

Jewish Life

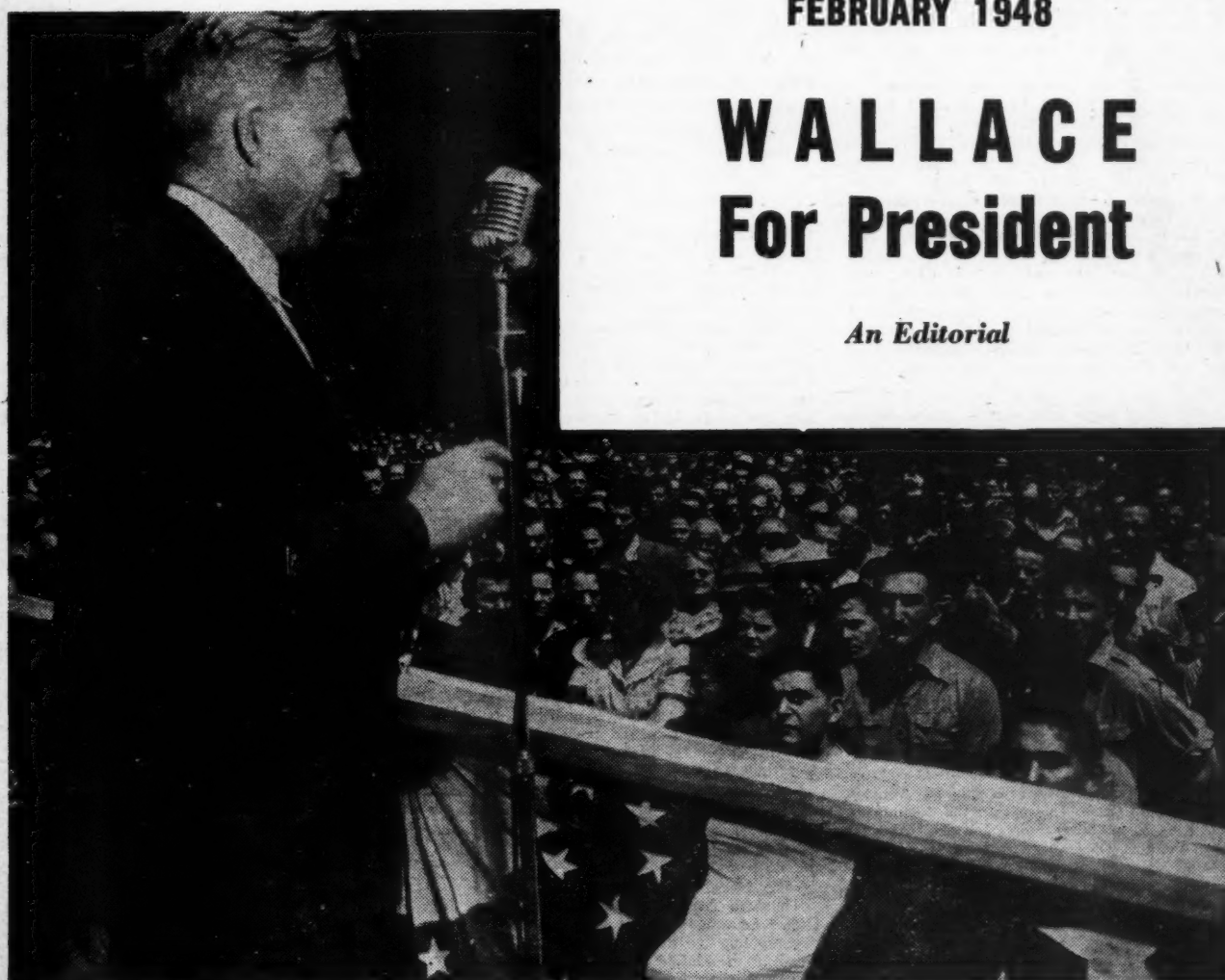
Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

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FEBRUARY 1948

WALLACE For President

An Editorial



WITCH-HUNT IN THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS by Sigmund G. Elsenscher

SOVIET POSITION ON PALESTINE by Andrei Gromyko

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

Delegates from 62 major Jewish organizations and communities in the United States unanimously voted on November 30, 1947 to accept the recommendations of the American Jewish Conference to establish a permanent agency to act as spokesman for all Jews in America on domestic and foreign problems. The delegates voted that "an organization, democratic in structure and representative of the American Jewish community, shall be established to secure and protect the rights and to promote the general welfare of the Jewish people here and abroad." Although the American Jewish Congress sharply criticized the plan for a new organization, it remained a component part. The American Jewish Committee declined to join, charging that the new organization would duplicate functions already being performed by Jewish organizations. An Interim Committee of the Conference is drawing up plans to organize and direct the election of delegates to the new organization.

A minimum of \$250,000,000 was set as the 1948 goal of the United Jewish Appeal by 1200 delegates at the Atlantic City conference in December. The funds will be allocated among the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal and the United Service for New Americans. The quota was approved after presentation of record-breaking budgets for the three organizations totalling \$359,367,000, of which \$283,000,000 is required by the UPA and its constituent agencies, more than \$98,000,000 by the JDC and \$13,000,000 by the USNA. Eliezer Kaplan, who spoke for the UPA, stated that \$95,000,000 will be needed for the reception, care, housing and integration of 75,000 Jewish refugees who are expected to reach Palestine next year. The UJA goal for 1947 was \$170,000,000 but only about \$132,000,000 was raised.

The second world-wide meeting of the affiliates of the World Jewish Congress will be held at Montreux, Switzerland, February 15, 1948. Representatives of communities and organizations from 61 countries which constitute the Congress are expected to attend the session, which will discuss further plans for the implementation of the Congress' plan for Jewish survival.

The Legion of Decency, Catholic movie pressure group, has placed *Gentleman's Agreement*, powerful film indictment of anti-Semitism, on its B-Objectable-in-Part list because "it reflects the acceptability of divorce." The movie hit *Crossfire*, also a condemnation of anti-Semitism, has been rejected by Veteran Administration officials for national distribution at VA hospitals.

Only four of the many anti-Semitic organizations in the United States were listed as "subversive" in the list issued recently by Attorney General Tom Clark. The four are the Columbians, Ku Klux Klan, Silver Shirts and the Protestant War Veterans. Observers noted that organizations around some of America's most dangerous fascists, such as Gerald L. K. Smith, Gerald P. Winrod and others, as well as the America First Committee, were absent from the list.

United States support of partition at the UN General Assembly was attacked in the House by Foreign Affairs Committee member Rep. Lawrence H. Smith, of Wisconsin. Smith announced plans to request an investigation of "the lobby for partition." He charged "intense pressure" by U.S. officials to swing the votes of Haiti, Liberia and the Philippines to support of partition. Rep. Ed Gossett, of Texas, declared that

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

THE EDITORS.

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any shipments of arms from this country to Palestine would "further antagonize and alienate" the Arab world.

The State Department has announced that the United States government was "for the present" discontinuing the licensing of arms to "troubled areas" of the Middle East. The Zionist Organization of America has called upon the government "to facilitate the acquisition by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, through appropriate arrangements, of military equipment for the defense and security of Palestine."

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver hailed the Soviet Union for its decisive role in the UN decision

in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine. Speaking early in December to his large Cleveland congregation, Rabbi Silver said: "Had it not been for the Soviet Union and the Slav countries, his (President Truman's) decision (to support partition) would never have been possible. . . . Such cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union in this action should set an example for future cooperation to maintain the peace of the world."

The Jewish War Veterans will press a legal and legislative program to stem the tide of restrictive practices in veterans' housing, national commander Julius Klein announced. The already

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT

THE Jewish people view the foreign and domestic situation with growing alarm. The recent loss of six million of our brothers and sisters, the failure of the western democracies to take serious steps to help save our people from nazi slaughter houses, the efforts of some in seats of power—as in the American State Department—to sabotage what faltering steps were taken to rescue Jews—these experiences have made us extremely sensitive to signs of political deterioration that would inevitably lead to the resumption of the extermination of our people.

Turn where you will among the American people and you see the damaging effects of our current domestic and foreign policy. The whole people is burdened by inflation that is lowering real wages. Our civil liberties are in greater danger perhaps than ever before in American history, thanks to the Loyalty Order and the Un-American witch-hunt blessed by Attorney General Tom Clark. So bad has this become that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has had to speak up in sharp opposition at a recent meeting in memory of Peter Altgeldt. Discrimination in employment and in education against the Negro people, lynchings and other forms of persecution and oppression have increased to such an extent that a President's Committee on Civil Rights has had to take note of it, even if for demagogic purposes. Other minority groups are faring little better, while the foreign born are being subjected to a real campaign of terror. Veterans are still faced with a demoralizing housing problem thanks to effective sabotage on the part of the highest government officials of the federal housing program. Labor is fighting for its life against government by injunction, federal strike-breaking, and that menacing precursor of fascist trade unionism represented by the Taft-Hartley slave labor law.

Wall Street has literally moved its headquarters to the capitol, into the offices of cabinet members and their departments in the persons of Forrestal, Harriman, Lovett, Snyder, and their associates, assistants and hangers-on, including grain speculators and war profiteers. Such a gang would naturally come to the support of the most reactionary elements of Europe. Thus we have the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan bringing aid and succor to the bankrupt political underworld of Europe and Asia, supporting a fascist regime in Greece and Turkey, winking at the Franco regime in Spain, encouraging clericalism in Italy and De Gaulle cagoulardism in France, bolstering feudal corruption in China—and crowning achievement—

beginning the rebuilding of Germany as a spearhead against democracy.

These dangerous conditions are the background of the candidacy of Henry Wallace. In despair over the obstinately reactionary policy, in which both the Democratic and Republican Parties concur, and which they were both responsible for designing, Henry Wallace has turned to an independent, anti-fascist, anti-war third party as the hope of democracy. His candidacy has given assurance to the world that America is not all Truman or Marshall or Hoover or Dulles. For America, Wallace's candidacy is the lodestone to which all clear-headed progressives will be drawn. The vital interests of the Jews merge with those of all sections of the American workers and middle class in resistance to the post-war resurgence of fascist tendencies and the drag towards war.

Whom Can Jews Support?

In fact the Jews are already beginning to feel the results of this policy. What does the Marshall plan mean specifically to the Jews if not the splitting of Europe in two and the isolation of the overwhelming majority of the European Jews, who live in the Eastern part, from the Jews of America? But it is these east-European Jews who were the worst sufferers from nazi brutality, and who therefore need most the support and encouragement of American Jewry. Against whom is the Marshall plan directed, if not against those very countries that are responsible for saving what Jews are left in Europe—the Soviet Union and the new democracies of eastern Europe—the only countries in the world today where anti-Semitism is a crime and punishable up to and including the death penalty. And whom does the Marshall plan aid if not those governments that include former collaborators of Germany and murderers of Jews, like the present government of Greece, like the elements whose revival is being encouraged in the western part of Germany.

Can honest Jews, concerned with the welfare of their people, support Harry Truman, who is responsible for this policy?

The needling of the Soviet Union and Poland finally compelled the United States to agree to a UN solution to the Palestine question. But the application of the Truman Doctrine to Palestine meant dilatory tactics on the part of

the United States in the UN, the granting of 40 million dollars worth of arms to Arab reactionaries while placing an embargo on arms to the Jews, State Department intrigue to defeat the setting up of truly independent Jewish and Arab states, and continued efforts to achieve a unilateral Anglo-American solution to the problem.

What Jew can support Harry Truman, who is either in complete agreement with this policy, or is totally incapable of controlling his imperialist-minded, Wall Street-manipulated State Department?

Truman's Loyalty Order has in fact been an administration blessing for the efforts of the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Committee, just as Attorney General Tom Clark's dropping of the case of the 19 alleged seditionists has encouraged and emboldened every anti-Semite in the country, from hooligan to college president. The Un-American Committee witch-hunting has led to an attack on courageous Hollywood workers who fought anti-Semitism through films. The Loyalty Order has led Tammany Hall in New York to compel its legislators to withdraw support for the Buckley Bill against anti-Semitism for red-baiting reasons, while a Chicago court has just held that a proved anti-Semite cannot be called un-American. All this is laying the groundwork for using the Jews once again as a scapegoat when the economic crisis arrives. The Fortune poll which indicated that Jews were the target of 73 per cent of those with prejudice for economic reasons and of 52 per cent of those prejudiced for political reasons, while 36 per cent of the population resented "Jewish economic power," shows how far the reactionary monopolists and imperialists have gone in poisoning the minds of the American people through their open anti-Semitic agents.

Can Jews support Harry Truman who, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, has encouraged and laid the groundwork for the further development of these tensions by his revival of the anti-Comintern international witch-hunt and domestic anti-Communist and anti-labor drive?

Unfortunately Wallace's candidacy has excited a babel of confusion among the nation's liberals and labor leaders, who are pinning their hopes for 1948 on Truman as the "lesser evil." What "lesser evil"? One would think that Hoover was sitting in the White House and not Truman. One would think that Truman did not appoint Dulles as a member of the delegation to the Foreign Minister's Conference. And certainly labor leaders have heard enough double-talk from bosses at negotiations not to fall for Truman's speeches of opposition to major anti-democratic, anti-labor, anti-people's legislation, all of which passed as a result of a Republican-Democratic *coalition*, and because Truman's speeches lulled the people to sleep. The facts are, however, that Truman removed major items from OPA control before he opposed the bill killing the minor items that were left. Truman acted in the coal strike, and

demanding legislation against the railroad strike much worse than the Taft-Hartley Bill which he presumably opposed. And having already called price control and rationing the acts of a police state, how seriously can we take his "efforts" to fight inflation?

What "lesser evil"! Jews cannot afford to share such illusions. Their stake in a progressive America is too great. As for liberals who fall for this, they confirm Heywood Broun's classic remark that a liberal is one who has both feet firmly planted in mid-air.

We are told by some that Wallace's candidacy will guarantee the election of a Republican, and bearing the "Clear it with Sidney" campaign of 1944 in mind, what could be worse than that for Jews and all other Americans? We must ask, however, what happened in 1946. Wallace did not run for office then. Who defeated the Democratic Party in 1946? Obviously nothing but Truman's policies. These policies have become even worse since, have alienated the American people and guarantee the defeat of the Democratic Party in 1948. The candidacy of Wallace will give the American people a positive choice on which to express their opposition to Truman, instead of a negative choice, which they took in 1946 by voting Republican.

But more than that, Wallace's candidacy and a third party movement will not only promote progressive congressional and local candidates, but will give them a better guarantee of election than they would otherwise have. Millions of independent voters—the decisive element in an American election—will stay away from the polls if they have no real choice between reactionary parties. By giving them a real choice, a third party will vitalize the elections and bring out a maximum vote, which can only benefit progressive candidates. The essence of third party strategy is to canalize every iota of progressive sentiment into one great stream of anti-fascist and anti-war strength.

The place of Jews is in this progressive stream. Their very survival depends on its strength. If they have learned the lesson of the past decade that Jews, as well as the common people, are in mortal danger from any force which has truck with fascist tendencies, as American bi-partisan policy at home and abroad has, they will adhere to the Wallace movement. The Jewish people must think hard and clearly about the anti-democratic trend in both parties. They must see through the seductive words of a Truman administration and judge it by deeds, which have taken America on the road to fascism. It is not alarmist, but realistic, to know that a repetition of the Hitlerite holocaust can be prevented only by a strong movement gathering about Henry Wallace.

The Jewish people must respond to the call of Henry Wallace by flooding his office with letters from individuals, and with statements and resolutions from organizations pledging support to his campaign.

JEWISH REALIGNMENT

THE resignation of Dr. Moshe Sneh from the executive of the Jewish Agency on December 29 has caused a deep stir in the world press.¹ The *New York Times*, for instance, saw profound political implications in the resignation and featured the story on the front page. Moshe Sneh, as is well known, is one of the younger leaders of the Agency who became prominent during the war as a top Haganah leader. In the Zionist movement and in the *Yishuv* he is regarded as a leader of first importance. According to reports, Sneh resigned for two reasons. First, he disagreed with the Agency majority on immigration, maintaining that the Agency was allowing it to proceed too slowly in this period. Second, Sneh disagreed with the Agency majority on the world forces upon which the *Yishuv* should orient itself.

Events like the Sneh resignation were not unexpected. Immediately after the historic UN decision the Morning Freiheit Association pointed out that realignments would follow within the Jewish community as a whole and in the Zionist movement, and the Sneh incident is one sign of this realignment. It is becoming increasingly clear to Jews that both British and American imperialism are maneuvering to nullify the UN decision and to prevent the Jewish state from achieving independence. On the other hand, the decisive, inspiring actions of the Soviet Union and the new democracies, their steady fight both before and after the decision, indicate clearly who are the true friends of the Jewish people and the Jewish state and who are their enemies. Thousands of rank and file Zionists, as well as some leaders, have begun to draw conclusions from these facts and to act upon them. The facts show that orientation upon the "West" means in practice dependence upon those who are preventing the establishment of a truly independent, democratic state in Palestine.

The Sneh resignation focuses attention on the menace of relying and orienting upon British and American imperialism. It stimulates the Jewish masses into an awareness that such a dangerous orientation should be defeated.

The Yiddish press has editorialized on the resignation. The *Jewish Morning Journal*, for instance, stated editorially that the resignation was unfortunate. But its arguments are hard to understand and certainly do not point a proper line of action at this grave hour. While the editorial insisted that the Jewish people and the *Yishuv* should orient neither on the East or the West but on both, this view was contradicted by its argument that the Jews should not get involved in the complicated big power conflict. But surely, at this late date it should not be necessary to point out that the Jewish people have no choice in the matter, that Jewish politics cannot be carried on in a vacuum. The fate of the Jewish people in the last decade should leave no doubt on this point. Nor could Jewish national aspirations be fulfilled without

the aid of the United Nations. These facts should show unequivocally that Jewish problems are willy-nilly a part of world politics. Nor can we forget that both within and outside the Jewish state, the question of peace is a life and death matter. It is therefore supremely important for the Jewish people to orient themselves upon the world forces leading the fight for peace.

Millions of Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike, are realizing with increasing force that their political orientation lies at the crux of their struggle for Jewish statehood. The Sneh resignation brings this issue into sharp focus and thereby renders service to Jewish statehood. The breach in the Agency should be quickly healed in view of the desperate need for united effort. But the breach will be healed only if the leadership of the *Yishuv* awakens to the danger of relying on British and American imperialism. And the leadership will recognize this to the extent that a mass demand arises from the Jewish people for orientation upon the democratic forces of the world as the only guarantee for the establishment and development of an independent, democratic Jewish state.

Meanwhile we can not for one moment relax our vigilance in the critical situation now confronting the *Yishuv*. We are aware that British imperialism, eager to maintain its hold over Palestine and to sabotage the development of a Jewish state, is scheming to incite the Arab reactionaries against the *Yishuv*. The *Yishuv* must receive the full right to defend itself without paralyzing interference. We cannot agree with the position of the Zionist Organization of America calling upon the United States unilaterally to send arms to Palestine. The Jewish masses should fight for implementation of the UN decision by the Security Council as outlined in the program of the Morning Freiheit Association, in effect as follows:

1. The Security Council should immediately recognize the present situation in Palestine as a threat to peace and security and take prompt steps to supervise the implementation of the UN decision.
2. The Security Council should warn Great Britain to cease interfering with the defense activities of the *Yishuv*.
3. The Security Council should call upon all member nations to cease sending arms to any countries or groups which intend to use such arms to attack the *Yishuv* and to sabotage the UN decision.
4. The Security Council should arm the *Yishuv*, which shall carry on its defense activities under the auspices of the Security Council.

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

RECENTLY Thomas Mann remarked that present-day America reminded him of Germany immediately before fascism came to power. One is reminded of this remark by a decision handed down in a Chicago "libel" trial early in December that passed almost without any publicity despite the most explicit pro-fascist declamations by the de-

¹ See text of Dr. Sneh's statement on page 27 of this issue.

fendants. Some time ago *The Sentinel*, liberal Anglo-Jewish weekly of Chicago, applied certain epithets such as "seditionists" and "traitors" to ten of the 26 defendants in the famous sedition trials of 1944. It will be remembered that after months of testimony the presiding judge suddenly died, the case was adjourned and the case dropped later by Attorney General Tom Clark. The decision in *The Sentinel* trial came after a week of nazi-like proclamations by the defendants. The jury awarded \$24,100 to four of the defendants: Lawrence Dennis, intellectual theoretician of American fascism, got \$10,000; Joe McWilliams, notorious leader of Christian Front gangs, got \$9,000; J. Parker Sage, Detroit propagandist of the Coughlinite and anti-Semitic National Workers League, got \$5,000; and George Deatherage, formerly chief of the Knights of the White Camelia, got \$100. The jury was unable to agree on the verdicts in the cases of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Ernest F. Elmhurst and Charles Hudson. The cases of three, William R. Lyman, Robert Edward Edmondson and Col. Eugene N. Sanctuary, were decided in favor of *The Sentinel*.

Obviously these anti-Semites and pro-fascists were not after money. They brought action in order to establish precedents for hamstringing anti-fascist activity. And they used the court as a platform for the vilest propaganda against the Jewish people. For instance, Joe McWilliams "objected strenuously" to being called an "anti-Semite" because he claimed not to be against the Arabs, who were Semitic. "I am only anti-Jewish," he said. Every day of the trial was used to attack the Jews with deadly venom. And more, not only did the judge fail to halt these poisonous outpourings. In his instructions to the jury the judge made clear that there is no law in the United States against anti-Semitism or hatred against the Jewish people.

This is not a case for *The Sentinel* alone, nor for the Jewish people alone. It establishes dangerous precedents for the whole American people. The appeal of the case by *The Sentinel* must be supported to the fullest extent. And the case underlines the urgent need for a federal law outlawing anti-Semitism, so that the cannibalistic utterances of these pro-fascists will not threaten our democracy without restraint.

The next issue of *JEWISH LIFE* will contain an article discussing the case and the basic issues it involves.

SPEECH VERBOTEN

THE Jewish Dance Festival presented in New York on December 13 by the School of Jewish Studies was an important event in the development of a progressive Jewish culture. We heartily endorse the proposal made by Nathaniel Buchwald in this issue that the Festival become a permanent institution, for the recital showed that both artists and audiences exist for the Jewish dance in America.

It is significant that progressive Jewish organizations like the School of Jewish Studies are stimulating Jewish cultural expression integrated with vital, progressive currents of the

day. Neither is it an accident that the School and activities like its Dance Festival should be the target of the drive to stifle such expression. About a week before the Festival the Tom Clark-Un-American Committee list of "subversive" organizations was published, and the School was on the list. Thereupon the administration of Hunter College, where the Festival was to be held, informed the School that it would tolerate dancing, but no speaking. Mr. Morris U. Schappes, a teacher at the School, was forbidden to speak at the Festival. Hunter College had evidently taken the hint and decided to subject itself to thought control by intimidation.

Thus the program of the School, its cultural affairs and curriculum, which are trying to enrich Jewish life, is clearly a participant in the struggle not only for a Jewish progressive life, but also for democracy itself. The School will surely not be intimidated but will stand on its democratic rights to free expression. On January 12 the new term of the School opens with renewed determination to carry on this fight. It deserves the support of the Jewish community and of all progressives.

MRS. LOUISE WATERMAN WISE

MRS. LOUISE WATERMAN WISE was one of America's most distinguished Jewish women. When she died on December 10, 1947, the cause of progressivism both inside and outside the Jewish community lost a devoted worker. She lived a full life. The portraits she painted hang in several parts of the world. She was a leader in movements for civil liberties and for Jewish welfare. After 1933 she led in the establishment of homes in this country for refugees from Hitlerism, 4,000 of whom were put on the road to rehabilitation in these homes. In 1946 she founded a pioneer organization for the care of European Jewish children. During the war she managed service centers for British fighting men. When the British government appointed her to honorary membership to the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, she declined in protest against British brutality against Jews in Palestine. Mrs. Wise was also a staunch defender of cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and of friendship between the Jewish people of both countries.

One of the most significant of Mrs. Wise's manifold activities was her presidency since its inception of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. Under her leadership this organization grew into a mass movement and became one of the most progressive in Jewish life. The Division will sorely miss her guidance. More than ever the Jewish people today need to see a continuation of the tradition she established.

JEWISH LIFE extends its condolences to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise for the loss of his wife and co-worker for a democratic life for the Jewish people and all America.

THE SOVIET POSITION ON PALESTINE

By Andrei Gromyko

Following is the speech delivered by Andrei Gromyko, Soviet delegate to the United Nations, at the memorable American-Soviet-Palestine Friendship Dinner given in his honor by the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists in New York on December 30, 1947. Herschel Johnson, Permanent United States Representative to the United Nations, who was also to have been a guest of honor, was unable to attend because of illness. In addition to Mr. Gromyko, the speakers were Dr. Emanuel Neumann, President of the Zionist Organization of America, author Pierre Van Passen, playwright Arthur Miller and Max Levin, Chairman of the Ambidjan Committee. Chairman of the evening was Joseph Brainin, Chairman of the Committee which sponsored the dinner.—Eds.

I UNDERSTAND quite well the interest which is shown by Jewish people towards the decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine into two states: Jewish and Arab. The question of the future of Palestine has become an important and acute one. It is not accidental, therefore, that it has drawn the attention of political leaders of the world and not only that of political leaders for a considerable period of time.

Naturally, this question could not but interest, first of all, the Jewish people who are justly binding with Palestine and her future their national aspirations aimed at the creation of their own state. That is why it is not difficult to understand the deep interest manifested, primarily, by the Jewish population in different countries in respect to this decision of the United Nations.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THROUGH ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO the United Nations has pointed out repeatedly that they are interested in the decision of the question of the future of Palestine both as a member of the organization and as a great power which, together with other great powers, bears special responsibility for the maintenance of international security. At the opening of the debate on this question at the Special Session of the General Assembly the government of the USSR pointed out that the time has now come to find a practical solution of it, the solution which should correspond to the interests of the population of Palestine as well as to the interests of the United Nations as a whole, and, consequently to the interests of the maintenance of international peace.

The Soviet delegation pointed out then that the most suitable alternatives for the solution of the question of the future of Palestine are the following:

1. Creation of a single independent Arab-Jewish state with equal rights for the Arabs and Jews, and
2. Partition of Palestine into two separate and inde-

pendent states.

Speaking about the first alternative we had in mind the creation of a state in which the Jewish and Arab population of Palestine would have equal rights as nationalities. Another understanding of the claim for equal rights would amount actually to inequality and infringement of the rights and interests of one of the peoples of Palestine.

Obviously such a solution of the question of the future of Palestine might be possible only if the Jews and Arabs wished to live together in a single state, enjoying equal rights within a new independent Arab-Jewish state. The desire to live and work together is an absolutely necessary condition for the adoption of such a plan. Unwillingness of the Jews and Arabs to live and work together makes such a solution of the question of Palestine impossible and unreal. Therefore, already at the Special Session the Soviet delegation pointed out that should it happen that the Arabs and Jews did not want or could not live together within a single state, the only possible and workable solution of the question of the future of Palestine would be its partition into two separate and independent Arab and Jewish states.

After the adjournment of the Special Session we noted with satisfaction that the alternatives mentioned by us as possible and most suitable for the solution of the question of the future of Palestine attracted the attention of the widest circles of the population of Palestine and not of Palestine alone. The subsequent study of the entire issue by the committee established at the Special Session of the General Assembly has led to the submission by the committee of recommendations to the regular session of the General Assembly, in principle coinciding with the above mentioned two basic alternatives for the solution of the Palestinian problem. Both of these proposals of the committee were subjected to a detailed and close consideration at the last session of the General Assembly. As a result of such consideration the Assembly adopted an important decision on the partition of Palestine into two states and outlined a program for the implementation of appropriate measures to this end.

Such is the summary of the consideration of the question of the future of Palestine, which has taken place in the United Nations up to now.

IT MAY SEEM TO SOME PEOPLE, THAT THE DECISION OF THE General Assembly adopted on this question is too radical and too bold. But it is impossible to agree with such a point of view. It is impossible to agree because the adopted decision under the existing circumstances is the only possible and workable solution. It is not more radical and bold than is necessary and than is dictated by the interests of the

maintenance of peace. Hardly anyone will dispute the fact that the relations between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine have deteriorated to such an extent that they don't want to live within a single state. They state this directly and openly.

It is true, we heard at the General Assembly statements to the effect that the Arabs are prepared for the creation of a single Arab-Jewish state but under the condition that the Jewish population will be in the minority and that consequently the deciding power in such a new state would be one nationality—the Arabs. It is not difficult to understand, however, that such a solution of the problem, which excludes the granting of equal rights to both of the peoples could not provide a proper solution of the question of Palestine's future, since, first of all, it would not lead to the settlement of the relations between the Arabs and Jews.

Moreover, it would be a source of new frictions and complications in the relations between these peoples, which are not in the interests of the Arab nor the Jewish population of Palestine nor in the interests of the United Nations.

Thus, the United Nations were confronted with the problem: either to leave the situation in Palestine as it has been up to now, or to adopt a decision which would radically change the entire situation in Palestine and lay the foundation for peaceful and fruitful collaboration between the Arabs and Jews on the basis of due consideration of the interests of both of these peoples. The question was posed precisely in this way having in view, that the above mentioned plan of the creation of a single state, as it was definitely found out at the Assembly, should be considered as dropped owing to the reasons, which I pointed out before.

BUT THE UNITED NATIONS CANNOT TOLERATE THE SITUATION, which has existed up to now. All are aware that the mandatory system, on the basis of which the administration of Palestine has been carried out up to now, has failed. Now nobody can deny this fact. The government of Great Britain, which administered Palestine on the basis of the mandate has been forced to admit this fact. You know about the statements made to that effect by Mr. Bevin the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain before the House of Commons on February 18 and 26, 1947, as well as the subsequent statements, made by the representatives of Great Britain at the sessions of the General Assembly.

You also know about the conclusions of numerous commissions, which at different times examined the situation in Palestine and which also arrived at the conclusion, that the mandatory system of the administration did not justify itself; it does not suit either the Arabs or Jews. Such conclusions were arrived at, in particular, by the Anglo-American Commission on the Palestinian question well known to you, which gave a fairly detailed characterization of the tense conditions, which resulted in Palestine from the administration on the basis of the mandate.

The continuation of the administration of Palestine on the basis of the mandate would inevitably lead to the

worsening of the already tense situation there and to further aggravation of the relations between the Arabs and Jews, to say nothing of the fact that the continuation of the regime which has existed there up to now would be unlawful because the system of the mandates of the League of Nations as a whole has lost its value and has ceased to exist in connection with the collapse of the League of Nations and the creation of the United Nations.

MOREOVER, AND THIS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED, THE decision on the partition of Palestine into two independent states has an important historical significance because it meets the legitimate aspirations of the Jewish people for the creation of their own state. These aspirations have been particularly intensified during the last years for entirely understandable reasons. This is explained by the fact that the Jewish people suffered from the atrocities of Hitlerite Germany relatively more than any other people. As a result of violence and massacres committed by the Hitlerite troops on the occupied territories of the European countries, approximately 6,000,000 Jews have perished and only one and a half million Jews in Western Europe have survived the last war.

Considerable numbers of the survivors still have no shelter and no means of existence, continuing to remain in special camps on the territories of Germany, Austria and some other countries of Western Europe and suffering great privations. The plight of the Jews in Western Europe during the war and the heavy losses which the Jewish people suffered from fascist hangmen can be explained to a great extent by the fact that the Jews didn't receive due protection from the Western Europe countries. No country in Western Europe rendered to Jews appropriate assistance and support and they were entirely left at the mercy of the fascists. This is understandable for some of these states themselves, for example, Spain, rendered assistance to Hitlerite Germany and her allies.

All these facts testify that it would be utterly unjust not to take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Jewish people for the creation of their own state. The denial to the Jews of the right to have such a state would be impossible to justify especially taking into consideration all that the Jews have suffered during World War II. Such a conclusion finds also a historical justification, for the Jewish population as well as the Arab has deep historical roots in Palestine.

NOW, WHEN THE DECISION ON THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE into two separate and independent states has been taken, the task is to ensure the speediest and most effective implementation of this decision. As it is known, in order to ensure the realization of this decision of the General Assembly there was created a special Commission for the carrying out of concrete measures which by the time of the withdrawal of the British troops from the territory of Palestine would permit the normal fulfillment of state functions by both of the new states.

The commission is facing serious tasks. It must render practical help to the Jewish and Arab population of Palestine in creating the administrative system of both of the states and in carrying out some other measures of great importance for the realization of the decision of the Assembly. It should justify the confidence bestowed upon it.

The Commission has necessary powers for the fulfilment of the tasks set before it. It has the necessary authority in case complicated problems requiring the interference of the United Nations confront it. This authority is ensured by the fact that the Commission must work under the instructions of the Security Council which is already occupied with the Palestinian question and which in case of necessity is ready to deal with this question in order to assist the speediest and most effective execution of the decision on the partition of Palestine.

There is no need for me to explain at length that not only the decision taken on Palestine but its fulfilment have been facilitated by the fact that it has become possible for such powers as the USSR and the USA to agree on this question. As it is known, the agreement between these two countries on important questions of international significance is rather an infrequent phenomenon at present.

It is only to be regretted that after the adoption by the General Assembly of the decision on Palestine the number of incidents as a result of the clashes between separate groups of Arabs and Jews has increased there. These incidents are the consequence of the actions of some irresponsible elements attempting to hamper the realization of the plan of its partition. Such actions cannot prevent the final fulfilment of this decision.

WE CANNOT AGREE WITH THE ASSERTIONS WHICH IMPLY THAT the decision on the partition of Palestine is aimed against the Arabs and Arab countries. It is our deep conviction that this decision corresponds to fundamental national interests of both the Jews and Arabs.

The possibilities for good neighborly and friendly relations between both of the states are insured by the decision itself. In this connection suffice it to point out, for instance, the decision on economic cooperation between them. This cooperation will enable both of the states to utilize their economic resources with the utmost mutual benefit. Naturally, this can be achieved when such a cooperation is based upon taking into consideration the interests of both of the peoples but not when it constitutes the means of adaptation of the economy of these new states to the economic needs of foreign monopolies.

The Soviet Union has always sympathized with the peoples of the Arab East who are fighting for their liberation from the last shackles of colonial dependence. This struggle of the Arab countries and their peoples has always found support from the Soviet state the national policy of which is the principle of the equality of rights and self-determination of peoples. The Soviet Union being a multi-national state has no racial nor national discrimination. All the peoples inhabiting it enjoy equal rights protected by the Soviet

Constitution. All of them constitute a single and solid family which with honor withstood severe trials of the war unleashed by Hitlerite Germany which as it is known had the economic might of almost all Western Europe at its command.

The Soviet Union supports and cannot but support the aspirations of any state and any people, not matter how small its weight in international affairs is, in the struggle against foreign dependence and remnants of colonial oppression. This is in accordance with the basic principles of the United Nations, which provide protection of sovereignty and independence of states and peoples.

SUCCESSFUL REALIZATION OF THE DECISION ON THE PARTITION of Palestine and on the creation of Jewish and Arab states as the result of this partition requires the cooperation of Great Britain with the United Nations and first of all with the above-mentioned Commission not in words but in deeds. Formal cooperation is absolutely insufficient.

It would be an abnormal situation if the Commission for instance spent a considerable part of its time at Lake Success instead of going to Palestine and getting acquainted with the state of affairs existing there and carrying out on the spot the tasks entrusted to it.

It is said that the British authorities in Palestine intend to hinder the work of the commission in the respect, that they are not going to admit it into Palestine until the British troops are withdrawn from considerable areas. In other words they will not permit it to enter Palestine until May 1 or June 1, 1948. I do not know whether this information corresponds to reality but if it appeared that it did, then such a situation cannot be considered as normal. The Commission has been created precisely for the purpose of carrying out its work in Palestine, i.e., where it is obliged to assist in the fulfilment of the decision of the Assembly.

Let us hope that Great Britain will yet cooperate with the Commission in the solution of this question not in words but in deeds and at any rate that it will not place any obstacles on the way to the fulfilment of this decision.

I shall finish by pointing again not only to the simplicity and practicability of the decision taken on Palestine but also to the fact that this decision is in full conformity with the national interests of both the Jews and Arabs as well as corresponding to our common interests of maintaining peace and security. Precisely therefore it should be put into practice effectively and expeditiously. In the nearest future normal conditions should be created for the cooperation between the new Arab and Jewish states as well as for their cooperation with other nations on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect for their interests.

In the next issue:

CONCERNING JEWS WHO WRITE

By Arthur Miller

Author of Focus and All My Sons

SUPPRESSING FOREIGN LANGUAGE RADIO

By Eugene Konecky

YOU don't have the right to broadcast in your native tongue! That is the verdict of two "American" radio stations, one in Michigan and the other in New York, which have trampled on the rights of national minorities by issuing a blanket cancellation of 20 radio programs in foreign languages. The two Anglo-Saxon supremacy stations are WBYN, in Brooklyn, and WJBK, Detroit. The Brooklyn station is owned by the *Newark News*, and the Detroit station is owned by James F. Hopkins, Inc.

WBYN wiped out, during the month of October, programs of national groups broadcast in Spanish, Hungarian, Polish, Carpatho-Russian and Ukrainian.

WJBK silenced radio voices in Croatian, Czechoslovak, Egyptian, Greek, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak and Ukrainian.

Both stations declared: "We'll consider letting you broadcast if it's in English, or if you follow up your language program with an English translation."

The managements of these stations knew that to broadcast the programs solely in English would defeat the purposes of the programs, which is to bring to radio listeners, who do not understand English, news, civic information and culture in the language they understand. The station managements knew, too, that none of the sponsors were financially able to pay for double time to make English translations.

When they issued their Anglo-Saxon *only* edict, WBYN and WJBK had one aim—to drive the national group radio hours off the air; and that's what they accomplished!

What's behind this brazen censorship and discrimination against national groups which, if it spreads—and there are evidences that a pattern is emerging—will also silence programs in Yiddish and many other languages? Behind it is the same vile, reactionary force in American life which initiated the drive to banish liberal and labor commentators from the air—the un-American Committee!

Rankin Shaped the Policy

Back in 1946, when the un-American Committee was known as the Wood-Rankin Committee, recommendations were made to Congress that all foreign language newspapers be required to publish parallel columns in English translation of all material printed in a foreign language. With printing prices rising and newsprint prices soaring, such a legislative enactment would have

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wiped out almost all the 1,000 national group language newspapers in America; and that was what the Wood-Rankin un-American Committee, which made the recommendation, wanted.

About that time, in New York City, a sponsor of a national group program on WBYN was tipped off that foreign language radio hours would have to be translated into English or go off the air altogether. But the proposal of the Wood-Rankin Committee was smashed by organized opposition and it never even became a bill. It died in Committee in the House.

In Brooklyn and Detroit radio stations, however, provided the Rankin idea, executing it quietly as a station policy instead of waiting any longer for legislation along such lines. They are serving as trial balloons. If they get away with this censorship and discrimination, the blackout of national group programs will spread like wildfire to other stations.

But the national group organizations in Michigan and New York have launched campaigns to fight the radio ban. The Detroit Committee for Foreign Language Programs has petitioned the Federal Communications Commission to deny WJBK's application for a new frequency and higher power. In New York a similar organization is being set up and a petition prepared requesting the FCC to deny WBYN increased power. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is backing both campaigns, forces are also being joined with the hard-hitting champion of radio democracy, the Voice of Freedom Committee which is headed by Dorothy Parker. The national group societies of the International Workers Order, who participate in the sponsorship of many of the cancelled programs, are also giving strong support to the ousted sponsors.

The real objective behind the blackout of national group programs is to cut off all friendly contact between the people of the United States and the democratic peoples of Europe. Most of the national group programs discriminatorily wiped out were striving to create better understanding between the American people and the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Carpatho-Russia and the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary and Greece. It is obvious that most of the national group radio hours affected by the blanket rule were sponsored by groups representing tens of thousands of Americans whose national origin related to the countries against which the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan are aimed.

This was confirmed in a startling fashion when, on October 24, 1947, the program of the American Slav Congress, scheduled over station KQV, Pittsburgh, was suddenly can-

celled on the grounds that the script was "controversial," although the program director had already approved the script and the station knew, weeks in advance, the nature of the program. The "controversial" script contained statements by the late President Roosevelt: "America is proud of her Slavic citizens," and "Ours is a real struggle to continue and preserve democracy in America." The banned script also declared the purpose of the American Slav Congress "to serve the cause of American democracy by promoting the well-being of all races, creeds and national groups." It emphasized unity of black and white, the value of labor unions, the need for the restoration of the Roosevelt policies.

A survey of the national group radio programs in New York made by the International Workers Order, revealed that other national group programs are being quietly removed from the air, one at a time. Foreign language programs in Spanish and Ukrainian were cancelled by WBNX, Bronx. The Generoso Pope station, WHOM, eliminated two Polish programs. Sponsors of the cancelled WBYN programs have not been able to obtain time on WHOM, WWRL, WBNX or WLIB.

The civic and cultural value of national group broadcasts was stressed in many resolutions of protest sent to the Federal Communications Commission by organizations and listeners in Detroit.

Typical of these resolutions is the following:

"Whereas, the people of the United States of America have come from many different countries to enjoy and maintain political and religious freedom and opportunity here;

Whereas, the culture of this country has been enriched by the contribution of the various foreign language groups and organizations;

Whereas, foreign language radio programs in Detroit have performed a valuable service in promoting support of community and national, civic and charitable campaigns; in developing a better understanding of America and in providing a medium of free expression for people of different national group origins;

Whereas, the free expression of these national cultural groups is threatened by termination of foreign language radio programs on WJBK. . . .

Therefore, be it resolved. . . .

The resolution demands the restoration of foreign language radio programs and calls for an FCC investigation of the WJBK ban.

The Voice of Freedom Committee has already protested the discriminatory action of the two radio stations and has launched a special series of activities to defeat the spread of such policy. Stanley Faulkner, VOFC chairman and noted labor attorney, is preparing the petition to the FCC for the New York sponsors of cancelled language programs.

The progressive foreign language daily and weekly newspapers have taken up the issue because they recognize the danger of this threat not only to national group radio programs but also to the foreign language newspapers, which

will be next in line of attack if the radio blackout succeeds.

The threatened blackout received some timely blows of opposition as the significance of the event and resentment against its purpose crystallized. Early in December Congressman George Sadowski, assistant Democratic whip in the House, and a consistently progressive voice in the Detroit Polish-American community, issued a scorching protest to the FCC.

A week later, on December 13, twenty-nine organizations, including the American Committee To Protect Foreign Born, Voice of Freedom Committee, American Slav Congress and the International Workers' Order, met in New York City and established the Committee To Save Foreign Language Broadcasts. Adopting a program to broaden its membership and to win wide public support, the conference decided to take the protest against the guilty radio stations to the FCC and into the courts.

A few days later Eugene Connolly, American Labor Party leader in New York and member of the City Council, introduced a resolution into the City Council, condemning the anti-foreign language edict of the New York stations, calling for reinstatement of the cancelled programs and urging the city's own station, WNYC, to arrange for foreign language radio programs. A resolution of this type had previously been passed by the City Council of Hamtramck, Michigan.

Plans are being made to hold an enlarged conference in the near future to rally labor unions, youth groups and community organizations.

EXODUS 1947

By Simon Podair

The steely clamor of the eyes and lips
(How many times? How many times?)
That truncheons cannot silence,
Blood drying on taut fingers
And still defiance.
("Are they the same as nazis, mama?")
For here, the weak suck in new strength,
And aged flesh takes on the sheen of youth.
("... the old joined with the young in the fighting ...")

Minds compressed on torture racks
Still hear the ugly shrieking cacophony
Of stench-filled rooms,
Still feel the fist in the teeth,
And taste the nausea of their excretions.
Is this Dachau afloat?
Is Buchenwald reborn beneath another flag?
Bodies torn from the ship's embrace
(Parting as unwillingly as lovers.)
Leave a false stillness in their wake,
For a child in its mother's womb
Has left a cry behind.

OUR OPPRESSED MEXICAN-AMERICANS

By Isabel Gonzalez

THERE are approximately five million people of Mexican origin in the United States. Of these some three and one-half million are American citizens who live principally in the West and Southwest. The other million and a half are non-citizens, and constitute the largest group of non-citizens in the country. These are also concentrated in the Southwest and West, with the exception of centers like Chicago, Kansas City, St. Paul, Detroit and New York City.

Why is it that so many Mexicans in the United States have failed to become citizens? Is it because, as some say, the Mexican people are too ignorant to meet the qualifications of citizenship? Could it be that obstacles are placed in the way of Mexicans who seek citizenship; or could it be because the depressed status of the Mexican people as non-citizens is profitable for certain economic interests? Could it be also that the United States government has helped some economic interests in their search for cheap labor to lure Mexicans into this country, only to suppress and terrorize them once they are here?

This government never gave due recognition to its responsibilities to the native people of the region it took from Mexico. The government failed to take note of the fact that those people were, in effect, subject peoples of a culture and a way of life radically different from that into which they were suddenly and unwittingly thrust by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Poverty, segregation, poorly paid teachers and inferior educational facilities are conditions which have not been conducive to the acquiring of an education by the Mexican people, or to even afford them the opportunity to learn a minimum amount of English.

Inferior Status Since 1848

With the raising of the American flag over the Southwest in 1848, the Mexican people were reduced to an inferior status. A mold of inferiority was cast into which all later arrivals were forced to fit. Not only did the Mexican population lose political control, but it also lost control of the economy which it had begun to build. The large landed estates were taken from their owners, and false claims of newcomers were validated by the courts. The Spanish language was replaced by English as the official tongue and equal civil rights were abolished in practice. Submergence of the Mexican culture and influence became a systematic program. Mexicans had their mining claims jumped, and could find no legal protection.

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As more Anglo-Americans entered the territory, the conquest became more firmly established. Gradually, the equality of the Spanish language, the right to equal justice in the courts, and early political privileges, namely, participation in local government, state legislature, etc., were taken away. By the 1900's the Mexican immigrants who poured across the border in response to thousands of handbills and posters distributed by railroad companies, mining, lumbering and agricultural interests, found their lot quite different from the rosy picture of high wages and resplendent opportunities painted by the leaflets. The demand for cheap labor was so great in the Imperial Valley of California, the cotton-raising regions of Arizona, and the sugar beet fields of Colorado, that the railroads offered free transportation into the country, until freight and broken-down passenger trains loaded with hundreds of Mexicans from Central Mexico became a familiar sight in all the railway centers of the Southwest.

In 1930, due largely to the depression and governmental restrictions, the rate of legal entrants from Mexico dropped from a six-year average of 58,000 per year to approximately 16,000. When the economic crisis of the United States created an over-abundant supply of cheap labor, Mexican workers were the first to become surplus; the same big interests which once encouraged immigration now loudly demanded deportation. From 1928 to 1933, 160,000 Mexicans from California either left or were "repatriated"—a term covering everything from voluntary departure to nocturnal kidnapping by immigration authorities. Beginning with 1931, "repatriation" was in excess of 75,000 from Los Angeles alone. Scores of thousands of more left from Texas and Arizona. During the depression, Mexican families on relief had no choice; either they agreed to repatriation or they were cut off the relief rolls.

Desperate Living Conditions

The economic situation of the Mexican family in the Southwest has always been very bad, particularly among the agricultural workers. In the years 1920 to 1930, three-fourths of California's 200,000 agricultural workers were Mexican. Being unorganized, they received low wages, faced long periods of unemployment, lived under horrifying conditions. Their children, changing from school to school as the family followed the crops in "their caravans of sorrow" (as a Colorado beet worker described them) received only the most deficient education and practically no health care. Thus the real purpose of the deportations and "repatriations" was not to fit the labor supply to the number of jobs, but to further intimidate, oppress and force

the Mexican workers to accept an even lower standard of living and to be used in a competitive sense against the other workers in the area.

Tuberculosis is the first cause of death among Mexicans precisely because of the economic conditions under which they live. In Los Angeles, a report given by a representative of the Tuberculosis Association in 1945 stated that, of the total number of deaths from this disease, 17 per cent were Mexicans; from diphtheria, 33 per cent. In Texas, the 1944 statistics of the Texas State Department of Health indicated a tuberculosis death rate among Anglo-Americans of 31 per 100,000 population; among Negroes 95 per 100,000; and among Mexicans of 209 per 100,000.

The statistical picture of infant mortality among the Mexican people from poverty and filth-borne diseases, such as diarrhoea and enteritis, is just as appalling. Because it is impossible to get figures for the whole region, key cities or states in the West and Southwest, which can serve as barometers for the whole region, are referred to. According to statistics furnished by Dr. Lewis C. Robbins, of the San Antonio Health Department, the number of live births among the Mexican and English-speaking populations during the five-year period from 1940 to 1944 were about equally divided (totals: 21,556 English-speaking and 21,436 Mexican), despite the fact that the city's residents of Mexican descent comprise only 33 to 40 per cent of the population. However, the number of infant deaths were far from equally divided. The total number of infants' deaths in English-speaking families for the five-year period was 781, while the total Mexican infant deaths was 2,295. In Denver, Colorado, the infant death rate in 1940, according to a study made by the Denver Unity Council on Housing, Employment, Health, Recreation and Education of the Spanish-speaking Population, was three times as high as that of the English-speaking population.

Appalling Housing

Since health and housing are intimately related, it is only natural that we take a look at the housing conditions of the Mexican people. It is the usual pattern for the Mexicans to live in one section of town, not because they are a gregarious people and like to live close to one another, as some would have you believe, but because they are not permitted to rent or own property anywhere except in the "Mexican districts," regardless of their social, educational or economic status. In smaller towns, this section is usually set apart from other residential sections by railroad tracks, a highway, or perhaps a river, or even a combination of these, as in Denver, Colorado. As a rule, the "Mexican district" is devoid of paved streets, sewer lines, and frequently even electric power, gas mains, garbage disposal service and public transportation.

As a rule the Mexicans not only live in slums in the cities, but also in rural slum areas; and if you think their housing conditions in the cities are wretched and appalling, consider the 70,000 workers, most of them Mexicans and a few Fili-

pinos, required to harvest the sugar beet and potato crops in Colorado, Montana and Wyoming. From sample studies made of the living conditions, a government specialist in the field worked out the following conclusions: 60,000 live in houses that have no sanitary sewage disposal; 67,000 have no garbage disposal facilities; 10,000 use ditch water for drinking; 34,000 have a questionable water supply; 33,000 have no bathing facilities; 70 per cent of the houses have no screens or very poor ones. The average "house" consists of two and a half rooms and the average-size family consists of five persons. The housing includes converted railroad cars, sheds, granaries, chicken sheds, barns and tent camps.

But why are conditions especially severe for the Mexican people in the United States? Let me repeat that no distinction is made between citizen and non-citizen when it comes to the treatment accorded to the Mexican people. As a matter of fact, even among migratory workers, who are, generally speaking, the latest arrivals from Mexico, more than 90 per cent of the children are by birth citizens of the United States; yet they too are regarded as "foreigners." The word "Mexican" is often even applied as a term of opprobrium. Is it any wonder that the Mexicans, even though they have lived in this country for many, many years, and do not intend to go back to Mexico, remain non-citizens? The conditions cited offer very little incentive for them to become naturalized citizens.

Perhaps, if we again delve into the historic background of the millions of Spanish-speaking people living in the Southwest, we can find the answer to the foregoing question. This huge group of people is not just another minority in the same sense that the Italians or Irish or Jews constitute a minority group in this country. We have already referred to them as a conquered people, and it is this peculiar historic background, shared only by the Indians and, to the same degree, by the Louisiana French, that makes the difference. They were long-established residents taken over, or rather conquered outright, by the military forces of the United States. Their background, history, culture and economic contributions are part and parcel of the background, history, culture and economic development of the states of the Southwest which at one time constituted two-thirds of the area of the Republic of Mexico, namely, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Texas and Colorado.

Extreme Economic Exploitation

History has made economic exploitation by American interests the lot of the Mexican people both north and south of the border. Powerful interests like the Great Western Sugar Company, the greatest importer of Mexican labor, the railroads, the mining and lumbering industries, the cotton and fruit growers, and the cattle and sheep industries, have succeeded in keeping the Mexican the most underpaid and most oppressed worker so that they will always have a surplus of cheap labor. This is amply demonstrated by the constant demand for importation of Mexican nationals by the sugar industries and the railways, supported by the pow-

erful lobbies maintained by these interests in Washington.

The demand for importation of Mexican labor is based on the theory that the native American worker would not "work for the wages paid to the Mexicans." In this way not only is cheap labor obtained, but, equally as important, the standard of living of the native worker is dragged down. And so we find our government acting as procuror and solicitor for the big sugar, cotton and the rest of the interests mentioned, exploiting our neighbors and breaking the standard of living in our own country.

In Texas, Pauline Kibbe says, "The fable that migrants 'get rich' in the beet fields is effectively exploded by the earnings reported by the Crystal City laborers. Of the total of 188 families who engaged in beet work, 13 per cent earned less than \$200.00 per family, 23 per cent earned less than \$300.00 per family; while only 9 per cent earned \$1,000.00 or more. For individual workers, weekly earnings during the seven-months period averaged \$6.33 for forty-nine hours of work per week."

Mexican cotton pickers in Texas have been known to earn an average of 80 cents per day and other agricultural or truck farm workers to make 60 cents per day. Entire families of pecan shellers have averaged 75 to 90 cents per day per family. In California in the late '30's migratory Mexican families earned an average of \$254 per year.

You might feel that these figures do not reflect the complete wage picture for the Mexican worker because they are only for agricultural work. The fact remains that a very small portion of Mexicans are employed in industry, and that no matter what field of employment you choose, you still find him in the lowest paid jobs with little or no chance of promotion or up-grading. In petroleum, the biggest industry in Texas, only three per cent of those hired during the war were Mexicans, and then they received only 91 cents per hour, while the English-speaking worker got \$1.06 for the same kind of work. The wage pattern for Mexicans is the same everywhere, even in the states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

You might ask how these special interests have been successful in keeping such a large mass of workers in a constant state of impoverishment, hunger and misery. Obviously, such a condition is not voluntarily agreed to by the Mexican people. The answer is: only through terror and oppression. One of their chief weapons has been and still is the threat of deportation and the refusal to grant to the Mexican people that citizenship which they so richly deserve.

Threat of Deportation

Immigration quotas do not apply to Mexicans. They are permitted to enter this country either upon being recruited by American commercial interests or upon the whim of American consular officials. It is next to impossible for a Mexican to enter this country to stay and become a citizen.

Most of the Mexicans living in the country entered from 1910 to 1930. Up until 1910 immigration from Mexico had

been a mere trickle, compared to that coming from Europe. For most of these Mexicans, even though they have lived in this country many years, it is very difficult to establish proof of legal residence. Either they have lost their entry papers or they are incapable of wading through all the red tape necessary because of their inadequate command of the English language. In fact, for the Mexican immigrant who entered the U.S. prior to 1924, the process of proving that he ever got here at all is complicated, expensive and loaded with potential danger. He may very well succeed in proving only that he was an illegal entrant and find himself holding, instead of first papers, a one-way deportee's ticket to the border. It is a recurring nightmare for him every time he has to fill out an application for public assistance, a job, as well as for citizenship.

Nevertheless, the threat of deportation has served as a very effective weapon to keep the Mexican people as a whole in bondage, because as soon as a leader arises among them, deportation proceedings are immediately used to remove him from such leadership—witness the case of Humberto Silex, whose defense the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born has already taken up. The case of Refugio Ramon Martinier, of Chicago, a leader of the United Packing House Workers of America, is another example. This is why COMP (Committee to Organize the Mexican People) regards the work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as a very important contribution toward making democracy work in this country of ours. That is also why COMP proposes to fight for the following program and hopes to enlist support.

Program for Action

1. Since the Mexicans who entered this country prior to 1924 are not responsible for the slipshod methods of immigration practiced then, that the burden of proof be put on the shoulders of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and that the requirements be relaxed to make it possible for this group to get citizenship papers.
2. The Mexican applicant for citizenship be permitted to meet the literacy requirement either in English or Spanish and not be forced to meet the English only.
3. The Immigration and Naturalization Service establish strict regulations on the sugar companies, the railroads, cotton farmers, citrus fruit growers, and others in regard to illegal importation of Mexican workers, and provide for prosecution of those interests for violation of regulations.
4. An interpreter be provided at all hearings on matters of immigration and naturalization.
5. That the proper government agencies concern themselves with the enforcement of payment of prevailing wages to imported labor.
6. A congressional investigation be held where true representatives of the Mexican people are allowed to testify on the conditions under which the Mexicans are forced to live and work.

THE JEWISH DANCE IN AMERICA

By Nathaniel Buchwald

DURING the last 10 or 15 years, the art of the dance has made great strides in this country. A number of highly creative dancers appeared, and a large audience for the aesthetic dance correspondingly developed. Around the personality of Martha Graham alone there arose a whole school of the so-called "modern" dance in contrast to the ballet and "interpretive" dance in which the plastic translation of the musical score is the main objective. The "modern" dance is now no longer so "fashionable" as it was ten years ago, and the American Ballet Theater has already become a permanent institution with a large following. But a number of dancers who went through the Martha Graham school, have now themselves become leaders and independent creators both in individual plastic interpretation and in choreography.

Jewish dance artists in the United States have contributed to the development of the art of the dance. Such artists as Anna Sokolow, Sophie Maslow, Lillian Shapero and others have graduated from Martha Graham's dance groups. With benefit to Jewish culture and their own artistic development, several of them have begun to specialize in the Jewish dance—Jewish in theme or in expressive form, or in a combination of both.

Benjamin Zemach, who was trained in a school and style quite different from the abstractionism and formalism of the "modern" dance, exerted great influence on the development of the Jewish dance in the United States. Besides Jewish themes and folk style expressing the plastic essence of gesture and movement, Zemach also brought to the dance an element of the dramatic and ecstatic that bridge the gap between artist and audience. For Zemach the element of acting and the dramatic content of the dance are no less important, perhaps more important, than plastic form and composition. As a dancer and choreographer, Zemach has displayed not only great creativeness, but he has also had a lasting influence on other creative Jewish dancers. He taught them to reject the banality of stereotyped Jewish gesture and to saturate the Jewish dance idiom with emotional expression and exaltation.

Some Jewish artists of the dance have synthesized the rich technique of the Martha Graham school and the distilled Jewish form filled with Jewish content that Zemach had contributed. A characteristic example is Anna Sokolow, who in her Jewish dances combines the technique and choreography of Graham with Zemach's exaltation and intensity of emotional expression.

The Jewish audience is familiar with a number of artists

NATHANIEL BUCHWALD is a leading critic of the Yiddish theater and drama critic and editorial writer for the *Morning Freiheit*.

devoted to the Jewish dance: Benjamin Zemach, Lillian Shapero, Hadassah, Deborah Lapson, Katya Delakova, N. Vizonsky, Korine Chochem, Edith Segal and others. In solo dances or with their dance groups they graced many concerts and cultural celebrations. Several of them presented ballets and dance spectacles of high quality, as for example, Zemach's *Laag Bomer* with the Artef Theater, and *Benjamin the Third* with the Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus; Lillian Shapero's *Purim Dance*, her Goldfadden spectacle with the Artef; and Edith Segal's frequent productions with the children of the Jewish schools of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and in Camp Kinderland.

Nor can one overlook the contributions of Benjamin Zemach, Lillian Shapero, Anna Sokolow, Korine Chochem and others in the field of theater. Who can forget Zemach's dances in 200,000, produced by Artef, or Lillian Shapero's dances in the *Wise Men of Chelm* or *Yoshe Kalb*, produced by the Yiddish Art Theater? These were creative contributions to Jewish dance art.

Anna Sokolow





Lillian Shapero, Katya Delakova and Fred Berk, Hadassah.

Nevertheless, we cannot say that the Jewish dance has become an institution in the United States. Every living art, especially the dance, must have social atmosphere, so to speak. When artists are aware that an audience is awaiting them, that there is an interest in and a need for their work, their creativity is stimulated. When, however, there is a feeling that their artistic efforts are "wasted," that there is no one for whom to create, there is despair and creativity languishes.

Jewish dance productions in the United States usually come about by accident. There is no continuity, no perspective. This shackles the artists and discourages the development of the dance groups around them.

In the new Poland the cultural leaders of the small Jewish community found it necessary and possible despite the difficulties to establish a Jewish dance school with a department for a Jewish ballet. Here we most certainly have the artists, the financial means—and a potential audience—to raise the Jewish dance to the position of eminence that it deserves.

The importance of the Jewish dance is noted in the resolution of the theater panel of the recent American Jewish Cultural Conference, in which it was proposed to "give attention to groups and individual artists who devote themselves to developing and popularizing the Jewish dance for the purpose of evolving a Jewish ballet and creating a broad audience for the Jewish concert dance."

Perhaps what we need first of all is to begin to create a broad audience for the Jewish concert dance. The Jewish dance festival, which was presented on Dec. 13, 1947 by the School of Jewish Studies in New York, was an important first step in this direction. Aside from the excellent dance creations that could have been anticipated from the artists participating in the festival, this was a social and cultural event of deep meaning.

As was to be expected, the work of the different artists varied in style, content and spirit. In this respect the program was representative of the artists—and of the forms of the Jewish dance. There were Jewish dances, the Jewishness of which was clearly indicated in costume, in the stylized "Jewish gestures" and in the music. To this category belong Fred Berk's *Meditation*, Lillian Shapero's *Enigma* and *Wedding Dance*, and Hadassah's *Shuvi Nafshi*.

Then there were dances whose Jewishness consisted more in the theme than in the outward form. To this group belong Lillian Shapero's *Credo* and Anna Sokolow's *Kaddish*. And finally, these Jewish dancers expressed their Jewish spirit in plastic forms connected with Jewish themes only in a perfunctory way without specific, expressed Jewishness. Examples of these were Anna Sokolow's *Awake Deborah* and the suite *The Nights Are Young*, danced by Fred Berk and Katya Delakova.

What is the Jewish dance? Or Jewish music? Or Jewish painting or sculpture? We will not permit ourselves to get involved in this "eternal" discussion, which is most difficult to resolve. We shall declare here only that Jewish art is the sum total of the creation of Jewish-conscious artists, whose consciousness enters into their artistic creation. When you apply this principle to the dance (and why not?), then we can say with a clear conscience that the dance festival gave us an evening of Jewish dance. No one dancer individually gave in full measure what we would like to see in a Jewish dance. But all together they gave an inspiring demonstration of the Jewish dance. The participation of several Jewish dancers in one program by itself created a cumulative artistic and cultural impression that no one of the artists separately could have created. For this very reason the dance festival was a very important cultural evening and an inspiration for similar undertakings in the future.

This does not mean that the dancers individually did not make any impression. On the contrary, every single dance created its own excitement and was stamped with the seal of individual creation. We will not go into a critical evaluation of each dance or of the dancers. It is enough to note here that the personality and the style of each artist was clearly reflected in the different dances.

Now, with such a fine beginning, we must not leave the movement at that. The Jewish dance festival should become a permanent institution. Together with the performance of individual artists, an attempt must be made to establish a Jewish ballet company. The festival produced by the School of Jewish Studies showed that we have the audience and the artists for it.

WITCH-HUNT IN THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS

By Sigmund G. Eisenscher

At the National Encampment of the Jewish War Veterans held during the week of October 15, 1947 at St. Paul, the By-Laws of the J.W.V. constitution were amended to exclude from membership all avowed communists. On November 20, 1947 Sigmund Eisenscher, a known communist member of the Peter Royal Feldman Post No. 145 of the J.W.V. in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was notified by his post commander, Dr. A. R. Wiener, that the Post was reluctantly obliged to obey the constitution and he requested Mr. Eisenscher's resignation from the J.W.V. The communist veteran refused to resign and explained the reasons for his refusal in the following letter. He is now appealing his case and will take this appeal up to the next National Encampment, if necessary, on the grounds, as the following letter explains, that the amendment excluding communists was illegally adopted, that it conflicts with the civil liberties resolution adopted at the same Encampment, that the obligations of a J.W.V. member are not inconsistent with membership in the Communist Party, and that the amendment actually imperils the program of the J.W.V. to defend the Jewish people. Because he has been dropped from the rolls of his post and is appealing the case, Mr. Eisenscher has permitted us to print his letter.—Eds.

3929 W. Vliet Street
Milwaukee 8, Wisconsin
November 28, 1947.

Dr. A. R. Wiener
Post Commander, Peter Royal Feldman Post No. 145
Jewish War Veterans of the United States
2611 N. Stowell Avenue
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin.

Dear Comrade Wiener:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 20, in which you ask me to relinquish my membership in the Peter Royal Feldman Post No. 145 of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.

SIGMUND G. EISENSCHER is a leader of the Communist Party of Wisconsin. He ran for governor of Wisconsin on the Communist ticket in the last election.

In making this request, you have cited the resolution pertaining to avowed membership in the Communist Party, as enacted last month at the 52nd National Encampment of the J.W.V. in St. Paul. Before commenting on your request, I should like to express my appreciation for your statement that your request for my withdrawal is made with reluctance, and under compulsion of being required to carry out the aforementioned resolution, which has been amended to the National By-Laws. I also appreciate your words of commendation for my activities in the Peter Royal Feldman Post.

I fully appreciate your desire that discussion of this question should not be made a means of disrupting the J.W.V. by adverse publicity. That is why I have not permitted the press to provoke me into making any premature statements on the question before it is taken up within the J.W.V. However, it should be noted that the press did provoke public discussion of the matter from various members of the J.W.V., including the National Commander, who was quoted in a manner that prejudiced any objective consideration of this question. Despite this, I agree with you that this matter should be resolved within the J.W.V., and not stamped across the columns of the hysterical press.

However, this does not mean that the issues involved can be avoided through suppressing discussion with the J.W.V. itself. We should recall that the resolution was never discussed prior to the National Encampment, at least within the Peter Royal Feldman Post. The J.W.V. Constitution specifically provides for proposed amendments to be submitted to the Posts for discussion before they are considered by the National Encampment. This question, which is vital to the future of J.W.V., deserves the broadest possible discussion among the J.W.V. membership, so mature consideration can be reflected in the policy to be adopted, in place of the hysterical pressure that was decisive in this instance.

It is unfortunate that no one at the National Encampment could present to the delegates the attitude of those veterans named as the special targets in the resolution—the Communist veterans. It is especially unfortunate that even though I was elected by the Peter Royal Feldman Post

as a delegate, the pressure of my own work prevented my attending the Encampment. It is because I was unable to attend the Encampment that I must now present to the membership of the J.W.V. my position on the resolution.

You have been compelled to request the resignation from membership in the J.W.V. of someone, who by your own description, has always contributed positively to the growth and welfare of the J.W.V. I take pride in quoting from your letter: "Your service record speaks for itself and we, your comrades, have always enjoyed your presence at our musters; your timely counsel on questions pertaining to our organization, both on a national and local level, especially for action pertaining to the welfare of minority groups and combatting subversive elements." Yet this person is described in the resolution as being not entitled to membership in the J.W.V. on the grounds that "membership in the Communist Party is inconsistent with the obligation assumed by membership in the Jewish War Veterans."

Obviously, according to your own estimate of my activities in the J.W.V. this contention is false, and I am confident that if this false premise had been presented to our Post before the Encampment, they would have overwhelmingly rejected it from their own knowledge of the role played by the only single Communist they personally know in the organization. My role in the J.W.V. shows that my membership in the Communist Party is decidedly consistent with the obligations of membership in the J.W.V.

Communists Fight Discrimination

I take pride in the fact that my Party has educated me together with thousands of other Jewish and non-Jewish Americans in upholding our country's heritage by placing in the Constitution of the Communist Party the requirement of fighting national and race prejudice as a primary requirement of membership in the Party. This obligation rests upon *all Communists*—Jew and non-Jew, Negro and white, and the failure to fight discrimination is cause for immediate expulsion from the Party. This explains why a Communist would naturally exert himself on every opportunity to carry out the program of J.W.V.

Article IV, Section 13, of the Constitution of the Communist Party states: "It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, discrimination and segregation, against all ideological influences and practices of 'racial' theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism." If this same requirement for membership were adopted by other political parties in the United States, there is little doubt that many statesmen in Washington today, especially that group which presumes to test the Americanism of other citizens, the House Un-American Activities Committee, would find themselves without any political affiliation whatsoever, unless perhaps they might be accepted into Gerald L. K. Smith's Nationalist Party.

Some persons raise a question about the relationship between the program of the Communists for Socialism and the defense of our present democratic institutions. Article IV, Section 10, of the Communist Party Constitution is clear enough on this point: "Every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any or every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within our country, to destroy the rights of labor and the people, or any section thereof, or to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country."

There is nothing in either the Constitution of the J.W.V. or the Constitution of the United States about loyalty to the system of monopoly capitalism or the domination of Wall Street over our economic and political life. The majority of the members of J.W.V. may not yet accept the view of Communists that it is beneficial to the majority of Americans to replace the system of monopoly capitalism, which breeds fascism, by a socialist re-organization of society. But they cannot in justice deny these Communists the right to their views, without giving up their own rights to even criticize or question the wisdom of the reactionary cartelists who now dominate our country.

We must beware of those who would have us adopt the slogan engraved by Hitler's S.S. troops on the gates of Buchenwald: "Recht oder nicht recht, immer mein vaterland." (Translation: "Right or wrong, always my country.") The real meaning of this slogan for the German people was an admonition never to question, but to obey. Freedom and democracy are not bred either in the Ruhr or in Wall Street, but in the hearts of the people.

Target J. W. V.

For myself or any other Communist, patriotism means love of the people and the defense of their interests. This has nothing in common with the glittering but false "patriotism" that blindly follows the leadership of those pro-fascist corporations that are attempting now to flag-wave our country into reviving every fascist clique we defeated in the recent war. Loyalty to the people has nothing in common with those who profit from fascism. The Krupps and the directors of I.G. Farben who financed Hitler and put him into power in Germany have their American counterparts in Wall Street, who were able to declare dividends even from I.G. Farben's production of the poison gas used to exterminate millions of Jews in Europe. These American trusts would profit equally from fascism in America. If the American cartelists did not need anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism as one of their main weapons, Gerald L. K. Smith would disappear from public life tomorrow. From these same sources comes the main impetus for the present campaign against communism.

We can all readily agree that the question of my mem-

bership in the J.W.V. is not a personal question—it is far from a matter that has to do only with Comrade Eisenscher. If it were simply a matter of sparing the Post embarrassment, I would not hesitate to resign in a moment. The fact is—this resolution is not only unjust applied to any other Communist—but the resolution has far more sinister motivation than singling out communists for special persecution. The real target of the resolution is not the communists—it is the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. Its purpose is by intimidation and denial of political freedom to force it to abandon its program in defense of the rights of the veterans and the Jewish people.

The real issue here is not Eisenscher, nor is it communism. The real issue is the future of the J.W.V.—what path is it taking today, where is this path leading the organization so much needed by the Jewish people and the entire American people today? What effects will this resolution have on the capacity of J.W.V. to fight anti-Semitism, to stave off the resurgence of reaction and the threat of fascism?

If I were to resign my membership in the Jewish War Veterans, I would thereby accept and admit the contention of the resolution, which claims that “membership in the Communist Party is inconsistent with the obligation assumed by membership in the Jewish War Veterans.” I cannot endorse this falsehood. In simple justice to myself, to defend my honor and integrity and loyalty to the J.W.V., as well as that of other communists, and to defend the J.W.V. itself from being intimidated into abandoning its own principles which are the real target of the witch-hunters, I must respectfully refuse the suggestion that I resign my membership. I choose, rather, to defend my rights to membership in the J.W.V. by proving to all concerned that the National Encampment resolution is founded on misfortune, and that, in passing this unjust resolution, the J.W.V. has begun to succumb to a wave of hysteria that would engulf the J.W.V. itself as an instrument of the Jewish people in the struggle for a better world free of fascism and anti-Semitism.

The resolution is in direct conflict with Article II of the J.W.V. Constitution, which describes the nature of the J.W.V. as “non-political,” and forbids the use of J.W.V. for “the promotion of political candidates or partisan principles.” No one has accused me of promoting “partisan principles” in the J.W.V. or of promoting any other principles as a J.W.V. member except those of the J.W.V. itself. Those who promoted this resolution were anxious to prevent the membership from testing its validity against the behavior of those in the J.W.V. who happen to be communists. Certain forces are interested to see to it that the J.W.V. *does* become partisan and political. But they are not the communists—they are those who are professionally anti-communist, who receive their political guidance from the enemies of the Jewish people and of democracy itself. The chief argument for this procedure, and its unconstitutional method of adoption, has been that unless the J.W.V.

joins with the enemies in the hue and cry against communism, then it will not receive favorable publicity in the press. A key argument for the proponents of anti-communism in the J.W.V. has been “public relations.” This logic can lead, and has led, the J.W.V. into some very strange paths.

The fact that those who are the organizers of the anti-communist hysteria being promoted in our press are the enemies of J.W.V. and all it stands for is nothing new to a large part of the J.W.V. membership. Yet how is it possible for those pro-fascist forces who control the bulk of our press to stampede the J.W.V. into following their policy, which has been shown to be suicidal for the Jewish people?

The Hitler Technique

It is the anti-Semitic cartelists and their servants who clamor the loudest about patriotism. But it is not possible for Hearst, or for the inquisition board called the House Un-American Committee, to speak of real patriotism without profaning the very word itself. This is certainly not possible for most of those who control our reactionary newspaper monopoly. They are those who proved time after time that their patriotism is only to the dollar—that their loyalty is not to democracy, or to the people, but to Wall Street and corporation profits. This is the “patriotism” which induced Wall Street to provide its own funds to build up the German cartels led by Hitler as a modern Moloch to threaten mankind, which made possible the extermination of six million of our own people. And now Wall Street again tries to persuade the world through these same newspapers that these same German cartel-kings can again be restored into control of the German Ruhr, this time with the use of the people’s money through governmental financing, and under the close guidance of the same American cartelists who helped to finance the rise of Hitler to power.

When Hitler took power in Germany, he found it difficult at first to stampede the German people into lustful vengeance which he later exacted upon the Jews. This was at first too barbaric, even for those Germans permeated with blind nationalism. However, the nazi stormtroopers told their German neighbors that unless they joined with them in pulling Jewish beards and in pillaging Jewish homes, they would also be suspected of being Jews—in any case they would be treated and punished as Jews. So, under threats and intimidation, the Germans were bludgeoned into acts which calloused all conscience, and later made it easier for Hitler to progress to his program of extermination. This acquiescence was the beginning of Buchenwald and Oswiecim.

The parallel is plain for all to see. The J.W.V. is told that unless they officially condemn communists and exclude them, unless they join with the general witchhunt, they too will be classified as communists—or as a “Communist

front" organization. So, in the vain hope of escaping the opprobrium meted out to communists, the Jewish veterans are to be blackmailed into accepting "anti-communism," the subterfuge and the central plank in the platform of all fascists, from Hitler in Germany to his heirs and aspirants in our own country. The logic of this retreat will force the J.W.V. to abandon increasingly, step by step, every part of its own program that can defend the Jewish people. Why? They will be compelled to be silent before the present ambitions of the pro-fascist forces to put the American people into a political strait-jacket, or else to risk the charge of "communism." The J.W.V. finally will be able to avoid the criticism of Hearst and all his political henchmen only if it actively engages in the storm-trooper actions of those who are attempting to pervert the veterans into the infamy of a thought control police.

The example of Philadelphia should be a warning to all of us. There, on November 1st, it is reported that members of the J.W.V. led by Ellis Budman, a member of the J.W.V. National Executive Committee, joined with anti-Semitic hoodlums, Christian Fronters who used the veterans' organizations as a screen for their fascist behavior, in disrupting a meeting called by the Progressive Citizens of America, the political group that is promoting the program of Henry Wallace. This meeting was called to hear some of those Hollywood actors who had defied the gag rule of the House Un-American Committee and its attempts to censor the films and the thinking and writing of the American people. You may recall that among the motion pictures specifically attacked by the Committee as being "communist-inspired" was the film *Crossfire*, which has been acclaimed as a powerful indictment of anti-Semitism. Thus, the J.W.V. in Philadelphia was used as an instrument for helping these un-Americans to terrorize the film industry from producing any more such anti-fascist films. Is this the shame to which such a theory accepted in the Encampment resolution will lead the J.W.V.?

Members of the Peter Royal Feldman Post can recall the equally shameful record of one of its own members, who last year joined the organizing committee of American Action, Inc. There he sought the role of "honorary Aryan," by joining with every disreputable remnant of the former America First gang in Wisconsin, including Lansing Hoyt and Harlan Kelly, who used a member of the J.W.V. to camouflage the pro-fascist program of American Action.

We can point further to the fact that here in Wisconsin, the J.W.V. was attacked as "communist" because it took decisive action against the agents of Gerald L. K. Smith a year ago. However, when Smith publicly appeared in Milwaukee this year for the first time, the J.W.V. was silent. It had become paralyzed by fear of red-baiting. Thus encouraged, Smith proceeded to settle down in Wisconsin, invited the notorious Homer Loomis, the infamous Columbian from Atlanta, to come and visit him here, and then issued an impudent communique to the press on their deliberations.

Repudiate the Red-Baiters

It should become clear that there can be no retreat for the J.W.V.—for retreat means extinction as an organization with a program that can serve the Jewish people. The only recourse possible for the J.W.V. now is to repudiate the red-baiters as enemies of the Jewish people, enemies of democracy, enemies of America. The J.W.V. should reject all attempts to blackmail it into joining the promoters of anti-communism, the classical subterfuge of fascists. This means no surrender to intimidation of the House Un-American Committee but a determined fight to abolish this unconstitutional monstrosity as a threat against the freedom of America.

There is still time, just as there was still time in 1933 for the German people to resist the campaign to transform them into savages and cannibals. The alternative has already been recorded by history. It is extremely painful for any Jews, or any other civilized person, to contemplate the murderous extermination of six million Jews, but what a tragic crime it is for Jews to let themselves be induced into a policy that would mean virtual suicide for the remaining Jewish people! There must be no more repetitions of what happened in Philadelphia, which should receive the immediate condemnation of every member of J.W.V.!

The Jewish War Veterans must choose between two resolutions passed by the same National Encampment—the anti-Communist resolution which is anti-democratic and denies political freedom, and the resolution on political and civil rights. The latter resolution, which completely contradicts the former, quoted Herbert H. Lehman, the former Governor of the State of New York, as declaring that the "greatest danger to democracy comes through gradual invasion of constitutional rights with the acquiescence of an inert people, through failure to discern that constitutional government cannot survive where the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are not safeguarded even to those citizens with whose political and social views the majority may not agree."

I am convinced that the J.W.V. cannot carry out both of these resolutions—one excludes the other. The latter resolution, with which I believe the vast majority of J.W.V. members will agree, would compel the J.W.V. to reject the former. The proper course for the J.W.V. is clear. My own refusal to resign is prompted by the fact that the only path to the J.W.V. is to resist the hysteria which is today leading us into Hitler's path of disaster. This means that the J.W.V. must reject the anti-communist resolution, and put into practice the resolution that calls for the protection of political and civil rights. It is to restore the J.W.V. as an organization that can resist the encroachments of fascism. The first step is to restore the political rights of its own membership, and to remove the political strait-jacket represented by the resolution on Communism adopted at the National Encampment.

Membership Must Review Amendment

A question such as this, which was passed by the National Encampment without any discussion among the posts, should certainly be subject to the review of the membership. If the membership of the J.W.V. as a whole could examine this matter objectively, I am certain they would recognize the danger that this policy represents to the J.W.V. and to the entire Jewish people. It is at least incumbent on the Posts to insist that this or any other change in the Constitution of the J.W.V. should be adopted constitutionally, and to demand that the Encampment resolution and the amendment on communism be withdrawn, to be submitted to every Post for the opportunity to hear both sides of the question, as provided for in Article XIII of the J.W.V. Constitution. The indecent haste and the hysterical clamorings of the reactionary press that was relied upon by its proponents for the passage of this resolution must give way to mature and careful consideration by the membership as a whole.

The membership of the J.W.V. still has the opportunity to defend the democratic tradition of their own organization. The alternative is to accept the politics of the most vicious anti-Semitic elements in our country, and to give

the program of J.W.V. into the censorship of its enemies.

I have been proud of being a member of the J.W.V. because I am proud of being a Jew, and I am proud of having served my country and the Jewish people in fighting to defeat the scourge of fascism. But I also take pride in my own political beliefs as a Communist, even though these political beliefs are not shared by the majority of the J.W.V. I do not consider myself thereby any less an American, or any less a Jew. Of all the political groups in America, only the communists can claim rightfully that out of 15,000 members who served our country in World War II, not a single one was discharged from the service other than honorably. This is so, not in spite of their being communists, but because they are communists.

Regardless of differences in political beliefs, communists only ask that all members of the J.W.V., including themselves, be judged by the same standards—their adherence to the program of J.W.V., the defense of the interests of the Jewish people, their loyalty and devotion to the cause of democracy, and their promotion of the finest traditions of our country.

Very sincerely yours,

SIGMUND G. EISENSCHER.

THE RATHER LARGE MOLEHILL

A Short Story

By Eve Merriam

JAY and Eleanor Morton hadn't lived in New York since his induction into the army, back in 1942. Now, after several years of managing his firm's Kansas City office, Jay had been transferred to New York again. Through the aunt of a friend of a cousin's sister-in-law, they had obtained an apartment.

"Let's have a housewarming," Eleanor said. "All the people we haven't seen in New York for ages—the ones we really like."

"The prodigals return," Jay grinned. "Sure, let's have a blow-out—it'll be fun."

"Next Saturday night," Eleanor sat down at the desk and began making a list. "The Farrells, and Ed and Irene Daniels, and the Stewarts—"

"And Mike." Jay leaned over her shoulder. "Don't forget about Mike and his wife."

"Oh, of course. Your friend Mike from the army. He does live in New York, doesn't he?"

"Forest Hills. Same thing. Twenty minutes on the sub-

EVE MERRIAM has published poetry and short stories in numerous national magazines. She is the author of *Family Circle*, the Yale Younger Poets prize volume for 1946, and several of her poems have appeared in previous issues of *JEWISH LIFE*.

way." Jay stretched his arms luxuriously. "Be able to see a lot of old Mike from now on."

"Fine," Eleanor nodded. "I'm awfully anxious to meet him after hearing about him in every letter from Australia."

"Well," Jay drawled, "you get kind of familiar over K-rations. Guys either turn out to be first class stinkers or else they're okay. Mike was very much okay."

"That's nice," Eleanor said absently. "I'm glad." She started going over the list again. "That makes the Farrells, the Daniels, the Stewarts, and Mike and his wife—what's their last name, darling?"

"Bernstein."

Eleanor hesitated for a moment. "Oh, how do you spell it?"

"Just like it sounds. It's a fairly common name, you know."

"Of course. How stupid of me." She wrote it out carefully, under her usual scrawl. "And the Bernsteins will make eight." She paused. "Funny."

"What's funny?"

"Me, I guess. You mentioned Mike so often, only never his last name, or maybe I didn't pay attention. Anyway I pictured him as being, well—different." She said it as a

question, but Jay offered nothing, just watched her doodling on the scratch pad. "You should have told me. Not that it matters. Not the least little bit, of course."

"Told you what?" Jay stood up quickly. "That the French are fond of light wines and dancing? The Italians opera and spaghetti? And God Bless America?"

"Please, darling." Eleanor took up a fresh sheet of paper. "Don't start making a mountain out of a molehill. It's not worth it. I'm sure I'm going to like your friend Mike and his wife very much. And they'll like me, too—I hope."

THE DANIELS CAME FIRST SATURDAY EVENING. ED TOOK A poke at Jay. "Look at him—hard as nails! Life in Kansas City. You look like an ad for the Chamber of Commerce, kid!"

Jay laughed. "You look like the 'Before' in the 'Before and After' gym courses. That's what comes of slaving away at that hot dictaphone machine in your office."

Eleanor went into the bedroom with Irene while she took off her hat and furs. "It's simply marvelous seeing you two again." Irene held her mouth taut as she put on fresh lip-stick. "Just listen to those two kidding around again—it's as though you've never been away."

The Stewarts came next, and had a new shaggy dog story to tell. "Well," Dorothy began, "it's really about an alligator."

"About how to catch one," Ted interrupted her. "I better tell it, baby. You'll spring the punch line."

The door bell rang; Jay hoped it would be Mike and his wife, but it rang three longs and two shorts—the Farrells' signal. "Hey, hey, this is really old home week!" They sat down comfortably in the group; Jay still remembered that Dick Farrell took his Bourbon straight, and Betty liked hers with plain water and not too much ice.

After the second round of drinks, they began to play the Game. Jay was having a fine time acting out Marcus Aurelius. It was all bright and literate and cheerful; he wished that Mike and his wife would hurry up and get there.

WHEN THEY ARRIVED, ABOUT TEN O'CLOCK, ELEANOR WENT TO the door. Jay didn't realize how tense he was about the greeting until it was all over and he found his hand sweating around the cold highball glass he was holding.

Eleanor smiled approvingly at Mike, tall and sandy-haired, and his wife, Vera, little and slim, with a reddish wind-blown bob. "Let's not bother with last names," she waved them around the room. "The rest of us are such old friends, and you two—well, I feel as if we've known each other forever by V-mail."

"I'm sorry we're so late," Vera explained, "but we had to find a sitter for the baby."

"She's going to stay overnight, though," Mike added, "so we're a couple of free agents from now on!"

They both liked the Bourbon; Vera said even when Scotch wasn't skyhigh she and Mike always ordered rye. And they fitted into the game very well. Vera guessed several right off the bat, and Mike, it turned out, was a frustrated actor at heart.

He, Jay and Ed Daniels were in a huddle when the phrase Habeas Corpus came up. "Be good for you, Mike," Jay suggested, "right down your alley."

"You a lawyer, Mike?" Ed folded the slip of paper.

"Not the cigar and gold fountain pen kind, though. We're still very much on the way up."

"Oh, well," Ed assured him, "you've got the stuff. You'll make it. What firm are you in with, by the way?"

"My brother. Bernstein and Bernstein."

"That so?" Ed refolded the slip of paper into a midget square, ran his fingernail along the edge, then looked up. "Say, honey," he called across the room to his wife, "maybe Jay's friend here can help us out."

"Our practice is pretty general. If there's anything at all that I could do personally—," Mike offered.

"Well," Ed cleared his throat, "it's not exactly a case. Only Irene's been pestering me for a new fur coat. Too blamed expensive in all the shops, what with the tax and everything. Maybe you could give us a lead."

"Mike told you he was a lawyer, not a furrier," Jay said slowly, staring into his highball glass, sloshing murky liquid around and around.

"I got that, fellah. But I figure he must have some clients, or some connections, or—you know. Anyway, he'd be likely to know how to go about it."

Jay stood up, banged his glass down on the table top. "You mean Mike Bernstein might be able to get it for you wholesale?"

Mike pulled him down. "Jay, you're holding up the game. Now let's see—Habeas Corpus. . . ."

They played a few more rounds, and then Vera said she was awfully sorry, she hoped it wouldn't break up the evening, but they really had to go. Yes, Mike explained, they had a sitter at home with the baby and couldn't ask her to stay much after midnight.

Jay came to the door with them. "Mike," he held out his hand, "I'm sorry as hell, Mike."

"Forget it."

"No. But I don't know how I can make it up to you."

"Well," Mike said, "parties are always kind of lousy."

Jay brightened. "Too damned noisy. Let's the four of us have a real evening together soon—how about that?"

"Any time," Vera said pleasantly. "You tell Eleanor to give me a ring some morning. Afternoons I'm usually out with the baby."

"I'll remind her," Jay said. "Because we'll certainly want to get together plenty of evenings from now on. There's no reason why not, is there?" he demanded.

"No reason at all," Mike told him. "Have Eleanor call Vera for the first evening you're free. And in the meantime," he added, "you and I can always make it for lunch."

CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN JEWISH INTELLECTUALS: II

By Nathan Ausubel

(Continued from January issue)

THE following question is frequently raised: is there any inconsistency in pursuing the course of Jewish culture as a Jew and at the same time pursuing the course of American culture as an American? How could there possibly be any? Jewish culture adds to one's American culture—not subtracts. It integrates—not dissolves. Despite what the cultural "purists" say, it enlarges the vision—not narrows. It is an historical phenomenon deserving of our utmost attention that the intersemination of cultures has resulted *always* in the increase and the revitalization of culture. In the tragic history of the Jews it has been a compensatory blessing that circumstances have enabled them to be at least bi-cultural, if not multi-cultural. This fusion, whenever it took place, resulted in a rich and significant culture along new and advanced forms. Thus, among the most epochs of Jewish culture in the last two thousand years have been those designated as Hellenic-Jewish, Babylonian-Jewish, Arabic-Jewish, Spanish-Jewish, and Renaissance-Jewish.

May I remind the purists among Jewish progressives that there is no such thing as a "pure" culture, just as there is no such thing as a pure race or a pure language. Certainly American culture is not pure, no matter what chauvinistic nonsense Americans of the dominant Anglo-Saxon tradition may claim. American culture is the product of the total cultural heritage of all the national groups that make up the American people. For instance, when Samuel Ornitz wrote *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl* and Michael Gold his *Jews Without Money*, both being novels about Jewish life in America, they made significant literary contributions to both American culture and to Jewish culture. Similarly with many of the paintings and drawings by Max Weber, William Gropper, and other progressive Jewish artists who have consciously attempted to translate Jewish life in terms of American culture. Their works represent two cultures, the one Jewish—the other American, yet both harmoniously integrated and each the richer in content for the other.

In the Soviet Union they do not consider that Jewish culture, in its progressive forms, is antithetical to an internationalist philosophy of society. They look upon Jewish culture as *national* in character and not as *nationalistic*. There is a world of difference between these two conceptions. In the Soviet Union the Jews, together with every other ethnic culture group or people, are encouraged to de-

velop their national culture, not on previous religious-nationalist lines, but on the socialist pattern which is the basis of Soviet society.

Soviet Jewish Culture

Apart from their active participation in the general life of all the Russian peoples, the Jews of the Soviet Union run their own cultural institutions in the Yiddish language, which is the mother tongue of the great majority of them. There are hundreds of special Jewish cultural enterprises—schools and colleges, state publishing houses, theaters, museums, newspapers, and research institutes for the study of Jewish folklore and history, a work in which also many non-Jewish scholars participate. Yiddish in the U.S.S.R., unlike in other countries, has not the mark of a pariah tongue on it but is considered an official language like any other. Judges on the bench, children in the kindergarten, lecturers in the universities, scientists in their laboratories, use it as a matter of course. Writers, actors, artists, musicians and scholars are encouraged and supported by the State in the pursuit of their labors in the Jewish cultural vineyard. In the space of only several years before the outbreak of the war, 4,000,000 copies of Sholem Aleichem's works were sold, not only in their Yiddish original but in Russian and a score of other Soviet languages. There is, for instance, a Peretz Institute in Leningrad which is devoted to the popularization of that Yiddish master's writings among Jews and non-Jews alike. Nor do Soviet Jews have as sectarian a view of Jewish culture as is often the case among our own progressive Jews in America. It can serve us as an object lesson in clear thinking that only recently there appeared in the Soviet Union an anthology of the ancient *Midrash* which, despite its religious character, is recognized to be an inexhaustible treasure-house of Jewish folk-wisdom and ethics. A Talmudic anthology is also about to be published.

Now let us ask ourselves the question: do Soviet Jews injure in any way their status and value as Soviet citizens by participating in Jewish cultural life? On the contrary, by sharing their cultural riches with non-Jews, by contributing their intellectual gifts to general Soviet culture they earn the respect and esteem of all the Russian peoples. Jewish culture adds to non-Jewish understanding of the Jewish people and thus works as an antidote against anti-Semitism.

While we cannot in the foreseeable future expect in America a government-sponsored Jewish cultural movement, such as is going on behind the dread "Iron Curtain" today, we, nevertheless, have both the cultural workers and the will to initiate one by our own efforts. With this in

NATHAN AUSUBEL is a biographer and editor of several volumes, and has written extensively on Jewish history and culture. This is the second part of a speech delivered at the Jewish Cultural Conference in New York on November 20, 1947.

mind, let us examine the situation today among our creative workers of Jewish origin—the writers, artists, musicians, scholars, etc. Until quite recently most of them were giving Jewish themes a wide berth. Rightly or wrongly they believed that all other themes, except recognizably Jewish ones, afforded them a better market for their wares, and of course a wider field for their talents and influence. For many of them there were, to be sure, the usual temptations and rewards—the savory fleshpots of Broadway and Hollywood, the handsome prices of the art-collectors, a permanent place in the academic daisy-chain, the diamond-studded crown of thistles bestowed by the Pulitzer Prize Committee and the mammoth book-clubs. All these had something to do with the allergy some Jewish writers showed to Jewish themes.

Somehow, by a mysterious process of reasoning, these writers had come to the conclusion that Jewish collective life was not *really* American, that it represented the ghetto with all its unpleasant connotations of being parochial, isolated and, therefore, culturally isolating for the Jewish creative writer and thinker. Consequently, as in the *Song of Songs*, they appointed themselves watchmen over people's vineyards, but their own vineyard they did not keep. So they wrote about *real* Americans which meant every other group except the Jews. . . .

However, ever since the popular success of Arthur Miller's *Focus*, Jo Sinclair's *Wasteland*, and Laura Z. Hobson's *Gentleman's Agreement*, there has been a striking change of attitude on the part of Jewish writers toward Jewish themes. It has come suddenly as a heart-warming realization to all serious, social-minded writers that the taboo against a positive treatment of Jewish life and problems has been largely a figment of their own imagination. Furthermore, they are at last beginning to recognize that the Jewish problem is not to be considered as something special and isolated affecting Jews alone but as an urgent national problem which concerns the whole American people. However, what is actually cooking in the literary pots of these Jewish writers is yet to be seen.

Accenting the Negative

It is undeniable that for the past three decades there have been quite a few gifted Jewish writers who, in one work or another, treated of Jewish life in America. After all, writers are not a bit different from other people—occasionally they too suffer from a guilty conscience. The more sensitive of them, therefore, nourish at least one "Jewish" book in their literary womb. But once the Jewish novel, play, short-story or poem is "delivered," the moral imperative for any further delineation of Jewish life ceases. They feel that with their token work they have amply done their duty to the Jewish people.

It is a matter of infinite wonder, and a subject worthy of clinical study by the psychoanalysts, why so many of our talented and otherwise progressive writers, whenever they do write about Jews, become preoccupied with only the negative aspects of Jewish life. The positive ones, by default,

they leave to the totally sincere but slightly hysterical religious nationalists like Ludwig Lewisohn and Irving Fine-man with their interminable *shofar*-blasts, their "Hear O Israel!" cries and their back-to-the-Sabbath candles incantations. It is curious how often, whenever one of our serious playwrights or fiction writers gets down at last to write about Jews he does not write with ink but with venom. He pounces upon his subject like a tiger upon its prey and tears its vitals to shreds. Most of the time his dominant color is black, his guiding emotion—loathing. He writes as if he feels personally aggrieved by the undeniably negative features in Jewish life. He acts as if he were being let down by his fellow-Jews before the chilling stare of the anti-Semites. Yet he seems to forget that all this that offends him represents only one of many aspects of Jewish life. It is like an artist painting the portrait of a man who has a wart on his face—he paints the wart and leaves the face out.

The wonder naturally arises: why are so many Jewish writers oblivious of the existence of other features in Jewish life that are decent, and sometimes even noble? What makes them choose the negative and ignore the positive? Perhaps the answer lies in the keen observation Jeremy Bentham once made about a famous colleague in the English Reform movement. He said: "James Mill's creed sprang less from love to the many than from hatred to the few."

In her only Jewish novel, *Fanny Herself*, Edna Ferber has one of her characters remark bitterly: "I tell you, Fanny, we Jews have got a money-grubbing, loud-talking, diamond-studded, get-there-at-any-price reputation and perhaps we deserve it. But every now and then, out of the mass of us, one lifts his head and stands erect, and the great white light is in his face."

The negativism, the abysmal ignorance, the vulgar perversion of truth about the Jewish character which this passage reveals is appalling. From Edna Ferber's observation one would have to conclude that there are only vulgararians and "all-rightniks" among Jews, that in fact there are no poor Jews at all, and furthermore, that the good Jew with "the great white light in his face" is as rare as a four-leaf clover. This specious plea of exceptionalism for the "good" Jew, this revilement of all other Jews, the "bad" ones, all ostensibly done in the name of artistic objectivity, is merely a hideous Jewish expression of anti-Semitism sprung out of an empty head and of an empty heart!

But let us not hastily conclude that Edna Ferber stands remiss in this respect alone. It is certainly no over-statement that during the last three decades the majority of so-called serious "Jewish" novels, short stories and plays—exclusive, of course, of the repulsive, comic dialect-caricatures and the glorifying religious nationalistic ones—have been about the most unattractive Jewish characters: finaglers, humbugs, money-grubbers, go-getters, hypocrites, lechers and short-changers. Now it is not possible to say that many of these portrayals have been unskillful or even untrue. On the contrary, it is precisely the skill and fidelity with which they have been drawn that makes them so dangerous.

(Concluded in March Issue)

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

SPREADING ANTI-SEMITISM IN CANADA

WE in Canada have special reason to appreciate the words in the resolution at the recent London Conference on Human Rights, which said that anti-Semitism is a weapon in the hands of fascists and other reactionaries to divert non-Jewish people from their real problems.

Considerable anti-Semitic propaganda is being spread in Canada. On closer examination, we find that those fostering and spreading it are the very people who desire to divert attention from the real issues.

Since the end of the war, the ruling circles have begun a new attack upon the living standards of the people. Rising prices and the attempts to lower wages have met with stubborn resistance. There has been a country-wide wave of strikes and struggles, the majority of which have been successful.

In addition, the government is lining up Canada with the Anglo-American, anti-Soviet axis, in an attempt to stifle the new democracies and dominate the world. It is becoming ever more obvious that Canada is a vital part in the warmongering plans of Wall Street.

A people disunited and confused by bigotry and prejudice, is exactly what reaction desires to carry out its schemes. It is therefore not surprising to find anti-Semitism being disseminated from, among a variety of sources, the highest official level. The instances of anti-Semitism and slanders coming from persons high in financial and governmental circles are many and serious.

A glance at a few of the sources may prove enlightening.

The pro-fascist leader, Adrien Arcand (interned during the war) has been released and is being allowed to spread such anti-Semitic lies and filth as would gladden the heart of Goebbels. Arcand planned with fascist and nazi leaders in America and Mexico to form one big fascist party to cover the continent. This man and his followers, instead of being tried as war criminals, are allowed to spread vicious lies about the Jewish people.

The Social Credit Party came to power in Alberta on progressive election promises. It hides its pro-fascist policies, and the fact that it has done nothing for its electors, under a cloak of anti-Semitic propaganda. It prints and spreads the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The Social Credit M.P., Norman Jacques, has read these forgeries into the minutes

of Parliament, in order that they may remain, for all time in the annals of history, and be used as an official source of anti-Semitic propaganda.

This party is linked with Arcand in Canada, and Gerald L. K. Smith, the Christian Front and other fascists in the U.S.A. Another of its M.P.'s openly stated that if Hitler could get rid of millions of Jews in Europe, we could surely do the same with 160,000.

The Social Credit government of Alberta banned the showing of two films which attacked racial prejudice.

Premier Maurice Duplessis of Quebec is notorious for his anti-union, strikebreaking activities. This Tory unearthed a fictitious plot during the war, in which 200,000 Jewish refugees were to flood Quebec and take over the land. He produced no proof, for of course none existed.

The Dominion government has opened the gates of Canada to thousands of fascist Poles and Ukrainians from European Displaced Persons' camps. These fascists, who are afraid to return to their own country, are welcomed but a ban is still maintained against the Jewish victims of nazism. Despite the statements made by government officials that 10 per cent of Polish D.P.'s would be Jewish, very few have been admitted.

Today in Canada there are many employers who will not employ Jews. Even during the war when there was a crying need for war workers, it was obvious that Jews were subject to discrimination. There are many residential areas and resorts which do not allow Jews either officially or unofficially.

However, anti-Semitism is not the only weapon used by reaction. Prejudice against Catholics, Protestants, Japanese, communists and "foreigners" is fostered and spread to meet the needs of particular groups and situations. Whilst government policy is against Jewish immigration, it is also against Japanese, Chinese, and various others. One cabinet minister openly stated that he wanted "a free white Canada."

Tory Premier Drew of Ontario desires a flood of immigration to glut the labor market and lower the standard of living of this province. But Premier Drew hates foreigners (and Jews), and conducts an immigration policy of his own over the head of the Dominion government, to bring in "good British stock." The Dominion government, whilst not desiring to be so brazen, nevertheless turns a blind eye and gives all possible aid.

Canadian reactionaries not only unearth "Jewish plots," but also Russian, Yugoslav, communist, and other "plots." No section of the population is exempt from attack.

There is, as I say, prejudice against Jews, in employment and in residence, but there is also prejudice against Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Catholics and others.

It becomes clear that fascists and reactionaries will use not only the Jewish people, but any minority as its target.

However, reaction is not having things all its own way. A large number of Canadians realize the danger of these prejudices. Across Canada there are numerous student, religious, and civil liberty organizations, trade union and left wing movements, and individuals, who are exposing and fighting racial discrimination with considerable success.

In Toronto, the organized boycott, picketing, condemnation and pressure on the City Council, exposed and stopped the discrimination against Jews and Negroes at a skating rink.

The Tory government of Ontario has been compelled to enact legislation against racial discrimination. This legislation, whilst having so many loopholes as to make it almost ineffective, nevertheless is an indication of the increasing pressure being brought to bear upon the reactionary government by the organized progressive movement.

In Saskatchewan the progressive government has already enacted effective legislation against racial discrimination.

Organized demands for similar legislation are continuing across Canada. All progressive and decent-minded people inside Canada recognize that reaction and racial discrimination go hand in hand, and that there can be no real freedom whilst such discrimination exists.

A Canadian Correspondent.

A NEW MIGRATION TO BIROBIDJAN

THE Jewish people of the Soviet Union are displaying a tremendous interest in the building of the Jewish Autonomous Region. Thousands of Soviet Jews of all

ages and various skills are expressing their determination to emigrate to the Region in order to lend their energy to build the Jewish state in the Soviet Union.

About 3,000 people from the Kherson, Nikolaev and Crimea regions have voluntarily decided to emigrate to the Jewish Autonomous Region. The Soviet government responded to the desire of these Soviet patriots and in November and December 1947 their wish was fulfilled.

The Soviet government concerned itself deeply with the new migrations. The emigres moved in "echelons" in specially equipped trains carrying their property and livestock. The state paid the railroad expenses for the trip.

During the whole journey the immigrants will receive the food rations allotted to industrial workers, with a hot meal served once a day. Maintenance for the emigres en route is paid for by the state in a lump sum of 300 rubles per person.

The emigres can buy such items as boots, clothing and underwear at cheap rates at the stores of the Ministry of Internal Trade and of the Central Cooperative Society. They will also receive important privileges when they settle in the region itself.

Only in the Soviet Union where the interests of the people and of the government are one and the same, only in the Soviet Union where the Lenin and Stalin policy on the national question is being made a reality, is it possible for the government to show this deep humanitarian concern for the Jewish Autonomous Region and to its builders.

The economy and culture of the Jewish Autonomous Region are growing and developing. With the aid of the Soviet government and the great leader of the Soviet peoples, Joseph Stalin, and of the friendship of the various peoples, the Region is keeping step with the entire country in the struggle for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the post-war Stalin Five Year Plan. The proud words of the Jewish Autonomous Region's report to Stalin that by Sept. 17, 1947, the Region had fulfilled the state plan for grain deliveries, was greeted with joy. The agrarian leaders of the Region achieved a fine crop of produce, potatoes and vegetables this year. Thereby they fully satisfied the accounts of the state and the needs of collective members at the same time.

The Region has a significant number of collective farmers, tractor drivers and chairmen of collectives whose achievement of a high yield of wheat and potatoes makes them eligible for orders and medals in the pursuance with a decree of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

The Region's industrial enterprises have also made notable records. Fifty per cent of Birobidjan City's industries had fulfilled their year's plan by the 30th anniversary of the October revolution. Spurred by socialist competition, the railroad workers of the Obluch section of the

Far Eastern Railroad line reached their year's goal by August. The recently built metal goods mill, the meat plant, the Birobidjan food plant and other enterprises have already overfulfilled their plans.

Seven hundred Stakhanovites of the Region filled their year's norms within nine months. There are dozens of Stakhanovites in the Region who have already fulfilled norms for two or three years.

The Region is now preparing to receive the new immigrants. Homes are being prepared. Steps are being taken to assign a job for each emigre according to his desire and ability. The new workers are being impatiently awaited both in factories and collectives.

Three echelons of emigres from the Vinnitza region came to Birobidjan during the past year. The new arrivals were integrated in the work literally from the very first day, and many of them have already become prominent citizens of the Region.

In the Twentieth Anniversary of Octo-

ber Collective where 19 Vinnitza families are working, they receive for every working day up to three kilos of potatoes, 15 kilos of cabbage, honey, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions and 13 rubles in money.

The speed of the immigrants' integration with the Region can be seen from the fact that one of the collective nominated as a candidate in the current local soviet election is an emigre who arrived with the second Vinnitza echelon. In this short time she has established herself as an outstanding collective worker and social leader.

A broad field of creative work awaits the new emigres to the Jewish Autonomous Region. Party, soviet and economic organizations of Birobidjan already have much experience in welcoming and absorbing new migrations. This positive experience will be fully used to absorb the new migration from the Crimea, Kherson and Nikolaev.

Moscow.

G. ZHITS

BRITISH DEPUTIES STIFLE JEWISH ACTION

THE events of the second week of November 1947 reflecting the attitude of the public authorities to the fascists, were a fitting background to the November meeting of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. During that week two events occurred which are of considerable importance to the future of the Jewish community of Great Britain. In the first place, Sir Oswald Mosley, British pretender to Streicher's role, held a rally in a public hall with protection by the police authorities. This protection was necessary in view of the vast opposition which gathered to express its disapproval of this abuse of democracy by the fascists with the help of the London police authorities. The second event was the acquittal by a jury of Mr. James Caunt, author of a virulent anti-Semitic article in the provincial newspaper of which he is the editor. The jury had been instructed by the judge to exercise great caution lest their decision should infringe on freedom of the press! The jury's verdict will serve as a precedent for any other Jew-baiter who has a newspaper at his disposal.

The Board of Deputies devoted the whole of its day's work to the question of Jewish defense. The morning session was held in private, behind closed doors. Why this was necessary is an enigma for many members of the Jewish community. The way to mobilize the Jewish community in the fight against fascism and anti-Semitism is not by discussions behind locked

doors but by open and democratic mobilization of all forces within the community. Unless there was a need to hide from an anxious community the passivity prevailing in the Board, there is no justification for such procedure.

The open session indicated that the Board did not really realize what was happening at the moment, nor the dangers facing the Jewish community in Great Britain. One of the progressive deputies, Mr. J. Perry, presented to the president, Prof. Z. Brodetsky, an emergency resolution urging the Board "to institute a campaign amongst the Jewish people and their organizations urging them to call upon the authorities, by resolution, deputations and other democratic means, to introduce legislation making racial provocations and anti-Semitism a criminal offense, and for Government to take action to ban existing fascist organizations and prevent the setting up of new ones."

"Further, the Board declares its intentions through its appropriate Committees to seek an immediate interview with the Home Secretary and to press the Government through him to introduce such legislation and to impose such bans."

The president refused to accept this resolution on the grounds that it was not relevant. Instead, he accepted another resolution which was presented by Mr. Neville Laski, K.C., a former president of the Board of Deputies and a leading member of the Anglo-Jewish Association,

which represents the most reactionary elements within British Jewry. Mr. Laski's resolution "strongly deprecates the action of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress in sending a statement to the Home Secretary on a matter concerning the Defense of the Anglo-Jewish community which is the sole responsibility of the Board of Deputies."

This resolution aimed at stifling any initiative amongst the Jewish people and their organizations in Great Britain. The leadership of the Board of Deputies is more concerned to keep the control of the Jewish community in its hands than in mobilizing the other democratic forces fighting against the common enemy.

This fear of the democratic forces within the Jewish community was further expressed when, for the third month in succession the question was discussed of appointing a Jewish working class representative to the Board of Trustees which is to administer a special fund devoted to defense activities. The Board, made up of middle class, professional and business men, refused to agree to any such proposal. It was argued by their spokesmen that it would be inadvisable to introduce into the Board concepts of class interests—"after all," argued these spokesmen, "the synagogues cater for all Jews—irrespective of social category." In this way the Board, instead of using the opportunity offered by this proposal to introduce a new and democratic procedure inside of the Board, chose to perpetuate its anti-democratic character and composition.

Meanwhile the dangers for the Jewish community grow. Fascist and anti-Semitic activity increase under the benevolent protection of the British authorities. Mosley is getting ready to launch a political organization which will make anti-Semitism and Jew-baiting its main appeal. With the first blasts of the economic crisis making themselves felt in Britain and long queues of unemployed forming at labor exchanges, the fascists see their chances growing. The outlook for the Jewish population here is becoming precarious. The absence of a live and democratic leadership within Jewry is making its contribution in the fight against this threat sterile. A great and consistent effort will be required to shift this deadweight off the shoulders of British Jewry.

London

L. ZAIDMAN.

In a future issue:

THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY

By Jesus Colon

DOCUMENT

STATEMENT OF RESIGNATION

By Moshe Sneh

Following is an excerpt from a statement made by Dr. Moshe Sneh after the announcement of his resignation from the executive of the Jewish Agency. It is translated from the Hebrew.—Eds.

ON the fifth day of Teves (December 21, 1947) I informed the leadership of the Jewish Agency of my resignation. My statement is final. I shall give the reasons for my resignation in detail to the forthcoming session of the Zionist executive committee. However, in order to forestall mistaken and misleading interpretations, I deem it necessary now to give the general reasons for my resignation.

I do not leave the leadership because of some chance quarrel or a disagreement on a specific issue, but because this was necessary in view of a difference of outlook on the fundamental question of our foreign and domestic policies.

After the UN decision the future Jewish

state was put in the position of confronting serious dangers. On the one hand, dangers arose from the obstacles placed in our path and from becoming isolated. And on the other hand, we face the danger of being subjugated to imperialist rule. These dangers face us both from London and influential ruling circles in Washington and from the capitals of the Middle East. The obstacles placed in the path of fulfillment of the UN recommendations, the familiar policy of non-interference in the face of bloody attacks on the Jewish Yishuv, the joint Anglo-American interference with the "illegal" immigration from Eastern Europe—all these are only the first revelations of a program of weakening and subjugating us. In my conception of these dangers and choice of methods of acting against them, I find myself in disagreement with the members of the leadership of the Agency and I can no longer share collective responsibility with them.

BOOK REVIEWS

CHURCH AND SCHOOL

By Benjamin Paskoff

PERHAPS more than any other single event recently, the Supreme Court decision on February 9, 1947, in *Everson vs. Board of Education*, has centered the attention of democratic Americans on the dangers besetting the long-established principle and practice of secular education. The majority decision in this case, which sanctioned the payment of public funds by the State of New Jersey to supply bus transportation for parochial as well as public school students, is merely one in a long series of unceasing attacks on the separation of school and church. (See "Keep Church and State Separate," by Moses Miller, *Jewish Life*, June, 1947.) While the five to four decision was a considerable victory for obscurantist and anti-democratic forces, and opened the way for further encroachments, it has by no means established an unchallenged rule to govern the future.

The wave of indignation which mounted throughout the country on the heels of the *Everson* case was unquestionably a factor

in the high court's agreement with the Pennsylvania Supreme Court on October 5, 1947, that school boards could refuse payments for transportation to a Catholic school. On October 14, 1947, the Iowa Supreme Court ruled unanimously that "public school buses may not carry private and parochial school children," and the New York State Baptist Convention pointed to the "Roman Catholic insistence on bus transportation at public expense for parochial school students" as a major threat to religious and civil liberties.

The militancy and firmness of many of the declarations and acts, both of official and private bodies and individuals, in the face of this revived medievalist challenge, is a heartening renewal of the struggle of the last century which succeeded in secularizing the educational system of the United States. With his book¹ Dr. V. T. Thayer, for long educational director of the Ethical Culture Schools in New York, has added another milestone on the long, hard-fought road of democratic education. While

¹ *Religion in Public Education*, by V. T. Thayer, Viking Press, 1947. 212 pp. \$2.75.

his book may seem somewhat too placid in the face of the real danger he depicts, he has written a powerful piece of argumentation, supported by extensive scholarly documentation, and drawn from many years of pedagogical experience in non-sectarian education. If he does not seem to have grasped fully that the assault on the separation of church and school is merely the first step in re-linking the state to the church, he has at least provided the reader with a vast amount of material and clear thinking on the narrower aspects of the problem.

Approximately one-fifth of the book is given to a rather shallow account of the successful struggle, from the 17th century colonies to World War I, to separate church from school. The emphasis throughout is on official acts and statements. Consequently, the mass struggles which at various stages provided the impetus and frequently the leadership, which won many of the victories resulting finally in freeing the schools from the churches, are omitted. While Jefferson

is credited with a major contribution, the mass political movement which supported him through the Democratic Societies, is conspicuously lacking in the picture.

Nor is any mention made of the participation of the nascent working class movement of the decades preceding the Civil War in the campaign to establish free, democratic education. The role of progressive, early 19th century capitalism in the establishment of the educational system is scantily treated, even dismissed with the comment that the "middle class" began "to see in education a valuable tool for attaining material comforts" (p. 30). It is interesting to know that President Grant in a message to Congress on December 7, 1875, proposed a constitutional amendment to outlaw the teaching of religious principles in public schools and the granting of financial support by any state authority to schools in any way connected with a "religious sect or denomination" (p. 39). But it would have been at least as important to know what support the proposal had and what kind of resistance it met, to account for its dying. The heavy contributions of the Jewish people in the struggle to keep church and school separate, in the past as well as currently, are completely ignored. On these points, pertinent as they are to the scope of Dr. Thayer's inquiry, he is unhappily silent. Within such limitations as these however, the historical background is adequate to the function of the remainder of the book.

"By 1914," Dr. Thayer summarizes, "the secular school seemed firmly established in the United States. The eighteenth century had brought freedom to the Colonies and the separation of church and state. The nineteenth developed a public school free

of access to the children of all the people without discrimination. In so far as the state and the public could insure it, the children of every religious sect, or no sect at all, might mingle hereafter as equals in the public school, and there come to know and respect each other as individuals" (p. 42). It was World War I and the crisis which followed from 1929, that shook men's sense of security and confidence in the society which had been to them, according to Dr. Thayer, the best of all possible worlds. "Under these circumstances, it was natural for men who wished to salvage the *status quo* to turn for help to the two institutions which might most easily secure its underpinnings: the school and the church" (p. 45).

Dr. Thayer explains the intense religious revival which he claims took place in the '30's as the result of the advance of fascism and the ravages of the depression. "The Americans' traditional optimism began to evaporate, and attention began to shift from what is essential to better man's lot on the earth below to the conditions of salvation in the heavens above" (p. 49). It was therefore not surprising "to find many serious-minded people turning to religion for an anchor to windward. Religion, as they see it, has always exercised a steady influence on people in distress. . . . Indeed, it might render young people easier to control!" (p. 74). Dr. Thayer ignores the fact that reactionaries during this period consciously used religion for their own purposes, as was evidenced in Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, and Franco Spain. It is also difficult to understand his concept of the "steady retreat of democracy in Europe before the onslaughts of fascism" (p. 46), in view of the vigorous and often successful resistance to fascism.

The results have, of course, been serious for secular education. "Today, legislation requiring the reading of the Bible in public schools is on the increase, and pressure on behalf of religious instruction under the aegis of the school mounts daily. Moreover, where state law or constitution forbids religious instruction within the schools, provision is made for this instruction to be given on released time outside the school, often with the assistance of school authorities in the enforcement of attendance. For example, while some twelve states permit by legislative act the release of children for this purpose, in others, the practice is followed without legislative sanction, indeed, in one or two instances in defiance of an unenforced state law" (pp. 74-75).

The central argument of the bigots who advocate state-supported religious instruction either through "released time" or subsidies to parochial schools for bus transportation, text-books or in the form of a share of tax receipts, is that the "un-

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Reviewers

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churched" children are a "menace to society, to themselves, to our country and our country's future" (p. 77). This particular characterization is from a Protestant source, though Catholic authorities are at least equally vehement on the subject. The implication—frequently stated explicitly by the supporters of the church-school union—is that juvenile delinquency, disease incidence among children, the adult crime rate, the divorce rate, etc., are all direct consequences of the exclusion of the church from the school. Dr. Thayer's refutation of the many forms taken by this argument is ably elucidated, indicating a long standing and active concern with the problem.

Primary in his approach to the question is his emphasis on the possibility as well as the necessity of teaching certain rules of behavior and a certain code of ethics, as integral parts of the child's life, and as something quite separable from sectarian, spiritual teaching. (Dr. Thayer does not deal with the dilemma of the honest progressive educator who daily sees capitalist society flouting the morality with which he tries hard to equip his students.) He proves statistically that, by objective standards of behavior, "unchurched" children and adults are no more "evil" than those who have been exposed to religious education. He demonstrates most convincingly the dangers arising out of a separation of children according to religion, even if only for a portion of a day, as is the case under "released time." He rejects categorically any proposal to give public money to parochial schools. The inevitable result of such a course would be to drain support from the already inadequate funds available for the public schools. These, he indicates, are the responsibility of all members of society, whether supporters of a particular church, or of none at all. The book also contains a refreshing defense of the right of the parent not to subject his child to religious training, a right implicit

in the First Amendment's guarantee of religious freedom.

Dr. Thayer has done a necessary job and he has done it well. He has sounded the alarm, and his book should do much to arouse progressive Americans—parents as well as others—to the fact that a reactionary force has been making quiet, though steady headway in destroying the reality of democratic education, and has recently become quite brazen in its efforts. He has supplied us with a wealth of ammunition, and it remains for us to use it to the full. It is necessary to see this sticking of the foot of religion into the schoolhouse door as part of a far broader reactionary campaign affecting every aspect of American democratic life. It is no coincidence that the same annual meeting of Roman Catholic bishops of the United States which attacks modern science, birth-control, the Soviet Union and Marxism, also distorts history by declaring that the exclusion of religious teaching from education "breaks with our historical American tradition." The bishops then go on to

prove once again that red-baiting is directed not at communists, but at other honest progressives concerned with the separation of church and state, by accusing secularism of being jointly responsible with communism for "what is perhaps the greatest crisis in all history." (New York *Herald Tribune*, November 16, 1947.)

The struggle to defend our democratic education, and particularly to regain and safeguard the thoroughly secular public school, cannot be left only to higher-level organization moves such as court-fights and legislative campaigns. It is immediately necessary that the campaign be undertaken in every community, through Parent-Teacher Associations, fraternal organizations and other community groups. Trade union locals and neighborhood political organizations, wherever possible, must be brought to realize the stake of the people in the free schools of our country—schools free not only of financial charge to the individual parent, but free as well of discrimination or domination on a basis of politics or religion.

THE JEWS IN A CENTURY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

By Morris U. Schappes

IN the past hundred years, the American State Department has often been impelled to devote its attention officially to the problem of aiding American Jewish citizens in the defense of their constitutional right to equal treatment abroad, or to the problem of ameliorating the condition of native Jews in other countries when persecution of them became so flagrant that democratic humanitarianism elicited our diplomatic intervention. Such intervention occurred in no fewer than 67 of the 105 years between 1840 and 1945, and part of the record of it has been spread voluminously through the official publications dealing with American foreign relations. A very useful digest of this material, with many of the documents set forth in full or in extensive extracts, was published recently by the American Jewish Committee.¹

The volume contains an arsenal of precedent for American intervention on

behalf of our ideal of the citizen's equality before the law without reference to religion or race. There have been rescued from the pages of old official publications some of the finest, most eloquent and stirring proclamations of the determination of our government to guarantee the rights of American Jews to the same treatment that would be accorded any Americans. To the extent that the Jew in the United States had won democratic rights that were still unrecognized in the Middle East or Switzerland or Rumania or Russia, or Poland, or Austria-Hungary, or Germany, he was of course, when he went to these countries, confronted with the attempt of their governments to treat him as if he were a native Jew, with all the handicaps that such a status involved. In such instances many American Jewish citizens, conscious of their rights, sought the aid of our State Department, which is constitutionally bound to provide equal protection to every American abroad.

In the case of Switzerland, our relations with which were governed by a treaty proclaimed in 1855, it was not until almost 20 years later that American Jews did finally win the right to equal consideration. In the case of Russia, we had a treaty signed in 1832. Although American citizens as early as 1864 protested they were being discriminated against as Jews while in Russia, and complaints thereafter were numerous, it was not until 1912 that our government abrogated the treaty as a

¹ *With Firmness in the Right, American Diplomatic Action Affecting Jews, 1840-1945*, by Cyrus Adler and Aaron Margalith. The American Jewish Committee, 1947. This book is a reprint of Volume 36 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, which appeared in 1943 and carried the story down to 1938; a chapter has been added dealing with the war years. Dr. Cyrus Adler was past president of both the American Jewish Historical Society and the American Jewish Committee.

definitive sign of the incompatibility of Russian Tsarist practice with American law. In the meantime, of course, there were instructions, notes, memoranda, declarations, and other diplomatic documents moving back and forth and swelling the record of proud utterance often accompanied, it must be admitted, by slow and tentative action.

Sometimes the dignity of the government was at stake, as in the case of Anthony M. Keiley of Virginia, who was appointed our Minister at Vienna in 1885. The Austro-Hungarian government, however, refused to receive him because Mr. Keiley's wife was Jewish and Mr. Keiley was therefore regarded as unrepresentable at Court. Our government declined to accept this objection as valid ground for withdrawing his appointment, compelled the Austro-Hungarian government officially to reject Mr. Keiley, and failed to appoint another minister until two years later, when, however, it did make an appointment acceptable to the Austro-Hungarian anti-Semites. It is wryly amusing to note that the Rothschilds handled the problem more decisively. In 1888, the Baron and Baroness Albert Rothschild, who had been excluded from Court functions because they were Jews, were suddenly declared acceptable at Court by imperial decree. The persuasion the Rothschilds had used consisted of publicly rumormongering that they would "retire altogether from Austria with (their) colossal fortune!"

Shrewd reading of the records in these and the many other cases set forth can teach us much. Startling and disturbing is the evidence that our consuls and ministers abroad were often very slow to respond to the violation of American rights and had to be prodded by the State Department. Just as often, of course, the State Department was itself slow, and had to be stimulated by public pressure in the form of petitions, delegations and mass demonstrations. The effectiveness of such pressure in arousing the interest of our officials abroad and in Washington is made very clear in some of the documents reproduced. It is noteworthy that the most dramatic forms of such mass pressure occurred in this country not in connection with the defense of the rights of American Jews abroad but in support of Jews terrorized and slaughtered by pogroms in Tsarist Russia or Hitler Germany. It must also be pointed out that the authors are not beyond the kind of partisanship that leads them at every opportunity to aggrandize the work of the American Jewish Committee and to minimize or omit the activities of other organizations, including the American Jewish Congress.

Packed full as it is of useful material, this volume is however rendered much less

illuminating than it could be because of the narrow unhistorical approach of the scholars who wrote it. By thoroughly isolating the conduct of our State Department with reference to Jews from the nature of American foreign policy as a whole, they give us a distorted and in general an incomprehensible picture, full of exciting detail but lacking in basic meaning. During the century, there have been many changes in federal administrations, state departments, and American foreign policy. Are we to believe that, no matter what the administration or the policy, the attitude to the rights of Jews abroad was always uniform? My reading of the record does not show this to be the case, but to show that it is or is not the case would require of the historian that he constantly relate the specific attitude of the State Department to the Jews with the general policy of the Department. This essential task Drs. Adler and Margalith totally disregard.

The very arrangement of the book in fact obscures any such relationship. Instead of treating their material chronologically, thereby at least revealing how the rights of Jews were regarded in successive federal administrations, the authors have organized their material on a geographical basis, so that our relations with each foreign government are considered separately and apart. Even a chronological listing that would have helped the student make his own correlations is not included.

The significance of the authors' failure to connect American policy towards the Jews with general American foreign policy is seen in an inverted form in one instance in which there is a peculiar lapse. Thus when nazi influence in Latin America made life for the Jews very dangerous, the authors declare: "The President and State Department were restricted in a great measure by the 'Good Neighbor' policy which implied that the United States would keep 'hands off' the internal affairs of its American sister republics." The implication is that the old "bad neighbor" policy of Hoover and his predecessors would have been helpful to the Jews, while the "good neighbor" policy was harmful, when in fact it was the old imperialist policy of the United States in Latin America that had prevented the development in those countries of the democratic forces that could have more successfully resisted nazi inroads and anti-Semitic propaganda. The good neighbor policy was an anti-nazi policy; the only thing wrong with it was that it came too late and that there was too little of it.

In another instance the authors exhibit a prejudice that leads them to toss in a page about the status of the Jews in the Soviet Union that reflects the very opposite of wisdom. (How distant these judgments

are from the truth can be inferred by comparing them with the article on the Jews in the Soviet Union that appeared in the American Jewish Yearbook for 1946-47, which is also compiled by the American Jewish Committee).

In connection with a scholarly volume it is also necessary to note that the authors have contented themselves too much with what has appeared in print and have insufficiently investigated the manuscripts in the National Archives. They have often neglected to use the archives manuscripts referred to in such a standard reference work as John Bassett Moore's *A Digest of International Law* (1906). Yet, these often clarify issues and even correct impressions that may be derived from the published record. To cite but one instance: the authors repeat the commonplace assertion that in the Damascus case of 1840, "American intercession was instrumental in freeing a number of Jews who had been accused of ritual murder." My own detailed examination of the unpublished records, however, reveals the fact that our State Department's excellent sentiments on the matter did not reach our minister until after the Jews had been freed and the Sultan of Turkey had been led by other forces to act in their behalf.

The slighting of the Mortara Case of 1858, involving the abduction by Papal guards of a Jewish boy in Bologna, and the failure even to mention the Dreyfus Case, are both attributable to the inadequate investigation of materials not available in the official published documents.

For the general reader, however, there are great treasures in this book, and they are particularly valuable now. At a time when the Hoover-Truman foreign policy of our government is encouraging every fascist and anti-Semitic force in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Italy, Germany and other parts of Europe it is good to be reminded of the times when our Presidents, Secretaries of State, Ambassadors and Consuls were issuing ringing statements against the historical forbears of these European forces of reaction. This volume should help us realize how necessary is a reversal of our present foreign policy, and what historic precedent there is for a policy that would battle reaction and support democracy.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

critical housing situation for veterans is greatly aggravated among veterans of minority groups by the rise in restrictive housing practices, Klein said.

Chanukah menorahs were lit in 14 Duluth, Minn., public and high schools through the efforts of the Duluth Jewish Council and Rabbi Reubin Segal. The menorahs will be displayed permanently. When Christmas programs were held in the schools, Chanukah programs were given at the same time.

One of Maimonides' major works on ancient Jewish law, which had been lost for more than seven centuries, has been discovered through the researches of Prof. Saul Lieberman of the Jewish Theological Seminary and has been issued in a Hebrew folio edition. The new manuscript is the only previously unpublished work of Maimonides, the great Jewish scholar and philosopher, who was born in 1135 and died in 1204.

A comprehensive record of the Jewish resistance movement on all anti-fascist fronts during World War II will be published in 1948 by the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, of which Albert Einstein and Sholem Asch are Honorary Presidents.

A check for \$50,000 was given to Henry Morgenthau, Jr., head of the United Jewish Appeal, on December 23 by manager Irving Potash for the Furriers Joint Council. Furriers Union members donated the money by voluntary overtime work. Potash called for aid to all the needy people of Europe irrespective of their political beliefs.

Solomon Dingol, for many years managing editor of the New York Yiddish daily, *The Day*, has been appointed editor-in-chief to succeed the late William Edlin, who died in November.

EUROPE

The sentencing of Xavier Vallat, Commissioner of Jewish Affairs in France during the occupation, to ten years imprisonment and deprivation of civil rights touched off protest by the left and liberal French press which regarded this sentence as too mild. During his term of office from March 1941 to May 1942 Vallat executed the first series of nazi-ordered anti-Jewish laws in France, began action against Jews in the then unoccupied zone and introduced anti-Jewish measures in France's North African possessions.

Twenty-three of 40 nazi officials at Oswiecim death camp who were tried in Cracow in November were sentenced to death for participation in the extermination of Jews at that camp. One defendant was acquitted and 14 received prison terms ranging from life to five years. A mass trial for war crimes of 700 guards, block captains, and other minor officials at Oswiecim death camp will soon open, it was announced at Warsaw. The bill of indictment totals 15,000 pages and relates in detail the barbarities perpetrated at the camp and the extent to which many of the officials profited personally from camp operations.

After prolonged negotiations the Polish Council of Jewish Communities has decided to join the Central Committee of Polish Jews. The Council is the central body dealing with religious affairs. Its affiliation with the Committee unifies Polish Jewry.

More than 30 incidents involving desecration of Jewish cemeteries have occurred in Bohemia and Moravia since liberation, Jewish sources in Prague reported. Although some of the damage is attributed to persons digging for "treasure," most of the raids were carried out by pro-nazi youths.

British fascist chief Sir Oswald Mosley has announced the program on which he will make his bid for power. He believes that his chance to take power will come when confusion ensues upon the expected economic crisis. He claims that 51 British organizations will join his "union movement," which he plans to launch early this year. Included in his program: transportation of all British Jews except those whose families had lived in Britain for "several generations" to Palestine and Abyssinia; open use of anti-Semitism; establishment of a "Union of Europe," excluding the Soviet Union and the eastern democracies; an ultimatum to the Soviet Union to accept U.S. recommendations for international control of atomic energy or face immediate war; a one-party system in Britain; "suppression" of communism and communists in Britain. Mosley has elaborated his ideas for post-war fascism in his recently published book, *The Alternative*. The London newspaper *Sunday Pictorial* recently reported that Mosley had organized a school in Wiltshire for training district leaders for his new Union movement in "political thought, oratory and discipline." He is at present negotiating for an American publisher of his propaganda, but he plans to import his hate products into this country anyway, if this fails. Meanwhile fascist activity continues in Britain without drastic curb by the government.

British anti-Semites are charging that Parliament is "Jew-ridden" and that British politics are dominated by Jews. Liberal journalist A. J. Cummings, writing in the *News Chronicle*, stated that there are 28 Jews in Parliament, "most of them above the average ability and valuable acquisitions to the Chamber."

Eminent Catholic author Rebecca West has been under fire from British Jews and non-Jews alike for recent statements which are construed as anti-Semitic or tolerant of fascists. Her book *The Meaning of Treason* is condemned by some critics as an apology for Hitlerite traitor Lord Haw-Haw (William Joyce). In a series of six articles for the *Evening Standard* Miss West accuses the communists of artificially whipping up fascist activities into dangerous disorders which would have died down if the communists had not counter-demonstrated.

PALESTINE

Details of the Arab League Council decisions on strategy to frustrate partition which were decided at the secret meeting in December have leaked out. Included are the setting up of an all-Arab military committee, with representatives from all League states, with headquarters in Syria; Syria to be base of operations against partition; operations are to be carried on at two levels, widespread terrorism by gangs of exiled Jerusalem Mufti Haj Amin el Hussein to disrupt Jewish defense forces, and military operations by an Arab army of volunteers from the Arab states; no participation by regular Arab armies if a UN police force is sent into Palestine, but use of these armies as reserves for "volunteer" forces; arms, food and medical supplies to be sent to Palestine Arabs on condition that

boycott of Jewish goods is tightened. All plans may be disrupted by the outbreak of cholera in Syria, which requires sealing off of Syrian frontier.

Arab leaders are disunited. Main cleavage is between British-supported King Abdullah of Transjordan and the Arab League Council of other Arab states. It is not known to what extent Abdullah, who aspires eventually to take over Syria and create a "Greater Syria," supports League plans. Abdullah has sent a note to all Arab rulers notifying them that he will not permit "foreign troops" to pass through his territory. Indications are that Transjordan plans to absorb the Arab section of partitioned Palestine as soon as the British withdraw, and that the British are not averse to this plan. King Abdullah has told newsmen that the Arab Legion, crack British trained Transjordan army, two-thirds of which is now under British command on garrison duty in Palestine, will remain there. British military and diplomatic officials in Transjordan have refused to comment. When a Foreign Office spokesman was asked in London recently why John Glubb, British commander of the Arab Legion, was listed as a Palestine civil servant, he replied that he could not understand the reason for this and that Glubb is a Transjordan officer.

It was recently reported that Emil Ghouri, a leading member of the Arab Higher Committee, was manhandled by an Arab crowd when he arrived at the scene of an explosion near Damascus gate in Jerusalem when an Irgun grenade killed several Arabs. Shouting "you're to blame for this," the angered Arabs beat up both Ghouri and his bodyguard.

In Nathanya a large delegation of Arab notables called on Mayor Oved Ben Ami, congratulating him on the establishment of a Jewish state and voicing the hope of future cooperation between Jews and Arabs. Arab members of the League to Combat anti-Semitism issued a manifesto calling on the Arabs not to be misled by provocateurs. Simultaneously the Jewish Agency appealed to the Arab population for cooperation and friendship and urged the Jews not to be provoked.

Thousands of young Jews between the ages of 17 and 25 have registered at Jewish Agency offices in the official mobilization of Jewish manpower. Only a small portion of the 70,000 to 80,000 expected to register will be taken into the Jewish militia. The others will remain on call for service on railroads, customs posts, harbors, telegraph and other state bureaus.

Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, has charged the British with aggravating the situation in Palestine. He charged the British with taking reprisals against the Haganah while the Jews were actually engaged in defending Jewish quarters of Jerusalem and other places in Palestine against Arab attack. "Despite assurances to the contrary," he said, "Jewish trucks and buses are continually being searched for arms. The drivers have been denied licenses for pistols; such weapons as they now have to defend themselves against Arab snipers are liable to confiscation." The Jewish Agency has charged the British security forces with direct complicity with Arab marauders and for passivity in the face of Arab attacks upon Jews.

Jews in Arab countries throughout the Middle East are being subjected to steady official and unofficial pressure to support the Arab states' war on the partition of Palestine.

