb comes around to pay his first dues. He comes in like in the old days when he got a Flatbush order with fifteen bucks clear profit. His little pot belly is sticking out and his hair is all mussed up—but no longer black.

"Boys," he tells the pinochele sharks, "beers are on me!"

## X-RAY ON "COMMENTARY"

By Louis Harap

A HORSE of decidedly peculiar color entered the Anglo-Jewish press handicap about two years ago. *Commentary: A Jewish Review*, published monthly by the American Jewish Committee, issued its first number in November 1945 in a handsome, impressive looking format resembling *Harpers* in appearance and solidity of subject matter. It is time to explore the real objectives of this magazine, whose purpose is purportedly to serve the interests of the Jewish people.

But first a word about the American Jewish Committee (hereafter referred to as AJC), the organization that is responsible for *Commentary's* policies and which foots the very considerable bill. The AJC is a highly selective "committee" most of whose founders and controlling members are of German origin, including some of the wealthiest names in the United States—Blaustein, Ittelson, Lehman, Lewisohn, Proskauer, Rosenwald, Rothschild, Ströock, Sher, Straus, Sulzberger, Warburg, Weil, etc. The stated purpose of the AJC is to defend Jewish rights all over the world and to ensure equal opportunity for Jews everywhere. Its technique for fighting anti-Semitism and discrimination has been "hush-hush"—keep the word "Jew" out of the public press and the Jewish problem as far as possible away from the public eye. Above all, avoid mass pressure in the fight for Jewish rights. Put your faith in back-room influence on key officials for administrative

action; and if you must have public activity, let non-Jews carry it on under your direction. The Committee has to a limited extent receded from this position in the past few years, but it still applies these techniques in many of its activities. Its reticence and timidity arise from a bourgeois dread of mass action. The less the community notices the existence of its Jewish component, the better the AJC likes it.

### Journalistic Jitters and Trotskyite Jive

While this horror of mass pressure persists, the Committee has been forced by events such as the murder of six million Jews and the threat to the survival of those remaining, to modify its position somewhat, and *Commentary* is one sign of this. Before 1945 the Committee had tried to influence public opinion through magazines advocating "racial tolerance" edited by non-Jews but largely financed by Jews. Men connected with the AJC are known to have given financial and other aid to the anti-fascist *Protestant* magazine in its early years in the thirties. But when the magazine became too militantly—"prematurely"—anti-fascist, particularly in its anti-Franco campaign and severe criticism of the Catholic hierarchy's tolerance or support of fascism; and when the *Protestant* could not be prevailed upon to tone down this policy, the AJC went out of its way to urge withdrawal of support for the magazine. For instance, when the *Protestant* devoted a fighting issue in February 1940 to an appeal for justice to anti-fascist refugees, the Committee bought for distribution 5,000 copies of the

LOUIS HARAP, formerly managing editor of *The Jewish Survey*, is now editorial associate of *JEWISH LIFE*.

issue. But the Committee was so terrified at the militant editorial condemning appeasement and urging friendship with the Soviet Union, that it destroyed the whole consignment. After several occurrences of this kind the Committee carried on first an under cover and then an open red smear campaign against the *Protestant*.

*Commentary* is not the first magazine issued by the AJC. From 1938 to 1945 the Committee published the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, a scholarly journal of limited circulation devoted to information, research and documentation of Jewish life all over the world. Its contributors were mainly established and eminent Jewish scholars. However, in the midst of the war, in 1943, a sudden change came over the magazine. It was virtually turned over to Trotskyites and social democrats. With the October 1943 issue Philip Rahv, notorious Trotskyite and an editor of *Partisan Review*, literary quarterly of the anti-Soviet "left," blossomed forth as managing editor. After him came the deluge of Trotskyite and "radical" sectarian contributors. For less than a year Rahv underwent an apprenticeship in AJC ideology in this office. Then in October 1944 Clement Greenberg, also a one-time editor of *Partisan Review*, became managing editor. In June 1945 the Trotskyite position was consolidated with the appointment of Elliot E. Cohen as editor.

### Strange Birth of Commentary

Persistent rumors have it that, were it not for AJC money, *Partisan Review*, would be unable to appear in its present form. But why should the Committee directly or indirectly support a purely "literary" magazine? Certainly not because the AJC is a patron of literature, or because this magazine furthers Jewish interests. The AJC helps *Partisan Review* because this journal is an influential Trotskyite and rabidly anti-communist agency. For those who know the Committee for what it really is, are aware that it is just as much an anti-communist agency (like most other big bourgeois organizations) as it is a supposed supporter of Jewish rights. When therefore the Big Business men of the AJC turned to publication of a Jewish review, they embraced the extreme anti-communist "left" as their ready and well-paid agents. *Commentary* was projected by a committee headed by Ralph E. Samuel, Wall Street broker, late chairman of the AJC's New York chapter and head of the national publication committee. The *Contemporary Jewish Record* ceased publication in June 1945 and its Trotskyite editorial junta, headed by Elliot Cohen, launched *Commentary* in November.

Who are these new protagonists of the Jews whom the AJC is paying so liberally to present the Jewish case before the world? They are, as we shall show, a melange of various "radical" sectarians—Trotskyites, social democrats and assorted "leftists." These categories are difficult to distinguish from one another these days because their only working program is unity in hatred of the Soviet Union, which leads them into reactionary positions on domestic and international issues. For their policy on any issue is determined by

the assumption of a position opposed to that of the Soviet Union or the communists, regardless of the democratic merits of the issue in question. Hence they generally find themselves on the same side as the reactionaries, with all the dangerous consequences for the Jews that flow from reaction. Many of these "leftists" are renegades from the Communist Party. All of them are contributors to one or more of the anti-Soviet, anti-progressive press—the *New Leader*, *Partisan Review*, *Politics*, *Common Sense*, *Socialist Call*.

### Political Rogues Gallery

The ideological leader of *Commentary*, editor Cohen, had not written for this press prior to his association with the AJC, because his lucrative position with the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies rendered his appearance there rather impractical. But this renegade communist is well-known as a Trotskyite and close associate of the articulate members of this sect. Clement Greenberg, managing editor of *Commentary*, was, as noted above, an editor of *Partisan Review* and a frequent contributor to it. Another member of the editorial staff, Nathan Glazer, is a very young man who has contributed to the *New Leader* and *Politics*, anti-Soviet journals. Sidney Hertzberg, who writes a regular monthly review of events in *Commentary*, has had an extraordinary career for a "spokesman" of Jewish interests. Between 1939 and 1941 he was publicity director of the America First Committee and editor of an isolationist newsletter, *Uncensored*, which ceased publication on Dec. 6, 1941 for obvious reasons. From August 1943 to May 1945 Hertzberg was editor of *Common Sense*, which campaigned during this period of life and death struggle of our country and democracy, against the Roosevelt policies and the Soviet Union. Since *Common Sense* closed shop, he has written regularly for *Commentary*.

Of the five contributing editors of *Commentary*, the only one who is not a scholar in the Jewish field is Sidney Hook, a contributing editor of the *New Leader*, who has a long history of intense anti-Sovietism. He has written for most of the anti-Soviet journals and has also wormed his way into influence in the AJC and other Jewish organizations where he carries on his anti-Soviet, anti-progressive campaign.

*Commentary* writers for the nearly two years of its existence almost make up a catalogue of contributors to the whole anti-Soviet press of the "left." Some are popularly known through their best-sellers, the reputation of others is confined to the "left" sectarian press audience. Among the better known contributors are Arthur Koestler, whose position is known to all who read; Louis Fischer, "disillusioned" Soviet-hater; Bertram A. Wolfe, long-time left sectarian; Alfred Kazin, anti-Soviet literary critic; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., the new "liberal" anti-communist specialist; George Orwell, British Trotskyite who fought with the treacherous POUM militia during the Spanish civil war and contributes frequently to *Partisan Review*; James Rorty, former *New Masses* editor with a long record of anti-



New Deal and anti-Soviet writing and contributor to *Partisan Review*, *Common Sense*, and the *New Leader*; Philip Rahv, Trotskyite editor of the *Partisan Review*.

Some of the contributors are known mainly to the left sectarian press—literary figures such as Mary McCarthy, wife of Edmund Wilson, Paul Goodman, Harold Rosenberg, Hannah Arendt, William Barrett, Diana Trilling—all contributors to *Partisan Review* and other anti-communist journals; Will Herberg, former Young Communist League leader and prolific contributor to the anti-communist press; Louis Berg, former communist; Leon Denen, anti-Soviet specialist; Daniel Bell, former managing editor of the *New Leader* and *Common Sense*; David T. Bazelon, young recruit to the anti-Soviet press; Irving Kristol, *Politics* contributor and British correspondent for the *New Leader*; Maurice J. Goldbloom, former associate editor of *Common Sense*; Irving Howe, editor of the “leftist” weekly *Labor Action*; and many others, too numerous to mention, with similar associations. Writers of only one other Jewish publication appear frequently—the *Jewish Frontier*, organ of the social democratic, rabidly anti-Soviet Labor Zionists.

### **Anti-Progressive United Front**

Clearly Elliot Cohen has gathered here, with the connivance of the AJC big money, *the most inclusive united front of the anti-progressive, anti-communist, anti-Soviet fractions of the “left” in this country*. We may be sure that Cohen is not putting anything over on the AJC: the rulers of the Committee are aware of the political complexion of this phalanx of writers and approve the policy underlying their use. What these two groups have in common is their enmity to the progressive movement. The professional anti-Sovieters supply the demagogic ideology and the AJC pays them well for it.

How account for this strange alliance? The AJC is in a self-contradictory position. On the one hand, it is an influential organization of wealthy, powerful Jews who are forced by their membership in a persecuted people to appear to support progressivism because the survival of the Jewish people depends on the maintenance and extension of democracy. The AJC recognizes this necessity verbally at least in its declarations. At the same time controlling elements of the AJC are also members of the American big bourgeoisie, whose interests are opposed to the growth of democracy. The AJC is therefore locked in the toils of the contradiction between their class interests and their welfare as Jews. There can be no doubt that their economic, class interests dominate the program and activities of the AJC. Although they dare not take an open anti-labor stand, they have not raised a finger to combat the current trend towards reaction and fascism in the threat to outlaw the Communist Party and to cripple labor with an avalanche of anti-labor laws. Furthermore, they have for a long time been carrying on an undercover campaign to smear communists and progressives among the Jews. Their stand reminds one of Marx's comment: “The Established Church

... will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than 1/39th of its income.”

Because they are animated by this anti-democratic class interest, the AJC alliance with the anti-communist “left” becomes entirely logical. The numerous sectarian differences of this spurious left are of no consequence. The special Trotskyite or social democrat or other sectarian doctrines—all pretending to champion the cause of the working class—are merged into the one line on which they all converge, anti-progressivism. But what, one may ask, are they doing in a magazine supposedly devoted to Jewish interests? The answer is that they are used by the AJC to further its class interest. They are particularly effective for the AJC's purposes because most of them have backgrounds in the left movement, and can use this training to demagogic advantage. Further, the use of these fabricators of leftist and liberal phrases also helps to lend a liberal or radical face to the work of the AJC that makes it appear to help the Jewish cause.

### **The War Record**

In plain words, the AJC is betraying the Jewish people. But before examining the evidence for this serious charge from the pages of *Commentary* itself, let us examine the war record of the anti-Soviet clique. It was only after I returned after several years with the army in Europe that I read with amazement how these anti-Sovieters sabotaged the war effort with their pens. While the air of Europe was fouled by smoke from the crematories and our national existence was in danger, these writers were bending every effort to wrest the sword from our hands. During the war these “left” writers opposed Roosevelt at every move and slandered the Soviet Union in journals like *Partisan Review*, *Common Sense*, the *New Leader*. Only a few citations can be given here. Clement Greenberg favored the overthrow of the Roosevelt and Churchill governments and their replacement by a “class” government—an agitation that, if widespread, would undoubtedly have led to our defeat. Paul Goodman advocated civil disobedience in the manner of Ghandi and complete withdrawal from the war effort and boasted of his “non-commitment to the war.” Sidney Hertzberg continued throughout the war to agitate against Roosevelt and the Soviet Union by equating the danger to world peace from what he called Russia's “Pan-Slavic Nationalism” and Hitler's “Pan-Germanism.” He denied that the war was one against fascism. George Orwell wrote in 1944 that liberals who praised Stalin were no better than those who supported Hitler and Mussolini. In other words, these “defenders” of the Jewish people were traitors to the cause of democracy and the Jewish people and were in effect a kind of fifth column during the war itself. And these are the men to whom the AJC is giving a forum in these times of danger to both democracy and the Jewish people.

*Commentary* is practically the foremost AJC venture in open red-baiting. But the Committee has been carrying on a clandestine red-baiting program for some time. In 1943

the AJC brought its red-baiting program into the open. In that year Judge Joseph M. Proskauer was elected president of the AJC. This defender of Jewish interests was one of the founders of the Liberty League, forerunner of the America First Committee. While the Judge was on the executive committee of the League, several members of the executive were helping finance *The Sentinels*, a pro-fascist, anti-Semitic organization. Is it a coincidence that the wholesale influx of Trotskyites into the *Contemporary Jewish Record* occurred in 1943, the first year of the Judge's incumbency? Further, it was through Judge Proskauer that Elliot Cohen, *Commentary* editor from its first issue, was brought into the AJC. Cohen had been employed at the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, of which Proskauer was head. The intermediary between these two probably was Joseph Willen, called the "financial genius" of the Federation and its executive vice president, who is said to be the highest paid social worker in the world, with an income reputed to be over \$50,000 per year. Willen is a social democrat whose position has prevented him from open political work, but his wife, Pearl Willen, is treasurer of the social-democratic, red-baiting Liberal Party of New York. Through the influence of Proskauer and Willen, Cohen became the ideological chief of the AJC organ and is well paid for his services to this Jewish section of the American big bourgeoisie—at an \$18,000 salary, it is said.

### **Open Mind to Reaction**

Naturally the magazine does not advertise its central "anti-communist" motive, shared by this battery of anti-Sovieteers and the AJC. It is an open secret that the rulers of the AJC regard "communism" as the main danger today, but they are careful not to say this too openly. Instead the magazine states its purpose officially thus: "In sponsoring *Commentary* the American Jewish Committee aims to meet the need for a journal of significant thought and opinion on Jewish affairs and contemporary world issues. Its pages will be hospitable to diverse points of view and belief. . . ." Cohen has apparently been given carte blanche to run the magazine "independently," for the AJC knows that he is utterly dependable on the basic issue, anti-communism. Cohen has even run an article criticizing the late Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of the *New York Times*, for his half-hearted espousal of the Jewish cause, for which Cohen was taken to task by Judge Proskauer—and one wonders how soon Cohen will have to pull in his horns.

To date *Commentary* has given the specious appearance of a "liberal" journal open to "diverse points of view." But on closer examination this "diversity" becomes drastically limited. Of course a quota of articles on Jewish history and culture have appeared in the magazine to give it a Jewish aura. Some of its contents are devoted to studies on Palestine, Zionism, and national and international Jewish affairs. A number of general articles not specifically of Jewish interest are used. But the roster of its writers is

heavily weighted with contributors to the rabid anti-Soviet press. Scrutiny of the first three issues of 1947 reveals that, of the 41 articles and features and the 16 reviews, at least 12 of the articles and 11 of the reviews were written by known Trotskyite and social democratic anti-Sovieteers. *Commentary* is thus one of the leading forums in America for the airing of intense anti-Soviet and anti-progressive views which color the writers' approach to their problems.

Obviously its audience could not take an unrelieved diet of explicit anti-Soviet material. The magazine leavens the loaf with articles of Jewish interest and a few by such eminent Jewish scholars as Dr. Louis Finkelstein and Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan. Controversy in the magazine rages around "Exodus from Europe." A limited debate on Zionism goes on. The anti-Sovieteers dispute among themselves in the magazine. Will Herberg writes a heart-rending story of his pilgrimage from Marxism to an obscurantist, theological Judaism, the Jewish counterpart of the movement towards Catholicism among erstwhile writers of the left. This evokes a reply from Harold Rosenberg. Philip Rahv writes a revolting review of Koestler's *Thieves in the Night* in which Rahv characterizes this pro-terrorist novel as "the best book on the situation in Palestine," and quotes with approval Koestler's dictum that "self-hatred has been the Jewish form of patriotism." Nathan Glazer disputes Rahv's view of the book in the next issue. Let no one say that *Commentary* is not "hospitable to diverse points of view!"

### **March of the Anti-Soviet Brigade**

The list of explicitly anti-Soviet articles would do credit to the *Partisan Review* or the *New Leader*—or the *Reader's Digest*. Arthur Koestler leads off one issue with his sick, specious moralizing on expediency versus morality and an equation of nazi and communist ethics. Another issue contains a long pre-publication summary of Louis Fischer's anti-Soviet book, *The Great Challenge*. Zachariah Schuster, known as a pro-Trotskyite journalist for the Yiddish press and said to have been a scab in the Yiddish Day strike of 1942, has an article on Poland in which, among other anti-Soviet slanders, he cites "some observers" who doubt that the Polish government, "despite its own espousal of equality is doing everything possible and necessary to curb the wave of anti-Semitism flooding the country." The same technique is used more heavily-handedly in that issue by Maurice J. Goldbloom, who cites mysterious "reporters from Poland" that the Kielce "pogrom had been instigated by the central government or the Russians."

These are only a few instances of the anti-Soviet peppering of the magazine. One wonders how an article by Fannina W. Halle on the "Caucasian Mountain Jews," which treats Jewish life under the Soviet regime sympathetically, got by the vigilant Mr. Cohen. But this is the only article I have found in the magazine that does not picture the Soviet regime as fiendish. In an article on the Nuremberg convictions, lawyer Milton R. Konvitz, follow-



ing the line of the anti-Soviet right as espoused by Senator Taft, says that the conviction of these war criminals may "weaken our sense of law and our institutions of justice," undoubtedly because of Soviet participation in the proceedings. How a magazine professing an interest in Jewish welfare can tolerate this opinion, Mr. Cohen will have to justify to the spirit of six million murdered Jews.

Reviews in the magazine have very largely been assigned to Cohen's friends of the left sectarian groups—for which they are well-paid to keep up their anti-Soviet work. Adverse criticism of current anti-Soviet books is frequent, but curiously enough, no matter how bad the book may be, its anti-Soviet aspect is always commended. Lewis A. Coser criticizes Leon Dennen's "exposure" of Soviet "terror" in the Balkans for superficiality, but he calls for more books of this kind. Bertram A. Wolfe calls attention to the "un-systematic" character of Louis Fischer's comments on the United States and Britain in his *The Great Challenge*, but says that Fischer's observations on Russia have "clarity and depth." Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. takes Morris R. Cohen's *The Faith of a Liberal* to task as "old-fashioned" because "it is necessary to re-establish the legitimacy of the individual." Morris Cohen was not anti-Soviet enough for Schlesinger, for the latter is arguing in this criticism, as he says, against "any collectivism known to modern history."

In a review of Irwin Shaw's book of short stories Isaac Rosenfeld, literary editor of the *New Leader*, attacks those whom it is now the fashion among anti-Sovietees to call "totalitarian liberals." Rosenfeld places Shaw in the "left-wing" of this group which "calls itself 'liberal,' is opposed to discrimination and racial intolerance . . .; it is for the United Nations and for understanding with Russia, etc., etc." Though he says he finds "nothing objectionable in those ends," he finds their methods "extremely vulgar" and that "their habit of mind bears a great resemblance to the world outlook of Stalinism." Rosenfeld's attitude, on the contrary, bears a great resemblance to Goebbels' who also believed that "liberals" were really "Marxists." Hannah Arendt reviews the *Black Book: the Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People* and objects because the book is too "political." "No conceivable chronicle of any kind," she says, "could succeed in turning six million dead people into a political argument. . . . Told as propaganda, the whole story not only fails to become a political argument—it does not even sound true." Apparently anti-fascist sentiments had no place in this book. Can it be that she objects to the "propaganda" because it contains a passionate condemnation by Soviet writers, as well as others, of the crime of nazism? If only she could ignore the absolutely uncompromising Soviet condemnation of nazi persecution of the Jews, the argument might perhaps be politically legitimate!

I have given only a sampling of the anti-Soviet and anti-progressive diatribes in the articles and reviews that on their face betray the Jewish cause. But Cohen does not rely wholly on these, for he has in Sidney Hertzberg the anchor man on his anti-Soviet team. In every issue Hertzberg does a similar column to one he ran in *Common Sense*,

"The Month in Review," in which he analyzes the bearing of the month's events on the Jewish people. We have seen some of his dubious qualifications for this function. It is interesting to get a sampling of what Hertzberg has been feeding *Commentary's* readers. In the first issue, in response to an alleged statement of Stalin that he was interested in solving the Jewish problem, Hertzberg links Zionism and the Soviet Union in Goebbels-like fashion by asserting that "at least three international organizations would be available to Stalin: the World Zionist Organization, the United Nations Organization and a reconstituted Comintern." He is saying here in more elegant language the same lie that Rankin delivered on the House floor on March 11, 1947, when he referred to "what we consider a communist-front movement in Palestine is known as the Zionist movement."

For two months, July and August 1946, Hertzberg was absent on a mission to India and his former editorial associate on *Common Sense*, Maurice J. Goldbloom, took over the department. In August Goldbloom sagely observed that the Baruch plan for atomic control was, "all things considered, a plan that showed extraordinary breadth of vision." In the same issue he retailed a *Herald-Tribune* report from Poland that "there was no possibility of a free election because the government has no chance of winning and no intention of losing one."

In September Hertzberg returned fresh from his travel and opened his column with the pontifical dictum: "All the world was divided into two parts. One was the Soviet Union, which was using military strength and propaganda organizations in other countries to achieve world domination through political totalitarianism and economic change. The other was the *mariage de convenance* of capitalist America and Socialist Britain brought about by their common desire to resist the Soviet threat to their political free-

## JUDGMENT DAY

(NUREMBERG, 1947)

By Harold Applebaum

Now, while their spastic footsteps flail the air  
And what there is to do is being done;  
Now, while their poisoned breath cuts short and stops  
And evil hearts burst darkly, one by one:

Now, before truth fades, before forgetting lays  
Its anaesthetic on the mind to thin  
The mortal reasons and the pathologic facts,  
Before post-mortem and autopsy begin;

Let us regard these Supermen who shook the world  
With all their planning, these hulks who dangle here—  
They died of murder, treason toward all mankind,  
A smattering of glory and an overdose of fear.

dom and economic interests." Where do the 400,000,000 suffering inhabitants of India, which he had just visited, come into this picture? Where were all the common people of the world who are victims of the Anglo-American policy? Hertzberg apparently didn't see them.

His response to the great Wallace speech in September, 1946, was to be expected. "By defining the future of world peace in terms of whether the United States was *tough* or *yielding* with Russia, Mr. Wallace was perpetrating the same kind of confusing irrelevance as those who thought that lasting peace with Germany depended on whether it was *hard* or *soft*." When the verdict of the Nuremberg Trials was announced, Hertzberg belittled its significance to a narrow legalistic victory over war criminals. Commenting on the state of the American left-wing forces in the February, 1947, issue he wrote: "Then came the death of Roosevelt and the end of the war. Progressive forces, hitherto tied to Roosevelt and the national emergency were suddenly freed (to do what—all-out Soviet-baiting?—L.H.). As the smoke of battle cleared away, the inadequacies of the Roosevelt policies in war and peace emerged, and at the same time, Soviet totalitarianism revealed itself as the enemy of freedom that it was." Like the reactionaries of the right, Hertzberg and his friends were now free to destroy all the progressive gains won under Roosevelt and to break Big Three unity, the only hope for peace. And these views are offered in a magazine of Jewish welfare!

### ***Betrayal of the Jews***

Why is this rabid anti-Sovietism a betrayal of the Jewish cause? First is the fact that never in the whole tortured history of our persecuted people have the Jews achieved that absolute equality and unqualified acceptance as in the Soviet Union. Nor have the Jews alone been so favored. The same is true of the more than 150 nationalities of that country; and the Soviet Union has materially aided the cause of colonial peoples and small nations. From the incontrovertible fact of Jewish equality in the Soviet Union and Soviet policy toward all nationalities and nations, flow enormous implications that many progressives have not fully drawn. The Soviet solution of the national problem has had the success of a specific in medicine, a phenomenon unprecedented in all of human history. This solution is not isolated from the general principles of socialism under which the Soviet Union operates, but follows from them, and its success is one of the strongest verifications of the scientific truth of these principles. It is not therefore enough, as most honest writers on the Jewish problem and anti-Semitism have done, simply to note the fact of Jewish equality in the Soviet Union and to ignore the larger implications of this fact.

At the very least, anyone who is sincerely interested in Jewish welfare cannot regard the Soviet Union as an *enemy* of the Jews, as *Commentary* writers do. The big money men of the AJC who look at the Soviet Union as the main

enemy, are more deeply influenced by their class, economic interests than by their care for the Jewish people. These economic royalists have joined forces with the professional anti-Sovieters, who make a good living by their slanderous pen work, to strengthen their class position, even if this objective contributes to the destruction of the Jewish people. The absolute condemnation of the one country where Jews live free from any persecution or discrimination, is nothing short of treachery to the Jewish people.

Secondly, this Soviet-baiting is mortally dangerous to the Jewish people because it is essentially directed against the peaceful development of democracy all over the world, upon which the very survival of the Jews depends. At home anti-communism-anti-Sovietism is the strongest weapon of reaction as it passes over towards fascism. On the home front this weapon is used against labor as a whole, against even mild reform (as is becoming daily more obvious from the red-baiting of anti-communist New Dealer Lilienthal and of liberals from the center to left of center), and for the encouragement of reactionaries and even pro-fascists. On the international scene the anti-Soviet whipping boy is used to advance the imperialist aims of the American big bourgeoisie in their drive to control the world with their dollars. And this policy is showing ever more alarming parallels with the history of nazism. While "respectable" American advocates of imperialism have not yet openly made the "Jewish-Bolshevik" coupling exploited by the nazis and our own Rankins, it is otherwise following the pattern set by the master red-baiter, Hitler. The ruling big bourgeoisie of the AJC are making the same mistake as their German counterpart, who thought that support or toleration of Hitler would save their skins while they made a profit. The American counterparts fondly expect that they will profit by the imperialist drive and by reaction at home, but they are deluded readers of history. For it is certain that, if the current reactionary drive is successful, it will bring in its wake the dimming of democracy in America and the intensified anti-Semitism that is its inevitable consequence, as the AJC verbally and demagogically asserts in its program. If the imperialists get away with their plans, a world shattering war will finish off the extermination of the Jews that Hitler began.

The professional anti-Soviet writers are helping advance this reactionary program. Just as they worked in effect during the war to facilitate Hitler's global murder, and to assure him a free hand to exterminate the Jews totally, so in the postwar period their policy has the effect of helping complete the extermination of democracy and the Jews. By paying out munificent sums, largely derived from Jewish communal funds, for their contributions to *Commentary* and by giving them a platform for their reactionary views, the ruling clique of the AJC is guilty of treachery to the Jewish people. By their conscious use of these professional anti-Sovieters these richest of American Jews are showing, that where their treasure lies, there is their heart—in their bank account. They are aiding the forces that mortally endanger Jewish survival.



# WHAT ABOUT WHITE SUPERIORITY AMONG JEWS?

By Earl Conrad

**R**ECENTLY I lectured before a number of lodges of a certain middle-class Jewish organization on Jewish-Negro relationships. It was my practice after an opening discussion to get into the question and answer period as soon as possible for I had found that this was always the most illuminating and exciting and fruitful part of the evening. Invariably individuals would leap to their feet and make haste to express themselves with statements identical with those I have always heard in the South from white supremacists. These charges they would make with heat, conviction and authority: "They are not reliable," "They smell," "They're drunk all the time," "They'll cheat you," "They're stupid." I could go on repeating utterances I have heard, listing so many, that the enlightened readers of *Jewish Life* would be ashamed to hear them. Yet this has been my experience not only with that particular organization but practically all my life with Jewish friends in labor, business and professional spheres. In short, Jewish Americans are subject to the historical American bias of white supremacy just as are all other white people living in this country.

At that point of my talks where I use the word "white," I have frequently come upon an attitude among Negro Americans which should of itself be of interest to Jews. Negro Americans know that Jews also occupy a kind of special status in America and in the world. Many times in my talks with Negroes when I asked concerning a person, "Is he white or black?" they have replied, "He is Jewish." This reveals that the Negro makes a distinction between the white Jew and the white Gentile. The Negro views the Jew as a potential ally. He expects the Jew, because of the latter's tribulations in our anarchic world, to be sympathetic with his Jimcrow status. He believes that the Jew should be a political and a human ally. Alas, all too often, the Jew in his own search for security in an insecure society, aligns himself with the psychology of the dominant group, reflecting the attitudes of this class, and thence repeats the white supremacists' cliches, misconceptions, lies and slanders of the Rankins, the Bilbos, and other supremacist prototypes in the North. On the other side, there are Negroes who are not free from anti-Semitism.

I live in a so-called "tension area" in New York City, Washington Heights, into which northern Harlem is now pushing in its struggle for living space. Jewish business men run many of the shops. Most residents of this neighbor-

hood are Jews. Many of them are already repeating the slanders I have mentioned, expressing fears of the "encroachment" of the Negro group, and in other ways behaving like the traditional white superiority element of American life. It would be wrong to deny that such attitudes exist and even are prevalent among Jews. It would be a mistake for progressive Jews to suppose that because they are individually free or relatively free from such prejudices that the Jewish community at large is free from them.

## Supremacist Poison

The Jewish people in America can no more easily than any other group in America escape the tremendous flow of white supremacy poison which has been and is being spread over the country by reactionary elements. It must be remembered that the "chosen people" concept which still has a certain vogue among some Jews, is itself a supremacist concept. This attitude is not only dangerous for those Jews who take it in their relationships with Gentiles. This attitude is also fully as malignant, and even more so, when juxtaposed to the plight and social position of the Negro American. I have heard Jews use the expression, "a Jewish head," meaning a superior brain. I have heard young male Jews speak with disrespect of non-Jewish girls. Such attitudes, if and where they exist, are as reprehensible among Jews as among all other groups, and where such attitudes exist you may be sure that the Negro Americans are thought of as an "inferior people." I wish I could be more moderate in this charge, that I could say that it were not so, but it is true.

Often, the Jew, because of his class position, takes on white supremacist beliefs. Some Jews employ Negroes, or sell to them. They hold, therefore, an upper-class position. They view the Negro from above. The Jewish group, like all groups in the world in a superior economic position, tends to behave like a "better" class. The segments of Jewish life in this economic position are hardly distinguishable from non-Jewish middle and upper class Americans in their attitude toward Negroes. The Southern Jew is usually as supremacist-minded as the Southern white Protestant. As a Southern Negro once put it to me, "Well, if you can get a Southern Jew off to the side and talk with him, he'll see he's in a ticklish spot too. Sometimes he'll see the light. There are others you can't talk to." There is another attitude prevalent among Jews which goes like this: "We are a minority. We are having a tough time. Why should we tie up with another group even worse off than we, and so complicate our problem?" This view is more often found

---

EARL CONRAD is the author of the recently published *Jim Crow America*, analyzing the situation of the Negro people in America. He is a columnist for the *Chicago Defender*.

among Jewish business people, but it exists among Jewish workers too. It is of the same cloth as the argument of Negro conservatives who caution Negroes not to tie up with radical parties because they are unpopular. "We've got troubles enough," such Negro leaders say, "so let's stay away from the hounded radicals, or we'll be doubly hounded." Such a stand, whether among Jews or Negroes, is an attitude of defeat, cowardice and bad political judgment.

### ***Common Oppression***

It is true that the Negro and the Jewish groups, both subject to discriminatory pressures, have a great political kinship. Historically there are, however, different bases for the present condition and experience of both groups. The Jew came to this country voluntarily, bringing with him his ancient traditions and the desire to perpetuate them. The Negro was brought to this country forcibly; his proscribed condition was forced upon him and he is, in the main, desirous of escaping from the traditions of separate living. This is what accounts for one large aspect of the so-called "Negro question," that aspect in which the Negro, like the Jew, seeks full integration with the mainstream of American life. Despite these diverse origins both groups have many features in common: they are minority ethnic segments, they are often subjected to restricted living areas, special quotas in colleges, special legality, and special economic pressures. These should be sufficient to make both groups realize that they have a common fight. I think in a great measure the most advanced elements of both groups do realize this. The vanguard elements of both groups have lifted themselves above the level of intergroup prejudices and misconceptions. I believe that the main political actions in which Jews and Negroes engage toward common ends prove that there is already a basis of alliance between these groups.

Despite the unfortunate prevalence among some Jews of white chauvinism, many Jews, both individually and in their organizations, are not only free from white chauvinism, but are actively fighting for Negro rights. Participation in the fight against the poll tax, lynching and job discrimination comes from Jewish members of the Communist Party, from the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, from the American Jewish Congress, from Jewish trade unionists and from many other Jewish organizations. This struggle for Negro rights is itself a great influence towards cleansing the Jews of white chauvinism, and the struggle will be carried on more effectively by greater coordination with organized Negro life.

### ***Clarity Through Struggle***

An extremely important area of common understanding between Jew and Negro lies in the struggle of both groups

for full integration into the trade union movement of America and the world. Most Negroes are working people, a majority of Jews are working people, a majority of the people of the world are working people. This is the great common denominator, uniter, welder of understanding.

Does this mean that Jewish workers are free from attitudes of white superiority? No. They are subject to the same historical pressures and propaganda as have made the United States so largely a racist-minded nation. This means that there must be a tremendous personal and social conflict and education before such thinking on the part of whites—Jew and Gentile alike—can be eradicated.

How can this be achieved? There is an answer and it is this. The Jewish American, like all other white Americans, can only cleanse his own mind and his own group of attitudes of white superiority by actively struggling for Negro rights. *To participate in struggle clarifies.* To fight for Negro rights, Jew and non-Jew have to join with Negroes, get to know Negroes, live with them, speak for them, be of them. The answer is both personal and social. Participation in the social conflict has its logic in the personal clarification of the individual white man, whether he be Jew or non-Jew. Jim Crow is segregation, causing separate experience of white from black. The opposite of this is *association* of black and white. Only association can provide the full answer, and association occurs only when you associate yourself with the issues of Negro freedom, with the trade union, civil liberties and political struggles of the Negro liberation movement and the whole modern "inter-racial" movement.

Jews cannot afford to have a prejudiced attitude toward any of their fellow men. In America they cannot afford to have any part of the crime of white supremacy. In enlightened self-interest alone the Jew cannot alienate such a great and valuable ethnic group as the Negro, which is integral to the nation's economy and the whole social question. The Negro may be the Jew's greatest ally along with the trade union movement. The Jewish people must cultivate this ally by combating all words and deeds of white superiority in their own midst. They must be self-critical; they must come to grips with their habits, practices and consciences. In their own organizations they should have intra-group discussions on Jewish-Negro relations. They must find means of breaking down the "fences" of segregated neighborhoods to make contact with the Negro people. They should support with time, money and energy the legal struggles of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the economic activity of the National Urban League, the political and general advancement activity of the National Negro Congress and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Negro issue is one of the big struggles of America. The Jewish people must continue to participate in this struggle, and in doing so, conquer white superiority in their own midst, and strengthen everybody.



# DOCUMENT

## IMPERIALISM STRANGLES PALESTINE ECONOMY

By Meir Vilner

Excerpts from a report, *THE ROAD TO FREEDOM*, given at the 10th Conference of the Communist Party of Palestine.

IN PALESTINE the imperialist government has not prepared any plans for economic development to ensure adequate work and housing and to organize the social services. The country's economic position therefore fluctuates between hope and despair, between the ever-present threat of slump and temporary stability. The government exercises complete control over imports and exports, over economic policy in general. Its attempts to hamper economic development are based largely on article 18 of the Palestine Mandate, which permits economic penetration into Palestine by all countries which are members of the League of Nations. This means employed by the government to arrest economic development include: low import quotas for machinery, obstacles to the import of cheap raw materials and general opposition to the development of a competitive local industry. The government, representing British monopoly interests, is using every means to bring Palestine back to a monocultural economy (citrus).

### British Economic Monopoly

It should be noted that the principal economic arteries (the Dead Sea and electricity concessions, insurance companies, large banks, etc.) are in British hands. Production of electricity is controlled by two British companies. The sale of electric power is growing rapidly: in 1939 sales were 95 million kwh.; in 1944, 187.9 kwh.; and in 1945, 216 million kwh. But we are still far from the degree of electrification prevalent in Europe. On the basis of consumption of electricity per head of the population, consumption is only one-tenth of that of Switzerland, Sweden and Norway. Among the factors impeding this development are the monopolistic character of the utility and the unlimited rights enjoyed by British companies.

The main electric company is the Palestine Electric Corporation, which supplies 92% of the total electricity consumed in Palestine. The Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation, holding concession rights for the Jerusalem district, sells the balance. All electricity sales are therefore in the hands of foreign concessionaires.

The monopolistic position of foreign capital in Palestine is still clearer when

compared with total industrial capital investments. The Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Potash Co. at the Dead Sea may be taken as examples:

|                                      | 1937<br>Capital £ | Per cent | 1943<br>Capital £ | Per cent |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| Total Industrial investments .....   | 11,064,000        | 100%     | 18,244,000        | 100%     |
| Palestine Electric Corporation ..... | 3,701,000         | 33.5%    | 5,640,000         | 31%      |
| Palestine Potash Company .....       | 806,900           | 7.3%     | 1,817,450         | 10%      |
| Total of the two companies .....     | 4,507,900         | 40.8%    | 7,457,450         | 41%      |

(This table is reproduced from Shulamith Mashke's article in *Meshek Shitufi*, May 7, 1946.)

Hence these two great British companies together own approximately 41 per cent of the total capital invested in Palestine industry. The profits of these two foreign monopolies show very fruitful increase: in the last six years the capital of the Palestine Electric Corporation increased by 52 per cent, that of the Palestine Potash Co. by 111 per cent. The capital of the latter has therefore more than doubled in six years.

### Oil Companies' Concessions

Concessions granted to the international oil-combines permit them to lay pipelines across Palestine and to erect refineries, exempt them from all kinds of taxes, and grant rights of sovereignty.

The government does not find it even necessary to ensure that the local population be supplied with cheap oil products. On the contrary, the prices of oil products are very high in Palestine and are constantly rising.

On March 31, 1946 the Palestine Government granted a new concession to an American monopolistic firm, the Trans-Arabian Company. Under the agreement a new pipe-line may be laid from Saudi Arabia to the coast of Palestine in addition to the British line from Iraq. The company is granted extra-territorial rights in Palestine, as though it were a separate government; it is permitted to construct harbors, to lay railroads, to build aerodromes, to maintain its own police-force; it is free to exact taxes for harboring, unloading, etc.

On the other hand, no income tax or tax of any other kind is levied on the company. This new concession like previous ones indicates the economic oppression of the country and the manner in which the Palestine government serves foreign monopolies.

### Obstruction of Industrial Development

It is not enough that the main part of our country's economy is in British hands. The small section remaining to local in-

dustry is also entirely dependent on the British administration and its economic policy.

Among other disabilities local industry suffers from Anglo-American economic rivalry. The Jewish Agency's economic journal, *Palestine Economic News*, for February 1946, published the following instructive statement:

"It is possible to obtain spinning ma-

chines from America, but Government does not allow importation from there, directing manufacture to England. But there—England promises machines by the end of 1946 and 1947. The result is that our textile industry worked during the month of February at only 30-35 per cent of capacity. The chocolate industry remains without chocolate beans. It could obtain the beans direct from the supply sources but this is not permitted. It must turn to London—but there are fresh obstacles. The citrus concentration industry is unable to keep up exports for lack of sugar—and import of sugar is prohibited. The price of imported wheat is still 25 £ per ton, whereas in England the same wheat is imported at 16 £. We are not allowed to import frozen meat from Australia, even though it is offered. When milk powder is offered from Australia at 50 £ per ton, no licenses to import are granted and the importer is obliged to bring his milk powder from the United States of America at 90 £ per ton. Cases of prohibition of import from cheap sources of supply and permission to import from dear sources are too frequent to be mere chance.

"The impression received is that *England is keeping the cheap sources of import for herself*. The British Supply Mission in Cairo does not permit Palestinian importers to compete for cheap supply sources. *England does not permit the import of machinery from the USA*—and the English manufacturers who today work under government direction, are able to supply machinery and other essentials to Palestine only in very restricted quantities. English manufacturers regard Palestine as their assured reserve and prefer sending their goods to markets where American competition threatens. It is difficult for us to obtain raw materials, which are controlled by international trusts managed from London. The policy of these trusts is to allocate raw materials only to those countries from which they do not fear competition within the next few years. Industry and importers are struggling against this bottleneck. . . ."

This is not only an "impression." It is

a well calculated and directed imperialist policy. The Jewish Agency does not draw any fundamental conclusions from this state of affairs. It prefers to cling to its alliance with imperialism and to "induce" Britain to change this policy "in favor of the Jews." This kind of policy is full of dangers for the Yishuv and the whole country. There is no future for Palestine under colonial rule. In the economic field, as in the social, and political fields, the only correct conclusion is: a joint Arab-Jewish struggle against imperialism and the foreign monopoly combines. The economic policy of the government is not open to "inducement" of any kind. Better that the Jewish Agency were aware of the interests of the British monopolies and trusts.

Actually, the result of the government's opposition to an import policy adapted to the interests of the Palestine economy, is to keep the cost of living high and the danger of unemployment ever-present. The present official high cost of living index is still at its wartime peak: 260-270 (as compared with 1939) and 430 in reality.

### Imports and Exports

The total commercial turnover of Palestine is constantly growing. In 1943 it amounted to 40,000,000£, in 1944 to 51,000,000, and in 1945 to 61,000,000, i.e., it increased 50 per cent in three years. Both imports and exports increased. In 1944 exports totalled 14,600,000£, and in 1945, 20,400,000. During the same period imports rose from 36.2 million pounds to 40.7 million. This means that trade in 1945 had an unfavorable balance of imports over exports of 20,300,000£. If we deduct imports of petrol from Iraq and exports of oil products, we get a total import figure of 31,000,000£ and an export figure of 13,900,000£ in 1945.

But these figures do not yet show the real situation of imports and exports. A distinction must be made between the material index (i.e., the actual amount manufactured) and the financial index (i.e., the value of imports and exports at present prices).

According to government estimates the material index of imports into Palestine, after deduction of uncut diamonds, came to 55 points in 1944. Although there has been a small increase since 1944, the figure still lags far behind that of 1939 (100).

The diamond industry is an important, and at present the largest single item of export from Palestine. In 1945 diamond exports reached the value of 6,000,000£, or approximately a third of all exports during that year. The export of oil products constituted about 30 per cent of the total export from Palestine, Dead Sea products, 5-6 per cent.

Mention should also be made of the increased economic influence of the USA in Palestine. Under an agreement reached between the Jewish Agency and the Palestine government the former was permitted to use \$4,000,000 of its Zionist funds in America for equipment for industry and agriculture. Moreover, during the last quarter of 1945 total imports from the USA rose to 33 per cent of average imports from all other countries combined. In November 1945, machinery to the value of \$370,000 reached Palestine from America.

### Palestine Exports (excluding oil products)

|                            | 1937-1939 Average | 1945        | 1937-1939 Average | 1945   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------|
| Citrus .....               | 3,975,050£        | 2,085,945£  | 74.4%             | 15.0%  |
| Other Foodstuffs .....     | 90,002            | 367,038     | 1.7               | 2.6    |
| Processed Foodstuffs ..... | 255,382           | 327,298     | 4.8               | 2.4    |
| Dead Sea Products .....    | 322,450           | 904,953     | 6.1               | 6.5    |
| Polished Diamonds .....    | —                 | 5,909,297   | —                 | 42.6   |
| Other Products .....       | 674,673           | 4,260,458   | 12.7              | 30.9   |
| Total .....                | 5,317,557£        | 13,854,989£ | 100.0%            | 100.0% |

### Influence of Boycott on Industrial Exports

The position of part of the industrial exports is still very unclear and unstable. One of the main contributing factors to this situation is the mutual Jewish-Arab boycott. Exports from Palestine to the Arab countries have been considerably reduced. If we exclude the export of oil products of the Consolidated Refineries on which there is no Arab boycott, since they belong to a British monopoly, we find that exports to Arab countries fell from the last quarter of 1945 to the first quarter of 1946 as follows:

To Syria, from 394,387£ to 141,391£, i.e., by 64 per cent,

To Egypt, from 297,500£ to 90,404£, i.e., by 70 per cent,

To Iraq, from 295,443£ to 31,780£, i.e., by 89 per cent.

Only exports to Transjordan increased from 116,132£ to 207,026£.

In three months the total exports to these four Arab countries were reduced by 632,861£, of total exports of 4,000,000£ for 1945 (industry, excluding diamonds).

It therefore appears that the Arab boycott is causing substantial damage to the Palestine economy, quite apart from immense political harm. The main industries affected by the boycott are the pharmaceutical and chemical industries. It must be noted that during the same period (the first quarter of 1946) imports from the neighboring Arab countries were not reduced. The reason is that Palestine is dependent on foreign countries for a number of commodities like wheat and cattle.

Imports of wheat and cattle from neighboring countries increased considerably. A comparison of imports during the first quarter of 1945 with the first quarter of 1946 (after reduction of crude oil from Iraq, belonging to the British oil-trust) follows: "Imports from Egypt rose from 300,481£ to 427,107£; from Syria from 411,415£ to 768,304£; from Iraq from 671,772£ to 844,749£, and only the official figure of the imports from Transjordan fell from 318,967£ to 233,162£; of other commodities 21,000 tons of barley were imported from Iraq this year against

13,000 during the corresponding quarter in 1945, while 35,000 head of cattle were imported in 1946 as against 500 during 1945. For these two items alone 240,000£ more were paid than during the quarter of 1945. From Syria 13,500 tons of wheat were imported as against 3,000 tons during 1945, for which 440,000£ more were paid than during 1945." (*Hameshek Hashitufi*, Aug. 14, 1946.)

These reduced exports to Arab countries in consequence of the boycott were offset to some extent and temporarily by the gain of some new limited markets. "Apart from oil products, exports to Cyprus rose from 59,253£ to 73,956£; to Greece from nil to 19,500£; to South Africa from 969£ to 103,738£; to Malta from practically nil to 69,924£. These four countries alone absorbed 200,000£ worth of goods more during the first quarter of 1946, than during the same period in 1945." (*Ibid.*)

### Hampers Industrial Development

But industry cannot develop with such unstable markets. Contrary to the opinion of *Hamashkif* and *Haboker*, it is impossible to develop industry independently of Jewish-Arab trade relations. That these new export markets do not present a permanent and secure factor for the future is also admitted by the *Palestine Economic News*, published by the Economic Research Department of the Jewish Agency, in its July 1946, issue:

"The improvement in the export position is a result of the favorable international situation. England and the U.S.A. can at present supply only a small part of the total international requirements,



so that importers are prepared to accept goods delivered at once, even though at higher prices."

It should be added that the export value of 20,000 £ to the new countries does not equal even one third of the losses suffered by Palestine industry because of the Arab boycott (over 600,000 £ in three months).

In order that Palestine industry may successfully compete in the international market, it must have, apart from favorable political conditions, lower production costs, introduction of modern techniques, cheaper raw materials, and a higher standard of living for the worker so as to increase his purchasing power.

The boycotts by Jewish and Arab economic institutions cause severe hardships to the consumer. This chauvinist struggle raises prices and darkens the political atmosphere in Palestine. "The Association for Palestine Products" (meaning Jewish products) and similar organizations that have recently revived, not only bring no advantages to the Jewish masses, but tend to lower their standard of living still further. The same may be said of the Arab boycott organizations initiated after the second World War, although the Jewish boycott institutions already had a long tradition behind them. The absurdity of it all is, that while both Jewish and Arab reactionaries declare a boycott, both Tel-Aviv and Jaffa shops exhibit a splendid display of goods marked "Made in England." This mutual Jewish-Arab boycott, organized behind the scenes by British agents, benefits only British firms and the British administration in Palestine.

Palestine industry needs an adequate supply of cheap raw materials, modern equipment, machinery and techniques, and above all cooperation with the countries of the Middle East. These needs cannot be met by a program of domination and of regarding the Arab population in this and the neighboring countries as an agricultural hinterland for the marketing of Jewish industrial manufacture, but by accepting the Arabs as partners with equal rights in the economic development and in the struggle against strangling tactics of British companies.

Agriculture require cheap sources of seeds and fertilizers, modern implements and equipment, and an internal market to be expanded by raising the standard of living of the masses. An anti-imperialist economic plan granting the same opportunities to Jews and Arabs, a similar standard of living for both peoples by raising the present standard to a common level, raising wages of Arab and Jewish workers to the same point by establishing the principle of "same pay for same work"—these must be basic planks of any pro-

gram for Arab-Jewish anti-imperialist co-operation in Palestine.

### The Government Budget

In Palestine, the people have no possibility of influencing budgetary expenditure. The 1946-47 budget like all previous ones proves that our country is a police state of the worst possible kind. The bulk of the (mainly indirect) taxes is levied on the masses and expenditure on social services is accordingly very small.

According to the government estimate, income during the fiscal year 1946-47 will be 19,780,000 £, expenditure 20,480,000.

#### Main Items of Government Revenue (in thousands of £)

| Item                                    | 1945-46 | 1946-47 | Per cent<br>of budget<br>1946-47 |
|---|---------|---------|----------------------------------|
| Import duty .....                       | 3,825   | 6,250   | 31.0                             |
| Excise on tobacco....                   | 1,240   | 1,375   | 7.0                              |
| Excise on beverages                     | 700     | 700     | 3.6                              |
| Excise on matches..                     | 120     | 120     | 0.6                              |
| Net income from<br>ports & railways..   | 97      | 201     | 1.0                              |
| Postage stamps .....                    | 460     | 550     | 2.8                              |
| Telephones .....                        | 800     | 800     | 4.0                              |
| Telegraph .....                         | 130     | 120     | 0.6                              |
| Total of main in-<br>direct taxes ..... | 7,372   | 10,116  | 50.6                             |

These figures show that over one-half of the government revenue is obtained from indirect taxation, the burden of which falls on the masses of the people. When buying household goods, they pay import duties, when buying cigarettes and matches, excise taxes. From year to year taxes grow both relatively and absolutely. In 1945-46, revenue was 18,450,000 £, with 40 per cent indirect taxes, while in the 1946-47 budget, indirect taxation amounts to 50 per cent of the total revenue.

We pass on to the taxes affecting largely those classes who can afford to pay them (although even here a considerable part, such as the non-progressive income-tax) is shouldered by the working class.

#### Further Items of Government Revenue (in thousands of £)

| Item                              | 1945-46 | 1946-47 | Per cent<br>of budget<br>1946-47 |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|----------------------------------|
| Income tax .....                  | 3,250   | 2,750   | 13.9                             |
| Urban property tax..              | 680     | 680     | 3.4                              |
| Village property tax              | 450     | 575     | 2.9                              |
| Company tax .....                 | 600     | 550     | 2.8                              |
| Animal tax .....                  | 210     | 250     | 1.3                              |
| Revenue stamps ....               | 300     | 350     | 1.7                              |
| Society registration<br>tax ..... | 100     | 125     | 0.6                              |
| Total direct taxes....            | 5,590   | 5,280   | 26.6                             |

From these figures it follows that only a little over a quarter of the government revenue is covered by direct taxation (the remaining quarter derives from payments on land transfers, courts, interest, contribution from the mint, etc.). We need go no farther than these tax figures to show the non-popular character of the colonial government of our country or of the social strata upon which this government leans.

It might be supposed that, if a large part of the revenue is derived from the masses of the people, a large part of the expenditure also will be for their benefit. Nothing of the kind. The colonial administration, extorting huge sums of money from the masses, gives hardly anything in return.

The items of expenditure are usually headed by that for police and prisons, only this year (1946) it is higher than in recent years. Police and prisons are allotted 6,400,000 £, which is over 30 per cent of the total budget. This is a record even for the police and military state of Palestine.

With this gigantic expenditure on police and prisons, it is interesting to compare the expenditure on the items such as education and health. These two important items usually constitute only a small part of the expenditure amounting to barely 8 per cent of the total. Like leeches the British authorities stick to the backs of the Arab and Jewish masses and suck their blood. The masses of the people, Jews as well as Arabs, must finance their own oppression.

## LETTER FROM ABROAD

### STATUS OF JEWS IN BULGARIA

**J**EW in Fatherland Front (FF) Bulgaria enjoy full freedom and rights. All discrimination introduced against them during the fascist regime has been abolished. The Bulgarian people have always been noted for their tolerance toward all races and creeds. The fascist and nazi racial theories were not only incomprehen-

sible to the Bulgarian mind, but were abhorrent to the great majority of Bulgarians. It will forever remain to their credit that they saved the Bulgarian Jews from Hitler's gas-chambers.

When the Germans occupied the country, however, the governing clique, eager to please the nazi masters, enacted a series

of anti-Jewish laws which were as degrading and insulting to the human dignity of the Jews as they were detrimental to their material well-being. The latter underwent much oppression and losses, and would have suffered an even worse fate, had not Bulgarians in great numbers rallied around the Jews in distress and helped them in all possible ways.

The FF and the parties which constitute it had in various ways opposed and warned the fascists whenever an anti-Jewish measure was passed. It was, consequently, natural that when the FF took over the government on September 9, 1944, one of the first problems to be speedily dealt with was the repeal of all anti-Jewish laws and restrictions. As early as October 16, 1944, the first regulations for the repeal of fascist legislation were enacted. Article 2 proclaimed the repeal of all anti-Jewish laws. The citizenship status of the Jews was formally restored. All personal restrictions imposed by the Law for the Defense of the Nation, which set the Jews into a separate category of marked members of a degraded race, were abolished together with all other decrees, ordinances and orders regulating both personal and material restrictions. Some Jews were at once appointed to prominent governmental posts: Mr. Fayonov became secretary general of the Ministry of Information, Mr. Leviev—director of the Department of Foreign Trade and many other posts were given to Jews who had, side by side with their Bulgarian friends, fought as partisans against the fascist regime. The Commissariat on Jewish Questions was entrusted to the Jews and efficient Mr. Française was appointed as its chief.

The problem, however, was not so simple. The repeal of the law on the exclusive Jewish tax and the laws, regulations and ordinances about restrictions on Jewish commercial and industrial enterprises, possession of land and buildings gave rise to many complicated questions connected with considerable property rights and material interests. All these could not find a quick and satisfactory solution, not only because the strained financial situation of the country rendered it impossible for the state to refund at

once all moneys collected in the form of exclusive taxes and fees, as the FF government would have liked to do, but also because a great number of Jews, assisted by their Bulgarian friends, had concluded all kinds of simulative and secret transactions to get around the anti-Jewish laws. These transactions had to be settled openly now. Moreover, the fascist state had transferred much of the confiscated Jewish property to third persons who either with or without the consent of the Jewish owners had taken possession of it and in some instances improved it. Article 3 of the regulations stipulated therefore, that a special law would be worked out to settle all questions of property rights.

On November 15, 1944, the FF government enacted a regulation abolishing all restrictions that were imposed by fascists on young men with "dangerous ideas," and which were also applied to the Jews, on entering various schools and educational institutions. The law granted various privileges to the partisans and applied them in toto to the Jews. This generous treatment of Jewish youth by the FF manifestly demonstrated the attitude of the government on the Jewish question.

When all aspects of the property difficulties were attentively examined, the regulation for the settlement of property questions, resulting from the repeal of anti-Jewish laws, appeared on March 2, 1945. Title to real estate, which had not been transferred was, of course, immediately restored to the Jews. Compulsory transfers of commercial and industrial enterprises were cancelled. The exclusive Jewish tax which amounted to 25 per cent of the total estate of a person of Jewish origin was to be refunded immediately if it was below 50,000 leva. Bigger sums were to be paid back in six yearly instalments beginning with March 1, 1946. It is interesting to note that while the FF government was ready to go to any lengths to rectify all injustices imposed exclusively on Bulgarian Jews, the Commissariat on Jewish Questions and the Jews themselves established this manner of payment, taking into account the serious situation of the State treasury.

An ordinance of the Ministry of Finance, described in detail all formalities and steps relating to the payment of all sums and the mode of settling difficulties arising from transfers of Jewish property to third persons. Additional ordinances explained that 50,000 leva should be repaid in cash to all. These ordinances also explained the way to settle disputes between third persons who have held Jewish property or improved it.

The rights of Jews in Bulgaria have been restored by the FF government of its own accord. Any attempt, therefore, to have a special clause inserted in the peace

treaty with Bulgaria is totally unwarranted and only degrading. The repeal of all anti-Jewish legislation has had the spontaneous support of the whole Bulgarian nation. This support assumed concrete shape in the Grand National Assembly where credits for the payment of all Jewish claims were unanimously voted both by the government and the opposition.

In order to make the repetition of such ignominious legislation impossible in the future, the Draft Constitution of the FF underlines in Article 3 the principle of equality of sex, nationality, race and creed and stipulates in Article 60 that "all propaganda of racial, nationalist or religious hatred shall be punished by law."

Thus Jews in Bulgaria enjoy absolutely the same rights as all other citizens irrespective of race or creed.

Sofia

D.B.L.

## NEW MASSES

... a crusading cultural political magazine based on Marxist analysis and Marxist criticism.

For thirty-five years NEW MASSES has been part of the people's struggles. It will continue that tradition of the past with a

"new" NEW MASSES.

### Everything in one Magazine

EXPOSES - FICTION - ART  
CRITICISM - EDUCATION  
SCIENCE - PHILOSOPHY  
POETRY - CARTOONS

For only 15 cents per copy  
on the newsstands

\$6.00 per year \$3.25 for six months  
\$1.00 Trial Subscription—10 weeks  
(Canadian postage 50¢ extra;  
Foreign postage \$1.00 extra)

#### NEW MASSES

104 E. 9th ST. NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

## Russian SKAZKA RESTAURANT

MOTYA and LEO 227 West 46th St.  
NEMIROFF Circle 6-7957

MEET ME AT

### BEN'S Luncheonette

For a SANDWICH or a FULL MEAL  
101 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
Prompt Delivery of Outside Orders  
Also Newspapers, Magazines, Smokers' Items  
Telephone: GR. 3-9469-8875; GR. 7-4526

Now Playing  
Artkino's

## The Nuremberg Trials

"... tremendously vital  
and important picture."—PM

Uncut, official films

Produced in the U.S.S.R.

**STANLEY** 42nd St. & 7th Ave.  
**THEATRE** New York City  
Wlsconsin 7-9686



## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

### AT HOME

Several Jewish organizations have passed resolutions condemning the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill. The administrative committee of the American Jewish Congress, consisting of 300 community leaders from all parts of the country, urged Congress to defeat the Taft-Hartley labor program, which "would gravely jeopardize the very existence of a free labor movement." The Institute on Judaism, Management and Labor, sponsored by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, condemned "the excesses of the Hartley Bill, which among other things have the vindictive purpose of crippling the labor movement of the country, by eliminating the closed shop and industry-wide bargaining." The Social Justice Commission of the Rabbinical Council of America issued a statement declaring that religious-minded people "cannot tolerate labor-baiting and red-labelling as a mask for an assault on the honest gains of the trade union movement."

☆

The New York Regional Conference of the Jewish War Veterans adopted a series of progressive resolutions at its May meeting. The JWV urged passage of the Buckley Bill outlawing anti-Semitism; demanded immediate removal of Joseph Baumgartner, anti-Semitic Bavarian Minister of Agriculture; demanded enactment of a national FEPC; condemned attacks on civil liberties of minority political groups; demanded immediate surrender of the Palestine mandate by Britain to the UN; opposed military aid to Greece and Turkey; and called for liberal veterans' aid and housing measures.

A resolution was introduced into the New York City Council by Councilmen Michael J. Quill and Eugene P. Connelly urging the New York City Congressional delegation to support the enactment of the Buckley Bill, HR 2848, outlawing anti-Semitism.

☆

Congressman Karl E. Mundt, a vociferous member of the Un-American Committee, is writing articles for Gerald L. K. Smith's anti-Semitic magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*.

☆

After the Canadian Social Credit Party reprinted the infamous *Protocols of Zion*, Montreal Church bodies issued statements condemning the revival of the forgery. The *Canadian Register*, semi-official organ of the English speaking diocese of the Catholic Church in Montreal, declared that, after the barbarous murder of 6,000,000 Jews in Europe, "one would have thought that the world would turn in shame from that peculiarly anti-Christian evil which is known as anti-Semitism." A report by the Diocesan Council for Social Service of the Anglican Diocese of Montreal also condemned the revival of anti-Semitic propaganda. "The continuous and blatant anti-Soviet propaganda line" being followed by many newspapers was condemned as contributing nothing to world peace.

☆

The Chicago City Council has passed an ordinance providing up to six months' imprisonment or fine up to \$200 for posting or printing of any literature exposing an individual or reli-

gious group to hatred or ridicule "so as to endanger public peace."

☆

Testifying before the President's Committee on Civil Rights, Elmer Henderson, executive secretary of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, stated that since the end of the war "job discrimination against American minorities has become bold and rampant." He did not believe that job bias could be overcome by education alone, but required punitive measures.

☆

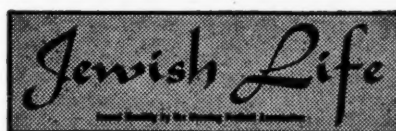
The American Jewish Congress has charged that white collar employment agencies in New York City are openly violating the regulations of the State Commission against Discrimination under the Ives-Quinn Law. The law requires the conspicuous posting of a notice containing excerpts of the law, but an investigation showed that, of 126 such agencies covered in the study, 74 per cent had not posted the notice.

☆

Minneapolis has passed a city ordinance punishing as a misdemeanor an act of discrimination in employment by any person "whether acting in an official capacity or in private capacity."

☆

Passage of the Stratton Bill to permit entry of 400,000 displaced persons over the next four years was urged by the Justice and State departments. The Justice Department asked that the bill exclude from entrance those persons who had "no valid reason for not remaining in Germany, Austria and Italy," those "who voluntarily assisted the enemy during World War II," and those who have been members of or participated in any movement hostile to the United States or "to the Republican form of government." Among those urging passage of the bill are the AFL and CIO. The DAR convention went on record as opposing any change in the present immigration quota system adopted in 1924.



The indispensable magazine for progressive American Jews.

Help build JEWISH LIFE by getting subscriptions during these summer months—  
and win a prize for yourself. You can't lose!

### FREE PRIZES

#### For 1 sub:

Jews in American History by Philip Foner (35¢)

#### For 2 subs:

Jews Without Money by Mike Gold (75¢)

#### For 3 subs (choice):

Focus by Arthur Miller (\$1.00)

Shadows of the Warsaw Ghetto by Itzik Feffer—*Yiddish* (\$1.00)

The Fortress (Wilna Ghetto) by A. Sutzkever—*Yiddish* (\$1.00)

#### For 5 subs (choice):

The Soviet Union by M. Olgin—*Yiddish* (\$1.50)

Avreml Broide by Ben Gold—*Yiddish* (\$1.50)

Sidney Garb and Sons by Max Perlow—*Yiddish* (\$1.50)

#### For 7 subs (choice):

Overture on Hebrew Themes by Serge Prokofieff—*Disc Recording* (\$2.31)

Odyssey Through Hell by Raymond Arthur Davies (\$2.50)

The Theater by Nathaniel Buchwald—*Yiddish* (\$2.50)

#### For 8 subs:

Gentlemen's Agreement by Laura Z. Hobson (\$2.75)

#### For 9 subs (choice):

Old Country by Sholom Aleichem (\$3.00)

East River by Sholom Asch (\$3.00)

Der Thilleim Yid by Sholom Asch—*Yiddish* (\$3.00)

#### For 10 subs (choice):

Jewish and Palestinian Folksongs by Ruth Rubin—*Disc Record Album* (\$5.93)

The Jewish Caravan edited by Leo W. Schwartz (\$3.50)

The Golden Treasury of Jewish Literature by Leo W. Schwartz (\$3.50)

#### For 15 subs (choice):

Hebrew and Palestinian Folk Melodies by the Palestine String Quartet—*Disc Record Album* (\$4.72)

The Black Book (\$5.00)

Or any combination of items listed above equal to \$5.00 in value.

Send in all subs for one prize at the same time. New subs, advance renewals, your own sub or your own advance renewal will count. ACT AT ONCE! Offer ends midnight, September 6.

Send or bring all subs to JEWISH LIFE—35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y.

## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 31)

Objection to both "released time" and "dismissed time" or "the utilization in any manner of the time, facilities, personnel, or funds of the public school system for purposes of religious instruction" has been announced jointly by the National Community Relations Advisory Council and the Synagogue Council of America.

Sixty-six per cent of the American press supported the Zionist position at the United Nations and expressed a condemnatory attitude regarding Britain, the Arabs or the Palestine stand of the U.S. at the UN, it was revealed by Ernest E. Barbarash, director of public relations of the Zionist Organization of America. Ten per cent of the press was inclined toward defense of the British, while the balance, 24 per cent, was non-committal.

Henry Monsky, president of the B'nai B'rith and a leading figure in American Jewish life, died at the age of 57. Frank Goldman, of Lowell, Mass., is the newly-elected president of the organization.

Judge Meir Steinbrink, of the New York Supreme Court, was elected national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League.

The first Jewish Museum in the United States, and probably the largest in the world, was opened to the public under the auspices of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The Museum is housed in the former home of Mrs. Felix Warburg, who presented the six story structure for this purpose in 1944. The museum will display and promote all forms of artistic expression in the Jewish tradition—painting, sculpture, architecture, music and letters.

To help restore Jewish publishing houses destroyed by the nazis in the Soviet Union during the war a national fund raising campaign has been started by the American Jewish Council to Aid Russian Rehabilitation. Louis Levine, president of the Council, states that in the Ukraine and White Russia today, more than 1,250,000 Jews have not a single print shop or Yiddish press.

### EUROPE

A public appeal to the displaced Polish Jews in the British and American zones of Austria to return to Poland has been made by the Jewish Committee of Wroclaw in Lower Silesia. The appeal points out to the Jews that they need not remain in the "shameful" camps and that many refugees would not have left Poland had not "reactionary elements" created a panic to make "political capital out of your misfortune." The Wroclaw committee also urged the closing of all DP camps. It states that there are some 400 Jewish institutions in Lower Silesia, including 23 Jewish schools and 40 orphanages. It also says that the Jews will have an opportunity to rebuild their national, cultural and economic life in Poland and promises that there will be sufficient communal help to permit repatriates to readjust themselves.

Negotiations between Polish and Palestine officials are proceeding to reestablish commercial relations between the two lands on a reciprocal basis. The Palestinians are interested in wooden boxes for shipping citrus fruits, coal, coke and ceramics. Poland wants, among other things, citrus fruits and their by-products for artificial teeth.

A resumption of the pre-war conflicts between the Zionists and the Jewish Socialist Bund in Poland has resulted in the largest Jewish school in Lodz rejecting a municipal subsidy of 600,000 zlotys (nominally \$6,000).

Zionist Revisionists are agitating all over Europe among Jews for a "March on Palestine," but the agitation remains for the most part unsuccessful. The *Times* correspondent in Munich reports that "in the swarming Jewish displaced persons camps this spring there is a great deal of talk about a 'March on Palestine' but very little marching." The Sofia immigration office of the Jewish Agency has issued a statement deploring the attempts of some Jews to leave the country illegally for Palestine and stressed that such emigration might have unfortunate consequences. In Rumania, however, Jewish emigration, sponsored by what the Zionist Organization has publicly declared to be "irresponsible organizations," has reached alarming proportions. The Jewish Democratic Committee published a statement strongly attacking "the criminal agitation for anarchic clandestine emigration." The statement points out that for the first time in modern history the present regime in Rumania has given the country's Jews full equality and rights and adds that the economic burden resulting from the war is being borne equally by all citizens and that the Jewish population has no cause for apprehension.

The Rumanian parliament has adopted a sweeping citizenship reform law that wipes out thousands of grievances of Rumanian Jews, some of which date back 30 years. The vote was 188 to two. The new law provides that all persons who have resided in Rumanian territory since 1920 automatically acquire citizenship. The measure also cancels all discriminatory legislation imposed by the Goga and Cuza pro-Nazi governments which deprived tens of thousands of Jews of citizenship rights and made them "stateless."

All installations for Jewish DPs in Vienna operated by U.S. military authorities have closed down. The American authorities have thus far strictly enforced the order. About 600 refugees who have entered Vienna since the order was issued are being housed and fed by the JDC. While the Polish emigration has substantially decreased, refugees continue to flow out of Rumania.

American military authorities in Munich admit that some MP's with a German woman, who was intoxicated, unjustifiably assaulted 40 Jews at a meeting of Agudas Israel. Charges will probably be brought against the woman and her soldier escort.

William Gallagher, British Communist MP, asked a question in Parliament recently about the flood of anti-Semitic leaflets coming into Great Britain from an unknown source in Sweden. The leaflets contain quotations from the speeches and works of Goebbels and other Nazi leaders. It is believed that the leaflets are also being shipped from the same source to France, United States and South America.

### PALESTINE

Following the special UN session on Palestine the left-wing Hashomer Hatzair is reported to have taken a position favoring UN trusteeship

of Palestine by the three great powers until conditions are favorable for the creation of a binational state. At this writing no reply has been received by the Jewish CP of Palestine to their bid to Hashomer Hatzair for a united front of progressives. Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency executive, indicated that the Zionists might accept partition of Palestine since a Zionist state in all of Palestine was not practicable as yet. Later he stated that he favored an independent partitioned Jewish state with the rest of Palestine remaining under the mandate. Post-session indications are that the Zionists may consider favorably some form of partition, although a considerable sector of official Palestine Jewish opinion is not disposed to accept anything short of a Jewish state over the whole of Palestine.

Arab communists have criticized Arab delegate Emil Ghouri for anti-Semitic remarks made in a speech before the UN special session. The same report states that first steps have been taken toward a unification of the Jewish and Arab communist parties in Palestine.

Jewish and Arab workers recently united to call the largest strike ever held in Palestine. Thirty thousand Arabs and 10,000 Jews employed by the British Army held a one-day "warning" strike, demanding recognition of their unions, higher pay and better conditions and a guarantee of no lay-offs by Army authorities of allegedly surplus workers. The workers promised other strikes to come if their demands were not met.

Another manifestation of Arab-Jewish labor unity occurred when 1,000 workers at a British army installation near Haifa went on strike in protest at the dismissal of 64 workers without proper notice. As a result the skilled workers among the dismissed were returned to their jobs, while the unskilled workers were promised employment at other camps.

Conferences were recently held of representatives of the trade unions of five important oil refineries in Palestine to discuss a joint constitution uniting them all in a single union. The constitution was adopted and a single union formed. Plans were made to enlarge the union to include all oil workers in Palestine.

Arab and Jewish workers of the Jerusalem Electric and Public Service Corporation, a British-owned utility, demanded wage increases, pension rights, and other improvements in conditions. Attempts by the company to split the older workers from the younger by promising to meet the demands of the former failed. The company also tried to divide the office from the manual workers and threatened that if the workers struck the company would call in the army. Some workers were threatened with dismissal in order to intimidate the rest. But these efforts to break unity did not succeed.

Since the lifting of martial law in Palestine new amendments to the Emergency Law are interpreted by some observers as more severe than martial law. Henceforth judgments and sentences passed by the Military Courts or by the General Officer Commanding will not be subject to appeal and may not be questioned or challenged before any court. Further, certain prison rules do not any longer apply in the case of death sentences passed by the Military Courts, such as those affecting time and place of executions. Hence, although the power of the High Commissioner to grant pardons still remains, under the new regime there may not be time for the exercise of this prerogative since the condemned man is liable to be executed immediately after sentence is passed.



Y  
C  
H

U  
I

2  
E

x