

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

MARCH 1948

DEPORTATION TERROR HITS JEWS

AN EDITORIAL



WALL STREET SELLS OUT THE JEWISH STATE

By Alexander Bittelman

CONCERNING JEWS WHO WRITE

By Arthur Miller

WHOSE POLITICS DOES HOLLANDER SELL?

By William Kaufman

FIFTH COLUMN IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

By Ruth Simon

WHAT ORIENTATION FOR PALESTINE?

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Inscription on Statue of Liberty by Emma Lazarus, Jewish American poet.

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

Demands upon the United Nations to send a military force to Palestine to implement the UN decision and drastic criticism of Britain for frustrating the decision has come from many quarters. The American Christian Palestine Committee on Jan. 17 issued a statement signed by prominent Protestant ministers and laymen advancing a four-point program warning the Arab States against sabotage of the decision, demanding that Britain defend the decision, that the UN provide international military protection for the Jews and that Haganah be given police powers by the UN. An American Jewish Labor Council delegation met in Washington with Loy Henderson, head of the State Department's Near East Division, urging that the U.S. take the initiative through the UN in establishing peace in Palestine, that the U.S. warn Britain to stop arming Arab aggressors and that the U.S. lift its arms embargo on Palestine. Henderson took no position on the Council's demands. The Communist Party demanded in a statement that Truman immediately lift the arms embargo, charging that "The United States is putting oil on the scales against Jewish and Arab blood." The Jewish Agency called on the UN through its spokesman here, Moshe Shertok, to back up the partition plan by authorizing and equipping a Jewish militia in Palestine of 15,000-25,000 men and by an international police force. On Jan. 28 Secretary of State Marshall stated flatly that the U.S. was not re-examining its embargo policy.

☆

The Zionist Organization of America announced that it had enrolled 100,000 members in the past year. Total membership is now 250,000.

☆

In a farewell sermon in his Ansel Road Temple, Cleveland, on Dec. 28, before departing for Palestine, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver severely criticised the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. He charged that these policies had "strengthened reaction not only abroad but also in this country and considerably weakened democracy in both continents." He also warned against the red-baiting hysteria, pointing out the use of this technique by the fascist dictators and the blood-bath that followed.

☆

Rep. Dewey Short, Republican of Missouri, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, stated in January that the UN decision on Palestine "made our position in the Middle East very insecure" and characterized it as a "grave mistake." He told reporters that "we want to know whether the United States delegation consulted with our military authorities before this country threw its weight behind the partition proposal." Short had previously expressed alarm at the effect of the decision on American oil supplies in the Middle East and had elicited from Secretary of Defense Forrestal the reply that the decision had jeopardized American pipelines.

☆

A new organization called Protestants and Other Americans for the Separation of Church and State was announced on Jan. 11. Its aims are to combat the alleged aim of the Roman Catholic Church to "fracture the constitutional principle" of separation of church and state by a long-range campaign to "secure total support for its extensive system of parochial schools from the public treasury." The new body also urged that "ambassadorship" to the Pope, presidential representation at the Vatican, be discontinued. Officers are distinguished Protestant clergymen, whose statement emphasized that "our controversy is not with any church, Roman Catholic or any

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VOL. II, No. 5 (17)

MARCH, 1947

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

THE EDITORS.

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JEWISH LIFE, March, 1948, Vol. II, No. 5 (17). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1948.

other." Archbishop John T. McNicholas, of Cincinnati, speaking for the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Catholic hierarchy, denounced the new organization as bound to arouse intolerance.

☆

An overwhelming majority of the more than 500 leading social scientists who participated in a survey conducted by Dr. Stuart W. Cook, director of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, believe that enforced segregation on racial or religious lines has serious and detrimental psychological effects on both the segregated groups and those enforcing segregation.

☆

Release-time plan for religious education in the

public schools "frequently promotes inter-religious friction and disharmony" and "Jewish children occasionally attend Christian classes regularly for fear of disclosing their differences of religious belief." These are the major conclusions reached in a study of the actual operation of release-time plans for 35 years made by Leo Pfeffer, assistant director of the Commission of Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress.

☆

The New York Department of the Jewish War Veterans will conduct an extended campaign in support of a bill to end discrimination in education in New York State, announced Department Commander Leo Price. The State J.W.V. has collected data showing that the application forms

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

DEPORTATION TERROR HITS JEWS

THE arrest for deportation in Miami, Florida, of Alexander Bittelman, general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association and a member of the editorial board of *JEWISH LIFE*, by the immigration authorities under direct instructions of Attorney General Tom Clark, represents a fundamental violation of the democratic traditions of America and a flagrant abuse of justice and decency. This is not only an attack on a fighting leader of the Jewish people and on a vital force in the struggle for the democratic rights of all Americans. In the 35 years that Mr. Bittelman has lived in the United States he has made outstanding contributions to the labor and progressive movement as a whole and to the entire American people.

An administration that encourages and aids the rebuilding of fascism in Germany, that puts an embargo on arms for the Jews of Palestine; an administration that arrests trade union leaders and militant anti-fascists while it drops charges against seditionists and frees those who broadcasted for the enemy during the war—this is the administration that arrests Alexander Bittelman. The arrest, which takes place while anti-Semites roam the country and foreign anti-Semites get official welcome, is an integral part of the drive that is menacing the democratic rights of all the people.

This situation is particularly ominous for the Jewish people. We know what the rebuilding of a fascist Germany means. We are aware of the rising tide of anti-Semitism in America, encouraged by the acts of the present administration. The Jewish people recognize the intrigues of our State Department to frustrate the historic decision of the United Nations for the establishment of a Jewish state. And the Jewish masses know that the arrest of a Jewish leader, who has been in the forefront of the struggle against these alarming trends, cannot be separated from all of these issues.

The follow-up of the arrest of Bittelman with the arrest

of the militant young leader of the Negro people, Claudia Jones, betrays the vicious plan of the administration against all national minorities and groups in our country, notwithstanding the demagoguery of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

The Jewish workers and masses cherish their lives and liberties, their leaders. They will fight determinedly against the provocations and attacks by the administration. Their answer is to close ranks, to throw themselves into the struggle to defeat pro-imperialist reaction, the enemy of all people.

JEWISH LIFE urges its readers to rally for the campaign, to get their trade unions, mass and fraternal organizations, their shops and communities to send resolutions and letters to Watson B. Miller, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Philadelphia, Pa., protesting the arrest of Alexander Bittelman and demanding the immediate cancellation of deportation proceedings. Petitions issued by the Morning Freiheit Association are now available on request from *JEWISH LIFE*. We must hold protest meetings in every shop, in every community, in every organization.

The campaign for the protection of the civil rights of Bittelman has thrown extra financial burdens upon the Morning Freiheit Association. The Association is now engaged in a campaign for \$200,000 for the support of its press, including *JEWISH LIFE*. The additional responsibilities should rally our readers to help *JEWISH LIFE* to fulfil its fund drive in the shortest possible time, so that this magazine may contribute its utmost to the Bittelman campaign, and the campaign for the safeguarding of American democracy.

An avalanche of popular anger can sweep away the administration's threat to democracy.

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

THE heightened Jewish-consciousness of younger Jews, who had either turned their backs on Jewish life or whose conception of their relation to the Jewish people was inchoate, is in the process of crystallization. Evidence of this has come into our office in oral statements and letters by younger writers and artists. We are especially glad to publish in this issue the personal statement of Arthur Mil-

ler, the most promising playwright to emerge on the American theatrical horizon this year.

The experiences recounted by Mr. Miller will no doubt awaken recognition among our younger readers: he speaks for a whole generation. His statements broach many problems, "dimly seen at present," as he writes. But it is extremely important that practicing artists are beginning to search for a solution of these problems. The questions in Mr. Miller's mind are agitating many Jewish artists. The

questions themselves are only now being formulated, and Mr. Miller, like many others of us, do not know all the answers, which can emerge only after hard thinking and in the heat of creation. But Mr. Miller states the obligation of Jewish cultural workers squarely. As Jews they have experienced a segment of life that no others know so well, and it is a challenge of their art to delineate this area of experience. And also, as Jews they desire to contribute to the welfare of their people by enlightening all America on the realities of Jewish life by the insight that only art can give. Slowly but surely we are working towards a new infusion of a progressive cultural life among the Jews of America.

PUBLIC FUNDS

THE Chicago edition of the Jewish daily *Forward* announced on Jan. 28, that the Jewish Labor Committee will receive \$150,000 from the 1948 Jewish Welfare Fund.

The Jewish Labor Committee is led by a group of social democrats headed by David Dubinsky. This is the crowd that glories in its support of Bevin. This is the crowd that during the war called for the shooting down of the Soviet regime. This crowd welcomed the anti-Semite, Gen. Denikin, to America, and is today the humble supporter of Mikolajcek whose underground activity in Poland encouraged the pogromists at Kielce.

To date, the Jewish Labor Committee's greatest use for funds it receives is to build a corps of job-holders. So far as we know it has done nothing to fight in the *Sentinal* case, but it does support underground groups in Europe that fight democratic forces in alliance with American imperialists and local fascists.

The Jews of Chicago gave their money for Palestine, for cultural and defense activities in the USA, for relief in Europe. Were they consulted whether they want their money to go to this Committee? Chicago Jewry cannot permit this undemocratic award to go unchallenged.

SOLOMON MIKHOELS IS DEAD

THE world lost a Jewish leader on January 14, 1948. When he died at the age of 58, Solomon Mikhoels was director of the Jewish State Theater of Moscow and chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union—his leadership was both cultural and political. His whole life was devoted to the Jewish people. Although his talent for the stage appeared while he was still a boy, he decided to become a lawyer in order to be able the better to fight for Jewish rights. Fired by the Russian Revolution of 1905, Solomon Voffsy—he later changed his name—came to the conclusion that the struggle of the Jewish people was linked with the fight of the working class against tsarism, and he became a Marxist.

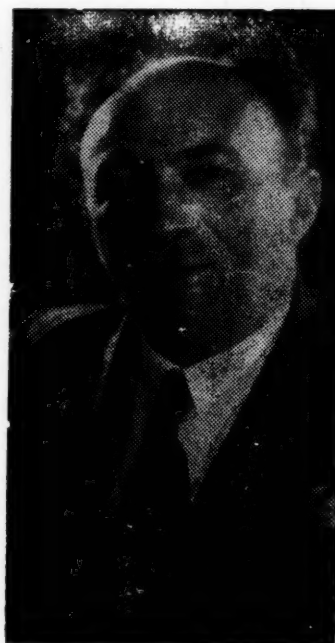
When the Revolution of 1917 tore away the barriers before the Jewish people, Mikhoels returned to his boyhood ambition and became an actor. He joined the Jewish Dramatic Studio in Leningrad and rapidly became the outstanding Jewish actor in the Soviet Union. In 1928, when the Jewish State Theater performed triumphantly in Berlin and Paris, Mikhoels acquired the reputation as one of the greatest actors in the world. His interpretations of Shakespearean roles were world famous. The Soviet people bestowed many honors upon him, Honored Artist, People's Artist, the Order of

Lenin and election many times to the Moscow Soviet.

After the nazi invasion Mikhoels tried to join the Red Army, but he was persuaded that he could contribute more by organizing war theaters and Jewish theaters among the evacuated Jewish people and in Birobidjan. Because he was

a great actor, a devoted builder of Jewish life and culture and an outstanding Soviet patriot, Mikhoels was chosen chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union, an organization that did much to mobilize and unite Jewry all over the world in the war against the fascists. It was in this capacity that he made his memorable visit with Itzik Feffer to the United States in June 1943. The many American Jewish artists, writers and community leaders who met him, were deeply impressed with his wealth of Jewish cultural knowledge and his talent. And after his return to the Soviet Union and the victorious ending of the anti-fascist war, Mikhoels continued to enrich Jewish culture and to work for the liberation of the Jewish people all over the world.

Mikhoels did much to help strengthen the bonds of American with Soviet Jewry. His death is a sad loss to us, as well as to world Jewry and Jewish culture. His life will serve as a model for Jews who strive for a progressive Jewish life in an emancipated world.



WALL STREET SELLS OUT THE JEWISH STATE

By Alexander Bittelman

THERE was elation and deep joy in the hearts of Jews and democracy-loving people generally on the day that the historic UN decision on Palestine was adopted.

Two months have passed. And joy has turned to dismay as tragic events began to unfold in Palestine. Many have begun to wonder and to ask: what is American policy in Palestine? People are beginning to fear that America's policy is of the same imperialist nature as British policy. People are beginning to feel that both governments, the American and the British, are sabotaging the United Nations decision on Palestine.

As a result of the conduct of these two governments, the situation in Palestine is becoming more and more ominous. There is grave danger that the American and British governments will sabotage to death the just and historic UN decision to set up an independent and democratic Jewish state, and an independent and democratic Arab state, with economic unity between them. If this is allowed to happen, a deep crisis will arise in the Middle East, a crisis that will menace the very existence of the Jewish community in Palestine, a crisis that will menace the very peace of the world.

That is why action is urgent. Immediate action by the American people to stop the dangerous game of our government in Palestine. The American people must demand of the Truman administration:

Fulfill the decision of the UN on Palestine. Fulfill the obligations assumed by this decision. Call upon the Security Council to assume full responsibility to implement and realize the Palestine decision of the General Assembly, to stop British sabotage, to arm the Jewish community.

The American government must immediately remove the shameful embargo on the shipment of arms to the Jewish community in Palestine.

The American people must demand these things to protect the honor of our country, to protect the national interests of America, to defend the peace and democracy of the world against the Wall Street war-inciters and the would-be world-conquerors, to defend the equal rights and liberty of all nations.

Some people still wonder where the American government stands on the Palestine question. They are confused and disturbed by the imperialist maneuverings and insincerities of official American policy—a policy shared and supported by both political parties of the monopolies and trusts, by the Republican as well as the Democratic Party.

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and General Secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association. He is also a member of the Editorial Board of JEWISH LIFE.

See how the workings of official American policy appear to the average person.

The United States delegation in the UN General Assembly voted in favor of the setting up of two independent and democratic states in Palestine. We thus made a commitment before the entire world to support the decision of the UN, which would end British rule in Palestine, would do justice to both peoples inhabiting it, would realize a centuries-old dream and national aspirations of large masses of our own Jewish people.

This is how the American delegation voted in the General Assembly of the UN when it threw its support behind the final compromise proposals on Palestine submitted by the delegation from the Soviet Union. And for this vote of the American delegation, the American Jewish masses were deeply grateful. Many of our people had even entertained the hope that this event might mark the beginning of a new chapter of American-Soviet relations, a return perhaps to the old Roosevelt policies of American-Soviet collaboration for world peace.

True, this vote of the American delegation was preceded by a whole series of suspicious moves by various American officials. The American delegation seemed to be moving in various directions at the same time. Up to the last moment, it was impossible to say whether the American delegation was going to vote for or against the Jewish and Arab states. But, finally, it voted in favor of the Soviet compromise proposal, and a great historic event took place.

True, also, the American delegation sought by all possible means to keep the Security Council of the UN out of the Palestine situation altogether. This, as you know, was in line with the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan to emasculate the UN, to undermine its main governing organ and to reduce it to impotence as an international organization for the maintenance of world peace. If the efforts of the American delegation to keep the Security Council out of the Palestine situation had succeeded fully, the just decision of the General Assembly would have remained hanging in the air, with practically no chance of being implemented. Fortunately, progressive American public opinion together with the efforts of the Soviet and Polish delegations succeeded in modifying to a significant extent the position of the American delegation. A compromise was struck. An agreement was reached between the American and Soviet delegations, and the great decision took place.

Bevin-Attlee Position

What is happening now?

England, openly and brazenly sabotages the decision. In

defiance of the UN and of progressive world public opinion, Bevin's and Attlee's agents in Palestine, working hand in glove with Hitler's darling, the Mufti, are organizing and spreading an armed Arab struggle against the decision of the UN.

The British administration in Palestine openly obstructs the efforts of the Jewish community to defend itself against attacks and to defend the UN decision.

The British stubbornly and cynically refuse to carry out two vital recommendations of the General Assembly. They still refuse to open a Palestine port for unlimited Jewish immigration by February 1. They refuse to permit the UN Palestine Commission to enter Palestine for the purpose of preparing the gradual transition to the administration of the UN and of the new states.

All these British moves have one purpose: to reduce the UN decision to nothing, to sabotage it and to force the UN to make a new decision.

British imperialism clings desperately to its slipping power in the Middle East. It does not want to give it up. It fears the rise of independent and democratic Jewish and Arab states in Palestine because they would become very important progressive and anti-imperialist centers in that part of the world. To save a little more of the imperialist loot acquired by the British trusts and monopolies, Bevin and Attlee, the watch-dogs of British imperialism who parade as socialists, are ready to drown Palestine in Jewish blood. To get the support of Wall Street imperialism for a program of joint Anglo-American domination of the Middle East, Bevin and Attlee are ready to bargain away the sovereignty of their own country. To achieve these ends, Bevin and Attlee would be happy to serve as the junior partners, and even as the lackeys, of American imperialism. And they hope to rise to that "noble" position in part by trying to kill the UN Palestine decision.

What Says the Truman Administration?

What does the American government say to all this? Has our State Department, which presumes to dictate the morals and policies of every nation in the world, uttered even one word of criticism of British sabotage of the UN decision which we are committed to support and realize? Has President Truman, who is supposed to be a great friend of the Jewish people, even made one gesture of sympathy to the Jewish community in Palestine—has he even intimated to his British allies that America is displeased with British sabotage of the UN decision?

None of this has happened. The State Department and the President are apparently too busy saving the world for Wall Street domination under the Hitler-like excuse of saving it from communism. They have done nothing so far to discourage the sabotage of British imperialism and its recklessly dangerous game of setting the Middle East aflame with Arab-Jewish conflict. On the contrary, the American government is doing everything to encourage it.

While the Arab reactionaries and the Mufti gang are

getting all the arms they want with British and American connivance, the American government clamps down an embargo on the shipment of arms to the Jewish community. Attorney General Tom Clark, who is bothered little by growing fascism and anti-Semitism in the United States, orders the FBI to begin an investigation into so-called illegal purchases of arms and munitions for the Jewish community in Palestine. And the Wall Street press gets ready to make this a major issue against the Jewish people!

The American government continues to ignore the demand of large masses of the American people to lift the embargo on the shipment of arms to the Palestine Jewish community.

The American government continues to ignore the growing popular demand that the American UN delegation join the Soviet delegation in getting the Security Council to take full and direct charge of the Palestine situation, implementing the decision of the General Assembly and providing arms for the Jewish community. The State Department ignores it. Truman ignores it. Both are busy with the Truman-Marshall plans for conquering the world for Wall Street and preparing a new world war.

Bi-Partisan Imperialism

But this is not all. Evidence is accumulating that both the State Department under General Marshall, and the Department of Defense under Forrestal are preparing the way for the United States to begin *open opposition* to the UN decision on Palestine, on the ground of so-called national defense. It is argued that we must sacrifice the Jewish state in order to keep our oil concessions in the Arab lands. What is meant, in reality, is something else altogether. The expansion of Wall Street imperialist power in the Middle East, the expansion of the power of the American oil trust, and the Truman-Marshall plans for a new world war, are all in conflict with the UN decision for two independent and democratic states in Palestine.

In other words, General Marshall, Forrestal and Tom Clark are already working together to destroy the UN decision on Palestine in order to advance the imperialist and war programs of the Truman-Marshall plan. *This* is the simple truth.

And what about the Republicans? What have Taft, Dewey, Vandenberg and the Republican Party that control the Congress of the United States done to support the UN decision? What has Dulles, the Republican adviser to the American delegation done for the Jewish state? They have done nothing for it and much against it. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party are alike instruments of Wall Street. And Wall Street does not want independent and democratic Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. Dulles personally is not only a leading Republican and a Dewey adviser on foreign affairs. He is also an important factor in the Rockefeller oil trust. And this oil trust is one of the main enemies of the Jewish and Arab states.

What has become of the commitments repeatedly made

by the Democratic and Republican Parties to support the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine? What has become of the same commitment made by the Congress of the United States and by President Truman? These commitments are now being modified, abandoned, betrayed and changed into their very opposite, by orders of Wall Street—not yet in words but in deeds. The words may come later.

Program and Action

The danger is grave indeed. Mr. I. F. Stone of *PM* does not exaggerate but rather underestimates the danger when he writes (Jan. 28): "Unless there is a reaction from friends of the UN and of Palestine in this country, the USA will become a silent partner in a program designed to destroy Jewish Palestine."

No, not a silent or a minor partner with British imperialism, but a very vocal and senior partner—the leading and chief oppressor of the Jewish state as well as of the Arabs.

Action, therefore, is needed, immediate action by the masses of the American people to help save the UN decision, to help realize the establishment of the independent and democratic Jewish and Arab states.

The people must force the Truman administration and Congress to stand by our commitments to the Jewish state. We must demand that the American delegation in the UN join with the Soviet delegation to bring about the immediate intervention of the Security Council to implement the UN decision, to arm the Jewish community and lead its defensive actions and to stop British sabotage. We must demand the lifting of the embargo on the shipment of arms to the Jewish community in Palestine.

As American Jewish anti-imperialists and anti-fascists we

must fight the dangerous policies of the reactionaries and allies of imperialism among our own people. Every tendency to aggravate Jewish-Arab relations must be combatted, and despite all difficulties and provocations, tireless activity must be carried on for Jewish-Arab friendship and collaboration.

The reactionary orientation toward reliance on the western imperialist powers, on Anglo-American imperialism, which is the chief enemy of an independent Jewish state in Palestine, must be opposed. The collaboration of the Jewish people and of the Jewish state with the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist camp of the world, the camp of peace, democracy and national equality, headed by the Soviet Union, is imperative.

We must devote all our efforts to building the anti-imperialist and democratic unity of the American Jews, to make them a vital and organic part of the progressive camp of the American people as a whole.

Together with American progressive labor, with the rising mass movement for Wallace for President, with all American democrats, anti-imperialists and anti-fascists, we shall fight:

For full American support for the UN Palestine decision and the independent Jewish state;

For an American peace policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union;

Against the Wall Street imperialists and war-makers and their two parties;

For a democratic, peaceful and prosperous America, free of monopoly domination, free of jimcrow and anti-Semitism and fascism, governed by the people under the leadership of the working class, and realizing Lincoln's dream of a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

CONCERNING JEWS WHO WRITE

By Arthur Miller

THERE is a great deal of talk going on about attempting to create a Jewish literary movement. In this time when Jews have become so highly aware of their identity as Jews, when a new national feeling has taken hold of so many of us, the argument is heard that the Jewish artists and writers have it as their duty to address themselves in their works to Jewish themes, Jewish history and contemporary Jewish life.

ARTHUR MILLER received the Drama Critics' Circle prize for his play *All My Sons*, produced last season on Broadway. The movie version will be released in the spring. Mr. Miller is also the author of *Focus*, a novel about anti-Semitism. This article is a speech delivered by Mr. Miller at a dinner given in his honor by the Jewish Committee of Writers, Artists and Scientists in New York on Nov. 24, 1947.

There are possibly several hundred Jewish writers in America of whom a handful write in Yiddish. Very few have written more than one work about Jews or Jewish problems. Why is this so?

In the first place, few of us have ever felt any binding tie to what could be called Jewish life. We have graduated out of it, so to speak, in the same way that second and third generation Americans of every nationality have tended to adopt the customs and habits and attitudes of the American nation as a whole. And of course, the Jewish writer is not alone in having broken his ethnic ties, for Jews who are businessmen, professionals of every kind, workers of every kind, have done the same thing. In other words, the cords which bind any people together to the degree that warrants their being called a homogeneous nation or peo-

ple, have been so loosened and cut as to leave the Jewish writer with no other identity than his American identity.

This alienation is not in any way reprehensible, as some people seem to imply. Western culture, western art and literature are much more highly developed, much more varied, and much more at home in America than are Hebrew culture, art and literature, if only because the latter have been enchained for two thousand years and more. Further, it is not as though the Jewish writer were deserting a highly unified culture of his own to adopt a rival culture through which his fame could spread around the world, instead of being confined to a few million dispersed Jews. It was not a unified culture that we left behind. Indeed, in my own experience it could hardly have been called a culture at all. I know that during my first 15 years I was brought up in a religious home, my grandfather was the president of his synagogue, and I read enough Hebrew to understand about 20 per cent of what I read. My parents hardly ever spoke Yiddish, and any concept of a Jewish culture, in the sense of a British or French culture, was until quite recently utterly unknown to me.

The Innocent Generation

Unless I am quite mistaken, unless I am a remarkable exception, my experience tells me that my generation in America was Jewish only in a very peculiar and particular sense. We did not think in Yiddish or Hebrew, we thought in English. We did not yearn for some national home outside of America; we felt no ties with Europe that really had any operative effect upon our psychology; and we had no personal ambitions that could distinguish us from any other American family. Significantly, although I knew of course that I was Jewish, that I was forbidden to go to a Christian church both by my Christian friends and by my family, I did not feel myself in any way set apart, in any way a minority, in any way a traditional Jew, until I left high school and went to work. Without the slightest trepidation I sailed into a firm that had never hired a Jew, got a job, and then was slowly brought to realize by means of the usual methods, that I was not of the same strain as my idol Abraham Lincoln, that my grandfather, whom I had come to identify somehow with Herbert because he loved Hoover so well, was in reality somehow different from Herbert Hoover, and that, in sum, I was not being regarded by my fellow workers as an ordinary American but as a kind of second-hand American.

I can't tell you how strange it felt not to be what I thought I was. I remember coming home after about a week on the job. I was a stock and shipping clerk in a large auto parts warehouse. We had about a hundred thousand different items in the place, from 1911 Packard manifolds to Chevrolet piston pins. I didn't know the stock, naturally, so one night I stayed an hour after quitting time to go over some of the bins in order to familiarize myself with the locations of things. I was into the fan

pulleys when the manager of the warehouse came down the aisle and stopped beside me. He was smiling, and said, "You're going to own the place pretty soon, heh." The point is that I thought it a compliment. I still didn't know I was a "Jew" and that for a Jew to be conscientious was a conspiracy. As a matter of fact, when I related the incident to my parents, such was the friendliness they felt in America that they too saw nothing unfriendly in it. That was the year they all voted for Hoover.

Unconscious Jewish Culture

The point is that my Jewishness was not in any positive way dramatized to me, but by the cut of a discriminatory remark. I had always known, of course, that we were not Christians, that there was a kind of antipathy between our God and their God, but it was all in the family, so to speak. I never remember having chosen my friends on the basis of their race or religion, and I was brought up in Harlem where Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Italians and Jews crowded into the schools. Where then, was our Jewish culture? Now that I look back on it I can find its traces, but it must be remembered that all this is a rationalization after the fact. Until I had to fight competitively in the economic world, I had about the same idea of myself as any other American boy had.

The outcroppings of a Jewish culture that I can perceive from this distance were on the order of the sabbath ceremony on Friday night. This was really the closest I ever got to God, but my God was not, in my mind anyway, opposed or truly delimited from any other God. It was not a ceremony that was protecting me from anything outside. It was simply, in my youthful unawareness, the way any well-behaved family ate dinner on Friday night. It was an hour in my week when I felt the warmth of closeness with my family, and especially an hour when I sensed the full force of my grandfather's dignity, inasmuch as he wrapped himself in the quiet aura of a certain sanctity. He, I felt, was speaking to God; he knew what he was doing; when he blessed the bread I felt instinctively that he had learned the manner of blessing and the words directly from Moses. Inasmuch as I was not afraid of being a Jew, the whole ceremony had no protective significance. It was similar to saluting the flag. In a long period of peace one salutes the flag mumbo-jumbo and that's the end of it. In a war, when danger threatens, the ritual takes on combative proportions.

The same is true of Jewishness, in my opinion. I feel that had even the relative calm and prosperity of the twenties continued for two or three more decades, Jewishness as a state of mind and anti-Semitism would have very largely disappeared. The former may shock some Jews to whom Jewish history was taught in an intelligent way, to whom the ethic of Judaism was handed on for what it is, the very fountainhead of the highest Christian ethic. But for them the identity of Judaism and of Jewishness

would have had to be maintained on a cultural level, on a non-combative level, on a level of philosophy and morality. Judaism would then appear for what it actually is, a religion, and in less devout hands, a moral philosophy. And it would have to stand or fall on its relevancy for the day.

Unhappily, anti-Semitism has confused my generation on the matter of the Hebrew religion as separate from Jewish culture. To my mind the Hebrew religion is a matter of option to the Jewish writer as to all Jews, but Jewish culture is his to defend whether he is religious or not. For if he does not defend it, he may die of its destruction. In the last analysis, the minimum of what we mean by Jewish culture today, and in this present world context, is the simple right to have been descended from Jews. Jewish culture is the sum and total of what history has made us. It is what the enemy wishes to burn. It is us, expressed in any form.

Jews Without Stigma

But let me go on with some personal history which I believe impinges upon the question of a new Jewish cultural revival. After working two years I finally had enough money for tuition, and I enrolled in a midwestern university. Now I was a little less, but not much less, innocent about the Jewish situation. For instance, my first friend there was the boy who sat next to me in the English class. He was tapped by a well-known fraternity. Naturally he wanted me with him. I hadn't the money or inclination for fraternity life so I declined. He was a very rich boy and very affable. Our friendship continued throughout the year. In my sophomore year I wrote a play and it was all about Jewish people. It won the literary prize of the year and was produced on the campus. I ran into him again after the play was produced. He pretended not to notice me. I think that was when I knew I was a Jew.

The important thing, however, was the fact that I wrote my first play about Jews, and that I never regarded them, while writing, as Jews but as people. The creative act was completely innocent, it was absolutely clear of any pleading, or any sense of difference. I wrote as though the whole world were Jewish. At the same time, there were explicit references to the Jewish religion, there was a scene, the best scene, of a Friday night sabbath. There was a Jewish villain manipulating people to his own advantage, and a Jewish hero opposing him. There was good and evil in the most delightfully true proportions, with never a qualm about "revealing" anything about Jews. The play was a great success.

Innocence Is Shattered

Why didn't I go on writing about Jews?

I think a psychological shock did it. It was a shock that flew over two thousand miles of ocean, over the mountains of Eastern America, and right into my room in a little

midwestern college town. It was Hitler. It was what he was saying about Jews and doing to Jews. And worse, it was the difference between my own indignation, my own anger, and the absolute calm, the indifference of the people around me. I felt for the first time in my life that I was in danger. And most important, my first play was optioned three times by three different Broadway producers. All of them wanted to do it, and all finally gave up for the stated reason that it was not a time to come forward with a play about Jews, especially a play in which a villain was Jewish. Really he wasn't a very bad villain, in fact a rather likeable villain, probably because I loved everybody in those days. Nevertheless I think I gave up the Jews as literary material because I was afraid that even an innocent allusion to the individual wrong-doing of an individual Jew would be inflamed by the atmosphere, ignited by the hatred I suddenly was aware of, and my love would be twisted into a weapon of persecution against Jews. No good writer can approach material in that atmosphere. I cannot censor myself without thwarting my passion for writing itself. I turned away from the Jews as material for my work.

I take my story no further because I believe that what I have told you is sufficient to raise the discussion of a new Jewish literary movement onto a realistic plane. If, in the midst of writing my first play, in the midst of my innocence, when being Jewish seemed merely to be a person—if then someone had said, write more about Jews, bring out of the half darkness the whole truth about life among Jews as you know it, I would have had not the slightest conflict, I would have pitched into the task with joy. And my work, I think, would have been positive, full of humor and the optimism that comes from knowing the Jews well. But today I am no longer innocent. I have been insulted, I have been scorned, I have been threatened. I have heard of violence against Jews, and I have seen it. I have seen insanity in the streets and I have heard it dropping from the mouths of people I had thought were decent people. Instantly, therefore, and inevitably, when I confront the prospect of writing about Jewish life my mood is defensive, and combative. There is hardly a story or play I could write which would not have to contain justifications for behavior that in any other people need not be justified.

Art in Defense of Our People

It is a similar dilemma to that of the writers in the thirties. In those days they could not conceive of being socially significant unless everything they wrote had a strike in it. So today, at first blush, many of us cannot see a Jewish theme excepting in direct relation to anti-Semitism. And unfortunately, the same is true of the audience, which seems to approach every work about Jews as though it must be inevitably a plea for relief from oppression, and therefore somehow spurious as art.

If my history parallels that of other Jewish authors, then I think the solution lies in a direction but dimly seen at

present. Assuming, for one, that most of us want to be of help in protecting ourselves and our people by means of our art, it seems to me that we must do a very difficult thing with our minds. We must lift ourselves out of the present. That, in order to see the Jewish present. We must move into the area of Jewish life with a new vision, a vision that excludes defensiveness, a point of view which assumes at once that the Jew need not be "sold" to the American people. It is Sholom Aleichem's attitude which excluded no part of Jewish life or psychology, which made excuses for nothing but never hesitated to arraign society where society was at fault. It is the attitude of the total truth. I think that with so many of them possessed of profound talents, we ought to be able to create a gallery of Jewish characters so powerful in their reality, so hearty in their depictions, so deeply felt in their emotional lives, that the audience or the reader, by the pure force of the characters themselves will be brought to that state of love and innocence in which I once so briefly lived, when all men are wondrous again and basically good, when all the Gods are friendly and in the family, and when Jews are Jews again in literature and art—in other words, when they are what they were to me—people trying to make some sense out of life, people out of the common pool of

humanity, people lazy, people ambitious, people in love, people in jail, people running away, and people dying bravely on some military mountain.

For us the issue is not whether we are Jews who write, or Jewish writers. It is merely that we know something that no one else can know as well; something that the world needs desperately to know. It is the peculiar and happy quality of art that it carries understanding with it. To face away from Jewish life when one has a story to tell is not to be more universal and less parochial; it is to refuse to do best what no one else can do at all; and equally important, to draw upon Jews for our works is to bring into the family of people—our people, our beloved and creative people, who have been edged away from the table to wait in the shadows like ghosts or pariahs. I am not asking Jews who write to confine themselves to any material any more than I would lay the same rule upon myself. I say only that we wrong ourselves and our own art, as well as our people, by drawing a curtain upon them. In short, I speak not of duty but really of opportunity, and it seems to me that those who understand me ought ponder the relation of their art to the condition of Jewish man.

FIFTH COLUMN IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

By Ruth Simon

THE very security of the Jewish people is today threatened by a conspiracy not only from without, but also from within the Jewish community. This conspiracy within Jewish life is a reflection of the general reactionary offensive against the American people. Its aims are to pervert progressive sentiments among the Jewish people, to subvert their progressive programs, to divert the Jewish people from progressive action, and finally to convert the Jewish community into a reactionary base.

The accomplices in this conspiracy range all the way from the most "respectable" elements to the hoodlum. What unites this heterogeneous group is its fundamental hatred for everything progressive and democratic.

At the head stand the Jewish big businessmen. They are in closest contact with the most reactionary elements of American monopoly, with whose economic and political objectives they are in complete accord, and whose agents they are in the Jewish community. Among them are the Jewish reactionaries who form a section of the Hollywood moguls who cringed before the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Committee. They are the super-salesmen among the

Jewish people of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan of militant American imperialism and Anglo-Saxon racist "superiority." Included also are the political, legal and intellectual mouthpiece of these "pillars" of Jewish society, people like Judge Joseph M. Proskauer.

To maintain their class dominance among the Jewish people, their program for many years has promoted assimilationism. With the heightening of Jewish national aspirations in the past few years, they have jumped on the bandwagon with demagogic national planks. These people urge the policy of hush-hush as a means of "defense" in spite of the fact that a similar policy urged in Germany by like Jewish elements for the same purpose of maintaining their class position even at the expense of their own people helped prepare the German Jews for slaughter at the hands of Hitler. Similarly the forces that will profit in the United States today from the operations of this conspiracy are the master anti-Semites, who, like the sponsors of Hitler—which some of them actually were—can thrive only on the corpses of Jewish and other oppressed and subjugated nationalities.

Most of these elements find a base of operations in the American Jewish Committee. Through interlocking directorates they control such outfits as the Anti-Defamation League and the American Council for Judaism. Through

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

domination of some of the leadership they exert pressure on such organizations as the B'nai B'rith. And through control of the purse strings they influence such agencies as the United Joint Appeal, the Welfare Board—and are beginning to tighten a noose around the American Jewish Congress.

Like its non-Jewish bourgeois prototype, the Jewish bourgeoisie realizes that it can not achieve its aims without temporarily confusing and diverting the working class and progressive forces. For this purpose reaction seeks out agents within the working class movement. Generally it finds them among right wing social democrats. The collaboration of German reaction and German social democracy that began at the inception of the Weimar Republic in 1918 eventually led to the rise of Hitler. The collaboration of the Laborite Ramsey McDonald with British Toryism, which earned him a peerage, finally led to Chamberlain.

Today the Laborites Attlee and Bevin are doing as good a job for British imperialism as Churchill, even to the point of slaughtering Jews in Palestine. American imperialism has its choice of agents from among reactionary labor leaders such as William Green, William Hutcheson and Matthew Woll, from the Association of Catholic Trade Unionist elements, from opportunists like Walter Reuther and Emil Rieve. These elements, with their support of the Marshall Plan, opposition to the third party movement and the Wallace candidacy, red-baiting and Soviet-baiting and with their knuckling under to the Taft-Hartley Law, are selling the working class of America, the progressives, and the American people in general down the imperialist river.

Exploiting Progressive Tradition

But no force in Jewish life can get anywhere without taking into account the progressive and widespread socialist tradition of the Jewish people. Thus Jewish reaction has established intimate ties with social democracy for demagogic purposes. Mainly these ties are reflected in an alliance between the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee. The latter social democratic organization is the creature of David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and real chief of the Jewish social democratic cabal, whose influence reaches out far beyond the Jewish community—into the highest circles of the A. F. of L., in which Dubinsky plays a key ideological and financial role, into top CIO circles through Walter Reuther, into major political circles through control of the New York Liberal Party, into American journalism through that unbelievably filthy rag, the Jewish daily *Forward*, through its English weekly echo, the *New Leader*, and its English daily stooge, the *New York Post*.

To describe the character of the Jewish Labor Committee, and therefore the character of the alliance, it is necessary to cite but one instance. Dubinsky and his henchmen, most of whom feed at the ILGWU trough and pay with their souls, were so thoroughly crazed with Soviet hatred that they threatened to shoot down the Soviet regime even while the

war against Hitler was still on. For this attitude Dubinsky eventually won an invitation to a Churchill banquet and a medal from the British government. And so insensitive has this agent of imperialism become that he accepted both despite British persecution of Jews in Palestine and in the DP camps. Contrast this to the action of a real progressive leader in the Jewish community, the late Mrs. Louise Waterman Wise, who was head of the Woman's Division of the American Jewish Congress, and who rejected a similar medal. The anti-democratic interests of the Dubinsky clique of reactionary social democrats prompt them to hob-nob with the anti-Semites like Gen. Denikin, with instigators of the Kielce pogrom like Mikolajcek of Poland, and makes them the finger-men for the Peglers, Woltmans, Riesels, the FBI and immigration agents.

Alliance for Disruption

Such political depravity recommended itself to the Jewish bourgeois reactionaries. One of the campaigns on which the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Council openly joined forces was the attempt to smash the American Jewish Conference because it threatened their dominance and included the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council, both progressive organizations.

But the main danger of such a combination is not its formal united activities. It is rather the fact that this unholy alliance attracts to itself a whole stable of unsavory characters whom it sets into motion *sub rosa* against the Jewish community. The political chicanery exhibited by Jewish social democracy on the one hand, and the pieces of silver jangled by the American Jewish bourgeoisie on the other, have brought to the scene a fine collection of assorted social democrats, "leftists," Trotskyites, neo-fascists, renegades, opportunists, stool-pigeons, finger-men, phoney philosophers and crackpot rabbis, acting in cooperation under compulsion of their anti-democratic phobia.

And they were put to work to lend a "radical" tone while they perform their corrupt activities. The magazine, *Commentary*, organ of the American Jewish Committee, crawled with them.¹ They were put into the Anti-Defamation League.² They were scattered into the Joint Distribution Committee, philanthropic organizations, community centers. They became columnists in the Anglo-Jewish press. They have taken over key positions in the American Jewish Congress, and are largely responsible for the paralysis that has set into that organization, and are the staunchest supporters of the reactionary plan to destroy the woman's division of the AJC, and to convert the whole organization into an undemocratic top committee.

Their task is to disrupt Jewish organizations, to transform progressive programs into their opposite, to slander

¹ See "X-Ray on 'Commentary'" by Louis Harap, *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1947.

² See "Some of My Best Friends Are Union Members" by Ruth Simon, *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1947.

leaders of the Jewish community, to red-bait, to act as informers, to sabotage, to paralyze activity, to split.

Case of the National Council

How they operate can best be seen by the classic example of the National Council of Jewish Women. The spotlight on the situation was thrown by James Lawrence Fly, former head of the Federal Communications Commission, an anti-communist who is not, however, a red-baiter, and who could not be accused of pro-communist bias when he acted as arbitrator in a labor dispute between the Council and the Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO.

On January 6, 1947, the Council, which has a liberal platform, summarily discharged a professional worker on the grounds of malfeasance and incompetence. The charge of incompetence was withdrawn halfway through the hearing by the Council. It charged the worker with perverting the program of the organization along lines of her alleged communist views.³ On August 8, 1947, following prolonged arbitration proceedings, Arbitrator Fly pronounced the charges invalid and ordered the professional worker returned to "her former position, pay and responsibilities," although he did not award her back pay. But in the process of the arbitration, Fly also uncovered the operations of the anti-democratic cabal.

The Council, a non-profit organization with some 65,000 members founded in 1893 is, in the words of Fly, "devoted to the principles of civil liberties, to decisions based upon a study of both sides of controversial issues. . . . It rightfully claims to be in the vanguard of the progressive forces advancing liberal ideas." And yet "it came as a shock to the Arbitrator that when Council came to do its own housekeeping these basic principles faded into limbo, and that for the very qualities of candor and forthrightness so natural to such an organization there was substituted a scheme of secretiveness, of half-truths and of evasion."⁴

Enter Sidney Hook

How did it happen that an organization devoted to peace and democracy suddenly became a party to witch-hunting hysteria? Fly informs us that "in the background is the picture of unrest stemming from the activities of [an] eminent philosopher [who had an] allergy for red. . . ."

The "eminent philosopher" is Sidney Hook, who was engaged in April 1946 to study the Council's "philosophy, program and functional structure." The Council's subcommittee interviewing people for the survey, in making the appointment, did note two deficiencies in Hook's qualifications: "his lack of program survey experience [and] his

lack of familiarity with Jewish organizational life."⁵ A leadership that would engage such an unqualified person for such an important task as making a study of a progressive organization, proves thereby its own bankruptcy. And an examination of Hook's background and political philosophy sheds light on how a "philosopher" could be so lacking in self-respect as to accept a job for which he was not equipped.

Hook, once a communist, is today one of the more vociferous theoreticians of anti-Soviet and anti-communist ideology in the United States. In the Sept.-Oct. 1943 issue of *Partisan Review*, he wrote, "since Pearl Harbor, I have made only one passing reference to Trotskyism, and that without mentioning it by name. I have aimed my political fire at (a) clerical totalitarianism . . . (b) Stalinism and (c) chiefly at uncritical support of the Roosevelt regime by labor and progressive movements." Recently he had written few if any denunciations of fascism although one would expect him, as a Jew, to feel deep concern about fascist trends. In the arbitration, when asked about any recent anti-fascist writings, he took refuge in the statement that his writings are against all forms of "totalitarianism." When pressed, he said he had criticized Bilbo within the year, but it developed that even this criticism was indirect.

Any Jew with even a newspaper knowledge of events, let alone a "philosopher," ought to be aware that anti-progressivism is the fertilizer of anti-Semitism. And yet Hook could declare that "Wallace and his friends are much more threatening heralds of a totalitarianism . . . than conservative democrats like Hoover and Gibson."⁶ Like all bigots, Hook callously disregards factual accuracy. Fly took note of this in his award, saying, "the extreme position of some of Council's witnesses was productive of glaring inaccuracy." He cited Hook's contention that children over 12 in the Soviet Union were subject to the death penalty—a contention that "other expert testimony showed . . . was not the fact."

One might well ask how such an individual got the job of investigating the Council in the first place. And here comes one major political lesson. There is sometimes a tendency to overlook the fact that an "eminent" philosopher may also be an eminent Trotskyite, and that these two elements cannot be isolated from each other. But life has produced proof upon proof that the anti-democratic principles and practices of Trotskyism cannot be removed from the Trotskyite whatever he may be, labor leader, editor or philosopher. And once such a disruptive element is introduced for whatever reason, an inevitable chain reaction must follow.

First comes infiltration into key posts. It is no accident that after Hook was engaged, several key Council positions were gradually filled by individuals connected with the Socialist Party, the *New Leader* and/or the Workers

³ See "National Council of Jewish Women Faces Test" by Ruth Simon, *Jewish Life*, April 1947, for details of the case.

⁴ All quotations, unless otherwise credited, are taken from the Arbitration Opinion of James Lawrence Fly.

⁵ Exhibit introduced into the Arbitration proceedings.

⁶ *Partisan Review*, March-April, 1943.

Defense League, a Trotskyite outfit that defended the Minneapolis seditionists during World War II. Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein, employed as new council executive director in August 1946, has been associated with the Workers Defense League and has served as executive secretary of the Post War World Council, a pet project of Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party leader who manages to get plenty of radio time, and is a favorite of all sorts of reactionary public opinion outfits. Mrs. Pearl Willen, appointed chairman of the Council's National Education Committee on Mrs. Elfenbein's recommendation, has written for the *New Leader*, been active with the Workers Defense League, and has run for office on the Liberal Party ticket, the political expression of New York's social democratic red-baiters. Mrs. Elfenbein did not deny on the stand that several appointments she had made were connected with the same political grouping.

Murray Baron, active for many years in the Socialist Party and the Workers Defense League, was employed as labor relations advisor on the recommendation of Mrs. Elfenbein, although, as she testified, she had never met him. Imagine an organization with some 50 employees, which is devoted to the struggle for democracy and which has been dealing amicably since 1938 with the union of these employees, suddenly taking on a labor relations advisor! Among the attorneys consulted by the Council in connection with the dismissal case were Max Delson, who has held official posts in the Socialist Party and is counsel for the Workers Defense League—and, of course, the grandpappy of red-baiters, Morris Ernst.

It is significant, too, that except for the Council women members and one other exception, every Council witness at the arbitration admitted connections with social democratic forces. Typical was Irving Levitas who was brought all the way from Kansas City and whose brother proved to be editor of the *New Leader*. The exception was Leo Cherne, director of the Research Institute of America, which sees only good in the National Association of Manufacturers, and which recently turned out a pamphlet on how to "expose" communists.

Then the Red Herring

Once ensconced in key positions, the next task of the disrupters was to sow suspicion against the loyal employees of the Council, those who would work devotedly to extend the progressive program and fight for the life of the organization. Hook used as instrument a child welfare study prepared by the worker who was later dismissed. The survey compared child welfare conditions in the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. It was approved by the two volunteer supervisors and the two professional superiors most concerned. The survey may or may not have had merit. But from a study of "the melancholy train of events," as Fly puts it, it became obvious that merit did not enter into Hook's use of the survey. It was Fly's firm conclusion "that the survey had its actual major

impact in affording a basis for the initiation of the 'red hunt.'"

Armed with the survey as a basis for attack, Hook appeared before the executive committee in September 1946 and submitted a first draft of his study of the agency. He resorted to outright slander in warning that care should be taken to prevent the professional staff from taking policy matters out of the hands of the Council membership. The union representing the professionals, he claimed, was allegedly communist-dominated, which made the leadership and membership disloyal to the program of the Council, an argument right out of the mouths of the most reactionary newspaper publishers attacking the Newspaper Guild. Hook used the child welfare survey to heighten and dramatize his warnings of subversion. He thoroughly alarmed the good lady executives of the National Council of Jewish Women, who began to distrust its professional staff. "The 'red scare' was on," Fly declares.

The campaign of undermining the organization now went into full swing, with subterfuge, rumor-mongering, evasion, intrigue and sniping as the tactics of the "philosopher." Fly's opinion of the tactics is quite clear. "Two parallel lines were followed by the Council: (1) a *persistent undercover* drive to get written 'charges' from the St. Louis and Kansas City complainants [against the professional worker who prepared the survey], *consistently seeking the bad and ignoring the good*, meanwhile (2) fending off the pleas of the staff for a round-table discussion where the charges abrewing could be met head-on and policies clarified. . . . This is the record of administrative conduct up to the very day of discharge—no instruction or correction, no warning, no discussion, no indication of the nature of pending complaints. . . . By its conduct in this case, Council may well have injured its causes and its professed principles far more than could one area secretary. . . . The essential qualities of candor and frankness were not present with the administration at any stage of this entire matter in its dealings with the staff."

The result was that "the long smouldering situation . . . had demoralized the staff. . . . It is, however, an unfortunate fact that with the methods employed this discharge has caused a disruption of the working operations of the Council and engendered an overt hostility . . . which may prove impossible to alleviate through any available remedy." And thus another organization was undermined through the activity of these political termites.

The Council was selected as a target because it had progressive potentialities in the face of rising American reaction and imperialism—the same reason that makes the colleagues of these disrupters in the American Jewish Congress seek to destroy the AJC Woman's Division—and the Congress as a whole.

The Council's program for the years 1943-46 called for support for the Atlantic Charter and the UN, whose objectives must be ". . . the settlement of social, economic and political problems between nations . . . [to] make possible the elimination of political and economic imperialism and

the lessening of political and economic nationalism." It also called for continued US cooperation with the UN.⁷

The Council weakness lay in the fact, as Mr. Fly indicates, that "through the recent years, for fear of disunity within, Council has lacked the courage to meet head-on or to educate its membership impartially on many of the most vital problems of this troubled world."

By Council, Mr. Fly must mean the Steering Committees, the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors, in other words, the leadership which alone can initiate changes of policy between conventions. Its weakness was responsible for the inexcusable acceptance of Hook in the first place, and for falling prey to his wiles in the second place.

"The Hook Resolution"

At the Council's triennial convention in Dallas in November 1946, Hook made his first major attempt to subvert the program of the organization. Hook proposed to the Executive Committee that it introduce what came to be known as "The Hook Resolution." It condemned all forms of "totalitarianism," with specific reference to fascism, nazism and communism, and was actually aimed, as Hook admits, at a condemnation of communism. Using the alleged "subversiveness" of the child welfare survey as his chief ogre, Hook succeeded in scaring the executive committee into adopting it by a vote of 22 to 12. Not satisfied, Hook harangued the committee further and, on a re-vote gained two additional adherents. At the convention, Hook, an outsider, took the unusual step of speaking on the floor in support of his resolution. But in spite of his efforts, a majority of the delegates felt that the resolution might be interpreted as an attack on the Soviet government and might lay the Council open to the charge of witch-hunting. By a vote of 153 to 114 they amended the resolution to delete the reference to "fascism, nazism and communism."

His defeat by the membership at the convention merely made Hook more determined to complete the wreckage through manipulation of the leadership. At his suggestion, the executive committee voted at its first meeting after the convention to give final authority for employing and discharging employees to the executive director. The incumbent, Mrs. Elfenbein, is Hook's creature. The witch-hunt was intensified after the convention, leading eventually to the arbitration. The Council has abided by Fly's award only grudgingly. It has sent distorted accounts of the award to its section presidents. It has criticized Fly mercilessly, while Hook, squealing like a chicken about to have its head clipped, spilled his venom against democracy, truth, justice and Fly all over two issues of the *New Leader*. The job of area secretary has been abolished, and already five professionals have resigned from the department. The group to which Fly refers as "the single-purposed administrators and

their single-purposed advisors" is still entrenched in key Council positions.

Morris Ernst, in a letter sent to the section presidents, expressed the hope that the Council's action in witch-hunting its employees would encourage other agencies to embark on a similar course. Nothing could be more disastrous. The story of what happened to the Council, what is happening to the American Jewish Congress and other organizations that have fallen under the sway of these undemocratic, wrecking elements, can only indicate the appalling consequences that will result if the operations of social democratic Trotskyite saboteurs are not checked, if they are not booted out of Jewish life. For they perform the axe work for America's worst reactionaries on Jewish progressive life, which is our only guarantee of security. The members of progressive Jewish organizations must not fall for the claim of these scoundrels that they represent the workers, the "left wing," the "revolutionaries." This claim is to mask their real position, as phoney "radicals" who represent only their reactionary masters. It is necessary that the membership of progressive Jewish organizations exercise their democratic rights, resume control of their own organizations and re-direct their programs, where they have been tampered with, along the progressive program to which they have always been dedicated, and which makes these organizations the pride of the Jewish people and answers their political and cultural necessities.

ALL THESE AGONIES

By Martha Millet

The camps of death, the camps of death,
Where burning millions rot unsung,
Where infant wailed for mother breath,
Where living into flame were flung.
Eternal scalpel, screw and lash—
And all these agonies are ash.

The mouths of fire, the monstrous pyre,
The lists of Teuton reckoning
Bleed yet for space on freedom's lyre,
But who shall pluck the throbbing string?
The rostrum's livid, air's a fen—
Here go the swaggering supermen.

O ships of grief, and ships of hope,
O hearts that guide the glorious wrecks,
Defying bayonet, boot and rope,
They bear their young on bleeding decks.
The longed-for shores that wait their cheers
Recede, grow dim through blazing tears.

Forced back, forced back to camps of death,
O human tempest, tossed, unspent,
Burst forth, burst forth from camps of death
With thunder voices past lament;
Heroic ones, rise as before
And give the world its soul once more.

⁷ In his Council study, Hook signified agreement with the Council's program on international policy but immediately urged a step that would defeat this very program. "Council's program in the field of international relations," he wrote, "should concentrate on a campaign, in conjunction with other organizations, for the abolition of the veto power."

NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

By Sam Milgrom

WHY did four progressive organizations—Jewish, Hungarian, Slovak and Russian—working in separate nationality groups, each with great traditions of struggle, band together into one fraternal order, the International Workers Order (I.W.O.)? Certainly not to obliterate each other—not to lose their identities in favor of something new. Rather, it was to enhance what they each already were in their respective nationality group communities. They represented the great fraternal ideal that we can help each other better if we are united in an organization.

This principle, which was laid down by the founders of the I.W.O., is today stronger than ever.

It was this principle which attracted other nationality groups to our Order, made our Order great, helped us reach the strength of nearly 195,000 members.

Study our growth and you will find evidence that through our work we have attracted into our organization thousands of people from nationality groups and the Negro people, who, together, today comprise practically 99 per cent of our membership.

Is this accidental? Examine the fraternal movement and you will see the reasons why we are what we are. Studying the history and the development of fraternalism, we must see that the idea of mutual aid struck its roots in America among the oppressed, among those who always felt the whip of economic pressure, the lash of unequal treatment. It is interesting to note that in the main the fraternal societies were organized on lines of nationality groups, as were the Catholics, one of the religious groups which has suffered religious bigotry. The first fraternal society in the United States, organized in 1854, was the Czecho-Slovak Alliance.

When the labor movement was weak, when people from many lands, many countries, came as strangers to our shores and were pushed into certain conditions of living, without any security measures at all, they banded together to warm themselves at each others' firesides, and more than that, to express their common traditions, language and cultural heritage, and jointly to fight for their common interests. But their purpose was even greater than that.

The fraternal organizations became the expression of the nationality groups which, from the very beginning, felt the sharp edge of discrimination, and the pressure of reactionary forces to place them in an inferior position.

Is it an accident that there are scores of fraternal and other organizations in the Polish community, totaling about 750,

000 members? How is it that at least two million Jews are linked through their organizations? Are these accidents, or do they arise from something fundamental? What is this fundamental reason?

It is the existence in America of nationality group communities which embrace millions of people, which exert a powerful influence upon the totality of American life.

Why Nationality Groups Organize

What is the basis of nationality group community of interest? It includes, of course, the great traditions, language, cultural heritage, which these nationality groups brought from many lands, which they cherish and desire to develop, and which they want to integrate into American life. But it goes further than that.

All nationality group communities in America have to cope with a vulgarized "American" concept of the superiority and inferiority of different groups, a form of national oppression.

This concept of the superiority of a particular background, or so-called stock, is a stubborn concept fostered by the reactionary forces in our country for their own interest. It is ingrained in the life of America and it is strengthened by all the instruments of propaganda in the hands of reaction—the schools, the movies, the radio, literature, etc. Nobody escapes it. It is a mounting ladder of inequalities built of "rungs" of race, background, origin, etc. It is not limited to individuals; it embraces entire groups, broad integral parts of America.

Everybody feels it, everybody knows it. Even popular idols of millions, who supposedly have "escaped" it, feel it.

In reality, not a single one of us can settle it individually. We must settle it collectively, as a group exposed to the same inequalities. We must do it in a united effort. We must all fight together for our rights, for our equal status in America, for the right to maintain our traditions and pride in our contributions to our country.

I have used the phrase, "nationality group communities." Shall we at this moment enter into a discussion, or, if you please, into a debate on the question whether there are nationality group communities in the United States? I don't believe so. Our experiences, work and discussions in the General Council of the I.W.O. have settled this question. I believe it is beneath the dignity of this I.W.O. convention and beneath the dignity of our delegates to ask now—What is a Jewish-American? Or what is a Polish-American? Or what is a Serbian-American, what is an Italian-American?

Shall we temporize and not answer these questions? I think not. Life has answered them. Just ask any Jewish person, foreign born or American born, what he is faced

SAM MILGROM is the executive secretary of the International Workers Order. This article is an excerpt from a report delivered on June 16, 1947 at the IWO convention held in New York City.

with in this country, what discrimination and what inequalities are imposed upon him in the economic, social and cultural life of our country. He will give you an answer. He will tell you why, in the struggle against anti-Semitism, the Jewish people must unite and cement that unity with the progressive forces of America working to defeat it.

Or ask a non-Jew like the hero of the best seller, *Gentleman's Agreement*, who became a "Jew" for eight weeks to get material for magazine articles.

"I began to know," he wrote, "all about every man or woman who'd been told the job was filled when he knew it wasn't, every youngster who had been turned down by a college because they have 'too many New Yorkers already,' when he knew the true word was 'Jews' . . . the primitive rage pitching through you when you see your own child shaken and dazed that he was selected for attack. . . ."

Ask any Italian-American and he will tell you about the inequalities imposed upon him and what tags and labels and insults are being imposed upon a whole people who have added so much to the richness of our land.

Ask anyone, and you will get the same answer, for the answer is obvious.

Cultural Uniformity or Diversity

We are today, in this connection, faced with a more fundamental question—the choice between uniformity and diversity. And we must answer the question whether, in the interests of American democracy, we shall approach this basic problem from the viewpoint of compulsory uniformity, or whether diversity is the essence of democratic expressions in American life. We, who are fighting for democracy and its extension, for the rights of all the people, cannot accept the monopolist viewpoint, the viewpoint of the American Legion leadership, that a compulsory uniformity is the highest expression of an American. No!

Because the truth is that throughout the history of our land, the greatest contribution has been the very diversity of its composition, the diversity of its culture, the diversity of its traditions. This diversity still is one of the healthiest and most democratic features of our country.

But for us there is an important qualification, one that seriously concerns the perspectives of our work. I call attention to the words of Louis Adamic:

"(The statement)—diversity itself is the pattern of America—will remain a rather chilly formula until we become aware of the abundant details which give it life, until we know more about the experiences and qualities, hopes and achievements of the many kinds of people who have made America. Not until wave after wave of these facts sweep over us, startle us, rouse our interest," will the view that diversity, and not reactionary uniformity, is the pattern, the stuff and color of the American fabric, have real worth to us.

Is this approach to such a diversity which will enrich our life, the expression of a desire for separation? No, it is not. The emphasis on diversity and the right of all the people,

as people, is not aimed at separating one group of people from the others. On the contrary. Real integration of all the minorities into American life can express itself only by granting full rights to all minorities in American life. The struggle, therefore, for equal rights for the Jews, for the Negro people, for the Italians, and Slav nationality groups economically, politically, and culturally in our country, is the greatest unifying force in the movement for full integration of the entire American nation.

Portrayal of "Average" American

Just counterpose this correct concept against the "Americanism" position of the leaders of the American Legion, or of the Rankins or the Bilbos, and you will see the basic difference. Theirs is a fight for obliteration of groups and their traditions, their cultures, a fight to place certain groups in superior, others in inferior positions.

I shall not speak of the economic discrimination facing the Negro people and the nationality groups in this country. This is quite obvious. Rather I shall explore some of the devilishly subtle and clever ways in which the reactionary roots of "superior group" theories are cultivated.

The imaginary average American is usually portrayed as having only one national origin, one color, one religious creed, and one pattern of cultural and psychological forms.

A report on popular writing issued by the Writers War Board in 1945 declared that:

"Consistent repetition was exaggerating and perpetuating the false and mischievous notion that ours is a white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon country, in which all other national stocks and religious faiths are of lesser dignity."

The Board analyzed 185 short stories published in 1937, and from 1940 to 1943, in eight magazines whose circulation totals about 20 million. (I shudder when I estimate how many of these millions of sheets find their way into the homes of our nationality group communities.) Here is what the survey found:

"Of 889 identified characters, more than 90 per cent were Anglo-Saxon, whereas only a very small percentage were drawn from all other population stocks in the United States. Only 16 Negroes and 10 Jews out of almost 1,000 characters were counted, and where the authors brought in racketeers, thieves, gamblers, shady night club owners, crooked prize fight managers, such characters were seldom Anglo-Saxon.

"Overwhelming attention is given to the Anglo-Saxons. The stage and spotlight belong to them. They were habitually pictured as the salt of the earth. Their superiority, wealth and prestige were usually taken for granted, whereas in the few instances where a non-Anglo-Saxon character was represented as rich or important, the author had to offer a very elaborate explanation."

Again quoting from the Writers War Board survey:

"The behavior of these fictional characters could easily be used to prove that the Negroes are lazy, the Jews are wily, the Irish superstitious, and the Italians criminals."

With over one-third of our population first, second and third generation non-Anglo-Saxons, with about one-tenth of the American people Negroes, and with five million Jews, it is unthinkable and intolerable that such a pattern should be so developed and so common.

Yet the crassness with which this pattern is echoed in high places is made frighteningly clear in a statement like that of Representative Ed Gossett of Texas who said:

"Isn't this supposed to be an Anglo-Saxon country; that is, English-speaking. . . ."

This concept of Anglo-Saxon superiority, if permitted to continue, can become a new Aryan theory, an ideological vehicle for the advance of fascism.

This present danger stems from a concept which has been developed over a long period. It reached a new height during the 20's in this country. This concept of a typical American, an image developed by reaction, was used as an instrument with which to carry through the sharpest and most highly organized compulsory assimilation, to bring about the most complete submission of everybody to this concept.

It was only in the years after Hoover, coincident with the broad mass movement around Roosevelt, that many questions which previously had been considered answered, were re-examined and the glib answers were revised by the masses of the people in the light of the democratic upsurge.

I cite a report by the National Resources Committee published in 1938 and signed by such people as Henry Wallace, Harry Hopkins, Harold Ickes and other Roosevelt sup-

porters. Their sound and simple evaluation was this: the most important of our resources are the American people themselves. Discussing the contributions of the nationality groups in America, they came to the following conclusion:

"The existence of diverse cultural heritages in American society has often been regarded as an evil to be overcome as rapidly as possible. Movements . . . developed toward enforced assimilation and regimentation. These movements . . . tended toward the suppression of initiative, the destruction of traditional morale, artistic values, the fostering of feelings of inferiority and confusion and toward personal and social conflict. . . ."

This report brings forward the main democratic principle that the true concept of an American is not of one who came here at a certain period; not simply that of the contributions made by certain groups; not a concept of a pattern of uniformity. It is rather a pattern of cultural diversity, the whole of which is the strength of democratic America.

What do we mean by cultural diversity? We mean those different expressions of culture, developed over the years and through the generations, by the peoples of the different countries of the world and brought with them to the U.S.A.

To this cultural diversity, which is the strength of America, we in the I.W.O. pledge ourselves. We pledge to develop to a higher level the cultural contributions that each nationality group embodies, the pride in them, the love for them, so that we may more effectively integrate and reflect them in the totality of American cultural life.

KING OF THE PERSIANS

A Short Story

By Leo Bilander

DESPITE the thick drizzle falling from a hopelessly gray sky, the corner of Seventh Avenue and 29th Street was overflowing with employed and unemployed fur workers. They stood by the curb leaning against parked cars and traffic posts, gathered in small groups in the center of the street obstructing the stream of pedestrians, or took their places by the large windows displaying a variety of furs, furriers' supplies and roughly printed ads for skilled mechanics. A squad of policemen emerged from the nearby precinct, jauntily swinging their clubs, watched with passive interest by the milling workers.

The big clock on 30th Street showed 8:20 when a young man wearing a white apron was seen running to the "job" block. He stopped in front of a middle-aged man standing beneath a fire-escape.

LEO BILANDER is a young writer who is a furrier by trade and a member of the Furrier's Joint Council of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union. His story *Greetings from the Tsar* was published in our Cultural Supplement, November 1947.

"Are you an operator?" he asked, speaking in a German accent.

"Yes." The man's tired eyes brightened with interest.

"Can you sew persians?"

"What a question. I sewed them in Paris."

"You're a refugee, no?" The young man in the white apron eyed him closely.

"Why? Doesn't your boss like refugees?" There was belligerence in his voice. The white-aproned inquirer shook his head and laughed.

"Don't be foolish! My boss is in this country only ten months. He'll be glad to have a refugee. We're all refugees there. I'm from Vienna myself. What's your name?"

"Arnold."

"My name is Walter."

They walked down Seventh Avenue and turned east on 28th Street. They stopped in front of a narrow eight-story building.

"Go up there," Walter said, "tell him Walter sent you."

I've got to get him some tea. Oh, yes, the name of the shop is Continental Persians. Can't miss the place. On the seventh floor. There are signs all over the hall, even by the men's room. Good luck!"

Arnold got off on the seventh floor and moved in the direction of the arrow. The door which bore the sign: "Continental Persians—Furs of Distinction," was a massive dark green, showing marks of white chalk and protective agency stickers. Arnold entered and found himself in the office. It was a narrow, partitioned room, the size of a foyer. Despite the early hour a large white bulb, suspended from a piece of flax cord, hung over a scarred mahogany desk littered with bills, message pads, pay envelopes, advertising cards and an open copy of *Women's Wear Daily*. A small end-table stood by the dirty-gray cardboard wall on which hung a man-size bevelled mirror. In the corner, next to the safe which was open for no better reason than that it was empty, stood a broken steel rack whose top bar looked like a dislocated limb. It was loaded with bundles of skins, stacks of patterns, shirts, pants, aprons and soiled towels. Several paper whiskey-cups lay scattered by the dripping water-cooler, shining whitely against a matting of accumulated brown dust and bits of discarded curled fur pieces. Above the desk hung a calendar featuring a semi-nude woman, the advertising gift from a fur blender and dyer. From the factory, part of which he could see through the narrow, arched door, came the irregular hum of the machines and the hesitant, stuttering bang of the nailer's pinchers.

AT THE SOFT SOUND OF THE DOOR-BELL A MAN WALKED INTO the office. He might have been tall had not his posture resembled a capital C. He had deep dark eyes, too large for his small, pointed face, and thinning hair flanking a square forehead. He wore a light blue suit whose brightness strangely contrasted with the unhealthy pallor of his face. He looked at Arnold quizzically, shook the ashes off the cigarette he held in his left hand, and asked:

"How do you do? What is it you want?" He spoke slowly like one who is conscious of the effort it takes him to speak a new language.

Arnold did not reply. His eyes began to flicker as they scanned the face of his employer.

"Nathan!" he cried excitedly, "don't you recognize me?"

"No." Nathan's searching eyes failed to register any signs of recognition.

"It is I, Arnold!" Arnold said in German.

Nathan gasped in amazement.

"It's hard to believe. . . . You—I!" He stared uncertainly at the tall, thin, tired-looking man whose dark hair was graying in spots. "I swear . . . I would never have recognized you. . . . You looked so different three years ago."

"Anybody can change in three years, especially in a German concentration camp." Arnold said, smiling wearily. "It's good to see you again, Nathan. That morning I saw you march away with a contingent of Jews I knew I'd never

see you again. Yes, one can never be certain. I thought. . . ." His voice broke abruptly.

"How's your family?" Nathan asked.

"My wife and children are dead," Arnold answered darkly, "Two years ago I caught up with my folks. They're fine. I left them in Naples. What about your son?"

"He's in Paris, staying with my friends till I can bring him to America."

"I'm glad to hear it," Arnold said sincerely.

"Thanks."

The door opened and Walter entered carrying a container of tea.

"Here you are, Herr Malbush," Walter said, giving him the tea. He winked at Arnold as though wishing him good luck and walked into the factory.

"Have some tea with me, Arnold. It's chilly this morning," Nathan said.

"I had coffee a half an hour ago at Hoffman's."

"Don't be silly," Nathan protested, "this is real tea. Remember how we prayed for this." He took a cup from the water-cooler and filled it with tea. He gave the tea to Arnold and as his friend drank he studied him with the curiosity of a mother who sees her child for the first time.

COULD THAT BROKEN FRAME THAT WAS ARNOLD BE THE SAME athletic-looking man who shared his bunk in the nazi camp? That jovial, comforting, nurse-like Arnold who had always managed to steal a few cigarettes, a pair of shorts, a few leaves of raw cabbage?

As if guessing his thoughts, Arnold said:

"I had tuberculosis. Funny, but this disease saved my life. The next group went to the crematorium. . . . They couldn't move me. I was too weak. Guess the German doctor thought I was going to die—" He laughed harshly, "What a joke on him!"

"Thank God, such things did happen," Nathan said, "remember the time I was caught picking up a cigarette butt? If it weren't for you—"

"Don't be silly! The nazi was drunk. He was a pushover. Lucky he was transferred the next morning. Imagine if he had recognized me when he got sober—and conscious!"

"I still carry that cigarette butt with me," Nathan said, "just to convince myself the nightmare is over."

"Forget it," Arnold said quietly.

"Yes, that's about the only thing left to do. Forget what was past and build your future. We dared not believe we'd ever get a breath of free air. Well, here we are, in America. She is good to those who know how to appreciate her. Look at me." He waved his hand like a model. "See this suit? Bought it from Witty Bros. Elegant, no?"

"Looks very nice, Nathan."

"I'm in this country less than a year and already in business. Continental Persians, Inc. But I'm really the sole owner. You understand. My persian coats, they're the finest! Soon I'll be known as the king of the Persians," he exclaimed enthusiastically. "I came to America without a penny. Of course, my aunt gave me some money. She was

happy about it. I'm the only surviving relative. She can afford it, owns a house on Grand Concourse in the Bronx. The rest was easy. Some new connections, a painter to put a sign on the door and there you are, in business!"

Arnold smiled. "Nathan, you should sing *America, I Love You* every morning."

"It's a wonderful country, isn't it? Anyone with brains can go into business. They don't ask if you're Jewish, Catholic, Protestant. Do you hear those machines? Three of them going all day. Soon it'll be ten, twenty! That's a pulse, a beat of new life. It tells me: Nathan Malbush, you are an American business-man with a new future. You will expand. Open up offices in Paris, Brussels, and Stockholm."

"Bravo!" Arnold clapped his hands.

"It's not fantastic!" Nathan said, his enthusiasm undiminished. "Nothing is fantastic in America. My aunt's cousin used to be a janitor and now he owns a large department store. And he isn't such a brilliant guy. I spoke to him the other week. You know, I just remembered. My mother, may she rest in peace, always used to say that her Nathan looked like an American. Never quite understood what she meant by it."

"Now you know," Arnold grinned, ironically.

"It's a way of looking at things. Policy, Americans say. You see, I employ only Jewish refugees here. They're easier to get along with. There is understanding, sympathy, common language and all that sort of thing. There is like a bond between us, a similar pattern. They have all gone through bad times. I help them make a start, get on their feet again. Of course, they cooperate with me, too. No outside interference, for instance.

"You mean the union, don't you?" Arnold put in.

"That's exactly what I mean, the union. Oh, I suppose the union is all right for some American help. Right now I just can't afford it. Besides, I hear it'll soon be illegal to belong to *any* union, especially communist ones, like the one around the corner."

"You're getting to be well-informed!" Arnold laughed.

"In business you've got to be," Nathan replied authoritatively. He shook his head, then added, nostalgically, "Austria would have been such a splendid place to live in if they had only let the Jews alone!"

"Yes, it would have," Arnold replied, "if they had only let the communists alone. That's how it started, Nathan. Don't you realize, Nathan, in America—"

"Don't be ridiculous, Arnold," Nathan cut in sharply, "the communists are the same trouble all over. Once I had to call the police to keep them away from my shop. As for the Jews, you're forgetting that in a country where so many Jews are in the government there is nothing to worry about. The trouble with you, Arnold," Nathan grinned sarcastically, "is that ever since I've met you in Paris, you have wept over people. In this country you've got to weep for yourself." He shrugged his shoulders. Suddenly a thought occurred to him: "How silly of me! I didn't even ask you how you found this place!"

Arnold meditatively regarded his long, bony hands.

"I heard your name mentioned in the cafeteria, Nathan."
"Is there anything I can do for you, Arnold? I'll be glad to."

"I don't need anything. I may not be as successful as you, Nathan, but I get along."

"I'm glad to hear it. Honest."

"Thanks! I'll be getting along now——" Arnold began.

THE TELEPHONE RANG.

Nathan motioned Arnold to wait, then he picked up the receiver.

"How do you do! Mr. Greene? I was waiting for your call. What!! You can't use the coats?" All the blood left Nathan's face. The hand which held the receiver was shaking. "But I . . . You told me last week. . . . You didn't know? What am I supposed to do with the coats? You're joking, Mr. Greene. . . . Who'll pay for the labor? Two thousand dollars! You'll pay me half the price? *Immoeglich! Das kann ich nicht verstehen!* Hello! Hello!" He stared vacantly at the phone then he viciously threw the receiver into the cradle. For a moment he stood motionless, his mouth ajar, his eyes dancing with fear. He seemed to fit Markham's description of Millet's peasant: "Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox." Then he uttered one sentence:

"I'm lost!"

"What's the matter?" Arnold asked calmly.

Nathan mechanically turned the gold ring he wore on his left hand.

"The buyer's returning my coats," he said in German, his voice hardly above a whisper. "He says they're no good. Thirty coats. He's lying, that son-of-a-bitch! They're the best coats in the market! He knows it!" His voice grew louder as his rage increased. "He begged me for the coats. Now he can't use them! He says he lost money waiting for them! How about my time that went into it? Pickle them he says. Send me better coats the next time! There are *no* better coats! Where am I going to get the money to pay the workers? God!" His body was shaking. He was weeping. He recovered at last. He clenched his fists. His tearful eyes became metallic. "I'll show him! He thinks he can get away with it! Ha! I'll call up my lawyer. I have a contract with him."

"Don't be silly, Nathan," Arnold interrupted him. "You know every contract says subject to approval. There is nothing you can do."

"Why did I come to America? Gangsters, swindlers, Hitlers!" he wailed. "How nice they are! 'How do you do, Mr. Malbush, how's business? Can't complain, eh? That's fine! How's your kid? Still in Europe? Too bad. Bring him over here!' Then they go and cut your throat!" He kicked a paper cup that lay on the floor and sent it spinning into the open safe. "I bet they'll send somebody up here to buy the coats at half the price. I know them crooks! They know I'm stuck with them and think I'll be only too happy to sell them. But I won't! My blood went into those coats. Let the workers go to the buyer. Let him pay them!" He be-

came suddenly aware of the silent machines in the factory. "What's the matter with them? Has everybody gone crazy? First the buyer, then the workers!" He rushed into the factory. From behind the partition came his resonant voice: "What are you staring at? Get to work! You're not

paid for moping by the machine! Nathan Malbush is not through yet! I'll have—!"

Arnold closed the door behind him. Walking to the elevator he brushed by a short, stock man dressed in a flannel suit, moving in the direction Arnold came from.

WHOSE POLITICS DOES HOLLANDER SELL?

By William Kaufman

IN a number of decisions adopted recently by the leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, they have taken the union off the progressive path on which Sidney Hillman had led it for the past 12 years.

These leaders' opposition to the third party movement and Wallace is the logical outcome of their ill-advised decision to sign the Taft-Hartley Law anti-communist affidavits, and of their endorsement and support of the war-breeding Marshall Plan.

It is therefore no surprise that Louis Hollander, vice-president of the ACW, declared in a statement he made at the Albany conference of the New York State CIO Council of which he is president, that nothing had happened since May 1946 to change the opinion Wallace had then voiced that "the formation of a third party would guarantee a reactionary victory by splitting the progressive vote. . . ." Therefore Wallace's decision to become a candidate on a third party ticket this year was completely unjustified.

Now, Mr Hollander is both a trade union leader and a Jew. Both these aspects should make him sensitive to events. Let us examine the facts to see whether anything did happen since May 1946 to justify Wallace in changing his opinion in January 1948, and that should make Hollander as a trade unionist and a Jew follow a similar course.

After dismissing the members of the Roosevelt cabinet and cleaning out the New Dealers so that they wouldn't be in his way, President Harry Truman surrounded himself with a cabinet and advisors drawn from Wall Street bankers and the military. These include Secretary of State George Marshall, Assistant Secretary of State Lovett, Secretary of Defense Forrestal, Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, Secretary of Commerce Harriman, not to mention ambassadors, heads of special missions, administrators, etc. Herbert Hoover, the great engineer of the 1929 crisis, the architect of Hoovervilles, the patron saint of apple sellers, the commander-in-chief of the war against veterans at Anacostia Flats, was called by Truman to the White House for advice, and sent to Europe by the President on a special mission to investigate the food situation and use the experience Hoover acquired after the first world war on how

to use food for politics. Hoover, together with Republicans Dulles and Vandenberg, became Truman's brain-trusters in working out a bi-partisan foreign policy, which is today achieving for America the hatred of the world.

This is the company Truman keeps. The National Association of Manufacturers could not do better if it were directly responsible for appointing government officials. For included in this wrecking crew of American democracy, standard of living and way of life, are some of the most expert anti-laborites, the inspirers of anti-Semitism in the election campaigns of 1944 and 1946. FDR was hated by Wall Street, by the NAM, and loved by the people. If Truman is not loved by Wall Street and the NAM, it is for reasons other than politics. But they flock into his service. And those sections of the people who do not hate Truman, but support him, do so not because they love him, but because they hate the Republicans more. They call Truman the *lesser evil*.

From Lesser to Greater Evil

But a study of the facts will prove that ever since he became president of the United States, this *lesser evil* has been consistently achieving and producing nothing but *greater evil*. And that his *greatest evil* will come, should he be given a mandate by the people in this election, which will make him feel free to act as the servant of the most reactionary sections of American imperialism without restraint, and to bring about the complete betrayal of the American people.

While giving occasional lip service to the Roosevelt social security measures, Truman never put up a real fight for them. He made fancy speeches, but he never mobilized his own party nor the American people to struggle for progressive policy. Truman, of course, was not always inactive. He displayed great initiative when it came to strikebreaking, as in the case of the miners, the railroad workers and the maritime workers. He became as vigorous as the idol of union-busters, Sen. Robert A. Taft. In fact, Truman's advocacy of the Case Bill was even too much for Taft to go along on. This attack on labor greased the rails for the Taft-Hartley Law. So much so, that Truman could afford

WILLIAM KAUFMAN is an active member of Cutters Local 4 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

to veto the bill with the perfect assurance that his veto would not be sustained. That is why he did nothing to whip Democratic senators and congressmen into line to sustain his veto, while his veto message lulled labor and the people into false security. It was Harold Ickes who accused Truman of never really wanting his veto sustained.

How can Louis Hollander, the trade unionist, see a *lesser evil* in this? And how can he call opposition to this in the next election "an anti-labor ticket"?

Truman's Hypocrisy

Another example of presidential hypocrisy is the setting up of the President's Committee on Civil Rights at the same time that Truman attacked civil liberties by issuing the loyalty decree. Such decrees were and are the props by which Hitler maintained himself in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain, the monarcho-fascists in Greece, Chiang Kai-Shek in China. And Truman is using the decree for the same purpose, to terrorize the American people, to create an atmosphere of hysteria and suspicion, in order to stifle opposition to imperialist plans, in order to establish thought control. The loyalty decree gave the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Committee the green light, which has led already to the attack on the movies, and is preparing an attack on the radio. It has let loose the FBI on the foreign born. It has given a shot in the arm to the anti-Semites in our country, who can prosper only in an atmosphere of witch-hunting, of red-baiting.

How can Louis Hollander, the Jew, see a *lesser evil* in this? And how can he accuse the opposition to this of aiming "to promote reaction in this country . . .?"

Not only did Truman capitulate to the monopolists and reactionaries on all domestic policies, but he also took the imperialists to his bosom. He cast overboard the Roosevelt foreign policy of cooperation among the Big Powers, including the Soviet Union, for world peace. He abandoned the good neighbor policy of Roosevelt in favor of the Hoover-Dulles-Vandenberg policy of American dictation in exchange for American aid. He developed his famous Truman Doctrine, modeled after the anti-Comintern Pact of the late Axis powers. He poured out American billions to bolster the fascist Greek government and the corrupt, feudal Chiang regime in China. American diplomatic officials have tried to provoke civil war in the new democracies of Europe, and have intervened in other countries of Europe and Latin America by dictating the composition of the governments and ordering changes, such as took place in France, Italy, Chile and Brazil.

The open imperialist character of this doctrine became so unpopular among the people that it had to be side-tracked for a "new" idea, the Marshall Plan. But what is the Marshall Plan but a more subtle—and not quite so subtle—way of implementing the Truman Doctrine? Workers are facing the death penalty in Greece for their opposition to American policies. Millions of workers are going on strike in Italy and France against the principles

and consequences of American policies in these countries. The workers of Germany are beginning to rebel against the British-American occupation policies which starve the workers but bolster the cartellists, the industrialists, the breeders of Hitler and the fomenters of war.

How can Louis Hollander, the trade unionist, see a *lesser evil* in this? And how can he sneer at the opposition's use of "the same moth-eaten slogans of 'monopolistic imperialism' and 'war-mongers'?"

The Truman Doctrine still operates when Truman makes speeches of sympathy for the Jews, while hundreds of thousands of them still continue to wallow in DP camps because of State Department intrigue. It still operates when Truman makes promises to Jews, but the State Department tells Arab reactionary leaders to pay no attention because the promises will not be carried out. It still operates when the US delegate to the UN speaks for a Jewish state and votes for it, while State Department officials discourage other states from voting for it and intrigue against it. It still operates when the US hands over forty million dollars worth of arms to Arab states that intend to fight the UN decision on Palestine, and then places an embargo on arms to Jews for purposes of defense. It still operates when the US does not lift a finger to get the UN to implement its decisions in Palestine. And what does the Marshall Plan mean for the Jews but isolating sections of Jews from each other and setting them against each other, as it isolates the West from the East and leads the West into an anti-Soviet campaign of "containing communism"? And what does the Marshall Plan mean for the Jews when the heart of it is the restoration of Germany's industrial might as an arm of American imperialist ambitions?

How can Louis Hollander, the Jew, see a *lesser evil* in this? And how can he accuse the opposition "of staking all their hopes on a victory for reaction in the coming election"?

Two Party Gang-Up

Only one conclusion can be drawn from these facts, that both in domestic and foreign policy the two major parties are becoming more and more identical, like two sides of the same coin. Heads I win, tails you lose, is all that the people can expect from a choice between the Democratic Party under the present leadership, and the Republican Party. In all past history of our country, whenever the two major parties became the faithful tools of reaction, the American people turned to the formation of a new political party. It is the resentment of the American people today against this bi-partisan coalition that threatens to destroy all the economic gains made in the New Deal period, the civil liberties of the people, and threatens a third world war, that is giving rise to the need of a third party under the courageous leadership of a Wallace and the progressives around him.

Louis Hollander speaks of "a vigorous, vibrant American democracy and a strong, healthy American economy [that]

will serve as a very effective inspiration to the rest of the world to resist the chains of totalitarian oppression." What kind of vigor, strength and health has it got, when in the face of a ganging up of the two major parties it is afraid to step out on a new path of a third party? What kind of inspiration is this? By hysterically calling for support of the *lesser evil*, Hollander is denying the virtues of American democracy and is proclaiming its degeneration. The American people do not agree with Hollander on this. In spite of his claim that "the labor movement in the United States as a whole is on record as being opposed to a third party movement," the Americans are producing a different record. Hollander is talking of some weak-kneed and some treacherous labor leaders. But the masses of American workers are indicating their sentiments by flocking to Wallace meetings in tremendous demonstrations of support throughout the country.

Louis Hollander scoffs at the slogans raised in the third party camp about war-mongering, imperialism and the danger to world peace. It is in this line of argumentation that we can find the key to Hollander's thinking and resentment against Wallace and the third party movement.

Hollander's Allies

It was in 1944 that the social democratic contingent in the labor and political movements of the country, as represented first of all by David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and such agents as Emil Rieve of Textile and Walter Reuther of Auto, sought the formation of a third party because, in spite of the anti-Hitler war, the Roosevelt foreign policy was running contrary to the social democratic desires for a crusade against the Soviet Union. But today, because of full agreement with the anti-Soviet aspect of the foreign policy of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which fully corresponds to social democratic ambitions for an atomic war against the Soviet Union, these reactionary social democratic leaders were among the first to endorse Truman and his bi-partisan policies and to oppose the formation of a third party.

It is no accident that Hollander has become the spokesman for this new stand of Amalgamated Clothing Workers union leaders, which definitely constitutes a break with the Hillman tradition in recent years. Such General Executive Board members as Hyman Blumberg, Murray Weinstein, Leo Krzycki and others fully supported Hillman's policies not only in word but in deed. Hollander, on the other hand, played a double role. On the one hand, as president of the New York State CIO Council he spoke out for the correct policies of Hillman. On the other hand, as co-manager of the New York Joint Board of the ACW, he never mobilized the membership in his own local unions for any positive action on any of the campaigns.

At the time when Blumberg and Weinstein were working tirelessly in the American Labor Party, building that organization in unity with progressive forces as an instru-

ment of labor's independent political action in New York, while Krzycki led the American Slav Congress in support of the East-European democracies such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as they attempted to establish people's governments on the basis of a people's economy; at the time when Sidney Hillman led the CIO in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions as an anti-fascist bulwark for peace and democracy, Louis Hollander was turning over thousands of dollars collected from tailors for rehabilitation and relief to the Jewish Labor Committee, an organization whose main purpose was red-baiting, and which maligned Hillman for his progressive policies.

Leaders of this Committee, such as Dubinsky and Chanin, who called for the shooting down of the Soviet regime, Abe Cahan who edits the Jewish daily *Forward*, pinned their hopes on Churchill's efforts to delay the opening of the second front in the hope of permanently weakening the Soviet Union. They thus prolonged the war for over a year even though it meant the destruction of additional millions of Jews in the Nazi extermination camps. After the war the Committee continued its support of the so-called Polish Government-in-Exile under the leadership of the Andersens and the Mikolajcyks whose underground bands were later responsible for the murder of Jews in the Kielce pogroms.

In giving financial support to this Committee, Hollander indicated the fact that he was being influenced by its leadership as expressed through the *Forward*. And this in turn explains his sympathies at the present time.

In Hillman's Footsteps

The progressive role played by the Amalgamated since the formation of the CIO also had a beneficial effect on the economic conditions of our union membership. In this period we registered some substantial increases in wages and a number of security measures such as sick and death benefit fund, paid vacations, retirement fund and a partial hospitalization plan. All these gains will be endangered unless the labor movement retaliates and strikes some telling blows against the two party conspiracy against our security at home and the peace of the world.

Only the formation of a new party, a coalition of labor, progressive, and Roosevelt-Wallace forces, can meet the current needs of the people of our country.

The workers in the clothing industry reflect these same desires in supporting Wallace on a third party ticket, together with great numbers of the rank and file in both the CIO and AFL. Hollander and other trade union leaders know very well that if the will of Roosevelt and Hillman had prevailed in 1944, Wallace would be the president of the United States today. Labor and the people of our country follow with the greatest admiration the courageous fight that Wallace is leading on behalf of the common man. This is reflected in all the polls taken at union meetings, in shops and factories. In one large cutting room under ACW contract, where over 100 workers were polled, 56 were for

Wallace, 27 opposed and 36 were undecided. As one Italian-American worker expressed himself, "I had no intention to vote in the coming presidential elections if the choice is between a Truman or a Taft. But now I have a candidate for whom to vote!"

Hollander raises the demagogic cry about the danger to democracy in Europe from the so-called totalitarian states. How about some genuine democracy in some of the local

unions in the Joint Board, where even the most elementary election procedures are being denied to the members, where the secret ballot is a phrase not even found in the constitution.

It is about time the leaders of the CIO and the Amalgamated realize that in their own interests, labor and the people must have a real choice in the elections of 1948. And that choice is a third Party and Henry Wallace.

CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN JEWISH INTELLECTUALS: III

By Nathan Ausubel

(Concluded from the February issue)

WHY then this one-sided preoccupation with the warped and corrupt? Some writers maintain with Baudelaire that wickedness makes the best literary copy, that there is genuine excitement in it. As for ordinary good people—they are supposed to be flat and colorless and lead uninteresting lives. Those who think so ought to reread Zola's *Germinal*, Rolland's *Jean Christophe*, Anderson-Nexo's *Pelle the Conqueror*, and Gorky's *Mother*.

Let us ask the question: Is there no goodness or nobility in Jewish life? Are only the money-grubbers and the vulgarians to occupy our best writers—yes, even so many of our progressive writers? What about the decent, hard-working masses who constitute the great majority of Jews? What about the hundreds of thousands of organized Jewish workers who struggle for a better life for themselves and for all society? What about the thousands of Jewish intellectual and cultural workers who live upright, purposeful and socially useful lives?

At the risk of sounding ironic I could suggest that Jewish writers ought to profit from the example set by some Gentile writers in their attitudes toward the Jewish characters they portrayed. In a letter dated October 29, 1876, George Eliot tells Harriet Beecher Stowe in America what prompted her to write *Daniel Deronda*: "As to the Jewish element in *Deronda*, I expected from first to last in writing it, that it would create much stronger resistance, and even repulsion, than it has actually met with. But precisely because I felt that the usual attitude of Christians toward Jews is—I hardly know whether to say more impious or more stupid when viewed in the light of their professed principles—I therefore felt urged to treat Jews with such sympathy and understanding as my nature and knowledge could attain to..."

Perhaps the most honest view intellectually, and artistically the most sound, was the literary canon adopted by James Joyce in depicting Leopold Bloom, the Jew in

Ulysses. "I see him from all sides," says Joyce, "and therefore he is all-around in the sense of your sculptor's figure. But he is a complete man as well as a good man. At any rate that is what I intend that he should be."

It is more than high time for the Jewish writer to give up his neurotic compulsion to beat the daylight out of his Jewish villains and to turn his gifts to the portrayal of the affirmative, the wholesome, the socially constructive in American Jewish life. Does this mean that he must only write about admirable Jews? Only the most chauvinistic, or the artistically obtuse, would dare suggest such a perversion of truth. The writer, if he wishes to be convincing, must delineate life in all its truthful aspects. This does not mean the good alone, or the bad alone, but a well-balanced representation of both, for together they form the harmony of light and shadow which resides in all peoples.

The question might well be asked: must a Jewish writer, and for that matter an artist, a composer, a scholar, occupy himself solely with Jewish materials? How can we possibly overlook the fact that the Jewish writer happens also to be an American writer, and that he is also the product of general American culture as well as of Jewish culture? The raw stuff out of which art is made is life itself and it is also the vast sea of American life that is a part of the Jewish writer's universe of experience, knowledge and perception. It is therefore only natural, and also desirable, that he should contribute to both of his talent. Being creative in both fields only means that he is twice as rich culturally as so many non-Jewish writers. Instead of considering his Jewish culture a hindrance, an unsightly appendage tying him to his people like an uncut umbilical cord, he should accept it unequivocally and joyfully because it is a door that opens into new vistas of knowledge and beauty.

Where Are the Themes?

In the field of the fine arts many progressive Jewish creative workers are indeed in a dilemma; they do not quite know how best and most honestly to make their contribution to Jewish culture. There has been a Babel of confused

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

tongues on the subject. The belief has been widespread among Jewish artists that the only time they can be really and identifiably Jewish is when they portray religious ceremonies and customs, Biblical subjects, synagogue interiors, and Jews with patriarchal beards studying the *Talmud* or clasping the *Torah* in their arms.

How did this happen? The first Jewish artists to concern themselves with Jewish themes during the Nineteenth Century were the enlightened religious nationalists. It was they who set the pattern, and in time it became a fixed stereotype, so that even today progressive Jewish artists are still at it tirelessly, convinced that that is what constitutes Jewish art. However, where the progressive element enters in work of this character is hard to see.

It surely is not necessary to affirm that Jews with patriarchal beards are also Jews and that synagogue interiors and religious rites and ceremonies are also an aspect, even an important one, of Jewish life. Nor can one deny the artist the right to depict them. However, if we are agreed that progressive Jewish culture consists of other than nationalistic-religious elements then we must consider that every aspect of Jewish life which expresses the socially advanced and enlightened trends among the Jewish people provides an inexhaustible number of themes for the creative artist. Certainly it is not possible to object against portraying bearded patriarchs and synagogue interiors, but is it not more important to turn to the vital fabric of Jewish life in America with its myriad, contemporaneous facets? Must we have obvious indentifiable labels and the hackneyed traditional symbols in our Jewish art? We cannot freeze life into changeless immobility, nor can we stultify art, which is the most profound expression of life, with sanctified clichés.

It is not enough for the progressive Jew to study Jewish history, ethics, literature and folklore, as fundamental as this body of knowledge may be to his understanding of the Jewish people and its culture. Let us say it boldly—as important as knowledge is, if it does not simultaneously flow into the consciousness of the individual from the vital stream of contemporary Jewish life, it remains artificial and superstructural. For instance, you may study Yiddish and its wonderful literature but if you do not have your knowledge fertilized by the living reality of the Jewish masses you remain only a “closet scholar,” an antiquarian.

Progressive Jewish Art

My thesis therefore is: the cultured Jew must make a calculated identification with the Jewish people in its progressive struggles and aspirations by becoming active in some Jewish mass organization or cultural organ. This close association with people, Jewish people, is bound to be fruitful to the individual for he is certain to express his experiences in a cultural way. To be a convincing teacher, artist, composer, historian, and writer in matters Jewish one must get down first to the grass-roots of Jewish life and not regard it from the outside looking curiously in, like a visitor in an aquarium, but to become a throbbing part of

its living organism, its flesh and blood and nervous system, its cries of pain and impulse of joy.

Let us admit it frankly: progressive Jewish culture in the English-speaking Jewish orbit is still in its swaddling clothes. To be sure, a number of artists through the years have been contributing to the creation of a progressive Jewish culture, some of them, it must be said, in the most tentative way and full of ideological contradictions. Nevertheless, it still remains a poor relation, although in the past year or two an upsurge of interest in Jewish problems and culture has actually brought about a conscious Jewish cultural movement among progressives. Periodicals, like *New Masses* and *Mainstream*, although they are non-Jewish in their approach, have been sensitive to this vital interest and are giving their readers thought-provoking short stories, articles, poems and book reviews on Jewish themes.

Then there is the English-speaking section of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. It has been publishing books on significant Jewish themes in English, such as Morris U. Schappes' work on the poet Emma Lazarus, Philip Foner's historical study, *The Jew in America*, and the small volume of short stories by the Yiddish master, Peretz, which Henry Goodman translated. If any criticism can be levelled at that splendid organization it is that it does not publish enough of such valuable works, since most commercial publishers are allergic to books on Jewish themes. Neither must we overlook the *Jewish Fraternalist*, the monthly publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. It too is trying to stimulate in its many thousands of readers an enlightened interest in Jewish culture.

Of genuine cultural importance is the School of Jewish Studies, the only educational institution of a progressive character in the country. Despite some heartbreaking financial and physical difficulties, in its two years' existence it has re-educated more than a thousand students in the many branches of Jewish culture. It is the only Jewish school in America which arms Jewish parents with that knowledge and understanding which they must have if they are to prevent in their children those terrifying neuroses caused by anti-Semitic experiences inevitable in our sordid society.

Lastly, there is the monthly publication, *JEWISH LIFE*, which is now celebrating its first anniversary. In the surprisingly short time it has been in existence it has become the most significant single force in the movement for progressive Jewish culture in America. It has been attracting an ever-growing circle of talented, thoughtful and socially imbued artists, writers and scholars who possess the intellectual courage required to reevaluate old Jewish cultural values sanctified by tradition and to restate them in a fresh and significant way for our times.

I repeat—a heartening beginning has been made in the field of progressive Jewish culture, but only a beginning. It is poor indeed compared to the needs of the hour, feeble indeed when we consider the great historic opportunity that is placed within our reach. If only we have the requisite vision, strength and the will for it! Moreover, we must draw to ourselves new forces and employ them to infuse a new

hopefulness and meaning into American Jewish life.

In the time of most terrible crisis in the history of our people, when unity is so desperately urgent for its defense, for its physical and moral survival, progressive Jewish culture can serve as the catalyst to bind together all Jews in sympathy and understanding. It is also a weapon. In the hands of our enemies culture is a weapon for destruction, for the enslavement of mankind; in the hands of those who work for progress it can serve as an instrument for the liberation of mankind and for its advancement. That too must be the role of Jewish culture.

As progressive Americans we naturally take our place among those who are fighting for the preservation of American liberties and world-peace against the Wall Street despoilers of mankind. At the same time let us not hesitate though to stand up and be counted also as Jews. Today Jews are in the gravest danger in many parts of the world. What happens to the Jews in the DP camps in Germany or in Palestine affects all Jews. None but fools can fail to realize that the destinies of all the Jews in the world are interlinked irrevocably.

Let me tell you a parable out of the *Midrash*. It must be at least 1,500 years old but in its folk wisdom it is timeless. It is a message reaching out to us through the weary centuries full of tribulation and grief to the Jewish people but its words are full of hope and courage with which we can face the future:

The waters were rising until they almost reached the

Throne of Glory. Thereupon the Almighty cried out:

"Be still, O waters!"

But the waters became vainglorious and boasted:

"We are the mightiest of all creation—let us flood the earth!"

At this God grew wrathful and rebuked the waters:

"Do not boast of your strength, you vain braggarts! I will send upon you the sands and they will raise up a barrier against you!"

When the waters saw the sand and of what tiny grains it consisted they began to mock:

"How can such tiny grains stand up against us? Our smallest wave will sweep over them."

When the grains of sand heard this, they were afraid. But their leader comforted them:

"Do not fear, brothers! True enough, we are tiny and everyone of us by himself is insignificant. The wind can carry us to all ends of the earth, but if we all only remain united then the waters will see what kind of power we have!"

When all the little grains of sand heard these words of comfort they came flying from all the corners of the earth and lay down one on top of the other and against each other upon the shores of the sea. They rose up in mounds, in hills and in mountains and formed a huge barrier against the waters. And when the waters saw how the great army of the grains of sand stood united they became frightened and retreated.

ARE YOU A JEWISH INTELLECTUAL?

By Professor Hyman Levy

TODAY everyone knows that there is a Jewish problem: not only because of the incinerators at Maideneck or the Chamber of Horrors at Belsen, but because of the skillful way in which Hitler and his gang exploited the position of the Jews in the effort to achieve world domination for himself and the class he served. Jewish consciousness, therefore, has reached a record world height, among Jew and non-Jew alike. The persistence of the DP camps and of terrorism in Palestine serve only to keep the outline sharp.

There are many Jews in Germany and Austria to whom the new wave of anti-Semitism came with a jolt that dislodged them from a position of false security. They were

HYMAN LEVY is Professor of Mathematics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, member of the research staff of the National Physical Laboratory. Prof. Levy has written many books on science and society, among them *A Philosophy for a Modern Man* and *Modern Science* which have been published in the United States.

those who had tried to forget their people, to make themselves believe that if they changed their names, if they became, perhaps, Catholics or Protestants, they would pass unnoticed, and that whatever happened to their brethren, they themselves at least would be immune. They have now learnt differently. Anti-Semitism does not depend for its existence on what the individual Jew does, in one sense, but is a social affair, and its roots penetrate deeper into the social soil than even do the Jews themselves. When it reaches its zenith therefore and impinges on a whole people, it seeks out the highest and the lowest, the most prominent and the most obscure. In these circumstances a Jew cannot hide his light behind a bushel. He might as well say frankly—"Here am I, a Jew, and be damned to you."

In such a catastrophe a Jewish manual worker has an advantage. In general he lives and moves among other Jewish manual workers, and thereby acquires a social and moral strength to meet whatever may come. The Jewish intellectual, if he has sought security in flight from his people, in

general has thereby isolated himself, and must meet such trouble weak and alone. The all-too-short spells of freedom for Jewry have invariably had a centrifugal effect, and individuals have shot away from the general body of Jewry. The all-too-frequent outbursts of anti-Semitism have invariably thrown them together again, and consolidated them as a people. The social forces that give rise to anti-Semitism that seeks to eliminate the Jew, produce a situation that perpetuates him. It follows that no intelligent person can advocate assimilation as a solution to the Jewish problem, for the simple reason that it is not practicable. An individual may conceivably escape into oblivion, the Jewish people cannot. Society will not let them.

To accept this as inevitable is not to give way to despair. On the contrary it is necessary to recognize how social forces create differentiation not only between individuals but between peoples, and how in the process, a people like the Jews develop out of their experience special historical and cultural qualities of their own. Wherever they live, and they live everywhere, they are embedded in the cultural environment of other peoples, and draw nourishment from it. Wherever two or three are gathered together, there they form a Jewish nucleus and initiate a new cultural life of their own. Society demands it and Jews respond. To recognize this is not to despair but to accept a unique historical role. The Jewish intellectual who does not accept this opportunity is guilty of emotional and intellectual cowardice.

Let us glance for a moment at some of the intriguing problems that are thereby thrown up for solution. Take music for example. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, from Palestrina through Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Haydn, Handel and Tchaikowsky, there is not a single outstanding Jew, with the possible exception of Mendelssohn; and not only is he very late in the series but it might well be argued that his contribution was hardly significant in musical history. Why is this? Are we to believe that a people with such a rich folklore and emotional content, whose religious music is so full of deep feeling, were deficient in musical greatness? A list of modern musicians belies this at once, for here we find that not only are an extraordinarily large percentage of Jews in the front rank among composers, but that the most outstanding performers like Menuhin are Jews. Why did the Jews have to wait until almost the nineteenth century before they began to make their mark in this field? Is the clue not to be found in the fact that the early history of music was directed by the needs of the Catholic Church; and its later history determined by the patronage of royal and ducal courts? But by the nineteenth century, commercialism had begun to find an avenue of profit in the organization of public performances and a profession had opened up from which a Jew was no longer debarred. Is there not a special pleasure for the Jewish intellectual in discovering not only the way in which Jewish cultural contributions are canalized in this way by social factors, but in the conclusion that the absence of a contribution was not due to specific group deficiency? Precisely the same intellectual pleasure is experienced

when it is discovered that anti-Semitism does not derive from any specific Jewish or non-Jewish characteristic, but from the forces of a social and economic nature at work in the society in which Jews find themselves.

It is when the intellectual discovers in this way the social mainsprings of anti-Semitism, and of Jewish history itself, that what might have been despair, turns to a new hope. For once the analysis has been made, a line of positive action immediately shows itself. It is possible to strike at anti-Semitism with clear vision and with understanding, and to see that freedom and equality for Jewry come with freedom and equality for other oppressed peoples. Despair can be left to those who have come to believe that the roots of anti-Semitism lie deep in the psychological and emotional make-up of Jew and non-Jew, for such people have unconsciously accepted the Nazi theories of racism. Theirs is a fight to a finish, and in such a fight the Jew must lose.

But more. The Jewish intellectual, once he has made such a realistic analysis, is in a position to contribute to Jewish history. He can see his people as a community of communities, each with its own complex of political and cultural problems: the special developments that may be anticipated among Jews in the Soviet Union, for example, as there is built up the new society under a new social order; the special problems of the 600,000 Jews in Palestine who have not moved into a political vacuum, as many simple-minded Zionists have for years believed, but into an area peopled by an oppressed people like themselves, both the victims of oil and power politics. And recognizing that Jews, especially, cannot be free if there is in their midst another oppressed people, he can realize that the future of Palestine is bound up with a joint Jewish and Arab movement of liberation, and with nothing less.

In this way, in analyzing the position of his people, and in bringing out the multitude of aspects which it must present to the many peoples among whom the Jews live, the Jewish intellectual himself makes a contribution to Jewish culture. But finally in playing an active role in the wider struggle for emancipation for all peoples, the condition for the emancipation of his own people, he is making Jewish history, wherever and in whatever sphere that struggle is conducted.

SURVIVOR

By Lewis Allan

This much I surely know, that never may
Swift laughter wash me clean of hidden pain,
Or all the sunshine of the lavish day
Rid me of shadows that so long have lain
Within me, in my heart and in my brain,
Never a bird shall celebrate the morn
But I will feel it singing breast to thorn.

DOCUMENT

WHAT ORIENTATION FOR PALESTINE?

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

The resignation in December 1947 of Dr. Moshe Sneh, one of the vigorous younger Jewish Palestinian leaders and a former top Haganah figure, has profound implications for the realignment of the Jewish people following the UN decision on Palestine. The following article was originally published in Hebrew in Leachdut Haavodah, Palestine newspaper, of January 8, 1948. Dr. Sneh here continues his attack on the application of the Truman Doctrine to Palestine. This article appeared in the first issue of the organ of the recently merged left-wing Palestine parties, Hahomer Hatzair and the Achdut Haavodah Movement.—Eds.

HOW did they vote? On the surface everything appears plain and simple: the United States and the Soviet Union negotiated and voted for a Jewish state, while England withheld its vote. Thus was it recorded in the minutes of the historic UN session, thus was it printed in the newspapers in every language, editorialized about, and referred to in all the meetings of appreciation for those governments that voted on our behalf. Factually, it is true that all this happened—on the evidence of the vote alone.

When scrutinized more carefully, the actual relations appear entirely different. England certainly was not neutral, as would appear from her abstention from the vote. On the contrary, she exerted all her forces up to the last minute in her fight against a Jewish state. The Soviet Union, when it was convinced that the time was not yet ripe for a solution through a binational, Jewish-Arab state, did everything in its power, fought all the way for the creation of a Jewish state and for partition. But the United States maneuvered this way and that until she was finally compelled to agree on the plan. And actually as the vote approached and in the course of the voting her "yes" was reluctant, and immediately after the vote she reverted to her original position of "yes and no and maybe."

It is true that President Truman imposed his will upon the American policy. But his desire to be re-elected was the deciding factor for him and his party. . . . The stand of the Truman group was helped by the Soviet delegation's position. Their argument ran somewhat as follows:

Britain has long been discredited in the eyes of the Jews. If the United States too should go back on all the promises made to

the Jews, then Russia would emerge as the sole power defending Jewish rights. The Jews are, after all, still a factor to be reckoned with. They are an important factor in the Mediterranean. The world population of Jews is 11 million, one half of whom live on the American continent. Public opinion still shows an interest in the Jewish problem. Therefore, for the United States to vote against Jewish rights would not only antagonize the Jews, but also many democratic circles throughout the world. This doesn't pay. . . . Thus we can see that the United States' "yes" was an echo of the USSR's "yes."

It is true that the actual execution of the Truman Doctrine is not in Truman's power. The power of administering it and adapting it to the various parts of the world lies with the military, headed by General Marshall, and with the group of magnates of whom Secretary of Defense Forrestal is the head. This group has no stake in the coming elections. With respect to Palestine it has no other interest but the imperialist alliance with England, which depends upon intrigue with its feudal puppets. Despite all measures adopted, the fate of the Middle East is not yet securely in their hands. And the thought that the day might come when they might be forced to leave, disturbs their peace and pushes them in the direction of more intensive exploitation of oil resources, and more actively to fortify their positions. The agitation over the partition plan is aimed at hindering and delaying its execution. For a while approval of partition represented a breach between Truman's directives and Truman's Doctrine. But on the morrow of the vote the Truman Doctrine reasserted itself all the more energetically.

Therefore, to equate the position of the United States with that of Russia in relation to Palestine is to be guilty of a vulgarized over-simplification which misleads and tends to lull one into a false sense of security. The contention that "the United States and Russia supported us equally" is misleading because support that is not wholehearted, is not the same as wholehearted support. It is essentially not a question of a single act of agreement, but of a firm stand on carrying out the agreement. . . .

At Lake Success England abstained from the vote. In Palestine she is not abstaining. She is frustrating the decision. Naturally, serious doubts have arisen in

the mind of the British government whether it can succeed in nullifying the decision. Therefore Britain is trying to cut down the borders of the Jewish state, and to reduce its absorptive capacity and to curtail its power to support itself. The smaller, weaker and more shrunken the Jewish state becomes, the greater its need for protection, and the better chance for Britain to remain in the saddle. The accumulation of "incidents," the present bloodshed in Palestine, is very convenient for those who planned this curtailment and enslavement. As long as Britain is in possession of the mandate and bears "the responsibility to issue decrees and to organize," serious disputes with nations bordering on Palestine which might cause international intervention, are not in her interest. But these "incidents" which have continued for the past five weeks, serve an important purpose in the plan to destroy the realization of the UN decision. They weaken the Yishuv. They cause loss of life and of weapons by fighting as well as by government confiscation. They undermine the social order and economic capabilities of the Yishuv. And, most important, they prevent the organization of the Jewish state and the vital, fundamental preparation for it, a legal and open army.

This chaotic situation can last until the day when the mandate terminates, about May 15. When Britain's "responsibility" is terminated, she will not be alarmed if the fires of strife rage higher and if Arab invasion from neighboring countries will occur before the Jewish defense is organized. Then the British will have no responsibility, but a large portion of the British Army will still be occupying all the key posts in the country, since the date that the British Army must evacuate Palestine has been set for much later than the date for the termination of the mandate. On the latter date the UN commission will enter the country (and it is the British plan to delay as long as possible the date of the commission's arrival) and will not have any administrative power at its disposal. And in the midst of such a disturbed situation, and with no authority, the UN commission is supposed to establish two independent states and one international city with a single united economy!

The following possibilities are thus open to those who wish to nullify the decision:

To cut down the borders of the Jewish state by military force. (We've read in the London press that the Jews would be unable to defend the Negev and the Hulah, and would have to concentrate on defending the narrow strip of seacoast; we've heard the kind suggestions that we evacuate the Negev, etc.)

Or the commission might decide that it is not empowered to re-interpret the partition proposal. (The representative from

Denmark hastened to include this possibility among three, in a talk with the British press, prior to his leaving Europe.)

To appeal to the British Army kindly to remain in Palestine to "restore order."

Protracted discussion in the organs of UN, with the possibility that the entire matter of partition be taken up at the next UN session (which will take place after the United States election in the fall).

In a word, there are many ways to nullify the original decision.

Britain has thus far voided two distinct intentions of the UN. She has not cleared, and has done nothing to clear a port for the Jews for increased immigration; and she has caused the UN commission to arrive in Palestine too late, thus bringing to nothing the UN decision that a legal armed force immediately be constituted with the responsibility of executing the decision.

And the United States? She has exerted no pressure whatsoever against England to compel her to carry out the demands of the UN and to make possible legal Jewish immigration to Palestine. On the contrary, the United States is exerting pressure on the Jewish Agency to stop "illegal" immigration.

The United States is not helping the Jews to equip a legal, Jewish army. On the contrary, she is confiscating weapons assigned, as it appears, to any "illegal" Jewish militia whatsoever. America is sticking to its famous policy of non-intervention, a policy which always aids the aggressors, the destroyers of international agreements, and peace.

And what country has pointed to the

dangers that are involved in the aggravated situation existing in Palestine under British domination? Who has pointed out the need for intervention on the part of the Security Council, in order to protect and implement the decision of the UN Security Council?

The country which not only voted *for*, but was previously *for*, and is now *for* a Jewish state—must we not admit that that country is the Soviet Union? . . .

We can, in spite of everything, still overcome the canny plots and all the dangers. But we can do this only on condition that we know *who* our enemy is. Then we shall be able to destroy his plans.

It is not enough that we shall defend ourselves and have a certain success. Our enemy has taken into account our strength, our iron resolve to defend ourselves and to fight. Our strong stand against the Arab attacks does not destroy the devilish plans of the imperialist government. We are obliged to shatter the *whole* plot, and not merely to maintain our position in the various phases of its operation. It is our responsibility to begin the gradual assumption of self-government as soon as possible in all three provinces of the partitioned country: the east portion of Galilee, the coastal lowlands and the Negev. For this purpose we must have an armed Jewish force, legal and in the open. It is necessary to have freedom of movement and action in the framework of international agreements, and freedom to possess and import arms.

All these ends cannot be achieved under the British administration, which bosses and domineers the country. We are therefore obliged to develop a great political offensive against the British government, which opposes the will of the United Nations. Therefore we must come out with an official protest against Britain in the UN Security Council. We must therefore immediately demand, with no delay whatsoever, the intervention of the United Nations, before even the first stages of the plot of destruction are realized.

Through public pressure there is hope that the United States can be dislodged from its neutral position. The incentive of the coming presidential elections has not yet evaporated. The pressure of public

opinion, if we understand how to organize it effectively once more, can have a considerable result. And energetic support from the Soviet delegation in the UN also will compel the American government to put its cards on the table: does the United States really want to carry out the decision, or, on the contrary, is it prepared to help England destroy it?

The sooner we do this, the better our chances are that America will not be able to afford remaining too far outstripped by the Russian position, and that she will also help to *carry out* the decision. And on the other hand, the longer we delay our open protest against England, the fewer are our chances that the policies of the United States will serve our side.

Now, and without delay, we can put the alternatives before the United States: either agree to send an international armed force to Palestine with the participation of the Soviet Union, or else delegate full rights to the Haganah and arm it adequately to cope with the situation that will arise with the termination of the mandate. Only if we act now can we still be successful, for in a few months we may have missed the bus.

We can only succeed if we completely stop depending on treacherous Britain, if we stop being afraid of the friendship of the Soviet Union, if we exert pressure on the United States which is still vacillating, if we don't refrain from fighting for international aid. We can be successful if we stop pleading with the High Commissioner in Jerusalem and the Cabinet Ministers in London voluntarily to leave the Jewish state. We can be successful if we cease to concentrate our efforts on England's Foreign Ministry or Washington's State Department. We can be successful if the Zionist policy of being keenly partial to Britain is replaced, not by a strongly partial policy to the partners England and America, but by a policy truly our own, a truly internationalist policy.

No, the discussion about "orientation," that is, about the meaning of our political work, is not theoretical, not a discussion of the coming of the Messiah. It is a discussion of our tactics of yesterday and today. It is a discussion about the line that leads either to the realization of the political achievement we have reached, or to our losing it. The problem cannot be disposed of by hemming and hawing that "the United States and the Soviet Union both supported us, so why must we have an orientation?"

Our tossing vessel lies in the straits. Every shortcoming, every mistake on the part of the captain, can lead to disaster. It is not yet too late to straighten out our line.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Rae Lobel.)

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LETTER FROM ABROAD

ARAB PEOPLE SAY "NO" TO BEVIN

The British attempt to nullify the UN decision on Palestine by facilitating Arab violence against the Jews and in some cases participating in it, has by now clearly emerged as part of British grand strategy to bring the reactionary Arab leadership into their imperialist anti-Soviet plan for the Near and Middle East. The Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine are the victims of this strategy. Bevin's scheme to negotiate a series of treaties with these Arab puppets to give the British decisive military influence in this part of the world was to begin with the Anglo-Iraq Treaty, which was signed on January 15, 1948. Subsequent events are described in the following dispatch from London.—Eds.

THE statement of the regent of Iraq that the recently signed Anglo-Iraq Treaty "does not realize the national aims of Iraq" and could not be ratified by the Iraq Parliament, is one of the biggest blows struck by the popular movement in that country at Anglo-American imperialist aims in the Middle East. It followed within a week his earlier message to the king after the signing of the Treaty at Portsmouth, England, in which he said that the new treaty "will be in the interests of our two countries and their common benefit."

No wonder the regent's latest statement came as a bombshell, causing, according to the London Times, "bewilderment and surprise" in the foreign office and to its Iraqi flunkies, Sayed Saleh Jabr, Iraq Premier, and his colleagues, who signed the rejected treaty. It was made after a five-hour conference of the regent, the elder statesmen and leaders of the legal political parties who expressed opposition to the treaty.

Outside the palace in Baghdad, students demonstrated with shouts of: "Down with Saleh Jabr." They burned the office of the English paper, *Iraq Times*. A Reuter dispatch reports that seven people were killed in a demonstration at a funeral of three students killed in a demonstration on January 20, 1948.

Not only is such a moderate "center" party like the National Democratic Party opposed to the new treaty: even the right wing journal *Istakhl*, which has in it so many pro-fascist elements, and the Liberal Party, which represents the big landlords and Iraqi "big business," were opposed. The regent was forced to bow to the popular wish.

[Events subsequent to January 22, when

this article was written, have brought this crisis to a head. After a week of the "worst rioting in (Iraq's) history," (*New York Times*, January 29) the cabinet of Premier Saleh Jabr was forced to resign. On January 28 the ex-premier fled for his life to Transjordan. On January 29 the *New York Times* reported that British government officials "said the bloody riots Tuesday in Baghdad showed the British had seriously miscalculated popular Arab opinion."—Eds.]

The democratic movement in Iraq has written a new chapter in its history by making its rulers repudiate a pro-imperialist treaty before the ink had dried on it and before the reactionary negotiators had even had a chance to return and report. The repudiation will have profound consequences in all the Middle East countries among the popular movements whose main cry is evacuation of British troops.

The Portsmouth Treaty coincides with the reports of the military treaty about to be signed between Britain and the leading dignitaries in Cyrenaica whereby the latter will be declared "independent" in return for British bases. Benghazi, says

the report, will become a "new Gibraltar" receiving troops from Palestine. Tripoli, the other port of Libya, will become an American base.

This, together with the treaty which the Iraq people have rejected, was to fit into the strategic regrouping in the Middle East by Britain now that Palestine will cease to be an important forward base after the mandate is surrendered. In the new set-up new bases are being built in North Africa. The Portsmouth Treaty, hailed by Bevin as "removing everything objectionable in the old treaty," would have clamped Britain's hold more firmly on Iraq which, together with Transjordan, now a British garrison after two years of "independence," were to be Britain's two principal bases in the Middle East.

Bevin's aim for a closer alliance with the most reactionary pro-imperialist section of the Arab upper class against the people's movements in the Middle East and the USSR which were to be consecrated in "a new series of treaties," "regulating friendship" with the Arab world of which the Portsmouth Treaty was to be the first, has, for the time being, received a setback.

The Iraqi people were not fooled by their puppet rulers, who said that this treaty would realize the people's aspirations for independence. The people's struggles for complete independence will gain strength from their recent victory.

London

I. RENNA

BOOK REVIEW

MEMOIRS OF A SOUTHERN JEW

By Morris U. Schappes

IT is not news that conservatives in the South are still fighting, and still winning, the Civil War. Their methods are varied, but strong emphasis is placed upon the lavish veneration of their Confederate leaders, and upon the almost belligerently nostalgic recollection of life in the pre-Civil War South. Some conservative Southern Jews take solemn part in this peculiar institution, in an effort to prove that they too can be as regressive as their neighbors.

I remember an incident at the Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society in December, 1946. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, the President, had just reported on the plans for the Freedom Train, with which Dr. Rosenbach had much to do. Then a Southern gentleman took the floor to urge upon Dr. Rosenbach the need of making the Freedom Train exhibition truly national by including among the

documents "one of the great utterances about freedom" of—General Robert E. Lee! (Apparently no such utterance could be found, for Lee was represented on the Freedom Train—by what right, Freedom only knows!—by an unimportant letter accepting the Presidency of Washington College.) There was a hush after the gentleman made his strange request, for the audience had suddenly been reminded that the South was, as Roosevelt used to repeat it, the nation's No. 1 problem.

The republication of Samuel Mordecai's book¹ is another reminder. First issued in 1856, and then in a much expanded form in 1860, the latter edition is now reprinted not primarily for historians or antiquarians—for whom it has its usefulness—but for those feeble spirits who today prefer the life of the pre-Civil War South

¹ Samuel Mordecai, *Richmond in By-Gone Days*, The Dietz Press, Richmond. \$3.00.

to its post-Civil War development. Perhaps in such eyes the Jews will gain "status" from the fact that Samuel Mordecai was a Jew (although the publishers seem to have been careful not to state that fact), and perhaps some Southern Jews will take "pride" in the same fact.

Samuel Mordecai was a member of a family that became rather prominent among Southern Jewish families and that still endures. Born in New York in 1786, he was brought to Virginia at the age of one, and lived in Virginia and North Carolina until his death in 1865. He clerked for his uncle Samuel Myers in Richmond, became a cotton broker, made a couple of trips to Spain to sell cotton and tobacco cargoes. On one such trip during the War of 1812 he was captured by the British. After returning to Richmond, he enlisted in the militia when a British squadron was menacing Norfolk, but his unit was never called up for action. Writing to his sister from Havana in 1814, he describes his contact with the slave trade, expresses his sympathy for "the poor naked wretches . . . little aware of the fate that awaits them," and even gives his "best wishes for their success" to the "Abolition Societies." (Alexander Wilbourne Weddell, "Samuel Mordecai, Chronicler of Richmond, 1786-1865," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1945, p. 282.) Yet in 1817 Mordecai is listed in the *Richmond Property Books* as owning "3 slaves, 2 wheels, 1 clock, 1 gold watch, 1 piano" (*ibid.*, p. 275).

In politics it is the Virginians Washington and John Marshall who are his idols, and not the Virginian Jefferson. Mordecai was a Federalist in Richmond, the Federalist stronghold, and sneered at the Jeffersonian "partisans of France" who wore the tricolor in their hats "as if they had no nationality of their own," thereby contributing to that perennial pattern of American reaction by which all progressive causes are branded foreign. When Jacksonian Democracy succeeded Jeffersonianism, Mordecai became a Whig.

As the slavery question came forward more and more, Mordecai shed the sympathies he exhibited in 1814, and damned the abolitionists to whom he had once wished success. With his vaunted good-humor he will then say of a tavern that it "was preferred by some of the western members of the Legislature, on the score of economy, to those nearer the Capitol, and it was said some of them would save and make during the session [by "innocent games"], enough to buy a negro boy to carry home with him 'en croupe,' as he made the journey on horseback. One member who served for a number of years, thus increased his black family as fast as his wife did the white" (p. 222). The book closes with a particularly offensive, mock-

ing chapter, "The Colored Aristocracy," in which Mordecai ridicules slaves who imitate their masters, and describes the veritably idyllic relationship of the house slave to his owner thus: "Besides the pride of station, there was a strong attachment generally on the part of servants to their masters and mistresses, and this descended to the next generation, and was mutual. . . . It is to be hoped that this beautiful patriarchal system will, in spite of the mischievous and wicked interference of abolitionists, extend, instead of being further contracted" (pp. 354-355). It is psychologically interesting that Mordecai in his reminiscences remembers nothing of the Gabriel slave insurrection in Richmond in 1800, although he was then in the city.

Sometimes Negroes appear in a different light, as when Mordecai describes Peter Hawkins, "Tooth-Drawer," for a time the only dentist in Richmond, or Gilbert Hunt, the huge blacksmith who on December 26, 1811, saved the lives of about twelve white women when the theater burned down, killing 72. Mordecai notes that the community was not so grateful for Hunt's noble work as to give the slave his freedom.

Mordecai died, almost symbolically, on April 9, 1865, the day that Lee surrendered to General U. S. Grant at Appomattox. Symbolically, too, it would seem, "his grave [at Raleigh, N. C.] was desecrated by Sherman's soldiers, seeking buried treasure," as the publisher's fly-leaf puts it. Writing in a scholarly journal, Mr. Weddell, to whom abolitionists are "subversive intermeddlers," describes this desecration more temperately, thus: "Shortly thereafter Sherman's army entered Raleigh, and with that lust for gold which animated these nazi prototypes, members of the rabble desecrated the grave. . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 279). Opposed as I am to the desecration of graves, I should take this

fierceness in better spirit if it came from those who had opposed the desecration of the living held in slavery until the Civil War partially freed them. Yet those who damn Sherman's "nazi prototypes" are also those who stifle democracy in order to enforce Jim-Crow. As we marvel at the fact that Germans during the war re-imposed slavery upon peoples they conquered and brought to Germany, let us remember that we have in our country descendants of slave-owners who are proud of their heritage and would reclaim it, if they could.

For the historian, there are many details of local interest. Unfortunately, Mordecai, although Jewish, was not much interested in the Jewish community of Richmond, and makes only passing mention of a couple of individuals. But there is much of old houses, old roads, old customs and old families. And methinks I have discovered the original of the talking horse stories in this one: "A horse took fright in the street and rushed into the passage of a house, at the rear of which was the stair-way. Terror urged him on, and up he went till he reached the front room on the second floor. There he became composed, walked round the breakfast table, and may have helped himself to a roll, then to the open window, where he put his head out and looked (as idle and curious folks are apt to do) to see what was passing in the street. . . . Whether the aspiring steed took breakfast before he took leave, or whether he said *neigh* to the invitation, is not recorded in the Chronicles. . . ." (p. 64.)

Mordecai appears in this book as a kindly, garrulous, often dull old bachelor with a keen memory and a rambling pen, and a quaint, elaborate old-fashioned humor. To think that he supported slavery, and that most Southern Jews, like most Southerners, fought for the Confederacy, is to be reminded that Jews are not automatically on the side of progress and have to be won for progressive action.

In coming issues:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH CULTURE IN AMERICA

by Moise Katz

HOW THE MINSK GHETTO RESISTED THE NAZIS by H. Smoliar

THE MONSTER IN WASHINGTON by Cyrus McCrackin

RESISTANCE IS THE LESSON by Morris U. Schappes

LETTERS FROM READERS

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I think your editorial entitled "Hollywood Horror" in the January issue was excellent. I was pleased also that you printed the fine statement by Samuel Ornitz that the Thomas Committee would not allow him to read.

Please forgive me for not writing more fully.
Los Angeles ALBERT MALTZ

★

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Thank you ever so much for sending me the first anniversary issue of JEWISH LIFE. I found the cultural supplement of extraordinary value and interest. The short stories, as well as other individual features were most valuable and significant in their total impact through the presentation of the rich variety of progressive Jewish culture.

I'm sure all this will serve as a most intensive stimulus to American Jewish writers. I think, too, and this is equally important, that your cultural supplement can be of great value to non-Jewish writers and readers whom I hope you can reach in ever larger numbers.

My best wishes for the continued success of JEWISH LIFE.

HOWARD SELSAM
Director, Jefferson School
of Social Science

New York

★

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We, at the School of Jewish Studies, wish to add our plaudits to those of all your readers for the splendid work being carried on by JEWISH LIFE in the American Jewish community in particular, and in America at large. The broad and necessary aims set for itself by JEWISH LIFE, as summarized under its masthead, have been advanced with every issue since its inception.

The First Anniversary Issue is a brilliant climax to its first year of existence. In fact, this issue is nothing less than Terrific.

For a long time, the lack of concise, scientific exposition of the needs and problems of American progressive Jewry was sharply felt, particularly among English-speaking Jews. In courses offered at the School of Jewish Studies for the clarification and enlightenment of our students in the fields of Jewish social science, history and literature the woeful lack of adequate text-books and bibliography in English was painfully apparent. JEWISH LIFE has begun to fill this void with dignity, understanding, and credit to itself. Our teachers and students have welcomed this valuable addition to their educational work, and wholeheartedly support the achievements of JEWISH LIFE. Many of them, both teachers and students make subscriptions to JEWISH LIFE a part of their own community activities.

Mazel Tov on this, your first anniversary; and may there be many more of the same to strengthen the consciousness of the American Jewish community in the task which lies ahead of integrating the struggle for the aspirations of our people and of all democracy, and freedom loving people for peace, and security for all!

ABRAHAM BOXERMAN
Administrative Secretary,
School of Jewish Studies

New York

★

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I'm a subscriber and I'm very happy to make this small contribution for your fund.

I hope every subscriber does this—and this magazine, so important and necessary to us today, will continue its excellent work.

New York

DAVID PRESSMAN.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is my check to help keep JEWISH LIFE going. I find JEWISH LIFE a tremendously effective magazine. It fills a long-felt need and I believe you are leaning far too much backward when you say, "We promise no haranguing and no drawn-out fund drive."

Unfortunately, such haranguing is too often necessary in order to keep such projects as yours alive. Frankly, it might very well not have occurred to me to forward money if there had been no appeal. I say let's have the haranguing if that's what it takes to keep you alive.

Thank you for publishing JEWISH LIFE and you can be sure that I shall do what I can to get it around among my friends.

Los Angeles

HERMAN BOXER.

★

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

All thoughtful people are aware of the death struggle now raging between the forces of evil and those whom they would choose to destroy—people of culture.

How tragic it is that invariably the death struggle is vaunted at a time when those who might help with financial aid find themselves with dwindling real incomes. But then again, when better to demoralize a people's culture than when the "quiet desperation" of life has already set in?

But come what may, we must hold up the two mighty arms—the one a Jewish people's culture, the other the will of the working class—so as to strengthen the effort of JEWISH LIFE to stay alive—nay, to fight for others as well as itself.

Here's two dollars to help in your fight. *L'chaim v'lo Lamoves!*
New York

NATHAN GALPERT.

★

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

You've done your part. We do our part in a small way now.

Jeffersonville, N. Y.

★

Y. SCHWARTZ.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed find a contribution for your fund drive. I think your magazine has no challengers as an organ of progressive American Jewry.

Long Beach, L. I.

★

IRVING J. FINK.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Your editorial in the current issue of *Jewish Life* on Henry Wallace is a honey.

I think it would be very wise of you if you could make up reprints of it so we could distribute them to our local Jewry.

Rock Island, Ill.

★

HYMAN ANDICH.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I have now read Mr. Novick's articles on the Jewish people in the Soviet Union. It is in my mind a very clear, well-thought out study. I would have liked, if it were possible, more incidents of human interests and current statistical data.

What will interest you is that reading these articles naturally brought me to reading the other articles; read the issues straight through. They cover such a wide range of subjects of interest in Jewish life that I feel my fund of knowledge has well profited by the reading.

Thank you for sending me the articles.

New York

BERNARD L. KOTEN

*You've
done
fine
but...*

not quite well enough. Many of you have come through in support of JEWISH LIFE. We want to take this opportunity to thank you for your prompt contribution. But

not enough

of you have yet come across—and that's where the trouble lies. And since our last report to you, Attorney General

Tom Clark

has increased our problem by trying to intimidate and terrorize progressives, by arresting for deportation—ALEXANDER

Bittelman

General Secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association and of our editorial board. And that costs money, too. So

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

of 12 out of 15 non-sectarian schools within New York State having a student enrollment over 500 still contain questions ruled discriminatory by the State Commission Against Discrimination. These are questions concerning the applicant's race, religion, church, color, nationality, photograph, birthplace, descent and ancestry.

☆

The percentage of Jewish college students in the area including New Jersey, Pennsylvania and upstate New York increased from 9.6 in 1935 to 11.6 in 1946, according to Leo Obermeyer, chairman of the B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Commission. That Jewish students are attracted to large schools in the area is shown by the fact that they made up 19.7 per cent of total enrollments in schools with over 10,000 students and only 6.0 per cent in schools with less than 500 students. The bulk of Jewish students of professional schools and departments in this area concentrated in three fields—30.3 per cent in education, 27.2 per cent in business administration and 14.6 per cent in engineering.

☆

The American Jewish Committee invited Attorney General Tom Clark to its 41st Annual Meeting, held Jan. 16-18 in New York, to speak on "civil rights." Report has it that Clark called up the Committee and asked them "would you please write me a speech on civil rights because I don't know what to say." In his speech Clark defended the government's procedure in the "loyalty" cases. The Marshall Plan was strongly supported in other speeches by James B. Carey, CIO sec.-treas., and AJC executive vice-president John Slawson. Gen. Omar N. Bradley also supported it without mentioning the name. In testimony on behalf of the AJC before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee former Governor Herbert H. Lehman urged adoption of the Marshall Plan to "meet the challenge to our American ideals and to our security."

☆

In the Jan. 15 issue of his newsletter pro-fascist Merwin K. Hart, president of the National Economic Council, urges citizens to put in a stock of arms "to protect themselves" in case U.S. becomes another Spain. The newsletter implies that the danger comes from communists, Zionists, UN supporters, those who believe in "something called 'democracy'" and others.

☆

When Magistrate David J. Kean of New York found Jacob J. Sternbach, president of a local of FAECT-UOPWA-CIO guilty of disorderly conduct in connection with a picketing incident at the Ebasco Services, Inc. strike, he stated that phrases such as "Jew bastard" used by a scab were "harmless" and nothing to get excited about, since this phrase was heard all over New York City. Chief Magistrate Edgar Bromberger, to whom the case was appealed, suspended sentence on Sternbach and commented that such epithets were not harmless.

☆

Pro-fascist Upton Close, who was forced off the air, is buying time on three powerful Mexican stations, XERB, XEG, and XERF, which are strong enough to drown out U.S. stations in parts of the midwest and south. Close will transcribe programs in Washington and send them to Mexico for broadcast. The notorious Gerald Winrod has been using this same trick.

☆

Gerald L. K. Smith asserted that some of his financial backers also contributed money to political campaigns of Un-American Committee mem-

bers J. Parnell Thomas and John McDowell. Smith has recently transferred his headquarters from Detroit to St. Louis.

☆

Grosset and Dunlap has withdrawn from sale a new children's edition of *Arabian Nights* following protests that its contents were anti-Semitic. Objectionable illustrations and text are being altered.

☆

In the December issue of *Confidential Report* Johannes Steel reports that there is a drive to get the Jews out of the film industry. His authority is a high member of the administration in Washington.

☆

The fourth annual Jewish Music Festival will be observed from Jan. 24 to Feb. 22 in over 300 Jewish community centers, Jewish organizations, by many orchestras and musical organizations. Highpoint will be the world premiere of Ernest Bloch's *Concerto Grosso* by the New York Philharmonic Symphony on Feb. 5.

EUROPE

Western European countries such as France, Belgium, Holland and Italy are experiencing an upsurge of Judaism, according to D. L. Meckler, editor of the *Jewish Morning Journal*, and several Orthodox rabbis who accompanied him on a three months tour of Europe. They found that Orthodoxy is declining in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania, where it was strongest before the war.

☆

Almost one-half of the total of about 1,714,000 Jews living in Europe (exclusive of the Soviet Union) and Africa are in need of relief, according to a survey of the World Jewish Congress. Most urgently needed are warm clothing, certain foods and especially medicines.

☆

A survey of Jews in Hungary reveals that there are about 144,000 living there, of whom 96,500, or 67.2 per cent, live in Budapest.

☆

The Vienna municipality is re-examining all post-war transfers of property to victims of the nazis and in many cases is ordering Jewish property returned to the same nazis who seized it from Jews during the Hitler regime, said David Brill, president of the Vienna Jewish Community Council. Former nazis, who fled from Vienna after liberation, are now returning to the Austrian capital and are receiving the apartments and furniture which they "aryanized" under the nazi regime, but which was given by the Red Army through the municipality to victims of the nazi regime, said Brill.

☆

A mass meeting held in the Great Synagogue of Bucharest adopted a resolution hailing the abolition of the Rumanian monarchy, which "for almost a century—with the aid of the reactionary parties—oppressed Jews, depriving them of their elementary civil rights, while the popular republic is fighting all bias and guarantees Rumanian Jewry free development on an equal level with all nationalities in the country."

☆

Iron and metal workers union of the Norwegian town of Raufoss last month unanimously voted to ban shipment of munitions to Iran and Iraq. The union acted after learning that an order for munitions had been placed by the two countries.

Anti-Semitic attacks in the German press in the British zone and desecrations of Jewish cemeteries are increasing, Dr. Joseph Rosenzweig, head of the Jewish Central Committee of the British zone, has reported to the Deputies of British Jews.

☆

The Edinburgh Trades Council has adopted a resolution urging that the government outlaw all fascist organizations, particularly Mosley's latest "Union movement." The resolution also calls for legislation providing heavy penalties for all persons who advocate anti-Semitism and other forms of group hatred. . . . It was reported that Mosley is involved in efforts of Arab groups in England to recruit anti-Semitic volunteers to fight in Palestine against the Jews. . . . Home Secretary James Chuter Ede continues to hedge on demands that new legislation be passed to prohibit the spreading of fascist doctrines on the ground that it is dangerous to attempt to suppress expressions of political opinion.

PALESTINE

The two left-wing Palestine Zionist organizations, Hashomer Hatzair and L'achdud Avodah, have merged to form the United Workers Party. The official paper of the Hashomer, *Mishmar*, has been renamed *Al Hamishmar* and will be the organ of the new party.

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Charges have been made from several sources that the Mufti has made arrangements to enlist fascist remnants for his fight against the Palestine Jews: volunteers from Franco Spain, fascists from the late General Mikhailovitch's army, British fascists and escaped German prisoners of war. It is reported that the Arab League is negotiating with Polish General Anders, whose army is supported by Bevin in Britain, to fight against partition militarily. Anders is reported to have expressed the conviction that his corps could wipe out the Haganah in a month.

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A Haganah spokesman said recently that many delegations from various Arab villages have been coming into the Jewish settlements asking the Jews not to attack them since they were not responsible for attacks on Jews, which they assert are made by bands of Arabs from outside Palestine. The spokesman added that Palestine Arabs have been taking a very small part in the anti-Jewish disturbances, which he pointed out have been conducted chiefly by several hundred gunmen who have infiltrated into Palestine.

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The two mukhtars of the Arab village of Lifta have signed a truce with the Jerusalem Jewish Community Council under which the mukhtars guarantee not to allow foreign Arabs to use their villages as a base for attack on Jewish areas.

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The Lebanese government has notified the American University at Beirut that 60 Jewish students registered in the university must leave the country by Jan. 31st. The university operates under a charter issued by the New York State legislature.

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The Histadrut (Palestine Federation of Labor) has announced that its membership is now 177,806. New members for the first nine months of 1947 numbered 12,903. *Hanoar Haoved*, the working youth organization, has 6,915 dues-paying members.

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The official Soviet news agency, Tass, has applied to the British authorities in Palestine for permission to open an office there.

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A new archeological discovery at the northern end of the Red Sea which tends to indicate that the Jews during their exodus from Egypt did not cross that body of water but another lake, was announced in Cairo by Wendell Phillips, head of the University of California expedition to Africa.

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