

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

MAY 1948

BITTER FRUIT OF THE MARSHALL PLAN

AN EDITORIAL

THE betrayal of Palestine by the present American government is complete. The American people are aroused as never before. The betrayal was the most shocking and immoral action committed by the reactionary cabal in Washington in a series that includes the effort to establish selective service and universal military training, provocations against the Soviet Union, intensification of the war and witch-hunt hysteria as means of intimidation, obvious pressure on weak-bellied labor leaders to splinter the labor movement.

The American people resent the usurpation of power by Wall Street manipulators and their military agents.

(Continued on page 3)

ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION

JACQUES DUCLOS

G. KOENIG

MOSES MILLER

PALESTINE COMMUNIST PARTY

I. RENNAP

DR. MOSHE SNEH

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
"FIGHTS" ANTI-SEMITISM

By Louis Harap

I'M INSULTED
BY MY DICTIONARY

By Yuri Suhl

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

US delegate Leroy Steinbower to the UN Economic and Social Council argued against Soviet delegate A. Artunian's proposal to elect three members of the Joint Economic Board for partitioned Palestine at this session. Steinbower urged that elections be postponed to the next Council session in July. The proposal was defeated, 9 to 3 (USSR, Poland, Byelorussia) with 6 abstentions. . . . The State Department admitted in early March that it had "unofficially" advised the U. S. Steel Corporation against taking an order for 400 tons of steel plate for shipment to the Palestine Electric Corporation, which needed the plates for its trucks and field equipment. The Department advised that the contemplated plate shipment came under the December 5 Middle East embargo order, inasmuch as the shipment is armor and not ordinary steel plates.

★ The Administration's trusteeship proposal "ought to be applauded," said Rep. John Rankin. The UN had no more right to set up a Jewish state in Palestine than they would have to set up a "Negro state in Harlem or a Mexican state in Texas," he said. He was joined by Rep. Ed Gossett, of Texas, who said that 90 per cent of Congress would support Truman. Rep. Clare Hoffman, of Michigan, said the American people are "getting tired of going to war for minority groups." . . . The American Council for Judaism sent a telegram, signed by its president, Lessing J. Rosenwald, to Secretary of State George Marshall, saying, "We subscribe wholeheartedly to the position taken by the United States at the United Nations on Friday, March 19 (proposing trusteeship). The interests of the United States and world peace demand that this issue be removed from the realm of domestic politics and that it secure widespread bipartisan support as an integral part of United States foreign policy."

★ The establishment of a Jewish-owned steamship line between New York and Haifa is expected to be completed by May 15, Moshe Pomrok, an official of the Palestine Maritime League, announced. Plans are to purchase 18 passenger and cargo vessels to serve the Jewish state. A merchant marine would gain \$24,000,000 annually for Palestine, said Pomrok.

★ The formation of a Chamber of Commerce in the United States for Palestine was urged in a report published by the United Palestine Appeal recently. The report stated that "Jewish Palestine and the United States can form a reciprocal trade partnership in which the Jewish state would purchase at least 50 to 70 million dollars annually of American goods."

★ The American Jewish Conference has announced that its Interim Committee has decided to cancel an emergency session called for March 31 to make a final decision on the fate of the organization following the withdrawal of B'nai B'rith. A statement issued by the Conference says that the Interim Committee voted to cancel the meeting after reviewing recent developments in Palestine and Europe. The statement recorded the conviction that "the emergency situation which called the Conference into being continues."

★ William Lee Wilder, independent Hollywood producer, reported difficulties in getting distribution for "The Burning Bush," a film dealing with an historic Hungarian trial of 1882 which closely paralleled the French Dreyfus case. Wilder reported that Hollywood feels that anti-Semitism has been sufficiently exploited on the screen in recent months. Republic cancelled an agreement with Wilder for the film's distribution because



VOL. II, No. 7 (19)

MAY, 1948

EDITORIAL BOARD

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

ALBERT E. KAHN

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

SAMUEL BARRON, *Managing Editor*

LOUIS HARAP, *Editorial Associate*

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

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

BITTER FRUIT OF THE MARSHALL PLAN 1

BEHIND THE "SILKEN" CURTAIN 5

BEHIND THE "IRON" CURTAIN 5

PEOPLE'S ACTION ON PALESTINE

NEW YORK PROTESTS by *Moses Miller* 6

UNITED DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS by *G. Koenig* 9

DEFEND THE JEWISH STATE AND THE UN by *Jacques Duclos* 11

RED-BAITERS, INCORPORATED, *an exchange of letters* 13

THE MARTYRDOM OF HIRSCH LECKERT by *Sholom Levine, translated by Joseph King* 14

RUSTY LINKS IN BEVIN'S CHAIN by *I. Rennap* 17

I'M INSULTED BY MY DICTIONARY, *a short story by Yuri Suhl* 20

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE "FIGHTS" ANTI-SEMITISM by *Louis Harap* 24

DOCUMENTS

THE PATH I FOLLOW by *Dr. Moshe Sneh* 29

NO COMPROMISE! A CALL TO ARMS! *Resolution of the Central Committee of the Palestine Communist Party* 30

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS 2

JEWISH LIFE, May, 1948, Vol. II, No. 7 (19). 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.

they did not regard the film as suitable for Republic's sales methods, but United Artists has agreed to distribute the film. In line with this Hollywood feeling is the recent shelving by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer of plans to screen Sholom Asch's *East River*.

★

The Neptune Meter Company of Long Island City ran an anti-Semitic cartoon, "Cheap Sam's," in the March issue of the company paper, *Neptune News*, which is sent to their 1500 employees throughout the country. The UE-CIO committee organizing this plant requests protests to the Company for this piece of anti-Semitism. Company address is 192 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

Anti-Semitic propagandist Thomas P. Graham was ordered deported by a provincial court in Vancouver following his conviction on the charge of distributing anti-Jewish leaflets "calculated to cause ill-will between different classes of His Majesty's subjects." Graham was also sentenced to a three-month prison term on the testimony of Vancouver union organizers.

★

A Jewish student has to file 10 times as many applications as a white Protestant in order to be admitted to an American medical school, while Catholics and Italians file twice and five times as many applications as Protestants, according to a survey released by the American Jewish Congress. The need for filing multiple applications, the

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

BITTER FRUIT OF THE MARSHALL PLAN

(Continued from page 1)

They are in rebellion against the deliberate and cynical sell-out of the American people engineered by reaction. They are disgusted with the total incompetence and utter helplessness of the man who sits at the helm. The American people are demanding action. They are expressing their mood by swelling daily the ranks of the Wallace movement and the new party that is emerging.

It is a sad commentary on the quality of much of the leadership in American life that so many leaders were shocked and surprised at the American action on Palestine. The facts were always there for those who wanted to see. But even for the more naive it is no longer a secret whence this betrayal comes. So contemptuous has American imperialism become of public opinion that it no longer feels the need to hide the truth. The sainted Gen. George Marshall himself took responsibility for proposing the betrayal. And it was this same Marshall who told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 24, according to the account of William S. White, that "the success of the whole vast program for aiding Europe [the Marshall Plan—Eds.] was a compelling factor in the turnabout of the United States on Palestine." (*New York Times*, March 25, 1948.)

So it is the Marshall Plan, advertised to "liberate" people from the "indirect aggression" of the Soviet Union, from the encroachment of "totalitarian communism," that is responsible for the betrayal of Palestine and the current slaughter of Jews!

What kind of "program of aid" can it be that requires American complicity in the murder of Greeks by Greek fascists, in the enslavement of Turks by Turkish fascists, in the continued crucifixion of Spaniards by Spanish fascists, in the unending inquisition of Jews in DP camps, in the sacrifice of Jews and Arabs to Arab feudalists; that calls for the persistent dealing by American agents with the most disreputable elements in every country of the world, including the Mufti in Palestine and the cartellists of Germany; that insists upon consistent political dictation and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries by America?

Democratic intentions and aid to the people require no such anti-democratic allies, nor such violence against the people.

But as a matter of fact, the Marshall Plan is no such aid program. It is a program of American world conquest through the exploitation of human suffering wherever it can be found or created. It is a "program of aid" to Ameri-

can imperialism, the architects of the American Century, the apostles of Anglo-Saxon "civilization" and "western democracy" that need German militarism, clerical fascism and southern bourbon racism to cram their virtues down the throats of people. The Marshall Plan is a war plan, and whatever democratic forces stand in the way of achieving this war plan will have to be sacrificed. Truly independent Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, like truly independent states anywhere, endanger the main objective of the Marshall Plan. Hence the betrayal of Palestine by American reaction was inevitable.

There was little enough excuse not to understand this until now. But after Marshall's confession, failure to comprehend this elementary political fact is inexcusable. It is more than that. It is in many instances a deliberate effort to continue the betrayal of the American people.

"Liberal" Contortions

Imperialist forces and the Republican and Democratic parties sponsored by them are alarmed by the mood of the people. There is upheaval particularly among social democratic and "liberal" fronts for reaction, like the Americans for Democratic Action and the New York Liberal Party, whose function it is to try to keep the masses wedded to anti-Soviet policies and to the Marshall Plan if possible. Such prominent spokesmen of confusion as Leon Henderson, leader of the ADA, the ingenious Max Lerner of the schizophrenic *PM*, Max Zaritsky, president of the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, AFL, and leader of the Liberal Party, have been compelled to do all sorts of fascinating and death-defying flip-flops, ideological hand-springs and factual contortions.

It is no longer possible to maintain the hoax that Truman is the "heir" of FDR, as so many liberals and labor leaders insisted upon only yesterday. It is no longer possible to keep the people from rebelling against the bi-partisan policy foisted upon the American people, and from demanding action on Palestine, on Greece and on other sore spots in the world. To resist this popular demand is to court loss of membership in the mass organizations and loss of leadership in the trade unions in which these "liberals" play leading parts. But mainly the task assigned to these "leaders" by Wall Street is to save the Marshall Plan and to divert the enraged masses from the Wallace camp.

In their loud protests against the betrayal of Palestine

there is no mention of the responsibility of the Marshall Plan for the betrayal. They concentrate their entire fire on the President. No one can question for a moment the utter incompetence of Harry S. Truman, his ineffectuality. All the more reason why the policy responsible for the betrayal should also be exposed. But these "liberal" leaders limit their protests to press conferences, and their attacks to a few public officials, instead of the policy itself, in order to divert the masses from real action through demonstrations demanding an effective program. Such a program includes the defeat of the Marshall Plan and the elimination from public life of imperialists, their military henchmen and their political puppets. Simply to be against Truman is not enough. It is necessary to rally the masses for action on such a basic program.

The Eisenhower Escape Clause

Nor does the attack by these "liberals" on Truman as a candidate for renomination impress us very much. They are now engaged in a search for a lesser "lesser evil," since the previous candidate has lost the "lesser" part and becomes straight evil, as all straight-thinking people anticipated. There is now a general move among social democratic and "liberal" elements to dump Truman as an impossible bungler who was giving the game away.

But whom can they substitute? Surely no one else in the Republican or Democratic Parties. The Marshall Plan is the accepted foreign policy of both parties. And so long as this policy holds, it makes no difference who runs for the presidency. The Wall Street imperialists who today control both parties so completely that there is bi-partisan agreement wherever foreign policy is involved, will not permit an opponent of that policy to represent them.

How different can the two parties be when leading figures in both could invite Eisenhower to lead them? And how much opposition to fundamental policy of Wall Street reaction could Eisenhower give under such circumstances? And is it not strange that the southern racists, who are in "revolt" against Truman's civil rights "proposals," are willing to unite with northern Democrats around Eisenhower? Gen. Eisenhower himself confirmed this view of him by his testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee on April 2, 1948. And what service can the "liberal" Justice Douglas offer than to act as a mask for the machinations of the bi-partisan Marshall Planners—the Forrestals, the Lovetts, the Griswolds, the Harrimans?

There is obviously only one place where the decent, clear-thinking American, who is concerned about the welfare of his people and of the world, can go. And that is into the new party—a people's progressive peace party—whose basic principle is anti-Marshall Plan, anti-imperialist, anti-war. This party has put forward a candidate like Henry A. Wallace who has been outspoken in his clear-sighted criticism of the bi-partisan policies of the present government, and particularly against the Marshall Plan. But he does more than merely criticize. In agreeing to head

the new party ticket, in moving across the country rallying the people, mobilizing and channelizing their opposition, Wallace is carrying out action. As a result, ever-increasing numbers of the American people are beginning to see through the demagogy of the Wall Street imperialists and their social democratic, "liberal" and labor fronts.

This is what terrifies reaction and its allies. They are therefore going out of their way to mislead the masses of people away from the new party and Wallace. They are creating a new hoax in place of the "lesser evil" hoax. They are trying to make the new party, Wallace, his masses of followers and the Communist Party one and the same thing. They are trying to make opposition to the Marshall Plan and communism one and the same thing! And in this smear campaign, Truman plays a leading, petulant and vindictive role. Yes, the Communist Party supports Wallace and the new party. Yes, communists oppose the Marshall Plan. But to make the two identical is to try to scare the weak-kneed, and to try to save reaction from defeat. But this smear campaign is nothing new. It goes hand in hand with the treacherous actions of imperialism.

The betrayal of Jewish aspirations in Palestine by the bi-partisan Marshall Planners has been in the making for some time. And during all this time the groundwork was laid for stifling the inevitable protest. As far back as March 24, 1947, at a session of the Un-American Committee, the southern racist, John Rankin, demanded to know from a witness whether "this drive against the British Empire by the Zionists—ain't that a communist front?"

As long ago as January 26, 1948, Secretary of Defense Forrestal, leader of the banking contingent in government posts, testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, made it plain that reversing the UN decision was necessary for national security. And a little while before the betrayal of Palestine became public, President Truman shouted to a New York publisher, according to Drew Pearson, "Those—New York Jews! They're disloyal to their country. Disloyal!"

New Policy Needed

In other words, in anticipation of the outraged protest of Jews and non-Jews alike, the American imperialists and their governmental stooges prepared the treason smear against those who would oppose their own acts of betrayal. They prepared to attack as subversive those who would resist their own efforts to subvert American prestige and honor. They prepared to red-bait all who would oppose the application of the Marshall Plan against those who suffered most in the struggle for liberation against Hitlerism.

Thus the bankers and the brass, the imperialists and the fascists, the press and the politicians feed the anti-Semitic propaganda mill which declares that Jews want to get American boys to fight a war for a Jewish state. And thus once again do would-be world conquerors, the Marshall Planners in America like the *Herrenvolk* of Germany, expect to rely on anti-Semitism as a means of breaking down

resistance to their rapacious appetites. But this the American people must not and dare not permit.

The betrayal of Spain in 1936 and 1937 was not solely the problem of the Spanish people. The rape of Czechoslovakia in the days of Munich was not solely the problem of the Czechoslovakian people. The international pogrom against Jews at the time of nazi advances was not solely the problem of the Jewish people. Nor could these acts of violence be separated from general big power underworld intrigue. World War II taught us these bitter lessons.

Today the ordeal of Greece is not solely the problem of the Greek people. And today, the third destruction of Jewish statehood in Palestine (this time even before it is set up) is not solely the problem of the Jewish people. There is still no World War III to prove it. But mankind must not commit the same costly historic blunder twice.

As for the Jews, they must also commit the war lesson to memory. They must not be intimidated, they must not be diverted, they must not be hush-hushed. These brought them nothing but death and destruction, disillusion and despair. Resistance achieved their liberation from nazi ghettos, concentration camps and crematoriums. Today struggle against the forces of reaction is achieving their rehabilitation—reaction that appears everywhere under the cynical mask of Marshall Plan "aid."

All men of good will, regardless of their party affiliation or the depth of their understanding can and must unite around this simple, clear-cut program for Palestine, offered

by the Morning Freiheit Association.

1. Demand that President Truman instruct Warren Austin, U.S. delegate to the UN, to reverse his position of scuttling the UN decision on Palestine, that Austin work for the realization of the UN decision to establish Jewish and Arab states in Palestine.

2. Demand that President Truman support the provisional Jewish government in Palestine set up by the Jewish community for the purpose of implementing the decisions of the UN.

3. Demand that the U.S. lift the embargo on arms to the Jews of Palestine, and establish an embargo on arms to Arab states that seek to frustrate UN decisions in Palestine.

4. Demand that the UN arm the Jewish community in Palestine.

These demands will be achieved not by press releases and press conferences. They will be achieved through demonstrations, petitions, pilgrimages to Washington, stoppages and other forms of such militant struggle. But at the same time, the progressive elements in the community must make sure to explain to all who participate in this united struggle, that the only guarantee that the betrayal of Palestine will be reversed, *and will stay reversed*, is to strike at the heart of the problem, at the Marshall Plan, at imperialist intrigue, at imperialist arrogation of power in our country. This can be achieved only by building the new party into the First Party, and by mobilizing America for Henry A. Wallace.

BEHIND THE "SILKEN" CURTAIN

THE President's Committee on Civil Rights issued an imposing report on the need to safeguard civil rights. Pres. Truman called for legislation to protect democratic rights, which presumably caused a "revolt" in the south.

But as might be expected on the basis of consistent experience, the facts of life in our country utterly belie the fine speeches made by Truman.

Leon Josephson has just gone to prison for a year because he carried on anti-fascist activity in nazi Germany at a time when Hitler was riding the crest and the Gestapo was ruthless.

Congressman Leo Isacson, recently elected on a Wallace Third Party program, has been denied a passport to attend a conference in Europe on the Greek situation.

Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age children, Negroes, were under death sentence for having killed a white farmer in Georgia in self-defense.

John Santo, militant trade union leader of the Transport Workers Union, has been ordered deported to Rumania in spite of the fact that he fought for over three years in the United States Army.

These are but a few Americans who are currently being

deprived of their rights. But the American people must realize quickly that neither reports from committees nor speeches from presidents alone will safeguard democracy.

If the State Department was forced to grant A. B. Magil a passport to report the news from Palestine for the *Daily Worker*, it was because Mr. Magil and the people organized a freedom-of-the-press campaign that went even beyond our borders.

If Attorney General Tom Clark was compelled to release five alleged deportees whom he was holding without bail, contrary to the constitution, pending hearings, it was because these five courageous Americans went on a hunger strike and the people demonstrated on their behalf.

The American people are still too complacent about the assault on American democracy by American reaction. The struggle for civil liberties must not and dare not be relaxed for a moment. Justice for the four listed above must be won!

BEHIND THE "IRON" CURTAIN

POLAND is issuing a special postage stamp to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

NEW YORK PROTESTS

By Moses Miller

PARADES are hardly a novelty to New Yorkers. Yet I doubt if any one who witnessed the Palestine Protest Parade in New York on March 11 will ever forget the sight. The weather man had predicted rain followed by snow. Few, however, were prepared for the actual downpour. The rains came in buckets, followed by a storm of hail and sleet that sent people scurrying into hallways and doorways for cover.

The United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the United Nations, which had organized the demonstration, had announced that the parade would go on regardless of weather. At the corner of 29th Street and Seventh Avenue, starting point of the parade, a few brave souls held on for dear life to the huge lead banner. Few other people were in sight. Many of the policemen assigned to the line of march were ordered to return to their police stations. Policemen who remained kept telling those who straggled by that there would be no parade.

At 3:20 P.M. the lead-off band moved to the head of the street and began to play. At 3:25, Ben Gold, chairman of the Committee, together with his marshals, fell into line. And suddenly, as if by magic, the empty streets were lined with people. Banners and streamers were flung aloft. American and Jewish flags began to wave. The line of march was ready. And all within the space of three or four minutes. Crowds gathered on the sidelines and rubbed their eyes. It was a most amazing sight to behold.

At 3:30 the parade began. Down Seventh Avenue the hardy souls marched to an accompaniment of hail, music, sleet and confetti. More than 25,000 strong, undaunted by the weather, were determined to express their seething indignation over the administration's betrayal of the Jewish State and the United Nations. First came the furriers and then the furniture workers. Twenty-ninth Street emptied and those on 28th Street began to march. A contingent of many thousands from Local 65 of warehouse and retail workers led off, followed by shoe workers, jewelry workers, ILGWU and Amalgamated workers and International Workers Order members. Youth from the colleges and high schools, veteran and youth organizations and a magnificent American Youth for Democracy contingent swelled the ranks of the paraders.

Then the borough contingents fell into the line of march from 27th Street. Members of the American Labor Party,

MOSES MILLER, a member of the staff of *Jewish Life* and the *Morning Freiheit*, represented the Morning Freiheit Association on the United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the UN.

the Progressive Citizens of America, Congress of American Women, the Communist Party, *landsmanshaften*, tenant and consumer groups, fraternal organizations. And as each group marched into Madison Square Park, wave after wave of applause rose up to greet and welcome them.

The scope of the action cannot, however, be judged from the parade alone, extraordinary as this was. Scores of unions working closely with the Committee had agreed to participate in work stoppages on March 11. And at 3 o'clock of that day, over 125,000 workers laid down their tools and left their shops. In many instances the stoppage occurred by agreement between the unions and employers. Such was the case in the jewelry, shoe, and drygoods industries. In other cases stoppages were decided on the initiative of the workers alone. Cease-work referendums were held in many unions, such as furniture, and Jewish as well as non-Jewish workers voted unanimously to close down their shops.

In communities all over the city, local committees sprang up over night. The committees concentrated on developing local mass support for the city wide March 11 protest day, and held rallies, street corner meetings, parades and demonstrations. Delegations went from store to store urging a shut-down on March 11 from 3 to 6 P.M. Posters prepared by the United Committee were placed in the windows of stores that had agreed to join in the action. So successful were the local campaigns that two days before the demonstration the United Committee had exhausted its supply of posters and could not fill the requests for posters that poured in. And on the day of the demonstration, the main office of the United Committee was deluged with telephone calls from indignant storekeepers demanding to know why they had not been asked to close down and where they could obtain posters.

But the United Committee did not have plain sailing. From the very day that it announced the demonstration, many obstacles were put in its way. The most glaring was the almost total blackout of news which the New York press, both Jewish and non-Jewish, imposed. With the exception of the *Daily Worker* and the *Morning Freiheit*, the New York press either ignored the demonstration completely or relegated it to a few lines in some obscure corner.

Worried Non-Cooperators

A few days after the demonstration, Mr. Dingal of the *Jewish Day*, apparently worried because so many telephone calls to his office were protesting the shameful treatment of

the demonstration in his paper, wrote an article trying to excuse the paper by protesting that the Zionist Emergency Council had been consulted by the United Committee and had argued against the holding of the demonstration. By implication, therefore, Mr. Dingal admits that some orders must have been given out by the Zionist Emergency Council calling for a blackout of news. Realizing, however, that this excuse was lame and hardly a valid reason for the shameful action of the *Day*, Mr. Dingal resorted to red-baiting, the last refuge of a scoundrel. This was a left-wing undertaking, he announced indignantly. The American Labor Party was in it. So were the PCA, the IWO and the Communist Party. If official Jewish leadership had given it support, argued Mr. Dingal, the cause of the Jewish state might suffer irreparable damage.

It is known that the Zionist Emergency Council, which was urged to participate, worked behind the scenes to discourage participation by as many Jewish organizations as it could influence. Nor was this the only occasion on which the Council engaged in such dubious activities. After the March 11th citywide demonstration and as a follow-up of the magnificent example it had set, local communities in every part of New York were spurred on to action. In Brownsville, for example, a meeting of tens of Jewish organizations was held to decide on a local action. 'At this meeting, the chairman announced that the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order (Jewish section of the International Workers Order) could not participate in the sponsorship of any action on which the meeting would agree. He further announced that this decree had come from on high, namely,

Neither Rain nor Snow Kept These New Yorkers from Protesting on March 11, 1948 Against America's Betrayal of Partition.



from the Zionist Emergency Council, and that there was no sense in arguing the point since the Zionist Emergency Council had announced that it would withdraw its sponsorship if the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order were included. Many of the delegates, including Zionists, protested vehemently against this high-handed action. Members of the Hashomer Hatzair argued bitterly against this discriminatory procedure. The chairman, however, remained adamant and the JPFO was excluded.

When the Brooklyn division of the United Committee announced that it was organizing a mass delegation to Washington to protest the betrayal of the Jewish state, it, too, was confronted with obstructionist tactics. A Mr. Nathan Dinkes, president of the Brooklyn division of the American Jewish Congress, sent a memorandum to all chapter presidents warning them against participation in this delegation. After indicating that the Brooklyn division of Congress had already undertaken some campaigns on Palestine and that a Congress delegation had already visited the State Department and a number of Brooklyn congressmen, Mr. Dinkes went on to say:

"Therefore, I see no point of any further marches or demonstrations proceeding to Washington, since we know what the congressmen's views are and we have made our views known to President Truman through the State Department.

"What I want to avoid particularly, is the entry of politics or political considerations into the activities of Palestine. Politics should have nothing to do with our program and some activity in connection with Palestine is of a distinct partisan political outlook. . . .

"I shall personally and publicly prefer charges against any chapter chairman or official of the Brooklyn division who violates this request."

No Bar to Unity

A great and fundamental issue thus arises. At this critical juncture we are confronted, first of all, with an obvious attempt to instigate a "loyalty" purge by certain Jewish leaders, who seek to arrogate to themselves the right to decide who may or may not participate in protesting the betrayal by both the Democratic and the Republican parties of the Jewish state; and secondly, an attempt to refrain from undertaking any kind of mass mobilization of the people, even under Congress auspices. History has demonstrated that these two usually go together. A leadership that fears to put its faith in the people and to mobilize them for militant action, will inevitably attempt to interfere with and to sabotage any attempt by others to arouse the masses.

The American Jewish community is thus faced with a basic question. Is there to be a militant and united struggle for the implementation of the UN Palestine decision and for a reversal of the American government's shameful betrayal, or is the American Jewish community to sit idly by while a few top leaders engage in behind-the-scenes negotiations?

It is evident by now to all but the most naive and to those

who consciously wish to ignore reality for some ulterior motive that the bi-partisan policy known as the Marshall Plan has direct bearing on and is inextricably linked to the administration's policy on Palestine. Support to reaction in Greece, Turkey, China and all over the world must of necessity include a policy of betrayal and sell-out in Palestine. They cannot be separated. There can be no separation of support for democracy in one part of the world from support of reaction in another part of the world. It would seem obvious, therefore, that a reversal of the administration's position on Palestine can be achieved only by rallying the overwhelming masses of American people for militant struggle. It should be equally obvious that any attempt to create the illusion that a free and democratic Jewish state can be established within the framework of the bi-partisan policy can only lead to disaster for the Jewish people. Yet it would seem that the Zionist Emergency Council either fails to understand this or wilfully ignores it.

Does the Zionist Emergency Council believe that telegrams and speeches of good will from a Senator Charles W. Tobey or Senator Robert A. Taft or of any other politician, whom they have been inviting to their affairs and meetings, is going to bring about a reversal of American policy on Palestine? Does the Zionist Emergency Council believe that the Forrestals, who today determine American policy, can be appeased into reversing their position?

The Zionist Emergency Council must make up its mind whether it intends to continue along these lines or whether it intends to give real leadership to the Jewish masses. Zionists and non-Zionists alike are deeply disturbed and are seeking some way to express their indignation and are trying to find some way to get a reversal of the present situation. The Zionist Emergency Council would do well to bear this in mind.

The Council would also do well to learn some lessons from the *Yishuv* in Palestine itself. What a sorry day it would be if the Haganah and the *Yishuv*, which rally so courageously and so devotedly in their bitter struggles in day to day fighting, were suddenly to decide to exclude certain people from its ranks because of political belief. The *Yishuv* has learned much about the meaning of unity. That is why all parties were included in the formation of its government. To disregard what is happening in the *Yishuv* and to follow the path of Tom Clark and Forrestal and Truman and Taft is to be guilty of giving aid to those who would like to prevent the establishment of a Jewish state.

The United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the United Nations was created because of the overwhelming need for action at the present moment. Such action has up to now been missing. The Committee has at last begun to channelize the dammed-up feeling of protest in the American community against the cold-blooded, cynical handling of the Palestine issue by our government. At last the people have an outlet for this hitherto unorganized resistance. The Committee welcomes action and cooperation from all. It urges action on the part of all. It seeks no glory nor

does it demand that action be carried on only in its name. But it will strenuously fight against those who try to prevent action, as it will fight against those who seek to exclude any individual or organization from participating in action.

Leadership can remain only with those who offer a lead to the people in their most critical hour. Without such a lead no one has the right to look for or to demand the mandate of the people.

PEOPLE'S ACTION ON PALESTINE: II

UNITED DEMONSTRATION IN PARIS

By G. Koenig

THE Jews of France have answered the bloody provocations of Arab reactionaries and of the British with a united campaign for the benefit of embattled Palestine. Jews of every political complexion participated in united action for the Haganah. The only group that remained aloof was the local Bund crowd, the wards of Chanan and the Jewish daily *Forward*, the lauders of Bevin.

This unity was expressed on March 3, 1948 in one of the biggest political demonstrations ever held by Parisian Jews—a stupendous mass meeting for Palestine. The high point of this united meeting, addressed by speakers of all but the rabid anti-Soviet group, was the moving speech of the secretary of the French Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, who left a very important session of the Chamber of Deputies to bring to the Jewish people an expression of full solidarity and support in the name of his party for the just struggle of our people. He did it with the full power of his remarkable oratorical talent, and with the deep humanity that only Jacques Duclos can express.

Chairman of the meeting was the prominent Zionist leader, Y. Yefroikin.

"We came here," he said, "to demonstrate for the ideal of freedom, for the ideal of the Jewish people. We are now faced with a declaration of war by the High Commissioner of Palestine against the Jewish people, threatening to exclude the Jews from human civilization. A time will come when no trace will be left of British imperialism, but the Jewish people will live. Let those who oppress other nations not lecture us about civilization."

He also spoke about the ruling circles in the United States, who "talk Jewish but act Arab," as Henry Wallace expressed it. The chairman then presented the chairman of the Zionist Federation, M. Yarblum.

"For three months," said the speaker, "the heroic Jewish *Yishuv* in Palestine has engaged in struggle against the feudal Arab states, in struggle against British imperialism, which is utilizing its entire military might, its navy, its planes and tanks against the Jews who had saved themselves from Hitler's purgatory. So long as the British mili-

tary remain in Palestine, so long will unrest continue, so long will it be impossible to establish a Jewish state. England is responsible for the blood being spilled in Palestine."

The French Socialist leader, Joseph Russ, appealed to the Arabs to establish peace with the Jews. He spoke about the principles of peace and justice, and about the Jewish work of construction in Palestine.

A deep impression was made by the excellent address of A. Raisky, general secretary of the important progressive Jewish people's organization, the French Union. This was a speech of national fervor expressing concern for the future of Palestine, for the future of the Jewish people and it advanced a clear program for success in the struggle of our people. The speech was frequently interrupted by great applause.

"Friends and comrades, brothers and sisters," Raisky began, "at the moment when the Jews of Paris are gathered here today, two battles are taking place that are going to be decisive for the future of Palestine. In Palestine itself there is taking place a heroic and bloody struggle in which tens of thousands of Jewish sons and daughters are defending the security of the *Yishuv* against the attacks of the Arab reactionary bands and British military, with their lives. We send our deepest greetings and our assurance that we will be at their side till victory is achieved."

Raisky then took up the second battle taking place at Lake Success where it is becoming clear who are our friends and who are our enemies. "We publicly express here our gratitude to the governments and nations who are indefatigably defending the position of our people. The right of the Jewish people to Palestine was fortified with the sweat and blood of the builders, with the tragic suffering of the Jewish people in the Hitler period, with the participation of the Jews in the struggle for the liberation of the world from Hitler fascism. No amount of dollars and pounds can outweigh the sweat and blood of the millions of fallen and annihilated."

Raisky then turned to the shameful declaration of the British government that Jews will no longer be considered civilized people.

"Were Hitler and Goebbels alive today, they would not have used different words. The Jewish people, which gave the Bible to humanity, will not be lectured on civilization

G. KOENIG is editor of the French-Yiddish paper, *Neue Presse*, published in Paris.



Brooklyn Marches to Washington, March 24, 1948. A Community Contingent that Made Up Part of the 1000 Marchers.

by those who trample upon the Bible and its ethics. We are convinced that the fighters of the Haganah will not fall into despair, that the broadest Jewish masses will not become despondent about the outcome of the struggle for a Jewish state. The illusion that it is possible simultaneously to help the nazis and fascism and the Jewish people will be dispelled. No, the path of once again building up a strong Germany leads to the destruction of Jewish national aspirations. Our people, with the help of world democracy, must compel the imperialist governments to keep their word!"

Recalling a sentence from a speech by Ben Gurion in Paris that a Jewish government in Palestine will never play Vichy politics, Raisky greeted the establishment of a provisional Jewish government. He declared:

"The Jews in France, raised in the spirit of democracy, strengthened by their stubborn resistance against the nazis and Vichy, will give their utmost support to a democratic Jewish government, which will stand at the head of the struggle for full independence of this country."

Raisky then commented on the Bund group, which had

broken Jewish unity. "Those who use the same language as the Mufti, bleating about the 'red danger,' who stand apart and refuse to help the Haganah, must remain silent! There is no place in Jewish life for the friends of Bevin, and in the last analysis, for the friends of the Mufti."

The whole assembly gave stormy approval to this condemnation of the treasonous elements among our people, the *Forward* gang in Paris.

The speaker then discussed the importance of reaching an understanding with the progressive Arab forces. Raisky showed that the Jewish people had learned in the course of their heroic struggle and tragic suffering that anti-Semitism was the weapon of Hitler and that the issue they must decide is not to choose between communists and non-communists, but rather between reaction and democracy, between anti-national elements and national elements. He issued an ardent call for a broader national Jewish community, from which the Jewish friends of imperialists and the Mufti exclude themselves.

Chief of the Haganah general staff G. Juchevitzky

developed the idea that what is taking place now is a Jewish war and that the Jewish people could rely only on themselves. The great assembly was rather surprised that the speaker did not mention the great friends that our people have in the democratic world. The speaker gave moving facts about the fighting spirit of the Jewish *Yishuv* in Palestine. He described the 1600 Jews in old Jerusalem—religious Jews who pray throughout their years at the Wailing Wall—who have now been battling heroically for three months against the Arab bands by whom they are surrounded. "There will be no peace in Palestine at our expense," the speaker declared, telling also how the British interfere with the Haganah and support the Mufti gangs.

While Juchevitsky was speaking, the secretary of the Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, entered the hall. The whole assembly rose, and an ovation of several minutes greeted the labor leader.

Juchevitsky indicated the help the Haganah awaits from the other Jewish communities in the form of money, arms and manpower. He concluded by expressing the confidence that despite the difficult situation and the even harder struggles that must be expected, the Jewish state would be built, free and democratic.

When the chairman introduced Duclos, an enthusiastic ovation again broke forth and the moving speech of the labor leader was punctuated with applause.

The whole assembly rose to its feet when Duclos concluded. By this long ovation the audience of 5,000 expressed the gratitude of the Jewish community in France and of our brothers in Palestine for the warm, human greetings of solidarity which the French labor leader, the leader of the first party in France, had brought to us in such clear and noble language to help light up the difficult days ahead which will reveal who are the true and sincere friends of our people. (Duclos' speech printed below.—Eds.)

It was extremely moving to see how the Jews of the different groupings, right and left, orthodox and non-religious, old and young, greeted the great communist leader with boundless gratitude. They understood how mistaken is the theory that we were "alone" and can count on no one.

Several resolutions were adopted unanimously. Jewish national songs were sung. It was an unforgettable evening. It was more than a meeting. It marked a new stage in Jewish fighting unity, a new and important step forward in the participation of the Jewish community in the struggle for a democratic and independent Palestine.

PEOPLE'S ACTION ON PALESTINE: III

DEFEND THE JEWISH STATE AND THE UN

By Jacques Duclos

CITIZENS AND COMRADES:

I have been delegated by the French Communist Party to bring to you its fraternal greetings, and to express its solidarity with you in the struggle of the Jews to safeguard the decision of the United Nations.

I undertook this task with great pleasure, because it is important at this moment to unite in struggle against all tendencies to revive racism. We communists are consistent anti-racists. We combat racism, no matter what its form—anti-Semitism or the lynching of Negroes.

When the nazis occupied France, they showed the face of racism in its most detestable form, the theory of a *Herrenvolk* (master race), which seeks to oppress all other nations, and in its ugliest expression, anti-Semitism, which, as you know, led to raids like the one at Vel d'Hiver and the arrest of thousands of Jewish workers.

I am convinced that the anti-Semitic hatred of the nazis was on the same level as their anti-communism. May I recall to you a number of dear Jewish comrades and friends who fell in the heroic struggle to liberate our fatherland.

I greet the bright memory of the great philosopher,

JACQUES DUCLOS is secretary of the Communist Party of France.

Georges Politzer, a Jew and a communist, who fell in battle.

I greet the bright memory of Prof. Jacques Solomon, shot by the nazis.

I greet the bright memory of Feldman, shot by the nazis.

If I mention only these three, it is because they are comrades from our ranks, people whom I knew and with whom I fought in the underground movement. But together with these may I recall all the victims and bind them together, Jewish and non-Jewish sacrifices in the great struggle for freedom and progress.

I often thought about my fallen Jewish friends when we were preoccupied for days on end with the tragic odyssey of the "Exodus 1947."

We had to think this through. How was it possible, after the triumph over the nazis, that such a "phantom ship" should roam the seas, a ship carrying within it so much suffering and tragedy? This event proves the cruelty of those who are responsible for the "Exodus" tragedy.

This evening, when we are called upon to express our views on the Palestine problem, I shall tell you our position clearly and simply.

First of all, I shall not speak about the rights of the Jews (about which there is not the slightest doubt) in such

a way as to place myself in opposition to the Arabs, because I do not favor one people over another. For I am fully convinced that a tragic misunderstanding (from which certain individuals profit) exists between the Jewish people, who have a right to remain in Palestine, and the Arab people, who also have a right to a place in Palestine. As you see, I am speaking very simply. I feel that there are criminals abroad in the world, people in whose veins oil instead of blood flows. It is to their interest that Jews and Arabs fight each other, so that these criminals may secure their imperialist domination over the Near East. This is the truth!

Partition and Oil

I am convinced that the internecine struggle can be ended, if the decision of the UN which proposes to establish in Palestine Jewish and Arab states, is implemented. But you know as well as I do, that there is a determination not to carry out the decision. And perhaps there are people who do not want to permit the partition of Palestine in order to be able to remain in the country longer and prolong their mandate. Underlying all this is the struggle to establish the influence of the oil trusts and the governments behind them. This is quite clear. . . .

There is no doubt that the contradictions of the interests of the Americans and British in the Middle East resulted in intrigue to defeat the pro-partition position of America. For the Arab League declared that if partition was carried through, the Arab states would denounce every American oil concession. . . .

Mr. Forrestal, who is an important individual—he is Secretary of Defense, and a banker besides, who was director of a bank that carried through important deals making possible the penetration of American capital into Germany in the period between the two world wars—but here I am digressing from the theme, because we Frenchmen must handle the problem in the light of German-American relations and in the light of French policy with regard to Germany. But this is another problem, and I must return to our theme. . . . Mr. Forrestal threatened to resign from his post as Defense Secretary if Palestine was partitioned. And the newspaper *Le Droit* of Feb. 26 writes (as you see, I read “respectable” newspapers): “They (Forrestal and Kennedy) are against President Truman’s policy for military-strategic reasons, more clearly put, because of oil strategy.”

So you see, when I began my remarks with talk of oil, I was not wandering afield. The whole problem smells of oil. Ugly capitalist interests force people into struggle against one another, and in the name of these ugly capitalist interests Jews are denied the right to their own fatherland.

Britain’s opposition to the carrying out of the UN decision on partition leads it to take the following positions: a) it opposes the creation of a militia (of non-Palestinians); b) it organizes and trains the well-known irregular Trans-

Jordan Legion; c) it refuses to evacuate Tel Aviv; d) it refuses to place a Palestinian port at the disposition of Jewish immigrants; e) it refuses to admit the UN Commission for Palestine before the first of May.

While a UN Commission is not welcome in Palestine, a place is found for a UN Commission in Greece with the right to stay and support the hated Tsaldaris government.

I want to quote a commentator in the *Basle National Press*, who has this to say about the position of England: “The foreign office means to be neutral and make the pretense not to see that the Jews want to defend the position of the UN on the question of the partition plan at the same time that the Arabs, when they attack the decisions, commit a crime and fight against the highest international authority existing today.”

The Jews demand only the implementation of the UN decision that is openly resisted by England and broken by the United States. How does the situation look for the Jews in Palestine? The Jews in Palestine are being fought by England and forsaken by America at the moment when they expect the UN decision to be fulfilled.

But the UN decision is being trampled under foot, and this is a sign to the world that the policy of peace and international security has been replaced by a policy of imperialist and expansionist interests. The demands of oil take precedence over the rights of nations to decide their destiny.

And here I want to tell you, Jews of France, that you support with justice the Jews of Palestine, your brothers. I recognize the right of the Jewish community in Palestine to fight for the implementation of the UN decision, just as I recognized the right of the French workers to struggle for bread and trade union rights against the criminal decrees of Schumann and his Minister of the Interior.

French CP Support

I must assure you that you have the fullest support of the French Communist Party on your Palestine position. The Communist Party is convinced that the forces of democracy, progress and national independence everywhere in the world will win in the struggle against the insolent pretensions of the oil magnates and world speculators, in struggle against the exploiters of human pain and labor. We are deeply convinced that the struggle of all people of good will will be triumphant, and we assure you of our fullest support.

I have the feeling that all of you know that the right of the Jews to remain in Palestine and there to develop their own independent state—that this right will be more likely to result from struggle by the Jewish people, than from diplomatic negotiations. Therefore I greet the struggle of those who want to secure their fatherland.

I am certain that you have the support of the broadest masses, because the nations understand more and more that they alone must make their history. Heroism is never useless. Struggle always bears fruit.

Only cowards believe that cowardice triumphs over courage. Never, never did cowardice triumph!

We communists are armed with a theory that requires us at all times to *struggle for our liberation, for the liberation of all mankind.*

A Jew gave us this doctrine, a Jew of genius, one of the greatest men the world ever had. He is Karl Marx, the author of the *Communist Manifesto*, a small pamphlet of some thirty pages, which has aroused the whole world. This pamphlet was translated into all languages. It is studied by people of all colors. It arms, it calls to struggle and gives content to the life and struggles of the many peoples of the world.

We communists, who have become strong as a result of persecution (because the persecuted become stronger than their persecutors), are ready to meet eye to eye all persecutors with the deepest confidence in our ultimate goal, in our triumph, because we know that human courage is decisive.

The Jew who wrote the *Communist Manifesto* a hundred

years ago has given all of us, millions of people, content to life, confidence in struggle, hope in our ultimate triumph.

The Jewish people gave us Karl Marx, gave Marx to the entire world. We remain true to Marx's teachings, which include the idea that "A nation which oppresses another nation cannot be free!"—to which I can add, "A nation that looks on while other nations are oppressed, and does not take their part, has a 'peculiar' idea about oppression and slavery." I assure you that we communists are with you in the struggle you and your brothers in Palestine are conducting for safeguarding the UN decision.

You will triumph in your struggle, although you have to go through difficult times. All of us have difficult times ahead to overcome. But, as we sing in our old revolutionary song, "After the rain comes the sun."

Only by struggle, by the solidarity of all the fighters, do we prepare "a singing tomorrow."

I wanted to bring you this evening the fighting solidarity of the French Communist Party, and I have confidence in the fighting spirit of the Jewish people.

RED-BAITERS, INCORPORATED

The formation of a so-called "American Jewish League Against Communism" under the inspiring guidance of "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz as executive director, was announced in mid-March. The declared purpose of the League is to carry on "a nation-wide campaign of education on the Jewish situation in Russia, and Communist infiltration tactics in America, among Americans of Jewish faith" and to ferret out "all Communist activity in Jewish life, wherever it may be." We paid our respects to Schultz in the December 1947 issue ("Thou Shalt Not Bear False Witness," by Joseph King) after he published his slanderous article about Jewish leaders in the New York "World Telegram." Schultz' article caused the New York Board of Rabbis to name him a "moser," the biblical term for an informer.

The "national organizing committee" of the League includes a choice roster of reactionaries and rabid red-baiters: chairman, Alfred Kohlberg, New York businessman; Benjamin Gitlow, veteran stoolpigeon; Isaac Don Levine, dean of American red-baiters; Eugene Lyons, red-baiter extraordinary; Charles Kreindler and Louis Nelson, social democratic stooges for Dubinsky in the ILGWU; and George E. Sokolsky, seedy reactionary columnist of the New York "Sun."

For some curious reason Schultz appealed to anti-fascist novelist Howard Fast for cooperation.*We print below

Schultz' letter and the reply of Howard Fast, which seems to us to express quite precisely what any decent-minded Jew thinks of this Jewish branch of the Dies-Thomas-Rankin family of un-Americans.—Editors

American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc.
220 West 42d St., New York 18, N. Y.

March 8, 1948

Dear Friend:

You are one of a small list of representative American Jews to whom this letter is being sent.

Your moral support for this League, now in its formative stages, is desired by us who respect your judgment, your patriotism, and your devotion to Jewry.

The Platform enclosed is self-explanatory. The American Jew is against Communism as an American, and also as a Jew.

Our old organizations nobly fight Fascism—as Jews.

This League will supplement that work. We will frankly battle Communism—as Jews.

This organization will be a standing refutation of the stupid libel that Communism is a "Jewish movement."

We urge you to sign the enclosed card by March 24th. Return it in the self-addressed envelope.

Your moral support will strengthen the cause of America and of Israel.

Faithfully,
BENJ. SCHULTZ
Exec. Director

* * *

March 19, 1948

Dear Mr. Schultz:

You will notice that I do not address you as "Rabbi." Being for many years now a sincere scholar of Jewish life both during the past and in the present, I cannot but feel that even to couple your name with the term "Rabbi" is to profane all that is honorable and decent in Jewish life.

This is in reply to the infamous letter which you sent me asking me to join your American Jewish League Against Communism. Why you sent me this letter, I cannot imagine, since my views are fairly well known. But I presume that your egotism is boundless enough to include anyone whose name may occur to you. The nature of your League is readily apparent to any one who glances at what you so cheerfully call the National Organizing Committee. A more incredible list of sponsors could hardly be gathered, and I do not think that there are many Jews, if any, in this America of 1948, who can be taken in by that.

But, aside from that, I must say something to you about this plan of yours. It is a new step in the old, and rather shameful tradition, of those Jews who have contributed so readily to fascism. It can only be interpreted as a move to build an organization which will promote and work for a horrible and senseless war with the Soviet Union—with the one country on the face of the earth that makes anti-Semitism a crime, with that country which, during the

recent war, saved the lives of a million Jews. In times so immoral as these, I presume it is pointless to discuss the staggering and hideous immorality of your plan. That you and your curious companions are doomed to defeat is quite obvious.

I do not doubt that millions of American Jews will disown your kind, that they will consign this miserable little organization of yours to the silence and the obscurity it deserves. But what will remain with me as a burning shame which I must carry to my grave is the fact that you, and the people around you, are Jews. I have great pride in my Jewishness—and in the heroism, the lasting courage, the devotion to freedom of millions of Jews who have fought and died in freedom's struggle. I must call on that pride, and on the deeds that these people did to force out of my memory and out of my conscience, too, the fact that you and your friends are of the same people.

HOWARD FAST

* * *

Dear Mr. Fast:

I read your letter of March 19th, for purposes of relaxation, to our Board of Directors, who were greatly amused by it.

You speak of "a burning shame which I must carry to my grave."

I assume that this sets a limit to the period of time during which the American people must tolerate your antics.

But must they?

Sincerely,
BENJ. SCHULTZ.

Further comment is superfluous.—The Editors

THE MARTYRDOM OF HIRSCH LECKERT

By Sholom Levine

Translated by Joseph King

HIRSCH LECKERT was born into poverty in 1880, in the small Lithuanian town of Hanushishok, Kovno Province. As a child he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. Like all other apprentices at that time, he received "training" in handling the slop-pails, tending the children of his master and being punished. This was all part of "learning the trade."

In 1898, at the age of 18, Hirsch Leckert came to Vilna. The workers of Vilna were then conducting a bitter struggle against their employers and against the police who were helping the bosses. Young Leckert was soon drawn into these struggles.

SHOLOM LEVINE was active in the underground movement in Russia prior to the October Revolution. The above is taken from his autobiography, *Untererdische Kämpfer*.

A youngster who had not even had a chance to go to school, he was happiest when one of his friends in the "movement" would read to him something from the illegal literature. The revolutionary "movement" revealed a new world to him, gave him a belief, opened up wide fields where he could use his impetuous, youthful energy.

In the early summer of 1900 the underground movement issued a declaration in connection with the first anniversary of the victory of the Vilna hosiery workers in their hard strike. Rumors had spread that the employers were planning to take back what the workers had won the year before. The leaflet called upon the workers to be on guard. As in all other leaflets published at that time, this one also contained slogans of struggle for the overthrow of the tsarist government.

Elia Reitchuk and two girls were arrested for distributing the leaflets. The police headquarters to which the arrested comrades, with a batch of undistributed leaflets, were taken, was located in a section that had a large working class population. As soon as the workers found out about the arrests they began to collect around the headquarters. News of the arrests also spread to Zavalnia Street, where the workers' "market" was then located. Hirsch Leckert and several others went to the police headquarters where the prisoners were being held.

Elia Reitchuk, who was known as "the bear" because of his strength, was a shoemaker, and a very close friend of Leckert's. When Leckert discovered that his friend, the bear, was among the arrested, he immediately set about organizing their escape. First of all the telephone wires to the headquarters were cut, so that the sheriff, the police and the detective who carried out the arrests would not be able to call for help. When the sheriff and his aides saw the big crowd gathered around the headquarters, they decided to wait till morning, when the workers would have dispersed, before transferring the prisoners.

But Leckert and his organized group did not leave. Instead they hid in the surrounding courts. In the morning, when the sheriff and his deputies were certain that the workers had gone, they began to bring out the prisoners. But no sooner had they come through the gate and stepped into the open, than Leckert's whistle was heard. At this signal, the workers pounced on the police. The sheriff fired into the air and quickly slammed the gate again.

Revolutionary Spirit

The workers, however, stormed the locked gate, forced it and began to throw stones, pieces of wood and anything else they could lay their hands on into the windows of the police headquarters. When they forced their way inside and approached the stairs to the office, an officer appeared holding an unsheathed sword and shouted the warning that anyone who dared mount the stairs would be cut down.

Chone Feivke, a good friend of Leckert, and known to be able to lay them out when necessary, grabbed a stone, cried "Free the prisoners," and flung it at the officer. The stone missed, and the policeman swung his sword at Feivke's head. Bloody and seriously wounded, Chone Feivke was carried away by comrades. The workers became even more enraged and excited. The hail of stones became even heavier. Not a single window-pane remained in the entire building. The sheriff then decided to free the prisoners, who were carried with great joy on the shoulders of the workers.

I have gone into details of this incident because it gives a good idea not only about the spirit of the organized Jewish workers of that time, but also of the broad masses of the unorganized and their relation to the revolutionary movement. For many hours from evening until the following morning a struggle with the police continued, witnessed by hundreds of residents of Novgorod, and not one either

wanted or dared to inform the police at the next headquarters, of what was going on.

The Novgorod incident also gives some idea about the young hero, Hirsch Leckert, about his daring, his revolutionary temperament, his loyalty to comrades, his readiness to face any difficulties.

The police sent word to all the doctors that when a man with a split head was brought to them, or if they were called to a home where such a person was to be found, they were to notify the police immediately. This soon became known all over town. Hirsch Leckert and the wounded Chone Feivke dressed in women's clothes and travelled to Volkominir, a small town near Vilna. But there they were arrested and sent back to Vilna. Leckert himself escaped on the way, but Feivke was brought back and placed in a hospital.

Leckert did not rest. He immediately began to work out a plan to free Feivke from the hospital, where he lay in a ward under police guard. This was the plan. A group of visitors would come to visit Feivke. When the officer on guard left the room for a minute, some of the people would engage him in conversation in the corridor. In the meantime Feivke would dress in women's clothes, which would be brought to him, and he would leave the hospital. The plan succeeded. But a short time later, Chone Feivke and Leckert were again picked up.

Chone Feivke was placed in the Vilna Antokoler prison. He immediately began to plan another escape. When he was taken out on the daily short exercise walk in the court of the prison, he waited for the guard to turn away for a second. Then he nimbly climbed a pile of lumber that lay near the wall of the prison and leaped over to the other side. Dragoons, who were watering their horses at a nearby river, saw a man with a bandaged head jump from the prison wall. They began to shout and chase him. But in the tumult Chone succeeded in escaping.

Hirsch Leckert was kept in the Antokoler prison for nine months, and in the Petersburg prison, Kresti, another six months. After his prison sentence, he was exiled for two years in Yekaterinaslav under police guard. In early spring of 1902 he returned illegally to Vilna where his young wife and close friends were located. And although he was in great danger of being arrested again, he participated in the May First demonstration that year. . . .

May Day, 1902

On the first of May, 1902, Vilna gave a war-like impression. Cossacks rode through the main streets in order to break up the expected May Day demonstration. All kinds of rumors spread. Some said that von Wahl, the tsarist governor of Vilna, was planning to whip all those arrested during the demonstration, and that von Wahl's "enlightened Jew," Kliatschko, had put him up to it. Nevertheless, the demonstration began on Deitscher Street at seven, the hour agreed upon, when workers come home from work.

As soon as the workers unfurled the red flags and shouted a few revolutionary slogans, Cossacks dashed from their

hiding places in nearby courts, and beat and arrested the demonstrators. But that same evening, when von Wahl attended the State Theater, May First leaflets were showered from the balcony.

The following morning, von Wahl executed sentences that enraged not only Russia, but had repercussions throughout the world. Twenty-six of the arrested demonstrators, 20 Jews and six Poles, were subjected to public whipping. Von Wahl himself was present when the punishment was inflicted, as well as Vilna Police Chief Nazimov, Captain of the Gendarmes Fastrulin, Dro. Mihailov and other officials. Each prisoner was undressed and laid upon a bench. Two Cossacks held his hands and feet firmly, while his naked body was lashed with a wet knout. The doctor, in the meantime, watched the pulse of the victim, and advised how many lashes each could take, while von Wahl commanded urgently, "Harder! Harder! Harder!"

It is difficult now, almost a half century later, to communicate the terrible impression that this horrible punishment made upon the workers. Everyone felt that if something were not done soon to avenge this degrading insult to the revolutionary movement, everyone would be ashamed to look into his comrade's eyes.

The Russian social democrats¹ (the Bund² included) were outspoken in their opposition to individual terror because it weakened the initiative, the activity and the struggles of the broad masses. But in the statement they issued, they indicated that the horrible tactics adopted by von Wahl would drive the masses to acts of terror.

It was felt that such a disgraceful, and until then unheard of, act by a tsarist governor could not be left unanswered. Everyone waited for the act of vengeance to come as soon as possible.

Leckert Organizes Retribution

It was natural that a temperamental and impetuous young revolutionary such as Hirsch Leckert would be one of the first to want to answer von Wahl in language that was quite simple for Leckert—a bullet. Leckert went to work to organize a special group for the act of vengeance.

The group was composed of four Jewish and two Polish workers. As already indicated, both Vilna organizations—the Bund and the social democrats of Lithuania and Poland—opposed terrorism. But both organizations were aware of the existence of Leckert's group. When approaches were made to the local executive committee of the Bund to aid the group, the leader replied that the committee officially could not participate in it. But individual members, who sympathized with the act which the group was preparing to carry out, were ready to aid.

On May 5, at midnight, when von Wahl and his en-

¹ Prior to 1912, both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were known as social democrats. In 1902, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was still a united organization.

² The Bund was the organization of Jewish social democrats, which up to 1903 was affiliated with the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party as an autonomous body.

tourage left the circus at Lukishka, Leckert fired two shots at von Wahl, one hitting his hand, the other a foot. The plan of the group was that when Leckert fired his shots, another member of the group would begin firing away, and in the tumult that would follow Leckert would have an opportunity to escape. But the police knew Leckert too well and they arrested him immediately on the spot.

Ten days later, a military court condemned Leckert to death. On May 28 at sunrise, Hirsch Leckert was hanged at the military grounds. Present at the hanging were four battalions of soldiers, the Vilna *Rabbiner*,³ Rabbi Nemzer, a doctor, the prosecutor and other officials. Hirsch Leckert replied with contempt to the suggestion of the prosecutor, the *Rabbiner* and the rabbi that he confess, that he admit he regretted his act, that he tell who aided him, and other such proposals. He met his death courageously, proudly. Even the tsarist officials admired his heroic behavior to the last second of his life.

Thus was Hirsch Leckert murdered in his youth. With his act and his death he wrote a heroic and unforgettable chapter in the history of the revolutionary movement of the Jewish workers in Russia. Leckert passed into history as one of the heroes who fought and sacrificed their lives for the Russian revolution. (A short time after his death, his young wife gave birth to a child.)

Revolutionary Hero

The triumphant Russian Revolution of October 1917 valued the heroic Leckert as he had deserved and in the center of Minsk a Leckert memorial was erected. A whole literature in Russian and particularly in Yiddish has been written about Leckert. There are dramas, songs, accounts of his life and struggles, of his spirit, devotion and contributions to the revolutionary movement.

No act of terror at that time had gotten so much sympathy, so much acceptance among the workers as Leckert's attempted assassination of von Wahl. Even among other sections of the people, among the middle class, intellectuals and even among the richer circles there was satisfaction with Leckert's act. This opinion was expressed in the general approval of the statement that we printed for the Vilna committee.

The proclamation asserted that finally von Wahl had gotten something of what was coming to him. It was regretted that von Wahl had remained alive. The committee declared in the leaflet that the Vilna organization was proud that such a hero as Leckert was to be found in its ranks. The statement admitted that although social democrats did not believe in terror, they nevertheless joined all those who approved Leckert's act.

The same feeling of satisfaction with the effort to avenge the horrible punishment, spread through all the cities where

³ A rabbi appointed by the tsarist government to take care of Jewish local affairs and to act as an intermediary between the Jewish community and the government.

workers struggled against tsarism. What an effect Leckert's act had on the organizations of other cities, and the mood that it engendered can be seen from the following fact.

Several months after Leckert's act, in August 1902, the fifth conference of the Bund took place in Berdychiev. It adopted by a large majority a resolution on "organized vengeance" as an answer to police terror. The resolution

emphasized the fact that this did not mean that social democrats recognize terror as a "means of struggle" against the tsarist government, but that it was an act "to take vengeance against a degrading insult." However, in order that such individual acts should not be transformed into a system of terror, the social democratic party itself, and not single groups, must organize such acts in tsarist Russia.

RUSTY LINKS IN BEVIN'S CHAIN

By I. Rennap

THE recent flare up in Iraq over the signing of the new Anglo-Iraq Treaty which brought down the pro-British puppet government of Sayid Saleh Jabr, was symptomatic of the changes taking place today in the Middle East, particularly in regard to Britain's position in this area. These changes are closely linked with the UN's decision to settle the Palestine problem by setting up independent Arab and Jewish states in Palestine after the mandate had been surrendered by Britain.

Britain is hostile to this decision. Forced to retreat from one of its advanced bases in the Middle East, the surrender of the Palestine mandate has forced her to carry out a complete strategic re-grouping of bases. British foreign policy is closely linked with America's expansionist aims in which converting the Middle East into a *place d'armes* against the Soviet Union and the world democratic movements figures prominently. But British imperialism is also desperately striving to maintain its dominant position in the Arab world in the face of increasing American penetration on the one hand and, on the other, against the growing liberation movements of which the recent Iraq incident is a typical example.

This is reflected in Bevin's plan for "a new series of treaties regulating friendship with the Arab world" of which the new Anglo-Iraq Treaty signed at Portsmouth, England, was the first. In fact, this is an attempt to dig in more firmly in the face of growing pressure from both sides, by a closer alliance with the most reactionary sections of the Arab upper strata who also fear the growing strength of the liberation movements in their countries and the growing influence of the Soviet Union. These Arab reactionaries are the most implacable opponents of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. And this is largely why Britain opposes an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

Friends of the future Jewish state and social progress in the Middle East generally, will welcome the blow struck by the Iraqi people against imperialism and its native pup-

pets in refusing to accept the new Portsmouth Treaty. But if imperialist intrigues in the Middle East against the independence and self-determination of both the Arab and Jewish peoples are to be effectively combatted, then a clear understanding of the new relation of forces in the Middle East is essential.

Britain's Vital Base

"The Middle East still remains Britain's most vital base outside the U.K.," writes the Suez Canal correspondent of the Tory *Observer* (Jan. 25, 1948), commenting on Britain's withdrawal from Palestine and future British policy in the Middle East. "Since the British left India, the presence of strong British forces to cover the eastern Mediterranean as well as the Arab countries and Persia is even more important." Disturbed by the large number of British workshops and installations concentrated in the Middle East, particularly in Palestine and Egypt, together with the vast amount of war materials and trained military personnel, he concluded significantly that it is "imperative we retain control of the short sea and air route of the Mediterranean, thus safeguarding our communications with the Far East, Australia and New Zealand. To be able to operate this route our generals believe it is necessary to retain our war time air bases in Libya—in cooperation with America" (my emphasis—I.R.).

This "co-operation with America" has cost Britain in the Middle East very much in terms of strategic and economic spheres of influence. Weakened by World War II, Britain, under a Labor government that has long turned its back on international cooperation, has become so tied up with American war aims, that it has allowed its more powerful and rapacious "ally" to follow in Hitler's and Mussolini's footsteps.

Chamberlain's anti-Soviet "appeasement" policy led to Britain surrendering strategic key points to the fascists and permitting them to extend their influence into the Middle East countries. Today that same opposition to the Soviet Union and the strengthened liberation movements in the Middle East has led to Britain surrendering to America

I. RENNAP is a British journalist specializing on Middle East affairs.

"traditional" spheres of influence within her imperial lines of communication with access to the vast oil resources in that area.

America Muscles In

For over a century British eastern policy meant guarding the eastern Mediterranean approaches to the Middle East against rivals. Tsarist Russia's ambitions last century led to the Crimean War, and Kaiser Wilhelm's imperialist *Drang nach Osten* had its sequel in World War I. Today the Labor government's support for the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan has made Turkey, Greece and Italy into American colonial appendages. The eastern Mediterranean is becoming more and more an American lake with the U.S. straddling this strategic gateway. But this appears preferable to the horrible nightmare plaguing high Whitehall officials, described so succinctly by the well-informed *Observer* columnist, "Student of Europe."

Writing on Greece and the Middle East situation, he says: "With Greece in the hands of the Cominform, Turkey would be encircled, the Straits turned, Persia (Iran) all but inaccessible from the West, the Russian Navy and Air Force would dominate the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red army would be face to face with the weak Arab States and defenseless Africa. *Russia would hold the key to the Suez Canal.*" (My emphasis—I.R.) So in the name of "joint merging of British and U.S. Defense Plans," British airfields in Libya are being handed over to America. A recent Italian News Agency report reveals that American engineering troops are busily at work on these airfields.

At the other end of the Middle East, Iran, so long a "traditional" British dependency through Britain's exploitation of her oil resources, is now being converted into an American military base. The recent Soviet note to the Iranian government revealed how far the Americans had erected airfields and fortifications on the Iran-Soviet frontier. Saudi Arabia, with whom Britain has a treaty of friendship, and whose coffers have so long been filled by the British treasury, is rapidly becoming an American oil colony with ARAMCO (Arabian American Oil Corporation) wielding a powerful influence over the country's economy and at the royal palace. Together with this has taken place increased American capital penetration into Palestine, Syria and Lebanon, and into Egypt.

Squeezed hard by her senior "partner" on the one hand and the growing peoples' movements in Egypt and Iraq on the other, the UN's decision on Palestine, thanks largely to the stand taken by the Soviet Union, was an additional blow which also contributed towards the new shifts being made by Britain to meet the changing pattern in the Middle East. It made no small contribution, in the words of the *Economist*, to Britain's needs to completely overhaul the chain of British treaties stretching from the Aegian to the Indian Ocean, some of whose links had become badly strained.

First link for "overhauling" was the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1930 with a view, in Bevin's words, "to remove every-

thing objectionable in it." This treaty, which replaced the mandate over Iraq and gave it a semblance of sovereignty, permitted Britain to maintain two RAF bases near the Mosul-Haifa-Tripoli pipeline and to guard Britain's air and land communications with India. Britain could, during an emergency, control Iraq's airfields, ports, railways and communications generally and send in troops.

Politically, Britain ruled through her Hashimite (royal house of Iraq and Transjordan) puppets. Economically, Britain controlled the country's oil and other economic resources, railways, ports and currency. Yet according to the *London Times* editorial (Jan. 16, 1948) this treaty "did not in practice suffice to protect Britain's exceptional position in Iraq." The Portsmouth Treaty was to "rectify" this behind a facade of a Joint Defense Board with formal equality of British and American representation.

Widely trumpeted was Britain's surrender of her right to maintain troops in Iraq—but only "when the Allied forces are withdrawn from the territory of all ex-enemy states." Commenting on this the *London Daily Telegraph* reminded that "it would be pleasant but misleading to suggest that ex-enemy states were soon likely to cease to be occupied. Even on that far day however the Joint Defense Board may decide that the RAF is still required, in the common interest, to use these bases" (my emphasis—I.R.).

The bases referred to are the ones which Bevin made such a great show of handing back to Iraq. But the new treaty still permitted British personnel to work there with the RAF having the right to use them. The new treaty would permit Britain in an emergency to send in troops of all arms, with the Iraqi government having to provide facilities for the use of the country's airfields, railways, ports and lines of communications generally. Iraq's foreign military personnel were to be all British and her own were to receive training only in British military establishments, while her arms and equipment would be similar to the British.

Middle East Repercussions

These monstrous terms, which really tightened Britain's grip on Iraq, also had repercussions in the adjacent Arab countries. The *Manchester Guardian's* Cairo correspondent reported Egyptian newspapers stressing how the Egyptian people, too, over a year ago, exposed a similar Joint Defense Board which Britain tried to palm off on them during the negotiations then proceeding on "revising" the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, which even the reactionary Egyptian government dared not accept. These papers, says this correspondent, declared quite openly that the fate of the Portsmouth Treaty should be "a warning for Britain against persisting in such plans, especially with minority governments." He concludes significantly "that present day developments in Iraq have doomed Mr. Bevin's hope of an Anglo-Arab joint defense plan in the Middle East" (Jan. 29, 1948).

This conclusion appears to be borne out by the abortive

results of the negotiations with Transjordan, the next "link" which came up for overhauling. Granted an illusory independence under the Anglo-Transjordan Treaty of 1946 which ended the mandate and converted the country into a British garrison with nearly 150,000 troops, a Transjordan delegation, with Brigadier Glubb Pasha, Commander of the Transjordan Frontier Arab Legion, has been negotiating the "revision" of this treaty in conditions of the utmost secrecy. On Feb. 8 the negotiations ended and an official communique was issued which, strangely, the well-informed diplomatic correspondent of the London *Sunday Times* (Feb. 9, 1948) described as "uninformative." Reynolds' diplomatic correspondent found it not so "uninformative" by stating outrightly "that the talks with Transjordan . . . ended in deadlock last night. Having before them the example of Iraq, the Transjordan delegation refused to sign a new treaty which includes military clauses."

That the servile Abdullah should have refused to sign another treaty granting Britain additional bases in Transjordan for the reception of British troops about to pull out of Palestine, indicates that the Hashimite puppets have taken note of what happened only a few weeks ago. So the next link in Bevin's chain still remains "unoverhauled" and his plans for making Iraq and Transjordan the two advanced bases in the reorganized British "defense" set-up has received a severe blow.¹ This will not be very helpful with the work planned to proceed on the next "link," Egypt. Tass's Cairo correspondent reports that the British ambassador, who has been in London to consult on Anglo-Egyptian relations, has brought back a "recommendation" from the British government that a new Egyptian government be set up to negotiate a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

Another "link" long overdue for overhauling is Saudi Arabia. Reports were prevalent some weeks ago that a delegation was to arrive and negotiate a new treaty. Now it is definitely reported that the Saudi government has refused to negotiate. The American-backed opposition of Ibn Saud to the British sponsored "Greater Syria" scheme of a British-controlled Arab bloc under King Abdullah of Transjordan, Ibn Saud's hated rival, is still a very sore problem for Whitehall's "overhauled."

Bevin and the Jewish State

Verily, some of the links in Bevin's chain have become very rusty indeed. The UN decision on Palestine has thus aggravated British imperialism's difficulties in the Middle East which drive it towards closer relations with Arab reaction behind a facade of seeking new "defense" pacts.

The Soviet Union's stand at the UN proposing partition as the best solution in the present circumstances as a means of prying Palestine loose from the sphere of Anglo-American power politics in the Middle East, has been more than vindicated.

¹ Since this article was received, announcement was made that an Anglo-Transjordan "reciprocal defense" treaty was signed on March 15.—Eds.

Friends of the future Jewish state in Palestine cannot remain impartial to these new shifts in imperialist policies in the Middle East.

British Middle East policy today must, by its very nature, oppose independent Jewish statehood in Palestine. It cannot ignore the hostility to a Jewish state of the Arab reactionaries, who are using it as a red herring to trail across the path of the real independence struggles in their countries and to distract from growing economic difficulties. Iraq is a typical instance. Dr. Jamali, the late foreign minister, was one of the most vociferous opponents of partition at Lake Success. Neither would an independent Jewish state lend itself so easily to imperialist power politics in the Middle East, as did the *Yishuv* in the past through the policy of the dominant pro-imperialist Zionist leaders.

Bevin's "chain," which he is trying to "overhaul" with such great difficulty, means strangulation for a Jewish state, no less than it does for the independent aspirations of the Arab peoples. This is the lesson for Zionist and non-Zionist.

Jewish Leadership and Imperialism

There are today Zionist leaders who have not yet learned from the experience of the last tragic years. They still cling to the coattails of British imperialism forced to retreat from Palestine saying, in effect: The Jewish state can be a more dependable ally than the Arabs.

"We must achieve once again that cooperation between Great Britain and ourselves without which a great deal of our work in Palestine . . . could never have been done," said Dr. Weizmann in a message to the conference of the Zion Federation of Great Britain in February. And Rabbi Berlin, the Mizrahi leader, called it "stupidity" for the Jews to "break" with Britain. The "Exodus," the concentration camps for Jews in Palestine and North Africa, the emergency decrees, the curfews, have taught these Zionist bourgeois nothing.

But within the *Yishuv* there is growing opposition to such a policy. It can be said quite definitely that since the historic Gromyko-Tsarapkin declarations, there has taken place a great strengthening of the anti-imperialist elements in the *Yishuv*, Zionist and non-Zionist. Every democrat has welcomed the merging of Hashomair Hatzair and Achduth Avodah Paale Zion into a united Left Labor Zionist Party in opposition to the right wing leaders of Mapai and the Histadruth, armed with a progressive program of friendship with the Arab people inside and outside the future Jewish state, opposition to imperialism and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the new democracies and the world progressive movements. Better relations have been established with the Palestine Communist Party.

The resignation of Dr. Moshe Sneh from the Jewish Agency dominated by the Weizmanns and Berlins revealed that even among the bourgeois Zionists there is a ferment going on. In Sneh's article² in *L'Achduth Avodah* (January

² This article was reprinted in *JEWISH LIFE*, March 1948.—Eds.

8, 1948), organ of the new left United Workers Party, he gave the main reasons for his resignation.

He showed that first and foremost it is British imperialism that is the mortal enemy of the Jewish state and that the most consistent friend of the Jewish state is the Soviet Union, determined to see its establishment through to the bitter end. America he depicts as vacillating and uncertain. But outstanding is Dr. Sneh's recognition that the Zionist movement is cutting its throat by orientating towards Anglo-American imperialism. This Zionist leader, who was so profoundly impressed by the status of the Jews in the new democracies, particularly in Rumania, and was honest enough to say this openly, declares there can only be one orientation and that is an independent international one based on the truly democratic forces in the world.

Thus has the anti-imperialist front been broadened, despite the Zionist bourbons, to an unprecedented degree. Zionists and non-Zionists have now the widest possible ground to cooperate in the struggle for the implementation of the UN decision on Palestine.

This will not be easy. Most formidable enemy is British present policy of creating in its wake when forced to retreat, a "scorched earth" of communal conflict and bloodshed, hoping thereby that it may not have to get out so quickly. By turning a blind eye to the procurement of arms by Arab bands and the infiltration into Palestine of so-called Arab "guerrillas" from the adjacent countries, while disarming

whole Haganah detachments, Britain is tipping off its Arab allies to "do their stuff." *Al Ittihad*, organ of the Arab Left and the most progressive section of the Palestine Arabs, has been banned. This paper has been appealing to the Arab people not to fall into the imperialist trap and allow itself to be incited by the Arab Higher Executive into armed attacks on Jews. It has reminded the Arabs that partition means also independence for Palestine.

Again, to deliberately keep out the UN Commission until May 1, a fortnight before the mandate is surrendered, and to refuse to open a port for the reception of Jewish immigrants in accordance with the UN decision, is typical Bevinist flaunting of all that is good and progressive. Nor does America raise a finger to stop this open treachery to UN. This American "non-intervention," writes Dr. Sneh, helps Britain in her work of sabotage in Palestine.

Thus the struggle for an independent and progressive Jewish state which will cooperate with the Arab state and the best elements in the Arab world, is the struggle today against imperialist power politics in the Middle East. Only unity can confound Bevin's "friendship pacts," which mean death to the national aspirations of Jews and Arabs alike. Real friendship can be attained only if both the Jewish and Arab states adopt such forms of cooperation which will eventually lead to their unity in a federal bi-national Palestine, the state form best suited to give the fullest freedom for the aspirations of both peoples.

I'M INSULTED BY MY DICTIONARY

A Short Story

By Yuri Suhl

UNCLE PHILIP was not very popular with the family.

They had nothing against him personally. He was a likable fellow, a devoted husband and, what was most important, a good provider. He had a steady job and made a nice living. True, he was not religious. But that was forgivable in America. America was not Europe. Didn't their own children grow up to be *goyim*? Didn't they stop donning the phylacteries soon after the *bar-mitzvah*? Didn't they work on the day of rest, the Sabbath? Yes, America was *treif* to the bone and Jews more pious than Uncle Philip had succumbed to it. It was his political views they were dead set against. He was a *linker* (left-winger).

When he read the *Forvertz* it was bad enough, but when he switched from that to the *Freiheit*, it was like switching to another faith, a veritable conversion. For now he was, heaven forbid, something that was always mentioned in lowered tones, and only after looking about, furtively, to

make sure that no stranger was within earshot—a regular *kaminist*!

"Poor Molly," they would shake their heads, sympathetically, "She's such a kosher, innocent soul, so it had to happen to her!" But they were kind enough to absolve her of the blame for this unfortunate choice. "Nu," they would reason magnanimously, "after all, you can't look into a man's heart and see what will become of him later. When she married him he was a nice man. She probably suffers plenty, believe me."

The truth was she didn't suffer at all. She had worked in various shops as a dressmaker before she got married and it was in one of these shops that she had met her future husband. Her sewing machine was next to the table where he worked as a presser and she had had ample time to observe him and get to know him well. He was respected by all the workers in the shop for his courage in standing up against the corrupt union delegate who always sided with the boss. During their courtship she accompanied him to union meetings and sometimes even to political rallies. But, after they got married, she considered the building of

YURI SUHL is a prominent Yiddish poet who has completed his first novel in English, of which this story is an excerpt.

a home her primary duty and devoted all her time to it. He took it for granted that she shared his political views and she never gave any indication to the contrary. They lived in harmony. Their disagreements were always of a minor domestic nature and they never developed into serious quarrels. It was only in the eyes of the family that she "suffered plenty."

Uncle Feivish was more vociferous in his disapproval of Uncle Philip than any other member of the family. He considered it a personal tragedy that such an outcast should be a relative of his. "I'd be less ashamed of him were he a thief," he said. "For a thief there is, at least, the hope that he might some day repent and reform. But a reader of the *Freiheit*, a *kaminist*, such a one is beyond redemption."

Whenever my father was present at such discussions, Uncle Feivish would turn his head toward him and nod accusingly, "He's your brother-in-law."

"So what should I do?" my father would spread his hands apart, "disown him? Declare war on him? He is not so much my brother-in-law as he is my sister's husband, and if she's satisfied, I am satisfied, too."

"Very nice, very nice," he would say sarcastically, wrapping a hand around his big beard. "Maybe you, too, should start reading the *Freiheit*?"

"And what would you do if he were your brother-in-law?"

"Thank God he isn't," Uncle Feivish snapped. "I don't even consider him part of the family. Molly, that's another matter. She's an innocent calf and doesn't know any better. But you are defending him yet."

"Who's defending him?"

"That's enough already, that's enough!" Aunt Sarah would chime in. "After all, what do you want from Chaim? Did she ask his advice? He was in Pedayetz and she was here. What do you want from his life?"

"I like very much when my wife mixes in when she knows nothing what it's about," was Uncle Feivish's favorite retort to his wife.

"Mama is right, Pa," Cousin Lena once said. "What Philip believes is his own private affair. You're a Democrat and you wouldn't like it if somebody came and forced you to become a Republican, would you, Pa?"

"Very nice, very nice," he said, taking his beard in his hand. "So you compare the Democrats and Republicans with the *kaminists*. And you call yourself educated yet. Very nice, very nice."

I LIKED UNCLE PHILIP AND WAS PAINED TO HEAR SUCH TALK about him. What was he guilty of anyway? He read a Yiddish newspaper called *Freiheit* which was sold on all newsstands together with many other newspapers. My father and Uncle Feivish read the *Jewish Morning Journal*, Cousin Lena, the *Daily News*, and I, the *Graphic* because of its daily physical culture page. For his three cents Uncle Philip was entitled to choose any newspaper he wanted and he chose the *Freiheit*. What was wrong with that?

That made him a *kaminist*, Uncle Feivish said. What

was a *kaminist*? If I liked Uncle Philip, did that make me a *kaminist*, too? What if the family found out about it? If being a *kaminist* was so terrible, then, maybe I had better stop liking him. Why did I like him anyway? Either I knew why I liked him and defended him, or I stopped liking him and sided openly with the family. These questions plagued me and robbed me of my peace of mind.

One day I found the answer and was satisfied. I liked Uncle Philip because he was the only member of the family who took an interest in my night school studies.

To Uncle Feivish and Aunt Sarah school was something connected with the law of the land. If your children played hookey from school, a truant officer visited your home. That was bad. One should not antagonize the law. Then came a day when the children were no longer within the law's reach. They were able to go to work and bring home a weekly pay envelope to help support the family. That brought the school period to a close. An ambitious boy found another job at night to supplement his earnings. That was commendable. To their mind there was nothing praiseworthy about my going to school at night. I was a butcher boy and would some day be a full-fledged butcher, Proprietor Sol Kenner. That was supposed to be my goal.

My father, who had a great respect for learning, wanted me to display the same zeal and ambition for the Talmud and the Hebrew prophets that I showed for my school work. Often he would shake his head and say, "Your own garden abounds with precious and thirst-quenching fruits, but you abandon it for the garden of strangers."

It was Uncle Philip who never failed to ask me how I was getting along in school, and always encouraged me to go on. One Sunday afternoon he had a long talk with me about it.

"I give you credit, Sol," he said. "You rise at five in the morning to work all day in a butcher store, then you go to school at night. Yes, you deserve credit. But you should know that there are a lot of things to learn outside of school. There are things that school teaches you and things that school keeps from you. These you have to find out for yourself." He paused to wait for his words to sink in.

"What things do you mean, Uncle?" I asked.

He looked away and smiled. "How shall I explain it to you?" he said, as though talking to himself. "You can be educated, even be a college man, and not know what's going on around you, in front of your own nose. You understand?"

I shook my head. I thought a college man was supposed to know everything. I hoped to go to college some day.

"I'll ask you a simple question," he said, looking straight at me, "let's see if you know the answer. What are you?"

That was certainly simple, I thought, and answered at once, "I am a Jew and an American. An American Jew."

"That's true," he said, "but you're also a proletarian. Did they ever tell you in school that you are a proletarian?"

I looked at him, puzzled. I didn't even know the meaning of the word and was ashamed to admit it. "No," I said, "but maybe we didn't come to it yet."

"That's what I mean," he said, spreading his hands apart, triumphantly, like one winning a point in an argument.

"I'll look it up in the dictionary," I said, and opened my school bag that I always carried around with me.

"You don't have to," he said. "I'll tell you the meaning without the dictionary. A proletarian is a worker, a wage earner."

WHAT WAS MY UNCLE DOING, I THOUGHT TO MYSELF, DISCOVERING America all over again? Of course I was a worker, a wage earner. But did I have to wait for my teachers to reveal that to me? As for the definition of "proletarian," that was another matter, and I wasn't going to take my uncle's word for it. I had my own method of learning English and enlarging my vocabulary. That was why I carried the dictionary with me wherever I went. Whenever I came across a word that I didn't understand, I looked it up in the dictionary. Then I copied down the whole sentence or paragraph in which I found the new word, to make sure that I knew how it was applied.

My pockets were full of such notebooks, crammed with words, definitions and sentences. When I waited for a train, a trolley car, or when there was nothing to do in the butcher store, I would take out one of these notebooks and commit to memory a newly-acquired word and its meaning. Each day, after work, when I wrote a composition for my English class, I would use the new words in my own sentences to prove to myself that I really knew their meaning. And now I was to add a new word to my vocabulary—a proletarian.

My uncle stood over me, watching me intently and smiling mischievously, as though he were witnessing the performance of a trick. I found the word and read the definition silently to myself. Then, as though my mind did not believe what my eyes saw, I read it out loud, slowly, pausing after each word:

proletarian adj. pertaining to the common people: low; vulgar; n. one of the lowest class of society; a workman; in ancient Rome the lowest class of citizens.

A heavy silence fell over the room. I stared at my uncle and he stared at me. He was no longer smiling. His face was tense and serious. He was as surprised and shocked by the definition as I was. He bent down over the dictionary to see the words with his own eyes. When he was through, he pushed the dictionary angrily away from him. "Low, vulgar," he muttered with bitterness, as though he were gnashing the words with his teeth. "That's what they think of you."

"That's not true," I said, with indignation. "My teachers don't think that about me. They think I am a good student. My English teacher gives me an 'A' for every composition."

"I don't mean them," he waved his hand impatiently. "You think that a teacher knows everything? They, too, have a lot to learn. It's not their fault and I only blame them for their ignorance, that's all. It's the people who do the hiring and the firing, who hold your bread and butter in their hands, that are to blame. Sure, why not? You're

low and vulgar, a piece of dirt, the lowest class in society, so you don't deserve any better and they can exploit you with an easy conscience."

I pondered the meaning of my uncle's words and understood it vaguely, but when I tried to apply it to my own life, it made no sense to me. I didn't feel low, or vulgar, or like a piece of dirt. When Mr. Resnik refused to raise my salary, I left him and found another job. If Mr. Simkin should refuse to give me a raise, I would do the same. I was studying hard and getting ahead in school. I thought I was doing fine in America. But now my uncle injected a doubt into my mind. Maybe I was fooling myself? Maybe I could do even better but somebody was holding me back? I was confused and wanted an answer to these questions.

"It must be a mistake, Uncle," I said, apologetically. "Tomorrow I'll go to the public library and look up the word in the big dictionary. I'm sure it'll have a different definition."

My uncle laughed. "I can see you are still naive. You think it is all a matter of words and definitions. It goes deeper than that. It is the whole system."

So first it was those who hired and fired, and now it was the system. I wondered what my uncle would think of next.

"I hope you know what system I'm talking about," my uncle said.

I thought a moment and said, "No, I don't know."

"Don't tell me you never heard of the capitalist system," he said, with surprise.

"No," I said, guiltily, "I never heard of it."

My uncle looked straight at me and shook his head sadly, as though he had just received some shocking news, the credibility of which he was still doubting. Then he turned around abruptly, put his hands behind his back and began to pace the floor. My face reddened with embarrassment. I couldn't forgive myself for having exposed my ignorance so openly. I, the student, the high school boy, had to learn new words from my uncle, the presser. I vowed to myself, silently, to be more conscientious about increasing my English vocabulary.

"How should I even begin to explain it to you?" he said, shrugging his shoulders, "when you have to start from the alphabet, from the very beginning."

TANTE MOLLY, WHO HAD BEEN IN ANOTHER ROOM PUTTING the baby to sleep and had overheard our conversation, now came into the kitchen and said, "Whatsematter with you, Philip? What do you want from him? He is still a boy. Let him enjoy himself yet. Do you have to teach him the whole Torah in one day? He'll have plenty time to find out about these things later, believe me."

"*Mazl-tov!*" Uncle Philip said sarcastically. "She falls down from the clear sky and gives advice! What is he, an American, *boytchik* who plays ball all day and hangs around on the street corner all night? He is working for a living already and goes to school, too. He's a man already, even if in years he is still a boy. He should know these things now. It's for his own good."

Much as I appreciated *Tante Molly's* intercession in my behalf, I found myself siding with Uncle Philip, not because I was interested in his views, but because he had raised me to the status of a man in spite of my not-quite-seventeen years, and slight physical stature.

"Uncle Philip is right," I said to *Tante Molly*. "I'm not a boy anymore. I'm a man already."

"Nu," Uncle Philip said with triumph, "he understands better than you."

"Awright, awright," she said. "So I didn't say anything, and forget about it. If he's satisfied, I'm satisfied, too."

My uncle stared vacantly ahead of him like a man trying to remember something. Then he tapped his forehead lightly and said, "Yes, capitalism. But how should I begin to explain it to you?"

"Shall I look it up in the dictionary, Uncle?" I suggested timidly.

"The dictionary," he said nodding. "Awright," he shrugged, "look it up in the dictionary. What can you lose?"

I found the word and read the definition out loud: "Capitalism, noun, the possession of capital; especially its concentration in the hands of a few; the power of combined capital."

"That's right, that's right," he said, "but the capital doesn't fly in through the chimney, and it doesn't fall into their pockets by itself. Where do they get it from?"

I looked at him blankly, afraid to venture even a guess.

"I'll tell you," he said, "from us, the proletarians."

This was a disturbing revelation to me. I had never suspected that I was in any way involved in such sinister schemes.

"How should I explain it to you?" my uncle said, pulling up a chair and seating himself across from me. "Take myself, for instance. I'm a worker in a dress shop, a presser, a real proletarian. Suppoe I want to open my own shop and become my own boss. Is it possible? No. Why? So I'll explain you why. The first thing you have to have is capital—money—which I haven't got and which I'll never have unless a rich uncle of mine dies and leaves me a big legacy. But my uncle in America died a poor man, and my uncle in Rumania is so poor that I have to send him a few dollars for Passover every year. So we're back where we started—no capital. But suppose that a miracle happens and I do get a hold of some money, so you think that's enough? Not yet. I now have to hire workers, and if I'm to stay in business I have to exploit them. But what if you haven't the heart to exploit other people? And you have to eat and your family has to eat. So you're a worker. What then are you going to be? So if you're a worker, a proletarian, the dictionary comes and insults you, and calls you low and vulgar, the lowest class in society. Now you understand what I mean when I say that they don't teach you everything in school?"

AT THIS POINT I UNDERSTOOD MY UNCLE WELL, BUT SOMEHOW I FELT DETACHED FROM IT ALL. I HAD NO AMBITION TO BE-

come a business man. What I wanted most was to graduate from high school so that I could go to college. With this goal in mind I studied hard, utilizing every spare moment available to me. I also wanted to be a prize fighter and, although this goal did not loom as large and important as the other, I continued with my daily body-building exercises, and kept myself informed on the latest events in the world of pugilism. In the meantime, I was a butcher boy, a temporary proletarian. So why did I have to be so concerned about the permanent proletarians?

I was troubled and confused. I liked my uncle and wanted to agree with him, but what he had just said appealed so much to my reason that it was disturbing. I was living in a nice world, a world full of hopes and triumphs where each day was a step closer to the attainment of goals I cherished. Now he had done something to this world, he had spoiled it for me. But what disturbed me even more was that now my faith in the dictionary was shaken. For it was there, black on white, for me to see that the dictionary I had so much respect for was insulting me, my uncle, and had once insulted my father when he, too, was a proletarian, a furniture wiper on Avenue B.

A feeling of resentment welled up in me against my uncle. I wanted him to be wrong. I wanted my world whole again. In my desire to discredit his views in my eyes, my thoughts turned to Uncle Feivish and drew comfort from his attacks on him. Maybe Uncle Feivish is right? Maybe Uncle Philip had spoiled something for him, too.

"Are you a *kaminist*, Uncle?" I said, almost involuntarily, wondering why I had asked.

My uncle looked at me sharply, as though the question had startled him.

"Uncle Feivish called you one," I added quickly, trying to clear myself of the responsibility of the charge.

He smiled and nodded thoughtfully. "*Kaminist*," he snarled. "Uncle Feivish doesn't even know what the word means. I know what he thinks about me and what he talks about me. You don't have to tell me. He had a grocery, so he thinks he's in business already. He's afraid they'll take it away from him. That's all the *kaminists* have to do is worry about Feivish's grocery. He doesn't know that he is worse off than a worker. A worker at least has a union to protect him and he gets paid for overtime. But your Uncle Feivish is a slave to his grocery store from five in the morning till twelve at night, and what has he got to show for it? Nothing. So he blames the *kaminists*." He turned to *Tante Molly* and said, throwing his hands up in the air, "And that's your family!"

"I like my family," she said, calmly continuing to stir the contents of a pot on the gas range. "Uncle Feivish did plenty for me, believe me. So he doesn't like the *kaminists*, so what's the big sin? Some like them and some don't. So what shall I do, disown him for that?"

"Who tells you to disown him? God forbid! Keep him to a hundred and twenty years. All I say is that I'm glad he's on your side of the family and not on mine."

"The way you talk," *Tante* Molly said, "one would think you descend from a line of great rabbis, or *Graf* Pototzky himself."

"At least I'm not ashamed of my family."

And I'm ashamed? It's awright. With all his faults he is still my uncle and I like him. He did plenty for me, believe me."

"What did he do so much for you, he went to Ellis Island to meet you? Any *landsman* would do that."

"Only that? And where did I sleep and eat the first six weeks? In his house. That's nothing by you? After all, he's not a millionaire."

My uncle made no reply, but from the casual wave of his hand I understood that his silence was not to be taken as

an admission of defeat. He was simply bored by it all. So bored, in fact, that he did not resume his discussion with me and my question about whether he was or was not a *kaminist* remained unanswered. But I was no longer disturbed about it. *Tante* Molly said that some liked them and some didn't, and if it was a matter of two opinions on the subject, I could choose the one that suited me best. This was a gratifying thought. But what about the dictionary? Could there be two opinions about that, too? As I put the dictionary back into my school bag, I felt as though I were touching an enemy. I decided that tomorrow I would go to the public library and look up the word "proletarian" in the biggest dictionary of them all. I hoped, fervently, that it would not insult me.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE "FIGHTS" ANTI-SEMITISM

Second of a Series

By Louis Harap

THE American Jewish Committee is an organization of Jewish Big Business whose Jewish interests are distorted by and subordinated to its class interests. The paramountcy of class interests dominates the so-called "defense" activities which are the main public reason for the existence of the AJC.

The crux of AJC technique for "fighting" anti-Semitism is the notorious "hush-hush" tactic. This means so far as possible to prevent participation by Jews in "defense" activity. Where this is not possible, the tactic is to minimize such Jewish activity. Although the AJC has adhered to this technique throughout its 41 years, the name was changed about a year ago to "silent treatment" and given a pseudo-scientific varnish. Same dose, new label. But more of this later.

The AJC admitted the bankruptcy of this policy in a secret memorandum sent to a few key Jewish leaders at the end of the pre-war phase of the fascist extermination offensive against the Jewish people in 1941. The memorandum was signed "S.W.," undoubtedly Sidney Wallach, then associate secretary of the AJC. "In the past four years (1937-1941—L.H.)," said Wallach, "the expanded activities of the American Jewish Committee have for the most part been intended as a counterattack on the nazis and their propaganda in general, on the theory that in discrediting these, nazi anti-Semitism would be pushed out of the limelight of public attention and incidentally discredited along with them. . . . But our inherently limited appeal was not likely to achieve more than limited results. . . . But the most important disadvantage arises from the fact that in deciding to devote our major energies to this appeal to self interest, we consciously decided to allow the gravest accusations against the Jews to go relatively unchallenged: we

not only did not contest the charges, we decided in effect to put up no defense." (Emphasis mine—L.H.) In other words, the AJC admits that it deliberately abandoned the defense of the Jews against nazism.

The Jewish big business element, reinforced by its petty-bourgeois social democratic allies (The Jewish Labor Committee), has been the leading advocate of hush-hush among the Jewish people. Their aim has been to keep the Jewish people and their problems out of the public eye both in name and in fact, so far as possible. They have tried to reduce anti-Semitism as a public issue to a minimum. The AJC has tried to keep Jews in the background and to have non-Jews, so far as possible, carry on the fight while it provides the funds. The AJC tries to smooth over anti-Semitic manifestations by back-room negotiations with powerful public figures and puts its reliance on getting action on the top governmental levels. Greatest effort is exerted to prevent bringing mass pressure to bear, or action by the Jewish masses, against anti-Semitism.

No one, least of all the AJC itself, would dispute the fact that its activity against anti-Semitism and discrimination not only avoids, but tries to stifle, mass pressure through its influence on important officials in Jewish organizations and by its domination of the co-ordinating Jewish "defense" body, the National Community Relations Advisory Council. The AJC rather engages in "educational" campaigns which make an inoffensive generalized attack on group prejudice. The avoidance of militancy can be gauged from a typical review of the problem by John Slawson, AJC executive vice-president.¹ Nowhere in

¹ John Slawson, "Some Approaches to the Problem of Anti-Semitism," *Programming Community Relations in the Present Period*, National Community Relations Advisory Council, 1947.

Slawson's entire statement of methods to combat prejudice is there any intimation that *the community must be roused to action on specific issues*. The operation of the AJC in the community is in fact to cut off such concrete action, where it cannot be prevented altogether. This, in practical terms, is the meaning of hush-hush.

Silence Over Ford

Evidence of this AJC practice is plentiful. Several egregious cases prior to the "silent treatment" camouflage will be cited here.

A flagrant example is the Ford case.² After sponsoring for a few years the most virulent anti-Semitic publications ever to appear in America, Henry Ford felt public displeasure by a drop in sales of his cars. In 1927, Ford therefore sent a public letter of apology to Louis Marshall, then head of the AJC. The AJC has subsequently trotted out this letter to hush up the campaign against the later anti-Semitic and pro-fascist activities of the Ford Company. Henry Ittelson, Sr., an AJC executive committee member, attempted to use the facilities of the AJC to protect his personal financial interest. Ittelson in 1940 was chairman of the Commercial Investment Trust Company, which did a business of tens of millions of dollars financing Ford dealers. Ittelson and his son, Henry Ittelson, Jr. tried unsuccessfully to prevent the publication of a pamphlet in 1940 exposing Henry Ford's leadership among anti-Jewish elements.

The AJC has persistently tried ever since to suppress any effort to reveal Ford's anti-Semitic and pro-fascist activities and connections. When a sensational exposure of the pro-fascist agents employed by Ford, such as the then personnel director, William J. Cameron, and the aid given by Ford employees to fascists, was made in "Merchants of Hate," a series in *Friday Magazine* in 1940, the AJC went into action. Inter-Racial Press, an agency handling advertising for the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press, tried to bribe this press not to reprint or carry advertisements for this series by strongly suggesting that the reward would be generous Ford advertising. Joseph Brainin states that Inter-Racial Press "unquestionably collaborated with the American Jewish Committee in the Ford whitewash campaign."³ The smell of red herring hung heavily over the whole affair.

Resistance is "Futile"

What did the AJC do to defend the Jews during the Hitler terror of the thirties? A groundswell of demand by American Jewry to protest met with the usual fearful response from the AJC. In 1932 the AJC consulted "Jewish leaders" in Germany about what American Jews could do

² This shameful episode is set forth in documented detail by Joseph Brainin in two *Protestant* articles, "American Jewish Committee—II," March, 1944, pp. 15-16, 56; and "The Great Ford Lie," May, 1944, pp. 10-14. I have drawn upon these articles here.

³ J. Brainin, "The Great Ford Lie," *The Protestant*, May, 1944, p. 11.

for the Jews of Germany. And who were these "leaders"? No doubt they were the wealthy, "prudent" and "discreet" German Jews who thought that Hitler would not be so bad, if only he weren't anti-Semitic. These "leaders," says the AJC Annual Report for 1933, "were not in favor of any steps in their behalf being taken in this country to counteract the vicious propaganda of which they were the victims. The Jews of Germany had full confidence in the civil rights provisions of Germany's constitution, and in the sobriety and sense of justice of their non-Jewish fellow-citizens and did not think it would be wise for Jews in other countries to take any hand in the German situation."

On the basis of this opinion, which, curiously enough, coincided with that of the AJC, a joint committee of the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith and the AJC decided in February 1933 "that public agitation in this country was unwise." The American Jewish Congress was not too happy over this agreement. After Hitler came to power in March 1933 Congress decided that something had to be done to mobilize public opinion here. Congress therefore called an historic mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on March 27, 1933, which was followed by protest mass meetings in 3,000 cities. Congress also held a stirring parade in New York City on May 10. In August, Congress adopted the boycott campaign against Nazi Germany.

B'nai B'rith and the AJC continued to disapprove of this campaign. Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, present president of the AJC, was then chairman of the AJC policy committee. His organization, he said, "definitely, unequivocally disapproved" of the boycott. "Expression of such indignation," he continued, "should be restrained in order not to make more difficult the already critical situation of the Jews of Germany." Jewish organizations (which ones?) and individuals in Europe, he said, agreed with this decision against mass demonstrations. Said a joint committee of the two organizations: "We nevertheless consider such forms of agitation as boycotts, parades, mass meetings, and similar demonstrations as futile." What they feared, they said, was that agitation by Jews would identify Nazism in the public mind with anti-Semitism, instead of with anti-democracy. What they really feared, however, was calling undue attention to themselves as Jews. For its part, the AJC was satisfied to make polite official protests to the United States government.

Appeasing Clerical Reaction

Another phase of the AJC hush-hush policy is its appeasement of clerical reactionaries. Actually this is a double-action policy: on the one hand, cooperation with those reactionaries, thinks the AJC, is a method of drawing off the fire of fascists from Jews while pro-fascist propaganda continues; and on the other, the Big Business interest of the AJC is sympathetic to the reactionary program of the clerical reactionaries. It is well known that the AJC works in close conjunction with the "powerhouse," Catholic Church headquarters at St. Patrick's Cathedral. At the

enormous stuffed-shirt dinner honoring Proskauer on his seventieth birthday on December 4, 1947, Cardinal Spellman delivered an encomium on Proskauer full of pious, glittering generalities about freedom and tolerance, which sounded incongruous from lips that blessed Franco.

Two instances will be cited here to show the meaning of this alliance with clerical reaction in practice. On November 21, 1942 the American Education Association, an organization of New York school teachers with pro-fascist tendencies, held a meeting at Hotel McAlpin at which Dr. Milo F. MacDonald, Bushwick High School principal, was one of the speakers. Besides red-baiting attacks on Mrs. Roosevelt made by another speaker, Dr. MacDonald attacked a ruling of the New York Board of Education which he described as a move in the direction of "sovietizing" the schools. The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council undertook to investigate MacDonald and found that he was a clerical reactionary; that he though the fascist priest Coughlin was a misunderstood man; that he had Patrick F. Scanlan, of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, then an anti-Semitic Catholic organ, address a meeting of the American Education Association at his school; that he had volunteered to supply with information the notorious red-baiting Rapp-Coudert Committee of the New York State legislature to "investigate" teachers; and that in 1938 he had addressed a meeting called by the pro-fascist American Nationalist Party. The Council requested information on MacDonald from the Anti-Defamation League and the AJC, among others. A confidential memorandum of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council on this request dated December 16, 1942, states: "Both the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League have files on the subject (of MacDonald). But, for reasons that must remain unnamed, their information was not available."⁴

The second instance is connected with the pro-Stepinac agitation in 1946. Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac was convicted in Yugoslavia of collaborating with the pro-nazi Croat Pavelitch regime, which was responsible for the murder of about two-thirds of Yugoslavia's pre-war Jewish population. Stepinac was president of a group of three which directed the forced conversion of hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs to Roman Catholicism during the occupation. On October 16, 1946 the Hearst New York *Journal-American* ran the headline, "Stepinac Hailed as Jews' Friend," reporting a meeting at Pelham High School sponsored by the St. Catherine's Post of the Catholic War Veterans and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The AJC sent an official speaker to this meeting who was reported by the *Journal-American* to have said of Stepinac that he "dared stand for God against tyranny, and if we are real Americans, we must protest such grave injustice as has been done this fine man, this humanitarian."

⁴ Contrast this AJC coyness about giving information about a clerical reactionary with its eager help in whitewashing George Timone. See my first article, "The American Jewish Committee Oligarchy," *JEWISH LIFE*, April 1948, p. 19.

The "Silent Treatment" Fraud

Under the enormous pressure for militant anti-fascist struggle in the past ten years, the AJC has had to reconsider its tactics or totally forfeit its influence on the Jewish community. The AJC has for several years been forced to speak up for FEPC and even for anti-poll tax legislation. In a statement before the President's Committee on Civil Liberties in May 1947, Dr. John Slawson put the AJC on record in favor of federal anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and FEPC legislation and the outlawing of restrictive covenants. Not that the AJC favors any mass pressure to gain these goals.

But the AJC has held on to the hush-hush tactic by the sophistic expedient of giving it a new name—"silent treatment"—and a pseudo-scientific veneer. The author of this new streamlined hush-hush formula is Dr. S. Andhil Feinberg, head of the AJC's Community Service Department, who has explained it in several hand-outs to the press. The theory is that "rabble-rousers" who have no access to publicity should be treated with silence and prevented from gaining publicity through protests or demonstrations against their public appearances. Permit public denunciation only against the anti-Semitic demagogue "who has fame or fortune to such an extent as to command his own publicity," as Feinberg says. The AJC and other Jewish "defense" organizations who follow this technique claim that it has reduced the effectiveness of demagogues like Gerald L. K. Smith, who, they say, has been unable to get large audiences where silent treatment has been used.

Many elements in the Jewish community have been indignant about the damage to the fight against anti-Semitism of the "silent treatment." This came to a head in July 1947 when many Boston organizations, such as local veteran, union, Jewish, Negro and youth organizations and the Communist Party formed a committee to prevent Gerald L. K. Smith from speaking at the Old South Meeting House in Boston. The militant demonstrators drowned out his speech and held a completely effective demonstration against him. The local Anti-Defamation League and community leader Judge David A. Rose condemned and red-baited the demonstration as a violation of the silent treatment. Feinberg himself published a red-baiting article on the incident in the obsessively anti-Soviet *New Leader* (August 16, 1947). Many elements in the Jewish community condemned the criticism of the demonstration. *The American Hebrew*, one of the oldest Anglo-Jewish journals in America, in its July 25, 1947 issue editorially attacked red-baiting assaults on the demonstration by Jews as "the dangerous dynamite packed argument of the worst enemies of democracy." To suppose that Smith could be silenced with silence, said the journal, "is like ignoring the existence of small pox germs."

The volume of criticism was so great that Feinberg had to throw up another smokescreen. He sent out a press release to the Anglo-Jewish press on August 15, 1947 complaining with an injured air that "recently there has been a deliberate attempt on the part of certain hotheads who,

for whatever their motives may be, have desired to sabotage this technique." He therefore proposed to change the name to "quarantine treatment" in order to escape the stigma of inaction that the earlier name carried.

Pseudo-Scientific Dodge

The advocates of silent treatment are guided partly by the fact that Gerald Smith objects strenuously to it as a deterrent to the publicity on which he thrives. Since when do anti-fascists take their tactical cues from the blustering diagnosis made by fascists? The neo-hush-hushites also claim that silent treatment has actually put a crimp in the anti-Semitic demagogues' business. With phony interpretations of statistics of Smith meetings they try to show that where silent treatment was used, Smith meetings were a flop. This claim is incredibly superficial, as is the whole case for silent treatment advanced by these self-styled social scientists. In the first place, available figures reveal no direct correlation between use of silent treatment and attendance at Smith meetings. There have been unpublicized meetings with large attendance and publicized meetings with low attendance. Obviously, the factors entering into the size of a pro-fascist meeting are many and complex. To account for attendance on the basis of a single dubious factor, press publicity, is, to put it charitably, superficial. The low attendance of Smith meetings in recent months can be explained by the fact that, as a result of persistent struggle, *organized* anti-Semitism in general seems to be faring badly these days. Instead, anti-Semitism has taken on new and alarming forms in the growth and dispersion of anti-Semitic sentiments among the population. The ominous opinion about the "disloyalty" of "New York Jews" attributed to President Truman by Drew Pearson, is one sign of this new level of anti-Semitism.

It is not only untrue, but dangerous, to assert complacently that "Gerald L. K. Smith has been on the skids ever since the silent treatment began to clamp down on him six months ago."⁸ Such an assertion alone is enough to put in doubt the whole concept of Jewish "defense" held by the AJC, in view of the sinister attempts of Smith subsequently to unite the anti-Semitic, pro-fascist grouplets into one movement. For defense of democracy and the Jewish people requires a vigilant awareness of the ever-present potential, if not momentary dangers of such men as Smith, and, more important, of his continued backing by big business elements. And more, Feinberg's statement and the whole "theory" behind it ignores the swollen flow of sewage from the press of fascists like Smith. Another gaping defect of the silent treatment is the loss of opportunity presented by a prospective anti-Semitic meeting to arouse the community, Jewish and non-Jewish, against pro-fascists and to promote organized community defense activities. This consequence is not disturbing to the AJC since mass pressure and militancy are what the AJC wants to avoid and even head off.

⁸ S. Andhill Feinberg, "Silent Treatment," *Jewish Review*, May 1, 1947.

Thus we begin to see the silent treatment technique for what it really is, a dodge for the old hush-hush. Not only is the technique a fraud—the AJC claim that they use silent treatment only in case of anti-Semites who do not "command their own publicity" is sheer nonsense. Here are a few examples of persons about whom they remained silent but who received enormous publicity. They did nothing to expose ex-Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria, clerical pro-fascist; they were mum on the attempted comeback of Kirsten Flagstad, Swedish opera singer who returned to her Swedish collaborationist husband after the outbreak of war; they deliberately refrained from exposing the anti-Semitic and pro-fascist sympathies of Pastor Martin Niemoeller, who visited this country amidst a blare of publicity and whom the AJC feared to expose because this might offend the Protestant churchmen who were sponsoring his visit and meetings. Nor would the AJC dream of exposing Hungarian ex-prime minister Ferenc Nagy's collaboration with nazi policy.

The "Sentinel" Case

But the recent Chicago *Sentinel* affair has exposed to the full the dangers of silent treatment. When ten of the 26 defendants of the famous sedition trials of 1944 sued the *Sentinel*, Chicago Anglo-Jewish weekly, for libel because the journal called them "seditionists" and other appropriate names, the journal appealed to the Anti-Defamation League for funds for legal defense. According to reliable information, the ADL agreed to help finance the case on condition that no publicity whatever be allowed. Without knowledge of the public the trial was held last December. It turned out to be a continuous stream of anti-Semitic and pro-fascist filth and the jury awarded \$24,100 to four of the defendants, Lawrence Dennis, Joe McWilliams, J. Parker Sage and George Deatherage. News of the affair leaked out and the Jewish community of Chicago has organized a united protest movement. The ADL, in some respects a "competitor" of the AJC in "defense" activities and also a believer in the silent treatment, then withdrew its ban on publicity. But not the AJC. A *Sentinel* editorial (February 5) tells us that *all* Jewish organizations, *except* the AJC and its social democratic ally, the Jewish Labor Committee, are working with the *Sentinel* defense movement. This AJC refusal to cooperate occurred *after* the case had been publicized.

This affair demonstrates what a fraud the silent treatment is. First, if a mass defense movement had been organized *before* the trial, it is doubtful whether the trial would have had such a shocking outcome. Nor would the anti-Semitic and fascist defendants have been permitted by an outraged public opinion to give vent to their unrestrained, long-winded anti-Jewish and pro-fascist ranting. And second, the AJC has proved by its refusal to cooperate with the post-trial defense committee that its silent treatment chatter is only a smokescreen to conceal Jewish big bourgeois terror about mass action and militancy.

Fear of the Masses

The AJC pattern of anti-democracy that we explored in the first article, where we showed how the AJC has tried from the start to set itself up as the oligarchical ruler of Jewish life, runs through the AJC's method of "fighting" anti-Semitism. And the reason is the same: as Jewish representatives of big business the AJC tries to stifle militant action in the Jewish community against anti-Semitism because this is a basic democratic method of putting the people in motion. And of course a people in motion, Jewish or otherwise, is what the AJC, as well as its non-Jewish big business colleagues, do not want. When the AJC attitude is thus stripped to its essentials, the supremacy of its class interests stands clear. The AJC refuses to attack the big business support of anti-Semitism, without which this evil would be an insignificant lunatic manifestation. By going through shadowy motions of fighting anti-Semitism and intriguing so far as possible with other organizations to drag them into the shadow, the AJC is weakening the fight. In other words, the AJC is betraying the Jewish people.

At the most fundamental level anti-Semitism in our day is caused by the fact that severe socio-economic dislocations lead big business to encourage anti-Semitism and thus to divert the blame for these dislocations from the economic causes to the easiest diversionary targets, Jews and other minorities. Although the immediate agencies for disseminating this anti-Semitic propaganda have been the lunatic fringe, they have depended for their financial support and the survival of their mediums of propaganda on wealthy capitalists.⁶ Without the backing of industrialists, the anti-Semites would be small, thoroughly inconsequential sects. Serious students of nazism do not doubt the crucial role played by the industrialists' support in the rise of Hitler. The recent history of anti-Semitism in our country follows this prototype. The support of anti-Semitism given by Henry Ford is only the most notorious *exposed* example. The industrialists know very well that anti-Semitism is a powerful device for channeling off the people's demands for democratic social change, and it is this, not any personal conviction about anti-Semitism, that accounts for the subsidizing of anti-Semitic, pro-fascist movements by the nation's big businessmen.

Thus we come to the root of the AJC's attempt to soft-pedal the fight against anti-Semitism. Like any big businessman, the AJC member abhors mass, democratic *action* in specific cases and on concrete issues against anti-Semitism, since this threatens his economic, class position. Some AJC members have even directly participated in pro-fascist movements together with industrialists who form the financial bulwark of the anti-Semitic crackpot demagogues. In the first article we saw examples in the statement of Gerald

⁶ For a good discussion of this see Carey McWilliams, "The Function of the Crackpot," *JEWISH LIFE*, October and November, 1947. These articles are reproduced in Chapter VIII of Carey McWilliams, *A Mask for Privilege*, Little, Brown and Company, 1948. See also Mr. McWilliams' criticism of the "silent treatment," in this book, pp. 257-261.

L. K. Smith that AJC executive committee member Leo Butzel of Detroit had contributed to his campaign and could vouch for his patriotism; and that Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, AJC president, was a member of the ill-famed Liberty League. In addition there is Lessing J. Rosenwald, AJC administrative committee member, who belonged for a time to America First. Others, who haven't the callousness of these men, sabotage the fight against anti-Semitism by their maneuvers to head off militant action through personal back-room intervention or through such policies as silent treatment. But basically this attitude towards anti-Semitism stems in either case from the opposition to attacking the source of anti-Semitism in capitalism itself, that is, the interest of big business in frustrating popular protest against capitalist difficulties by diverting it into the channels of group hatred.

But the touchstone of the real fighter against anti-Semitism and fascism is his attitude toward the labor movement and the red-baiting technique. We turn to the AJC's attitude on these issues in the concluding article.

**For the Scientific Study of the Political,
Economic, Cultural and Social Development
of the Jewish People**

REGISTER NOW

Courses Include:

Palestine—A Historical Survey
History of the Jews in American Labor
National Question and the Jewish People
History of the Jews in America
Jewish Folk Dancing
Yiddish, Hebrew, English
(for beginners and advanced)
and many other courses

Some of Our Instructors:

SAMUEL BARRON
RABBI ABRAHAM BICK
BEN FIELD
VALIA HIRSCH
MORRIS U. SCHAPPE
CHAIM SULLER
MARK TARAIL
and others

**Spring Semester Starts
April 19, 1948**

SCHOOL of JEWISH STUDIES

13 ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK 3 • GRamercy 7-1881

Office Open for Registration Daily: 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.
Friday to 6 p.m.; Saturday to 3 p.m.

DOCUMENTS

THE PATH I FOLLOW

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

Following is a shortened version of a speech made by Dr. Sneh in Hebrew at the organizing meeting of the United Workers Party of Palestine on January 24, 1948. It was originally published in the party organ, *Al-Hamishmar*.—Eds.

NOT all paths lead to socialism, nor into the revolutionary camp. But the paths that do lead there are many and varied. For the Jew of our generation, one path is soul-searching analysis, thorough, truthful, awful and honest.

Jewish history has punished our generation with the most tragic actuality since the Second Temple—with the devastation of European Jewry. History has also, however, granted our generation the most wonderful reality since we were driven from our land—the beginnings of redemption, the promise of a Jewish state. Both perspectives together impose on every Jew the duty of looking deeply into his soul, of scanning the depths of the abyss and of turning his eyes to the farthest point of the new horizon.

Standing at the edge of the precipice of destruction, you must ask yourself: who was the murderer of my people? Who is the *Ashmedai*?¹ The simple reply that the children of this or that nation are responsible, does not answer your question. Everyone knows that the children of this or that nation were only a club in the hands of the great destroyer. Do you want to know who the *Ashmedai* really is and who it is that turned civilized man into a devouring beast? In the depths of the abyss you will find only one answer. It is fascism which destroyed the six million. *Fascism*—that is the real name of the *Ashmedai*.

And then you must ask yourself: is it true that this fearful enemy, the murderer of your people, has been wiped off the face of the earth or does he still live? If he is still alive, how can you, who are a Jew, rest? How can you fail to rise in mighty battle against him, to destroy, to annihilate him? The truth is, he is not yet crushed. On the contrary. He is emerging once again from hiding. He is sharpening his sword.

Of course fascism can change its forms. It can disguise itself. If you have peered

into the abyss that swallowed up fathers and mothers and millions of brothers, if you have looked and have not been frightened, then you will know that the new form of the fascist *Ashmedai* is a new war, a third world war. And this, too, you know: a new world war means new Treblinkas. It does not matter in the name of what swindle this war will be pursued, whether in the name of "western culture" or of "political democracy," of "individual freedom" or of "advanced civilization." You know that under the mask is hidden the *Ashmedai*, hidden fascism.

And your heart, the heart of the Jew, trembles for the fate of your people, for the fate of eleven million surviving Jews. Your heart trembles for the great and peaceful Jewish community in America, for the Jewish community in England and South Africa, for the displaced Jews in Germany, the country that once again is becoming a strong power. Your heart knows that the wild hysteria against communism can be transformed in a moment and break out as an attack against the Jewish people; that the preparation of the masses for an attack on the Soviet Union must inevitably begin to develop an hysteria to attack Jews.

And this, too, you see: not only war, but the very preparations for war threaten our existence. The force that is preparing the war and breeding the atmosphere for it, is a mighty and powerful force. In your deep Jewish concern you turn your eyes to the camp of peace, to the forces which stand against war. And you find these forces for peace spread over the entire world—in the east, west, north and south. They are the progressives of the world, the forces of real democracy, of real socialism. But if you want to know where the fortress, the pillar of these world forces is, you will find it in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And the banner which marches in the vanguard of this entire camp, the enemy of fascism and war, is the banner which was raised in October thirty years ago.

This is what your eyes behold when you stand at the brink of destruction, when you make the soul-searching reckoning of our generation, the reckoning of an honest Jew.

At this moment the power of an international decision has opened broad perspectives for us, broad horizons for a new Jewish independence, for mass immigration, for powerful rehabilitating activity

and accomplishments. But on the very day that the door of hope opened for us, a wild and bloody attack was launched against us.

The Jewish people again must stand on guard and look into the horizon. And again the question arises: who is the enemy? Who is trying to destroy our hopes? This question cannot be directed against those who shoot at us in Kfar Szold, in Yeché Am and in Haifa. We know who is shooting at us. But who is working out this evil plan? Who gave these destroyers the right to destroy? Who makes the task easy for the destroyer? When you answer that it is British imperialism, you have not yet got to the heart of the truth. For the decisive fact is not that it is British, but that it is imperialism.

The *Chalutzim* of our people, the defenders of our land, are pitted on the battlefield against the wild attack of imperialism, against the aggressors, who are tools in the hand of imperialism. We stand alone and though we have suffered heavy losses, we have suffered no defeats. It has been said with justice that the stronger, the more courageous our stand will be, the greater will be the help that we will receive from outside. But there is another side of the coin: the more fully we recognize that we are not isolated and alone, that by defending our land and the independence of our people we are fulfilling a mission of freedom on our sector of the world front, the more powerful will be the inner strength of our struggle. For it is true that we have allies in our struggle against imperialism. Where are they? The Jew who makes the soul-searching reckoning of his generation will find them in the same camp and under the same banner as he will find the enemies of fascism and war.

And this, too, you see on the horizon. Zionism, among other things, signifies also the return of the Jewish people to East Asia. The problem of our relationship with the Arab world, with the people of the Middle East, with the people of Asia generally, is also that of our future and development in this part of the world. The choice is between enmity of oppressed peoples to the advantage of oppressive and inciting imperialism and an alliance of free peoples who are together freeing themselves from the foreign yoke. The second alternative is a national imperative for us in the Jewish state, the basis for transforming economic unity into real unity and for restoring our country's integrity in the future. This integrity is necessary in view of our political, economic and cultural relationship of interdependence with neighboring countries. But this can be realized only by strengthening those forces in the Jewish community and in the Arab world that are capable of building

¹ The Devil Incarnate.—Eds.

relations among peoples on the basis of free international partnership. You must turn to the forces of freedom, progress and socialism when you seek to free yourself from the chains of imperialism and to build a free life in alliance with that people to which your geopolitical and historical fate is tied.

There are people who are able to reach this point in their soul-searching but fear to think further. Where must the soul-reckoning of the Jew lead? Consider: fascism threatens a new blood-bath. It is the force that is pushing the world to a new war. Consider: imperialism is jeopardizing freedom and the establishment of the Jewish state. For these two there is a common name—imperialism. And against imperialism stands revolutionary socialism, the force that will not compromise with imperialism, has no interest in patching it up, but works to bring about the downfall of imperialism. Upon this struggle, upon its course and outcome hangs your fate, Jew! Can there be any doubt where

you must belong as a human being, as a Jew? Where our people belong?

As I said before, the paths which lead to socialism are many and varied. I reached this path as a Jew, a son of our generation, who made a deep reckoning with himself. Socialism is not only a political system, it is the recognition of historical, worldwide and Jewish necessity. It seems to me that every free Jew, every young Jew, every democratic-minded Jew must go through such a searching of his soul. I must confess that this did not come easily to me. But it is also true that it was no sudden leap. As a person who in 22 years of activity did not separate himself for a moment from pioneer and labor Zionism—for one who in exile linked his Zionism with the struggle against reaction and fascism in his country—for such a person it was necessary to take the last step in this fateful hour for our people, for our land and for humanity. I have taken this step and placed myself under the banner of socialism, to serve as one of its soldiers.

NO COMPROMISE! A CALL TO ARMS!

Resolution of the Central Committee Palestine Communist Party

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine considers the security of the *Yishuv* as well-nigh destroyed. British rule is mainly responsible for the deterioration of the situation. British rule has passed through three stages in the organization of the military campaign against the United Nations' decision on Palestine.

In the first stage, the British, with the help of the Arab Higher Executive, mobilized gangs among the backward elements of the Arab population. Many Arab villages as a whole and broad sections of the Arab people (workers, artisans, shopkeepers and merchants) have been and are opposed to the bloody disturbances. Consequently, the attempt of imperialism to rouse considerable parts of the Arab people of Palestine to fight against the Jewish *Yishuv* has failed.

Imperialism was obliged to pass to a second stage: mobilization of gangs from among sinister elements abroad, mainly from the neighboring Arab countries (Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Egypt) and also from more distant states. Further, imperialism is recruiting for these gangs nazi officers, Anders brigands, Yugoslav Ustashi and others. At the same time, British rule has intensified its activities of seizing defense weapons, blowing up defense positions of the *Haganah*, and imposing a political terror against the Arab

progressive forces (the closing down of their weekly, *Al-Ittihad*).

However, in view of the heroic stand of the Jewish *Yishuv*, which has not surrendered a single village, and in view of the refusal of the vast majority of the Arab people of Palestine to take part in the attack upon the *Yishuv*, imperialism has advanced toward a third stage: direct participation of the British army and police in the attacks upon the *Yishuv*. In this stage the *Palestine Post* building was bombed, mass murder was perpetrated in the blowing up of part of Ben-Yehuda Street in Jerusalem, defense weapons have more systematically been seized, and disarmed Jewish defenders were delivered to the Arab bandits (four Jews were murdered near Damascus Gate at Jerusalem, nine at *Hayotzek* factory near Tel-Aviv, etc.). At this stage, also, hundreds of military technicians from the British police have been supplied to the gangs under the official disguise of "deserters."

The front on which the *Yishuv* fights today is not only politically, but also militarily, a front against British imperialism and Arab reaction.

For maximum efficiency in our military struggle it is necessary to set up a single army of the fighting *Yishuv*. It is also necessary to abrogate the agreement with *Irgun Zvai Leumi*, which amounts to a recognition of this fascist group as a separate and independent military body. The democratization of the army and the participation of all democratic parties in the determination of military policy is indispensable.

In these fateful days the Central Committee warns the *Yishuv*, its institutions and political parties that the danger has increased! The imperialist enemy is trying to destroy the hopes of the Jewish people for independence and threatens the very physical existence of the Jewish *Yishuv* in Palestine.

In view of this critical situation, the Central Committee considers that the *Yishuv* is not yet mobilized to the extent that the needs of this emergency require. While millions of pounds are urgently needed for the acquisition of arms and ammunition and provisions for the *Yishuv* and its defenders, the big capitalists are evading their duties as citizens towards our national struggle. While the sons of the rich evade recruitment to military duties, their parents evade the mobilization of their means and property.

In this emergency it is impossible to take half-hearted measures. Profiteers and people who raise prices and hide foodstuffs must be regarded as saboteurs of the *Yishuv's* war effort. Profiteers and those who evade their duties should be treated as traitors! It is necessary to requisition the stocks of the profiteers, to control and push down prices, to organize public resistance against the attack of the employers upon wages, to introduce a ration system and to impose heavy prison sentences upon profiteers. Heavy taxes must be imposed on the propertied classes commensurate with their means, income and profit. The Communist Party is opposed to shifting the whole burden of raising funds onto the working class and poor people.

The Provisional Council of Government

The Central Committee considers that, to assure the democratic character of the Jewish state and a correct direction for our military and political struggle, the Provisional Council of the Jewish state should be set up in accordance with the following principles:

a) Representation in the Council should correspond to the political balance of forces in the *Yishuv*;

b) Participation in the Provisional Council should be limited to those parties only which declare publicly their adherence to the UN decision regarding the setting up of two independent states in Palestine—Jewish and Arab—with economic unity between them;

c) The democratic forces among the Arab population in the Jewish state should be represented on the Council. If conditions should not allow immediate adequate Arab representation, seats should be left open for their affiliation in the future.

The Central Committee therefore regards the proposals of the *Vaad Leumi*

and Jewish Agency executive as unsatisfactory from four points of view:

1. The Council is not constituted on the principle of the balance of forces within the *Yishuv*.

2. The representation of the United Workers Party is arbitrarily cut down.

3. The Revisionists are represented on the Council despite their opposition to the UN decision.

4. An attempt is being made to prevent the Communist Party from exerting any practical influence within the Council, and to turn the Council into a body without power of decision, by assigning actual authority to a more limited body.

The Central Committee demands increase in representation of the United Workers Party in the government and an opportunity for the Communist Party to exercise practical functions in the Council.

In view of the emergency situation prevailing in Palestine, the increased attack of imperialism and the Arab gangs upon the *Yishuv*, the deterioration of the political situation during the Palestine talks in the Security Council as a result of the retreat and hypocrisy of United States policy, and the urgent need to set up the Council before the first of April as a step towards the implementation of the UN decision, the Central Committee has decided that the Communist Party of Palestine will participate in the Government Council, reserving the right to raise the problem of the composition and character of the Council at a later date.

It is the duty of the Council to begin without further delay to act as a *de facto* government. The Council must proclaim a state of emergency and call for a full mobilization of the whole *Yishuv* in manpower and property. The Council must mobilize the help of the Jewish people everywhere. In its capacity as Council of Government, it must appeal to all democratic countries to extend their aid to the *Yishuv* against the aggression of British imperialism and of Arab gangs from neighboring countries.

In view of the open war of the British government against the setting up of the independent Jewish state, and of the deliberate sabotage of the UN decision by the U.S. government, the Government Council must draw full conclusions from this state of affairs.

The Council of Government should raise its voice against any attempt at a compromise prejudicial to the sovereignty of the Jewish state. *It should proclaim explicitly its opposition to any attempt to leave foreign military bases and foreign armies on the territory of the Jewish state.*

The Council should proclaim that it will regard as treason against the Jewish homeland and the Jewish people any at-

tempt to agree to submit to political, economic or military pressure from the imperialist enemies.

It is the duty of the Government Council immediately to act independently of the laws of the Mandatory Government, to oppose by force the seizure of defense weapons, to call upon the *Yishuv* to cease payment of taxes and to organize independent services in order to deal with the prevailing chaos.

A National Democratic Front

The Council of Government should proclaim a democratic program for independence. The Communist Party calls upon all democratic forces in the Council to set up a national democratic front.

The Central Committee proposes the following principles as foundations of the Council's policy and of the national democratic front:

a) Organization of the war effort of the *Yishuv*.

b) Full sovereignty of the Jewish state in the political, economic and military fields.

c) Democratic home policy, securing the democratic liberties of all citizens, securing the full national rights of the Arab minority, a policy tending towards raising the living standard of the masses of the people in the Jewish state.

d) A policy of social progress, based on progressive labor and social legislation for all residents irrespective of faith, race and sex.

e) A democratic foreign policy based on an alliance with the forces of peace and anti-imperialism and on a struggle against the imperialist warmongers.

f) Political and economic collaboration with the neighboring Arab states and in particular with the future Arab state in Palestine.

g) A policy of economic development and land reform, with a view of:

1. Raising the living standard of the population.

2. Securing the independence of the state.

h) Creating the maximum possibilities for immigration by the Provisional Council, in spite of the British government's immigration laws.

The Central Committee considers that already today it is important to establish principles for a clear and democratic policy by the Provisional Council in the national and social fields, in order to mobilize maximum support from among the world democratic forces and to isolate the Mufti gangs among the Arab population.

Based on the above program of full military, economic and political effort for the implementation of the UN decision for setting up the Jewish state, the Commu-

nist Party proposes to set up a national democratic front of all those political parties and bodies which are interested in true independence.

The Communist Party appeals in this critical hour to the United Workers Party to set up a united front with the Communist Party. This collaboration shall constitute the fundamental nucleus of the national democratic front. This is the demand of every class-conscious worker in the *Yishuv*, this is the great contribution which our two parties can make to the cause of our national struggle!

The Central Committee repeats and emphasizes its decision that the whole party mobilize for the people's fight for independence.

Let us be proud that we were the first to show the *Yishuv* that imperialism is its arch-enemy, that the British mandate must be abrogated and that foreign troops must leave Palestine. One year ago we fought, despite the opposition of the *Yishuv* leadership, for the Palestine problem to be brought before UN; today, these demands of our party have been adopted by the *Yishuv* and the United Nations.

The fight for independence and evacuation of foreign troops is still going on. American and British imperialism are doing everything—in spite of their proclamations—to leave under a new disguise the old imperialist rule in Palestine.

Comrades! We call all party members in this fateful hour to join the first ranks of those who fight against any compromise with imperialism, to repulse any attack, be it military, economic or political, on the Jewish *Yishuv*. It is the duty of our comrades in the defense trenches of Galilee and the Negev, on the borders of our towns and villages, to set an example of devoted and true fighters for freedom.

Our comrades who remain on the home front have to lead the fight against profiteering, for securing the existence of the soldiers' families, for housing for refugees from the border districts.

Full mobilization for full independence! This is our slogan.

March 13, 1948.

NOW PLAYING

A New Soviet Film

"SON OF THE REGIMENT"

An Artkino Release

STANLEY 42nd St. and 7th Ave.
New York City
T H E A T R E Wisconsin 7-7486

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

survey showed, places a greater financial burden on minority group members seeking admission to medical schools. Since 1939 the average Protestant student spent \$19 filling the necessary applications to enter medical school, while Catholic and Jewish students had to spend on an average of \$38.33 and \$80, respectively.

Student groups from 13 colleges in the Chicago area recently sent 60 student delegates to a conference at Roosevelt College in Chicago in order to work "to correct economic and racial barriers to education." Resolutions against discrimination were sent to congressional and state legislators, college administrators and veteran and student groups.

Considerable dissatisfaction is being registered with a Senate Judiciary Committee proposal to admit 100,000 displaced persons within the next two years. Six leading Massachusetts Protestant clergymen filed protests with their senators (Saltonstall and Lodge) that the bill discriminated against Jews and Catholics. The ministers "deplored any preferential status given to any group because of national or religious affiliation." They expressed regret that Baltic nationals were given preferred status. "We protest the virtual exclusion of Jews by the establishment of December 29, 1945, as the last date of registration of displaced persons," they said.

EUROPE

One of the first acts of the new Czech government was the issuance of an order by the Ministry of the Interior rescinding an existing ban on the emigration of Jews from Czechoslovakia. The order provides for the issuance of exit permits to Czechoslovakian and alien Jews wishing to leave the country. At the same time the government announced that it will no longer issue transit visas for Rumanian Jews who seek to enter other countries in Europe or Palestine via Czechoslovakia.

The Czech Minister of Information Vaclav Kopecky asserted that recent events can be interpreted as essentially a defeat for those forces which contained anti-Semitic and fascist tendencies. He stated that the government contemplated no changes in its "positive" viewpoint on Palestine, adding: "on the contrary, the new Czechoslovak government will persevere with increased stress in its efforts on behalf of a solution of the Palestine problem in the spirit of the United Nations decision."

The sum of 240,000 zlotys has been appropriated by the Warsaw city council for the Jewish school system of the city for 1948.

The Jewish Writers and Journalists Association in Poland participated in the second convention since the war of the Polish Journalists' Union in Szczecin November 16-18, 1947. M. Mirsky, Lodz journalist representing the Jewish group, addressed the convention. He pointed out that out of the great number of Jewish journalists and writers who remained in Poland during the occupation, only three journalists and one writer survived. Together with their colleagues who returned from the Soviet Union in 1945, they started the first printing press and Yiddish newspaper, *Dos Nahye Leben* (New Life). At present there are three Jewish printing presses in Poland in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw. Altogether there are thirteen Jewish periodicals in Poland with a

circulation of 60,000, published in Yiddish and Polish.

United States Military Government officials in Hesse, Germany, expressed substantial agreement with the views of Rev. Martin Niemöller and the Catholic bishops of Mainz and Limburg that denazification should be ended and that the theory of collective German guilt be virtually abandoned. Practice of the AMG is indicated by the following facts: Heinrich Wilhelm Kopf, nazi war criminal sought for extradition by the Polish government for war crimes committed in Poland, is now the U.S.-appointed vice-president of the *Laenderrat*, federal parliament of the combined U.S.-British zones; ex-prize fighter Max Schmeling, nazi supporter and a former commandant at Oswiecim death camp, is employed on the sports program of the U.S. Second Infantry Division stationed at Nuernberg; and public protests against night club comedian Gsellhuber in Bavaria regarding his anti-Semitic song: "Jews are eating chocolates. Only six millions have been gassed—what a pity," go unheeded by U.S. authorities.

The United States Military Government in Bavaria countermanded the order of Dr. Philip Auerbach, Commissioner for Persecutees, granting refugees 2,000-calory rations. AMG insisted that the Jews live on the regular German refugee rations, 1,350 calories.

"Ritual murder" rumors by Germans after the disappearance of a non-Jewish child caused American military investigators and German police to raid a house in the camp for displaced Jews in Fuerth, Nuernberg suburb. Nothing was found to support the rumor. The revival of "ritual sacrifice" slanders against the Jews in Germany is one sign of nazi activity.

More than 200 delegates representing 91 Jewish communities throughout Rumania participated in a conference called by the Federation of Jewish Communities. Government representatives addressing the meeting assured the delegates that the government was fully aware of the special problems of the Jews in Rumania and will do all it can to help solve them. The Union of Rumanian Jews and its left-wing faction, the Democratic Rumanian Jewish Union, have reunited after a split of nearly three years.

The new Rumanian constitution permits national minorities to establish schools where instruction may be conducted in the group's native language. Such schools will be maintained by the state. The Jewish Democratic Committee is planning the establishment of courses for Yiddish teachers and for publishing Yiddish textbooks.

Among the hundreds of resolutions to be introduced at the British Labor Party Conference in May, at least twelve propose legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism in Britain. The resolutions express alarm over the increase of "fascist activities in many guises in the country," and urge that the Home Secretary be empowered to disband any group advocating racial and religious discrimination.

A large and angry crowd in Manchester, England, protested a fascist Union meeting so vigorously that the fascists folded up the meeting in their bullet-proof van and stole away under police escort after a counter-demonstration lasting four minutes.

PALESTINE

Personnel of the 31-member Provisional Council of Government and the cabinet of 13 for the new Jewish state have been announced. David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency executive, is premier. Other cabinet members: Moshe Shertok, Foreign Affairs; Eliezer Kaplan, Finance; David Remez, Interior; Itzhak Gruenbaum, Labor; Fritz Bernstein, Trade; Rabbi Judah L. Fishman, Education and Religion; Moshe Shapiro, Immigration; Itche Meir Levin, Health. Names of candidates of the remaining four ministries, one from the General Zionists, two from the United Workers Party and one from the Sephardic Community, have not yet been announced. The seat on the Council assigned to the Communist Party will be occupied by Sholom Mikunis, party secretary.

The first crisis in the provisional Palestine government developed when the political committee of the United Workers Party, recently formed by a merger of the left-wing Hsahomer Hatzair and the Achduth Avodah, decided not to participate in the Council of Government because of inadequate representation. The party was assigned three members in the Council and is demanding three cabinet portfolios and five Council seats. It also expressed opposition to the Haganah-Irgun pact ratification.

The left-wing Arab organization, the League for National Liberation, is violently protesting the suppression of its organ, *Al Ittihad*. The protest is published in a substitute weekly, *El Ushgh* (The League), and it charges British imperialism with this futile attempt at silencing a free press. *Al Ittihad* had written before its suppression that "Imperialism and its agents want to make us forget the clear truth that the UN decided not only on partition but also on independence. Imperialism is interested in bloody disturbance, in order to obscure the national question of this country—which consists in the fight against imperialism and for independence."

The Communist Party of Palestine is currently urging that "A correct democratic policy on the part of the *Yishuv* towards the Arab people is capable of assisting to a great degree the Arab progressive forces and popular masses who are opposed to the attacks on the *Yishuv*, and of isolating the Arab agents of imperialism. . . . We must publish and begin to implement immediately a progressive and democratic program for the Arab population, a program that is built upon equal standard of living with the Jews, economic help for the Arab felaheen, equal wages for Jewish and Arab workers, the same opportunities as the Jews for education and health institutions."

Members of the Arab village of Biradas signed a truce with the Jewish settlement of Magdiel, about fifteen miles from Tel Aviv. The Arab villagers drove out the remnants of a guerrilla band which had attacked Magdiel daily for over a week.

Arab leaders of the Palestine Labor League, a trade union of over 5,000 Arab workers, that has cooperated with the Histadruth, cabled the National Labor Committee for Labor Palestine in New York that they hoped that two independent states will be established in Palestine "based on cooperation of Arab and Jewish workers."

An official British announcement revealed that more than 300 military and police personnel in Palestine have deserted the British army and police force in the past two years, of whom only 77 have been apprehended.

1
2
3

N
A
Y

4
8

XI