

NOVEMBER 1947

FIRST ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

with

CULTURAL SUPPLEMENT

In Two Parts

Part One

Gabriel Baer

Leo Bilander

Nathaniel Buchwald

J. M. Budish

Julius Butwin

Marc Chagall

Howard Fast

S. Finkelstein

Michael Gold

Louis Harap

A. M. Krich

Saul Levitt

Carey McWilliams

Eve Merriam

Moses Miller

Paul Novick

Morris U. Schappes

Yuri Suhl

Jules Alan Wein

Art Work by:

Marc Chagall

Yosel Cutler

Jacob Epstein

Mervin Jules

Ben Shahn

Max Weber

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

The Army and Navy have ruled that *Crossfire*, powerful movie indictment of anti-Semitism, is "not suitable entertainment" for our soldiers and sailors abroad. While the army is permitting the film to be shown to servicemen at home, the navy has banned it entirely. The Motion Picture Export Association likewise has refused permission for overseas distribution on the ground that it gives the wrong impression of America.

☆

Elihu S. Cooper, Hebrew teacher and graduate student at the University of Iowa, was standing on a cafeteria line in Iowa City on May 6. Two men next to him were holding an anti-Semitic conversation and asked Cooper if he was a Jew. He said yes, and was forthwith attacked by the two men, knocked to the ground and kicked. Cooper refused to press the case against his attackers because he said that they were merely giving violent expression to prevalent attitudes in our society. Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, took up the case in the journal and aroused discussion chiefly over the fact that no bystanders attempted to help the Jew (it is reported that one man who tried to help Cooper was slapped too). Lively discussion of the problem was provoked in the press and the nearby universities. The *Des Moines Register* called upon Cooper to prosecute, but he will not. The University of Iowa has refused to admit the student who attacked Cooper.

☆

The New York State Commission Against Discrimination on September 12 found Columbia University guilty of using discriminatory questions on its application for employment, and the university has accordingly deleted all such questions from its job blanks. Complaint was first brought against Columbia by the American Jewish Congress. This is the first case of this kind in New York involving an educational institution, it is believed. The ruling, however, does not affect Columbia's policy with regard to admission of students.

☆

A survey released by the Philadelphia Jewish Community Relations Council reveals that a "definite pattern of discriminatory quotas" was found in four medical schools in that city. The survey covered all colleges and professional schools, but only the medical schools practiced widespread discrimination. The survey disclosed that in addition to Jews, Italian-Americans and particularly Negroes were also victims of discrimination.

☆

Notes on Negro-Jewish relations. . . . The congregations of twenty Negro churches in Brooklyn on September 7 joined in prayer on behalf of the 4,500 Exodus refugees who were being forcibly returned to Germany. This expression of solidarity with the Jewish people came in response to an appeal from Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn Negro church and civic leader who is an American Labor Party candidate for the New York City Council. . . . The "Vermont Plan" is a project to further Negro-white relations by bringing Negro children to visit with white families. At least one of these white families is Jewish. Mr. and Mrs. Joe James, of Burlington, said: "We are a Jewish family and our history is one of oppression—so the problems of the Negro people have always been very close to our hearts. Being able to participate in the Vermont Plan has given us a chance to actually do something to promote better race relations." . . . Sammy Gordon, Ohio

(Continued on page 31)

Jewish Life

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NOVEMBER, 1947

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

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

PART I—Main Section

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE FATE OF PALESTINE IN THE BALANCE, an Editorial Article by Moses Miller	3
THOUGHTS ON THE SOVIET ANNIVERSARY	4
CULTURAL CONGRESS	6
THE NEW JEW IN THE SOVIET UNION by Paul Novick	6
JEWISH AND ARAB WORKERS—DIVIDED OR UNITED? by Gabriel Baer	11
THE FUNCTION OF THE CRACKPOT: II by Carey McWilliams	15
BRITAIN PROVOKED DISUNITY IN PALESTINE by Louis Harap	19
A JEWISH STATE RISES IN BIROBJAN by J. M. Budish	22
LETTERS FROM ABROAD	
IMMIGRATION TO BIROBJAN (Moscow) by G. Zhits	26
PALESTINE'S NEW MOOD (Tel Aviv) by P. C. P.	27
JEWS HELP TO REBUILD YUGOSLAVIA (Belgrade) by J. S.	28
AFRICAN JEWRY BEFORE JUDGMENT DAY (Johannesburg) by L. Leibowitch	29
NO FUTURE FOR ANTI-SEMITISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA (Prague) by Maurice Essex	30
LETTERS FROM READERS	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS	2

PART II—Cultural Supplement

FOR THE CULTURE OF OUR PEOPLE, an Editorial	1
UNITY IS THE SOUL OF CULTURE by Marc Chagall	3
WHITE CRUCIFIXION, a Painting by Marc Chagall	4
LOOK, LONELY JEW, a Poem by Eve Merriam	5
MAX GOLDSTEIN—ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, an Excerpt from Clarkton by Howard Fast	6
THE JEWISH ARTIST IN SEARCH OF A SUBJECT by Michael Gold	7
EAST SIDE SKETCHES, Drawings by Jacob Epstein	9
A PAIR OF OVERALLS, a Short Story by Julius Butwin	10
THE LITTLE TAILOR, a Painting by Mervin Jules	11
EPITAPH WITH STAR OF DAVID, a Poem by A. M. Krich	12
THEMES FOR THE PEOPLE'S ARTIST by Morris U. Schappes	13
TWO POEMS by Jules Alan Wein	16
HAS THE YIDDISH THEATER A FUTURE? by Nathaniel Buchwald, translated by Joseph King	18
RACHEL, Excerpt from an Unpublished Novel by Saul Levitt	22
ADORATION OF THE MOON, a Painting by Max Weber	24
THE MAKING OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONCERT MUSIC by S. Finkelstein	25
THE VIOLIN PLAYER, a Painting by Ben Shahn	27
THE WORLD IS WITH MAN, a Poem by Yuri Suhl, translated by Yuri Suhl and Eve Merriam	29
GREETINGS FROM THE TSAR, a Short Story by Leo Bilander	30
IN MY VILLAGE, a Drawing by Yosel Cutler	31
ABOUT OUR AUTHORS	2

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE FATE OF PALESTINE IN THE BALANCE

An Editorial Article

By Moses Miller

IT is quite apparent, since both the United States and the Soviet Union have recorded themselves in favor of partition of Palestine, that the major problem becomes one of implementation. Because any decision will have to be enforced, the basic problem narrows down to this—who will be responsible during the interim period for peace and order and for insuring that both Jewish and Arab peoples will be helped to move rapidly towards complete independence and statehood?

This is the crux of the Palestine problem. Unless a solution is worked out with the agreement of the Big Three, any hope that a UN decision will be executed can only be a pious wish.

Unfortunately, on this issue the U. S. declaration was wholly inadequate. Most of the American press was cognizant of this and contrasted the U. S. delegate's clear and unequivocal endorsement of Jewish rights in Palestine with his very hazy declaration on the issue of implementation. Thus the *New York Post* of October 13 called attention editorially to "the vague and cautious wording" of the U. S. statement and "its failure to give . . . any hint that the Truman administration is prepared to make an all out effort." The *Post* adds that "if justice is to be done . . . the imposition of a solution should not be attempted through British administration" for the reason that "the British have demonstrated complete unfitness for such a task."

It is inconceivable that any solution involving the preparation of Jews and Arabs for independence and statehood can be achieved if the reins are left in British hands. Exhaustive and conclusive evidence to this effect was presented by the Soviet Union, Guatemala and many others. Yet the U. S. statement remained strangely silent on this question. If anything, the vague formulations tended to create the impression that the State Department desired Britain to remain in Palestine.

At Lake Success it was evident that many delegates as well as observers believed that the American delegation is not inclined "to make an all out effort." They give credence to the I. F. Stone report from Washington which appeared

in the October 13 issue of *PM* which stated that "there is an unwritten and informal but nonetheless real agreement between the British government and the Arab League for the establishment of an Arab state in Palestine as soon as British troops leave."

"The withdrawal of the British troops, it is reported, is to be timed in such a way as to facilitate occupation of the country by Arab troops. . . ."

"The Middle Eastern experts of the State Department are well aware of the informal Anglo-Arab understanding on Palestine. Most of them favor the British program, have always opposed partition or any other solution favorable to the Jews, and fought hard against the position finally taken by the U. S. A. . . ."

"They believe the administration should exert no pressure at UN for the position taken Saturday in the hope that the Arabs (with British help behind the scenes) can muster enough strength to block a two-thirds vote."

"Their cynical view is that this would enable the administration to get credit for upholding past American pledges on Palestine while passively going along on a program to prevent establishment of a Jewish state in that country."

Further indication of what lies behind the "vague" section in the U. S. statement on implementation is given by James Reston in the *New York Times* of October 13. Reston, who is close to government circles, states that the Joint Chiefs of Staff emphasized "that it was not in the strategic interests of the United States to antagonize the Arab states holding vast oil reserves." Reston concludes that "what has come out of the United States delegation here is a compromise proposal that raises in the minds of most delegates almost as many questions as it answers."

With the Reston and Stone reports as background, it becomes clear why the American statement was cut and dried and devoid of any feeling or conviction. Comparison of the American with the Soviet declaration brings out sharp differences between the two. The Soviet declaration, following the pattern of Gromyko's historic utterance at the special session last May, is inspiring and deeply moving in its humane understanding of Jewish needs and aspirations, in its warmth of approach and depth of understanding. The Soviet position accepts Jewish aspirations and treats them with dignity and respect. In contrast the Ameri-

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can statement sounded as the *Post* editorial aptly says, like "the uncertain administrative paragraphs of an army field order by an uncertain junior officer."

It is obvious, therefore, that the battle is far from won and that complacency or overconfidence can only immobilize the people at this critical juncture.

The American community, Jewish and non-Jewish, can now see that its energetic and militant campaign succeeded in ending American silence and brought forth an endorsement of statehood for Jews in Palestine. The struggle to insure an unequivocal and democratic American position on *implementation* is our immediate task. And the knowledge that victory in this struggle can insure statehood for our people in the very near future, should certainly be incentive enough for redoubled effort.

Unfortunately the American people are not as well prepared to carry on this struggle as they were for the earlier one. Previously the issue was clear-cut and self-evident. All were united on one basic proposition. All were agreed that America must speak up and reaffirm its pledges to the Jewish people. With this one thought in mind we were able to channelize and organize the indignation of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

The picture is somewhat different now. The question of implementation raises new and more complicated problems. At this point the Palestine problem merges with all other major international problems. The issue of unanimity of the Big Powers is involved. The problem of whose troops will execute a decision comes to the fore. And on all of

these questions there is a cleavage of views and opinions.

The fact that our task is more complicated should not be ground for despair. However, it does make necessary immediate and valid perspectives and plans which can serve as a rallying point for energetic action.

Let me enumerate what I consider to be basic to such plans. In the first place, the immediate termination of the British mandate. There can no longer be any doubt on this point. The brutal rule and terror of British imperialism dare no longer be tolerated. Energetic, militant action by the American people can persuade the American government to declare itself unequivocally on this issue. This is a first step and urgently necessary.

Certainly of great importance in its own right, but equally important for further progress towards a solution, is Big Three unity. No great degree of political astuteness is needed to recognize that U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement is the key to a quick and effective solution for Palestine. Such agreement would force Britain into line in quick order.

Any attempt to move towards a solution on the basis of divided East-West blocs can lead only to a dead end and frustration. Those advocating any approach on this basis will be guilty of pursuing objectives other than the achievement of Jewish security and statehood. The principle which must prevail—and it is possible to realize this—is unanimity of the great powers and their acceptance of *collective* responsibility for the Palestine problem.

A vigorous campaign along these lines can clear the road for realization of Jewish statehood.

THOUGHTS ON THE SOVIET ANNIVERSARY

An Editorial

THE American people are very much concerned about the Soviet Union because they are very much concerned about their own security, their own future. Even the State Department has admitted this, though what it is doing about it is open to question. And the American Jews, who have their own special reasons—six million of them—for dreading a deterioration of the world situation, are especially concerned with the Soviet Union.

The one world we had recently achieved is today being halved. We are told that we are threatened by the Soviet Union and by communists, that we are faced with an inevitable repeat performance of the world holocaust unless both are "contained," that we must anticipate the worst by visiting now the "blessings" of the atom upon our recent Soviet ally. What is there in the recent history of the Soviet Union and its communists—and the two cannot be separated—that merits this suspicion on the part of our makers of foreign policy?

We have much to learn from other peoples, just as the patriots of our American revolution learned from English and French political thought, and accepted foreign volunteers to help achieve its victory. It would be foolish, nay,

stupid, to try to apply mechanically the experiences of other people to our own land. For each people has its own unique history and national peculiarities and economic and social problems.

But it would be equally stupid to deny that we have basic problems in common with the rest of the world, to deny that by proper assimilation of these international experiences we can save our country from tragedy, suffering and waste of life. To learn the lessons from the progressive democratic experiences of other peoples and apply them to our own problems is a service to our nation of the highest order, and it must be done even in the face of the hysterical opposition of those who stand to lose from advancing the welfare of the American people.

But today it is not a question of the immediate application of the experiences of the Russian revolution to the American scene. The question is what has the Soviet Union done in its own interests that in any way threatens the American people, thereby meriting the unfriendly actions taken against it by our State Department.

Within 30 years, the Soviet Union has this to show for the application of Marxist theory in its day to day practice:

It took giant strides toward the total reconstruction of the country—socially, economically and politically—from the backward, semi-feudal, tsarist base. We who overthrew British imperial rule, who dictated at sword's end the ending of slavery in the South, who conquered a virgin continent and built a mighty economy—can we question the right of the Soviet people to achieve a similar development, even though its methods are somewhat different?

The Soviet Union revived a whole group of nations that were slowly disintegrating as a result of tsarist oppression. It encouraged the development of many new nations—among them the Jewish people. It gave them territory, economic and cultural assistance. It helped them telescope whole epochs in their effort to become the equals of more advanced nations. Was there anything warlike in this, meriting atom bomb threats?

The Soviet Union did not reject the obligations of war when war was thrust upon it. Within the same span of 30 years, while building socialism and because it was building socialism, the Soviet Union found the internal strength and unity to beat back the military intervention of 14 nations—including the United States, thus making our nation the first in the history of American-Russian relations to break the peace. And more recently, the Soviet Union played the major role—in alliance with the United States and other nations of the world—in rescuing civilization from the death grip of fascism, liberating thereby millions of people, among them the Jewish people, from Nazi and Japanese enslavement, and keeping thereby the devastation of war from our shores. Was there anything anti-American in these military achievements?

Lessons To Be Learned

On the contrary, bearing in mind the over 300,000 American dead, what would have been more pro-American that support for the long struggle of the Soviet Union for collective security, for disarmament, for defense of loyalist Spain and democratic China; than accepting the Soviet exposure of the menace of Hitlerism and of the betrayal of Munichism? Is there any American who would dare say that it was better for America to have suffered the hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded than to have heeded the warnings and proposals of the Soviet Union from 1930 to 1939?

Bearing in mind the rise of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism in the United States, the lynchings, the discrimination, the persecutions of the foreign born, what could be more pro-American than to study the lesson of the indestructible power inherent in the brotherhood of peoples, which is the very basis of the Soviet Union that knows no "racism," or national "superiority." Are the American people prepared to say that, having destroyed Hitler and defeated his fascist, war-making ideology, we now accept his principles of racism as part of Americanism?

And bearing in mind our difficulty in making ends meet

today, what could possibly be more pro-American than proving to the masses of American people that it is possible to build a society without trusts and without imperialists, where, as a result, there are no economic crises, where living standards constantly rise and living costs fall, where the human being, and not the profit motive, is the prime concern. Few in America would dare to say that America would not be better off without depressions and crises, that it would not be better if we were all well-housed, fed and clothed. Or is it more American for Taft and Truman to tell us in different phrases to eat less if we cannot afford the price-gouging of American profiteers?

Who Changed the Situation?

What, then, has happened to change the world scene? What has changed the Soviet Union from ally of the American people to "enemy" in the brief period since the defeat of Hitler? Has the Soviet Union changed? But the very things that made the Soviet Union our stalwart ally and loyal friend at the time of our greatest need have remained. It is still based on the same socialist system. It is still a union of free and equal peoples. It has the same communist leadership. It is the same fighter against fascism. It is the same devotee of world unanimity. Britain and the United States double-crossed the Soviet Union in reneging on the promise for two years to open the second front. There is no evidence of the Soviet Union double-crossing the United States. No, it is not the Soviet Union that has changed.

Has perchance the United States undergone change? Gone is the leadership that brought us victory in the war—rooted out from every nook and corner of government administration. Gone is the one world principle—replaced by a bi-partisan policy of Hoover and an insatiable American imperialism. Gone is the democratic domestic program—giving way to Taft-Hartleyism nursed with the venom of the Committee on Un-Americanism. FDR is dead. The NAM is in the saddle, pulling the reins on Hoover and Dulles, Dewey and Taft, Truman and Marshall.

The Soviet Union does not threaten the American people from without. Its 30 year history is proof of that. But reaction does threaten the American people from within. Every act recently carried out by American reaction is proof of that—from the slave labor bill to the killing of OPA, from plans to revive Germany to deals to betray the Jews, from aid to fascist regimes to threats to democratic states. American reaction tries to frighten the American people with the Soviet ogre in order to divert them from the real menace that hovers over them. And war-mongering is reaction's siren song.

Never again must the American people fail to hear the words of the lovers of peace over the shouts of the breeders of hate—as they failed from Sarajevo to Munich, and

paid the price from Berlin to Tokyo. In the interests of American security, the American people must smash the conspiracy of world imperialism, financed, sponsored and led by American imperialism, to isolate, to weaken, to provoke the Soviet Union, and the new democracies of Europe.

The American warmongers must be silenced. American-Soviet friendship must be re-established. The policies of FDR, never rejected by the American people, must be restored as the policies of the current administration, elected with FDR's votes. The security, the liberty, the very life of every individual American depends upon this.

CULTURAL CONGRESS

JEWISH LIFE greets the delegates to the American Jewish Cultural Congress that meets on October 31 in New York. No moment is more opportune for the convening of such a congress. And at no time in our history did the Jewish people have more pressing problems to solve.

All aspects of Jewish life must be mobilized for the solution of these problems. Culture must play once again the vital role it has always played in Jewish history.

This Congress will study carefully the question of Jewish culture in English and the relationship between that and our Yiddish speaking colleagues and their cultural activities in the language that is still spoken by a majority of our people. While the fact that the Jewish people are primarily a bi-lingual people does raise certain problems, it also gives to Jewish culture a greater breadth and richness. How the cultural treasures in one language can feed creativity in the other, how continuity can be maintained in Jewish cultural life, are problems which will be faced, discussed and solved.

Language will be no barrier at this Congress. All Jewish cultural workers, whatever the language they speak, whatever the politics they follow within the Jewish community or outside it, belong at this Congress. We urge especially the English speaking writers, artists and scientists to participate in the deliberations.

THE NEW JEW IN THE SOVIET UNION

By Paul Novick

THE Soviet Union is the only country in Europe where, in spite of all the efforts of Hitler to exterminate the Jewish people, *millions* of Jews have survived.

This is a primary fact in relation to the development of the Jewish people in the USSR since the birth of Soviet power in 1917. The survival of millions of Jews in the USSR is a most important feature of the life of world Jewry in the present period. This survival throws into relief the relation of the Soviet government towards the Jews as well as all nationalities.

It is amazing and distressing to realize that there are Jewish leaders who try to avoid mention of the fact that in the Soviet Union millions of Jews were saved. Some even are annoyed. Certain "statisticians," who are forced to touch upon the number of Jews in the USSR, invariably reduce it by half a million to a million short of the real figure.

The traveler in present-day Europe, who so often comes upon the heartrending sight of *remnants* of Jewries in various lands, particularly in Poland, is exhilarated by the sight of big Jewish communities in Moscow, Leningrad, and the Ukraine. This is frightfully important for the development of the Jewish people as a whole. The historian worthy of the name will not fail to record this fact in emphatic chapters.

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The fact that the proportion of *living* Jews is so much higher in the Soviet Union than in other countries of Europe, reveals the anti-fascist character of the Soviet state. The number of Jewish lives saved is the result of the policy of true equality and friendship among races and nationalities.

However, the war played havoc with the reconstruction of the economic and cultural life of the Jewish people in the USSR. At present, any evaluation of this development must of necessity stop at the year 1939. Nevertheless, the accomplishments between 1917 and 1939 are worth recording not merely for historical reasons. For they show the method—*how* Jewish life was reconstructed.

What was the social composition and general situation of Jews in Russia?

The last census in tsarist Russia was taken in 1897 and it serves as a guide to the social composition of Jews in old Russia. There is no reason to assume any marked changes in that composition when World War I broke out. If anything, the situation became worse, with pogroms in 1903, 1905 and other years prior to World War I, and during that war, becoming ever bloodier.

According to the 1897 census, "gainfully employed" Jews were classified as follows:¹

¹ These and other figures in this article, as well as quotations unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the book of the well-known Soviet Jewish statistician, L. Singer, *The Renovated People*, Moscow, 1941.

	Per Cent
Agriculture	2.4
Small and big industry	36.3
Commerce	31.0
Transport	3.0
House and other servants	11.5
Professionals, social and government service	4.7
Unproductive and indefinite professions	7.6
Others	3.5

The full meaning of these figures emerges when we classify them according to social strata and relation to economic production. According to such classification the social composition of Jews in old Russia was as follows:

	Per Cent
Workers in big industry	4.0
Workers in small shops	11.0
Artisans	18.4
Peasants	2.2
Clerks, office workers	10.0
Traders, employers, indefinite	54.4

Over 54 per cent of the Jews in old Russia were engaged in commerce or belonged to generally unproductive groups. We shall presently see how the Jews classified as "artisans" and "traders" made their living. Most striking is the small number of workers employed in big industry. Upon examining each of the categories separately we shall realize the utter hopelessness of the Jews in old Russia from the economic standpoint. It was the general political situation prevailing in tsarist Russia that had such a disastrous effect on Jewish life.

Oppression in the "Pale"

One result of the general persecution of Jews in old Russia was the creation of the so-called *Pale of Settlement*, composed of 15 gubernias, or states, mostly at a low level of industrial development, including that part of Poland under Russian rule. For the most part Jews were not permitted to live outside this "Pale." Into the Pale 94 per cent of the six million Russian Jews were crowded, mostly in the cities. After a series of laws, edicts, regulations and ukases, Jews were banished from Moscow and other cities outside the Pale, restricted, subjected to special "attention"; the oppression culminated in the regulations of 1882 (when a wave of pogroms took place) prohibiting Jews from obtaining land and generally moving into villages. Jews who had been living in villages for generations were banished to the cities (as portrayed, for instance, by Sholom Aleichem in *Tevye the Dairyman*). Hence the number of peasants as well as workers in big industry was insignificant among Russian Jews, who were forced to become a city people, a people mostly of traders

and artisans, subject to innumerable restrictions and unprecedented persecution.

What *kind* of traders and artisans? It will suffice to quote the following from a report of a commission of the tsarist government headed by Count Pallen: "The Jews who were pushed out of other occupations have unwillingly begun to engage in trading. The competition among the trading Jews was sharpened as a result of the regulations of May 3, 1882, after which many Jews from other places moved into the cities and towns and competition among them became more intense. Goods which were formerly sold in one or two stores began selling in five, ten and even 20 stores and petty shops. All this brought about bitter competition among the Jews, who began to press upon each other."

The same is true of the artisans—tailors, shoemakers and others. Their "workshops" were situated in crowded primitive dwellings which often consisted of one room, used as bedroom and living-room. In certain parts of the Pale of Settlement the artisans comprised as high as 60 per cent of the total Jewish population. Their earnings were miserably low. An investigation by the Jewish Colonization Society in 1888-89 among Jewish tailors in Poland showed that of those investigated 80 per cent earned less than 25 rubles a month with some earnings as little as 8-9 rubles a month. The *yearly* earnings of the majority of tailors and carpenters in two gubernias of the Ukraine (Volin and Podol) was between 120 and 200 rubles. (A. Kirzhnits in *Jews in the USSR*, p. 186.)

Competition was murderous. Unemployment was chronic. The skill of many of the artisans was low. No more than 4,000 Jewish youths attended trade schools in old Russia (of a Jewish population of six million).

No wonder pauperization was widespread. In some localities of the Pale as many as 30 per cent of the Jewish population were in need of charity. Bobrowski, in his work on Jews in the gubernia of Grodno, stated: "Quite often you find as many as 12 families in 3-4 rooms. . . . The meal of entire families consists of one pound of bread, a herring and a few onions." (Quoted in the *Moscow Einikeit*, Feb. 1, 1947.)

"A Nation of Paupers"

The classic Yiddish writers, Mendeley Moche Sforim, J. L. Peretz, Sholom Aleichem, portrayed the miserable existence of the Jewish people in old Russia. One of Sholom Aleichem's characters, Menachem Mendl, typified the widespread *luftmentch*, literally "dealer in air." A. F. Subotin, in his book on the *Pale of Settlement* (St. Petersburg, 1888) tells a weird story of the city of Minsk, and gives a glaring example of Jewish *parnosos* (means of livelihood). This tsarist municipality sold permits to Jews, entitling them to wander about the market place during a fair, sack in hand or on shoulder, to pick up hay dropped from peasants' wagons. . . .

The majority of Jews formed a "nation of paupers,"

subjected to tsarist persecutions too numerous to recount here. All Jews, even the handful of well-to-do, were, with very few exceptions, persecuted and oppressed. There was a *numerus clausus* for Jewish students in universities, high schools, trade schools (inside the Pale—10 per cent of all students, outside the Pale—5 per cent, in St. Petersburg and Moscow—3 per cent). There were oppressive restrictions on books and newspapers in Yiddish, the theater, schools. Religious institutions were not exempt from persecution. Life itself was not safe. From time to time the tsarist government organized mass looting accompanied by bloodshed—pogroms. In October 1905 pogroms took place in 660 cities and towns. Nearly 1,000 Jews were killed and close to 2,000 wounded. Over 200,000 Jews suffered. There was the horrible pogrom in Kishinev, Bessarabia, in 1903. And there was the ritual murder frame-up against the Kiev Jew, Mendel Beiliss in 1912. Jews lived under constant terror.

"No other nationality in Russia," Lenin wrote in 1914, "is as oppressed and persecuted as are the Jews. Anti-Semitism is taking ever deeper roots among the well-to-do elements. Jewish workers are groaning under a double yoke, as workers and as Jews. The persecutions against Jews have in recent years acquired enormous scope. It is enough to mention the anti-Jewish pogroms and the Beiliss trial. Under such circumstances the organized Marxists must give proper attention to the Jewish question.

"It is self-evident that the Jewish question can be seriously solved together with the basic questions now on the agenda in Russia. The working class must raise its voice, and particularly loud must be the voice of the Russian workers in protest against national oppression." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 291, Russian edition.)

The workers of Russia, led by the organized Marxists,

Loading hay on a Jewish collective farm in the Ukraine.

Sovfoto



raised their voice in a roar heard over the world on the seventh of November, 1917. And only eight days later, on November 15, the week-old Soviet government issued over the signatures of Lenin and Stalin, an historic declaration written by Stalin, the Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities, heralding the rebirth of peoples and nationalities in a prospective life of equality, friendship and brotherhood. The Declaration proclaimed: (1) equality for all nationalities; (2) the right of self-determination; (3) the abolition of all national and religious privileges and restrictions; (4) free development of all national minorities and ethnic groups. As an immediate result of the revolution, the rebirth of the pauperized, persecuted, pogromized Jewish people began.

There are those who say that equal rights for Jews were proclaimed during the Kerensky period. We shall not examine the contents of the proclamations of that period. We shall grant that Jewish rights were "proclaimed." But the "rights" of anti-Semites were also made secure. Well do I remember my disappointment when I arrived in Petrograd (now Leningrad) in July 1917 to discover that the anti-Semitic newspaper *Vetchernoe Vremia* (Evening Times) was flourishing on Nevski Prospect, the main avenue of the then capital, with groups of seething anti-Semites crowding the broad sidewalk in front of it. . . .

On the Highway to Freedom

Things began to happen under the Soviets. The struggle to eradicate anti-Semitism, the struggle against pogroms were serious matters. Anti-Semitism was deeply rooted among certain strata of the Russian people, the well-to-do. The number of tsarist henchmen and their collaborators ran into the millions. In addition, Deniken, Kolchak, Yudenitch, Petlura and other "white" generals and counter-revolutionaries and interventionists used anti-Semitism as their instrument. A horrible wave of pogroms took place. Over 200,000 Jews were slaughtered. During the struggle against these forces of intervention and counter-revolution much effort was exerted by the young Soviet state against the pogromists, the anti-Semites.

On July 27, 1919 a special decree against anti-Semitism was issued by the Soviet government. Lenin delivered his historic phonograph record speech against anti-Semitism: "Shame on the cursed tsarism," Lenin shouted into the recording machine, "which tortured and persecuted the Jews! Shame on those who spread animosity to Jews, who spread hatred against other nations."

But these measures against anti-Semitism and pogroms, no matter how much effort they required, were merely the first steps. There was the hard, long-range job of reconstructing the social composition of the Jewish people, as well as to develop Jewish culture. This job was started by the Peoples Commissariat for Nationalities headed by Stalin. Under one of its subsidiaries, the Jewish Commissariat, there began the development of Jewish culture—literature, the theater, the press, children's homes and

schools. But "with schools alone you will not go far," Stalin said, and it will be well to remember this fundamental aspect of the solution of the national and Jewish question in the Soviet Union.

In his report, "National Factors in Party and State Development," delivered April 23, 1923 at the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Stalin said: "The trouble is that some nationalities have no proletarians of their own, have never passed through the stage of industrial development, or even entered that stage, are frightfully backward culturally and are entirely unable to take advantage of the rights granted them by the revolution. This, comrades, is a question of greater importance than the question of schools. Some of our comrades here think that the knot can be unravelled by stressing the question of schools and language. That is not so, comrades. Schools will not get you very far. The schools are developing, so are the languages; but actual inequality is the basis of all discord and friction." (Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, N. Y., p. 156.)

This gives an idea how the Soviet government approached the problem of reconstruction of the Jewish people. National culture? Of course. Prior to World War I Stalin, in his classic *Marxism and the National Question*, wrote:

"Limitation of freedom of movement, disfranchisement, suppression of language, restriction of schools, and other forms of repression affect the workers no less, if not more, than the bourgeoisie. Such a state of affairs can only serve to retard the free development of the intellectual forces of the proletariat of subject nations. There can be no possibility of a full development of the intellectual faculties of the Tartar or Jewish worker if he is not allowed to use his native language at meetings and lectures, and if his schools are closed down" (p. 17).

Building Foundations of Culture

With the Bolsheviks in power and Stalin heading the Commissariat for Nationalities, the work of developing the culture of the nationalities went ahead at full speed. But this was merely the beginning of the work of national reconstruction. There was the hard task of transforming the *luftmentchn* into productive citizens, of putting the Jewish people on a sound economic foundation, of developing a Jewish proletariat and peasantry without which no full-blooded national existence is possible.

Already early in 1919 the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party considered the question of utilizing unsettled lands for Jewish colonization. As a result, in July of that year measures were taken by the Soviet government for such colonization in the Crimea and the Ukraine. This work eventually culminated in the years 1927-1930 in the establishment of the following Jewish national districts: Kalinindorf, New-Zlatopol and Stalindorf in the Ukraine, and one in the Crimea. By that time Birobidjan was already designated as a special dis-

trict for Jewish settlement (March 28, 1928). In the Jewish national districts, where Yiddish was an official language and the school system and cultural institutions mainly Jewish, a certain limited form of self-determination was realized.

Simultaneously, another process took place, that of industrialization. Petty artisans and former traders (who preferred not to settle on the land) were organized into producing cooperatives. Trade schools were established for Jewish youth. With the beginning of the first Five-Year Plan in 1928 a constant stream of Jews flowed into shops, factories and mines. Tens of thousands of Jews entered government service, institutions of higher education, laboratories, etc. The results of this development appeared in the censuses of 1926 and 1939.

According to the census of 1926 there were in the then territory of the Soviet Union 2,672,000 Jews, an increase of nearly 100,000 compared with the number of Jews on the same territory in 1897 (that is, minus Poland, Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia, Bessarabia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which were all part of Russia in 1897). In view of the emigration of 600,000 Jews from the same territory since 1897 and the murder of nearly 200,000 in pogroms, the small increase is not surprising.

The census of January 1939 showed a Jewish population on the same territory of 3,020,000, a growth of 348,000, or 16 per cent in 12 years. The social composition revealed by that census shows a complete transformation of the Jewish people.

A Transformed People

The census of 1926 had already showed that 11.4 per cent of the gainfully employed Jews were engaged in large scale industry; in small industry, 3.7 per cent; as clerks, 24.7 per cent; as cooperative and private artisans, 22.6 per cent; as peasants, 8.3 per cent; while the number of traders dropped to 8.8 per cent. Ten per cent were classified as "unemployed." Compared with the figures of 1897 the trend of redistribution is striking, but the census of 1926 could record merely the beginnings of reconstruction. The national agricultural districts were yet to be established. The first Five-Year Plan was still in the offing.

Quite a different picture appears from the census of 1939, the second year of the third Five-Year Plan. The Jewish people, like all Soviet peoples, already consisted mainly of workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, classified as follows:

	Per Cent
Workers and clerks	71.2
Collective farmers	5.8
Cooperative artisans	16.1
Artisans, private	4.0
Others	2.9

These figures truly reflected a historic turn in the de-

velopment of the Jewish people in the USSR, which was part of a general historic development, the industrialization of the country. This is one reason for the decline in the number of collective farmers since the census of 1926, though it was not the only reason. Another factor in the reduction of the rural Jewish population was the lack of any more free land for colonization in the Ukraine and Crimea. The approximately 250,000 Jews on the land in 1926 were scattered over five districts, three in the Ukraine and two in the Crimea. The possibilities for colonization in the Ukraine and the Crimea were almost exhausted. In addition there were, prior to the turn to industrialization, a number of Jews who engaged in "pre-town" farming, tilling the soil on the outskirts of the old town. The wave of industrialization swept this element off the soil in which it was not rooted, and into the factories. It was this development which mainly accounted for the reduction of the Jewish farming population by over two per cent between the two censuses.

In spite of this shortcoming, *i.e.*, the comparatively small number of farmers, the over-all picture is that of a *reborn people*. Gone are the "traders" of old who, together with other unproductive elements, comprised over 50 per cent of the Jewish population! Gone are the "artisans" of old! Gone are the *parnoses* of the paupers of Minsk! Gone are the paupers, the *luftmentchn*. Menachem Mendl became a character of a bygone period, to be seen only in Sholom Aleichem's works and on the stage.

As shown by the above table, artisans still comprised a large percentage of the Jewish population, over 20 per cent. But by 1939 this artisan element was quite different from that of the period covered by the census of 1926. The overwhelming majority of these artisans were employed in industrial cooperatives. Their living standard and importance in the general economy of the country differed considerably from that of 1926, not to speak of pre-revolutionary days.

One may be justified in complaining that the figure of 71.2 per cent for "workers and clerks" is too general. However, other figures compiled in 1936 classifying "workers and clerks" in industry according to their special functions will shed more light on this category of the 1939 census. In that year (1936) the percentage of Jewish workers and others engaged in industry ran as follows:

	Ukraine Belorussia	
	Per Cent	Per Cent
Workers	64.2	73.8
Pupils	3.5	3.3
Engineers, technicians	13.7	9.8
Clerks	15.0	10.2
Service personnel	3.6	2.9

It can therefore be safely stated that the majority of those employed in industry as per the census of 1939 were workers.

While the census of 1926 shows a Jewish proletariat of

merely 150,000, this category had grown in the 1939 census to 700,000! The traders of 1926 (8.8 per cent), the unemployed (10 per cent), many of the clerks (24.7 per cent), the people of indefinite professions, part of the artisans and mainly the youth were drawn into productive labor. The problem posed by Stalin in 1923, when he pointed out that some nationalities "have no proletarians of their own," was solved.

What *kind* of proletariat? The statistics for 1936 also classified the Jewish workers according to industries. This showed that in the Ukraine, metal workers, including workers in machine tool industries, occupied first place (28.3 per cent). Needle workers came second (16.2 per cent). There were entirely new items—Jewish workers engaged in mining (3.3 per cent), in chemical industries (2.8 per cent). Not only did the Jews of the USSR become a productive people, but this productivity itself was of a higher quality. The proletariat of former years was not only small but also primarily in the needle trades and petty industry.

The Jewish intelligentsia had grown tremendously. Prior to the revolution there were on the territory of the USSR (as constituted in 1939) 1,500 writers and artists, 4,500 persons engaged in medicine and sanitation, 500 lawyers, etc. Almost all of them made a living serving the pauperized Jewish population. The picture for the years prior to World War II changed beyond recognition, as will be seen from the following statistics on the composition of the Jewish intelligentsia in 1936:

Engineers, architects and constructors	25,000
Technical personnel	35,000
Agronomists	1,000
Other agro-technical personnel	1,000
Science workers (professors, teachers in higher schools of learning)	7,000
Teachers in elementary and high schools	46,000
Cultural and educational workers (journalists, librarians, club directors)	30,000
Art workers	17,000
Doctors	21,000
Other medical personnel	31,000

With the *numerus clausus* a thing of the past, with full equality not merely on paper but in actuality, the number of Jewish pupils in public and high schools reached the figure of 425,000. In 1936 there were 62,000 Jewish students in all higher institutions of learning and 32,000 in the technicums.

Jewish culture flourished. During my visit to the USSR in that year (1936) I visited Jewish elementary schools and technicums in Odessa, Minsk, Berdichev and other cities. Scores of thousands of Jewish children were getting their education in Jewish schools. There were ten Jewish state theaters in 1939, with two dramatic schools (one in Moscow and another in Kiev) to develop personnel.

The publication of Yiddish books grew by leaps and

bounds. While in 1913 only 73 titles were published on the territory which was part of the USSR prior to the last war, 339 were published in 1938 in 1,351,000 copies. In 1940, after western Ukraine and Belorussia were returned to the USSR, the *Emes Verlag* (the Truth Publishing House) in Moscow alone issued a book every day; there were also other important Jewish publishing houses in Kiev, Kharkov and Minsk.

Both economically and culturally the transformation of the Jewish people in the course of approximately 15 to 18 years was phenomenal. It is clear that only under conditions of socialism could this miracle have taken place.

World War II, however, created a new situation for the Jews of the Soviet Union.

(Concluded in the December issue)

JEWISH AND ARAB WORKERS—DIVIDED OR UNITED?

By Gabriel Baer

THE political conflict about Palestine may have made the impression upon the foreign spectator that the "Land of Promise" has become a scene of permanent clashes between Jews and Arabs and that deep hatred between these two peoples reigns even in everyday life. But, although political tension and national differences play an important part in dividing the inhabitants of this country and confining their cooperation to very narrow limits, neighborly relations between Jews and Arabs in the towns and between Jewish and Arab villages in the country almost always existed.

Moreover, Arab and Jewish workers have more than once cooperated in defending their right to a decent living and, from time to time, they were given opportunity to show a very great extent of solidarity. As recently as April 1946, a common strike of all junior government officials and workers paralyzed the communications of the country, railways, post and telegraph, broadcasting and ports, and Jews and Arabs could be seen marching together through the streets of Jerusalem carrying posters on which "Long Live Unity" was written in Arabic, Hebrew and English. Only one who is acquainted with the complicated political situation of Palestine, and who has witnessed efforts spent to drive a wedge between Jewish and Arab workers, will appreciate the meaning of the greeting which was sent to all striking government employees by their committee. The greeting, extending "Hearty Wishes to All," was sent to Moslems, Christians and Jews alike, for their respective feasts, which occurred the same week. It should be mentioned that these feasts, Nebi Musa, Easter and Passover, which usually take place at the same time, have not seldom been the occasion for communal riots.

The common strike of the government employees last year was not, however, the first expression of solidarity between Arab and Jewish workers in Palestine. In 1931

Arab and Jewish drivers all over the country struck against the high taxes on fuel and cut off all road communications. Workers of all communities employed by the Jerusalem municipality have for years been conducting a common campaign for raising their standard of life. The most outstanding example of Arab-Jewish workers' solidarity was the stay-in strike of the Railway Workshops in Haifa early in 1944, which lasted for some days and nights. At night the Jewish and Arab workers sat together around fires, telling stories and chanting; the food sent by Arab or Jewish trade unions was distributed equally among all workers. Although organized in different and even rival unions, Jewish and Arab workers were united until the end. A year later Arab and Jewish civilian workers declared a strike in one of the army camps near Tel Aviv, organizing a common demonstration through the streets of the city, where the Jewish population cheered and applauded this sign of Arab-Jewish unity. This happened in the very days when news agencies all over the world were reporting "imminent clashes between Jews and Arabs in Palestine."¹

Obstacles to Jewish-Arab Labor Unity

All these examples show that cooperation between Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine is possible and has been a fact in many cases. But the necessity for pointing out these examples shows that cooperation has not been easy and, generally, has not even been the rule. Why then, is cooperation so difficult?

¹ Following are fuller data on Arab-Jewish joint strikes since 1943. In that year 535 Jews and Arabs were involved in three joint strikes, one in Jaffa of 130 municipal sanitary workers and two in Jerusalem of municipal workers. A total of 1,300 struck in 1944: about 1,250 Jewish, Arab and Armenian railway workers in Haifa and 19 industrial workers in Jaffa. The total number of the strikers grew to about 2,530 in 1945: 1,300 in a military labor camp, 130 telephone workers, and 1,100 workers in railway repairshops in Haifa. Seven joint strikes by government and railway workers took place in 1946 with a total of 30,000 involved. In addition a number of joint Jewish-Arab demonstrations and meetings were held all over the country which met with sympathetic response from the people. A series of minor joint strikes in 1947 was climaxed in May by the largest strike ever held in Palestine involving 40,000 Jewish and Arab workers. This strike was called after an unprecedented agreement among the three largest trade union federations in Palestine, the Histadruth, the Congress of Arab Workers and the Arab Workers' Society.—Eds.

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First of all, there are in Palestine two national economic units which are more or less secluded from each other. But for a very small number of experts, no Jewish workers are employed in Arab enterprises, and very few Arab workers are employed by Jewish undertakings, except in orange-groves. Thus the only places where Jews and Arabs meet are in government and army works and, to a certain extent, in the plants of the big companies such as the Iraq Petroleum Co., the Oil Refineries in Haifa, the Potash Co., etc. But in these companies the Jewish workers are generally employed as experts and skilled tradesmen, while the Arabs do unskilled labor. On the whole, the character of the Arab working class is that of a colonial one, whereas the Jews are nearer to European standards. The problems of the Jewish or the Arab worker are more or less alien to his comrade from the other community. Although, during the war, thousands of additional Arab and Jewish workers were employed in government and army works and the need for and possibility of cooperation grew, the majority of the Arab and Jewish workers at present still work and live separated.

Moreover, there exists a great difference between their standards of life. In industry the wages of the Jewish workers are, on the average, almost three times those of the Arabs, and even if Jewish and Arab laborers do the same work, the Jew earns more than his Arab colleague. The different standards of life are accompanied by different habits: a common consumers' society of Jewish and Arab government clerks in Jerusalem had to be separated, some weeks after its establishment, into two shops, one Jewish and one Arab. Even where Arab and Jewish workers are employed by the same employer, generally no common workers' committee exists. This fact, however, has other reasons as well, and its roots lie in the separate organizations of Jewish and Arab workers.

Separate Jewish and Arab Unions

The vast majority of the Jewish workers in Palestine are organized in the General Federation of Jewish Labor, known as Histadruth. The Histadruth is by far the biggest workers' organization in Palestine, comprising about 160,000 members. It was founded in 1920 and has since then been one of the main pillars of the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. Comprising not only wage-earners but also members of the agricultural settlements, industrial co-operatives and workers' wives, the Histadruth is more than a pure trade union. Moreover, contracting enterprises and industrial undertakings founded by the Histadruth are among the most important factors of Jewish economy in Palestine. Inside the Histadruth there are different political trends, a slight majority belonging to the Palestine Labor Party (Mapai), which is the most influential party of the Zionist movement. The left opposition, which will be mentioned later, consists of the Hashomer Hatzair and the Ahdut Ha-Avodah-Poale-Zion Party.

The oldest Arab trade union is the Palestine Arab Workers' Society, founded in 1925 by Arab railway workers in Haifa, who are until today the core of the Society. The development of the Society has not been as smooth as that of the Histadruth; since 1925 the membership of the Society has fluctuated considerably. It reached a high level of activity in 1931, when the first Arab labor congress was held, and again in 1934-36, a period of many strikes. During the disturbances of 1936-39 and until 1942, the Society was rather inactive, but thereafter a new period of development began, caused by the growth of the Arab working class and its concentration in government and Army works. The majority of the members of the Society are wage-earners, but recently some cooperatives have been formed. The political outlook of the Society's leadership is nationalist, generally following the line of the Palestine Arab Party, whose vice-president is Jamal Effendi Al-Husseini.

Left-Wing Unionism

Against this outlook a left opposition had grown inside the Society since the early thirties, criticizing the "reformist" and "opportunist" tendencies of the Society leadership. The development of world events, together with the consolidation of the Arab working class in Palestine, has led to a considerable increase of these leftist elements in the last few years, and they have gained influence in most of the important branches of the Society. When the Society leadership, about a year ago, refused to grant them representation on the delegation to the Paris World Congress of Trade Unions, these branches broke away from the Society and formed the Arab Labor Congress. The membership of the Congress is today at least as great as that of the Society and its political outlook is leftist, influenced by the Arab communists of the National Liberation League.

The third trade union organization comprising Arab workers is the Palestine Labor League, founded in 1927 by the Histadruth, whose aim was the creation of a common organization of Jewish and Arab workers with the Histadruth as its Jewish section. This object, however, was changed afterwards and the League became an organization of Arab workers only, affiliated to the General Federation of Jewish Labor and managed by its department for Arab affairs. For years, political reasons curtailed the activity of the League, but the new rise of Arab trade unionism since 1942 induced the Histadruth to revive its Arab League. Nevertheless, up till now it remains the smallest of the trade unions among Arab workers.

The only common organization of Jewish and Arab employees is the Palestine Civil Service (Second Division) Association in which all junior government clerks are organized. The Association was founded during the war and has no connection whatsoever with any of the existing trade unions. Including Arab and Jewish clerks as it does, it carefully avoids getting mixed up in politics. The laborers, however, who are employed by the government, are or-

ganized in the above mentioned Arab and Jewish trade unions.

It is very difficult to give exact numbers of the membership of the Arab trade unions. The figures submitted to the Labor Department by the Arab organizations were a membership of 15,000 in the Society, 18,000 in the Congress, and 4,500 in the League. Even if these figures are taken for granted, it is necessary to consider the special character of these relatively young Arab trade unions, in which they resemble the workers' organizations in all colonial countries. The membership is always fluctuating, the members being connected with their organizations by stronger ties in periods of strikes and activity, and looser ones in calmer times. The Arab working class in Palestine, like the workers of Egypt, India and other colonial countries, has not enjoyed the long period of stabilization and industrial development which was the basis for the consolidation of the European trade unions. Therefore, Arab trade unions cannot be compared with European or American ones. Neither is it possible to compare them with the Histadruth, which is founded on the European level of the Jewish worker.

Why Division?

The existence of two more or less exclusive economic units in Palestine and the difference between the living standards of the Jewish and Arab workers have indeed been important reasons for the development of separate trade unions. But there has been another reason too. The Jews came to Palestine to build the National Home, which, according to the present official Zionist leadership, means the establishment of a Jewish state. Organized Jewish labor plays an important part in these efforts. The Arabs on the other hand, the Arab labor movement not excluded, strive for independence from foreign rule and are fervently opposed to Zionism. The right wing of the Arab trade unions is strongly influenced by the present leadership of the Arab national movement, which stresses its struggle against the Jews more than opposition to foreign rule.

This political antagonism has led to sharp conflicts between the Jewish and Arab trade unions. Arab labor leaders describe the Histadruth as "one of the most dangerous opponents of the Arab worker" because it "always demands the maintaining of a difference between the Arab and Jewish worker. Therefore it is far from democracy and near to fascism. . . ." Especially fierce are the attacks of the Society and the Congress on the Palestine Labor League, the union of Arab workers established by the Histadruth. Accordingly to their opinion the League was created "with the help of Zionist money in order to divide the Arab labor movement and to serve Zionist propaganda, which tries to deceive the international labor movement." The Arab members of the League are considered as "traitors to the Arab Workers' and nation's aspirations," and in several cases the Arab unions refused to negotiate with the Histadruth if delegates of the League were to take part in the negotiations.

The attitude of the Histadruth towards the Arab trade unions is also very hostile. The Arab unions are defined by the leaders of the Histadruth as having a "feudal character." On several occasions leaders of the Histadruth declared that if negotiations with the Arab unions should become necessary, they should serve as means to discredit their leadership.

Declarations but No Action

At the same time it is significant that both the Histadruth and the Arab unions have more than once declared and keep on declaring on solemn occasions that cooperation between Arab and Jewish workers is necessary and desirable. In speeches at Arab labor congresses it has been possible to hear the following words: "Even if the workers are divided by religion and race, the right to work and the struggle for improving their conditions unite them . . . we want real fraternity with the Jewish workers." Likewise, one of the leaders of the Histadruth wrote in a recently published pamphlet that "the human necessity for fraternal relations with the Arab workers and fellah, the consciousness of the inevitability of these relations . . . have been present in the mind of the Jewish worker ever since he came to Palestine. . . ." We shall see that in reality these solemn pledges have frequently not been kept. Nevertheless, to a certain degree they indicate the mood of the Arab and Jewish workers and reflect upon situations in which fraternity has been a fact.

On the other hand, one cannot deny that other voices have been heard. A delegate to a conference of agricultural workers, held by the Histadruth, announced that the raising of the Arab fellah's standard of life did not interest the Jewish worker at all and he even used very strange expressions when referring to the Arabs. Although he met with opposition from the left wing of the Histadruth (Hashomer Hatzair), the motion of the latter to deal with the problems of the Arab village in a later session was rejected by the majority. On the other hand, some of the leaders of the Arab Society went so far as to declare that "if the Jews had human feelings, they would not have been expelled from all countries." But such racial theories are severely condemned by the Arab leftists organized in the Congress.

Unfortunately, reality has proved in many cases that the will of the Arab and Jewish trade unions' leadership to create this fraternity about which they spoke has not been too strong. The narrow-mindedness which found its expression in the above mentioned resolution of the Histadruth and in the anti-Jewish slanders of the Society, has guided their action on more than one occasion. It is self-evident that the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine (which, of course, cannot have any other real meaning than partition) conducted by the present majority of the Histadruth, has not greatly encouraged

them to work for fraternity between Jewish and Arab workers. In the same way, cooperation between Arab and Jewish workers has been discouraged by the strong anti-Jewish tendency of the Arab leadership. If, notwithstanding this political antagonism, Jewish and Arab workers have cooperated, it only shows how strong the necessity of cooperation was.

Machinery of Disruption

To give an idea how the machinery of sowing discord works, it will be useful to cite some typical examples. Some years ago, it was planned to conduct a campaign to improve the conditions of the workers employed by the army. The leadership of the Society refused to cooperate, claiming that the campaign was a political action of the Histadruth. Then even the Arab leftists supported this view. In a similar way, some leaders of the Histadruth declared the strike in the railway workshops to be a political Arab strike against Jewish immigration; the Jewish workers, however, remained steadfast.

The most outstanding example was the recent common strike of the government employees, which had the support of the whole Arab and Jewish population. In this case too, efforts were made to sow discord on political issues. Some of the Arab newspapers wrote that the Zionists and the Histadruth had paved the way for this strike to show the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry that Jews and Arabs in Palestine cooperated and that, therefore, the Arabs did not fear Zionism. The Emir (now King) Abdullah of Transjordan requested the Arab employees to return to work in order not to spoil the "favorable political prospects" of the Arabs. (It is worthwhile mentioning that the strike had already spread to Transjordan, where railway workers came out in support of their Palestinian comrades.) One of the Jewish newspapers, on the other hand, told its readers that the strike had been organized by the Arab League! Some foreign news agencies claimed that the strike was against Jewish immigration, others that it was organized in support of a refugee ship trying to reach Palestine at the time. A much-read Jewish evening paper announced one day that the strike prevented the government from dealing with Jewish immigration. A few days later, however, the journalists of this paper were not afraid to contradict themselves by stating that a high government official had declared that this time even the Arabs had helped immigration by the common strike. The same paper published a malicious article trying to convince its readers that the strike was not in the interests of the Jews, because they would have to pay the taxes in order to feed the satiated Arab government employees. . . . Only a few sharp statements were published in the Palestinian press condemning this baiting campaign (e.g. in the Arab *Al-Ittihad* of the leftist National Liberation League, in the Hebrew *Mishmar* of the Hashomer Hatzair and in *Ba'ayot*, organ of Ihud). Nevertheless, the unity of the striking employees was not

disturbed, and they were granted a considerable part of their demands.

Solution Through Cooperation

Much of the future of Palestine, as of the whole world, will depend on which of the two ways will be chosen: the way of exclusiveness which must lead to bloodshed and suffering, or the way of cooperation and solidarity which can lead to peace. We have cited many examples of Jewish and Arab workers in Palestine trying to take the second way; but, for years, they have been driven in the other direction by strong forces which are still continuing and even increasing their efforts.

Only recently the League of Arab States has declared a boycott against the Palestinian Jews, and although the left wing of the Arab labor movement did not agree with this step, and generally the Arab population was not too enthusiastic about it, the boycott has already done its share in poisoning the relations between Arab and Jewish workers. Organized Jewish labor has maintained its slogan, *Avodah Ivrit* (Jewish work), i.e. that only Jewish workers must be employed by Jewish employers. In the years before the war pickets were organized against the employment of Arab workers in Jewish industry and orange groves, but the shortage of laborers during the war made this impractical. Recently, however, the danger of unemployment has begun to grow again and there are already the first signs of the old slogan's revival. Nothing has aggravated the relations between Arab and Jewish workers more than these slogans, by which cooperation with Arab workers employed by Jews was excluded and suspicion and distrust spread among the Arab workers in general.

In government works such slogans were skillfully exploited in order to divide Arab and Jewish workers by dismissing Arabs and employing Jews, dismissing Jews and employing Arabs and so on. There is no doubt that this fact has been an important reason for the low standard of life of the Palestinian government employees; exclusivism not only fosters the political dangers of mutual slaughter and delay of the liberation of both Arabs and Jews, but also has a bad influence on the social conditions of the workers. It seems that the government of Palestine is aware of the political and social consequences of discord: asked at a press conference in Jerusalem, held in June 1946, what government was doing to encourage Arab-Jewish labor cooperation, Mr. Graves, then Director of the Department of Labor, said he did not see what Government should do about it. . . .

In the economic field Jewish and Arab workers have understood their need for unity on several occasions, but politically their aims are still opposed. The question whether, in the future, they will find their way to political cooperation depends not only on the changes in the situation in Palestine and the Middle East, but also upon the way the world in general will choose.

THE FUNCTION OF THE CRACKPOT: II

By Carey McWilliams

(Concluded from October issue)

JUST as the name America First had echoed in crackpot circles for years before it was used as a rallying slogan by the arm-chair reactionaries, so the name American Action stems directly from the fringe groups. An organization called American Action had been formed in 1939 to promote the formation of an American National Action Party. This particular group later merged its activities with those of the America First Committee. Early in 1945, Gerald B. Winrod announced the formation of American Action, Inc., which he said had been established to "uphold constitutional democracy as against the encroachments of un-American ideologies." But apparently Winrod got his wires crossed in making this announcement, for the real American Action Committee did not come into existence until midsummer 1945.

American Action Organizes

American Action, Inc., is an outgrowth of a meeting which took place in Chicago on July 30 and 31, 1945. According to Eugene Segal, this meeting was initiated by Salem Bader of Los Angeles. Born in Jerusalem of British-German-French parentage, Bader has for years been identified with various anti-Zionist and pro-Arab activities in this country. He is the author of a pamphlet entitled "Is American a Christian or a Jewish Civilization?" and has long shown an active interest in Eugene Flitcraft's *Gentile News* (for background on Bader, see *The Plotters* by John Roy Carlson, 1946, pp. 145-146). The Chicago meetings were chaired by Merwin K. Hart, one of the founders of the America First Committee, once referred to by Justice Robert H. Jackson as "well-known for his pro-Fascist leanings." Among the individuals who attended the Chicago meeting were the following: John T. Flynn, active in America First; DeWitt Emery of Akron, active in the National Small Businessmen's Association; Maurice R. Franks, business agent of the "Railroad Yardmasters of North America," a union not recognized by any branch of the American labor movement; William H. Regnery of

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Chicago; industrialists and banker, formerly active in America First and treasurer of Earl Southard's Citizens U.S.A. Committee; Samuel Pettengill, former chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee, a speaker for America First, and a trustee of the Committee for Constitutional Government; the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale of New York; Col. Charles Vincent of Chicago, head of the American Foundation which has advertised in the violently anti-Semitic publication, *Women's Voice*; A. Dwight Nims of Los Angeles, formerly secretary of the National League of Mothers and Women of America; George Washington Robnett of Chicago, head of the Church League of America; Thomas N. Creigh, lawyer, head of the Chicago branch of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council; William A. Larner, Jr., and R. E. Minnis, of Topeka, both active in a committee that has sponsored meetings for Upton Close and Samuel Pettengill; and, of course, Upton Close (for further details on the meeting, see *Pittsburgh Press*, March 6, 1946).

A glance at the names and identifications of the persons attending this conference indicates that former America First elements were well represented and that the fringe groups, as represented by men like Bader and Nims and the Rev. Carl McIntire, a New Jersey fundamentalist, were also present in force.

The next meeting of American Action took place in Los Angeles at the Clark Hotel, on August 28, 1945. Shortly prior to this meeting, 10,000 citizens of Los Angeles had participated in a great mass meeting at the Olympic Auditorium to protest Gerald L. K. Smith's activities in Southern California. Arousing much excitement in the community, this meeting had served to crystallize public opinion against Smith's anti-Semitic demagoguery. The Clark Hotel meeting, arranged by Close and Bader, was called in part for the purpose of countering the effect of the anti-Smith mass meeting. As the principal speaker of the evening, Salem Bader told the guests and members of American Action that the Jews, the international bankers, and Jewish communist immigrants from Russia had acquired an almost complete control over American business, government and labor. Following this talk, Howard Emmett Rogers, of the right-wing Motion Picture Alliance, took the floor, denounced the meeting as "nothing but another anti-Semitic enterprise," and walked out. (*Pittsburgh Press*, March 7, 1946.)

Formal articles of incorporation were filed in Delaware for American Action, Inc., on January 8, 1946, and headquarters were established in Chicago. On May 23, 1946, a branch office was opened in Los Angeles with the an-

nouncement that American Action had been formed "to combat the inroads that have been made on the government by alien-minded pressure groups." The letterhead of American Action lists the following as officials of the new organization: Harold N. Moore, of Los Angeles, formerly active in America First; James H. Gipson of Caldwell, Idaho; Colonel Edward D. Gray; James E. McDonald, State Commissioner of Agriculture, Austin, Texas; Malcolm McDermott, professor of law at Duke University; and, as executive director, Captain Edward A. Hayes of Chicago, former commander of the American Legion.

Congressional Purge

Announcing that it intended to purge 187 congressmen, American Action took an active part in the 1946 campaign. The groundwork for this political activity had been laid, and its general purpose defined, in a strong editorial which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* in midsummer 1946 mourning the passing of the America First Committee and urging the nationalists to reorganize. In a statement filed with the government, American Action acknowledged the receipt of contributions totaling \$83,494.64 in the period between January 1 and October 15, 1946. While not taking an active part in all of the 187 congressional districts in which it had expressed an interest, American Action did concentrate on twenty or thirty districts in New York, Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Washington, and California.

By the time of the November 1946 elections, the base of American Action had been greatly expanded. Listed among its contributors were the names of General Robert L. Wood, formerly head of the America First Committee; Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune*; Robert M. Harriss, an ardent supporter of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front and a founder of the American National Democratic Committee; W. Homer Hartz of Chicago, former president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association; Robert Christenberry of the Hotel Astor Corporation; Samuel Weldon, of the First National Bank; Ernest T. Weir of the Weirton Steel Company; and, by newspaper report, Lammot DuPont of E. I. DuPont de Nemours, and Lansing Hoyt, former America First leader in Wisconsin (*New York Times*, October 10, 1946). The importance of these names consists not merely in their prominence in the world of business, industry, and finance, but in the circumstance that many of these men have for years been active in extreme right-wing political circles. It is quite apparent, therefore, that American Action represents a coalition of the most powerful elements of the extreme right wing of American industry and finance in open alliance with representatives of the fringe or crackpot groups (see: the article by Edward Brause, *PM*, October 13, 1946, in which the political background and affiliations of the principal supporters of American Action are traced in great detail).

In an effort to avoid, so far as possible, the aroma of the America First movement, American Action has concentrated on domestic issues and has even disclaimed a direct interest in the international scene (*New York Times*, October 10, 1946). It is nevertheless apparent that the leaders of American Action are the former leaders of the America First Committee. While American Action has denied any connection with Gerald L. K. Smith, it is interesting to note that Smith regards the new movement with complete enthusiasm. In the issue of his newsletter for October 28, 1946, he urged all former members of America First to cooperate with American Action and to follow its lead. And this motion was, so to speak, quickly seconded by Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Eugene Flitcraft, and most of the other crackpot leaders. "Myriads of the small-fry bigots," reports the bulletin of the Friends of Democracy (September 30, 1946), "the Jew-baiting Gerald L. K. Smith, the democracy-hating followers of the late Carl Mote, the Axis-sympathizing We, The Mothers Mobilize for America, and other groups, are fitting into the picture of American Action. . . . These are the people who will furnish the mass following for the new group's political action program; they will ring the doorbells, make house-to-house canvasses, bring out the vote for candidates endorsed by American Action."

New Crystallization of Reaction

American Action should be regarded, therefore, not as a new departure in American politics but as the end-product of a long period of experimental work in the formation of an inclusive rightwing political alliance. "There is a striking similarity," reports the bulletin of the Friends of Democracy, "between pre-war pro-nazi propaganda and current American Action propaganda. Although some of the clichés have changed, others have remained intact. Whereas the pre-war pro-nazi tiraded against 'the Communistic Jews,' American Action tirades against 'leftists' and against 'minorities,' which it characterizes variously as 'organized' or 'radical.' The pro-nazi insisted that the 'Communistic Jews' controlled the American government, the radio, the press, and the movies; American Action claims that all these, plus the book publishing industry, are in the hands of 'leftists' and 'leftist minorities.' Whereas the pro-nazis used labor as a favorite whipping boy, American Action states that its aim is to 'defeat the CIO-PAC and Communist attempts to capture and control Congress.' American Action literature pleads that now is the time 'to save the Republic.' American Action's reference to 'alien-minded pressure groups' and the 'American right to free association' is like the pre-war cry for isolationism and against 'foreign influence.'"

In a letter bulletin of October 15, 1946, the editors correctly emphasize the real danger when they write that "as long as Fascist groups remain isolated units, fighting among themselves, they have a limited effect on the national scene. United under the America First Committee,

they buried the hatchet and threatened to influence appreciably America's policy both nationally and internationally—until Pearl Harbor, intervening, split up the hater coalition. United once more under American Action's banner, the haters will constitute a real threat unless Congressional action and/or repeated exposes break up their 'respectable' front—1946 version."

That American Action represents a new maturity or crystallization of reaction is shown by the emergence of intermediate figures who stand midway in the new organization between the crackpots of the Smith-Flitcraft-Dilling variety and their armchair collaborators. The increasingly important role now being played by these intermediate types indicates that middle class elements have begun to be involved and that the new movement aims to establish a certain respectability by sloughing off some of the verbal crudities of the America First spokesmen. Since the crackpot storm troopers have already discharged their preliminary softening-up assignment, the movement can now afford to modify its rhetoric, to curb its more exuberant sub-leaders, and to refrain, for the time being, from open provocation. Part of this reorientation consists in pushing such intermediate figures as John T. Flynn and Upton Close into the foreground of the movement.

Adventures of Upton Close

As a news analyst and commentator, Upton Close began to take a violently reactionary line after 1939. He was dropped for a time from the NBC staff following a broadcast on December 7, 1941, in which he had suggested that the attack on Pearl Harbor might have been a surprise to the Japanese government or that it could have been perpetrated by German ships or a fanatical portion of the Japanese fleet acting without orders. He was again dropped by the NBC circuit following a broadcast on July 9, 1944, in which he had implied that the death of John Bryan Owen, a friend of Tyler Kent, was part of an "international" scheme. Throughout the war, the crackpot groups had sought to use the Tyler Kent case as a means of attacking the Roosevelt administration and, also, of imputing a variety of sinister motives to high officials in the State Department. The plot, however, had fallen rather flat when Joseph P. Kennedy, our Ambassador to Great Britain at the time of the Kent scandal, revealed that Tyler Kent had "built up a terrific anti-Semitic complex" while serving in the American Embassy in London. The intermediate role of Close is shown, in this instance, by the fact that he was repeating on a nationwide broadcast one of the favorite themes of the crackpot anti-Semitic organizations.

While insisting that he is not anti-Semitic, Close has used arguments in criticizing the Jews that cannot be distinguished from those used by avowed anti-Semites. "The greatest sorrow of my career," he said in one broadcast, "and which may become America's greatest tragedy is the

Communist control of the Jewish minority. . . . Hundreds of Jewish publications have become avowedly Communist. Also, the smart Jewish commentators on the radio put out the party line. Only in a few cases do the better minds among the Jews do anything about this menace." Quite apart from the obvious falsity of such a charge, a statement of this kind carries a thinly-veiled threat to the Jewish minority and merely repeats one of Hitler's biggest lies. In a speech in Pittsburgh, Close again indirectly attacked Jews under the pretense of "warning" them against certain dangers. "Next to the danger of being chucked into another war," he said, "is the menace of the cause of minorities falsely represented and hypocritically used. The most dangerous thing to the Jew in America today is the fact that every decent constitutional movement is promptly dubbed and labeled anti-Semitic by the smearers of the left." While professing to believe that Negroes are "less volatile" than the Jews, he implied that they, too, had better watch their step (see: *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 7, 1946).

Intermediary Fronts for Financiers

As a matter of fact, this was a favorite theme of Messrs. Goebbels, Goering, and Hitler prior to 1933. According to this line, the Jews are not objectionable as Jews; but they become a "menace" when "sinister" influences gain control of their thinking, thereby threatening their security as a minority. For the purpose of protecting the Jewish minority, if you please, it then becomes necessary to discipline the Jews by compelling them to drive forth from their midst these self-same sinister forces. Interestingly enough, Close's manager is, or was, Leo F. Reardon, who was formerly Father Coughlin's confidential secretary. With this background in mind, it is significant that American Action should have initiated the fund-raising campaign that put Close back on the air, for a time, under the sponsorship of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council.

In a recent bulletin, the Friends of Democracy call attention to the prominent role that Close has been playing in the "marriage between 'respectable' financiers and rabble-rousing Christian Fronters." Sponsored by John J. Raskob, John T. Flynn, and Ogden H. Hammond—one of Generalissimo Franco's most enthusiastic admirers in the United States—the National Economic Council gave a dinner in honor of Close at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on November 1, 1946. "Flanked by Lamont DuPont and John J. Raskob," Close denounced the New Deal as "bastard Marxism." Prominent among the guests at this banquet were: Lambert Fairchild; Colonel Edward D. Gray of American Action; Robert M. Harriss, the Coughlinite financier; Joseph Kamp, the well-known labor baiter; Edward A. Rumely, an agent of the German government in World War I; Mrs. Livingston Rowe Schuyler, financial angel of Joe McWilliams; and John A. Zellers, who once spoke before Nazi agent Frederick Auhagen's American

Fellowship Forum. Tickets were distributed at the banquet for a rally of the Christian Front which was held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music a few nights later, at which Close was again the principal speaker. At this rally, May Quinn, the Coughlinite teacher who was recently fined two months' salary for "dereliction of duty," presided. Also involved in the new, and rapidly expanding coalition represented by American Action are Edward F. Hutton, the Long Island financier, who has helped to promote several recent American Action dinners, and Joseph Pew, whose *Pathfinder* magazine has praised the new united front.

How these new intermediate types are being used to bridge the gap between the armchair reactionaries and their rabble-rousing allies may be clearly seen in a pamphlet by John T. Flynn called "The Smear Terror." Originally published as a series of feature articles in the *Chicago Tribune*, the pamphlet develops the interesting thesis (a) that anti-Semitism has never been able to find reputable sponsors; and (b) that the danger of native fascist movements has definitely passed in the United States. It seems that anti-Semitism was never a real danger, anyway, since it was emphasized only "to frighten our unfortunate foreign population and to induce contributions." Racial hatred will always be with us, according to Flynn, for "it is too much to hope that poor, weak human beings will be able to rid themselves wholly of some form of bias." Our aim, therefore, should be "to permit these poisonous infections to lie dormant and not by foolish or vicious procedures to develop them into a raging contagion." It is curious that Mr. Flynn should believe that a "poisonous infection" can safely be permitted to lie dormant. In one of the articles in this series, Mr. Flynn, by some amazing double-talk, manages to convert a defense of Lindbergh against the charge of anti-Semitism into a frontal attack on the very groups who are fighting native fascism in the United States. That such shabby rationalizations should be advanced by a man like Flynn, who is certainly not a crackpot, only emphasizes the consolidation of reactionary tendencies now taking place in this country.

Fascist movements never emerge out of thin air. "It is a mistake to believe," writes Dr. Ellis Freeman, "that a European fascist party ever did, or an American ever will, spontaneously crystallize around a dramatic popular personality. *It has to be constructed from bedrock up*" (emphasis mine). Certain elements, widely dissimilar in background and interest, invariably collaborate in the early phases of this construction. Their collaboration is quite frequently of the unconscious variety suggested by the homely remark of Gerald L. K. Smith that a Holstein cow in Wisconsin gives much the same kind of milk as a Holstein cow in New York. At the outset, leadership is frequently asserted by a small group of crackpot zealots and fanatics. But these elements would never be able to build a fascist movement without the support of an elite group utterly immune, as Freeman writes, "even to the minimum of mystical nonsense which the Fuehrer himself may be inclined to accept." In Germany such men as Thys-

sen and Krupp von Bohlen did not pour vast sums of money into the Nazi movement out of an enthusiasm for Aryanism any more than Mussolini's behind-the-scenes backers were "infatuated with the beatitudes of Latinity." Both in Italy and Germany, these hard-boiled realists wanted a specific task performed, namely, "the balking of social change which jeopardized their position." When realists of this stripe assume control and direction of the original crackpots, the danger of fascism ceases to be theoretical.

Industrialists Take Command

Since the spring of 1945, the right wing of American industry has been gradually assuming direct command of the crackpot groups. In asserting this leadership, such intermediate types as Close and Flynn have been advanced to the front positions while the more malodorous of the crackpots have been pushed into the background. The more rapidly this shift in leadership is effected the greater will be the number of armchair bigots who will be willing to identify their names with movements which they have long sponsored in a secret manner. At the same time the ideology of bigotry will be given a thin veneer of sophistication and respectability as the new intellectual leadership cleverly rationalizes the sharp-edged rantings of the crackpots. Having served their purpose, the crackpots can now be pushed into the background.

In line with Huey Long's famous prediction that fascism would come to America in the guise of anti-fascism, one notices today a striking tendency on the part of organized reaction to twist democratic slogans and beliefs into profoundly undemocratic moulds. Thus efforts to strengthen the position of minorities are denounced as an incitement of minorities against the majority. New York's anti-discrimination law is, in the view of Merwin K. Hart, "itself a discrimination against white Gentile Americans, who . . . bore the brunt of this terrible war." Exclusionist policies are defended in the name of "freedom of association," while monopoly becomes synonymous with "free enterprise." Efforts to combat the activities of anti-Semitic rabble-rousers are described as attacks on "freedom of speech," while "freedom to hate" is advanced as a natural right. Through perverse rationalizations of this sort, anti-fascists become totalitarians and "red fascists" while native fascists emerge as the defenders of the American tradition!

In a forthcoming issue:

THE THUNDER OF THE GRASS

**A Long Narrative Poem
on the Warsaw Ghetto**

by Aaron Kramer

BRITAIN PROVOKED DISUNITY IN PALESTINE

By Louis Harap

THE flat failure of the British mandate over Palestine is unequivocally affirmed by both the majority and minority reports of the Special UN Committee on Palestine. All are agreed that the mandate must be abrogated. However, the majority recommendation that Britain should be entrusted with seeing Palestine through the transitional period (or joint Anglo-American supervision) is fraught with danger. This proposal shows that the full significance of the British colonial technique has not been grasped in all quarters. Imperialist Britain has forfeited her right to supervise such an interim period; and there is no reason to suppose that she will change her tactics, even under UN auspices.

The rapprochement of the Arab and Jewish peoples is not likely to be nourished under British or Anglo-American supervision. For the deterioration of the relations of the two peoples is directly attributable to Britain's deliberate tactic of "divide and rule" over three tragic decades. She has fomented discord in every department of political and economic life, because, to retain absolute control over Palestine, British imperialism has had to appear as a self-denying maintainer of peace between antagonistic peoples. Where reconcilable differences existed, Britain has converted them into apparently irreconcilable interests. It can be proved that Britain has facilitated her control and dominance by instigating this antagonism at every point of Arab-Jewish relations. This tactic has diverted the Jews and Arabs from solving in common their national problems by draining off their attention with artificially stimulated conflicts. In the words of the Palestine Communist Party memorandum to UNSCOP (July 5, 1947), Britain "has succeeded in fomenting hostility on national lines around such problems as immigration, fear of national domination, purchase of land, employment in government service and public works, import policy, industrial and agricultural development, taxation, education and health services."

Whenever possible, Britain has moved in on attempts of the Jews and Arabs to reach agreements and engage in common action. If these efforts had not been frustrated by Britain, the two peoples would now be much closer to agreement on the joint administration of Palestine.

But let us get down to cases.

Even before the mandate Britain prepared the ground for conflict by the two peoples over claims to Palestine. During World War I the British High Commissioner in

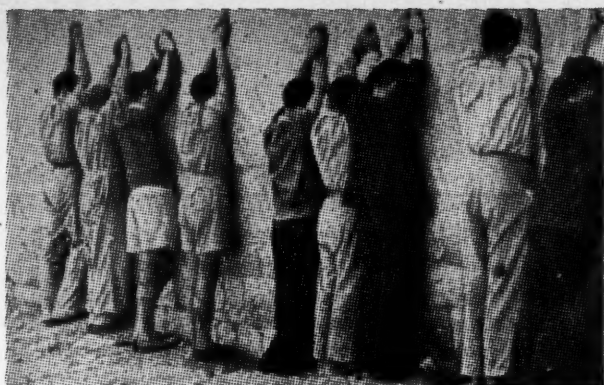
Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, promised Sherif Hussein in 1915 that Britain would help set up an independent Arab Federation, including Palestine, in return for Arab military aid against the Germans. In 1916 the secret Sykes-Picot agreement was concluded between Britain and France for the division of the Arab countries into spheres of influence between them. In 1917 the Balfour Declaration promised Palestine to the Jews as a national homeland. Thus both Arabs and Jews could point to an agreement with Britain which each claims as legal basis for Arab and Jewish states, respectively. The ground for Jewish-Arab antagonism had been laid.

Frustrated Agreement

Never once has Britain in official declarations of Palestine policy stated that it favored national understanding between the two peoples on the basis of political and national equality and the legitimate national aspirations of both peoples. On the contrary, Britain has frustrated wherever possible any attempts by the two peoples to reach political agreement. Documentary evidence exists to show that Britain nullified such attempts ever since she became the mandatory power. In March 1922 official representatives of the Arabs and the Jewish Agency met to reach an amicable agreement and recognition of mutual rights. The British asked Dr. Weizmann to postpone the negotiations until the mandate was ratified. After ratification was completed, negotiations were resumed. But these negotiations were abrogated, as was brought out before the Royal Palestine Commission of 1937, following Dr. Weizmann's report on the negotiations to the British Ambassador in Rome. (See M. Medzini, *Ten Years of Palestine Policy* (in Hebrew), pp. 231-234.)

Further evidence of Britain's deliberate effort to frustrate Arab-Jewish agreement comes from the *Palestine Diary* (1938) of Colonel, (later Brigadier) F. H. Kisch, head of the Jewish Agency's Political Department and chairman of the Zionist Executive from 1923 to 1931 and who died in 1943. In an entry dated April 3, 1923, Col. Kisch reported a conversation with Riad El-Sulk (later Lebanese Prime Minister from 1943 to 1944) as follows: "Riad repeated his opinion, already expressed in Egypt, that the Government are not sincere about the elections and that they do not wish to see a rapprochement between Jews and Arabs. I cannot believe this to be the case, but undoubtedly the Government have acted, and are acting, as if it were true." A footnote to another entry, dated February 21, 1923, described Ernest T. Richmond, high British official who served

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**Imperialism carries on in Palestine—
Jews searched in raid by British police.**

in Palestine intermittently between 1918 and 1937, as one who "came to be regarded by Jews and moderate Arabs as identified with the policy of the Mufti." Under this date Col. Kisch quotes Ragheb Bey Nashashibi of Jerusalem as follows: "Ragheb Nashishibi (who) told me, apropos of the Legislative Council elections, that in matters affecting Arab participation the High Commissioner is guided by the advice of Richmond 'who makes all cooperation with the Jews impossible'."

In 1928 a meeting was held between Jews and Arabs at which the Arabs agreed to show their good will by promising not to adopt any resolution at the seventh Arab congress against the Balfour Declaration, an unprecedented move for Arab congresses. Although the Arabs kept their promise, Jewish Agency representatives cut off negotiations with the Arabs following a hint from high government sources that they should do so.

Division by Indirection

But the British did not in every case need to intervene directly to break down negotiations for cooperation between Jews and Arabs. British policy at various times seemed to favor the maximum objectives now of the Jews, now of the Arabs. With British hints in the background, the Jewish Agency has persistently refused to accept offers of agreement with the Arabs on immigration and stabilization of their political relations from 1919 onwards, because the Agency was depending on the ambiguities of the Balfour Declaration and on the British mandate to grant the maximum Zionist demand—a Jewish state over all of Palestine.

In 1943, for instance, Arabs offered the Jewish Agency a plan for immigration up to parity with the Arabs in a few years and a bi-national state that would join a federation with neighboring countries. But the Agency rejected this offer because of promises of the British and because of sentiments expressed by our own Republican and Democratic parties in this pre-election year. Both parties made

large promises to the Jews. And the ruling Arabs for their part have more recently refused to come to any understanding with the Jews because British repressions against the Jews since the end of the war seemed to hint to them that they might gain their maximum objectives with the help of British imperialism.

• Nor can we forget that the United States has played its part in this imperialistic tactic of setting one people against the other. Bartley Crum, in his *Behind the Silken Curtain*, tears away the veil. Crum tells of a confidential State Department file made available to him on his way to the Anglo-American Palestine inquiry. "According to this file," says Crum, "since September 15, 1938, each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent messages to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine."

Another British tactic is to encourage the most reactionary elements among the Jews and Arabs, which is sure to increase tension between the two peoples. The appointment of the violently anti-Jewish Haj Amin el-Husseini as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in 1921 is a flagrant example. In 1920 this Husseini had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for inciting anti-Jewish riots, but he had been pardoned. In the elections for Grand Mufti in 1921, Husseini received only nine votes, while three other candidates received 18, 17 and 12 votes, respectively—and yet Husseini received the office, presumably by British edict. Another instance of partiality to extremist Arabs is the case of Salah Hassan Shukri, mayor of Haifa in 1920, who was respected by both Arabs and Jews. In that year Shukri sent a message of congratulations to the new High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel. Pressure from reactionary Arabs caused the British to have him removed from office for sending this message.

The British have also contrived to frustrate any tendency to cooperation on the government level. For instance, the municipality of Jerusalem was governed by an Arab-Jewish body, but the British instigated antagonistic demands on the part of the two groups until the British stepped in, dissolved this joint body and set up municipal rule by British officials. On the other hand, the British have been careful to generate antagonism by promoting friction, as in the case of the Jewish quarters which were kept by the British on the common border of Jaffa and Tel Aviv in the Jaffa municipality. Thus Jews were incited against Arabs, while the Arabs were incited against the Jews by including an Arab village in the Tel Aviv municipal area. This experience should awaken us to the dangerous proposal in the UN majority report that the Arab city of Jaffa be included in the Jewish zone.

Disrupting Arab-Jewish Labor Unity

As might be expected, the British have acted to prevent the organization of joint Arab-Jewish trade unions, certainly one of the basic forms of understanding between the

two peoples. In June 1930 the "Workers' Brotherhood," a society of Jewish and Arab workers, was organized to promote cooperation between workers of both groups and to combat national hatred. The paper published by the society and the society itself were soon suppressed by the British. The British have tried to keep Jewish and Arab workers apart by giving preferred voice to purely Arab unions. Some Arab workers have been informally connected with the Histadruth through the *Brit Poale Eretz Yisrael* (Palestine Workers' Brotherhood). In a 1933 strike at the Nesher Cement Works, the government arbitrator ruled that the employers were not obliged to recognize this union, although it was the authorized representative of the Arabs employed there. When this union tried in the next few years to improve the conditions of 500 Arabs employed at the Port of Haifa, high British sources made it known that they would accede to demands made by a "pure" Arab union.

In a labor dispute in 1943 at the Awad Metal Works in Jaffa the majority of the Arab workers were members of the Palestine Workers' Brotherhood. But the government arbitrator demanded that the nationalist Palestine Arab Workers' Union negotiate on behalf of the Arab workers, although not one worker belonged to this union. In 1945 Arab strikers at the American-owned Colony Hotel who were members of the union connected with the Histadruth, were told that their demands would be granted if they severed their Histadruth connection, and the government arbitrator refused to deal with them.

Unfortunately the Histadruth is itself a jimcrow organization and has thus played into the hands of the British divide and rule policy. Histadruth leaders have themselves on occasion threatened locals with expulsion if they cooperated with Arab unions in joint actions, as was the case in the joint strike at the Migdal Zadek Quarries at Tel Aviv this year. Despite these threats of expulsion, the Jewish workers struck with the Arabs. But the British act against even jimcrow Arab locals of the Histadruth, as in the cases mentioned above. The cynical British attitude towards Jewish-Arab labor cooperation was illustrated by a statement by the Palestine Director of the Department of Labor, Graves. In a press interview in 1946 Graves was asked what the government was doing to encourage Arab-Jewish cooperation. He replied that he didn't know what the government should do about it.

Incitement to Violence

This policy of keeping the Jews and Arabs apart and antagonistic does not stop at administrative action, but extends to direct incitement of violence. The Royal Palestine Commission of 1937 (Peel Commission) came out explicitly on this point. "If one thing stands out clear from the record of the Mandatory administration," said its report, "it is the leniency with which Arab political agitation was treated, even when carried to the point of violence and

murder." Evidence submitted to the Shaw Commission of 1930 testified to the fact that the first riots in Palestine in 1920 were instigated by high government officials. When Arab violence was directed against Jews the government somehow was unable to prevent its development. But in 1933, when the Arabs directed their violence against the British and consciously refrained from molesting Jews, the actions were put down promptly and ruthlessly.

There is no law in Palestine which in any way prohibits or punishes incitement of one group against the other, while any criticism of the government is severely censored. On the contrary, incitement is encouraged by the government by their leniency towards reactionaries. Individuals working for cooperation between the two peoples, especially Arabs, are even molested by the police. An important move was made in 1946, for instance, by Fawzi Darwish el-Husseini, cousin of the ex-Mufti, towards forming an Arab-Jewish rapprochement group. The group was to open a clubhouse in Jerusalem, but several days earlier Husseini was murdered. The police presumably made a routine investigation, and the murderers have not yet been discovered, after the police ruled politics out of the investigation. The only possible conclusion is that crimes against Arabs who seek inter-national understanding are exempt from punishment.

The record of British incitement is long. A few years ago Arabs and Jews were aroused against each other after an incident in Kfar Gileadi. The government sent Arab soldiers to fight Jewish refugees on the Syrian border, thus arousing bad blood. When the pro-nazi Mufti returned in 1946 to the Middle East under mysterious circumstances, Arab reactionaries were greatly encouraged. They formed aggressive military organizations, such as "Najada" and "Futuwa." When these organizations failed to grow as anticipated, the Mufti sent an Egyptian reserve officer to Palestine to act as commander. This officer was permitted to enter the country and organize the forces. An Arab fascist "Green Shirts" leader, Ahmed Hussein, arrested during the war for pro-fascist activities, was allowed to tour Palestine and make inciting speeches.

Most recently the hanging of the two British sergeants by the Irgun set off a wave of Arab-Jewish violence. Arab and Jewish newspapers and organizations in Palestine accused the British of having a hand in provoking this violence. A few months ago a Paltor news report told that a Jewish constable arrested an Arab making an anti-Jewish speech to a group of Bedouin Arabs. The constable soon discovered that the "Arab" was actually a Briton in Arab dress, who was released immediately on being turned over to the British. Another incident was reported by Clifton Daniel in a *New York Times* dispatch of August 19, 1947. Wrote Daniel: "A mid-afternoon report by the Palestine Public Information Office to the effect that two Syrian Arabs had been kidnapped by four armed men was later denied by the same office as based on 'false information.' The government's haste in publicising such unconfirmed reports of incidents involving Arabs and Jews contrasts

with its reluctance to say anything about the behavior of the British forces. It has been 17 days since the British security forces attacked Jews in Tel Aviv and killed five, and a promised report has not yet appeared."

If the British had the least interest in friendly relations between the two peoples of Palestine, one would suppose that they might have tried to stop the two-year old Arab boycott. Actually they have done nothing to stop it. They have encouraged it by their passivity. In fact, the boycott is to the narrow economic advantage of the British, since the Food Ministry records that in 1946 British food export

to the Middle East had grown fivefold. And a British trade commission visiting Syria said at a press conference in Damascus recently: "If you continue to boycott Zionist products, we are sure you will achieve your national aims."

We have given only a few instances of British instigation of Arab-Jewish antagonism. The history of British rule in Palestine is in fact the history of such provocation. The evidence of the unfitness of the imperialist British regime to supervise an interim period of settlement of the Palestine problem is overwhelming. A supervisory body can serve only under collective United Nations auspices.

A JEWISH STATE RISES IN BIROBIDJAN

By J. M. Budish

THE thirtieth anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has special significance for the Jewish people. It is in that country that a new era dawned for the Jews bringing them hope, encouragement and promise at the time of their greatest distress. The new day had its crowning achievement in the establishment and development of the Jewish Autonomous Region. Birobidjan has become an anchor for our hopes, renewing our faith in man's progress and the certainty that national and racial equality will conquer all forms of national and racial discrimination and oppression.

The designation in 1928 of the territory of Birobidjan for Jewish settlement had a twofold purpose. In the European part of the Soviet Union, the funds of unoccupied, cultivatable land that could be made available for Jews desiring to take up farming was practically exhausted. Birobidjan provided opportunities for additional substantial numbers of Jews to settle on land and engage in agriculture, forestry, fishing, etc. But, above all, Birobidjan presented the Jews of the Soviet Union with the opportunity to develop their own statehood.

The late president of the USSR, Michael I. Kalinin, explained these purposes in an address to the workers of the Moscow industries on May 28, 1934. Said Kalinin:

"Three million Soviet Jews are the only nationality in the USSR that has no statehood. . . . In the Jewish Autonomous Region, Birobidjan, there will develop a great socialist construction and hand in hand with a genuine socialist Jewish culture. . . . How are people regenerated? They are regenerated by contact with the hard, almost virgin nature of the region, through the great creative effort that it demands. . . . Just like the early American cowboys, the Birobidjan people will have to conquer na-

ture. Naturally, the development of a great region is a time-consuming process. . . . I consider Birobidjan as a Jewish national state. The elevation of Birobidjan to the status of an Autonomous Region [in 1934] is a result of the will of the Jewish masses to strengthen the work in Birobidjan and develop Jewish national statehood. . . . As to the transformation of this region into a Republic, it is merely a matter of time. . . . To create a republic out of a region will be easier than it was to transform a district [county] into a region. The elevation of the Region to the status of Republic depends on the efforts of the toiling Jews themselves."

A Rich Area

Birobidjan is located in the Far Eastern territory of the Soviet Union, in the bend of the Amur River above Manchuria. Its area is fifteen thousand square miles. It extends from the village of Obluchie in the west almost up to the city of Khabarovsk on the east—a distance of 200 miles along the Trans-Siberian Railroad. It is bounded on the South by the Amur River which separates the region from Manchuria for a distance of over four hundred miles. Although it lies about five thousand miles east of Moscow, it is no further from the equator than Duluth, Minnesota, Paris, or Montreal. Its climate is similar to that of the states of Maine and Minnesota, but has much more sunshine. This climate is quite favorable for such crops as spring wheat, early varieties of maize, potatoes, oats, soy beans, rice, grapes and all vegetables. The abundance of fine flowers make it one of the leading honey-producing areas of the Soviet Union. Its climate and vegetation make the region adaptable for large-scale livestock-raising.

Heavy woods cover about 32 per cent of the entire area and the timber resources are estimated at two and one-

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half billion cubic feet. This forms an excellent basis for the building and furniture industries and for the production of pulp and paper. The forests teem with fur-bearing animals, including some valuable species such as sables, foxes, bears, racoons, squirrels, deer, etc.

The northern part of the Jewish Autonomous Region is covered by the foot of the Kingan Mountains abounding in rich deposits of useful minerals: coal, iron ore, molybdenum, lead, magnesite, dolomite, gold and graphite. Recently, large desposits of these were discovered in Birobidjan. The region has practically inexhaustible supplies of construction minerals, such as limestone, marble, clay and sand, and some 40,000 acres of peat deposits.

The region derives its name from the two rivers, Biro and Bidjan, running from north to south and emptying into the Amur River. The total length of all rivers and lakes of the Jewish Autonomous Region is some 2,000 miles. The lakes and rivers of Birobidjan abound in fish, supplying the basis for a thriving fishing and canning industry. The hardy, healthy climate and rich natural resources of Birobidjan have made possible for the new Jewish settlers, with the assistance of the USSR as a whole, to develop in a comparatively short time agriculture and industries which have made the region not only self-sustaining but also enabled it to provide surpluses for the Red Army during World War II and to offer a haven for thousands of Jewish war orphans, evacuees and refugee Jews in the present period of postwar rehabilitation.

Jews Rooted in the Land

There are about 2,000,000 acres of tillable soil in the region. Up to the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region, the area under cultivation was so small that the average annual increase in the cultivated areas amounted to only a few hundred acres. In the past ten years, however, more than 17,000 acres of forest land have been cleared and 84,000 acres of virgin land were brought under cultivation. During the same period, 27,000 acres of marshland were drained. At present, the region has a total cultivated area of 123,550 acres.

Most significant is the transformation of the new Jewish settlers, former artisans and trading people into highly skilled farmers. One of the oldest Jewish collective farms in the region, Waldheim, was represented at the All Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow in 1938-1941 and received premiums for many of its excellent crops.

Cattle-breeding has also made record gains. Almost two-thirds of the sixty-six collective farms in the region have three cattle-farms each; one-quarter have four each and ten per cent two each. There are 300 head of cattle in each *kolkhoz* farm and up to 600 cattle in each of the five state farms of the region. A beginning has also been made in horse-raising and the region has five horse-breeding farms.

Another important branch of agriculture is apiculture;

there is hardly a *kolkhoz* in Birobidjan without a beehive. At present there are 84 bee houses in the collective farms, with 10,000 hives. The present plan provides for increasing the number of beehouses to 2,500, with 250,000 hives which would produce 5,000 tons of honey a year.

It is important to emphasize that the new Jewish settlers in their struggle to conquer this virgin land have succeeded not only in developing a large cultivated area and establishing many successful collective farms, but have also developed outstanding Jewish agriculturists well-known throughout the entire Far East.

Industrial Center Rises

The progress of industrial development has paralleled that of agriculture. At the time Birobidjan was designated for Jewish settlement there were practically no industries there. The only railroad station within the region at which the Trans-Siberian express would stop for a minute was Tikhonkaya (in English it means "quiet")—a little village of a few hundred people. Out of this village grew the present capital of the Jewish Autonomous Region, Birobidjan City, with a population of over 40,000. Birobidjan City is a thriving, industrial, agricultural and cultural center of the region. It has many fine buildings, paved streets, asphalt sidewalks, and last year it also got a system of water supply and sewage disposal.

Among the older industrial establishments in the city are the large clothing factory, furniture factory, leather factory, sawmill, plywood plant, barrel plant, wagon plant, brick works, mechanized bakery, printing shop, electric power station and several food and beverage producing plants. The large machine and automobile repair shops which service the eight machine tractor stations of the region are rapidly becoming the initial units for a machine producing and repairing industry. The World War retarded the rapid industrial development of Birobidjan. However, immediately after the war, new industrial construction began again on a large scale.

The building of a large textile mill was started in March 1945, and the first completed section of this mill was put into operation this year. The production capacity of this combine when completed with 6,780 spindles and 190 looms, will be five million meters of fabrics a year. It will also produce large quantities of felt and yarn for the knit-goods industry. A new shoe factory began production in August 1946. Its total initial capacity will be 15,000 pairs a year. However, the plant provides for the extension of its capacity to 100,000 pairs a year. A large candy factory is in operation now.

Expanding the Industrial Area

Birobidjan City is not the only industrial center of the Region. Londoko, with its great lime plant, is industrially important. Its present output is 40,000 tons of lime a year, but it is being expanded and its capacity will be doubled

by the end of this year. Near Londoko at Teploye Ozero (Warm Lake) the construction of a large cement plant has begun. This will be the biggest cement plant in the entire Far East. In the town of Birokan the first pulp and paper plant of Birobidjan has just been put in operation. On the Birofeld Highway, not far from the City of Birobidjan, a new tile factory with a capacity of 350,000 tiles a year has just started. Near the railroad station Obluchie are located the well-known Sutari gold works, third largest in size in the USSR.

The Ushuman coal mines have started to produce coal during the present year. A pencil factory from local graphite and cedar wood is being built. During the war the Region started the production of trailers for military vehicles and parachutes. These war industries are now being converted to peacetime production.

The construction and railroad industries are making rapid strides. The building of improved highways, housing facilities, schools and public buildings is one of the major tasks of the Jewish Autonomous Region at present. While Birobidjan has all the necessary raw materials and can easily obtain the needed labor force, since tens of thousands of new settlers are applying daily for admission to Birobidjan, the Region suffers from an acute shortage of construction machinery.

There are twenty railroad stations within the geographical limits of Birobidjan. There are large railroad depots and shops at Obluchie, Inn and Birobidjan City. While there were no Jewish railroad workers among the original Jewish settlers of Birobidjan a substantial number of highly skilled locomotive engineers, foremen and conductors, stationmasters, etc., have been trained in the Region. A number of new railroad branch lines are under construction, connecting such important industrial enterprises as the Ushuman coal mines with the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Jewish Self-Government

Birobidjan enjoys full self-government in all local affairs, including regional agriculture and industrial planning and development, police, militia, health and sanitation, local taxation and the collection of federal taxes. The local authorities are elected by the local population, and the Region is represented on the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. By the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region, the Soviet Union presented the Jews with the opportunity of acquiring all the attributes of a nation, thus enabling them to develop their own culture, national in form and socialist in content, on the basis of the historic continuity of the cultural heritage of the Jewish people.

The sound economic, social and political foundations have made possible for the Jewish Autonomous Region to develop within the short time of only thirteen years into one of the most important centers of Jewish culture in the

world. We shall briefly describe its major cultural achievements.

The cultural development of Birobidjan is of special historic significance. At present Birobidjan is the only Jewish community where Yiddish culture embraces every human endeavor as the super-structure of the production relationships of the Region. It is the only center where Yiddish culture is developing on the sure foundation of the entire economic, social and political life. Here Yiddish is the language of the community in its everyday life: in the marketplace, in government institutions, in the schools as the language of instruction, in the courts, in industry, trade and transportation.

Developing Jewish Culture

The Yiddish school system of Birobidjan has no parallel anywhere in the world. There are nurseries, kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, four colleges, a music school, a school for physical culture, courses of kindergarten teachers, agricultural experimental and research stations, evening and day schools for adults, schools for civics, libraries, reading rooms and clubs. The writer had the opportunity to visit the public schools, high schools and colleges of Birobidjan. It was a real thrill to watch the classes in mathematics, physics, chemistry and natural sciences conducted in the Yiddish language, and examine the student's notebooks in the same language. The educational standards of the Birobidjan schools and colleges are second to none. They would do credit to similar educational institutions anywhere. Even though the Region still lacks adequate school equipment and supplies and is short of textbooks, the school educational level compare favorably with that prevailing in most civilized countries.

The four-year normal school for teachers in the City of Birobidjan has already supplied the Region with several hundred teachers. The Agricultural Technicum, also with a four-year course, in Stalinsk on the Amur River, provides a growing number of scientific agriculturists. Of the four experimental research stations in the various districts of the Region, one is devoted to all crops while the other three specialize respectively in seeds, vegetables and fruits. In this connection, we should mention the Yiddish scientific publications of the staff of the college and experimental stations, including B. Gottlieb, Zolotnitzky and D. Sokolsky on such subjects as the various crops of the Jewish Autonomous Region.

The Medical College in the City of Birobidjan offers a four-year course for assistant physicians. The railroad college has already given the Region 625 railway technicians. The seven-year music school graduated 80 students in 1947 and its present enrollment consists of some 100 students of violin, piano, clarinet and bayan (a local musical instrument). In 1947, a beginning has been made for the establishment of an art school for children. The known Leningrad Jewish painter, Tsimerinov, has settled in Biro-

bidjan and conducts two art schools for talented children, one at the House of Pioneers and the other at the Children's Home for war orphans. Some fifty children attend these two schools. At this writing, we have received word that first steps have been taken to establish a full-fledged Jewish State University in Birobidjan City.

Study of Yiddish Obligatory

Last year, the study of the Yiddish language was made obligatory for the non-Jewish schools of the Region. This year, a special textbook, *Yiddish for Non-Jews*, has been published by H. Rabinko. It seems to us that this is the only case where a textbook of that nature has become a necessity for units of the regular school system anywhere in the world.

Among other cultural institutions are the Jewish State Theater, which is the pride of the Region; the Central Library bearing the name of Sholom Aleichem in Birobidjan City, which has a total of 150,000 volumes (110,000 titles), including some 29,000 on Judaica; 29 libraries throughout the Region, 44 reading rooms, 24 clubs, six houses of culture, 27 stationary and 10 portable moving picture houses, 15 radio sub-stations, numerous choruses and music ensembles, several vocational schools, parks of rest and culture and the Regional museum devoted to the flora, fauna and paleontology of Birobidjan and the history of Regional development, to exhibits of Jewish culture, from ancient times to the present including a special department—"The Jew and Human Culture"—devoted to the contributions of such outstanding Jews as Spinoza, Marx, Heine, Mendelssohn, Rubenstein, etc.

The rapid development of educational institutions in Birobidjan is reflected in a growth of the educational budget: 2,400,000 rubles in 1934; 18,400,000 in 1946; the appropriation for 1947 is over 22,000,000 rubles.

Birobidjan press and literature deserve much more space than we can give it here. The Region has one Yiddish newspaper in the City of Birobidjan, *Der Stern* (The Star), and several in the various district centers. A number of talented writers and poets, dramatists and plastic artists have grown up during this short period of time in the Jewish Autonomous Region and have a prominent place among the Jewish writers of the Soviet Union and throughout the world. The small group of Birobidjan painters—L. Sevin, N. Gorshman, Sisman and Rosenblit—are distinguished by their full appreciation of the specific character of the Birobidjan landscape and the natural, industrial and social life of the Region. Their studies, sketches and paintings reflect the pioneering life and rapid construction of the Jewish Autonomous Region.

New Immigration Facilitated

Early in 1947 the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union issued instructions to all Soviet Republics to facili-

tate in every possible way the immigration of new Jewish settlers to Birobidjan. Two big contingents of new settlers arrived in Birobidjan during the first six months of this year—one of 116 families early in March and another of 555 families and a group of Jewish war orphans on July 2. The organization of the third large contingent of new Jewish settlers is now taking place. In addition, a substantial number of new families have arrived in Birobidjan singly or in small groups. The Jewish Autonomous Region has, since the conclusion of the war, accepted thousands of refugee and evacuee Jewish war orphans and is maintaining them with the cooperation of the American Birobidjan Committee. Four special children's homes in Birobidjan City, Londoko, Waldheim and Bira have been organized for that purpose.

There is an increasing popular desire among the Jewish masses of the Soviet Regions that had been occupied and largely destroyed by the nazis to go to Birobidjan and participate in the upbuilding of this Jewish state. To quote only two instances: Efraim Granovsky, a Crimean farmer, writes in the name of fifty farm families: "We are envious of the fortunate Jews who have already arrived in Birobidjan; our aspiration to settle in the Jewish Autonomous Region is very great." Another Jew, Haim Heis, states: "My strongest desire is to go to Birobidjan and contribute with my own labor to the upbuilding of the Jewish Autonomous Region. I am not afraid of any difficulties. I know how to work."

The natural resources of Birobidjan make possible for it to absorb hundreds of thousands of new settlers and provide a high standard of living. The real difficulty arises from the lack of housing facilities and marginal machinery and tools. Under present conditions, keeping in mind the unprecedented destruction suffered by the Soviet Union in the war, these marginal facilities can be provided locally only relatively slowly. The great number of Jews seeking an opportunity to go to Birobidjan are thus unable to be received immediately. The cooperation of American Jews would play an important part in facilitating and hastening the development of the Jewish Autonomous Region.

It is impossible to overestimate the historic significance of the Jewish Autonomous Region to the Jews of the world. It is a convincing example to every civilized country that full equality for the Jewish people, as well as for all national minorities, is within the reach of the democratic forces of the community. What has been achieved in one great country can and must be achieved in every democratic country. Jewish equality, the development of Jewish culture on a basis of the historic continuity of the Jewish cultural heritage, has been proved by Birobidjan to be of benefit not only to the Jews but to the country as a whole. It lends encouragement and confidence in the struggle of all progressive forces for the elimination of bigotry, discrimination and anti-Semitism. Birobidjan has provided the Jews with all the attributes of a nation. It has opened a new era in the history of the Jewish people.

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

IMMIGRATION TO BIROBIDJAN

ON May 7, 1947, the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a decision authorizing the migration of 1,580 Jews from the Vinnitsa area in the Ukraine to the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan. The decision provides that the migration be organized on a voluntary basis.

Under the decision, the Ministry of Railways is directed to furnish, on dates agreed upon with the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and the Board of Migration under the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, 60 specially equipped railroad coaches for the aforesaid families.

The Ministry of Trade of the USSR is directed to provide the 1,580 passengers with food for the trip, in accordance with the established norms.

The Executive Committee for the Khabarovsk Territory and the Regional Executive Committee of the Jewish Autonomous Region are directed to make arrangements for the reception, accommodation and employment of the new settlers.

All the expenses of this undertaking are to be defrayed by the budget of the Ukrainian SSR.

This decision testifies once again to the

paternal solicitude of the Soviet government for the further development of the Jewish Autonomous Region. The Soviet government regards this development as significant enough to warrant the attention of the highest state bodies and of Generalissimo Stalin himself.

On reading this decision, one cannot help recalling the bloody events taking place in Haifa and other ports where the British troops greet with rifle-fire and tear-gas bombs Jews trying to break through in order to settle in Palestine.

One recalls the terrible situation of a quarter of a million Jews who are still languishing in concentration camps in the American and British zones of occupation in Germany.

When we think of these facts, the conclusion is inevitable: How fortunate are the Soviet Jews to be rid forever of social and national oppression! They are enjoying the fruits of the Lenin-Stalin national policy of friendship of people in the Soviet Union.

The Jewish workers of Vinnitsa accepted the decision with great enthusiasm. They saw in it the deep concern of the Soviet government for the fate of the

Jews in the Soviet Union, for the development of Jewish statehood, for their culture. In the 13 years of the existence of the Jewish Autonomous Region, the Jewish workers of the USSR have seen ample evidence of the special help and attention given to the young region by state organs.

Thanks to this help, the people's economy and culture in the region have developed quickly. In the taiga dozens of communities with hundreds of productive enterprises, collective and state farms grew up. A network of educational institutions and technical schools, clubs, factory and institutional libraries have been established. A big city like Birobidjan has sprung up with tall buildings, asphalt roads, parks, theaters and stadiums. The region surges with a full-blooded Soviet life. The new decisions of the Council of Ministers are another expression of the interest of the Soviet government in the economic aspect of Jewish statehood in the USSR.

There is a growing desire on the part of the Soviet Jews to emigrate to the Jewish Autonomous Region. Upon what is this desire founded? All Soviet citizens, including the Jews, wherever they reside, are guaranteed work according to their preference and skill; they are guaranteed housing. The doors of all institutions of learning are open to them and their children. Equally with all other nationalities they partake of the fruits of the Soviet policy of friendship among peoples. Yet there is among Soviet Jews a desire to emigrate to Birobidjan.

The Birobidjan writer, B. Miller, gives an answer in his story, *Birobidjan*. The mother, Gitl Tchernovetzki, tries to convince her son, Leibel, not to go to Birobidjan. "What do you want? What is missing here?" she asks her son, and Leibel answers her, "I am missing nothing here, but they miss me there."

In this dialogue we learn why Soviet Jews want to go to Birobidjan. They have everything all other citizens have in Vinnitsa, in Bershad, in Kiev, in Bobruisk. But as Soviet patriots they feel they are needed in Birobidjan, and join in the construction of Birobidjan. And of course, national consciousness influences them—they desire to participate actively in the building of the only Soviet Jewish state in the world.

The decision referred to above was adopted on the 13th anniversary of the formation of the Jewish Autonomous Region. Only 13 years, including four years of bitter warfare! And what a tremendous amount of work has been done there!

The former wilderness of the taiga is now replaced by well-built settlements, factories, collective and state farms. Primeval forests have been cleared away,



Sovfoto

Textile mill in Birobidjan built since the end of World War II.

swamps drained; the large town of Birobidjan, workers' settlements, district centers have been built, with hundreds of new enterprises and growing cultural institutions.

Former shoemakers, tailors and small tradesmen from Vinnitsa, Uman, Zhitomir, Bobruisk and other towns and villages have become experienced heads of industrial plants and collective farms; they are driving tractors, operating harvester-combines, and working like Stakhanovites at their machines and in the collective farm fields.

The Soviet state is allocating considerable funds to develop the economy and culture of the Jewish Autonomous Region. This year's investments in local industry are one and a half times those of last year.

Construction work continues on the Teplozersky cement works; plans for the lime works and machine repair shops are being extended; a new mechanized brick factory is going up. A new paper-mill, tile works, textile mill and the Ushumun coal mine will go into operation this year.

The new buildings, as well as the industrial plants and collective and state farms, await the new settlers. At the "Emes" collective farm, for instance, there are 35 hectares of arable land per able-bodied person; at the Smidovich collective farm, 22; and at the Kirov collective farm, 15 hectares. These facts alone signify how the new arrivals will be welcomed at the collective farms!

Several hundred persons from the Vinnitsa region arrived in Birobidjan several months ago and all of them are already working in factories, on collective farms and in various institutions. The members of the second party from Vinnitsa will also find jobs waiting for them to suit their abilities and preferences.

What type of people are now emigrating to the Jewish Autonomous Region?

The occupational training of the new immigrants is radically different from that of the first Jewish settlers, not only in Birobidjan, but also on the land grants in Crimea and the Ukraine. Occupational distribution among the new settlers is witness to the complete rebuilding of the social and economic structure of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union. Among the early settlers on the Crimean land grants more than 30 percent were small shopkeepers and about 20 percent had no trade or profession.

There are none like these among the new settlers, because such *luftmenshen* have disappeared from the Soviet Union altogether. Who are now going from Vinnitsa to Birobidjan? Forty-eight construction workers, 25 locksmiths, 18 turners, 25 auto drivers, 20 smiths, 155 collective farm workers, five tractor drivers, 48 shoemakers, 37 needle trades workers. Among

them are also engineers, technicians, mechanics, doctors, teachers, machinists, electricians, agricultural specialists, composers and others. This short list reflects the healthy and productive social condition of the Jewish people of the USSR.

The new settlers have another very important feature: some of them are demobilized veterans, soldiers and officers who went through the great patriotic war. These people were steeled and hardened in gruesome battle. They fear no hardships and can overcome all kinds of obstacles. Such solid material is necessary for all construction, and especially in the Jewish Autonomous Region.

The Jewish Autonomous Region is preparing to welcome the new settlers. It is already known in a general way in what establishments, collectives and institutions they will work. Living quarters and maintenance are being prepared for them

until they settle in their work. All details have been taken care of, everything has been planned to make the newcomers feel themselves part of the family.

For instance, some collectives in the Jewish Autonomous Region have taken the initiative in this matter. Since the new settlers will arrive during the summer and will not have time to plant gardens of their own, the collective farmers have decided to plant several hectares of potatoes and garden vegetables for distribution to new settlers on their arrival. Similar action has been taken by other enterprises in which the new settlers will work.

Planning by the government for the accommodation of the new settlers guarantees their successful establishment in the region and their rapid integration in the active work of construction.

Moscow.

G. ZHITS.

PALESTINE'S NEW MOOD

THE arrival of UNSCOP in Palestine was greeted with joy and a sense of satisfaction. The masses of the people put their trust in the Committee in the hope that a just and rapid solution of the problems of the country would be promoted by its work and that an international decision would remove Palestine from the sphere of British imperialist domination.

A new anti-imperialist mood is abroad in many quarters and amongst the masses of the people. Even *Davar*, organ of Histadruth, which is dominated by the right-wing labor party (Mapai), for the first time played up to this mood of the masses when it printed an article stating that "a pre-condition for the achievement of independence . . . is the removal of the country from the field of action of British imperialism."

Unfortunately the Arab reactionary leadership, kept in power by the imperialist rule which it directly and indirectly supports, had succeeded in enforcing an Arab boycott of the Committee which served the interests of those who endeavor to sabotage any constructive solution.

But even among the representatives of the sector of the population whose testimony was heard—the Jews—there were many who did the same service to the imperialist rulers as the Arab Higher Committee had done. They gave a distorted picture of the country's problems, evaded the real issue—independence and freedom for the two peoples equal in rights—and propounded plans and schemes whose carrying out would serve the interests of the foreign rulers, per-

petuate imperialist domination and increase national antagonisms. These Jewish circles, headed by the Jewish Agency, deny the possibility of Jewish-Arab cooperation and disregard Arab rights to self-government just as the Arab Higher Committee denies Jewish rights and wants to turn Palestine into an exclusive Arab State. The conflicting demands create an apparent deadlock enabling imperialism to apply its policy of "divide and rule" and undermine the common Arab-Jewish struggle for independence and emancipation.

That the various reactionary plans submitted to the Committee do not have the support of the masses was strikingly proved by the reactions to the testimony of the Communist Party of Palestine which spoke in the interests of these masses and emphatically denounced the bloody imperialist rule of oppression.

The mood of the population was expressed by the many enthusiastic comments which could be heard in the towns and villages, in the streets, workshops and offices. The masses had the feeling that finally the truth had been loudly proclaimed, the grim truth which had so long been suppressed and distorted and that the bitterness which they had borne in their hearts had finally found expression. Even the official Zionist press—from the extreme right to the left—had to acknowledge and endorse what everybody felt and knew: a new atmosphere had been created.

The right-wing *Yedioth Aharnoth* of July 13 writes: "The communists' testimony was good. In many respects it was among the best heard until today and it

made a deep impression on the Committee. . . . This was the strongest indictment of British rule heard as yet." Even the revisionist *Hamashkif* headlined its story: "After the Jewish Agency's failure to face the issue, the communists have denounced British rule. UNSCOP demands that the government furnish facts on the Emergency Regulations." And it declared, "There was no Jew in the world, not even amongst the enemies of communism, who did not have a feeling of satisfaction when hearing the speeches and who did not think at the same time: 'It is good that these things have finally been said. The British will now know what people think of them.' . . . One cannot deny the fact that it was the privilege of the communists to put before the Committee the issue of military oppression in Palestine." *Haretz*, the bourgeois organ, writes: "The communists have strongly indicted British rule in the country which has been going on for the last 30 years." *Davar* writes: "The strength of the communists' testimony lay in the realistic and concise description of the police-state in Palestine . . . the fact that the Jews and Arabs alike demand the evacuation of the British army cannot be denied."

As was to be expected, the Zionist press could not acquiesce in the "disturbing" fact that the Palestine Communist Party was the only party that "had been fighting the fight of the *Yishuv*" (*Hamashkif*), and immediately started a campaign, alongside of grudging recognition, to "weaken" their own statements. The *Yedioth Aharonoth* states in the same article already quoted above, that for the communists this was an easy task as "the spokesmen of the Jewish Agency were afraid to tell the whole truth. . . . Our leadership is fettered, not only by psychological dependence on the British rule, but also by a sense of responsibility for the future of the *Yishuv*. . . . Our leaders do not want to burn all bridges with England." This implies that the communists are not concerned with the future of the *Yishuv*, an accusation too ridiculous to need comment. Also the clear and progressive stand of the Communist Party on the immigration question was used as a basis for attacks in which the leftist *Mishmar*, organ of the Hashomer Hatzair, excelled, over-reaching itself in obscurationism.

Immediately after the Communist Party's indictment before UNSCOP of the British methods of oppression, the Committee met in secret session and decided to ask the government to furnish facts and explanations as to these methods and the Emergency Regulations which deprive the citizens of Palestine of their most elementary rights. The government, how-

ever, published a Supplementary Memorandum which, instead of complying with UNSCOP's request, gives a chronological list of acts of terrorism committed during recent years. Terrorism is the government's defense and best means of obscuring the real facts of the situation.

Terrorism and the immigration question were used this time again in an attempt to side-track the main issue. The signal was given when the British Navy fell upon a shipload of 4,500 hapless refugees

with unprecedented fury and brutality, killing three and seriously wounding 28. This was followed by the inevitable cycle of violence and counter-violence, the imposition of curfews, the wailing of sirens and indiscriminate machine-gun barrages lasting hours. This "normal" state of confusion and disorder, of terror and counter-terror, has again become the lot of the population of Palestine after UNSCOP left the country.

Tel Aviv

P. C. P.

JEWES HELP TO REBUILD YUGOSLAVIA

THE extermination of 6,000,000 Jews by the nazis has not only brought down the number of European Jews by that figure but also changed the geographical and social structure of the surviving Jews.

No longer is Central Europe, or the European east (outside the Soviet Union), the main center of Jewish life and activity as it was before the war; the southeastern countries, Bulgaria and Rumania in particular, have become the new centers. They, together with the 3,500,000 Jews of the Soviet Union and the 120,000 Jews of Poland, are the focal points of Jewish survival and Jewish revival.

Between them and the Jews of the western European countries are only the reduced communities of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

Among the surviving Jewish communities the Jews of Yugoslavia occupy a special place. In no other of the above-mentioned countries (except the Soviet Union) has the integration of the Jews in the social and economic life been more complete or accomplished more smoothly than here.

The new Yugoslavia, which has solved the problem of her various nationalities, has also removed an existing obstacle in the path of advance of her Jewish citizens.

Yugoslavia is indeed the country without "Jewish news"—that is, the kind of news spread by the various Jewish news agencies and newspapers which seeks to "prove" that there is still anti-Semitism, that Jews want to leave the country, and so on. If there ever was truth in the saying that "no news is good news," it is true of the Jews of Yugoslavia.

Only 15,000 survived out of the pre-war Jewish population of 80,000. The sufferings and losses of Yugoslavia's Jews are comparable only with those of neighboring Greece, where out of a Jewish population of 75,000 only 10,000 survived.

Hundreds of Yugoslav Jews were saved by the efforts of Albanian patriots hiding them; others joined the Yugoslav guerrilla army which, in turn, liberated Jews

from nazi concentration camps. Many more would have been saved if members of families had not refused to be parted when not all of them could be brought to safety.

Today, the vast majority of the Yugoslav Jews are taking an active part in the reconstruction of the country in all fields of its economic and cultural life. Many are prominent in the State Administration.

Outstanding is the personality of Moshe Pijade, who is head of the biggest of the Yugoslav Federated Republics, Serbia, and a close friend and associate of Marshal Tito. During the war he was one of the chief strategists of Tito's army of liberation.

Though it is true that a small number of Jews desire to emigrate, mainly in order to join relatives abroad or because they made arrangements for emigration previously and find it difficult to adjust themselves to the new conditions, it is also true that a great many Yugoslav Jews are returning from Switzerland, Italy and even from America in order to avail themselves of the opportunities which the new Yugoslavia is providing. There is plenty of scope for initiative and energy for everyone.

Asked by a Jewish journalist recently about the chief task confronting the Jewish community in Yugoslavia, the president of the Belgrade Jewish Community, David A. Alkalay, replied: "I conceive our chief undertaking to be to maintain our Jewish community in a spirit of solidarity and to preserve the old Jewish culture and traditions."

Mr. Alkalay fought with Tito's Army and is the outstanding leader of Yugoslavia's Jews.

Belgrade.

J. S.

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AFRICAN JEWRY BEFORE JUDGEMENT DAY

SOUTH AFRICA is preparing for the 1948 elections to parliament. For us South African Jews, this is the approach of our day of judgment. Not the whole country is preparing for the elections—only the privileged “white” part of it. Gen. Smuts’ United Party, which is now in the saddle, even brought in the royal family recently as a propaganda measure to strengthen it in the coming elections. Through this advertisement the voters were reminded of their British “connection.”

The African Boer opposition under the leadership of Dr. Malan is moving cautiously and behind the political scenes is uniting all its nationalist and chauvinist followers. The Boers lost prestige during the last war, when their neutrality caused them to be ostracized because of their Nazi sympathies. They hope to recoup their strength by exploiting the weakness of the present government, which cannot fulfill its promises to the returning soldiers.

Behind these giants drags the vacillating Labor Party, recently splintered and pulverized by internal dissensions. The right wing of the Labor Party orients itself on the nationalist semi-fascist party, which promises the white worker a meaty bone at the expense of the “native” worker. The left wing is in sympathy with the Communists and all other left progressive elements which lead the trade union movement and the rest of the seven and a half million mass of black and brown untouchables.

This political picture is a reflection of the social and economic forces upon which are based the rule by the two million white minority over the seven and a half million dark-skinned majority. After the British victors made peace with the vanquished Boers, common fear of the black “native” brought about unity in 1910. The struggle between the Boer nationalists and Smuts’ South African Party (now the broadened United Party) in the interval between the two world wars, also ended with political peace in the white family because of the same fear of the rising black proletariat. The Boer nationalist party of rich farmers, the British South African Party of big merchants and industrialists, and above all, the Chamber of Mines (i.e., the owner of South Africa), were able to get rid of the Labor Party, which served as the balance between the two capitalist parties, by creating a coalition government.

Economic interests of the respective

classes are contradictory here as in every capitalist state. The Chamber of Mines, a great corporation of the gold and diamond mine operators, lives at the expense of the primitive black reserve, which is being torn out of its villages, out of its primitive-communal condition in South and Central Africa, and which is being quickly urbanized in the large South African cities. The white farmer is robbed of his cheap black “hands” by the rising industry. The interests of light industry, which is building its future on the rise in the economic level of the dark consumer, are thus in contradiction with the cheap “hands” policy of the Chamber of Mines.

The development of light industry in the last 25 years also upset the position of the Jewish minority, which had lived freely in the crevices of the politico-economic structure. The majority of South African Jewry belong to the small merchant middle class, which no longer plays its historic shop-keeper’s role alone. And pressure of the village Boer’s drive to capture the genteel urban professions is becoming stronger. Against a growing anti-Semitism, the shortsighted policy of the South African Board of Deputies of fighting with declarations from conferences of rabbis and ministers, is as effective as a splinter holding back the tide. The Board of Deputies has an apologetic policy of hanging on to the skirts of “white” reaction and the Board tolerates mistreatment of the Jewish minority as the “secondary target,” in the vain hope that the dominant non-Jews will not notice the Jews. This self-defeating policy must be radically changed to cooperation with the progressive elements of oppressed South Africa.

Meanwhile there is certainly nothing to envy in the lot of the black African in 1947. The English radical, J. B. S. Haldane, had said even before Hitler’s defeat, that “it is better to be a Jew in Berlin than a black in Johannesburg.” Jack Owen of the London *Daily Worker* reminded British readers at the beginning of this year that the king had recently opened the “color-bar” parliament in Capetown, which contains not even a single black representative for the seven and a half million South Africans. “In his speech the king

did not mention the fact that only three out of every 11 black children receive elementary education. . . . Nor the fact that 60 percent of the children of the black reserve die before they reach the age of 18.” The Smuts plan to annex Southwest Africa (new cheap “hands” for the South African mines) boomeranged in the UN against the white South African policies. Representatives of the quarter million oppressed Indian minority (especially of Natal, the cradle of Ghandi’s political career), radical representatives of the other provinces of South Africa, together with the delegates of India, the Soviet Union and the United States gave the white South African rulers a clear-cut hint that they will soon have to give an accounting for filling the prisons of Natal with Indian passive resisters, for drowning in blood the last strike of the black gold miners, and for similar fancy doings.

The recent anti-communist crusade by the Smuts government (the arrest and trial of the leaders of the South African Communist Party), Smuts’ appeasement policy toward the Malan chauvinist coalition, and Smuts’ hint that the South African Jews had better hold down their numbers to five percent of the white South African population in order not to sharpen anti-Semitism—these are clear signs of the fascist trend of the present South African government. A progressive front under the slogan of recognition of the black trade unions, of ending the fascist race-haters’ boycott against Indian shop-keepers, is the only guarantee for a secure future for the hundred thousand Jews of the South African *Yishuv*. We, South African Jews must join the ranks of fighters for a free, democratic South Africa.

Johannesburg.

L. LIEBOWITCH.

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NO FUTURE FOR ANTI-SEMITISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE extent to which political, social, or economic discrimination exists, grows or diminishes is one of the governing factors in the lives and future of Jewish people anywhere in the world.

In Czechoslovakia today there is no future for anti-Semitism. That is the plain fact about the position of the Jews in this country. Peopled with two nations—Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, Slovaks in Slovakia—Czechoslovakia for centuries has successfully resisted every effort to destroy its Slavonic character, its individuality, and the deep bonds of kinship of the two peoples.

Today, Czechoslovakia stands firm, a strong and independent country, with a deep sense of national pride combined with an equally deep feeling of friendship to all nations who wish to be friendly.

No city is more multi-lingual than Prague. Bookshops and stands selling foreign books, magazines and newspapers are everywhere. Wherever there are flags, there are the flags of all the United Nations.

One met a fine healthy nationalism which was devoid, at the same time, of any feelings of chauvinism or jingoism.

The government of the National Front of all progressive parties, under the Presidency of Dr. Edouard Benes, and with Klement Gottwald, Chairman of the Com-

munist Party, as Premier, has demonstrated clearly its determination to eliminate fascism, anti-Semitism, and all the other evils of the Nazi occupation.

A presidential decree outlaws racial discrimination. Collaborators are tried and punished, many with death sentences. The Sudeten Germans—some 3,000,000—who voted for Hitler, and some 500,000 Hungarians in Slovakia, are being returned to their own countries. The only exceptions are Jews and those who are able to give evidence of actual anti-fascist activity.

In this atmosphere, most Jews find it easier to forget the horrors of the Nazi camps, and the grim fact that the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia is only one-tenth the pre-war number.

Jewish citizens' rights and property rights have been or are being restored. I spoke to many who were completely rehabilitated. Cases exist, however, where action satisfactory to the individual has not yet been taken. I was assured that these would be dealt with.

The tremendous task of righting the moral and material ruin left by the Nazis involving as it did the determined raising of the standard of life throughout the country, the rooting out of all traces of fascism, is understandably more than a five-minute job.

To see the progress already made in economic, political, and cultural spheres is to envy the future of these virile, industrious, and clear-thinking people. That future includes an assurance for the well-being of and the full equality for the Czechoslovak Jews.

In Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia there are some 20,000 Jews. Many, I should say most, of these are closely integrated into Czech life and look upon themselves as Czechs. An impressive number have fine records of anti-fascist fighting. They speak with pride of the achievements of Czechoslovakia since the liberation.

Their living experiences with their fellow Czechs who are not Jewish (the majority of whom do not view the Jews as being "different") only serve to intensify their love for their country and their ardor in working for its future. One lad of 14, asked if he felt conscious of any differences between non-Jews and Jews, shrugged his shoulders and replied, "One doesn't look."

There are, however, individuals and small sections of Jewry who hold a variety of different views. Many of these are of the middle class. Though others do not, they still view themselves as different. They just don't grasp the guarantee of

liberty, freedom, and security inherent in the new republic. Such individuals are few in number, have little or no mass influence, and the authorities give them full facilities to emigrate if they so desire.

In Slovakia there are some 30,000 Jews. Slovakia, mainly an agricultural land, is not as advanced as the more industrialized Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia. Its recovery and advance present problems different from those of the rest of the country.

The Two-Year Plan includes arrangements for its electrification, industrialization, and mechanization of farms. For a while, the position of the Slovakian Jews may include some difficulties.

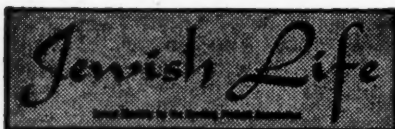
The reclaiming of property by Jews has unavoidably led to some anti-Semitism on the part of those who had owned the property for six or seven years. This is made good use of by those remnants of reaction which are hostile to the new people's government.

This problem, however, is one of short duration. The government's attitude towards the matter, the active measures being taken in regard to it, eliminate fears as to the outcome.

This must be so in a land where the right to work is law; where the concern of the government is for the people as a whole, and not that of a few "have-alls"; and where all the prerequisites for the entire elimination of racial discrimination and hatred, fascism, poverty, and ignorance have already been attained.

Czechoslovakia has won its fight against the old. It is now actively engaged in the struggle for the new.

Prague. MAURICE ESSEX.



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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Jewish boy, was invited to play with an all-Negro team in the Ohio softball tournament and accepted, amid criticism from many players. The all-Negro team had won the district title and under the rules the team was allowed to add two players. They selected Gordon and another white player, Dick Southard, both of whom helped the team all the way to the championship game with their stellar play. . . . During the past year over 100 Negro families moved into Detroit's Twelfth Street section. Real estate men reportedly visited home and property owners in this Jewish neighborhood and panicked them into an "evacuation" move "because the Negroes are coming." The Detroit Jewish Community Council called a meeting in mid-September at the Beth Tefilo Emanuel Synagogue with Rabbi Max K. Wohlgelegen presiding. About forty property owners, business people, synagogue officials and social agency workers passed resolutions calling on property owners to stop their panic sales and to recognize the need for an educational program to cover the problems of relations between the two groups. Tentative plans are also under way to set up a council of residents of the area, Negroes, Jews and non-Jews, for discussion of common neighborhood problems.

☆

A suit was brought by nine home owners of the "restricted" suburban Bannockburn Heights, Md., to compel Aaron Tushin, an examiner for

the U. S. Patent Office, and his non-Jewish wife to move out of their home. Tushin moved into the house with his wife and three minor children about a year ago. The suit charged that Tushin's presence constituted an "irreparable damage" to the section and violated the restrictive covenant that bars Negroes, Jews and Persians from property-owning. Adverse publicity and public indignation caused the nine suitors to withdraw their suit. Most of the 52 families in the development refused to join the suit and Tushin's immediate neighbors offered to testify in his behalf.

☆

The first arrest under a law passed in Indiana this year making it a felony to disseminate racial hatred was made on September 6. Joel Eddy, middle-aged store operator, was accused of encouraging mass truancy at Gary's Emerson School, where students walked out in protest against admission of Negro students to their school. The city school board has reaffirmed its city-wide anti-segregation policy.

☆

Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis warned on September 21 that Roman Catholics who protested the admission of Negro children to parochial schools with white pupils that they will be automatically excommunicated from the Church if they persist in plans to bar the Negroes by civil action against the Archbishop. About a week earlier more than 700 Catholic parents had authorized their executive committee to seek an

injunction to bar Negroes from Catholic schools for white children.

☆

Although organized anti-Semitism has declined somewhat in the United States, anti-Jewish prejudice
(Continued on page 32)

Letter From Reader

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

This protest arises from the fact that you claim to be "The indispensable magazine for the progressive Jew," and, I find, you are! Don't you have any idea how busy people are these days and how prices are skyrocketing to compel us, by putting out a really indispensable magazine, to subscribe; to force us, with fascinating articles and stories, to read it; to arouse our enthusiasm to such violence it becomes necessary to tell others about JEWISH LIFE?

If you would be reasonable and have only one or two good features, I could risk missing an issue. But you're editorially fanatical. Take your September issue, for example—two irresistible features on Palestine and the UN, plus an enlightening editorial and a review! You've made the issues so clear I have no alternative but to present my views to people who are asking questions. Why pick on me? Let others answer. . . . and then that "controversy" on the Buckley Bill, with Polier, Cacchione and Levner exciting me with two pages of forensic fireworks. It was so lively I had to read it. Controversy is all right, but to make it enjoyable is going to extremes.

I'm not even going to mention the features on Negro-Jewish unity by Harry Raymond and William L. Patterson, or Harap's review of *Crossfire*.

If you keep on being so indispensable, I'll simply have to stop listening to Kaltenborn and Heatter. Are you going to drive me to that?
New York, N. Y. EUGENE KONECKY.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of JEWISH LIFE, published at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1947.

State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Lechowitzky, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of JEWISH LIFE, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y.
Editor, none.

Managing editor, Samuel Barron, 35 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y.

Business manager, A. Lechowitzky, 35 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Morning Freiheit

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

ABRAHAM LECHOWITZKY,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of September, 1947.

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[Seal] (My commission expires March 30, 1949.)

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 31)

dice has won a following among "respectable" sections of the community previously free of bias, said John Slawson, executive vice-president of the American Jewish Committee, recently. Hidden forms of prejudice, he said, find expression in job bias, educational quotas and housing restrictions.

★

Torah Umeshorah, national society for Jewish all-day schools, reported that at least 22,000 Jewish pupils will attend all-day Jewish schools, and the opening of at least nine new all-day schools.

EUROPE

Two American soldiers were beaten up on July 30 by about fifty Jewish DP's at Ansbach, Germany, after the two provoked the fight, as admitted by the military court. Two of the Jews were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, while the soldiers were released with a reprimand. A letter of one of the soldiers to his family in Houston, Texas, was published in the *Houston Press* of August 17. Pfc. Thomas W. Ullrich wrote about the incident as follows: "The DP's are tight-mouthed. One of them, who the American agents were pretty sure had something to do with it, wouldn't tell a thing. . . . So they found a room with a huge porcelain stove and built a roaring fire in it. They then closed all the windows and doors and let the room heat up to 120 degrees and then shoved this guy in. They left him in there for about five minutes, and then he was ready to tell them everything—even more than they wanted to know. . . . Personally I've had a lot of fun out of the whole thing."

★

Former S. S. Lieut. Gen. Oswald Pohl, who is one of eighteen nazi concentration camp chiefs being tried in Nuremberg by a United States war crimes court, told the tribunal that his views on the Jewish question had been influenced by writings on the subject by the late Henry Ford, who wrote and published a considerable amount of anti-Semitic literature after World War I.

★

Jewish Telegraphic Agency correspondent Paul Green reports little-known facts about Jews in the Soviet zone of Germany. Jews in that zone number about 1,500, as contrasted with the 100,000 living there before Hitler. They are organized in seven communities in Leipzig, Dresden, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Chemnitz, Halle and Schwerin. There are no DP's in the Soviet sector. The Jews have full freedom of religious and communal life without interference from the Russians, with whom relations are everywhere good. The Russians are completely free of anti-Semitism. Although some anti-Semitism still exists among the Germans, the Russians do not tolerate any manifestation of it. Together with all victims of nazism the Jews receive ration cards one category higher than the one to which they are ordinarily entitled. Nevertheless many Jews wish to leave Germany. The Russians place no obstacles in the path of Jews who travel inside or outside the zone for community reasons.

★

After his return from a two-month trip in central Europe Dr. Nathan Reich, research director of the JDC and chairman of Hunter College's Economics Department, reported that the position of Jews in Poland has improved greatly in the past year. Attacks on Jews have ceased. The trend toward emigration has reversed although he estimated that 70 per cent might leave, if assured of security and permanent settle-

ment. There is no unemployment among Polish Jewry, he said. Most of them work in state industries or in the 200 producer cooperatives established with the help of JDC. Most of the cooperatives are now self-supporting and beginning to pay back the capital loaned them. Dr. Reich stressed that only 10 per cent of the Jews are engaged in business, in marked contrast to the pre-war situation. Another report to the same effect was made by William Bein, JDC director in Poland, who returned to this country after 18 months in Poland. He said that Polish Jews were making "amazing strides" towards re-establishment, self-support and cultural expression. The cultural aspects of Jewish life are most encouraging, he said. Jewish newspapers are being published again and Jewish theaters, often with government subsidies, have reopened throughout the country.

★

Pressure on the British Labor government to curb fascist and anti-Semitic activity in Britain is growing stronger. There are more than 20 national organizations with fascist or anti-Semitic aims in Britain, not counting the 17 "book-clubs" organized by would-be Fuehrer Oswald Mosley. Independent M.P. Dennis Pritt has drafted a law to deal with fascist utterances which is on its way to Parliament, although Home Secretary Chuter Ede is delaying action on it. Frequent fascist street meetings held in London are attended by disturbances and cries of "Heil Hitler" and "Heil Mosley." While one Jew was sentenced to 28 days' imprisonment for obstructing the police at one of the meetings, fascists are getting off with mild sentences. The London press is urging the curbing of anti-Semitic manifestations. In mid-September the Jewish Board of Deputies launched an appeal for funds to fight the growing menace of anti-Semitism. The Board responded to a letter from the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR protesting the British pogroms with a request that arrangements be made for an Anglo-Jewish delegation to go to the Soviet Union to develop closer contacts with Soviet Jews. On September 21 Jeffery Hamm, policy director of the pro-fascist British League of Ex-Servicemen, was arrested "for using insulting words" at a wild rally attended by several M.P.'s. Hamm is the first top-level fascist to be arrested since the war's end. A peculiar statement was issued in New York by William Frankel, London lawyer and representative of the American Jewish Committee in England, that the anti-Semitic outbreaks gave no cause for alarm.

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The 4,400 Exodus refugees in the Poppendorf and Am Stau camps in Germany rejected a British ultimatum that they agree to be transferred to France, or have their daily ration of 2,800 calories reduced to the German ration of 1,500 calories. British officials abandoned the effort to screen the Exodus refugees after interviews with several hundred of them resulted in complete confusion and long lists of obviously assumed names such as Hollywood stars, biblical characters, political figures and heroes of fairy tales. The Jews are still almost unanimous in their desire to remain together and to proceed to Palestine in a single party.

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An attempt to unite the permanent Jewish communities in the four zones of Germany, begun last June, has "died stillborn," according to Dr. Philip Auerbach, Bavarian Commissioner for Racial and Political Persecutes. He attributed the chief obstacle to the recent merger between the Central Committee of Liberated Jews of the British zone and the local Jewish communities.

He feels that the problems facing the two groups are sufficiently different to warrant two distinct organizations, although urging cooperation between them and deploring any tendency to preach differences between "eastern" and "western" Jews.

PALESTINE

In a *New York Times* dispatch from Jerusalem on September 20 Clifton Daniel reports authoritative estimates that the Zionists could mobilize a force of 50,000 armed and trained men within a short period. In a national emergency this figure could be raised to 100,000 men and women. According to reliable calculations there are 80,000 Zionists in Palestine who have received some degree of military training, not including those who fought in foreign armies and partisan units. About 30,000 Palestinian Jews served in the British forces alone during the war. The Jews of Palestine are today probably producing more arms than any of the Arab states, and they have a large reservoir of skilled workmen. Among Zionist veterans there are the nucleus of every type of armed force.

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Sami Taha, leader of the Palestine Arab Workers' Society, was assassinated in Haifa on September 12. A JTA dispatch states that he was killed by five Arabs a few hours after he told a meeting that he would favor civil rights for all Jews in Palestine. Taha was an enemy of the Mufti, whose newspaper *al Wahda* denounced Taha recently for trying to split the Arab nationalist movement and undermine its leadership. Taha was organizing a Socialist Workers Party along the lines of the British Labor Party. He has been known as an anti-communist.

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A tax-free dividend of seven per cent has been proposed by the directors of the Palestine Electric Corporation in Jerusalem for the year 1946, an increase of one per cent over 1945.

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Commercial press statistics published in Cairo reveal that Egyptian merchants bought more than \$800,000 worth of Palestinian goods since January 1. These figures indicate that Egyptian mercantile houses do not adhere as strictly to the "anti-Zionist boycott" as Arab propaganda sources claim.

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Dr. S. Eisenstadt, editor of *Likud*, progressive Palestinian periodical devoted to friendship of Soviet and Palestinian Jews, has translated into Hebrew the Soviet Constitution and Stalin's famous chapter on dialectical and historical materialism. Dr. Eisenstadt, who is Professor of Law in the Legal High School, Tel Aviv, and secretary of the Committee for the Rejuvenation of the Hebrew Language, has recently published *The History of the Jewish Labor Movement*.

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The Palestine government recently announced a draft ordinance for the control of underground water for irrigation purposes. By means of this ordinance it will be possible for the government to declare any region to be an underground water control area in which the right to bore wells or to extract water must be obtained from the water commissioner, who may grant permission or not as he thinks fit. This ordinance is generally considered an attempt to curtail Jewish agriculture, since productivity is dependent on irrigation. A meeting of the Agricultural Workers' Council was called especially to protest against the restrictive possibilities of the draft ordinance.



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