

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

Georgia Jew Fights For Negro Rights

By **HARRY RAYMOND**

"I'M JUST a plain old Georgia cracker myself, born right here in this town."

This was the way Sam Levine of Brunswick, Georgia, described himself.

But the white prison guards who massacred eight Negro prisoners at the Anguilla State Prison, Stockade on July 11, and Warden H. G. Worthy, who fired the first shot, would be happy if Sam Levine had never been in Brunswick, and would somehow disappear from there today.

True, the Glynn County grand jury has placed its stamp of approval on the massacre by declaring on July 18 that the guards were "justified in their action" and were "acting in order to maintain order." What is more, the grand jury declared that "this would not have happened if the men were in chains and stripes," which were abolished in Georgia in 1946 by the anti-Talmadge administration of Ex-Gov. Ellis G. Arnall. And many leading white citizens approved the whitewash and expressed the belief and hope that the whole bloody affair would soon be forgotten.

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SEPTEMBER 1947

PALESTINE AND THE UN

A ZIONIST VIEWS ZOA CONVENTION

By **JOSEPH BRAININ**

GROMYKO'S RAY OF LIGHT

By **ITZIK FEFFER**

ZIONISTS AND THE UN

An **EDITORIAL**

CONTROVERSY ON BILL TO OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM

SHAD POLIER of *American Jewish Congress*

COUNCILMAN PETER V. CACCHIONE

WILLIAM LEVNER

of *American Jewish Labor Council*

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

The Central Conference of American Rabbis at its 58th annual convention in Montreal reaffirmed almost unanimously its resolution of 1909 declaring that mixed marriages "are contrary to the tradition of Jewish religion and should therefore be discouraged by the American Rabbinate." A previous resolution that would have prohibited under any circumstances mixed marriages between Jews and unconverted Gentiles, was barely defeated by a vote of 74 to 72, and was largely advanced by younger rabbis. The Convention also expressed strong opposition to "released time" by public schools for religious instruction because of its danger to the separation of church and state. Other resolutions adopted were commendation to President Truman for establishment of an investigating Committee on Civil Rights and the hope that the committee would be made permanent; an expression of "profound regret" that Congress had failed to sustain Truman's veto of the Hartley-Taft anti-labor bill; and opposition to compulsory military training.

☆
Testifying before the House Armed Services Committee Rabbi Ahren Opher, assistant to the president of the Synagogue Council of America, opposed universal military training and urged strengthening of the United Nations as the "most effective instrument to secure peace."

☆
Serious charges have been made that secret agreements to guarantee several million dollars for propaganda and other non-relief agencies as part of the United Jewish Appeal campaign for \$65,000,000 in New York for relief. In a leading article of the current issue of the *Menorah Journal*, editor Henry Hurwitz charged that "these non-relief organizations were arbitrarily tacked on by a small group of men who are running the campaign in New York, as the result of behind-closed-doors pressures that have nothing whatever to do with either the merits, the needs or the programs of the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal and the United Service for New Americans." Non-relief organizations named in the article are the American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, National Jewish Welfare Board and Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

☆
Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious fascist and anti-Semite, was prevented from speaking at a meeting in Boston when a crowd of about 1,000 shouted, booted and stamped their feet so that he was forced to leave without speaking. Trade unions, civil liberties groups, an AVC chapter and other organizations arranged the effective demonstration. Judge David Rose, Boston Jewish Community Council head and local ADL chairman denounced the demonstration as "Communist-led" and as giving Smith undue publicity.

☆
Gerald L. K. Smith met in July secretly in New York with local fascists to plan a revival of the Christian Front in New York. Smith discussed his plans at a press conference in New York. Asked if he considered himself anti-Semitic he replied, "By the definition of some Jewish journalists I am." He called the move to admit 400,000 DPs to the US as a "refugee racket." He believed that the Marshall Plan "does seem to be a plan to strengthen the anti-Communist elements in Europe by undermining the Communist states economically." He thought Senator Robert Taft "a very fine man, a very courageous statesman."

☆
Harvard and Radcliffe students and trade unionists recently maintained a picket line for 21



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

THE EDITORS.

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days around Club 100 in Cambridge because it discriminated against two Harvard Negro students. The victory over jimcrow was gained when the club manager signed a statement that "guests of members will not be excluded on account of race, color or creed."

☆
The Ninth U.S. District Court of Appeals has upheld the decision of the Southern California District Court in ruling against the right of school districts to segregate Mexican and Latin American children.

☆
The House of Representatives finally decided by voice vote to print the Library of Congress study *Fascism in Action*, initiated by Rep. Wright Pat-

man, after a month long delay and smear campaign in which opponents almost succeeded in getting the study suppressed. Single free copies will soon be available at Congressmen's offices.

☆
New York educators at the second annual Human Relations Conference called for the revision of textbooks to eliminate bias against minority peoples. Educators from all parts of the country heard that many textbooks needed to be rewritten because they promote disrespect of minority groups and that a commission should be established to revise such books.

☆
After being abused by his foreman for being a
 (Continued on page 31)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

A NEW YEAR OPENS

A Guest Editorial

By Irving Freed

JEW S will greet the new year, 5708, with mixed feelings of anxiety and hope. As customary in the tradition of our people, the occasion will be one for serious soul-searching, for estimating the past year, for glimpsing the future.

This year is the third since the end of World War II. What picture do we see after the frightful catastrophe which laid waste to countries and peoples, and cut short six million Jewish lives?

The picture has lights and shades. To all but those who choose to remain blind, the operating forces stand out with relative clarity. On the one hand we see a mighty advance of peoples shattering the fetters of centuries and rebuilding on new, democratic foundations. This is a natural and logical sequel to the sacrifice of rivers of blood in a war to destroy fascism. These peoples have no desire to return to the bankrupt *status quo* of monarchist cliques, semi-feudal regimes and colonial bonds. The people want to taste to the full the fruits of victory in an anti-fascist war.

Out of this drama of the people emerged a new type of state in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and other European countries in which the people dictate policy. These are democratic, anti-fascist regimes which are achieving, among other social reforms, the abolition of poisonous anti-Semitism and race hatred. Jewish communities are blossoming and consolidating notable achievements in those countries.

On the other hand, recent events have brought one painful confirmation after another, that a defeat on the battlefields, that the annihilation of the Hitler murder-machine, have not in themselves been enough to conquer fascism. So long as fascism is not rooted out economically, politically, ideologically, the job is not finished.

For the Jews this must be especially clear. Two years have passed since the guns were silenced—and yet the tragedy of our people cries to heaven for justice. Is clearer evidence needed than the quarter of a million homeless Jews who suffer in desolated camps, or wander the seas and cannot make port? Is more brutal evidence necessary than the bloody terror against the *Yishuv* in Palestine and the murderous attacks against Jewish refugees on the shores of the

“promised land”? And is it not a fact that in our own country, anti-Semitism has become more intense and daring?

Symptoms of Danger

This woe did not fall from heaven. It is symptomatic of new and ominous dangers. It is the offshoot of a desperate offensive by imperialist reactionaries to rob the peoples of their hard-earned gains and to keep them in chains.

In the vanguard of the attack marches a power-drunk American imperialism, of which the Republican Party is the strongest support, and the Truman administration the willing tool. In this atmosphere the Roosevelt program of world cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union as the corner-stone of world peace has been choked out of our government. In place of the Roosevelt policy we have the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, whose essence is American imperialist domination.

The crux of this policy, that bears within it the seeds of a new war, is the American plan to rebuild a strong Germany as a spearhead against the Soviet Union, against the new democracies in Europe and against the progressive forces throughout the world. In these intrigues against progressivism lies the main danger for all nations—and especially for the Jewish people.

A strong Germany? The very words send a chill through every Jew. A strong Germany, armed to the teeth with the help of American and British trusts, helped create Hitlerism, and thus to ignite a world conflagration that cost a third of our people. Must it happen again?

It is no accident that this aim of the administration has caused alarm among the masses in general and among the Jews in particular. An editorial in the *Yiddish Morning Journal* of July 17, is typical of widespread sentiments. America, the editorial states, by its present program for Germany has “revised all plans to date for keeping the former enemy bridled. . . . In politics America has let it be known that it will not even seek any longer to influence Germany in a democratic direction.” The *Morning Journal* worriedly asks, “Does this mean that Germany will even be permitted to return to nazism, if it is properly masked?”

Regrettably, the answer is yes. Such is the logic of the situation. America's current policy toward Germany can

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create the conditions for nazism to reappear. Let us remember, too, that in the American and British zones of Germany, the denazification program has been sabotaged, together with other agreements reached at Potsdam, Yalta and Teheran, to disarm Germany industrially and politically.

Thus do the general lines of American foreign policy appear at the present moment. On the domestic front reaction pushed through its Taft-Hartley law that seeks to wreck the labor movement and thereby to grab the whole nation by the throat. Anti-Semitism has spread. The plague of race discrimination has sharpened and in the South a wave of lynchings has risen in recent months.

All around, not a very happy picture.

But the deep shadows must under no circumstances be allowed to obscure the bright side. The attack of reaction is meeting resolute resistance from large and mighty forces. There is, first of all, the labor movement, with its millions of organized trade unionists in the CIO and the AFL. Significant sections of the American people, aroused into opposition against present policies in Washington, are rallying around such important leaders of the Roosevelt camp as Henry Wallace and Senator Claude Pepper. And there is the Communist Party with its clear and consistent program in the interests of the nation. The movement for labor unity is gaining strength. A powerful movement is building up against the Taft-Hartley slave law.

In the political sphere broad masses are awaking to the futility of following the two "traditional" parties. The time is growing ripe for independent political action—for a third party that will turn America once more toward the progressive policies of Roosevelt.

What shall Jews do in this fateful hour? What tasks confront our people at this New Year?

History teaches us that the very existence of the Jewish people is tightly bound up with the victory of all progressive, freedom-loving movements. In the interest of our nation and our Jewish people we must align ourselves with the forces of progress and democracy, with the labor democratic progressive coalition.

We must struggle against the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan; defeat the maneuvers to re-establish a militaristic Germany; give aid to the needy people of Germany.

ZIONISTS AND THE UN

WE wish to call the attention of our readers to the report by Joseph Brainin on the fiftieth convention of the Zionist Organization of America, held in New York beginning on July 3, 1947. What adds interest and importance to the report is the fact that it is obviously written from a point of view sympathetic to Zionism.

It is indeed a dismal, and in some respects frightening, picture of the ZOA convention that Mr. Brainin offers us.

We must smash the conspiracy of the Wall Street imperialists, halt the war-mongers; fight for a secure world peace, built on the Roosevelt program of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

We must struggle against the anti-Semites and the race-inciters; outlaw anti-Semitism.

We must stop the terror against the *Yishuv* in Palestine, and achieve a democratic solution through an independent, Jewish-Arab state with equal national rights for both peoples.

We must help the Jewish communities in Europe and make our contribution to the development of Jewish statehood in Birobidjan.

We must build the culture of our people; develop a movement for a united world Jewish cultural congress.

Such a program can and must serve as a platform for all Jews who sincerely strive for a happy future for our people. Democratic Jewish unity is now just as pressing as it was in the years when the sword was at our throat. Such unity is not a "temporary maneuver," not a "marriage of convenience." It is a historic need, dictated by the vital interests of our people.

The Soviet-Jewish writer, L. Goldberg, properly emphasizes in the Moscow *Einikeit* of July 7, that Jewish life will be fortified and will thrive "when the forces of all truly progressive and democratic elements in every Jewish community individually, and of all of them together, will unite; when, together with non-Jewish forces, they will struggle for their economic and cultural rehabilitation—and this demands struggle against reaction, against every revival of fascism, against the igniters of a new war."

Essentially, these words express the position of the Jewish anti-fascists in America, as they do the program of the Morning Freiheit Association.

The all-important task of the moment is to guarantee the victory of democracy and progress over reaction and war-mongering. It is the duty of every Jew to participate in this task. On this path lies the only guarantee that our sorely-tried people will be comforted and will no longer face sorrow.

Achievement of this goal, together with all Jewish anti-fascists, is our vow as we enter on the New Year.

We cannot agree with Mr. Brainin in all particulars. We do not believe that even a major portion of the delegates was in complete agreement with the reactionary doings and leadership displayed by the convention. And while we condemn both the ideology and activity of the Irgun and the Stern group, we must not for one moment fail to stress that the primary cause for terror in Palestine is imperialism in general and British imperialism in particular. What is

more, it must be clearly noted that the danger of Zionism's deviation toward chauvinism, which Prof. Albert Einstein warned about, comes not alone from the domination of certain elements in the leadership, but from the very essence of Zionism, which is a bourgeois ideology, and therefore has a tendency to express itself in various forms of national chauvinism.

This, in fact, explains why the honest and sincere Zionist elements have been overwhelmed by the most reactionary section in the Zionist movement. For by not knowing the source of the danger, these honest circles could not properly aim and direct their fire at the main base of reaction within the Zionist movement.

Reaction Wins the Day

Thus it was that in the ZOA the policy of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, based upon Wall Street imperialism and support for the Taft Republicans, won the day at the convention. There was no reflection there of the democratic solution for Palestine proposed by the Soviet Union at the recent UN General Assembly, which won the acclaim of all progressive people, Jews and non-Jews alike. On the contrary, pressed by the Silver-Neumann leadership, the convention reaffirmed its demand for a non-democratic solution for Palestine by stubbornly continuing to demand a sole Jewish state in all of Palestine, and by relying upon the Balfour Declaration and the British imperialist mandate for its justification and for achieving its aims. No policy was adopted at the convention calculated to achieve any understanding with the Arabs for common struggle against foreign domination in Palestine.

And to emphasize the reactionary nature of the decisions, the convention called upon the United States to "implement its policy on Palestine with the same vigor as it pursues its policy on Greece and Turkey." Thus the convention gave its blessing to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the blueprints for American imperialist world domination which made the American delegates take an anti-Jewish and anti-democratic position at the UN special meeting on Palestine, which makes America support fascism in Greece and Turkey, which makes America encourage Dutch enslavement of Indonesia, which makes America seek to save Chiang Kai-shek's feudalism in China. Without perhaps many of the delegates realizing it, the convention did, in effect, endorse the Marshall Plan policy of rebuilding an imperialist and fascist Germany.

The Soviet declaration on Palestine was such that many Zionists began to re-evaluate their positions. There was so much honest heart-searching as a result, that even Dr. Silver had to take cognizance of it, and bow to it in a speech before the reformed rabbis in Montreal. But that this was merely opportunist double-talk, calculated to offset the good effect of Soviet behavior and the bad effect of American behavior, can be seen from the fact that at the convention, after trying to prove that he had foreseen the Soviet position in 1945, he proceeded to convert Soviet policy into

Zionist policy, and to support wholeheartedly the imperialist bi-partisan policies of the Truman administration and its extension to Palestine.

Reliance on U.S. Imperialism

At the Basle Congress of the World Zionist Movement, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the newly-elected president of the ZOA, defended a policy of basing Zionist hopes upon the present drive of United States imperialism for world rule. This position will clarify some of the statements made by Dr. Neumann at a press conference on July 24. Dr. Neumann insisted that the failure of the United States to take a concrete stand on the Palestine crisis was an "encouragement for an anti-Zionist solution," and was "throwing the game to the adversaries" of the Zionist cause. Dr. Neumann did not indicate any support for the democratic solution for Palestine proposed by the Soviet Union, nor did he even mention it. He obviously therefore thinks the United States should establish a position different from that expressed by the Soviet Union. But the only position on foreign policy taken by the United States in any part of the world is based on the reactionary, imperialist Truman Doctrine. And by its behavior at the UN special meeting on Palestine, the United States has indicated that it is more inclined to support Great Britain than the Soviet Union.

Since Dr. Neumann's support for American imperialism is both long-standing and consistent, it is clear that he thinks a Truman-Doctrine-inspired imperialist solution for Palestine can be "pro-Zionist," while a democratic solution must be "anti-Zionist." Can the Jewish people, concerned with their security, accept such a sectarian, narrow partisan and dangerous interpretation?

As indicated in the summary of the hearings of the UN Special Committee on Palestine, printed elsewhere in this issue, the Jewish masses in Palestine, through such spokesmen as the Hashomer Hatzair, the Ichud (Unity) Group and the Palestine Communist Party, have expressed their readiness to accept a democratic solution for Palestine as embodied in the policy of a bi-national, or one dual democratic state in Palestine. But a streak of intransigence continues to run through certain Zionist circles there.

Jewish Agency Intransigence

Important changes in the position of the Jewish Agency have appeared since the UN special session. For the first time the Agency has abandoned its reliance on Britain for the achievement of a Jewish state and has shifted its dependence to the United Nations. But the Agency looks forward to a decision by the UN to award the Jews a "viable state in part of Palestine," in which case the Agency is confident that it can set up such a state without further help from any country. Thus the Agency has not budged from its previous position that any kind of dual Jewish-Arab state is undesirable. It has steadily refused to abandon its demand for a Jewish state in which the Jews will be the sole sovereign authority.

Moshe Shertok's view that a dual state will lead to a deadlock goes on the false premise that acceptance of this solution by the Agency will not modify both the Jewish and Arab positions towards greater cooperative effort. But it is this very intransigence on the part of the Jewish Agency that must be held partly responsible for the present difficult relations between Jews and Arabs. The partition of Palestine that must result from such intransigence, with its inevitable economic warfare and irredentist aftermath in both Jewish and Arab parts of Palestine, makes a mockery of the Agency's insistence on its ability to set up a Jewish state without further help from any other country. On the contrary, such a situation can only deepen Zionist reliance on outside imperialist aid.

The American Jews are dubious and disillusioned in the stubborn, narrow and unachievable position of the reactionary leaders of the ZOA. This can be seen from the fact that despite the ZOA's recent agitational convention, despite the justified resentment of all decent people against British brutality against defenseless Jewish refugees, despite unified support by all the sections of Jewry for the action, only a relatively small turnout appeared on July 24 at a New York outdoor demonstration against the British attack on 4,500 refugees. Apparently neither the program nor the slogans of the Zionists can rally the masses of people.

On the other hand, the rousing universal applause which met the Soviet declaration on Palestine stemmed from its human and democratic program. This program called for a solution for Palestine that was in the interests of the Jewish people. It called for the end of imperialism and its mandate in Palestine, for the establishment of one dual democratic state of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, for the independence of Palestine, for United Nations responsibility for the fate of the Jewish DPs.

This is the program that the United States delegates must support at the forthcoming session of the United Nations. Only in this way can the United States fulfill its commitments and pledges to the Jewish people on Palestine. Zionists who have the interests of the Jews at heart must fight to compel our government to support this position. It is a position that helps achieve the just aspirations that led so many Jews to the Zionist movement. And it is a position not only in the interests of the Jews, but of all democracy.

AGAINST UN-AMERICANS

THE case of Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, against the House Un-American Committee is the immediate concern of every Jew in the United States. Mr. Dennis has been convicted of "contempt" of Congress in actuality because he has challenged the constitutionality of the Committee, and he is appealing his conviction. It would be folly for the Jewish people not to realize that the fight being waged by Mr. Dennis is an integral part of their own struggle against those very forces

that slaughtered one-third of the world's Jews and that are carrying forward this extermination program into the post-war period.

The Un-American Committee has abundantly proved itself to be pro-fascist and anti-Semitic. It is daily putting Congress in contempt of the American people by infringing the elementary principles of freedom of expression by its obscene witch-hunts. At the same time it is an active ally of those very un-American forces it was presumably set up to investigate. After a ludicrous ten minute inquiry it recently decided that fascists in the United States were no danger to the country—a decision which is not surprising, since the Committee is itself part of those very forces. Before and during the war Axis propagandists, who should know, used the Committee as their ally. After the war's end the Committee has not only won the approval of fascists, but has helped them. Rep. Karl E. Mundt of the Committee contributes to Gerald L. K. Smith's *Cross and the Flag*. John Rankin permits pro-fascist Gerald Winrod to use his frank. Rankin has frequently debased the honor of Congress by his anti-Semitic statements, one of which was responsible for bringing on the death of Rep. Edelstein in 1942. Recently he said, among other anti-Semitic statements, "Now this drive against the British Empire by the Zionists—ain't that a communist front?"

The Committee's pro-fascist and anti-Semitic animus is a threat to democracy itself. This threat was well expressed by Herbert H. Lehman in 1938. It lies, he said, in the "gradual invasion of constitutional rights with the acquiescence of an inert people, through failure to discern that constitutional government cannot survive where the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are not safeguarded even to those citizens with whose political and social views the majority may not agree." The Un-American Committee is invading these rights, and the Jewish people are thereby threatened. In defense of democracy in our country and of the Jewish people, whose welfare is linked with democracy, Jewish organizations should rally to the counter-offensive being waged by Eugene Dennis to prove the unconstitutionality of the Un-American Committee.

IN MEMORY OF JOSEPH R. BRODSKY Died July 28, 1947

ANTI-FASCIST. DEFENDER OF LABOR, THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND ALL MINORITIES. FIGHTER FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE. HERO OF SCOTTSBORO, HARLAN COUNTY, GASTONIA, AND COUNTLESS OTHER LEGAL BATTLES.

WHERE THE BATTLE WAS MOST DANGEROUS AND HARD, JOSEPH BRODSKY WAS ALWAYS TO BE FOUND.

A ZIONIST VIEWS ZOA CONVENTION

By Joseph Brainin

PALESTINE is one of the pivotal spots on the geopolitical map of the world. During and immediately after World War II Great Britain built powerful military establishments there. Today Palestine has numerous military airdromes for long-distance bombing planes, gigantic, strategically placed war arsenals and huge, well-guarded ammunition dumps. No wonder, then, that in the files of the general staffs in London and Washington tiny Palestine is marked "important." The blueprints designate Palestine as the springboard for aerial operations against the Soviet Union in the event of a conflict. One of the reasons for the selection of Palestine as a jumping-off place for World War III is its proximity to Arabia, which has the largest oil fields in the world, with a direct pipeline through the Holy Land. It is no longer a secret anywhere that Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Company) has obtained from King Ibn Saud the oil rights to 440,000 square miles of his country.

Thus Palestine, small as it is, plays an important role on the military, economic and political chessboard of the Middle East. Nobody knows this better than the British Colonial Office and the American State Department. Imperialist interests in Britain and America naturally resent the obstinacy of the Jewish people, who insist on establishing in Palestine a progressive national home. It goes without saying that for years—and now more than ever—these interests have procrastinated the implementation of the Balfour Declaration, contradicting by their actions the eloquent pro-Zionist sentiments mouthed by their own major political parties in England and the United States.

The stakes in the Middle East are indeed huge, and Jewish destiny in little Palestine whirls around rather helplessly on the political roulette wheel which Britain and America operate.

Thinking in a Vacuum

Thoughts about the many political problems confronting Zionist aspirations ran through my mind as I attended the Zionist convention, thoughts that were ever-present because I sensed a total lack of recognition of these political problems on the part of many of the delegates. As far as the delegates to the convention were concerned the Zionist problem was a thing per se, independent of imperialist maneuvers, oil cartels, military strategy and atomic diplomacy. It was rather significant that only one speaker—a non-Jew, Senator Brewster of Maine—referred to the oil in-

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terests in Arabia and violently attacked the Truman Administration for its duplicity in dealing with the Jewish issue in Palestine—and he did so for purely partisan reasons. To the other speakers Palestine existed in a vacuum unconnected with the general political scene.

One could not repress a feeling of sad disappointment and acute futility while listening to the Zionist talk at the Hotel Pennsylvania. There was hardly any link between many of the two thousand delegates to the convention and the Jewish community of Palestine, which is so stubbornly fighting British political chicanery, economic strangulation and military domination.

Frankly, I was painfully struck by the world-political naivete of the spokesmen for Zion. They were woefully ignorant and obviously disinterested in the general political scene. It never occurred to them that Palestine was but one sector on a worldwide front and that the outcome of the struggle against the powerful remnants of fascism would inescapably affect the Jewish problem in and outside Palestine.

It was this political blindness on the part of the Zionist rank and file that dominated my impressions of the convention.

Role of Silver

I listened attentively to the presidential address of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver at the opening plenary session at Carnegie Hall. There was a great deal of smugness and self-satisfaction in the report of his political stewardship. When he surveyed the beginnings of American Zionism he failed to mention the Nestor of American Zionism, Dr. Stephen Wise—who, incidentally, did not attend the convention. Rather petty, I thought. Later, as Silver spoke of the birth of the Balfour Declaration, he omitted the name of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, its author. These omissions are important indications of Silver's vindictive character. Silver believes that political Zionism began with Herzl and that Herzl's mantle has fallen on his shoulders.

Rabbi Silver sees himself as the molder of world Zionist policy and as the only uncompromising standard-bearer of the Zionist demand for "a Jewish state in the whole of mandated Palestine, undivided and undiminished." He mistrusts David Ben Gurion, head of the Jewish Agency, and sneers at Weizmann, to whom he referred, without mention of name, as one of those "artful political manipulators who outsmart themselves."

In Silver's oratorical deluge one also detected a skillful opportunism. While he referred in restrained words to the "positive and substantial gain for our movement" repre-

sented by "the declaration of the spokesman for the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko," calling it an "in a real sense revolutionary statement," he also lauded the United States government. Said Silver: "Our government is not unwilling to assume the role of leadership in the affairs of the world today. Its foreign policy touching many parts of the world is *strong* and *affirmative*. When it wishes to it speaks and acts clearly and forcibly. We wish that our government would take the same clear and affirmative position on the subject of Palestine." Did Silver mean the Truman Doctrine? It was the general consensus of opinion that he did. (At the political session this was confirmed.)

The same equivocal double-talk could also be discerned in his reference to the terrorist activities in Palestine. He spoke of the Irgunists and Sternists as "the members of dissident organizations" without mentioning their names. He condemned their breach of national discipline and then quoted a 1939 speech by Lord Josiah Wedgwood to condone their breaking of laws "that were laws to be broken." At another time he advocated the strengthening of the Zionist middle-class and called for more private enterprise—avoiding, however, any disparagement of Jewish labor in Palestine. The presidential address did not refer even once to the tragic position of the DP's. Palestine as a Jewish state regardless of the fate of world Jewry is the Silver line.

There was more of the politician than of the statesman in Rabbi Silver's oratorical performance.

The Danger of Chauvinism

Albert Einstein once told me, "The danger that threatens Zionism from within is deviation towards an ultra-nationalistic chauvinism." These may not have been the exact words the professor used, but the meaning was unmistakably clear to me.

It was an unequivocal warning against distortion of Zionism into a narrow, fanatic Jewish nationalism that would destroy the broad humanitarian fundament on which Zionism must build its destiny if it is to succeed. (Einstein favors a bi-national state in Palestine.)

Einstein's admonition came back to me as I listened to the debates at the political session of the convention in the overcrowded Grand Ball Room of the Pennsylvania Hotel. About two thousand delegates, many accompanied by their wives, packed the auditorium. The atmosphere of the session was that of a mass meeting rather than a deliberative body.

The opposition consisted of a handful of speakers who expressed themselves sharply on the failure of the administration to condemn the Irgun and Stern groups by name. The cry reiterated by each opposition speaker was: "Why not call a spade a spade and designate the Irgunists and Sternists as enemies of the *Yishuv*?"

The revealing aspect of this session was the evidence it gave of the tremendous support these two terrorist gangs enjoy among American Zionists. Whenever the name Irgun was mentioned there was vociferous applause. One

speaker of the opposition who very factually enumerated the crimes of the terrorists against the Jewish community was booed and insulted. Rabbi Silver, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the newly elected president, and Daniel Frisch, the chairman, sat scowling through the criticism of terrorists, and by their sneering attitude shaped the intolerant temper of the rank and file towards the opposition speakers.

So clearly favorable towards the Irgunists and Sternists was the reaction of the delegates that one speaker, a brilliant young lawyer from Cleveland, cried out in disgust: "If you are in favor of the terrorists why don't you say so outright instead of using double-talk?"

The opposition, which was half-heartedly backed by a speech by Louis Lipsky, dean of former presidents of the Zionist Organization of America, was completely routed by an overwhelming majority. Dr. Neumann, the new president, smashed it with clever sophistry, upholding the administration resolution. While this was going on members of the Bergson group, the American representatives of the Irgun, distributed, in the streets, leaflets with glaring headlines: "ZOA Delegates, Shame! History has recorded your capitulation!"

Taft and Imperialism

There was another incident which passed unnoticed. Greetings to the convention from well-wishers were being read during the interlude. One of these messages that came over the loudspeaker system was from Robert A. Taft. Instinctively quite a few loud hisses arose. Whereupon Silver, Neumann and the entire dais, looking alarmed, demonstratively applauded so insistently that eventually the entire audience joined them in an ovation to the author of the slave labor bill. What happened to the hisses? They were drowned out by protesting cries of "Shame! Shame!" At this point I gained the impression that the delegates were being led by a leadership which regarded them as an unthinking mob to be swayed by emotion only, without arguments. The men on the platform looked pathetically frightened to me. Think of it! Suppose the papers ever published a story revealing that Taft had been booed at the Zionist convention! The Un-American Activities Committee might call them communists, and Rabbi Silver's illusions of Republican support for a Jewish state would evaporate into thin air. . . .

The resolution calling upon the United States government to support the Zionist demand for a Jewish commonwealth was passed unanimously, by acclamation. After this had been done a former revisionist leader grabbed the microphone and shrieked in hysterical tones that the resolution had failed to include Rabbi Silver's demand that the U.S. government "should support its policy on Palestine with the same vigor as it pursues its policy in Greece and Turkey." The chairman assured the gentleman that his request would be taken care of.

When the press director of the ZOA made available the text of the political resolution on "Palestine Policy on the Part of the American Government" I read the last para-

graph: "An amendment was adopted that the United States should support its policy on Palestine with the same vigor as it pursues its policy in Greece and Turkey." An amendment! I did not recall that a vote had been taken on the hysterical interruption by the former revisionist. It seemed to me rather strange that the convention had not been consulted before endorsing the Truman Doctrine. And so I decided to make a test of this undemocratic procedure. I confronted Daniel Frisch, chairman of the political session, with this amazing legerdemain which created the non-existent adoption of so far-reaching an amendment.

"How come?" I asked him. "Instead of passing a resolution paying tribute to the Soviet Union for its support at the UN, you produce an unpassed amendment praising the anti-Soviet policy of our government?" Mr. Frisch agreed that this required looking into, and a few hours later informed me that the mention of Greece and Turkey would be eliminated. Whether the official Zionist publications will revise the text of the resolution remains to be seen.¹

During this most important plenary session of the ZOA convention Professor Einstein's prophetic warning kept insinuating itself into my thoughts.

The Democratic Solution

The 50th Zionist convention, the last important Zionist conference before the UN Special Commission on Palestine will render its verdict, was a lamentable show of political immaturity. It reaffirmed the enormous influence which Rabbi Silver wields over the two hundred thousand members of the ZOA, most of whom are novices in Zionism and

¹The "amendment" was not removed from the political resolution as printed in the July 22 issue of *The New Palestine*, official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, despite the promise of Mr. Frisch.—Ed.

GROMYKO'S RAY OF LIGHT

ANDREI GROMYKO'S speech at the special session of the UN General Assembly aroused the greatest interest among the Jewish people of the entire world. In no corner of the earth did the Jewish masses fail to respond to the Soviet delegate's statement. Gromyko's speech once again made plain to the world the meaning of Soviet justice, the Soviet national policy, the Soviet struggle for peace. From America and England, from Palestine and Africa, from Canada and Mexico, from Cuba and Brazil, from Ar-

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woefully ignorant of the real issues involved. Intoxicated by the slogan of a Jewish commonwealth in the whole of mandated Palestine, blinded by the Quixotic glamor of terrorist activities, many of the General Zionist leaders of America today are in virtually no rapport with the Palestinian pioneers. I can well understand Dr. Stephen Wise's aloofness from the present American Zionist machine. Nor is Dr. Weizmann's sad disappointment surprising. It is tragic indeed that in this decisive hour of Zionism its leadership is at its lowest level, flirting with anti-labor revisionism and intimidated by the fascist-terrorist elements who are girding their loins to take the helm of world Zionism.

In the light of Gromyko's epoch-making declaration it would seem that the policy for a bi-national Palestine, supported by the Hashomer Hatzair (Workers' Party), by the Ichud (Unity) Group of Dr. Judah L. Magnes, by the Palestine Communist Party and other elements, is the only realistic one. The bi-national solution also has the firm support of Professor Albert Einstein, who considers it the only policy which will save Zionism from becoming a narrow chauvinistic Jewish nationalism. I also have more than a slight suspicion that many Zionists in this country who no longer indulge in organizational politics would enthusiastically rally to the bi-national solution as the only realistic policy.

The new president of the ZOA, Dr. Emanuel Newman, is a Silver selection who will religiously follow the Silver political line. And, as a last warning: Don't be misled by any oratorical performance of Rabbi Silver's. He may pour praise on the Soviet Union—as a matter of fact, he has done so—and he may bombastically affirm his liberalism. But it doesn't mean a thing. In the final analysis the Silver line means achieving a Jewish state even if it has to be bought by cooperation with the reactionary anti-Soviet, pro-war forces. Don't forget that!

By Itzik Feffer

gentina and France, from Poland and Bulgaria—wherever Jewish masses live—came praise and recognition for the land of socialism, that does not deal in empty promises and declarations, but is guided by the interests of all nations, the desire for a durable and just peace.

The turmoil about the Soviet position on the Palestine problems began some time before Gromyko's declaration. Arab reactionaries spread many provocative rumors about the "pro-Jewish" position of the Soviet Union; reactionary Jews continually clamored about its "pro-Arab" position. Other rumors circulated about "secret agreements" with England. A Soviet representative only need say hello to an

Arab diplomat to start a tumult in the Jewish yellow press that "the Soviets betray the Jewish people." And on the other hand, if a Soviet representative says a few words to a Jewish leader, the reactionary Arab press goes into a devil's dance about "the Jewish hand of Moscow." People who view international affairs from the outlook of atomic and dollar diplomacy, will not and cannot understand the essence of Soviet policy in general and Soviet policy on the Palestine problem in particular. The Soviet government has neither a "pro-Jewish" nor a "pro-Arab" position. The Soviet Union has a Leninist-Stalinist position, supporting all nations that struggle for a better life, for an anti-fascist, democratic and just peace.

Gromyko gave much attention to the British mandate for Palestine. So long as the British mandate is not abrogated, there can be no talk of a just solution of the Palestine problem. British imperialism has converted Palestine into a base for its experiments in police rule. Recently, Palestinian earth has been sprayed with Jewish and Arab blood more than once. Palestine has been turned into a sort of bandwagon onto which one jumps either on the eve of elections to wheedle a few more votes, or when a great thirst for oil and a few extra pounds sterling arises. . . .

Those political and organizational leaders who think it possible to greet Gromyko's declaration on the one hand, and to hang on to the British mandate and support the old British policy in Palestine on the other, are treading a false and anti-Jewish path. The leader of the Jewish Agency, Ben Gurion, for instance, thought it necessary to preserve the British mandate, at least in part. Several weeks earlier, Moshe Shertock, the political leader of the Jewish Agency, had declared that "Palestine lies in the political and geographic sphere of England and America." Dr. Abba Hillel Silver greeted Gromyko's statement warmly, but he cannot part with the mandate. . . . What does this mean? It means that to this day, certain leaders of the Zionist movement have not grasped the danger that threatens long-suffering Palestine under British imperialism. And if some of them have grasped the danger, they shut their eyes to it. They don't want to give up the tradition of knocking on the sealed doors of British imperialism.

Why Forward Was "Surprised"

In this respect, Chaim Lieberman's contortions in the none-too-fresh atmosphere of the none-too-aromatic Jewish daily *Forward* make a very peculiar impression. First of all, he performs mental gymnastics to show that with Gromyko's speech, the Soviet Union approached a position for which he had been campaigning for many years. It is characteristic that Chaim Lieberman is completely silent about Gromyko's assertions about the Palestine mandate. Lieberman took the trouble to discuss the anti-imperialist position of Gromyko's speech. But with not a single word does he mention the "achievements" of the *Forward* colleagues, the British Laborites, nor the American speculations about Palestine. He tries ingeniously to by-pass the great crimes

committed in Palestine by the imperialist forces. In what respect, then, did the Gromyko speech "surprise" this *Forward* clique? In a small matter: the Soviet Union reaffirmed once again its national policy in a concrete situation! This surprises the *Forward*, because for many years it had been spreading all the nasty slanders and provocations it could muster against the Soviet Union.

The *Forward* wonders, for instance, that Andrei Gromyko should speak about a Jewish people. . . . Why did not Gromyko check his speech with the *Forward*, which has been blabbing about the "destruction of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union"?

This paper keeps on pumping its readers full of nonsense about the Jewish people being proscribed in the Soviet Union. And then Gromyko comes along and speaks about the Jewish people with such sympathy as no representative of any other state so far expressed. No use, Gromyko simply does not read the *Forward*! And the *Forward* gang will under no circumstances remove the cotton from their long ears!

In the Stalin constitution the Jewish Autonomous Region is writ in golden letters! During the war years, the major Soviet newspapers published reports about the meetings organized by the representatives of the Jewish people in Moscow.

Soviet Policy on Nationalities

No other government but the Soviet valued so highly the contribution of the Jewish people in the Second World War. No other government concerns itself so much about the well-being of its peoples as does the Soviet. It is clear why this is so—it is a people's government. And it is no accident that Gromyko took up the defense of the hundreds of thousands of Jews, who are wandering through many countries without a home, yearning for a roof over their heads. On the same German earth in the Anglo-American zones where, according to all rules of justice they should by now be breathing freely, they still experience moments that remind them of the not-too-distant past. . . .

Andrei Gromyko's moving words about the suffering of the Jewish people and about their rights stem from the whole Leninist-Stalinist national policy, and can be surprising only for those who in the course of many years thought and spoke differently; for those who deliberately hid the truth of Soviet policy from the broad masses and instead issued slanders and provocations against the Soviet Union.

What is the essence of Gromyko's speech? The essence of Gromyko's speech consists of its anti-imperialism, of its call for friendship among nations! Gromyko calls for a rapprochement between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine. Instead of the contact which some Palestinian leaders established with Anglo-American imperialist elements, Gromyko called for strengthening of contact between the two peoples that live and work in Palestine. Some Palestinian leaders, both Jewish and Arab, do not care to break with British imperialism, and in this lies the danger for both peoples.

In the Soviet Union very many peoples live and work side by side, without a sign of antagonism. On the contrary, one people helps another to advance and develop. How much warmth and loyalty did the Great Russian people show for the Ukrainians, White Russians, Jews and other peoples under German occupation? The Georgians and Armenians, whom tsarism kept in constant strife against each other, live in utter friendliness in one family. All the nations of the Soviet Union recently celebrated the national holiday of the Oiroi people in the Altai Mountains.

Is it then so impossible for Jews and Arabs to live together in Palestine? With the brilliant example of the Soviet Union, no one will be fooled that such co-existence is excluded. If the external influences toward international antagonism would only cease their intrigue, the Jews and Arabs would get together and build a common democratic state. The Jewish and Arab progressive elements have already begun discussions to this end.

Forty thousand Jewish and Arab workers recently carried out a united strike against their common employers. This is not the first, nor will it be the last, joint action. No matter how Jewish and Arab reactionaries exert themselves to set their peoples against each other, there will remain a ferment of mutual sympathy of peoples deep within the masses, who are exploited and robbed in equal measure by foreign and domestic oppressors.

Reactionary Orientation

The leaders of the reactionary Arabs could find no more suitable forum than the meeting of the United Nations to spread anti-Semitic poison. As arguments against partnership with the Jews, the Mufti's heir first reminded the world that "the Jews killed Jesus" and then complained that the present-day Jews are really not Jews but Mongolians and therefore have no historic claim to Palestine. The declarations of the Arab diplomat called forth a sharp protest among the progressive Arabs.

Well, and in Jewish circles aren't there some who declare all Arabs to be fascists and enemies of the Jewish people? What Emil Ghouri often blabbers at the sessions of the United Nations, meets with rather energetic opposition from progressive Arabs. Reaction remains reaction in all languages! And whoever orients himself toward reaction must be fought! Anti-progressive ideas expressed in Hebrew are thereby not made *kosher*, any more than progressive ideas become *trafe* because they are expressed in Arabic.

Despite the great tragedy that overtook the German Jews, there apparently still are German Jews in Palestine who, according to the *New York Times*, condemned the declaration of the Palestinian leader, Goldie Meyerson, simply because it expressed friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union in the name of Palestine's Jewish masses. "We have to look to the west, not the east," said the leader of the German Jews. And one well-known leader of the right wing of the Zionist movement maintained that the Palestine working class is part of western Europe. After the British Laborites

swindled their electors so thoroughly with the promise of pie in the sky, the bonds to the old boss remain so strong that some people feel it almost impossible to sever them, the attacks against the Jews in Palestine notwithstanding. . . .

And in America there are still naive people who "think" that Gromyko's speech could have been delivered by the delegate of the United States, Warren Austin. Sholem Asch shows greater understanding when he reports, "The silence of my government is but a sign of our slide down-hill since the death of Roosevelt."

Such a speech as Gromyko made about the Palestine question could only have been delivered by a representative of a new world, a representative of a truly just country, a representative of a great free nation. No one but the delegate of the Soviet Union, could speak so sharply about the paramount enemy of mankind—about fascism, about imperialism. No one could speak with such love about a people that had suffered most from fascism. No one could so clearly enunciate the principle of cooperation among nations.

Cutting the Palestinian Knot

Obviously, Gromyko's speech did not satisfy everyone. The Arab nationalists would have liked to convert Palestine into an Arab country without considering the interests of the Jews. Jewish nationalists would have liked to transform Palestine into a Jewish country, disregarding Arab interests. The Soviet Union maintains that a dual state should be established where the interests of both peoples will be guaranteed in equal measure. And if it proves impossible to create a dual state, Gromyko stated, only then will it be necessary to discuss the division of Palestine into two states, a Jewish and an Arab. In all events, the fate of the two peoples must be solved by the peoples themselves, and not through a foreign force. This is the essence of the Soviet proposals.

Not only the progressive Jews, but the whole progressive world welcomed Gromyko's declaration. The true friends of real democracy always knew and believed that the Soviet Union would remain at all times and under all circumstances true to its principles. Gromyko's speech was welcomed joyfully because it came at a time when the Palestine problem was so knotty that even the greatest optimists were beginning to lose hope for a solution. With characteristic clarity the Soviet Union let it be known that the Jewish people can achieve their goal only in collaboration with all freedom-loving peoples, and that the path to the goal lies through freedom and democracy, and not through "contracts" and other "commercial deals" with imperialist cliques. Marching in the front ranks with all progressive elements of all nations, and fighting against both internal and external reaction, the Jews of Palestine, with the support of all progressive Jews, will take the place they have long earned because of their labor and their achievements, because of their participation in the struggle against nazism,

because of the suffering they have experienced and are experiencing at the hands of the British and Anglo-Jewish mandate supporters.

Andrei Gromyko's speech pierced the dark mist around the Palestine problem like a "ray of light," as H. Leivick expressed it. In acclaiming this "ray of light," however, we cannot overlook the dark clouds spreading over the

world, the dark clouds which bear the prosaic name of "imperialism." Unfortunately, not all who praise the "ray of light" from the Soviet side, grasp this fact. . . .

Whoever wishes a truly democratic solution to the Palestine problem, must support the Soviet position, that puts an end to fumbling and supports the demands of democracy and humanism.

CHANGES IN THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT

By P. Yuditch

IN CERTAIN Jewish circles there is still much talk about the American Jewish labor movement. Among progressives, too, you hear almost every day about Jewish workers and their movement. But what is the Jewish labor movement today?

Some people have hardly changed their conception of this movement for 25 or even 50 years. It is therefore not surprising that very serious errors in analysing its problems and in formulating tactics inevitably result.

The Jewish labor movement in America, and especially the so-called Jewish trade union movement, is today very different from the movement a few decades ago. Great changes have taken place in the composition of the membership, as well as in the spirit and the practice of its leadership.

When our century opened, the Jewish labor movement was a movement of immigrants. Jews in the hundreds of thousands had streamed to these shores from Russia, Poland, Galicia and Rumania. With few exceptions those immigrant masses went to work in various shops as soon after their arrival as they could get jobs. Many of them were skilled workers in the old country, although the system and method of work were different in America. Many of them took jobs in this country for the first time.

These immigrant Jewish workers were concentrated in the needle trades where they formed the overwhelming majority. When 20,000 waist-makers went out on a general strike in New York in 1909, the majority were Jewish. About 80 percent of these strikers were women, and most of these were young Jewish immigrants. In the famous cloak-makers strike that broke out in July 1910, only a small part of the 60,000 strikers, no more than a few thousand, were non-Jewish. A strike in New York in 1913 of nearly 40,000 men's clothing workers was about 80 per cent Jewish. In the fur industry, cap-making, baking and many other smaller trades Jewish workers occupied a large and prominent place.

The United Hebrew Trades (*Vereinigte Yiddische*

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Gewerkschaften) in those early days was a vital organization. In 1888 when the United Hebrew Trades was organized, it was composed on only three unions, the Jewish compositors union, a Jewish choral union and a union of Jewish actors. And as the number of trade unions increased, the U.H.T. served an important purpose for them.

Jewish immigrants worked in numerous sweat-shops where many small producers and contractors shamefully exploited these "green," newly-arrived workers. Big bosses were obviously also anxious to use the immigrant workers for slave labor to harvest even bigger profits. During this period the U.H.T. was a genuine defender of the Jewish immigrant workers. It organized them, helped lead their struggles against sweat-shop conditions, and negotiated and won agreements for them. The U.H.T. was nurse-maid to many Jewish unions, especially the smaller ones.

In those early years, therefore, there was a specific Jewish trade union movement with its special composition and character. The unions were small, but composed in each case of a majority of Jewish workers and they occupied themselves to some extent with specifically Jewish problems. Even the trades in which they were organized were also considered Jewish.

The spirit of these early unions was socialist. True, the methods adopted by some of their leaders in the second decade of the present century (as we will show later) were questionable. But even these leaders regularly addressed the workers in socialist phrases, and the word "class struggle" was not used so cynically as do some Jewish trade union leaders today.

From a list of organizations affiliated to the United Hebrew Trades in 1892, we gather that 28 trade unions were already affiliated with it, as well as a Jewish section of the Socialist Labor Party (S.L.P.) and the *Arbeiter Zeitung* Publishing Association, which issued the weekly *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

Conservative AFL leaders regarded the Jewish section of the trade union movement with suspicion 30 to 40 years ago. Although Samuel Gompers considered himself a socialist early in his career in the AFL, his attitude toward

the Jewish labor unions in his later years was no better than that of a Matthew Woll or a William Hutcheson. At that time Matthew Woll was not so intimately associated with Jewish leaders as he now is with David Dubinsky.

AFL leaders were, for instance, not disturbed when a jurisdictional dispute arose in 1917 between the then separate Hatters Union and the Cap and Millinery Union, and they in fact used this strife as an excuse to suspend the Cap and Millinery Union. The AFL leaders were pleased when the men's clothing workers organized the Amalgamated in 1914, because these workers were compelled to quit the United Garment Workers Union and also the AFL. The Jewish workers had revolted against the Rickert clique that dominated the Garment Workers. But the AFL officialdom in this dispute decided against the demands of the majority. They were satisfied with a small union that would pay high salaries to officials and could be easily controlled. As a result the United Garment Workers today includes only a small part of the whole trade.

Changed Conditions and Attitudes

However, the present situation of Jewish trade unionism is entirely different from those earlier days. Jewish workers are today employed in many more trades. Furthermore, Jewish workers are now engaged even in many occupations, both in the light and heavy industries, in which Jewish workers could at one time hardly even enter. Jewish workers are now in auto, machine, electric plants and even in steel mills. They are also an important part of the food industry, the building trades, and even more in the so-called service trades, such as clerks and office workers.

Nevertheless a large percentage of Jewish workers are concentrated in the needle trades down to our own day. But the unions in the needle trades are no longer almost exclusively Jewish, as they once were. The small Jewish unions no longer exist. Jewish workers are still the overwhelming majority in the fur coat shops, but not in the shops where the furs are originally processed, dyed and dressed. They still form the majority of the workers employed in the pocketbook shops in New York. But the Jews today are a small minority of the hundreds of thousands of workers employed in the manufacture of women's garments (except fur coats) and men's clothing. In the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which has now a membership of 375,000 not more than 20 or 25 per cent of the workers are Jewish. The union includes Italian, Polish, Spanish, Puerto Rican workers, as well as large numbers of native Negro and white Americans. Jews number today about 20 per cent of the men's clothing workers. In this industry there has been a large influx of Italian workers, among others. Thus in all the needle trades (except fur coats) the percentage of Jewish workers is steadily falling.

There are several reasons for this decline. First, the stream of Jewish immigrants has long since stopped. Second, in the early years the needle trades were concentrated in the big cities where the Jewish community was large and

where many Jews sought livelihood not only in small business, but also in shop and factory. But in recent years, these industries have spread and are continuing to expand more and more into cities and towns where the Jewish population is small. There the needle trades shops are employing greater numbers of local, non-Jewish workers. Not only the percentage, but even the absolute number, of Jewish workers in the needle trades is being reduced.

Third, in the larger cities, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, a greater number of shops manufacture the higher grade of clothes and the workers must have greater skill than in shops making the cheaper clothes. The cheaper production is becoming increasingly the dominant form of production of ladies garments. Work on ladies coats and dresses is broken down into many operations, requiring little or no skill. For this kind of work manufacturers are setting up shop increasingly in the small cities where unskilled, inexperienced labor is available at low wages. The better grade garments, which require high skill and experience, are manufactured mainly in the larger centers, where this type of worker is available. Jewish workers are among the most numerous of these highly skilled workers because of the many years they have spent in the industry. The demand for better grade garments is, however, constantly diminishing, thereby reducing the proportion of skilled workers, including the Jews.

Youth and Jewish Unions

The fourth and perhaps the main reason for the decrease in the number of Jewish needle trades workers is that the Jewish cloakmaker, dressmaker and tailor of men's clothing are not eager to bring their children into their own trade. Needle trades workers of other national groups introduce their children to the trade to some extent, but not the Jewish workers. A Jewish cloakmaker or tailor will make sacrifices to have his child become a "professional," a doctor, dentist, lawyer, teacher. He even prefers to have his child become a low paid clerk in a department store or small shop, rather than a cloakmaker or tailor.

The fur workers have a different attitude. In this trade many fathers try to make furriers out of their children. But among the cloakmakers, dressmakers and tailors there is very little done in that direction. The result is that while fathers and mothers, the former immigrant Jewish needle trade workers, are continually dropping out of the trade, no appreciable number of Jewish needle trades workers replaces them.

The same is true of Jewish bakers as of cloakmakers. The majority of Jewish bakers worked primarily in small bakeries where Jewish types of bread were baked, Jewish *chaleh*, *beigel* and the like. But mass production techniques developed in recent years by the big bread corporations have cut into the Jewish bread industry and have reduced the demand for Jewish bread. The small Jewish bakeries are slowly being wiped out. The skill that a baker once required is becoming less and less necessary. Although a

limited number of the former immigrant workers are still to be found among the Jewish bakers, very few young Jewish bakers are entering the trade.

Because of these drastic changes in the distribution of Jewish workers, the role of the United Hebrew Trades has undergone a change in recent years. With the exception of a number of refugees, there are no Jewish immigrants. The small immigrant Jewish unions, which the U.H.T. formerly nursed, no longer exist. Some of these small unions were wiped out together with the trades which they organized; others became Americanized and increased greatly in size. The large union like the I.L.G.W.U. or the Amalgamated no longer need the help of the U.H.T., nor can the U.H.T. contribute much to these unions.

Position of U.H.T. Today

Today, many tears are being shed in the U.H.T. because the grown-up, Americanized unions are "forgetting their mother," who reared them when they were "green," young and small. "Mama," the U.H.T., is old, weak, decrepit, and complains that she is abandoned. Some of the larger unions still pay dues partly out of pity and partly to maintain the establishment, name and listing of the U.H.T. for what use it can still serve.

The number of the so-called small Jewish unions still affiliated to the U.H.T. is insignificant, and even they do not have a Jewish majority. Some of them have few Jewish workers altogether: The leading officer of the U.H.T. is today a Jew who cannot speak Yiddish. The U.H.T. has become merely a rubber stamp, a sort of formal seal for the *Jewish Daily Forward*, and an agent for the number of people for whom the *Forward* must find sinecures in trade unions.

A picture of the present routine work of the U.H.T. can be seen by examining the official minutes of U.H.T. meetings. A good example is the report published in the *Forward* of February 10, 1947, which is not exceptional. According to this report of an U.H.T. meeting of January 13, the following matters were taken up:

Rubin Guskin sends a letter of thanks for flowers sent him in the hospital; Morris Goldovsky sends regards from Switzerland; the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* invites the U.H.T. to participate in the celebration of its 56th anniversary; the Paper Box Makers Union invites the secretary of the U.H.T. to a banquet in honor of manager A. N. Weinberg; Local 150 of the Bakery Clerks invites the secretary to an installation; the Central Trades and Labor Council issues an invitation to a Lincoln Day dinner; Adolph Held sends thanks for the expression of sympathy at the death of his brother; Whitegoods Local 62, I.L.G.W.U., sends thanks for the expression of sympathy at the death of its manager, Samuel Shore; ORT labor committee sends an invitation to a dinner to honor William Green; the secretary is invited to a dinner of the Delicatessen Clerks Local 60. Incredible as it may be, this is the character of the agenda.

But it is a fact that America still has a large number

of Jewish workers. If their number is reduced in the needle trades and in the other, smaller trades in which they once formed the majority, they are today distributed more widely among many trades in which they were not engaged previously. There are also Jewish trade union leaders. But there is no longer a distinctively Jewish labor movement as there once was, and the unions that could be designated as Jewish, or in which the majority of the membership is Jewish, are constantly decreasing.

Jewish Right Wing Leadership

Changes also have taken place in the spirit and methods of leadership of those unions once considered Jewish and today still formally considered by many people as Jewish. In the first years of the Jewish unions the majority of their leaders, with very few exceptions, were socialist. They were not then cynical about the study of Marxism. Today the masses, the thousands of Jewish workers who belong to these unions, are progressive. But many of the Jewish union leaders, especially those who belong to the *Forward* school, have become close associates of such reactionary individuals as Matthew Woll and Bill Hutcherson, and often support the policies of the worst forces of reaction.

An outstanding exception is the Furriers Union. The leadership of this union is always in the front ranks of every important struggle against the reactionary forces. The same can be said of a good number of Jewish labor leaders in other organizations. But the situation is quite different with the leadership of the unions of ladies' garment workers, the hat and millinery workers and others.

When over 17,000 New York members of the I.L.G.W.U. voted in the 1947 union elections for the rank and file slate, there were no less than 13,000 Jewish workers among them. But the president of the union, David Dubinsky, and his clique did not and still do not reject the worst means to conduct a crusade against these workers, in order to check the development of a progressive rank and file movement and policy.

Decades ago the *Forward*-led leaders of the Jewish unions got into the habit of using gangster methods. Men like the late Isidore Cohen, once a leader of the Furriers Union, even tried to justify gangsterism in public statements. His justification, as well as that of other leaders of his kind, was that since bosses use gangsters, the unions were also obliged to use them. And indeed, the bosses did use gangsters in strikes, and union leaders like Cohen, Abe Beckerman and others, also employed them. The Dopey Benny gang, the Little Augie gang, the Lepke and Gurrah gang and others were so deeply involved in some unions, that in a number of unions they held a place of honor and were the real bosses. Very often the same gang worked both for the union and for the bosses against which the union was conducting a struggle.

The *Forward* crowd, who used the gangs, became so accustomed to this practice that they began to set these bruisers even against honest and progressive members who dared

once in a while to protest in the unions against the leaders. Professional gangsters were used to make bloody attacks on workers' meetings held against the wishes of the so-called leaders.

This kind of gangsterism has now disappeared. Some of those among whom the blackjack of the professional gangsters was once the most important weapon, even now use intimidation. The use of job discrimination, suspensions, expulsions, keeps some members away from union activity. But the Dopey Bennies, the Little Augies, the Lepkes and the Gurrahs no longer play the part they had years ago. Gangsterism has been almost entirely destroyed in the

unions that still consider themselves to some extent Jewish.

For the progressive spirit that exists among the masses and for the struggle against gangsterism, thanks are due to the left elements in these trade unions. Much credit must go to the leadership and membership of the furriers in fighting against gangsterism. Several other such progressive unions and leaders deserve similar recognition. And no little credit is due to the left-wing press for rallying and giving clarity to the fighting masses. High on the list of this press that contributed so much is the *Morgen Freiheit*, which is still giving leadership in progressive trade union struggles.

NEGRO-JEWISH UNITY IN STRUGGLE

By William L. Patterson

WITHIN the all-inclusive struggle for the unity of all American progressives, the unity of the Jewish and Negro peoples has a special place. *Jewish Life* has shown its deep appreciation of the vital importance of this question. The magazine's interest in the problem is new and basic, and has great value as an example for periodicals of other nationality groups, of liberals and other progressives. In discussing Jewish-Negro unity we must be specific and concrete, in order to further unified action of progressive Americans as a whole. The historical moment urgently demands this unity.

The relations of the Jewish and Negro peoples are of great importance in the struggles against the foreign and domestic policies of American imperialism. Although the closest Negro-Jewish unity in this struggle would not of itself be a decisive guarantee of reaction's defeat, it would contribute significantly. Such unity would set an example of two large and bitterly harassed minority groups working consciously to understand their common interests and the need to formulate a common, if simple, program of action to defeat the divide and rule policy of the enemy. Secondly, every concrete, joint action by these two groups to protect their mutual interests will help to expose the emptiness, the hypocrisy of American imperialism's claim to democratic world leadership by exposing its hostility to democracy at home. This will help open the eyes of Europeans and the colonial millions, as well as of all Americans, to the real drive of American imperialism for world domination. It is good that in this period Negroes and Jews should give special leadership.

There are points of tension between these two groups of Americans. These must be recognized and understood.

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They do not, however, arise out of any clash of interests of the mass of Jews and Negroes. The masses of both groups have only common and mutual interests. There are no contradictions between them. These points of tension arise, in the main, out of competition between the Negro bourgeoisie and the small Jewish merchants in the Negro ghetto for the restricted Negro market. They also arise out of an acceptance of white superiority by some Jews. Once this vicious philosophy is accepted, no matter how slight the degree, jimcrow and discrimination against Negroes follow, even if "limited." The Negro people are not prepared to accept any part of this from anybody. Certainly this is understandable. No one among the Jewish people who has learned the lessons of fascism, will tolerate any part of Hitlerian racial theory.

The factors which make for tension can be largely overcome through the formation and acceptance by both groups of a corrective and remedial program. This must, of course, consist of unity upon economic, political and social issues. At first there will be a minimum program. But the prospects for a positive, constructive program of Jewish-Negro relations at this time are very great.

Common Ground

Jewish America and Negro America both constitute oppressed peoples. No section or class grouping of either of these peoples is completely free from the chauvinistic attacks of American imperialism. This gives to their struggles a common character and a common enemy. Let me say clearly that Negro leaders everywhere have the historical responsibility to wage war within their own ranks and elsewhere against every semblance of anti-Semitism. Negro leadership must challenge any and every anti-Semite. Let the Negro press note this. Defense of Negro rights includes the struggle against anti-Semitism.

Of course it is true that a small section of the Jewish bourgeoisie is an inseparable part of American imperialism. I do not include this section among the democratic Jewish forces. Like all imperialists it seeks to exploit all peoples. But the oppression of the Jewish and Negro peoples do not have the same degree of intensity. The economic position of the Jewish people is stronger than that of the Negro people; the political position of the Jews is more secure and their social position much more favorable than that of the Negroes. The Jewish group therefore has great responsibilities to take the initiative in constructing unity with the Negro people.

Jews in America enjoy advantages not possessed by Negroes not alone because they are white. Greater economic and political penalties are imposed upon Negroes than upon any other minority group. Concessions are made by the imperialists to other minorities at the expense of the Negro people. Neither are the Jews the direct object of oppression by the lynch landlords of the South. Although the Klan incites and uses anti-Semitism, the Jewish people are not involved in a life and death struggle for land as is the Negro.

Jewish Aid to Negroes

On the other hand, the Jewish people have a rich history of social struggle in many European countries. Jews have participated in many governments, and in the United States Jews have been governors and mayors of some of our largest cities and their experiences have given the Jews advantages in the struggle against anti-Semitism. It is regrettable, however, that those Jews who rose to positions of power, with some notable exceptions, made little or no effort to deal in a special way with the Negro problem, nor did they always show that they recognized that American Jewry is also the object of persecution. Although Jews may feel pride in seeing a member of their group elected to high office, how do the people as a whole gain, if that individual is simply a cog in the oppressing machine?

The Jewish middle class and its professionals have given some aid to the Negro people. Some of them have, however, feared the label of "n---r lover" and they have been cautious. They do not yet recognize that the world struggle against anti-Semitism is part of the same pattern as the Negro liberation struggles here in America.

The conduct of some Jews in relation to the Negro problem has been outstanding. There is Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who meets the Negro question squarely and courageously. Elements in the American Jewish Congress are facing the issue honestly and the entire leadership of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order are conscious of their responsibilities. In Chicago such a group as the Chicago Action Council has done a very good job in aiding Negro struggle movements. The results have been heartening. Social service institutions have been created in Negro communities in Harlem and the South Side of Chicago. In those institutions which couple social service with education and mili-

tant action for equality, the results are important. But can it be said that the best of these organizations have realized all their possibilities? The answer is, unfortunately, no. But the deficiencies can be overcome.

On the other hand, such a powerful organization as B'nai B'rith has been extremely chary of engaging in the struggle of the Negro people for equality of opportunity. The Anti-Defamation League, which could render vital aid in Negro struggles, has, to speak bluntly, avoided this problem like the plague.

The advantages which the Jewish people possess today in society are not stable. They would not survive if fascism came to the USA. This post-war period has lessons for the Jewish people. American imperialism has good reason for trying to save the remnants of Hitler fascism and to support fascist elements in Greece and elsewhere. The relation of this to Hitler's adventure should be clear to the Jewish people. The costs to world Jewry have been terrible and should not have been paid in vain. The Negro people will suffer more grievously than will the Jewish people if fascism comes to America only because they are more numerous than the Jewish people. If the advantages enjoyed now by the Jewish Americans are used to strengthen their fight for unity, they will be an asset to the Negro people and all of democratic America.

The future projected by the fascist-minded among the American imperialists is one of crisis, fascism and war. The impending economic crisis will probably see the weaker sections of the bourgeoisie wiped out to a greater extent than in 1929. The Jewish bourgeoisie will be one of the greatest sufferers.

The program of the imperialist war-mongers will be defeated only by bitter struggle. All the energies of both the Jewish and the Negro peoples must be utilized as reserves of progress. All differences that now divide us must be overcome. Material help—frankly, financial aid—must come in greater volume than ever before to the Negro liberation struggles. The Jewish people *in their own interest* must give more substantial help to Negro America. As a section of white America it must help make the people aware that "white superiority" is a demoralizing force, sapping the moral courage and the will to struggle of white America. This campaign is imperative. Just as the tolerance of anti-Semitism by non-Jewish Germany greatly aided the rise of Hitlerism, so tolerance of white supremacy by Jews will facilitate the rise of fascism in the United States. The white superiority of American imperialism has terrible and fatal potentialities. Jewish America must speak out of its own experiences in warning.

This will not be easy. No struggle for life is easy. Germany is proof of that. There will be those among Jewish people who will argue, "Our lot is hard enough. We dare not identify ourselves too closely with the Negroes. That will be fatal." The answer is that the real danger to the Jews comes from fascist tendencies, and their greatest security lies in fighting these tendencies.

The degree to which any one group mistakes its present

lesser exploitation as a road of escape is the degree to which that group weakens the anti-fascist struggle of the whole. Only by direct struggle against fascist forces, together with other oppressed groups, can the Jew save himself.

Unity is the only means of guaranteeing any oppressed group a sound and realistic way out. No two segments of the oppressed of America should know this better than the Negro people and the Jewish people. Everything that makes for unity between such groups makes for general unity.

The shield labeled "white chauvinism" shows on its reverse side the label of anti-Semitism. The un-American

Committee will seek to destroy those who defend the rights of the Jewish people no less ruthlessly than those who fight for Negro rights.

We are in this together. The hour is late indeed. But unity in struggle is possible. Victory is assured to the courageous. Let us get together. Let us even think of a conference of Negroes and Jews. Such a unique event would be electric in effect. Non-Jewish, white America would benefit greatly by such a conference. What a challenge to those who seek to destroy the moral strength of white America such a conference would be!

THE JEW IN AMERICAN PAINTING

By Louis Lozowick

JEWISH names appear almost uninterruptedly in the annals of American art from the War of Independence to the War for Survival, though the nature of the Jewish contribution differs according to period. In the Colonial and early Republican years it took the form of patronage, of liberal commissions for portraits distributed among the fashionable non-Jewish artists of the day; thenceforth and particularly in the most recent years (while patronage continued) the nature of that contribution found its chief expression in a direct participation by Jewish artists in all the contemporary schools and tendencies.

Around the period of the Revolution there were prosperous Jewish settlements in Newport, Charleston, New York, Savannah, Philadelphia, whose members, like the celebrated families of Levy, Franks, Noah, Gratz, Mordecai, Hendricks, Lopez, Touro, Seixas, Hays, Myers, were prominent in the real estate, banking, importing, manufacturing, legal and military professions. These communities were centers of leisure, culture and refinement, centers where the encouragement of art was one of the social amenities cultivated in the manner of the highest circles in the Old World.

It was the custom of the day among the more prominent by virtue of wealth, birth or position to have one's portrait painted in the theatrical grand manner of the eighteenth century courts and palaces. Accordingly the Jews had their portraits done by practically all the better known American artists: Robert Feke of Newport, Jeremiah Theus of Charleston, John Wesley Jarvis, Rembrandt Peale, Edward Greene Malbone and others. Gilbert Stuart, who was famous for his portraits of Washington, and Thomas Sully, who had a knack of turning all his sitters into aristocrats, were naturally the two artists in the greatest demand among the Jewish patrons.

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The American settlements—Jewish and other—were European colonies in a cultural as much as in an administrative sense. Hence their art like the art of the Old World seemed to be adjusted to the taste of aristocracy and privilege. And yet a breach appeared in this tradition quite early. The spirit of unrest, the ferment in the social subsoil of colonial society which found vent in the Revolution, rose to the surface of art to endow it with a scarcely perceptible new trait: a greater honesty and directness in recording the artist's experience. It is probably this trait which lends authenticity to the remarkable gallery of early American Jews—planners, builders, defenders of the Republic.

Jewish "Limners"

There were no Jewish artists at the time and no art schools. There was, however, an artistic activity of a somewhat special kind which deserves mention although we know very little about it. It was the activity of "limners"—primitive, self-taught, folk artists who supplied the modest needs of the less exacting colonists.

We have considered the wealthy Jewish families who patronized the professional contemporary artists. Obviously, not all colonial Jews were upper class. Among the builders of the Republic were less prosperous Jews whose contribution is not the less important because their individual names do not appear in the pages of history: bakers, carpenters, ship builders, itinerant peddlers.

The itinerant peddler, like Chagall's Jew flying over Vitebsk, travelled bent under a heavy pack, crammed full of goods of the greatest variety. Frequently he had to cater to the spiritual as well as to the physical needs of the scattered colonists: along with ribbons and needles, and candles he brought them books. Certain of these itinerant peddlers were also skilled craftsmen who knew how to repair a clock, fix a silver utensil, paint a customer's coach or a similar likeness of the customer's face. To simplify his task the "limner" often used a time saving device. He carried with

him a collection of stock paintings representing a man, a woman, a child, a couple, all elegantly finished; that is, all except the head. When he found the right client all he had to do was fill in the head; and he was ready to go forth hunting for the next head.

Most of the work of the folk artists was of course anonymous, so that it is virtually impossible to determine the nationality of the artist. However, from the testimony of colonial chroniclers it is fairly certain that there were Jews among them.

There are portraits of colonial Jews painted anonymously in the naive, unpretentious manner of the folk artists. Were any of them by Jews? We do not know, but the whole subject poses a nice problem for the student of the national in art.

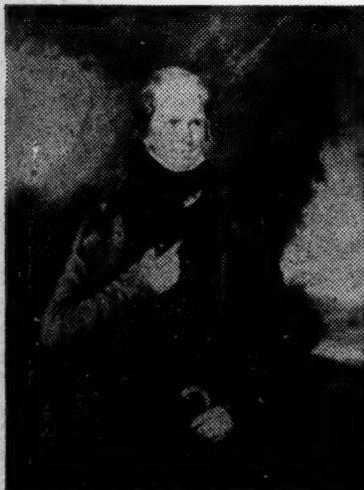
American Freedom Awakens Artists

The Jews who had emigrated from the Old World brought many skills with them, but art—professional art based on rigorous training—does not seem to have been among them. In Europe the Jews had lived under disabilities of one kind or another and were practically excluded, with negligible exceptions, from practice in the arts. Emancipation, which was ushered in by the Great French Revolution of 1789 and which spread gradually to other countries of Europe, brought the Jews slowly into the arts. Curiously enough, the first Jewish names to attain any distinction—Mengs, Veit, Schadow, Bendemann—were of converted Jews. It took over half a century for the Jews to assume their rightful place in the art of other countries.

In the New World, too, the Jews came slowly into the arts but the social climate around them was substantially different. The breath of freedom which the struggle for independence and the achievement of victory brought with

them gave the Jew a feeling of equality as a citizen and dignity as a Jew, a feeling unmatched anywhere in Europe. This feeling permeated the work and guided the life of the first Jewish artists to appear in America, whether born here or abroad. The Jewish theme was frequent at first, falling off gradually toward and after the Civil War—though never disappearing entirely—to reappear in increasing volume in the 20th century.

**Portrait of Henry Clay
Painted in 1843
By Theodore Sidney Moïse**



The Revolution put a powerful check on the aristocratic tradition of gentility and exclusiveness. The popular expansion westward, the rapid building of canals, steamships, railroads, factories, and the consequent democratization of the country put an end to the colonial tradition altogether. Classicism which in France was identified with the Great Revolution, and romanticism which paralleled an awakened nationalism in Europe, sent deep roots into American art. Here too, as in colonial art an occasional strain of realism rescued the two schools from utter sterility.

Early XIX Century Jewish Artists

Theodore Sidney Moïse (1806-1883) came from a family of doctors, merchants, military men, poets, and was one of the first Jewish artists to attain considerable popularity. He had a particular attachment to the South. His patronage came chiefly from the old Southern aristocracy. One of his best works was the portrait of the statesman Henry Clay, though perhaps his most popular painting was the portrait of the Kentucky belle, Sally Ward. Moïse served with the Confederate Army during the Civil War.

Solomon Nunes Carvalho (1815-1894), writer and artist, typifies the transition between the colonial and early republican periods. Coming from a distinguished family of rabbis and merchants (his brother was Rabbi of Charleston) he yet chose the humble profession of artist. He did numerous portraits, among them one of Rabbi Leiser. He left a record of the famous Charleston synagogue as it looked before fire destroyed it in 1838. His painting "Moses Receiving the Tablets of Law," symbolizing the newly-won freedom, was awarded a medal. The pull in opposite directions is perhaps most clearly revealed in his writings. *The Two Creations* is a mystic interpretation of Jewish cosmogony, a work essentially traditional in character, while his *In the Far West with Fremont* (Carvalho himself took part in this trek westward) describes the beginning of that social movement which is the most tradition-breaking in early American history.

Max Rosenthal (1833-1918), painter, etcher, lithographer, engraver, did many portraits of people prominent in public life: justices of the court, governors and others. He was attached to the Union Army during the Civil War, made sketches of camps, did color plates for a medical history of the war. He is best known for his expert knowledge of the graphic arts. His introduction to America of chomo-lithography was his major contribution. It had an enormous influence on the popularization of science and art; on the study of the native flora and fauna, on the production of color prints, on book making.

Henry Mosler (1841-1920) followed the fashion of the day and went abroad to study at Munich and Duesseldorf. During the Civil War he served as art correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*. As a result of his experiences during that war he painted "The Lost Cause." He was an artist of genre both of the American and the European scene. Mosler lived for long periods abroad where he exhibited widely and successfully. He was awarded gold medals from

Munich, Vienna, Paris, and was chosen Knight of the Legion of Honor. He was one of the first American artists to be honored by the purchase of his painting "The Prodigal Son" for the Luxembourg Museum.

Moses Jacob Ezekiel (1844-1917), sculptor, was a skilled and prolific technician, known equally at home and abroad. He was knighted in Italy and Germany. Among his numerous works are busts of Beethoven, Liszt, Pöe; monuments to Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, twelve statues of great world artists. His Jewish subjects include "Cain," "Adam and Eve," "Judith," "David," "Queen Esther," bas-relief "Israel," monument "Religious Liberty."

Following are other well known Jewish names together with some of their work. Their themes were in the main similar to the themes treated by other American artists; in addition, however, they also included Jewish subjects in sizable numbers.

Jacob H. Lazarus (1822-1891), painter (portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Lopez-Gomez).

Katherin Cohen (1850-1914), painter (romantic "Street in Cairo") and sculptor ("The Vision of Rabbi Ben Ezra," "The Israelite").

Ephraim Keyser (1850-1937), sculptor (portrait of the celebrated Abolitionist, Rabbi David Einhorn).

George da Maduro Peixotto (1859-1937), painter (portrait of Moses Montefiore in his hundredth year).

Henry Wolf (1852-1916), painter and engraver. He became nationally known for his expert reproductions of the world's masterpieces by the process of wood engraving. Ultimately when photography became dominant as the medium of reproduction, these wood engravings, done with the most extraordinary meticulousness, came to be appreciated in their own right.

Post-Civil War Artists

The first half of the nineteenth century brought an astonishing development of the country. The rapidly increasing population expanded from the Atlantic seaboard all the way to the Pacific. Canals, steamships, railroads, factories transformed the physical appearance of the land while newspapers, schools, magazines newly established, were trying vainly to keep pace with the material civilization. American art collections were gradually being built up. The Pennsylvania Art Academy, the first higher art institution in the country, was organized in 1805. Simon and Hyman Gratz, brothers of the celebrated romantic beauty, Rebecca Gratz, were among its founders, Hyman being also one of its directors and treasurers.

Henry Mosler in His Studio



Thus an artist did not actually have to travel abroad, as formerly, for an advanced art education. Nevertheless many did. The period was not too propitious for art. Popular absorption in the gigantic physical development, in the building of an empire, in the accumulation of fortunes far outstripped the interest in intellectual and esthetic pursuits. American artists in the main still looked abroad for guidance. They went to Rome to submerge in a debilitated classical tradition and to Duesseldorf to imbibe the technique of painstaking minutiae, and to Paris which was beginning to compete with other cities as a world art center. The Romantic tradition, both German and French, with its love of the legendary, the fantastic, the exotic and strange, was having a deep and lasting influence on American art.

At the same time the industrialization and the parallel democratization of the country brought a widening of the artists' interest in the people and the sights of their native land along with the legends of ancient Rome and the romantic beauty of the exceptional. Jewish artists who were becoming increasingly numerous after the Civil War participated as an integral part in all these currents.

To point out a few of the more prominent:

Albert Rosenthal (1863-1939), son of Max Rosenthal, who continued in the tradition of his father in subject, medium and craft.

Isidore Konti (1862-1938), sculptor of many idealized, symbolic statues and recipient of many prizes, among them "Orpheus." Konti designed a medal commemorating the 250th anniversary of the landing of the Jews in America.

Louis Loeb (1866-1909), illustrator and painter of romantically idyllic subjects like "The Joyous Life" (maidens dancing in an imaginative landscape), "Temple of the Winds," also did one of the best portraits of Israel Zangwill.

Albert Sterner (1863-), equally versatile in medium and theme. Painter, etcher, lithographer, illustrator. Sterner painted still lifes, portraits, landscapes, nudes.

Ernest Peixotto (1869-1942), the most mature product of the contemporary academy. A popular illustrator (Theodore Roosevelt's "Life of Cromwell"), a prolific mural painter (Bank of New York), author of several travel books, official artist with the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I.

Ivan Olinsky (1878-), popular in academic circles for his numerous portraits, genre subjects, studies.

Maurice Fromkes (1872-1931), noted especially for his Spanish subjects. He lived in Spain for many years and painted genre subjects like "The Madonna of the Road" and portraits like the famous Spanish author and philosopher Miguel de Unamuno.

Henry Rittenberg (1879-), painted portraits of many notables, among them the U. S. Presidents Hays, Garfield and Hoover.

Hugo Ballin (1879-), an academic romanticist with many murals to his credit, one of them being a History of the Jews at the Bnai Brith Temple in Los Angeles.

(Concluded in next issue)

PAPA WINS A DEFEAT

MR. GITTELMAN swooshed a piece of pumpernickel over the plate and sopped up the last few drops of the soup. He chewed the bread with noisy satisfaction.

"You want more soup, Loye?" his wife asked.

He pushed the plate away from him, and she accepted that for an answer. Leaving her unfinished soup, she went into the kitchen and returned with a plate of stewed prunes which she placed in front of her husband. She had sat down to her soup again, when suddenly she noticed he wasn't eating.

"What is it, Loye?"

"A teaspoon. . . ." he announced.

She got a teaspoon from the sideboard drawer and gave it to him.

She returned to her soup and he finished his dessert and pushed the plate away from him. Mrs. Gittelman carried

her soup plate into the kitchen and brought him a glass of tea and some sponge cake.

While he was having his tea and cake, she started to clear the supper dishes away.

On one of her trips from the kitchen she noticed the look on his face.

"What is it, Loye?"

He finished the mouthful of cake before he answered.

"It's a little bit heavy," he grunted critically.

"I had an accident. It fell a little."

There was no point in telling him it was because she had tried a five egg cake to save the money. He felt bad enough about his first lay-off in years. All day he had been in the market on 39th Street talking to the other cutters, waiting, maybe a job would turn up. *Nu*. It was getting back to normal times, she thought. A five egg sponge cake instead of ten. Loye had forgotten so easily.

Mr. Gittelman stuffed himself with another piece of cake and then slowly pushed his tea glass away and got up from the table. Inside, in the kitchen, his wife was at the sink.

WILL HAYETT is a young Jewish short story writer, who makes his first appearance in JEWISH LIFE.

A Short Story

By Will Hayett

He belched a few times—a sign the meal was over. When you ate just enough, you belched easy from fullness; when you ate too much, you got heartburn. He had a whole theory distorted from an article he had read once by a doctor in the *Forvitz*.

He moved away from the table slowly, satisfied.

"Mollie. . ."

The noise of the running water kept her from hearing.

"Mollie!" his voice rose sharply. "I'm calling you!"

"Yes, Loye?" she answered over her shoulder without stopping her dishwashing.

"Where are the toothpicks?" He put his finger in his mouth and poked around his teeth, sucking at the food particles.

"On the shelf in the china closet."

He went over slowly.

"They ain't here," he spoke irritably.

Mrs. Gittelman continued with the dishes.

"On the second shelf. In the corner, on the right side." She shouted over the noise of the water.

He waited a second, and then, without looking, he called to her again.

"I can't find them."

She came in, wiping her hands on her apron. On the second shelf, in the corner, on the right side, she found the box of toothpicks and handed it to her husband. He had already settled on the sofa. He accepted the toothpicks without a word.

"If you'd look, you'd find," she told him.

On her way back to the kitchen she took some plate from the table.

MR. GITTLEMAN SAT PICKING HIS TEETH WITH OBVIOUS pleasure. Finally, he got up and seemed to be looking around for something.

"Mollie. Did you see my *Forvitz*?"

He wandered aimlessly about the room looking for his paper like a man who knows he won't find it.

"I had it when I came home, and now it's gone." There was the faintest note of accusation in his voice.

She had come into the dining room again to finish clearing the table.

"Did you look by your hat in the foyer?"

He found the paper and settled back on the sofa. When she came in to take up the table cloth, he stopped her.

"Listen to this. Only the *Polyaken* would have such nerve. First they make pogroms, and now they're making with propaganda Ben Gurion should be able to speak in the United Nations. They should live so if they care about Palestine and the Jews—the murderers."

She lifted the four corners of the tablecloth and tumbled the crumbs to the center.

"Mrs. Liptzen says they didn't make the pogrom." Her voice was quiet. "She says it was politics against them."

"Mrs. Liptzen is a communist!" he shouted angrily. "I don't like her, and she shouldn't mix in your affairs."

She lifted the tablecloth without a word. He glared at

her as she returned to the kitchen. He glared at the article in the paper. Somehow it had lost all flavor. He tossed the paper aside and rose irritably. Once when he read to her from the *Forvitz*, she'd listen, now she was a whole critic. It was that Mrs. Liptzen and those trouble makers.

He went into the kitchen where his wife was wiping the dishes and putting them away. He stood there watching her, and she said nothing as she continued with her work.

"So what's the big rush tonight. Is Sarah and Arnold coming over?"

"No, not till Friday."

"We're going somewhere?"

"I got a meeting," she told him mildly.

"A meeting? What meeting?"

"The apartment house committee is meeting by Mrs. Gottlieb's. You want to come, Loye? Husbands are invited too."

"I've got enough meetings with my society," he snorted. "Besides I don't like those women. They're only trying to make trouble with the landlord. How many times do I have to tell you, you shouldn't let them suck you in."

She heard, but she didn't answer.

"I'm talking to you!" he yelled. "I don't want you should go!"

She put down the dish she was wiping, turned slowly, and faced him.

"They're expecting me. I promised," she announced quietly but firmly. And she reached for another dish and started to wipe it.

HE STORMED OUT OF THE KITCHEN AND PICKED UP HIS PAPER again. He tried to read, but couldn't concentrate. He felt the gas pressing in his stomach, then like a knife in his chest. He belched loudly, uncomfortably. But the relief didn't come. Instead a new bubble pressed upward. Again and again he belched unhappily.

"Mollie. Where's the bicarbonate?" he called.

She came in quickly.

"What is it, Loye? What do you need the bicarbonate?"

He belched loudly, a pained expression distorting his putty-like face.

"It's nothing," he told her, martyr-like. "I ate too fast. Where's the bicarbonate?"

She hurried to the bathroom and brought the little box and got a glass of water and a spoon and prepared the fizz.

"Here, drink this quick."

He let his hand shake a little as he reached for the glass.

"Thanks," he said weakly.

Then he took the drink.

He shuddered and snorted like a little boy with castor oil. He gave her the empty glass.

"Thanks," he mumbled again.

"You'll feel better," she told him, reassuringly. "Maybe you should lie down."

"It's nothing. Just a sticky pain. Here." He patted his heart and took a deep breath like it hurt even to breathe.

"I ate too fast. I don't think it's anything else."

She coaxed him to lie down. He was breathing through his mouth heavily.

"Where is your meeting?"

"By Mrs. Gottlieb. I told you."

"Yeah, I forgot. So don't worry about me. You'll be late. Go ahead. I'll be all right."

"Don't be foolish," she scolded gently. "Who cares about the meeting. Maybe I should call Dr. Rubin, Loye?"

He shook his head.

"I feel better. I'll just lie here. Please, Mollie, hand me my papers."

"I'll give you your paper," she told him. "Only first I want you should undress and get into bed."

As he started for the bathroom, she called after him.

"I'm going downstairs for a minute to Mrs. Gottlieb. I have to tell them I can't be by the meeting tonight unless they want to come upstairs here. After all, they elected me president."

BRAZILIAN JEWS IN DEMOCRATIC FRONT

By B. Feder

This article was written before the Brazilian Communist Party was outlawed. Mr. Feder's description of the liberating effect of the democratic electoral victory upon the Jews of Brazil and the link of reaction to anti-Semitism in that country, indicates the dangers of neo-fascism if the so-called "anti-communist" drive gains force in Brazil. We, in America, must note that this is one of the fruits of the new Truman Doctrine, of intervening in other countries and spreading American imperialism under the guise of anti-communist struggle—intervention which was similarly involved in the dropping of communists from the French cabinet, in the Dutch attack on the Indonesians, in the attack of the Greek fascist government on the Greek people, in the toleration of British terror in Palestine. We therefore have a special obligation. American Jews, as well as all sincere non-Jewish democrats, should protest this initial step toward fascism in Brazil and fight for the defeat of the Truman Doctrine.—Eds.

THROUGHOUT the entire length and breadth of gigantic Brazil, the fourth largest country in the world in territory, a joyous spirit has spread. The nation has expressed itself. Its democratic spirit has triumphed in the elections for the state legislatures, for governorships and in by-elections for the federal houses of parliament.

The elections of January 19, 1947, will be recorded in the history of Brazil as a new step forward in the direction of democracy and independence from foreign imperialism. These elections were transformed into a sharp and decisive struggle between the democratic and reactionary forces of the country.

At the head of the democratic forces of Brazil stands the Communist Party, under the leadership of the heroic mass leader, Luis Carlos Prestes. The Communist Party, which after long years of illegality had resumed its legal activity in time for the general elections of December 1945, had then won 10 per cent of the vote and elected 14 deputies and one senator (Prestes). This party had come to the semi-colonial Brazilian people with new slogans, new ideas,

B. FEDER was formerly editor of the Paris Yiddish *Freie Presse* and the Uruguayan *Unser Zeit*. He is now a journalist in Brazil.

and newly awakened, great hopes. Not for nothing did its great leader, Prestes, bear for these many years the title of "Knight of Hope." The Communist Party is the *only* party in the country that has a decisive program to improve the hard lot of the people, to free it from its semi-feudal system and from external imperialist domination and financial and political pressure of Anglo-Yankee monopoly capital.

As a result of its struggle in the interest of the people, inside and outside of parliament, the Communist Party had begun to group around itself ever broader sections of the nation, workers and peasants, residents of the city and countryside. Before the elections the Communist Party called upon all democratic parties and groups to unite for the elections in order to defeat the reactionary forces and defend the democratic constitution against all attempts to abolish it and re-establish a dictatorship. Brazilian reaction, openly supported from abroad, carried on its election campaign under the slogan of struggle against communism and the "communist danger." All who supported the communists were threatened and blackmailed.

The Communist Party was not intimidated by threats and police persecution, and united with all honest democrats who aimed to defend the constitution. The most bitter election struggle took place in San Paulo, the largest industrial center in the country, where the communists have great influence. The communists here formed an election bloc with the Progressive Social Party. And it was here that the democratic forces achieved their greatest victory. Not even the threat of excommunication by the Cardinal helped. The candidate of the democratic election bloc, Dr. Ademar de Bachos, was elected governor. In San Paulo two senators for the federal senate were also elected, both from the Communist-Progressive bloc, among them the communist leader, the world famous painter, Candida Portinari.

In the capital, Rio de Janeiro, where only a city council was elected (because the city has no autonomy), the communists are the strongest fraction. They have 18 councilmen out of 50.

And the Brazilian people are shouting for joy. And the Jewish community in Brazil celebrates the victory together with the whole nation.

The Brazilian Jewish community knows that reaction and anti-communism go hand in hand with anti-Semitism. It experienced anti-Semitism during the bloody Vargas dictatorship, when speaking Yiddish in public and the printing of Yiddish newspapers were forbidden, when Brazil was the only country in the world that required a certificate of baptism from every Jew asking for a visa. . . . During the recent election campaign, reaction did not forsake its old anti-Semitic weapons. They tried to agitate against the "aliens who occupied the cities and palaces. . . ." At the climax of the election campaign, even a ritual-murder accusation was attempted in San Paulo.

A fire broke out in the largest railroad depot in the state. "Accidentally" the fire broke out several days before the English railroad company to which the line belongs, was obliged to open its books to the government; "accidentally" that part of the depot was burned where the books are kept. . . . The director of the railroad company immediately found the "guilty": since the depot is located in the center of the Jewish section of the city, and the owners are British—the Jews committed arson in order to avenge British acts in Palestine. . . . The entire reactionary camp immediately grabbed up the accusation and began a campaign of incitation. This would have been used immediately in the election campaign, if the united, energetic and prompt action of the entire community had not compelled the British director to withdraw his statements.

The Jewish voters therefore supported, without exception, the progressive and people's candidates and the community really breathed more freely after the democratic victory.

Scheinberg, Jew, Communist, Scientist

One of the important candidates elected as state deputy of the Communist Party in San Paulo is the Jewish scientist, Dr. Mario Scheinberg. This young Brazilian Jewish intellectual is considered, as a result of his investigations and works in astronomical physics and cosmic rays, as one of the greatest of the present day physicists. He worked for a time with Prof. Einstein at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Prof. Scheinberg is at the same time a capable leader of the Communist Party. Prof. Scheinberg is a warm, devoted Jew, who participates in Jewish national life and is concerned with all the problems of his people. He is honored and loved by all sections of the Jewish community.

After the democratic victory, we turned to Prof. Scheinberg to analyze the elections and their influence on Brazilian life in general and on the Jewish community in particular. Prof. Scheinberg declared:

"The outcome of the elections is certain—unpleasant for the government party and all reactionary forces, and very pleasant for the progressive democratic forces. It is the

first time in the history of Brazil that the government in power was defeated in elections. The Brazilian people are becoming increasingly conscious and enlightened—the government election machine no longer can win elections: when the people are permitted to express themselves freely, they know who their defenders are. An even greater defeat was suffered by the former dictator, Getulio Vargas, and his labor party. The worst defeat of all was that of the open fascists, the Integralists, who received a very insignificant number of votes."

"What in your opinion, will be the immediate results of this democratic election victory?"

"It is impossible to predict anything for certain. But we hope that it will lead to a reorganization of the government and that the president will select ministers from the other democratic parties as well; that a government of democratic national unity will be formed that is able to solve the difficult economic and political problems facing the country."

The prominent cultural and political leader gave a brief resume of the situation in Brazil. The people suffer from a terribly high cost of living, from inflation, from black marketeering. The government has taken no measures against these problems because such action would affect foreign and domestic big-capital and the large landowners.

"But this situation must be changed. The whole burden of the crisis can not and must not be placed on the shoulders of the workers and middle class," Prof. Scheinberg stated emphatically. "Foreign capital must be curtailed, and national industry must be developed, through a patriotic tariff policy, and especially through immediate agrarian reforms that must be carried out as soon as possible. Our peasants must get land."

Brazil's greatest economic plague is the latifundia system. Gigantic, uninhabited, unworked areas belong to single individuals while millions of peasants have no land, but work for the landlords at starvation wages. Millions of square kilometers lie waste, while there is a shortage of bread in the country and grain must be imported.

The Jewish Community

We raised the "perennial" question, "And what about us Jews?"

Prof. Scheinberg, born and brought up among the Brazilian Jews, is well aware of the conditions of his brothers. "The majority of the hundred thousand of our community in Brazil is composed of middle class individuals, shop keepers and small industrialists. The middle class has recently felt most sharply the burden of the economic crisis of the country. The government, for instance, stopped bank credits on the pretext of fighting inflation. But if measures were adopted against foreign big capital, to strengthen national industry and to broaden the internal purchasing power through increasing the purchasing power of workers and peasants—then commerce and small industry would benefit, including our Jewish community.

"And in general," he added with a serious smile, "the

history of recent years has already taught us sufficiently that our interests as Jews are closely bound up with the democratic forces of every country, with their struggles and triumphs."

The Jews of Brazil have in recent times begun to move firmly toward broad people's unity. The organization in San Paulo of a federation of all Jewish organizations without exception, from the communists to the General Zionists, has had a tremendous effect in the entire country. The communities in other states are following this example, and probably in the near future there will be achieved broad Jewish unity on a national scale. With the victory of the democratic parties in the various states, the united Jewish representatives have broadened their sphere of operations tremendously and their demands on the state parliaments will more easily win attention and get results. Possibilities have opened for state subsidies and government support for Jewish schools, Jewish centers, libraries, etc.

"The Jewish *yishuv*," hopes Prof. Scheinberg, together with all sincerely democratic Jews in the country, "will now forge and cement its unity more strongly, not only to defend the special interests of the community, to build more quickly its Jewish cultural and social life; but also the better to help Brazilian democracy with all the people's forces to consolidate itself and to safeguard republican institutions."

We raised another question that interests not only the Jewish community in Brazil, but also many Jews beyond the sea, thousands of our brothers in the concentration camps in Europe: "Brazil has recently completely closed its doors and halted immigration entirely. What have you to say about that for our readers abroad, Prof. Scheinberg?"

"I believe that the present immigration bar is only temporary. It seems that the visa forms are being changed. But the immigration problem is also closely connected with the democratization of our country. Brazil is a land that needs immigrants and can accommodate tens of millions of new inhabitants. With changes in the economic structure, with improvement in the economic situation, Brazil will need not only more farm workers, but also urban workers, technicians, merchants, craftsmen, etc. The big landlords and industrialists have until now supported an immigration policy which permitted entry primarily to backward, untrained land workers and urban colored, unskilled factory workers. Since the war ended, there were admitted into Brazil fascists who escaped from the victorious and liberated countries of Europe, and not the victims of fascism who are seeking a new and peaceful home. The democratic election victory will also bring a change in this sphere and under the new conditions we hope to be able to welcome into our country thousands of our Jewish brothers."

The election results in Brazil will have an important influence on the political life of the whole of Latin America. The results have created a great sensation in all the South American countries, creating joy among the masses and pain and sorrow among the reactionary cliques. Openly

supported by the Yankee State Department and British capital, there has begun in the recent period throughout all of Latin America a terrible anti-communist campaign, a real red-hunt. The bourgeois press of the various countries, with few exceptions, participate in the campaign.

The nations of South America, however, have in recent years learned much, and see quite clearly what hides behind the cry of "communist menace"—neo-fascism, and a determination to maintain the imperialist control over the gigantic sources of raw materials and over the large market. The peoples of Latin America are, however, determined to take the fate of their countries into their own hands, to use for themselves the legendary wealth of their land, and to share the enjoyment themselves of its wonderful beauty and magnificent abundance.

The elections in Brazil are not an isolated case. The Brazilian victory has greater significance because it is the largest country with the largest population on the southern continent. In Chile, victory in the presidential election went to the people's candidate who, despite foreign intervention, took into his cabinet three communist ministers. In Uruguay, the democratic presidential candidate was victorious, and this small country now has five communist deputies, one senator, and a large democratic majority in both houses of parliament. And the situation is similar in other Latin American countries. This would have been equally true of Paraguay if the president, with foreign support, had not abolished the constitution and established a military dictatorship.

The foreign-inspired "revolutions" and coup d'etats in the countries will not be able to continue or last long, even if they are successful anywhere.

The Brazilian people know the way. The wild cries of reaction, which seeks ways and means to annul the elections, will not help. Chateaubriand, the Brazilian Hearst, calls on North America to intervene against the "communist danger that threatens through Brazil the whole continent." But the Brazilian people are reading his newspapers less widely. There is appearing and growing a really free and independent press, that tells the truth, arouses and encourages.

We are therefore certain that the defeat of reaction in Brazil on January 19 is its first defeat. The people are similarly convinced.

The traditional, and in Brazil, mass celebration and people's holiday is approaching—the carnival. This year in Brazil it has already acquired its name—the Carnival of Victory. For weeks now there can be heard in the streets of the cities and villages the monotonous, but rhythmic, beat of the homemade wooden drums. The drums are being beaten today much more happily by the vari-colored Brazilian people. They announce their victory.

And the "Sambas"—the wonderful folksongs created in the hundreds for every carnival to accompany the folk dances—sing this year about clean elections, about dark deputies; they are full of hope about eliminating breadlines, about free land and a roof over one's head for all.

MOVIE REVIEW

ANTI-SEMITISM UNDER CROSSFIRE

By Louis Harap

WITH the new film *Crossfire* Hollywood has gone far to jolt itself out of the doldrums. Not since the war has anything like it been produced here. Unquestionably this is one of the most courageous movies ever screened. It comes down on anti-Semitism with a terrific impact. This writer, at least, left the movie all a-shake under the power of its emotional force and rational lucidity. The assault on anti-Semitism is made with a directness, an adult intelligence and integrity that we have not been encouraged to expect from Hollywood in any case, let alone on "controversial" subjects. In *Crossfire* Dore Schary, the RKO executive responsible for the picture, actually realized his affirmation that "We've just got to stop projecting a never-never land on the screen and we've got to be factual."

Hollywood is not immune from the effects of the paradox that bestrides American life today—intense reaction promoted by monopoly power in government and in the means of communication co-existing with an upsurge of progressive thinking by the people below. The evidence on both sides is enormous. On one side are the Taft-Hartley law, the "loyalty" purges, "legal" persecution of anti-fascists, an imperialistic foreign policy. On the other side are the resistance of unions to the labor-haters, the unprecedented rallying around Henry Wallace and such bending straws in the wind as numbers one and two best sellers, *Kingsblood Royal* and *Gentleman's Agreement*. Since Hollywood draws its life-blood from the box office, it is at times compelled to reflect in some measure the people's side of these contradictions. Dore Schary proved himself courageous as well as canny in getting the film approved for production. *Crossfire* is one sign that Hollywood can be made sensitive to popular trends. For we know that this film is only the first of a welcome cycle on anti-Semitism. The intensely anti-Soviet cycle, on the other hand, is Hollywood's contribution to the other side of the paradox.

Crossfire has supplied the people's side with powerful ammunition. The story opens with a murder in which neither assailant nor victim is identified. The setting for the murder is then uncovered with deliberateness in the readjustment problems and in the bitter, ignorant anti-Semitism of the soldier murderer of the Jew, Samuels. The necessity for establishing the anti-Semitic motivation for the murder requires that the identity of the murderer be known to the audience early in the film. Consequently the movie is not a conventional mystery story in which the murderer is finally revealed late in the action through some startling discovery. It is to the credit of *Crossfire's* makers that they did not

surrender the integrity of the theme to conform to this routine requirement of the mystery story.

Some Fundamental Truths

The movie set itself the limited objective of exposing a few fundamental truths about anti-Semitism and it succeeds. First, it shows that anti-Semitism is based on totally groundless, prejudiced assumptions about Jews as a whole. The detective (Robert Young) makes plain that the murderer had no personal knowledge whatever of his Jewish victim and had assumed that the Jew was a draft-dodger, when the fact is that Samuels had been discharged from the army for wounds received at Okinawa. The motive, the detective shows, lay not in any personal relation of Samuels with the murderer Montgomery (Robert Ryan), but within the anti-Semitic murderer himself, in his insane, ignorant and irrational hatred for Jews and all minorities. *Life* calls Montgomery an "unbelievable" character. Yet any ex-GI can attest to its authenticity. I know of an actual case of a "Montgomery" in the army who would like to have killed a man because he was a Jew.

Second, the film tries to make clear that anti-Semitism is not an isolated hatred, but is connected with hatred of all minorities. This is brought out in Montgomery's contemptuous attitude towards his naive and backward fellow-soldier from Tennessee. Ideologically the climax of the film is the fine speech of Robert Young in which he tells how his own immigrant Irish grandfather was killed in 1848 during the anti-Catholic agitation because he was "a dirty Irish mick! A priest lover! A spy from Rome! A foreigner trying to rob men of their jobs!" Young explains that hatred of the Jew is no different from hatred of any minority group. "Hating is always the same, always senseless. One day it kills Irish Catholics, the next day Jews, the next day Protestants, the next day Quakers. It's hard to stop. It can end up by killing men who wear striped neckties or people from Tennessee."

This speech has been criticised as a propagandist intrusion or as a "reduction of reasoning to absurdity" (*Life*). This *Life* argument is parroted by Kate Cameron of the *Daily News*, who thinks that at this point "the whole argument falls on its face." This is not surprising, considering the source. Both these reviews are critical of the movie as a whole on the curious ground that it presents a weak case against anti-Semitism. Can it be that such critics are in fact disturbed by the effectiveness of its message and wish to mitigate it by protesting that the film doesn't really support the case against anti-Semitism? On dramatic grounds alone it seems to me that the speech is psychologically

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

necessary in its function of convincing the Tennessean to help spring the trap on the murderer.

It is regrettable that the courage of the film-makers faltered at one crucial point. No mention is made of the anti-Negro phase of the hatred attacked so ferociously in the film, even though this phase is most obvious and glaring in America—in some respects even more so than anti-Semitism. Further, insensitivity to the full implications of the struggle for Negro rights among some sections of the American people is apparent from the fact that, so far as I know, Archer Winsten of the New York *Post* is the only reviewer who noticed that reference to Negroes is altogether omitted from the film. How much more powerful an indictment the film would have been if it had included the Negro among the victims of minority hatred.

The film does not pretend to probe the causes of anti-Semitism and minority hatred. But as far as it goes, the movie should touch to the quick the sense of decency of the American people and set up in them a revulsion against anti-Semitism and minority-baiting, and start them think-

ing in the right direction. This in itself is an accomplishment of the first importance.

Like so many passionately honest films, of which *Open City* is the outstanding example, the makers' sense of social responsibility and deep conviction evokes the best technical artistic results of which the makers are capable. *Crossfire* is extremely well-made. The acting is far above the Hollywood average. Sam Levene gives a very intelligent, sensitive rendering of the Jew. Robert Ryan as Montgomery does a psychologically convincing job of moving from security and animal cunning to nervousness and fear as the net closes in on him. Robert Young's detective is one of the best jobs in his career. The rest of the cast fulfil their parts without a false note. Writer John Paxton wrote in the powerful dialogue. And director Edward Dmytryk has made the movie into a tight, economic, effective whole.

RKO has shown with *Crossfire* what an important constructive force Hollywood can be when its restraining hands are thrown off.

GEORGIA JEW FIGHTS FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

By Harry Raymond

(Continued from page 1)

But human blood leaves an indelible stain. Not all the citizens of Brunswick could quite swallow the grand jury's presentment, nor could they take such a supercilious attitude toward the incident.

The Negro community was thoroughly aroused by the grand jury decision. Austin T. Walden, Negro attorney from Atlanta and Georgia state counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has announced that plans would be discussed for legal action against the prison guards. But the NAACP and the Negro people will not be alone in this fight. Even before the verdict was rendered, the local NAACP held a special rally to report on the prison massacre, at which both Negro and white citizens, outraged over the killing, contributed a substantial fund to a war chest to fight for justice in the case.

Today there are strong, honest voices in this town which will not permit any forgetting or hiding of the tragedy. One of these voices is that of Sam A. Levine, County Commissioner of Roads and Revenue and leading merchant, who has proven a fine representative of the white people, and an effective ally of the Negro people and the NAACP in this struggle.

"It was deliberate and outright murder," Levine has stated. "It must be acted on officially as such. And just as long as I can find another man to stand beside me I will

fight to have this crime punished. I will not rest until Warden W. G. Worthy and the seven guards who fired those shots are placed under arrest."

Now everybody in Brunswick knows that Sam Levine means business. The prison guards who are free today and who are celebrating their "exoneration," must be doing so with trepidation. For those who know Commissioner Levine are laying odds that things will be popping in Brunswick as soon as the next grand jury is sworn in. Levine is planning his campaign in consultation with leaders of the Negro community. And it is expected that warrants will be sworn against the guards who did the shooting when the present whitewash jury concludes its term.

"Not one of those prisoners attempted to escape," Levine said in answering the excuse given by the guards. "One was killed when he crawled under the bunk house when he attempted to get out of the way of a fusillade of bullets. Three more died directly in front of the bunk house."

With regard to the prisoner whose body was found on top of a 12-foot high barbed wire fence of the stockade, Levine charges prison guards with throwing the body of one of the dead Negroes onto it, to make it appear he was shot while attempting to escape.

Levine further accused state officers of using "gestapo methods." He declared threats of death were made to compel prisoners to testify favorably before the grand jury about the actions of the warden and the guards. Levine himself appeared in the marble-lined court house demanding that he be called to testify as a spokesman for the people of

HARRY RAYMOND is an outstanding journalist who has specialized in covering the struggle for Negro rights. He is on the staff of the *Daily Worker*.

Glynn County. But when Commissioner Levine was not called, he stood in front of the jury room door protesting "this outrage."

Tough, Rough Struggle

Levine is a methodical person. He is not going into this fight without ammunition. He has a complete list of eye witnesses of the shooting. He has evidence that none of the prison inmates had attempted to escape, as charged by the Warden and jury. From inside the prison stockade came a secret series of penciled notes, all addressed to "Mr. Sam," telling the true story of the shooting, how prisoners were permitted the last "favor" of removing their shoes before the guards, acting as an execution squad, shot them down. He has investigated the personal history of every guard involved in the slaying. Two of them, he charges, are illiterate and all, he says, are unfit to hold state positions of trust.

It is going to be a tough, rough struggle to arrest and punish the state prison officials who turned their blazing guns on a group of helpless prisoners, trapped like rats in the big prison cage. But Levine, who is a Colonel in the Georgia State Guard, is the man to lead it. I heard about Commissioner Levine as soon as I arrived in town. Both white and Negro citizens referred to him as a "fighter." He is respected by his foes. And the gun toters fear him most. For he is known to carry a blue steel .38 pistol which he has used with no small success against belligerent political opponents.

Levine is not just carrying on a personal feud, or participating in an inner political party fight. He knows what the score is, and sees somewhat beyond the immediate struggle. His general merchandise store at Monk and Oglethorpe Streets, is called the "Poor Man's Store," and the prices miraculously reflect the name. It is always crowded with Negro and white working people. They come there not only because he has the best prices in town. They come also to seek advice on family, economic and legal problems. And as a result of these contacts he has come to clear-cut understanding.

"There's a gang around here," he told me, "that don't like Negroes, Jews and labor union men. Those guards that shot those Negro prisoners are part of that gang. If they are permitted to get away with that it won't be safe to live in this town. I'm going to see to it that this is a safe town. And I'm not afraid of any of their old pistols either." And so today, Commissioner Sam Levine is deep in the battle for Negro rights.

Courageous Political Fight

It takes a high degree of courage to enter into and lead this kind of battle in the very heart of bourbon South. But courage is a quality of which he seems possessed in abundance and which he has displayed on more than one occa-

sion. In fact Levine, nearing 60, entered the political arena in a campaign to oust what he charged was a corrupt county administration. County officers, he charged, were giving protection to a house of prostitution and actually patronizing the place, which was located on the same street where Levine lives in a neat little white cottage with his wife and children.

During the campaign one of the county policemen entered Levine's back yard and challenged him to come out. "I opened the door and told him I would be out in a minute," Levine said, recalling the event. "I went back and got my pistol, came out and pulled down on the officer. It was dark and I missed him. But he ran, got over several fences and I never had trouble with him again."

This did not end his experiences in fighting a corrupt police. They became troublesome again when the old guard politicians got desperate, especially when Levine campaigned regularly over the local radio station, buying his time at the rate of \$15 for 15 minutes, exposing the opposition.

A group of county police stopped the Levine car on a highway and placed him under arrest, holding him without bail for "medical examination." Next day Levine left the jail, brought suit against the officers for false arrest and issued a leaflet charging "the Gestapo is in Glynn County." He won the suit in court, forcing the police to pay heavy damages.

The Negroes, representing one-third of the Glynn County voters, cast their ballots in a solid bloc for Levine. He got the majority of the white vote. He led the ticket, sweeping out the old guard, who were strongly represented on the whitewash jury, and gave the county a new progressive administration. This is how Levine, in an almost single-handed campaign, routed the reactionary Talmadge county machine in the last elections. Today he is a man with the largest popular political following in the county.

This is the man who is determined to help win rights for the Negro people, to bring the whitewashed executioners of unarmed Negro prisoners to justice, and to uphold American traditions of democracy and equality.

Announcing:

Anniversary Issue Cultural Supplement

November 1947

Containing FICTION, POETRY and CRITICAL ARTICLES on Jewish themes.

The Editorial Board invites manuscripts, which must be submitted by September 1, 1947, to be considered for the supplement.

DOCUMENTS

CONTROVERSY ON BILL TO OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM

Mr. Shad Polier, American Jewish Congress, to Mr. Peter V. Cacchione, Communist Councilman of New York City.

May 22, 1947.

MY dear Councilman Cacchione: The American Jewish Congress urges you not to support the Connolly-Quill Resolution (No. 466) requesting the United States Congress to enact the Federal Buckley group defamation bill (H.R. 2848).

Our opposition to this bill arises not because we are opposed to legislation punishing group libels of religious or racial groups but because the Buckley bill is so poorly conceived and so poorly drafted that it will hamper rather than promote the possibility of sound legislation in this field. You may know that we drafted a model state civil rights bill which was introduced this year in a number of state legislatures. This bill contained a group defamation provision. In testimony on behalf of our organization before the President's Committee on Civil Rights on May 1, 1947, we recommended adoption of a Federal group libel law and we are now drafting such a bill.

The Buckley bill consists of five sections. Section 1 recites Congressional findings and declarations of policy with which there is no quarrel. Section 2 makes it unlawful to bring into the United States or interstate commerce or to mail any publication "which exposes the Jews or any other group as a nation, people or any substantial portion of them, to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy . . ." Section 3 makes it unlawful for any person to receive any publication described in Section 2 with intent to sell, distribute, exhibit or read it to others. Section 4 makes a violation of the Act a felony punishable by a maximum fine of \$5,000 or five years imprisonment, or both. Section 5 allows a defendant to be prosecuted in any district in which any part of the offense has been committed.

We point out at the outset that the bill does not contain any exemption for truthful material. Thus even the mailing of a truthful statement about any ethnic group would become a felony. It is almost certain that the United States Supreme Court would declare unconstitutional any legislation barring truthful utterances. And even if such a provision were valid, we believe that a bill which bars truthful

statements would make it impossible to discuss the political activities of religious organizations and thus hamper the discussion of important public issues.

Secondly, the Buckley Bill punishes every distribution of material even for scientific, academic, or library purposes, without requiring that the distribution be for an evil or malicious purpose. It is so sweeping in its terms that it would punish the receipt by the American Jewish Congress of an anti-Semitic book, even though we obtained it for the purpose of analysis and public discussion. Any court would make short shrift of such a provision.

Finally, the bill is so vague and ambiguous about the groups it seeks to protect that a defendant could properly maintain that as a criminal statute it is defective. It forbids utterances about the "Jews or any group," or only racial or religious groups?

For this and other reasons which I have not attempted to discuss at length, we feel strongly that the Buckley Bill should not be supported. Again I emphasize that this is not because of our reluctance to take action in this field. We hope that Congress will adopt effective legislation on this subject at this session and we will support any such legislation which, in our judgment, is both practical and constitutional.

(signed) Shad Polier,
American Jewish Congress.

* * *
Councilman Cacchione to Mr. Shad Polier:

June 18, 1947.

DEAR Mr. Polier:

I am in receipt of your communication urging me not to support the Connolly-Quill resolution in the City Council, supporting the Buckley group defamation bill (H.R. 2848).

At the outset please permit me to say that I find it something of a shock that an organization devoted to the interests of the Jewish people, as your organization undoubtedly is, should take the position that it has on the Buckley Bill and the Connolly-Quill resolution. It may be that your objections to the Buckley Bill have some merit, but if you think that the enemies of your people will make any distinction between your objections, based upon very lofty grounds, and their opposition, based upon unprincipled ones, I fear you are greatly mistaken. To them your opposition is welcome.

I do not intend to discuss the legal aspects of the Buckley Bill; there are others more competent to do that. However, even on a casual reading of your objections, they seem to me to be woven out of very thin material. For instance your second objection that the bill punishes every distribution of material no matter for what purpose, seems to me to be stretching the language of the bill far beyond what it says, for as I understand it, the provision with regard to receipt and distribution is fairly well limited to evil purposes.

However, it is my feeling that if the bill contains certain limitations or defects, it is our obligation to help to amend it so these be avoided, but certainly not to be in the forefront of opposition in company with those who object not to its deficiencies, but to its merits. Insofar as the Connolly-Quill resolution is concerned, I note that the resolve clause uses the language "that we express our support of the purposes of H. R. 2848." I would consider that if you wish to keep the door open for the amendment or the improvement of the Buckley Bill, that your request to the City Council might much more properly have been that we limit the resolution to the language quoted, and not to have asked for the disapproval of the resolution.

If the resolution is favorably reported to the Council, it is my intention to support it.

Sincerely yours,
Peter V. Cacchione,
Member of the New
York City Council.

* * *
Mr. William Levner, director of organization of the Jewish Labor Council to the New York City Council.

June 9, 1947.

HONORABLE Sir:

It has come to our attention that Mr. Shad Polier of the American Jewish Congress circularized all members of the City Council urging them not to support the Quill-Connolly resolution requesting the United States Congress to enact the Buckley (H.R. 2848) group libel bill.

After consultation with our attorneys it is our considered opinion that Mr. Polier's criticisms of the Buckley Bill are unwarranted and fallacious. We hereby submit for your interest a basic analysis of the bill taking into account the objections raised by Mr. Polier.

The Buckley Bill, as is indicated in its "Findings and Declaration of Policy," is intended to make more difficult the practice of anti-Semitism by denying to the social vermin who traffic in this commodity, the use of the mails for their anti-social traffic. The postal service is a social instrument for the social benefit of all the

people. The people who pay for the service have the right to safeguard themselves against its misuse. They have done so frequently as, for example, by punishing unscrupulous sharpsters who traffic in fake stock or depraved characters who traffic in obscene merchandise. It needs no argument to establish that the commodity of anti-Semitism is more injurious to society than any presently banned.

Any reasonable interpretation of the bill would lead to the conclusion that it intends to bar the mails to material which insults, slanders, or similarly defames the Jews (as well as all other groups and people) as a race, a religion or a nation. (It is clearly within the power of Congress to adopt such legislation, pursuant to the expressed powers conferred upon it by the Constitution.)

To make the ban effective the bill provides that the parties, both sender and receiver, involved in the violation of the ban on the use of the mails shall be punished by fine and/or imprisonment. Again the language of the bill indicates the intent to reach those who traffic in the unlawful business of anti-Semitism.

Well meaning opponents of this evil are nevertheless hesitant in advocating this or similar action to stamp out the evil, lest we encroach upon the Constitutional safeguards of free speech and free press. This reluctance while understandable is not warranted. The First Amendment, certainly the most important and highly prized guarantor of the people's rights, was intended to protect the people from any attempt by government to interfere with their right to speak and publish their thoughts, ideas and opinions on any subject. The First Amendment therefore protects the advocacy in spoken or written word, of ideas, and opinions to the fullest extent.

But it cannot seriously be contended that such protection was intended to license libelous, defamatory attacks by person or group or to subject any body of citizens to such attack without redress.

The First Amendment did not abolish the then existing libel laws, nor does it today protect libelous conduct. Similarly the First Amendment does not shield the publisher of obscene, scurrilous literature

nor prevent the government from exercising its legitimate power to ban such material from interstate commerce.

So, the prohibition forbidding the use of the mails to printed material defaming a group because of religion, race or nationality is outside the sphere of the First Amendment. It treats with subject matter not comprehended by the language or spirit of the Bill of Rights.

There have been various criticisms directed at one or another clause in the bill. It is not necessary to discuss here technical points of language or niceties of bill draughtsmanship. These are minor matters which can be disposed of at a public hearing on the bill. Certainly they present no grounds for difference of opinion as to the need and desirability for all enemies of anti-Semitism, religious bigotry, racial discrimination and national chauvinism, to unite in support of the Buckley Bill.

Some criticism of the bill discloses a failure to understand its real import. To attack it as does Mr. Polier, because it might be construed to bar truthful material, is to make the bill meaningless, to reduce it to a mockery.

Anti-Semitism, religious bigotry, racial discrimination, national chauvinism, cannot by their very nature be truthful, at any time, under any conceivable circumstances. And it is these evils alone which the bill proscribes. This has been made perfectly clear by the sponsors of the bill; by the statement of policy contained in the bill and will undoubtedly be reaffirmed at public hearings and by Congress when it acts the bill. The bill does not protect Jews, Catholics, Negroes, Italians, etc., from their misdeeds nor does it permit them to deny to anyone his right under the Constitution, to comment upon and criticize the words or deeds of any individual be they Jews or Catholics, Negroes or Italians or members of any race, religion or nationality. The only thing the bill does is to protect innocent men and women against defamation because of their race, religion or nationality.

It is suggested that the bill by punishing the receiver would prevent the American Jewish Congress and others who wish to obtain such defamatory, libelous, scurrilous matter for "scientific, academic or library purposes." It surely was not the intent of the proponents of this bill to stifle "scientific and academic" pursuits. But if any serious-minded scholars require such works for their study it is likely that means could be found to satisfy them without fear of a jail sentence. In any event that is hardly sufficient ground for permitting use of the mail to the vast flow of material which is surely not being used for noble scientific purposes. Again, we must point to the clear intent of the bill, which is aimed only at those who participate in

the traffic of anti-Semitism and not the serious student or innocent reader.

Any ambiguities of language or legal technicalities about which there may be differences of opinion can be resolved in friendly discussion among those who favor the general principles and intent of the bill.

It would be regrettable if these differences were permitted to defeat the determined demand of all decent people for the passage of legislation by the present session of Congress, which is so eloquently expressed by the City Council resolution endorsing the Buckley Bill.

We enclose a copy of the bill for your further attention.

Sincerely yours,
William Levner,
Director of Organization
American Jewish Labor
Council.

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LETTER FROM ABROAD

FOR A CANADIAN JEWISH CULTURE

YOU may be interested in a Canadian reaction to the controversy that has been raging in your pages concerning the short story written by the talented Howard Fast, *An Epitaph For Sidney*. There is no question concerning its excellence, and the point of debate revolves around a provocative question: is such a story a contribution to Jewish culture?

Morris Schappes, who has often written for the *Canadian Jewish Weekly* and *New Voice* and is a scholar of no mean ability, does not think so. In a highly critical article in your February issue he makes the point that while Sidney is a worker, a

communist, and an anti-fascist, and while he is also aware that "things happen to (him) because he is a Jew . . . his level of Jewish consciousness is practically zero. And zero adds nothing to a man's stature."

Schappes' point of divergence is not with the story itself. He considers it, and makes this amply clear, a contribution to progressive culture, but not—and here is where the debates ensue—to progressive Jewish culture. Sidney is not both a progressive and Jew, conscious in equal measure of both, but a progressive who realizes that his fight for socialism (ergo, against capitalism) will help the Jews. This is the entire level of his Jewish-consciousness. It is strictly a sideline.

From this base Schappes proceeds to draw more important, general conclusions. These concern in the main the efforts of bourgeois society to stifle the cultures of peoples through foisting upon them all that Milton Blau, who completely disagrees with him, describes as "empty standards and values regarding culture upon the people as a whole. It does this through the various apparatus which it controls: the movies, radio, school systems, publishing industries, etc. . . . In order to further protect itself, the bourgeoisie tries to head off such cultural workers who rebel against the mandated commodity culture by winning them to pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-progressive ideological concepts which serve finally the interests of the bourgeoisie."

The impulses driving toward destruction of a people's distinctive national culture are, therefore, very strong. Schappes warns particularly that the pressure of bourgeois assimilationism proposes to obliterate every existence of Jewish culture. Preservation and extension of that culture cannot be hoped for simply by hope; knowledge that there is a Jewish culture, rich and abundant, is not sufficient. As against the forces moving to stamp Jewish culture out, there must be counterforces consciously striving to retain it. The retention of this Jewish culture must, moreover, be rooted in the desire to build that Jewish culture wherever Jews live, not just in one country or in two, but everywhere that Jews are, integrating Jewish culture within the general cultural life of the country (not repudiating it, but strengthening it).

It seems to us that, notwithstanding certain weaknesses in his entire argument, Morris Schappes is correct.

An Epitaph For Sidney is "a contribution to progressive American literature"; but it is "not a contribution to progressive American Jewish culture."

Culture, after all, does not survive of its own accord. It is as subject to the laws of social motion as anything else.

If there is no conscious effort to preserve and develop it, it will wither and die. A Jewish culture cannot exist if Jews do not consciously strive for it.

Howard Fast has completely missed this point in his short story.

The ingredients for Jewish culture are, it follows, to be found in those achievements which possess a distinctively Jewish content. This is especially true of Jewish literature.

In the specific instance of Canada, what kind of Jewish culture would it be that ignores Jewish life and attitudes, in Canada? There are of course many Jewish writers in Canada, some of them very fine and capable, but how many of them attempt to interpret the life of Jews in this country? And if this is true of those who write Yiddish, how much more true is it of those who write in the English language?

We thus have a situation where our writers either ignore contemporary Jewish life at home altogether, or content themselves with reminiscences about Jewish life in the old country, or write romantic poetry, but do not at all try to build Jewish culture by giving it current roots.

In a situation like that Jewish culture becomes retrogressive. In a sense, we suppose, it becomes static but nothing is static. It either goes forward or goes backward. There is no hyphen for it to perch on.

Where is the story of Jewish immigrants coming to Canada?

Where is the story depicting the life of young Jewish people in this country, their trials and tribulations, their joys and sorrows?

Where is the story of working-class Jews, the union struggles and battles?

Where is the narrative of relations between the European-born and Canadian-born Jews?

There is too much talk about culture as a commodity to be viewed in a vacuum, and not enough about it as a daily expression of a people's way of life.

And this is the core of building a progressive Jewish culture. It does not consist of sitting down and saying, "I will now write a progressive Jewish song or a Jewish poem or a Jewish story." It consists of trying to express the way Jews feel today, wherever they live, as Jews, reporting, describing, and interpreting their views and hopes and aspirations, their melodies. It consists, in a sentence, of writing about the present and for the future, not the past.

Toronto

NAT COHEN.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Jew, Benjamin Dorfman of the New Haven and Hartford RR. was finally fired. Action by a group of fellow-employees forced the company to reinstate Dorfman.

☆

Approximately 40 per cent of the Jewish DP's in Germany and Austria registered by HIAS for emigration to the Western Hemisphere, want to join friends and relatives in Australia and Latin America, said Abe Grossman, HIAS director in Germany and Austria, on his return to the US. He said that while 18,000 DP's have indicated to HIAS a desire to immigrate to the US, 12,000 others hope to become residents of other Western Hemisphere countries.

EUROPE

The condition of the surviving 10,000 Jews in Greece is deteriorating, according to reports received by the American Jewish Conference. Anti-Semitism, fostered in part by persons in possession of Jewish property, is increasing. Some officials of the government have openly discriminated against Jews. Although Jews are granted passports, it is impossible for them to obtain the necessary permits from the exchange commission of the Bank of Greece, effectively barring them from leaving the country. The Jewish community is particularly disturbed by the fact that Vial Hasson, who was sentenced to death in Salonica for his part in betraying 52,000 Jews to the Gestapo, is still alive and has been removed to Corfu, where he resides in relative comfort and freedom as chauffeur to the prison director.

☆

The Chief Prosecutor of Sweden has ordered the confiscation of five anti-Jewish pamphlets published and circulated by Einar Aaberg, internationally-known Swedish anti-Semite. Distribution of any copies not seized has been prohibited. The action was taken in connection with the indictment brought against Aaberg by the prosecutor. Aaberg is president of the so-called Swedish anti-Jewish League.

☆

At the second session of the European Consultative Council of the Jewish World Congress held in Prague recently, delegates from all the new European democracies attended, except Rumania, whose delegates were prevented from attending for technical reasons. The Central Committee of Polish Jewry has joined the Congress recently and called for reorganization along more democratic lines. Delegates are trying to change Congress plans toward giving first priority to the elimination of fascism from Europe, instead of the previous program of putting first emphasis on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The delegates of the new democracies are trying to shake off domination of the World Jewish Congress by American and British Jewry.

☆

Both Jewish and democratic circles in Hungary are up in arms at the statement given by Josef Cardinal Mindszonty, Catholic Primate of Hungary, to the Vienna paper *Die Welt am Abend*, that not 600,000 but "only" 500,000 Hungarian Jews were killed under the fascist regime.

☆

Thousands of European Jews are on the move and displaced Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy may soon start an unorganized movement out of the camps, said Moses A. Leavitt, vice-president of the JDC, in Paris. The 1,500 Jews who enter France monthly are sympathetically treated by the French authorities, he said, particularly the Jewish children.

Polish Jews fully support the present policies of their government, said Dr. Michael, a leader of the Jewish Socialist Bund, because the government has accepted the Jews as equal citizens and has effectively combatted anti-Semitism. He asserted that Polish Jews consider the sections of Germany acquired by Poland as an integral part of Poland and that Jewish leaders will help the government to check emigration.

☆

Medical and relief officials working with Jewish DP's believe that the quality of food being provided the DP's have deteriorated to such a dangerous extent that their diet is actually a "slow process of starvation."

☆

Comparative figures on war crimes trials in

the American and Soviet zones show the following: the United States arrested 12,425 to the Russians' 14,820. Of those arrested by the Americans, 710 have been tried, 414 sentenced, 206 with the death penalty. The Russians tried 13,340, sentenced 206 to death, and gave prison terms to the rest.

☆

Jewish spokesmen in England are protesting a statement made by Brigadier V. T. R. Ford, regional food controller at Nottingham, to a group of German journalists attributing black market activities in London to Jews. He was quoted as saying: "We have no large-scale black market activities in the East Midlands region. They are mostly in London and chiefly committed by Jews. The big profiteers do not care two hoots about imprisonment or fines and they pay huge amounts to barristers. They will pay any amount, these Jews." Food Minister John Strachey has forced Brigadier Ford to resign.

LETTERS FROM READERS

Situation in Holland

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

You may recall that before I left for Europe I promised you to dig out any Jewish songs, that I would be able to find here, that had been used in the underground.

I regret to say that I have been thoroughly unsuccessful. Our voices have been stifled in Holland. The fascist oppressor has finished the job here that he had set out to do.

Amsterdam has a few Jewish merchants left, of bourgeois-democratic or reactionary Zionist tendencies. There are but few Jewish workers left anywhere around here. That is what is left of the Jewish people in a once relatively hospitable and democratic Holland!

Among the petty bourgeois Jewish people there is no group spirit, either present or potential. The most effective ideological resistance to fascism here, among Jew or Gentile, is on the part of the communists.

It is they alone who fight the social-democratic, red-baiting imperialist representatives of Shell and Unilever. There is some talk of an organized general strike in case the punitive military expedition, in process in Indonesia now develops into outright war.

Permit me also to add a take on the very fine and articulate article on the relationship between Negroes and Jews. An ex-tramp reporter, I remember many white Texans saying: "A k-e is worse than a n---r." This might be an additional reason for the Southern Negroes' differentiation between "Caucasian" and "Semitic" whites.

Speakers of the "Revolutionary-Communist" Party of the Netherlands (Trotskyite) are reminding Jewish workers in their every speech of the descent of Leon Trotsky.

The bourgeois tyrant uses his "racist" propaganda on all, whatever their color, creed, or ancestry. My wife and I can but greet the existence of JEWISH LIFE. It gives us a shot in the arm, and keeps us fighting.

Amsterdam, Holland.

L. C. G.

Hashomer Hatzair

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In reference to your last article on Arab-Jewish unity ("Palestine Conversations on Unity") and to other articles on Palestinian affairs, I find the analysis concerning the two peoples, and the need

for their joint participation in a Palestine government on a bi-national level to show deep understanding of the problems involved. The solution you propose is the only just and logical one.

But in discussing the relative political and social forces, it appears you avoid expanding on such aims and achievements of the Hashomer Hatzair Worker's Party as their goal of a bi-national state based upon a revolutionary Marxist struggle, and the practical educational work they have done amongst the Arabs, and in uniting Jews and Arabs in the same union. What are you afraid of? You did not fail to elaborate upon the ideas and arguments of Moshe Smelansky as though he were an authority to be accepted. The annals of labor struggle reveal this orange magnate's perfidious attempts to destroy Arab-Jewish working class solidarity, by his employment of cheap Arab labor. No wonder he cries out against Kibbush Avodah (the Jewish desire for realization of self-labor).

Is the attitude you express in JEWISH LIFE tenable for communists—a praiseworthy report of a reactionary orange-magnate's ideas; the obscuring and ignoring of the policy and work of socialist allies.

San Francisco, Calif.

CHAYIM WEINROTH.

Brief comment on the Hashomer Hatzair position appeared in "Political Line-Up in the Yishuv" by Esther Valenski, Feb. 1947; "Notes on the 22nd Zionist Congress" by B. Jacoby, March 1947; "Palestine Comment on Gromyko Speech," July 1947. We agree that this is not adequate. We hope in the very near future to have a more extended examination of the Hashomer Hatzair. The delay has been caused by our desire to publish a study that will do full justice to this progressive organization.

This, however, does not preclude our finding as many and as varied allies as possible in the struggle for a democratic solution for Palestine. We certainly do not condone the motive for Mr. Smelansky's opposition to Kibbush Avodah, as alleged by Mr. Weinroth. But Mr. Smelansky's motive does not make Kibbush Avodah less of a chauvinist slogan. The struggle is many-sided: against Kibbush Avodah, for equal pay for equal work, for a higher standard of living. Uniting ranks for a dual democratic and independent state in Palestine will help these aspects of the struggle, too.—The Editors.

WHAT THE UN COMMITTEE HEARD IN PALESTINE

For a few weeks in July the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine listened to the viewpoints of leading organizations and individuals on the Palestine question. Following is a summary of the most important testimony.

1. *David Ben Gurion*, chairman of the Jewish Agency. On his first day of testimony Ben Gurion rejected both the continuation of the mandate and a UN trusteeship, but said that the latter would be even less successful than the former because of conflicting national policies. He also rejected a bi-national state on the ground that it was "politically and biologically impossible" since it would be based on parity of Jews and Arabs, which "would mean a permanent deadlock." He demanded establishment of a Jewish state, fostering of an Arab-Jewish alliance, immediate abrogation of the White Paper. On the second day he affirmed that, if the UN decided on a Jewish state in all of Palestine, the Agency favored UN supervision until the measure was carried out. If a Jewish state were set up in part of Palestine only, he deemed UN supervision unnecessary. The Agency wanted to begin immediately to bring in one million Jews and undertake large scale economic development.

2. *Moshe Shertok*, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency. He called for immediate emergency interim removal of the White Paper restrictions and large scale admission of homeless Jews. In opposition to bi-nationalism based on parity of Jews and Arabs he said: "This presupposes two wills acting in unity—a willingness to talk together—which does not exist. It would lead to a permanent state of deadlock or the introduction of a third party. The issue before us is not to be met by a federal arrangement. We are against the conception of a federal state, but we are for a federation of states. We do not come here to be segregated; we come to be integrated. We do not believe in being a component part of a state which would rule over us. That would mean a continual clash of divergent tendencies which would pull the state structure to pieces. The third party—an umpire—would have the final say. He would be under constant pressure from both sides.

... Gentlemen, the question is not whether Jews and Arabs can live together in the framework of a state. They do live together. The question is whether they can operate a state regime by pulling equal weight in its councils. The question is how to make independence an instrument for development, not a stranglehold on development." This opinion denies the Soviet contention that historic experience proves a dual Arab-Jewish state is the only solution to the problem.

3. *Chaim Weizmann*, former president of the World Zionist Organization. He stated that partition was a compromise solution but that he favored such a compromise. "In spite of its difficulties, in spite of the great sacrifices it means for us, partition is such a solution because it is final. It will give us the opportunity of continuing and expanding our work in peace, and it will give the Arabs the assurance that we are not going to encroach upon their rights and their territory." Partition required that the Jewish state area be drawn so as to give accessibility to water and electrical power resources for the effective de-

velopment of the country and the absorption of large scale immigration. He did not believe that partition ruled out economic collaboration with the Arabs. In a letter to the committee he later stated that he opposed federalization because this would not do away with foreign control of the country and was not compatible with independence.

4. *Hashomir Hatzair*, left-wing labor party, protested the Agency's decision not to permit political parties to testify separately before the committee, but accepted the decision.

5. *Dr. Judah L. Magnes*, chairman of the Unity (Ichud) Association, presented the bi-national solution, supported also by Hashomer Hatzair. Magnes stated that there are two peoples in Palestine with equal legitimate rights. He agreed that Palestine should be neither a Jewish nor an Arab state. "We propose that Palestine become a bi-national country composed of two equal nationalities, Jews and Arabs, a country where each nationality is to have equal political powers regardless of who is in the majority or minority. We call this political parity." He recalled that constitutional guarantees of minority rights had repeatedly failed and that parity was therefore the only protection for a minority. He proposed that Palestine be placed under a UN trusteeship during the transitional period and suggested Britain as the trustee. He favored the immediate admission of 100,000 displaced Jews and further immigration up to parity with the Arabs. He affirmed that neither the British government nor the Jewish and Arab leaders had ever made a determined and systematic effort to further a real program of Arab-Jewish cooperation. In reply to a question as to what part of the population favored bi-nationalism, he said, "A large portion, and still a larger portion will accept it when it is imposed. The Hashomer Hatzair, which is the third strongest political party, and the Communists also adhere to our ideal."

6. *Communist Party of Palestine* spokesmen (Samuel Mikunis, secretary, Meir Vilner, Dr. W. S. Ehrlich). The party proposed the immediate evacuation of British troops from Palestine and the establishment of a "democratic Jewish-Arab state" following a transition period under supervision of the UN. The party charged that British rule had been responsible for the animosity between Arabs and Jews and had prevented Arab-Jewish rapprochement. Britain, they said, wished to perpetuate her rule in Palestine to maintain a great military base, presumably to be used against the Soviet Union, and that the United States had become a partner with British imperialism in this aggressive design. It emphatically rejected partition. "The United Nations should provide every facility to displaced Jews desirous to return to their countries of origin where democratic regimes have been established as well as those interested in emigration to other countries including Palestine." The number of Jews admitted into Palestine could be settled by the country's own government once Palestine was declared independent. The party favored setting up Palestine as an independent united state of both peoples, free of foreign rule and intervention; full political freedom and equality of rights for all people of Palestine; creation of conditions rendering impossible the domination of one people by another; termination of foreign

capital concessions and their nationalization to serve as a basis for the country's economic development.

7. *Economic experts of the Jewish Agency*. The economic situation was summarized as follows: Jewish immigration has created new absorptive capacities in Palestine and has given impetus to the economic progress of the country as a whole, benefitting all inhabitants; the Jewish community has established an economic entity which is sound and self-supporting; the economic structure is still at the beginning of its development; Palestine can absorb additional millions of people; the Agency plan for the absorption of one million Jews in the next decade is practical; given a reasonable amount of international cooperation, the means can be found to finance such a number of immigrants. The experts emphasized that the country contains enough land and water to support several times the present population. American engineers have drawn up plans for a "Jordan Valley Authority" for the irrigation of the country. Britain had hindered agricultural development by the government's restrictive legislation on water development. They also said that Britain was seeking to smother the country's industrial development. The Jews provide 50 per cent of their foodstuffs, buy 15 per cent from the Arabs and import 35 per cent.

8. *The Palestine Government* submitted a memorandum attempting to reply in detail to the accusations made by the Jewish Agency. The government charged Zionists with "concealment of truth" and "gross self-deception." The government denied that a "viable Jewish state in Palestine" is practicable, objecting to a Jewish state on both political and economic grounds. The memorandum blames both peoples for their "irreconcilable aspirations," although it admits that this condition springs from a mutual fear of being dominated. While praising Jewish achievements in the economic, agricultural, technical and cultural fields, the government asserted that these very accomplishments are among the principal causes for the discrepancies and divergences between the two peoples, since the Jews' rapid development is creating a gap between them and the Arabs.

9. *Arab Leaders*. No testimony from Arabs of Palestine was heard, since all of them had agreed to boycott the committee. The Arab League for National Liberation, left-wing, progressive Arab organization, had originally decided to testify before the committee, but subsequently reversed its decision and did not appear before the committee.

10. *Arab States*. The committee heard brief and cursory testimony from the Arab states in Beirut, Lebanon. The Arabs said that they had never accepted the Balfour Declaration and would resist any attempts to impose it on them. They demanded an Arab state over all of Palestine, claiming this as an inalienable "right of self-determination" that has been violated by the Balfour Declaration. They insisted on the separation of immigration from the Palestine problem. They would regard such immigration and the setting up of a Jewish state in all or in part of Palestine as aggression and they repeatedly asserted that they would resist with force any attempt to impose these measures. They regarded Palestine an integral part of the Arab world and would not surrender any part of it.

