

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

THAT THE JEWISH STATE MAY LIVE... *AN EDITORIAL*



JUNE 1948

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND ANTI-SEMITISM

By Dr. Walter S. Neff

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AS RED-BAITER by Louis Harap
DEMOCRACY AND THE DEPORTATION LAWS by Ira Gollobin

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

Americans for Haganah on April 2 attacked as a publicity and money-making scheme the enlistment of American volunteers for service in the Jewish Army of Palestine by the American League for a Free Palestine. The statement charged that the League has been "thoroughly exposed as an organization which has not transported one Jew into Palestine" and that, "if one is to judge by the past performances" of the League, "not one man now being recruited for service in Palestine will ever reach that country." It added that Haganah, "repudiates the Bergson Committees (of which the League is one) and their host of fake organizations, and states categorically that any funds donated for their so-called recruitment campaign will not serve the cause of the Jewish community in Palestine."

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The American Friends of the Hebrew University made known early in April that it has been informed that for "security reasons" the British government will no longer issue visas to Americans wishing to study in Palestine. It is said that more than 100 students will be affected by the ban.

☆

Notes on Negro-Jewish relations. . . . After a nine-months militant campaign of picketing and petitioning the Lower East Side FEPC of New York finally won its battle in April to have Negroes hired on the sales force of two Woolworth stores on the East Side. The stores are at Norfolk and Delancey Streets and at 71 Avenue B. Half a dozen local organizations, including the Communist Party, carried on the campaign. Although the neighborhood is predominantly Jewish, it has had a growing Negro population since the war. . . . Rabbi Joseph Caplan of the Rabbinical Council of North America and Rev. W. F. Jernagin, executive secretary of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, have issued statements condemning 20th Century's war propaganda film *The Iron Curtain*. . . . Thirty-five Negro children of Jamaica, Queens, have adopted Monique Aronek, 13-year-old Jewish refugee in France. The child will be supplied regularly with clothing and gift packages from her young Negro friends.

☆

"Extermination of Jews" was demanded in handbills placed in automobiles in York, Pa., in April. The handbills were thought to be the work of professional hate groups rather than local cranks.

☆

George Armstrong, Texas oil magnate who finances Gerald L. K. Smith and is devoting his fortune to propagation of anti-Semitism, is boosting General Douglas MacArthur for the Republican presidential nomination.

☆

A Chicago Municipal Court jury's conviction of Arthur W. Terminiello for disorderly conduct in connection with an anti-Semitic meeting two years ago, was upheld by the Illinois Supreme Court.

☆

The Federal Communications Commission is considering charges that G. A. Richards, owner of radio station KMPC in Los Angeles, ordered newscasts in an anti-Semitic manner. The FCC also announced that it would investigate two other stations owned by Richards, WJR in Detroit and WGAR in Cleveland.

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Members of the musicians, press, advertising

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. II, No. 8 (20)

JUNE, 1948

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

THE EDITORS.

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and radio chapters of the American Veterans Committee picketed the office of concert manager Charles L. Wagner at 511 Fifth Avenue, New York, on April 19 in protest against his management of appearances in the United States of pianist Walter Gieseking. A documented article in the *New York Times* on February 8 by Delbert Clark had conclusively put Gieseking "in the class of artists who gladly gave their talents to the furtherance of Hitlerism." One of the pickets' placards said, "We fought them, Wagner imports them."

☆

Sculptor William Zorach was asked by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History to do a memorial statue of the late Senator (Continued on page 31)

PICTURES IN THIS ISSUE

The picketing of the White House shown in the cover picture took place during the Washington Pilgrimage on April 15 under the auspices of the United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the UN. It is reproduced by permission of photographer AL SILVERSTEIN of *Union Voice*, 13 Astor Place, New York. NAT RAMER'S "Firing Squad" was among the works of this painter exhibited recently at the Harry Salpeter Gallery in New York. Drawings in this issue are by "CHIPS" WILSON, a former seaman whose work has appeared in newspapers abroad as well as in this country.

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THAT THE JEWISH STATE MAY LIVE...

DURING the past decade humanity has witnessed and paid dearly for treachery by the ruling circles of many countries. Munich and Spain are only two tragic instances. Seldom, however, has betrayal been so transparent and flagrant as in the case of Palestine.

Last November the United Nations arrived at a decision to partition Palestine into two independent states. Our own government was a partner, though a reluctant one, in this decision. A five nation commission was established to implement partition. Yet this commission was never allowed to set foot in Palestine because Great Britain was determined to prevent the execution of the UN decision. Realizing, however, that this step alone would not guarantee the success of its machinations, the British rulers deliberately set about to create chaos and civil war.

In the face of sabotage and attack the *Yishuv* proceeded to carry through the UN decision. On April 28 Pablo Azcarate reported to the UN on behalf of the advance party of the five nation commission that "partition is an actuality in Palestine. . . . All that is lacking is the formal and legal recognition of a fact which exists."

Confronted with the possibility that a Jewish state might still be established, Great Britain brought forward its trump card—the Transjordan army.

Perhaps the most disgusting aspect of the tragic farce now being enacted, is the air of innocence assumed by British spokesmen when the question of the Transjordan army is brought up. Or, for that matter, the way American and French spokesmen at the UN have with poker face asked the British delegate whether Britain would not use its good offices to urge King Abdullah to refrain from invading Palestine. And all this when it is commonly known that "The Arab Legion, trained, armed, paid, and commanded by the British, is not Abdullah's to command. Not one soldier of the legion will set foot in Palestine if the British do not want it." (*The Nation*, April 24, 1948.)

The significance of this British move cannot however be fully grasped unless the role of our own government is brought into the picture.

Some Critical Facts

Two major problems worry American ruling circles and determine the major outlines of their strategy. First, strategic and military interests, and second, oil. While America and Britain are united in their military and strategic inter-

ests, they are rivals in the race for oil and economic positions. So long as Britain was the dominant influence in the Middle East, it could continue the game of appearing to be the friend of the Arabs at one moment and the friend of the Jewish people at the next. The United States, however, began to force Britain out of one position after another. Britain was forced into open repudiation of all promises to the Jews and finally into open hostility toward them and close ties with Arab reactionaries. Britain hoped thereby to cling to its hold on the Middle East.

As Britain became tremendously weakened at the end of World War II, a definite pattern began to appear not only in the Middle East, but all over the world. Wall Street and its bi-partisan administration were bent on world domination. Britain could no longer retain influence and control alone. Wherever possible, American dollars and even military aid were doled out to maintain British administrative and military control while real power moved into Wall Street hands. Where necessary, American military forces intervened directly.

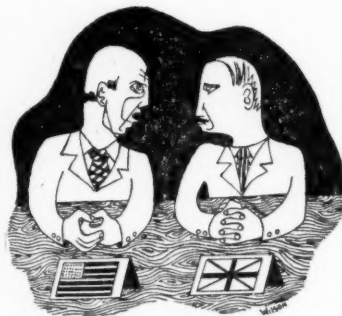
In Palestine, Britain had to maintain control in the face of growing popular unrest and the American drive to strengthen its own positions at the expense of Britain. Britain's position was becoming untenable. For while Britain was forced to make concessions to America, it was at the same time obliged to bear the brunt of administrative and military responsibility. Because of this Britain tried to force America to assume a share of the responsibility for the subjugation of Palestine.

The establishment of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry in 1945 on a unilateral basis outside the framework of the UN was one such attempt. Anglo-American contradictions and rivalry, however, prevented any accord and left Britain in a more difficult position than ever. When the issue finally came before the UN, America was forced to vote for partition because of the forthright position of the Soviet Union and the new democracies and world democratic opinion generally. America's stand was also in part a response to domestic political pressures. But in the main, America agreed to partition because it virtualized a plan through which it could gain even greater control. Failure of American plans was caused first of all by the Soviet fight, which upset the American apple cart, and second, by the determined struggle of the *Yishuv* for real statehood.

Increased Desperation of Wall St.

It was no accident that the Austin speech repudiating American promises of support for partition, came close on the heels of the Truman declaration before Congress and at the St. Patrick's Day affair. These speeches registered the increased aggressiveness of Wall Street and its desperation at the fact that the Truman-Marshall Plan wasn't working according to schedule. These policy declarations also reflected a deepening fear of growing sentiment in America for peace. The earlier pose of liberalism was forsaken, the mask was thrown aside.

The trusteeship plan signifies a new and more dangerous policy on Palestine. The administration hopes thus to be able to exclude the Soviet Union from further participation in the problem. Under the guise of some form of UN supervision, the United States will advance to complete domination of Palestine, through Britain if possible, through some other combination of forces if necessary. If neither succeeds, America will resort to direct military intervention. With the trusteeship plan and a deal on a truce, the United States hopes to force both the Jews and Arabs to terms.



"Why should we stab partition in the back when we can stab it to its face?"

American foreign policy makers were using the trusteeship plan to insure not only military and strategic bases, but also to help dislodge Britain from many of the positions to which it was tenaciously clinging.

Britain is well aware of this and has stubbornly refused to agree to the American trusteeship plan. While Britain concurs with America on the need to maintain the area as a military-strategic base, it has no desire to be the scapegoat. And it is this, in great measure, which prompted Britain to threaten invasion by the Transjordan army. This invasion is Britain's trump card to force American agreement with some variation of the Morrison-Grady partition plan which would leave Britain in control.

The dilemma arising out of Anglo-American rivalry is very real, and few have described it more cogently than Walter Lippmann. "It may be," he said, "that in the end the solution will be to reunite the whole of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan in a loose confederation of two or three autonomous but not wholly sovereign states, perhaps with Abdullah as king of a greater Palestine.

"Such a solution is not inconceivable if Britain and America jointly decided to promote it—Britain using its influence with Abdullah and America its influence with

the Jewish Agency." (*New York Herald-Tribune*, April 27, 1948.)

Lippmann's whole article visualizes the need for a compromise with Britain in such a way that America will gradually be able to ease its way into mastery of the situation. What is grimly apparent, however, is that whatever plan is finally agreed upon, there is not the slightest intention of granting independence and sovereignty to the *Yishuv*.

At this writing the date for proclaiming the Jewish state is two weeks away. Will Jewish leaders go through with it? It is known that heavy pressure is being brought to bear on Jewish leadership to give up proclamation of the Jewish state on May 16 in favor of some plan whose imperialist aims are not too conspicuously exposed. It is no secret that threats have been made that the flow of United Jewish Appeal funds to Palestine will be halted, if the Jewish Agency persists in its avowed aim of proclaiming the Jewish state. It is well known that the Zionist Actions Committee in Tel Aviv bitterly debated the decision to proclaim the Jewish state. Hesitancy and fear exist in the hearts of many Agency leaders. Above all, these leaders are terrified at the thought of breaking decisively with imperialism, upon which they placed so much hope over the years.

But now if ever must Jewish leadership be utterly deaf to the guiles of imperialism, closely attentive to the molds of the Jewish people, and irreconcilably and militantly active in the interests of our people. For whatever happens on May 16, the fight for a Jewish state will go on. If the Jewish state is not proclaimed, it will be because imperialism was insistent on betrayal and Jewish leadership had capitulated. This will create profound disillusionment and disorientation among Jewish forces that have been fighting so valiantly. If the Jewish state is proclaimed, it will be because of the determined efforts of the democratic world forces and in spite of the machinations of imperialism. In that event, imperialism will still remain the enemy of the Jewish state. And the struggle for independent statehood will continue but on a much higher level, with new vistas opening up for the heroic defenders of the *Yishuv*, and for the democratic forces of the world which stand at their side.

The true friends of Jewish statehood, Jewish and non-Jewish, must be united in firm and unshakable unity if the Jewish state is to become a reality.

BLOOD FOR PATRIOTS

THIS is being written a few days after the magnificent victory of Jewish arms at Haifa. The fighting quality of the sons and daughters of the Jewish people has been proved once again.

This is, however, only the first battle. The struggle of the *Yishuv* to establish an independent Jewish state in line with the decision of the UN will be bitter and costly both on the diplomatic front and on the military front. No doubt

there will be defeats and victories before final triumph.

This much we know already. Modern warfare bases itself on an unbreakable unity of front and rear, in which both front and rear are interconnected, interdependent and constantly interchangeable. The rear of the Jewish forces fighting for self-determination is not just Palestine, but wherever Jewish hearts and minds quicken to the fate of our people, respond with pride in the achievements of our people. And the rear encompasses all areas where men of good will are concerned with justice and progress, and with the development of humanity to new heights of freedom.

The blood of patriots must be replaced. The spectator at the heroic struggle of our people in Palestine for independence can become an active, can translate his sympathy into a concrete and life-giving contribution by enlisting as a blood donor for our Palestine heroes.

We urge everyone who reads this to take the responsibility upon himself or herself to organize groups of donors. Contact the American Red Mogen Doved, 220 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., for information.

"Through your blood shall you live."

OUTLAWING DEMOCRACY

AMERICAN imperialists, the dreamers of world conquest, are becoming desperate. The American people are not taking to the betrayal of Palestine, Greece, Italy and wherever else grasping imperialist fingers reach out. Wall Street has now set out to Hitlerize America, to silence the protest and the resistance of the American people to its predatory plans.

Once again the House Un-American Committee has come through for its monopoly masters. It has produced the Subversive Activities Act of 1948, HR 5852, a typical police-state measure which has been introduced into Congress by Rep. Karl E. Mundt. The bill places the face of Hitler squarely before the American people.

In typical nazi-like fashion, it proclaims the big lie that the communist movement is a criminal conspiracy against democracy, under the control of a foreign power. It requires the Communist Party and *any organization* that fits the bill's loose definition of a communist front to register. It outlaws *any* organization, and punishes any *individual*, with the loss of citizenship included, who in any way agree with any policy of a communist organization. Since communists support higher wages, anti-lynch bills, measures against anti-Semitism, the fight for the Bill of Rights, the struggle for peace, you can get an idea how all-inclusive the intended victims are.

Even from a cursory glance it is obvious that the bill is aimed at outlawing any and all political opposition to the predatory policies of American imperialism and the present bi-partisan leadership of our government. The bill itself quite clearly includes all dissent, and not just communist opposition.

This bill is but the climax of a whole series of measures connected with the Marshall Plan betrayal of the Jews of Palestine. Some reactionaries anticipated that the American people would be outraged by the State Department reneging on pledges solemnly made, by presidential winking at cynical double-talk, by bi-partisan complicity in the oily conspiracy with regard to Palestine. And they knew this outrage would be articulate and militant.

On March 24, 1947, John Rankin asked a witness before the House Un-American Committee whether "this drive against the British Empire by the Zionists—ain't that a communist front?"

On January 26, 1948, Secretary of Defense Forrestal, testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, declared that reversing the UN decision by the U. S. State Department was necessary for national security.

And a little while before the betrayal of Palestine became public knowledge, President Truman shouted to a New York publisher, according to Drew Pearson, "Those — New York Jews! They're disloyal to their country. Disloyal!"

And now you have the Mundt Bill. Look back and study it in connection with these three quotations. According to Rankin the Zionists are "a communist front" in the meaning of the Mundt Bill. According to Forrestal, all who object to American betrayal of Palestine are acting against national security, and are therefore participating in a "criminal conspiracy." According to Truman, Jews who object to having their brothers' throats slit are "disloyal," and are therefore "disrupting the government of the U. S." All who fight against the outrageous undermining of the UN by American reversal of UN decisions with regard to Palestine, Zionist and non-Zionist, Jew and non-Jew, communist and non-communist, support one of the "immediate" aims of the communist movement—the defense of the Jews in Palestine and throughout the world. All of them are trying to change government policy through political action. And all of them are therefore subject to the penalties of the bill.

The Mundt Bill is a menace to the life, liberty and happiness of every American. It is the most brazen attempt to date to foist full-blown fascism on our country. That it comes in the middle of a presidential election campaign; that it has bi-partisan blessing; that at this writing, Truman has not yet uttered a word against it, though he periodically drools about "civil rights"—all these are indications that reaction means business. Pious statements will not defeat this attempt by reaction, but militant, determined struggle that cannot and dare not be delayed by the people.

Not the Mundt bill, but the Bill of Rights!

AJ CONGRESS CONVENES

DELEGATES from chapters and affiliates of the American Jewish Congress met in convention in New York City on March 31 to April 4, 1948.

A preliminary estimate of the proceedings gives clear evidence that the delegates proceeded in the progressive tradition of the organization. The convention refused to be stampeded into red-baiting. It refused to tamper with its constitution in order to place obstacles in the way of progressive affiliates. It passed resolutions condemning the Taft-Hartley Act and the Loyalty Oath. It took a strong position for world peace.

On all these questions it did not act as consistently as the convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress held just prior to the convention of the parent organization. But for all the hesitation it did maintain the line against the pressures of reaction. We regret that the main address by Harold J. Laski of Britain at the opening session contributed neither to the understanding nor to the strengthening of the backbone of the Congress. It was typical of social democratic apologetics—even including the anti-Semitism that tried to lay the blame for the Palestine situation on the Jews themselves.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the convention was the determination of the delegates not to permit their democratic rights to be infringed. There were some Congress leaders who had hoped for a "safe and sane" convention, devoted primarily to speech-making rather than considered discussion. These leaders completely miscalcu-

lated the mood and the temper of the delegates, which reflect the mood and temper of the Jewish people as a whole.

The delegates came to the convention in larger numbers than ever in the history of Congress. They came somewhat disillusioned by the hesitancy, wavering and inaction of Jewish leadership. They came determined to act and to move their organization into action to guarantee the security of the Jewish people at home, in Europe and in Palestine. The leadership of Congress would do well to pay heed to this militancy of the membership.

We regret we are not in a position to go into greater detail at this time. The resolutions passed by the convention have not yet been published, and therefore cannot be thoroughly studied. *JEWISH LIFE* hopes to publish in the near future a study of Congress, which will include an analysis of the convention.

BEHIND THE "IRON CURTAIN"

THE constitution of the People's Democracy of Rumania provides that in every city where Jews constitute a minimum of 30 per cent of the population, Jewish schools shall be state supported, and that all public officials of that city shall be obligated to speak Yiddish.



FIRING SQUAD

By
Nat
Ramer

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND ANTI-SEMITISM

By Dr. Walter S. Neff

THE various theories which go under the collective label of psychoanalysis are very influential in wide, and often unexpected quarters. The overwhelming majority of psychiatrists today accept one or another variety of Freudian theory and it is very strongly influential among professionals in the fields of social work and community service, particularly among workers in Jewish organizations in these fields. Psychoanalysis has become very fashionable among leading bourgeois ideologists, particularly as it relates to, and appears to give a scientific basis for, the current cults of brutality, irrationality and despair which are the outstanding aspects of post-war bourgeois culture. Even more serious, psychoanalysis influences the thinking of not a few people who consider themselves, and are considered by others, to be militant fighters against anti-Semitism and defenders of the people's rights.

In this article I shall attempt to do two things: first, to evaluate the psychoanalytic approach to the problems of the individual and society; and second, to examine the application of this approach to the problem of fascist anti-Semitism, particularly in a recent work.¹

Freud was, above all, a bourgeois scientist of the 19th century, and, although he towered head and shoulders over many of his contemporaries, he and most of his followers never found it possible to escape from the influence of his time and his social class. The positive side of the Freudian doctrine may be found in the fact that it continues the great tradition of 19th century biology. This tradition, starting with the epoch-making theory of evolution and ending with a series of great discoveries in the fields of human anatomy, physiology and a host of sister sciences, smashed forever the classical theological doctrine that Man is a special creation of divinity, equipped with a non-material soul and a non-material mind. In fact, the virtue of Freud's contribution is that he regards Man above all as an animal, and recognizes no agencies as decisive in guiding his behavior other than those which he believes he finds within the biological constitution of this

animal which is Man. His great limitation arises from his narrow conception of human nature, a conception which flows partly from the insufficiently developed character of 19th century biological science and partly from the social views of bourgeois society, which he generally accepts entirely uncritically.

Specifically, Freud was responsible, more than any other man, for gaining general acceptance of the importance of non-intellectual and irrational factors in human behavior. He demonstrated, with great and convincing detail, that it is not possible to explain many human actions without reference to the fact that some of the most important motivating reasons may be unknown to the person concerned. He showed that the effect of social disapproval is frequently to cause an individual to find conscious reasons for his behavior which have nothing to do with the real reasons, and to do this in all sincerity. Finally he showed that when a strongly desired course of action is barred by social restraint or disapproval, serious disturbances or distortions of behavior may result. Thus, the name of Freud has become associated with such widely used terms as the unconscious, repression, rationalization, sublimation, etc. There is much that is valuable in these discoveries of Freud.

Two Basic Errors

But he also presents us with an elaborate *theory* of the nature and importance of these unconscious motives, specifically relates them to an alleged eternal and unchanging "human nature," and thus comes to certain conclusions about man and society. This is where the trouble comes in. In considering the problems of the nature of man and the relationships between men that make up society, Freud makes two *fundamental* and far-reaching mistakes. In the first place, not comprehending the historical and transitory character of capitalist society, he sees the relationships among men characteristic of *modern* society as *eternal*—existing in the distant past and everywhere in the world, as well as in the distant future. Second, he sees these relationships as flowing from an unchanging (and unchangeable) "human nature," so that where he observes a phenomenon in the outer world, he must find something within Man—some instinct, or animal drive—which will explain it.

Thus, when he observed millions of men killing each other in World War I, he did not stress social causes, but assumed that this phenomenon was the expression of a primal instinct, a "natural instinct of aggressiveness in man, the hostility of each one against all and of all against each

¹ *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease*, edited by Dr. Ernst Simmel, International Universities Press, New York, 1946. The work is a collection of studies by eight distinguished psychiatrists, six of whom are German or Austrian refugees now practicing in America who experienced the German horror at first hand. These studies were sponsored by the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society and were prepared under the editorship of Dr. Ernst Simmel, past president of the Society, who also wrote one of the major articles of the volume.

DR. WALTER S. NEFF is director of the Abraham Lincoln School of Chicago, holds a Ph.D. degree in psychology, and has written several articles for the professional journals in his field. During the war he served as a psychologist in the Neuropsychiatric Department of Army General Hospitals both here and overseas.

one, (which) opposes the program of civilization." (Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, p. 102.) When Freud observed the tremendous instability of family and sex relationships of modern society, he did not emphasize the social system, but assumed the existence of sexual instincts, the satisfaction of which would have anti-social consequences destructive to man and society.

Freud regards the development of mankind in terms of an ever-sharper contradiction between man's needs to satisfy his aggressive anti-social instincts, which would rend him and destroy society, and his need to satisfy his self-preservative instincts, for which he requires society. Consequently, we find him saying in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, "Civilized society is perpetually menaced with disintegration through the primary hostility of men toward one another. Their interest in their common work would not hold them together; the passions of instinct are stronger than reasoned interests. Culture has to call up every possible reinforcement in order to erect barriers against the aggressive instincts of men and hold their manifestations in check. . . ."

The contribution Freud makes is his analysis of the effect of the contradictions of social life upon the development of human personality. He demonstrates conclusively that from infancy to adulthood the human being in our society is constantly confronted with mutually contradictory choices, so that behavior and thought come to consist of an eternal more or less successful compromise between what is desired and what the individual is forced to accept. Where Freud errs fundamentally is in not seeing that the source of human conflict and maladjustment is the contradictory nature of social life in a class society. On the contrary, he ascribes human conflict to an eternal war between the animal nature of Man—which is anti-social, and even anti-human—and the restraining forces of society—any society, anywhere.

Reactionary Social Conclusions

It is obvious that such a view can lead, and in fact has led, Freud and most of his followers to extremely reactionary social conclusions. Constantly, Freud ascribes the evils of contemporary society to the inner nature of man. It is easy for him to put forward the notion that the masses are "evil" and only their rulers are "reasonable." So we find him saying that in the modern state "the masses thirsting for pleasure and destruction must be held in check by the power of an enlightened stratum." One of his followers, E. Glover, states (in an article on "War and Pacifism," *Character and Personality*, vol. 4, 1936, p. 314): "War is a spontaneous form of mental defense, and defends mainly against the individual destructive instincts of man. It has survival value, and despite all common-sense arguments to the contrary, must still retain psychological value."

And Freud himself provides a neat justification for the

lyncher and pogromist by arguing: "There is an advantage, not to be undervalued, in the existence of smaller communities, through which the aggressive instinct can find an outlet in enmity towards those outside the group. It is always possible to unite considerable numbers of men in love towards one another, so long as there are some remaining as objects for aggressive manifestations."

To sum up. The Freudians, in studying the nature and causes of human conflict, discover that the process of growing up in a modern (read: capitalist) society is a painful and difficult thing; that the typical human being is constantly confronted with contradictory aims, desires and goals; that the human organism is capable of an almost infinite variety of forms of adjustment to these conflicts, many of which are largely unconscious; finally, that permanent harm is done to many persons either by their inability to resolve these conflicts or because they adopt a solution that separates them from reality. So far, so good!

But they make their great mistake when they answer the question: What are the sources of these conflicts and contradictions? When the Freudians answer that the sources of these conflicts are within Man himself—that an eternal contradiction exists between man's animal nature and his social life—then they leave no hope that individual and human conflict can be wiped out by the effects of the abolition of social classes and a radical reorganization of society. Thus their social views accord in all major respects with the views of the ruling class in our society, with the additional danger that they appear to lend a scientific mask to the reactionary contention that the "poor will always be with us," that eternally there will be rulers and ruled, rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed.

In order to make our appraisal of Freud absolutely clear, let us ask the following question. Are we merely saying that Freudian psychoanalysis has both its good and bad sides, that if we take the good and reject the bad, all will be well? No, the issue is far more fundamental! The scientific observations of Freud are colored and limited by the reactionary and subjective philosophy which serves as their base.

Transformation of Freud's Discoveries

In developing scientific materialism, Marx acknowledges his debt to Hegel, but he is equally quick to point out that he did not merely "add" the Hegelian dialectic to the materialist world outlook, but that he was required to "transform" the dialectic, to "stand it on its feet." Thus, in his preface to the second edition of *Capital*, we find Marx saying, "The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell." Scientific materialism cannot merely "incorporate"

the discoveries of science, but must constantly re-analyze, re-interpret and transform these discoveries so that every shred of their outworn philosophical clothing is stripped away.

So with Freud. There is no intention here to deny the value of Freud's own work in clinical psychiatry or some of his insights into human behavior. But these contributions to science are so completely imbedded in and intertwined with a thoroughly reactionary and obscurantist view of human society, that the entire structure must be reworked from its bottom, if a consistently materialist and humanly valuable psychology is to emerge. At present, the very validity of certain of Freud's scientific observations merely serves as a prop for his unscientific, irrational and dangerous conclusions concerning man and society.

It is hardly an accident that every scribbler in the public press who wants to justify war or slander human progress, calls upon Freud as his authority. It is also scarcely accidental that many a liberal who desires human progress but shuns the tough battles necessary to obtain it, frequently finds comfort in Freud's doctrine of the "brute soul" of the masses. Finally, it should not be forgotten that although the German fascists publicly rejected psychoanalysis as "Jewish science," yet the official Nazi psychiatrists dabbled extensively in the theory of the unconscious to support their obscurantist and racist theories, at the same time not doing old Freud the further disservice of claiming him as their inspiration.

Thus our brief appraisal of the structure of psychoanalysis forces us to the conclusion that its general influence upon society has been reactionary rather than progressive. However well-intentioned some of its practitioners and supporters may be, an application of Freudian psychoanalysis to the problems of society can only divert attention from genuine and lasting solutions. Until science recognizes that the sources of man's inhumanity to man lie not in his biological structure but in his social relationships, just so long will science remain partial, incomplete and limited, its cutting edge dulled. In order to understand Man, we must understand society.

If the Freudians were able to see the problems of the individual as reflections of the structure of society, if they were able to comprehend that human personality is fundamentally a *social product*, their exceptionally acute observations of the *effects* of social life under capitalism would lead them to revolutionary conclusions. But then they would no longer be Freudians but Marxists—and *no longer also would they be the darlings of the ideological supporters of things as they are.*

Freud's Theory of Anti-Semitism

In considering the application of Freudian psychoanalysis to the problem of anti-Semitism, which is the intention of Simmel and his co-workers who are all dominated by orthodox psychoanalysis, we should start with Freud's

own views on the question. In his last written work, *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud presents an analysis of anti-Semitism which is quite consistent with his general position. Regarding anti-Semitism as basically the same throughout all the centuries, Freud seeks a universal explanation for it, an explanation which turns out to be biological and instinctive. To do this, he utilizes an old theory of his, which lies at the basis of his interpretation of modern family relations.²

According to this theory of the "primal herd," Freud believes that the original social unit, at the dawn of man's existence on earth, was a herd of females dominated by a single powerful male, who fathers all their children, defends them against danger, and jealously resists the encroachments of any competing male. As his sons grow to maturity, a struggle takes place between the son and the all-powerful father for possession of the female members of the herd, a struggle which results either in the death or expulsion of the son, or the death or expulsion of the father. Thus Freud sees jealousy as an ancient biological phenomenon and the struggle between son and father for the attention of the mother as biologically instinctive and inevitable. As consequences of this struggle come all sorts of feelings of guilt and hatred, which also are eternal concomitants of man's life on earth. Freud sees this ancient (hypothetical) struggle as repeating itself, in shadow form at least, within every modern family, and as the fundamental basis of every human problem.

Now, using this "primal herd" theory (we should emphasize that it is merely a theory; no evidence can be or has been presented in support of it), Freud turns to consider anti-Semitism. What is the heart of the problem, he asks? Consider! The Jews are fond of describing themselves as the Children of God! The Gentiles also regard themselves as the Sons of God; both regard God as the Father; finally, the Gentiles charge the Jews with having killed their Father, and persecute them relentlessly for it. As Freud sums it up: "The poor Jewish people, who with its usual stiff-necked obduracy continued to deny the murder of their 'father,' has dearly expiated this over the course of centuries. Over and over again they have heard the reproach: 'You killed our God.' And this reproach is true, if rightly interpreted" (p. 142).

And what is the "right" interpretation? That the Gentile "sons" of God, who unconsciously desire the death of their "Father," manage to rid themselves of the feelings of guilt aroused by this desire, by accusing their Jewish "brothers" of having actually murdered the "Father," and persecute them for it. In this way, a theory which Freud devised to account for certain relationships within the bourgeois family, and whose validity cannot be proved, broadened out to account for the entire history of peoples and provides the cannibalistic anti-Semite with both a

² In a review of *Moses and Monotheism* in *Jewish Social Studies*, I (Oct. 1939), 469-475, Prof. Morris R. Cohen demonstrates, among other things, that Freud knew nothing about and falsified Jewish history of antiquity.—Eds.

biological basis and scientific justification of his actions. The phenomenon of anti-Semitism thus becomes another of the eternal expressions of the hidden war between unreason and reason, between the biological and the social spheres, which runs as the central thread throughout the entire structure of psychoanalysis.

Book Follows Freudian Theory

It is this general orientation that Simmel and the other contributors to *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease* bring to their work. So we find Simmel, in his introduction to the book, saying: "Throughout the centuries anti-Semitism has remained essentially the same. . .," and "the anti-Semitic attitude obeys an irrational trend which, throughout history has cost many millions of Jewish lives," and further, "anti-Semitism must be the manifestation of a pathological mental process . . .," and finally that he sees anti-Semitism "as a phenomenon arising out of an unconscious conflict between the individual and his civilization" (pp. xvii to xxi).

In his long article entitled "Anti-Semitism and Mass Psychopathology," which forms chapter three of this book, Simmel elaborates these general propositions. He says: "I consider anti-Semitism a psychopathological personality disturbance, manifesting a regression to the . . . stage of the development of the ego when the hatred, the predecessor of the capacity to love, governed its environmental relationships. It is this *pathology of hate* from which the human race suffers and which . . . generates anti-Semitism" (p. 35).

In developing this proposition, Simmel depends very heavily on the conception of the masses as dumb, servile, hate-filled and unreasoning brutes, who must be fooled, corralled and restrained by enlightened leaders, if civilization is to advance. He quotes extensively from Gustave LeBon (*Psychology of Crowds*) who is notorious among social psychologists for extremely reactionary views on "mob psychology." He concludes that anti-Semitism is a "mass psychosis," based upon "unrestricted aggressive destructiveness under the spell of delusion."

In spite of these confusions, Simmel's first-hand *experiences* with fascism apparently leads him to advocate a program for dealing with these so-called "instincts of native aggression" which manifest themselves as anti-Semitism, that can be accepted by all anti-fascists as a part—and only as a part—of their immediate struggle against anti-Semitism. He advocates a long-range program of mental hygiene, aimed at children and youth, designed to redirect "destructive tendencies into constructive channels." He calls upon the international peace organization to define a nation as an aggressor not merely if it practices violence against other nations, but also if it practices violence against minorities within its own borders. And finally, he advocates the passing of legislation to make the manifestation of minority-hatred a punishable crime, so

that "impunity is no longer guaranteed to the emotionally immature individual. . ." (p. 77).

The other contributors to this volume generally follow the approach outlined by Simmel. Max Horheimer gives some of the sociological and historical background of modern anti-Semitism, noting in passing that "the only country where there does not seem to be any kind of anti-Semitism is Russia. This has a very obvious reason. Not only has Russia passed laws against anti-Semitism, but it really enforces them; and the penalties are severe" (p. 3).

Otto Fenichel tries to find out why the Jews have been traditional scapegoats, and finds the answer in the foreignness and exclusiveness which he believes is characteristic of the Jews in all countries, finding in this foreignness an analogy to the alien character of one's own unconscious. "Foreignness is the quality which the Jews and one's own instincts have in common" (p. 20). Bernhard Berliner tries to find out what there is about Jewish psychology that promotes anti-Semitic feelings in others, and finds it in the "paternalistic spirit in religion and culture (which) seems to me the nucleus of Jewish mentality" (p. 79). Douglas W. Orr repeats with Simmel the theory that repressed hatred is at the bottom of the persecution of the Jews. Else Frenkel-Brunswick and R. Nevitt Sanford present the results of an interesting joint study by the questionnaire technique of the "anti-Semitic personality," and find it most prevalent among middle-class, "well-bred" social climbers. Finally T. W. Adorno analyses the techniques used by American fascist disseminators of anti-Semitic propaganda.

Illusory Foundation

In an appraisal of this approach to the problems of the Jewish people, certain fundamental considerations stand out. In the first place, it is clear that the psychoanalyst considers anti-Semitism as related to certain universal and biological attributes of mankind and *fundamentally* not as a product of certain historical and social conditions. All these writers admit the importance of economic, social and political factors in *stimulating* or *controlling* anti-Semitic attitudes, but they really see their origin in certain hypothecated instincts of aggression, destruction and hate which organized society must combat.

Despite, therefore, all well-meaning and honest intentions, since they use as their gauge the Freudian theory of Man, they come even to conclusions that give scientific status to the fascist anti-Semite who justifies anti-Semitism because of some "inherent" objectionable characteristic of the Jewish people itself (see Fenichel and Berliner above). Further, for the Jewish people to accept Simmel's analysis of the roots and basic character of anti-Semitism (see above), would mean adoption of the reactionary path of the "Jew in the Gentile anti-Semitic world" idea, and separation from their democratic allies in the struggle against anti-Semitism. For if the Jew is by nature an un-

friendly foreigner, how can he become a loyal, constant ally with non-Jews in the struggle against reaction? But this "xenophobic" theory is in fact invalidated by the many united struggles by Jews against fascism.

On the other hand, a consistently materialist approach must see anti-Semitic practices and attitudes as a *direct product* of social and political conditions which themselves find their origin in the economic structure of society.⁶ In contrast to the Freudian, the materialist understands that, so long as modern society is dominated by a powerful minority of owners of the means of production and subsistence, just so long will this ruling minority of monopolists resist threats to its control by dividing its opponents, by selecting scapegoats to absorb the resentment of the vast majority of poor and dispossessed, by fomenting all varieties of ultra-nationalism, chauvinism, obscurantism and bestial hatred of man for his fellow man. Anything save a threat to their own rule! Thus the psychoanalyst, however well-intentioned, turns our attention away from the *real* enemy, and by finding the origins of anti-Semitism within the breasts of all of us, keeps us from seeing the actual inspirers and organizers of this dread danger—the men of the trusts.

The second thing which must be said has to do with the question of methods for fighting anti-Semitism. The psychoanalyst, not comprehending class forces and class relationships, rests his case on an appeal to the institutions of education and law. Well and good! But we cannot overlook the fact that these institutions in America are not uninfluenced by the very forces in whose interest anti-Semitism is spread. The cold-eyed men who sit at the head of our giant corporations, who are not reluctant to see the rise of an American form of fascism which will safeguard their interests, will certainly use their influence to block or sabotage any serious attempts to use our schools and law courts to curb anti-Semitism.

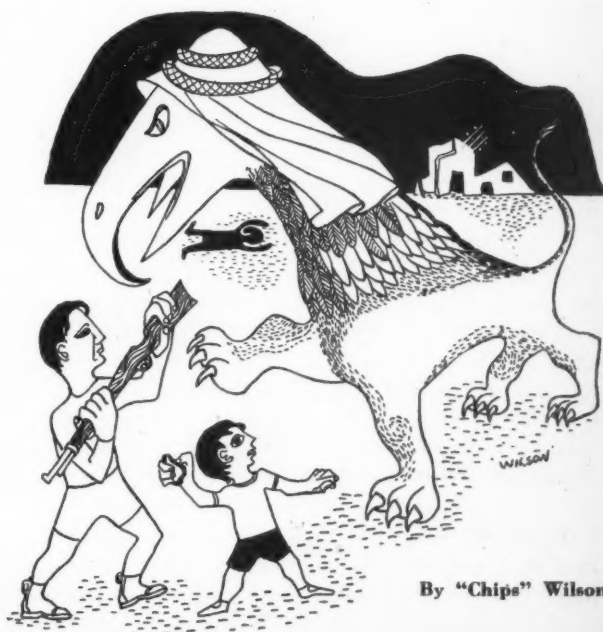
This does not mean that the fighters against anti-Semitism—or indeed any form of chauvinism and persecution of minorities—should not avail themselves of every public channel to aid the fight. Certainly every honest defender of the rights of minorities, every fighter against the ideological weapons of fascism, will throw his full support behind such measures as the Buckley Bill, state and federal FEPC legislation, anti-lynch legislation, and the Springfield Plan idea for public school education. Movements generated for adoption of such measures unite and help educate people to rid themselves of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and other such attitudes. Writing such legislation onto our statutes aids in curbing the men of the trusts and their hired hate-fomenters in their drive to divide and subvert American democracy.

But at the same time, the struggle against anti-Semitism cannot remain *merely* a legal campaign which accepts society as it is and merely attempts to ameliorate its worst features. Such an approach will never touch the heart of the problem. If the main enemy is monopoly capital—the

breeding ground of imperialism, fascism and war—then it seems clear that the fighter against anti-Semitism must direct his main fire against the main enemy. Certainly it is no coincidence that in those lands where the people have taken the power in their own hands—the Soviet Union and the new democracies of eastern Europe—anti-Semitism is a punishable crime and has all the resources of the state mobilized against it.

So we see that the application of Freudian psychoanalysis to the problems of anti-Semitism not only leads to exceedingly tame recommendations for the cure of so dreadful a disease, but also serves to turn our attention away from its real source. What is positive here is of a piece with the sincere but superficial views of many liberals that the sole remedy for all our social evils is the educational process, while they somehow do not notice that our educational institutions are under the thumb of the very evil forces whose influence they wish to combat.

But the negative far outweighs the positive. By giving a biological base to anti-Semitism, by seeing anti-Semitism as something "instinctive," they give aid and comfort to all who wish to persuade the masses that there is something inherently "different" about Jews which causes all "racial Gentiles" to reject them. Thus, as we stated earlier in our discussion of the general theory of Freud, the application of psychoanalysis to any practical social problem has the net effect of disarming the friends of progress and helping the enemy. It is regrettable and dangerous that so many who wish to fight against fascism and anti-Semitism are heavily influenced by so self-defeating a philosophy as that which lies at the basis of Freudian psychoanalysis.



By "Chips" Wilson

The Anglamericanus Imperialis Dressed to Kill

THE ARAB LEAGUE

By L. Sedin

THREE years ago the League of Arab States was founded by a pact approved by the Pan-Arabian Congress held in Cairo in the spring of 1945, and signed on March 22 by representatives of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan, and subsequently Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

The League came into being in a period marked by the development of the national liberation movement in the Middle East to which a powerful impetus was given by World War II. Set up with the declared purpose of achieving Arab unity, safeguarding the sovereignty of Arab peoples and defending peace, the League gave rise to many hopes. Wide circles of the Arab public believed that with the help of the League it would be possible to curb the appetites of the foreign imperialists, who for the first time would be confronted by a united front of Arab nations.

But the birth of the League was attended not only by good fairies. British imperialism, which holds the Middle East in a grip of iron, from the very outset laid claim to the role of the League's patron. Britain at once manifested a tendency to include the League in the orbit of her policy and to use it for her own ends. The Turkish press lost no time in assigning the newborn "Arab union" the role of Britain's watchdog on the routes to India and Iran.

Thus, the League of Arab States was the product of an intricate play of conflicting interests. Time alone could show which path it would take. What balance can the League strike now, on its third birthday?

The basic demands of the national liberation movement in the Arab countries are the withdrawal of foreign, and primarily British, troops, the removal of the corrupt remnants of the mandate system, abolition of unequal treaties, and the establishment of genuine, not fictitious, independence for the Arab countries.

In the light of these demands, which are vitally important for the Arab peoples, it is obvious that the League has not justified the hopes of the Arab public. On more than one occasion during the past few years energetic action on the part of the League might have foiled the schemes and intrigues of the imperialists in the Arab East. The League, however, failed to make use of its opportunities.

In 1945 the peoples of Syria and Lebanon vehemently demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops. A sharp conflict developed; the matter was taken up by the United Nations. The League of Arab States, however, confined itself to a very general expression of solidarity with the people's demands. Curiously enough, though condemning

French intervention in the Levant, the League said nothing at all about Britain's part in the conflict.

The League leadership took a similarly evasive position in the Anglo-Egyptian conflict. During the past three years the Egyptian people have been insisting on the withdrawal of British troops from their country, demanding reunion of the Nile valley lands and the restoration of Egyptian sovereignty. In this case too the League has stood aloof, making no attempt to help the Egyptian people in their struggle with the British occupationists.

Non-Interference with Imperialism

This policy of non-interference and neutrality with regard to imperialist intrigues is characteristic of the League. As a matter of fact, it is the League's official policy. The onerous treaty of 1946, which Britain imposed on Transjordan and which aroused so much indignation throughout the Arab world, evoked no censure from the League. Yet, under the guise of granting independence to Transjordan, this treaty perpetuated British domination in the very heart of the Middle East. Adopting the wait-and-see tactic, the League also avoided interfering in the Anglo-Iraq conflict. Only the resistance of the Iraq people prevented the consolidation of British hegemony in Iraq with the aid of the Portsmouth treaty. Speaking at a press conference in Cairo on January 24, the secretary of the League's press bureau declared that it would not consider Iraq affairs inasmuch as they concerned the Iraq people alone.

The fact that part of the leadership of the League is both privately and openly patronizing such imperialist schemes as the notorious "Greater Syria" project, is causing obvious concern in the Arab world. This plan, manufactured in London and advocated through Abdullah, the ambitious king of Transjordan, is unanimously regarded by the progressive press as a serious threat to the independence of several nations. It envisages the amalgamation of Syria, Lebanon and part of Palestine under the rule of the puppet monarch of Transjordan. Its realization would mean that a considerable part of the Middle East would fall under the sway of the Hashimite dynasty, agents of British imperialism.

The numerous public utterances by prominent Arabs and by many periodicals testify to the bitter disappointment felt by the public at the fact that the League has to all intents and purposes deleted from its program all anti-imperialist slogans. Alfred Naccache, former President of the Lebanese Republic, now a member of parliament, subjected the

L. SEDIN is a Soviet writer. This article is reprinted from *New Times*, March 10, 1948.

League's activity to annihilating criticism. He declared in February 1947:

"The League of Arab States has demonstrated its impotence, its incapability of halting the development in the Middle East of campaigns which are the source of serious alarm. . . . The League has demonstrated its utter bankruptcy."

But if the League has refused to support the struggle of the Middle Eastern states for independence and has embarked on the path of connivance with British and American imperialist plans, what, then, has it been doing during the past three years? What problems have engaged the attention of its leaders?

League Policy on Palestine

The Palestine question has alone consumed all the League's energy and effort. Its policy on this issue has been so framed as to serve the interests of Great Britain.

The chauvinist propaganda which the League has been conducting from its inception has contributed in no small share to the storm of passions that has raged around the fate of Palestine. In obvious conformity with British plans, the League irreconcilably opposed the United Nations decision to set up two independent states—Arab and Jewish—in Palestine. Thanks to the efforts of the League, a number of Arab countries have been involved in a sharp struggle "for Palestine." Special military units are being formed, vast funds accumulated, and volunteers are being recruited among the League's fanatic supporters. Blood is being shed in Palestine.

The role of British imperialism in all this is obvious. According to Egyptian newspapers, Clayton, the British general, conferred on December 10 and 11, 1947, with the Prime Ministers of Lebanon, Iraq and Transjordan, and with Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Apparently, the conference laid down a general line of policy on the Palestine question. In the latter part of January the Beyrouth newspaper *An Nidal* reported, on information from London sources, that the British government had sent to Iraq 150 armored cars, 150 airplanes and 200 motor vehicles. These British arms are being distributed among Iraq army units that are preparing to take a hand in the hostilities in Palestine and replace the British forces there. The newspaper *Al Faiyha* reports that British arms have been dispatched to Transjordan.

The League of Arab States launched the "struggle for Palestine" ostensibly for the purpose of ensuring the integrity and independence of that country. But progressive Arab newspapers point out that behind the booming of guns and the bellicose speeches the League has already revised its policy. It is now advocating the unscrupulous division of long-suffering Palestine among her neighbors. The Palestine newspaper *Al Ittihad* wrote in the early part of February:

"Reliable sources report that the League of Arab States

and the government of Transjordan are bargaining over the future of Palestine. . . . Britain is a party to the bargaining. . . . The British demand is that the League agree that the Arab part of Palestine be joined to Transjordan."

Lebanese newspapers are now discussing a new plan for the partition of Palestine which the ubiquitous General Clayton has brought with him to Beyrouth. This time, according to the press, it is proposed to carve up Palestine into four provinces, to be joined respectively to Egypt, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon.

All these projects and schemes are dictated by the interests of British imperialism, which is anxious to retain the whip hand over Palestine by dividing that country among its Middle Eastern vassals. The fact that the Arab League is taking an active part in these intrigues merely shows whose tool it is. The bellicose hullabaloo the League has raised on the Palestine issue is prompted by anything but concern for the independence and prosperity of that country. In the hands of the wily League politicians the Palestine problem has become a means of diverting the attention of the Arab masses from other vital problems. Progressive Arab circles have no illusions about the meaning of the Palestine hysteria under cover of which the British are setting up new bases in Transjordan and are consolidating their positions in the Suez Canal area, while the Americans are making themselves at home in Libya.

Servility to Anglo-American Bloc

Thus, it is perfectly obvious that the League of Arab States has been unable, or unwilling, to resist the pressure which has been brought to bear on it by foreign imperialism from the very outset. Under this pressure the anti-imperialist spirit has been evaporating from the League program during the past three years until the League has come to be nothing but a weapon in the hands of the enslavers of the Arab peoples.

As a matter of fact, the leaders of the League no longer consider it necessary to conceal their pro-British and pro-American orientation. Take, for example, this statement by E. Atiyah, secretary of the Arab Office in London, published in the British magazine *World Affairs* (No. 1, 1947): "There is no fundamental clash between the policies and aims of the Arab League and any genuine and legitimate British interest." According to Atiyah, "the League has no quarrel with the United States of America" either, since, as he claims, the Arab peoples "saw her [the United States] in an idealistic light, as a source of philanthropy and humanitarian endeavour."

Such servility to the Anglo-American imperialists throws additional light on the relations that have formed between the League leaders and the foreign colonizers of the Arab countries.

Certainly, King Abdullah of Transjordan, who is one of the leading lights in the League, has no quarrel with the

British imperialists. Having given Great Britain a long-term lease on Transjordan, Abdullah has been promised two million pounds sterling a year. Moreover, Abdullah's schemes to entrench his dynasty through the annexationist "Greater Syria" plan are dependent on British imperialism. Another pillar of the League—Ibn Saud, king of Saudi Arabia—does not want to pick a quarrel with the United States either. His personal welfare depends upon the generosity of the American oil monopolies which have gained possession of Arabia's oil deposits.

The progressive press has for some time past pointed to the strengthening of ties between the League of Arab States and British imperialist circles. Judging by the numerous press reports, General Clayton, British resident in the Middle East, wields tremendous influence within the League. This veteran intelligence officer acquired official standing in that body already last summer as the accredited representative of the British government. Relying on his supporters in the leadership of the League, Clayton takes advantage of every opportunity to adapt the League's activities to British Middle Eastern policy. Last autumn the Lebanese press had indignant comment to make on Clayton's brazen conduct at a closed meeting of the League's Political Committee in Sofar, Lebanon. The newspaper *Alef Ba* said that Clayton called out various members of the committee from the hall to give them instructions.

Somewhat earlier the newspaper *Saut-ash-Shaab* noted that the orientation on British residents was putting the League in an unsavory light: "General Clayton's suspicious activity in League circles throughout its existence is common knowledge," the paper said. "Now this activity is being legitimized. . . . It is not a foreign representative like General Clayton the League of Arab States needs but resolution to fight for the independence of the Arab countries and the evacuation of foreign troops from their territory."

Adventurist Leadership

The ease with which Clayton and other British agents have gained control over the League of Arab States is explained solely by the fact that it has proved a gathering place for a coterie of politicians not too discriminating when it comes to choice of methods. These politicians are using Arab nationalist catchwords to serve their own adventurist ends. In spite of the publicity the League is giving to such of its leaders as Amin El-Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Nuri Said Pasha, the President of the Iraq Senate, and Ismail Sidky Pasha, the ex-Premier of Egypt, all these men have a very shady political reputation. They are associated with the League mainly because of personal ambitions. Amin El-Husseini, for instance, has already proclaimed himself and his relatives the future rulers of Palestine. Azzam Pasha, the General Secretary of the League, is mixed up in recent Anglo-American intrigues in Tripolitania. He is being groomed for the throne of that country.

The events of the past three years have shown that the Pan-Arabian Congress in Egypt in 1945 resulted not in the

unification of the Arab peoples for joint struggle for their independence, but in a top-level combination of Arab rulers.

Three years after its formation the League of Arab States has come no closer to the people. But it has found a common language with all kinds of reactionary and pro-fascist organizations like the Moslem Brotherhood, the Lebanese Phalanx, Misr el Fatat, etc. All this reactionary scum gives its undivided support to the League, which reciprocates in full. In Cairo Azzam Pasha recently reviewed a parade of fascist volunteers for the "Palestine front." Members of the Misr el Fatat party gave him the fascist salute.

The latest reports from the Middle East leave no room for doubt that the leaders of the League are getting ready to make another deal with British imperialism behind the backs of the people. The British government, which learned from the case of Iraq that it will be difficult in the present situation to dictate onerous terms to the Arab peoples, regards the conclusion of a general agreement with the Arab League as a radical solution of this ticklish problem. As usual, the project is advanced under the slogan of "joint defense," with British propaganda drumming it into the Arabs that the menace to their existence emanates not from Britain but from an altogether different source.

Plans for "Eastern Bloc"

Progressive Arab leaders vigorously oppose a military and political agreement with British imperialism. Nevertheless, the leaders of the League give their approbation to plans from London and are eager to undertake the role of brokers acting on behalf of the whole Arab world. The Egyptian *Al Balagh* reported at the end of January that the League was studying the possible conclusion of a military and political treaty with Britain which it would sign in the capacity of a regional organization representing the Middle East. The newspaper pointed out with indignation that the League was thereby throwing a life buoy to British imperialism, which had failed in its efforts to conclude such unequal agreements with the Arab countries separately.

Not satisfied with supporting this project, the reactionary Arab circles are now busy with a plan emanating from London for the formation of an anti-Soviet "Eastern bloc," with a view to joint struggle "against Communism." Azzam Pasha toured the capitals of the Arab countries last autumn to boost this bloc. The Anglo-American politicians are counting on the League's assistance in another respect as well—the realization of a plan that has just appeared for the formation of a Moslem bloc, which, according to *Sida al Ahval* of February 18, is to include Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and all the countries in the Arab League.

The imperialist, anti-popular purpose of all these plans is no secret to the Arab public. History teaches the peoples of the Arab world the simple truth that any alliance with imperialists can bring them only added burdens and hardships. The attempts of the League to use its prestige to cover up the formation, under British and American patron-

age, of a bloc of dependent and colonial countries expose it completely.

Discussing the prospects of such a bloc, the Cairo *Sawt Al Umma* wrote at the end of February:

"Under the present circumstances this alliance would benefit the enemies of the Arab peoples inasmuch as imperialism continues to dominate Iraq, Egypt and Transjordan. Hence, such an alliance must be regarded now as an imperialist hoax. It will remain a hoax until the national problems of the colonized Arab peoples, subordinated to British influence, are solved and until complete evacuation of the Arab East is made the cornerstone of the independence of the Arab states."

The leaders of the League cannot but be aware of the growing opposition their policy is evoking among the wide masses of the people. Probably because of this a sweeping

anti-democratic campaign has been launched in a number of countries with the League's blessing. In Syria and Lebanon, progressive organizations which have proved themselves militant participants in the national liberation front are being persecuted. In Iraq popular demonstrations are being dispersed and fired at.

Measures of this kind, however, will not achieve the purpose intended. The people cannot be silenced by force. The League of Arab States cannot strengthen its position by waging open war against the democratic movement. On the contrary, its present actions strip the League of the mask of champion of the national interests of the Arab world—a mask it assumed from the start. In its present shape the League of Arab States is nothing but a shadow of Anglo-American imperialism. And in the East it is said that even the shadow of a camel is hunchbacked.

A CALL TO A CULTURAL CONFERENCE

AS Jewish writers, artists, composers, choreographers, critics of the arts, scholars and cultural leaders, we are increasingly aware that, like every other people, we have something unique to contribute to the cultural fund of humanity, and to the cultural treasure of the United States in particular. The culture of a people, which stems from its experience, which reflects and generalizes that experience, in turn also feeds the life of that people.

That is why assimilation, the forsaking of Jewish life and culture, did not save our people from annihilation. But in the darkest and most bitter moments of struggle against Hitlerism, in the partisan groups, in the underground, in the ghetto brigades, we fought as Jews with arms and with culture, we lived and created as Jews, and, life and culture existing in unity, we Jews survived.

If life and culture are an inseparable unity, does not being a Jew, and failing to include creation as a Jew, prevent full cultural integration? The consciousness of Jewish cultural workers of the need to identify themselves with our people, is further stimulated by the knowledge that art is also a weapon, essential in times of stress such as these.

Jewish survival is not a settled question. In Palestine, our brothers and sisters are fighting desperately to secure their evolvment as a nation, are struggling grimly to achieve independence. And the imperialist forces that menace our people in Palestine, also endanger the security of our people everywhere, in Europe, in the Americas, and

here at home. But we are fully conscious that victory in these struggles will bring not just physical security. The reviving Jewish communities in the Soviet Union and in the new democracies of eastern Europe, and the emerging Jewish nation in Birobidjan, are living proof of the new perspectives that will open up for cultural growth.

But this consciousness and compelling urge raise serious problems for Jewish cultural workers. Is there an American Jewish progressive culture? What is the overall conception of Jewish culture in the midst of a reactionary American culture which advances the myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority? What are the specific forms and symbols of American Jewish culture? What is the relation of this culture in English to Yiddish and Hebrew, of American Jewish culture to Jewish culture in other lands? What do we really know about our past? Have we provided an adequate picture of contemporary Jewish life? What are our responsibilities in the struggle for the security of our people?

These are fundamental and practical problems that we must face together and try to solve collectively. For this purpose the organizations and individuals listed below are calling an exploratory conference in New York City on June 18-19, 1948. We know that cultural workers are concerned about these problems. We urge your attendance. For further information, write to English Cultural Conference, Room 1206, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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Individuals:

Herbert Aptheker
Nathan Ausubel
Samuel Barron

Milton Blau
Joseph Brainin
Howard Fast
Sidney Finkelstein
Aaron Goodelman
Louis Harap
Minna Harkavy
Albert E. Kahn
Louis Lozowick

Albert Maltz
Sam Morgenstern
Arnold Perl
Sam Pevzner
Morris U. Schappes
Edith Segal
Samuel Sillen
Chaim Suller
Ira Wallach

DEMOCRACY AND THE DEPORTATION LAWS

By Ira Gollobin

DEPORTATION is the weapon devised early in American history to deport American democracy and to import in its place the alien power of a few financial magnates over the nation. Deportation for political beliefs is the use by indirection of force and violence against the majority of Americans and their exercise of the Bill of Rights to achieve democratic progress. Americans are to be preserved from dangerous thoughts by a quarantine on ideology supposedly foreign in origin. The dangerous thoughts are to be cast out by exiling any democratic minded non-citizen. Efforts to block progress are cloaked as patriotism preserving Americans from sedition.

Before discussing the history of the deportation laws it may be of value to consider some data on their enforcement. The total number of deportations, from their beginning in 1892 through 1947, is approximately 285,000. From 1892 to 1917, over 16,500,000 immigrants were admitted and over 33,000 deported—one deportation for every 500 admitted. From 1923 to 1947, some 4,000,000 were admitted and about 250,000 deported—one for every 16.

The effect of depressions on deportation is shown in the figures for 1932 and 1933. Immigration for these two years was about 60,000 and deportations about 40,000. Thus for almost every person admitted one person was deported.

Some figures on political deportation cases covering 1919 through 1929 show a similar economic correlation. Political deportations for this period totalled about 1000. (This is separate from warrants of arrest, which in 1920 amounted to over 6000 as a result of the Palmer Raids. However, very few were actually deported as a result of these raids.) There were more than three times as many political deportations (760) in the two depression years of 1920 and 1921 than in the remaining seven years to 1929. In fact, during four years of economic prosperity (1926-1929) there were only 15 political deportations. Today, when a depression is again in prospect, the deportation drive is significant.

Some figures on the present non-citizen population may also be pertinent. There are today 3,000,000 non-citizens. Sixty per cent are 50 years of age or older. More than half have lived here over 30 years. The largest group of non-citizens, some 22 per cent, are British.

The history of deportation laws since the founding of our nation falls into three periods: 1) from 1798 to 1875; 2) from 1875 to 1903; and 3) from 1903 to the present time.

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Deportation existed even in colonial times. In Boston, Church of England men who like plum pudding on Christmas Day, the May pole on May Day and the Prayer Book every day, were forced to return to England. However, it was only after the Revolution that fear of the stranger was exalted into a theory of government. In 1796, the Federalist Party won power and, in order to suppress the rising demand of the people for land which had been monopolized by speculators, enacted the infamous Alien and Sedition Laws. They were intended to prove that ideas for popular democracy were imported from France, and hostile to American traditions. The laws were enacted during the summer of 1798 under cover of a threat of war with France.

Early Anti-Alien Laws

The Alien Act (June 25, 1798) provided that "it shall be lawful for the President of the United States at any time during the continuance of this act, to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States within such time as shall be expressed in such order. . . ." After the passage of the law, many aliens left the United States. There does not seem to be any record of deportations under the law.

An insight into the period can be gained from the conviction in October 1798 of one David Brown for violation of the sedition law. Brown was charged with having erected a liberty pole at Dedham, Mass., which included the following inscription: "No Stamp Act, No Sedition, No Alien Bills, No Land Tax; downfall to the tyrants of American peace and retirement to the President. . . ." For this Brown, a former soldier in the Revolutionary War, was sentenced to 18 months in jail and fined \$400. Brown had also written:

" . . . and 500 out of the union of 5,000,000 receive all the benefit of public property and live upon the ruins of the rest of the community. . . . There always has been an actual struggle between the laboring part of the community and those lazy rascals that have invented every means that the Devil has put into their heads to destroy the laboring part of the community; and those that we have chosen to act as public servants, act more like the enthusiastic ravings of mad men than the servants of the people and are determined to carry their measures by the point of the bayonet."

The famous Kentucky Resolution, written in 1798 by Jefferson and Madison in opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts, maintained: "The friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment, but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for already a sedition act has marked him for its prey." The true nature of the complaint of the Federalists against the foreign born can be seen in the invective of a Uriah Tracy, who ranted against the Irish: "The United Irishmen are the most God-provoking democrats this side of Hell." The deep and widespread hostility of the people to the Alien and Sedition Laws contributed greatly to the election of Jefferson in 1800. Jefferson maintained that the Federal government had no power over aliens greater than any possessed over citizens. For some 75 years this doctrine remained substantially the law.

Erosion Begins in 1875

The Alien and Sedition Acts made a frontal assault on the rights of the foreign born. Beginning with 1875, however, the process of piecemeal erosion began. The first step was not a deportation law but a more innocently appearing exclusion statute barring from entry into the United States convicts and prostitutes in whose defense few, if any, voice could be found. The importance of the law consisted in its establishment of the principle of exclusion of aliens deemed "undesirable."

For more than 250 years America had grown without being any the worse for those who, regardless of their background and records, sought a new life here. In fact, the jails of England were at times nearly emptied by sending their inmates to this country. Yet, henceforth, an immigrant's background was to be subject to surveillance. Furthermore, this exclusion law contained within it (as do all exclusion laws) in embryo a deportation law against all those who entered the United States in violation of its exclusionary provisions.

Seven years later, in 1882, the exclusionary ban was broadened to include lunatics, idiots, and those likely to become "public charges." Simultaneously, Chinese were barred from the country as immigrants. This broadened exclusion to the point where it no longer rested on the facts of an individual's previous life but, apart from any merits or demerits, adopted an openly racist criterion.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 contained other features. It provided for deportation, thus making explicit the power implicit in exclusion. Secondly, it required all Chinese to register. Thirdly, the determination by administrative officers of applications to enter was made final with no right of appeal to the courts. In effect Chinese became a class of "untouchables" whose exclusion and expulsion could be pursued by unconstitutional methods.

In 1888, the ban on the entry of contract laborers was enacted. It also provided for the expulsion of contract laborers within one year after entry.

The provisions for the deportation of Chinese proved to be the entering wedge for the passage in 1891 of the first general deportation law. The 1891 act broadened the classes of excludable persons to include paupers and others. It also authorized deportation within one year of entry of "any alien who shall come into the United States in violation of law"; also of any alien "who becomes a public charge within one year after entry from causes existing prior to his landing." No judicial machinery was specified. Nor was any opportunity for a hearing given, nor a warrant required an oath. So abhorrent was the law to fundamental constitutional principles that it remained a dead letter for a number of years.

Lynching of Aliens

The extra-constitutional practices of this period extended to the use of open force and violence against the foreign born. Not only were the rights to liberty and property of the alien curtailed by the courts and Congress, but the right to life itself was in jeopardy. Between 1885 and 1910, some 73 aliens of different nationalities were lynched or murdered. At Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1885 one hundred men attacked a Chinese settlement in a mining town, burning all the houses to the ground, murdering 28 Chinese and wounding 16. Similar riots occurred in Bloomfield, Redding, Boulder Creek, Eureka and other towns in California. In New Orleans in 1891, nine Italians were lynched. Three Italians were lynched in Walsenberg, Colorado, in 1895. Five Italians were lynched at Tallulah, La., in 1899. With respect to this last incident, Pres. McKinley in his annual message to Congress of Dec. 5, 1899, commented about "... the fourth time in the present decade [that] the question has arisen with the Government of Italy in regard to the lynching of Italian subjects." Similar occurrences were the subject of messages to Congress by Presidents Harrison, Theodore Roosevelt and Taft.

In 1892, the Chinese were again the guinea pigs for the further limitation of the rights of aliens. The Chinese Registration Act of 1892 provided, despite treaties to the contrary, for the deportation of legally resident Chinese aliens who failed to register. The law withheld the right to a jury trial, authorized imprisonment, placed the burden of proof on the alien, and required the testimony of white persons for the defense. This law was sustained as constitutional by the Supreme Court in the Fong Yue Ting case of 1893. The majority of the court stated that Congress had the right to "exclude, to expel all aliens, or any class of aliens absolutely or upon certain conditions, in war or in peace." Moreover, the Court held that deportation was not punishment and therefore the alien was not entitled to due process of law, a jury trial or freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures and cruel and unusual punishments.

Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Field and Brewer dis-

sented. Justice Fuller held, referring to the deportation proceedings under the 1892 law, that it "... inflicts punishment without a judicial trial. . . . Moreover, it contains within it the germs of the assertion of an unlimited and arbitrary power, in general, incompatible with the immutable principles of justice, inconsistent with the nature of our government, and in conflict with the written Constitution by which that government was created and those principles secured."

Justice Field stated: "In no other instance (other than the [1798] Alien Act) until the law before us was passed, has any public man had the boldness to advocate the deportation of friendly aliens in time of peace. . . . And it will surprise most people to learn that any such dangerous and despotic power lies in our government . . . a power which . . . can . . . be enforced without regard to the guarantees of the Constitution intended for the protection of the rights of all persons in their liberty and prosperity. . . ."

Justice Brewer prophetically declared: "It is true this statute is directed only against the . . . Chinese; but if the power exists, who shall say it will not be exercised tomorrow against other classes and other people? If the guarantees of these amendments can be thus ignored, in order to get rid of this . . . class, what security have others that a like disregard of its provisions may not be resorted to." And Justice Brewer concluded ironically, "In view of this enactment of the highest legislative body of the foremost Christian nation, may not the thoughtful Chinese disciple of Confucious fairly ask, Why do they send missionaries here?"

Absolute Power Over Aliens

The Supreme Court decision in the Fong Yue Ting case went beyond the Act of 1892. Congress, it asserted, had an absolute power, unlimited by the Constitution, to legislate as to non-citizens. This absolute power could be delegated to any official Congress designated.

The foundation had by now been made for deportation because of political belief, even though the belief was not accompanied with any acts and even though the belief was not a crime and did not subject a citizen to any penalty whatsoever.

The act of March 3, 1903 provided for the exclusion or deportation within three years of their arrival here "of anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law, or in the assassination of public officials." In the general immigration act of Feb. 20, 1907, this provision was reenacted.

The Immigration Act of 1917 added to the political ban, among other provisions, all aliens "who are members of or affiliated to an organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government." This introduced the doctrine of guilt by association. Proof of personal belief in a proscribed doctrine was no longer necessary. In addition, any time limit on the political deporta-

tion of non-citizens was removed. Thus even though his entry into the United States was lawful, a non-citizen was to be subject to political censorship and denied the freedom of speech that all others possess under the law.

A year later, on Oct. 16, 1918, the law was further extended to include membership or affiliation in an organization that believes in, "teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States." The Act of June 5, 1920 made membership or affiliation in an organization possessing proscribed literature for display or distribution grounds for deportation. The doctrine of guilt by association had now been pushed to the point where a non-citizen member was made responsible for every act of the officers of the organization which might bring it within the ban of the statute.

Illustrative of Congressional thinking of the time is the statement in 1919 by Rep. Newton, who declared, "We have the right to enact a law that every red-headed alien shall be deported. The power is plenary; it cannot be restricted; it is absolute."

Bill of Rights Infringed

This doctrine was embodied in a bill which passed the House of Representatives in 1939 (Dempsey Bill, H.R. 5138, H.R. 280). The bill, which was defeated in the Senate, would have subjected to deportation those who advocate or are members of an organization advocating "the making of any changes in the American form of government." Many office holders would no doubt consider their retirement from office on election day as "a change in the American form of government," to be combatted by force and violence if need be against their opponents.

This principle of freedom of belief and speech came before the Supreme Court in the *Schneiderman* case in 1943, involving the right of a communist to retain his naturalization. Justice Murphy wrote: "The First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of thought . . . and the many important and far-reaching changes made in the Constitution since 1787 refute the idea that attachment to any particular provision or provisions is essential, or that one who advocates radical changes is necessarily not attached to the Constitution. . . . The Constitutional fathers, fresh from a revolution, did not forge a political straitjacket for the generations to come." He further stated: "The Bill of Rights belongs to them [aliens] as well as to citizens. . . . The strength of this nation is weakened more by those who suppress the freedom of others than by those who are allowed freely to think and act as their conscience dictates."

A political deportation law enforced by an administrative body subjects freedom of speech and belief of non-citizens to the arbitrary opinions of a host of officials, many of whom like the Attorney General were never elected to office. At most, it can only place the pretense of legality over the forceful and violent deprivation of the non-citi-

zen's right to freedom of speech, to his liberty and property. It is the Attorney General, not the aliens in the many pending political deportation cases, who is guilty of subverting by force and violence our democracy.

Underlying political deportation laws is the doctrine that our government and constitution exist not to maintain democratic progress for the general welfare for which freedom of speech is essential, but to preserve the power of the wealthy few by dispensing with the freedom of speech of their opponents. Government would thereby cease to rest on the consent of the governed but on force and violence directed against the people. Louis F. Post, former assistant secretary of labor, has described the Palmer raids in his book, *Deportations Delirium*. Referring to the charges made of a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence, he wrote:

"If such a conspiracy existed, the Department of Justice produced no proof of it. Nearly all the 'conspirators' were wage-workers, useful in industry, good natured in their dispositions, unconscious of having given offense. . . . The 'red' crusade began to look like a gigantic and cruel hoax, and that is what it finally proved to be."

Mr. Post further commented: "There are signs of an

overthrow of our government as a free government. It is going on under cover of a vigorous 'drive' against 'anarchists,' an anarchist being almost anybody who objects to government of the people by Tories and for financial interests."

Mr. Post's words need no other change than to substitute the word "communist" for "anarchist" to make his statement fully applicable to the situation today.

Our present political deportation laws now stand forth as only a more polished and elaborate version of the odious 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts. A struggle against these laws is as vital today as it was for the American people in 1798. The American people are moving forward to higher democratic goals. They must clear away the obstacles contained in our present unconstitutional deportation laws and defeat every attempt to deny to non-citizens the full protection of the Bill of Rights. *

Any program for the defense of the rights of the American people must include 1) an immediate end to the unnecessary arrests of non-citizens; 2) cancellation of all proceedings in political deportation cases to enable these non-citizens to become American citizens; 3) repeal of the law permitting deportation for political opinions.

LITTLE SUBVERSIVE

A Short Story

By M. R. Hoyt

SHE plays with the Julie doll and the Ruthie doll and arranges teddy bear and pussy cat and chimpanzee around the low table where lunch will be served by the hurrying mother. Yellow curls swing from the small head and the eyes are a deep blue in the fair-skinned face. She stands 38 inches tall and weighs a pound an inch.

Oranges and eggs and sunshine in the park, the hot days' roaming in the country beside the pond where the fish swam and the lone turtle crawled along the clear bottom, these things the mother sees reflected in the body of Charita.

Her leg bones did not bend when the call of a wider world set baby feet beneath a wide bellied body and the child clambered erect in the safety of the play pen. She ran. She fell. She climbed to wobbly feet and tried again.

One room came to be Charita's. It has smooth black linoleum and the center rug glows in bright Mexican colors before her crib. Now one side of the crib is lowered at night and she is able to climb out, put on the bunny slippers and run through the dark of intervening rooms to where mama and papa sit in warm, lighted security.

Charita is a child of three and papa and mama sit talk-

ing in the living room, recalling the things of the day, retelling her baby sayings, planning for the years which lie ahead.

"She should learn something of her background. She should know the story of those who came before her and she should understand the cultures which created them," says the father.

On the living-room walls hang paintings of the tiny Vermont community Grandpa Seth called home. Mama painted them and the village knew her as Melvin's wife and it remembered Melvin as the son of Minister Seth. Clustered thinly together in one scene are the houses and churches of two villages, separated by the thin gleaming course of the Connecticut River.

Here, in another picture, is the bare house of God where Seth worshipped and later preached. It grew out of the soil around it. Stone for its foundation was quarried in the pasture of Seth's father. Trees later sawed into sills laid on this granite had grown for centuries on the hill behind the house built by his grandfather. All the men of the area turned out to labor in the sun and strain heavy rafters into place as they outdid each other in feats of strength when the church was raised.

Outside it was painted white. Inside it was bare and

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bleak with windows of clear glass, unshaded against the sun. The little Seth squirmed in his seat and heard the minister talk of the love of Christ and read sonorously, "And this other commandment I give unto you: Love your neighbor as yourself."

Here is a painting of the graveyard. A straggling white fence sometimes keeps out the cows from the neighboring pasture. In the picture one sees the white blobs of stone which mark the places where the baby's paternal ancestors lie beneath the uncut grass. Here are buried many of the Gentile people whose recapitulated form now clutches the dream children of Charita: the rabbit and the woolly sheep.

Grandpa Seth has joined the others who sleep upon this Vermont hill. There beside him, equally covered with snow and sod and the multiple things which men use in the boxes in which they pack their dead, is his wife. She was a tiny child when her oldest sister returned from the South with a frail, thin man. The baby Prudence, who was to be the wife of Seth, learned to call this man Uncle Alex and later she understood that he was weak because he had spent years in the Confederate prisons of Libby and Andersonville.

Prudence grew and knew hunger and work and was schooled and taught school herself. She studied algebra beside a lamp smoking into morning hours as she prepared to teach her advanced pupils and closed her books at five of a winter morning to open them again at nine and make clear to others the mysteries of the quadratic equation. She taught the history of the Civil War with the pale face of Alexander, the Union veteran, before her mind's eye and she knew the meaning of her words when she said, "Any price is not too great to pay for freedom. And no man may be free when his brother is a slave."

Seth took Prudence to wife and children were born to them and grew strong and one died in the first World War. A preacher of the Methodist faith, following in the footsteps of Seth, his end came in a burst of flame and then his plane plummeted down on French soil.

Charita's father, Melvin, was another child of Seth and Prudence. Because he hoped that some day his fellow citizens, white, would not try to keep his fellow citizens, Negro, from calling on him when they were very welcome and very dear, he fought against Franco. At first he hoped to see freedom grow stronger in the world and then he saw blood on the sidewalks of Barcelona and the white moon over the hills in winter. One corpse he remembered was that of his friend sprawled behind the shallow trench at Jarama. Mud lay undisturbed in the open, blue, dead eye.

White hair crept up the sides of a partly bald head and Melvin had a job and a wife and the baby Charita. He said, speaking in the quiet of the living room with its pictures of the world of Seth and Prudence, "She should know about her people. Our baby should understand how

they lived and what they hoped and how they died in their surety of the resurrection of the body and life everlasting in the eternal rest promised in the heaven of their religion."

These were a part of the Gentile people of Charita: Melvin and Seth and Eliphalet and the long line of the Henrys. Prudence and Thankful and Peace and Ruth and Patience. The women spun and they knitted the yarn and they wove the cloth and cut it and the pasture brook ate away the ice in spring and fall roads were rutted by the buggy wheels as young men squired their girls to quilting bees and prayer meetings.

AT THAT TIME POLAND WAS UNDER THE CZARS. JEWISH PEOPLE lived in ghettos and were confined in work to the things Christians held unclean for themselves but permitted to those who were of the blood of Christ in whose name they murdered the children of Israel.

In that Poland almost no Jews owned land and the few who did found their titles as insecure as those held by Alabama Negroes in the years following Alexander's return from Confederate prisons. Land is life but a ruling class is a ruling class and the land owned by the Jewish great-grandfather of Charita came to be registered in the name of a Gentile.

Laws changed and reaction marched forward. The Church blessed the law and the law pushed out the few Jewish landowners. When David, the Jewish grandfather of Charita, was still a young man there was no place for him in the forests of his fathers and there was no title to them held in his family. So the young man went to the town to earn his living as a painter of houses. Penniless, stripped of his heritage by the Christian laws of Holy Russia, to him remained only a memory of the father whose passing he mourned with the slow syllables of *kad-dish*.

There was want in the city and across the sea came tales of promise in a far land. David heard these words. He read the Yiddish script written by those who had found new homes in New York and were methodically starving themselves to accumulate the money for the passage of their loved ones to the American land of hope.

The promises which moved David in Lodz were very like those which had been pondered on by the Elijah, who was the first ancestor of Melvin, to sail from Plymouth in England to the New England where he founded his American family.

Then David left his family, the wife and five children, in Lodz and set out for the United States. Did he think then of the time when, under Moses the lawgiver, the Children of Israel had crossed the Red Sea leaving behind them the house of bondage which was Pharaoh's?

And David painted dark tenement rooms and studied the English language in night school and hoarded silver coins and paper dollars and drank his tea with *landsleit* in Allen Street after the meetings were finished in the *schul*.

In time the savings were finished and the family of David came through Ellis Island and marvelled at the tall building and came to call the rooms he had furnished home.

Years went by in the house of David. Children were graduated from the city high schools. The father became a clothing operator. The mother sickened and wearied but the home was open to a stream of people who talked in Polish, Yiddish, English, German, Russian of the old life and the new and dreamed those dreams which parents know and watched the flowering of their American young in the city of New York.

THE MOTHER AND FATHER OF CHARITA TALK OF THESE THINGS in the room where New England scenes look down from quiet walls and the samovar which Charita's great-grandfather bought in Russia stands on the corner of the bookcase. Near it, filled with dried flowers picked by the baby, stands the pewter pitcher which went horseback, packed in a featherbed, from Massachusetts to the wilds of Vermont. At the far end is the black Spanish water jug. It was made in Catalonia when Paul Robeson sang the mighty songs of the Republic and Melvin drove an overloaded Ford truck across a bomb-scarred stone bridge at Lerida the day the German planes scored a direct hit on an elementary school in that mountain city.

There is a copy of an evening paper and also a morning paper on the table, now cleared of its dishes. Both dailies carry the news. An Attorney General has spoken. Tom Clark's purge list is out. Now all the 140,000,000 may know those organizations which this servant of a government labels subversive.

"We had an IWO doctor," says Melvin. "That must make Charita subversive now. Do you remember the night when the 11 o'clock news was on the air and you said, 'I think our baby's going to be born?' We went down to the street and the cab ride ended at the hospital and there in the reception room was the Puerto Rican girl who was also waiting, for the first time, that hour when the mother becomes two bodies and a separate life passes out of the tunnel of darkness and blood into the glaring light of the delivery room. She told us her husband had also been in the anti-Franco war. We waited for our doctor and later I went away and in the morning you were, somehow, very beautiful in the narrow hospital bed and the one orchid from the Greek florist whose nephew was killed at the Ebro looked down on your tired face. In the nursery down the hall was Charita with a bracelet of beads spelling Richards and a chart with a name on it. We who had been two were three and the name of the third, now sleeping in her own room, was Female Baby Richards."

The mother lifts her head from her supporting hands on the table. The hands reach for each other, rub nervously together. "I've forgotten the statues in the hospital," she says. "Remember, you stopped to look at them when we went to reserve my room for the baby. You said you were

glad we would be confined in a Jewish hospital open to all people and you told me of the scientific work done by the men whose busts were on the stairs.

"If Charita had been a boy there would have been a circumcision and the Negro minister who married us and the rabbi who buried my brother-in-law and the family would have gathered. It wouldn't have been the old tradition but it would have been in line with the Hebrew sanitary laws and everyone would have been friendly together."

"There wasn't a *briss*," says the father, "but there was a first *seder* at your dad's house and we carried her, tiny in a pink blanket, into the subway and I said, 'Sometime we will tell her what *pesach* means to us and she will hear a chorus sing *Let My People Go* and she will look at the graves in Vermont and the graves in Staten Island and maybe see both Plymouth, England, and Lodz, Poland, the cities from which her fathers, Elijah and David, the Puritan and the Jew, set forth for the promise of work and land and living in this country."

The parents are quiet, summing up the intimate world created by those who live together so closely that they create others of their flesh who grow up in the strange, special climate known only to members of a family which dwells in peace. The mother thinks: in the *Scarlet Letter* the baby played with the badge of her mother's shame. Now our child becomes a Little Subversive and soon she'll be a number on a book and wear a number on her arm and all the subversives behind the lines in Greece are shot with American guns each morning for the greater glory of God, in the land of the free and the home of the brave, Amen. Will she put down her toys easily to live with us in a jail? Will the good Catholic woman protect our baby when all we Jews are ended? First we shall be *untermenschen* but Charita can never live with Melvin's folks for there, those now living, say they moved away from the city to find freedom from the Jews. There was a yellow star of David but we make better guns and better crematoriums are an industrial possibility. A red "R" for Red. A yellow *mogen Dovid* and a red "R" and black shrouds for the dead all embroidered at a profit of X per cent and bought by a general at a profit of Y per cent and worn by a corpse or a corpse about to be, sweet land of liberty, kill all the Jews. Hang all the Negroes to keep all blood pure for this is a democracy and what the Germans did we can do better, glory hallelujah, fighting the menace of the communists.

Melvin reaches for Sarah's tired hand. He holds it close, remembering: I never knew her mother but all mothers have the same fears. I hope she doesn't know how bad it is. Our baby sleeps at four o'clock of a winter morning and as yet there are no steps on the stairs and we want such simple things. The IWO, the Jefferson School where we bought her a baby book, where she was to dance with other babies, the Communist Party, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln

Brigade, every group through which we live, he calls subversive. Is it subversive to live at all? Land where my fathers died. . . .

Their hands are clenched together. The mother shifts in her chair and speaks. "It isn't really like that at all. This is only a minute of hysteria, like the shock of cold water, and then you dive in and it is fine. We have known pain, both of us. It can only be so bad and then you faint. And then you die or else you live again. It can't be too bad to follow where 6,000,000 led."

"I laid my hand with yours upon your naked belly and felt the life within you," answers the father. "We smiled and were happy and more than a little afraid. Today it was, Charita said, 'I see smiling faces,' and she played with us in the sunny afternoon and we have forgotten, almost, that fear we knew almost four years ago."

"The people do not die, Melvin. Remember the song at the end of the *seder* service? One kid. But not all the people die. The Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine are known to the ends of the earth and the people do not die."

"The doctor who delivered her, the other doctor who is to remove the tiny cyst, perhaps the hospital where she was born and is to be operated on, all these he calls subversive. But so was the Jew called whom my people worship as the son of God. And a Roman state killed that man almost 2,000 years before my dad asked the aid of Christ in prayer when he helped to organize a CIO union in the basement of his church."

"Hitler built for 1,000 years. His rule fell in how many?" questions the mother.

"Don't worry," says the father. "Our country is stronger than Germany was but our Little Subversive isn't sure of that kind of death. My mama told me her uncle Alexander weighed less than 100 pounds when her sister brought him home from Andersonville and he lived to be over 80."

"She isn't a little subversive. She's only our baby Charita," says the mother. "And now I'm going to bed."

She rises, puts the papers in their place, opens the window and, taking the clock, leaves the room.

The father remains. He remembers the wall at the corner where the crayon scrawl read, "Kill the Jews." Later the slogan was covered by the election poster urging voters to kick communists out of the City Council. The Bronx block where his little niece was slugged by the boy who called her a Christ-killing bastard had three, or was it four, candy stores on the north and two saloons on the south side.

THESE ARE THE THINGS THAT MELVIN REMEMBERS: THERE was a gang fight at the corner and the kid who kept brass knuckles in his dirty bed went to the police station and stayed there until I bailed him out. And the kid who was released after slugging a Jewish girl and went back to his factory job said, "I don't know what the fight was all about but anyway I was in it and I had two teeth broken out."

The kid came down to the house for dinner and he played with Charita and later he met some of the other youngsters in the neighborhood. There was a Negro minister and a city councilman and a young rabbi who talked of Poland and told the kids how corpses looked on a snowy street. It didn't come easily and the block didn't change over night but gang fights between the Jews and the Puerto Ricans and the Negroes did come to a gradual end.

Well, it happened in the Bronx and Manhattan is the Bronx only it's on an island and the people of New York are the people of the world, aren't they? This land of mine, this house of ours, didn't these things come from diverse backgrounds and wasn't the idea of many nations put into this thing which we call home?

It was late of a winter morning and Melvin felt sleep crawling up his back and demanding respite for the tired body. He swung his bad leg down from the chair, turned out the light and went through to the front of the house. The frames of the lithographs stood out palely white as morning broke in Charita's room and the woolly lamb lay nestled close against the pink cheek of the Little Subversive.

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AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AS RED-BAITER

Third of a Series

By Louis Harap

"WE all believe," said Alan M. Stroock, vice-chairman of the American Jewish Committee executive committee, at the 40th annual meeting (1947), "in the proposition that the security of the Jews in America is dependent upon the preservation of American democracy and that the strongest bulwark against anti-Semitism is the federal constitution and particularly the Bill of Rights. We also accept the fact that anti-Semitism thrives in a sick economy and in an atmosphere of social tensions. The welfare of the Jews as of all minority groups is tied up with progressive liberalism and is threatened by reaction."

Has the AJC acted on these principles?

The most flagrant attack in many years on labor and also on democracy itself is the Taft-Hartley Law. Jewish groups such as the American Jewish Congress and Central Conference of American Rabbis issued decisive statements opposing the Taft-Hartley bill as a danger to democracy. But the absolute silence of the AJC on Taft-Hartley was eloquent. Such silence is a matter of stated policy. "The Committee," we read in the AJC Annual Report for 1946, "has no right to enter into purely political or economic questions, on which its members are divided." Juxtapose this policy statement with Stroock's statement above and you have a prime example of double-talk. This policy explains why Dr. John Slawson, AJC executive vice-president, in his statement on May 1, 1947 before the President's Committee on Civil Rights, omitted any mention of the need to defend labor's rights against the offensive currently being waged against them. If the AJC did not place its class interests before the interests of the Jewish people, it would advance a strong position on economic democracy.

Additional evidence of the labor position of the AJC appears in its relationship to the union of its own employees, the Social Service Employees Union (UOPWA-CIO). Inquiry shows that the AJC first set the pattern since followed by the Guild for the Jewish Blind in New York, the Anti-Defamation League and the National Council of Jewish Women.¹ In September 1944 the SSEU began to request the AJC to bargain collectively. The AJC persistently refused to negotiate until December, when the union claimed membership of 100 of the 105 eligible employees. The union then applied for a National Labor Relations Board election. The AJC challenged NLRB jurisdiction on the ground that AJC was an "educational" and non-commercial organiza-

tion. In the meantime the AJC used time-honored union-busting tactics. A "staff association" was formed to attack the union. Three meetings were held on AJC premises during working hours to urge employees not to join the SSEU. One was addressed by Alan M. Stroock, member of the AJC administrative committee, another before the entire staff by David Sher (this speech was subsequently distributed in mimeographed form to the staff) and a third by a subordinate employee. Mr. Stroock (who expressed the liberal sentiments quoted earlier) told the staff that he "would rather close the doors of the AJC than deal with the union." The AJC gave as its reason for resisting the union, which already had contracts with many leading Jewish organizations, that the union was "communist-dominated." This attitude was a clear violation of the employees' right to join a union of their own choosing. Many eminent Jews protested AJC refusal to recognize this bona fide union. Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg, of Easton, Pa., wrote that, "Aside from the basic and accepted principle of union recognition involved, it ought to be the Committee's particular concern to make friends rather than enemies in the labor camp." Justice Justine Wise Polier wrote to Alan M. Stroock on September 20, 1945, asking, "Does the Committee believe that its paid employees . . . are not free to join a union of their own choosing? . . . I deeply regret the position taken by the American Jewish Committee because I believe it thus aligns itself with the red-baiting, anti-labor groups in this country who are now engaged in building or creating evidence to discredit the CIO as a first step in a general attack on organized labor."

The AJC received similar letters of intense disapproval and protest from leaders of large national unions. R. J. Thomas, then president of the United Auto Workers, wrote of this denial of bargaining rights that "we do not feel that it (the AJC) can be entitled to the support and aid of the CIO when it is fighting a CIO affiliate." The AJC finally gave in under this pressure and signed a contract with the union in 1946. Even today, after long negotiation, the union contract obtained fails to include any of the professional staff or many technical workers. The AJC has exposed the discrepancy between its professions and its actions.

National Labor Disservice

But the AJC is aware that it must make some pretense at working with labor. Its agency for this purpose is its "National Labor Service." This service distributes free to the labor press canned matter such as cartoons, posters, editorials, comic strips and assorted educational material.

¹ See articles in JEWISH LIFE: "Charity Begins on the Picket Line," by John Garth, December 1946; "National Council of Jewish Women Faces Test," by Ruth Simon, April 1947; "Some of My Best Friends Are Union Members," by Ruth Simon, June 1947; and "Fifth Column in the Jewish Community," by Ruth Simon, March 1948.

The stated purpose of this AJC department is to lessen "group conflicts" and discrimination within the labor movement. Several guiding principles of this service are, first, that the Jewish source of this material shall be suppressed; and second, that the word "Jew" must never appear alone, but always in conjunction with other minority groups. In other words, this is another manifestation of hush-hush. Examination of this material shows that it is at best innocuous generalized sentiment against "group tensions." One crucial element of group tensions in the labor movement the service scrupulously avoids mentioning—the part played by big business in promoting such tension. Nor does the service campaign on specific labor issues—for instance—the Taft-Hartley bill was conspicuously absent from its material.

But at its worst this service would delight the hardened reactionary. What better served his purposes, for instance, than the cartoon and editorial sent out for Flag Day (June 14), 1947? At this time, it will be remembered, we were making ourselves hated by the common people throughout the world with the Truman Doctrine for support of reactionary and fascist forces everywhere. Congress was debating the Taft-Hartley bill, which was to become law about ten days later. But this is how the canned editorial read: "Today, as never before, millions of people across the seas look to Old Glory for courage. In occupied Japan, our Flag points the way to enlightenment and self-respect. In occupied Germany, it stands as a promise of free representative government. In the displaced persons camps of Germany and Austria, it spells hope of liberation and refuge. . . . Today, while the world struggles to find peace and common understanding among nations, we are winning our battles for human rights, with American workers of every color, every creed and every national background, forging a common brotherhood. . . ." To anti-fascists all over the world, to the Jews in the DP camps, to Negroes, Jews and other minorities in our own country, to workers under attack from the most ferociously anti-labor Congress and administration in decades, this editorial was nothing short of an insult. If ever there was anti-labor propaganda, this was it.

Reactionary Labor Front

Although the AJC has not a single labor leader on its executive committee, it has its own labor front in the Jewish Labor Committee. Today the leaders of the Jewish Labor Committee are among the most violent, intransigent enemies of everything progressive in Jewish and American life and are rabidly anti-communist and anti-Soviet. Among these leaders are David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Yiddish daily *Forward* clique, men like Nathan Chanin, Jacob Pat, Hillel Rogoff and Adolf Held. Some of these names may not be familiar to the English-speaking Jew, but they are household names to readers of the Yiddish press. Their organ is the *Forward*, Yiddish counterpart of the Hearst press in sensational, unscrupulous journalism, but with a spurious

"labor" face. It is fitting that this anti-progressive, social democratic wing of the Jews in the labor movement should be allied to the AJC. Within the Jewish community this alliance follows the classical pattern of the class struggle under capitalism—the big bourgeoisie finds valuable and indispensable allies among the opportunist elements in the labor movement. The Jewish people are unfortunately no exception to this ubiquitous feature of capitalism.²

No wonder then, that the AJC has not registered a word of protest against the extreme danger to civil rights or the anti-Semitic implications of the House Un-American Activities Committee, or the so-called "Loyalty Decree" for government employees. On the contrary, the AJC welcomed as a speaker at its 41st annual meeting in January 1948 one of the chief executors of this dangerous drive against civil liberties, Attorney General Tom Clark, who used the occasion to explain away the unconstitutional procedures of his "loyalty" inquisition.

The AJC has in fact for some years constituted itself a sort of "un-American activities" committee for Jews, separating "good" Jews from "bad," and working with government agencies to investigate Jewish "communists." This is no speculation. Public recognition of this activity came on October 15, 1947 when the War Department awarded an Army Certificate of Merit to "George J. Mintzer, as counsel for the American Jewish Committee, for his outstanding assistance to the United States Army in gathering valuable information pertaining to Communists" and assorted fascists, as the citation states. For some years the AJC has carried on a covert and, less often, an open campaign against communists and progressives in American Jewish life, thus helping to grease the slide to a fascist police state in America.

This policy is executed by a paid staff who are professional administrators, writers and researchers. Some of these are simply intellectual workers who do as they are directed in order to earn a living. But others really have their hearts in the work of red-baiting—reactionaries, social democrats and Trotskyites, who are obsessed with hatred for progressivism and the Soviet Union. These anti-labor characters are especially useful to the moneyed men of the AJC because they have a background and experience in the working class movement.

Red-Baiting Task Force

In the pre-war years the leader of the AJC red-baiting task force was Frank N. Trager, formerly national labor secretary of the Socialist Party. Trager got his job through Sidney Wallach, his brother-in-law, a notorious careerist in the Jewish field who is now doing publicity for the assimilationist Council for Judaism. Trager was Wallach's assistant and also secretary of the Survey Committee, which was a

² For the revealing facts about this purported labor organization, see *Manipulations of the Jewish Labor Committee*, by Rubin Saltzman, a pamphlet published by the International Workers Order in 1944; and "The Jewish Labor Committee Betrays its Aims," by G. Selwyn, *Jewish Life*, March 1947.

euphemistic name for the group which allocated AJC funds to other organizations. Trager was the AJC expert on the "red menace." Before the war, while the AJC was on occasion contributing money to the late Prof. Franz Boas' American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, which was combatting racism and academic freedom, Trager was dissatisfied with it because it did not red-bait. At the same time that the AJC was giving money to the Boas committee, Trager helped to organize a competing Committee for Cultural Freedom headed by John Dewey and Sidney Hook. The Dewey-Hook committee specialized in red-baiting, openly attacked the Boas committee and submitted dossiers to the Dies Committee on "communist-front" organizations. When the Boas committee launched an attack on the Dies Committee as a threat to freedom, the AJC itself stopped its contributions.

After serving the armed forces for a time during the war, Trager did not return to the AJC (his brother-in-law Sidney Wallach had been fired from the AJC after the 1943 reorganization) but eventually got a job with the Anti-Defamation League.

The void left by Trager in the AJC was rapidly filled by a corps of professional red-baiters. After the reorganization in 1943 the AJC came out more openly than ever in its anti-communist policy. It started the monthly magazine *Commentary*, staffed by violent anti-communists led by editor Elliot E. Cohen, who had a most reactionary influence even upon the AJC. He is an extreme advocate of hush-hush, as is apparent from his writing, and it would not be surprising if this former communist were not putting his weight behind the AJC anti-communist position.

Since its reorganization the AJC has also called upon veteran red-baiter Sidney Hook as ideological leader and spokesman. Executive head of all AJC operations since 1943 has been Dr. John Slawson, a career man in the Jewish welfare field and a past president of the National Conference of Jewish Welfare. Slawson has readily lent himself to the anti-communist purposes of the AJC.

But the spark plug of the anti-progressive AJC activities is Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg, director of the Community Service Department, a rabbi and Marine Corps chaplain in World War I. With inflated egoism he regards himself as the founder of the "science" of community relations. Fineberg fancies himself an "expert" on communism and has frequently published his anti-communist tirades in the specialized organ of red-baiting, the *New Leader*. Although the moneyed members of the AJC set the policy that is executed by paid employees like Fineberg, on occasion his arrogance and assertiveness have caused him to go beyond his employers in red-baiting—and the AJC is momentarily presented with the spectacle of the tail wagging the dog.

With such willing servants as Fineberg, Slawson, Cohen and others to do their work, the AJC is a foremost red-baiting agency among the Jewish people. The AJC, wrote Joseph Brainin, "has come to be regarded as the *informing organization*, using the wealth and political influence of its

members to intimidate and undermine any one who dares challenge its *Fuehrerschaft* or to question its policies and practices."³

Smear Campaigns

A few examples of AJC smear campaigns will be given here. Before the war a militant, courageous magazine, *Equality*, devoted to the defense of Negroes, Jews and all minorities against the growing fascist movement, carried on a pioneer and effective campaign exposing the fascist priest Coughlin's *Social Justice*. *Equality* gathered a group of plucky young people to sell the magazine on the streets next to hawkers of *Social Justice* at considerable physical risk (several were actually beaten up). One would suppose that an organization for Jewish "defense" would have supported and defended the magazine. But not the AJC. *Equality* violated their hush-hush policy. Besides, the AJC thought it detected a "communist (i.e., progressive—L.H.) slant" and forthwith conducted a widespread undercover smear campaign among financial supporters of the magazine, although the AJC smear admitted that *Equality* was an "independent" venture.

A well-known Jewish business man declares that he was told in 1944 by Dr. John Slawson "that the American Jewish Committee considered Communism just as dangerous as anti-Semitism . . . that he considered the Communists as bad as the Fascists, and that the policy of the American Jewish Committee was based on that premise."

In its sub-rosa anti-communist campaign the AJC does not hesitate to employ the services of professional red-baiters. The AJC carried on a red-baiting vendetta against the *Protestant* for some years. In 1943 that magazine organized a textbook commission to purge textbooks of anti-Semitic references. Many distinguished churchmen and laymen agreed to cooperate. The AJC thereupon sent out a smear letter and a series of memoranda smearing the *Protestant* red and urging these eminent people to withdraw from the commission. The letter also announced that the New York *World-Telegram* would run a series of articles by Frederick Woltman "exposing" the textbook commission, editor Kenneth Leslie and the *Protestant*. Since the articles actually appeared on February 7, 8 and 9, 1944 and the letter was dated January 21, it is not far fetched to deduce that the AJC was in collusion with Woltman. Ten thousand copies of this Woltman series were mailed out by the AJC. The inner files of the AJC would no doubt reveal many such illuminating facts.

The AJC has been emboldened by the post-war anti-communist hysteria to express its morbid fear of communism more openly than ever. The big money men are especially terrified by the fascist identification of Jews and communists. Long discussions were held at the 40th annual meeting in January 1947 on the "menace" of communism, probably the first time the AJC publicly and officially

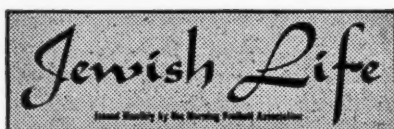
³ J. Brainin, "American Jewish Committee—II," *The Protestant*, March, 1944, p. 11.

denounced communism as the main danger today. Said David Sher, chairman of the administrative committee, at this meeting: "The menace to Jewry, as well as to a free society for all men, is not merely fascism but the rejection of freedom, embodied in the totalitarian mind. . . . The most powerful expression of the totalitarian mind in the world today is the communist mind." He hastened to add, for obvious reasons, "I am not here concerned with the economic and social aspects of communism." How he could so neatly separate the charge of "totalitarianism" from the social and economic aspects of communism, Mr. Sher did not say. It would obviously embarrass the big business men of the AJC to dwell on these latter aspects. Such discussion might lead inevitably to the conclusion that what he calls "totalitarianism" is the mass expression of the determination to prevent the bourgeoisie from nullifying the measures taken by the representatives of the masses to secure permanently the benefits guaranteed by socialism.

The discussion led off by Sher revealed that the AJC membership do not unanimously favor an open attack on the communists, though they are unanimously anti-communist. But a strong current of opinion favored such an all-out attack. Cooler heads won out and the meeting concluded that the AJC should refrain from frontal attack on communism.⁴ But this is not the end of the matter. The AJC rulers are still worried about it, and sometimes their

⁴ This policy does not, of course, exclude direct attacks on communism in Europe. Upon his return from Europe Joel David Wolfsohn, director of AJC's European operation, reported that (according to the *New York Times* account, March 11, 1948) "Jews who are trying to rebuild their communal life in Europe are as much in danger from Communism as from anti-Semitism." The reason: "A Communist state will not allow Jews to regain their property, take up their professions or set up their industries." In other words, nationalization of industry and the land is, according to Wolfsohn, incompatible with Jewish life—which is a view to be expected from the Jewish big bourgeoisie.

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hired employees like Fineberg take the bit in their teeth. On July 14, 1947, Fineberg had his Community Service Department send out thousands of reprints of J. Edgar Hoover's "Ten Don'ts" in the fight against communism, originally published in *Newsweek* for June 2 and 9, 1947. Fineberg also sent out a leaflet against "fascism, whether of the Right or the Left." (Shades of Hearst!) Thus the AJC uses funds, collected from the Jewish community, to slander the communists, who are the most uncompromising fighters against anti-Semitism and the staunchest defenders of civil rights.

The AJC, as the agency among the Jews of the big bourgeoisie, faces a dilemma. The conditions which give rise to fascism—inability of the bourgeoisie to cope in the old "democratic" ways with the deepening economic and social crisis—lead the bourgeoisie to suppress democratic rights in order to preserve the flow of profits. The AJC members want to preserve and increase their profits like any non-Jewish capitalist. The AJC does not fully apply concretely the principle that an anti-democratic course promotes anti-Semitism and leads to the destruction of the Jews, because it is dominated by the fear of progressive tendencies, which endanger profits. We are not here concerned with subjective motivations. The objective facts indicate that the AJC concern for their profits makes them shrink from that progressive program in the camp of labor that alone can save democracy and the Jewish people.

Jewish Community Must Reject AJC

But the AJC is not leading the Jewish community down this path, much as it tries. This was vividly illustrated in the fight over the anti-Semitic explosion of John O'Donnell in the *New York Daily News* on October 3, 1945. A great campaign of boycott both of advertising and purchase of the *News* made headway, despite the objections of the AJC. Some Jewish organizations succeeded in getting a retraction from O'Donnell and the newspaper. But many Jews wished to continue the fight because the *News* was conducting a pro-fascist editorial policy, and they thought that a promise to refrain from direct anti-Semitism was not enough. A meeting of New York rabbis to discuss the problem was held at the Willkie Memorial in February 1946. This meeting was addressed by Max Schneider, a banker who was head of the Joint Defense Appeal, at that time the combined fund drive for the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. To the proposition that the Jews, together with non-Jewish organizations, should continue to fight against the fascist tendencies of the *News*, Schneider replied that *the organizations he represented were set up to fight anti-Semitism, but not fascism*. Forty of the rabbis walked out in indignation. Schneider was exhibiting that appeasement of fascism of which we have found ample evidence in this study of the AJC. It is up to the Jews of America to denounce this self-destructive policy and to make clear that AJC policies can find no echo in the life of American Jewry.

DOCUMENT

CRITIQUE OF UNITED WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

By Esther Valenska

In April we published the platform of the newly-created United Workers Party of Palestine, formed by the unification of the two left-wing Zionist parties, Hashomer Hatzair and Achduth Avodah. The Communist Party of Palestine has appealed to this group for united progressive action and the criticism below must be viewed in the light of this plea for a united front. The following critique by one of the secretaries of the Communist Party of Palestine appeared originally in Hebrew in Kol Haam, communist daily of Tel Aviv, on January 23, 1948.—Editors.

THE fact that two opposition workers' parties within the Histadruth close ranks and form a single party is without doubt an event of great significance in the history of the workers' movement and the *Yishuv*. We should like to discuss the unification platform of the new party and its ideological bases.

The platform affirms that "the party will fight for real independence of the state and against all political, military or economic dependence on the forces of imperialism." This position represents a great advance, as compared with past tendencies to subordination to the colonial government. However, a general statement is not enough. It is necessary to define the term independence in clear, unmistakable terms. An uncompromising demand for the removal of the British military and administration and of military bases and the rejection of American imperialist penetration is necessary. Furthermore, real independence means outright opposition to the Marshall Plan and to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Jewish state under the pretext of "economic aid."

The real question, therefore, is:

For or against Marshall Plan enslavement?

For or against imperialist military bases?

A clearcut answer to these questions is the decisive test for all progressive workers' parties.

One paragraph in the platform affirms that "the party will work for the unification of *Eretz Yisroel* on the basis of an agreement between the nations and without domination and aggression." This pronouncement of opposition to the Revisionist program of "unification" through force, is positive and very valuable.

However, where the platform seeks to

outline the form of the future structure, it appears that, apart from the valid demand for "political independence for the Jewish nation," there is no parallel positive stand in favor of the political independence of the Arab nation. This evidently reflects the "Biltmore" influences (advocacy of a Jewish state over all Palestine—Eds.) within the Achduth Avodah Movement and leaves the door open to irridentist aspirations in the unified party. It would seem that on this point the Hashomer Hatzair retreated by conceding the principle of bi-nationalism. Under present conditions in Palestine bi-nationalism means the right of each nation to a state of its own in accordance with the decision of the UN.

The platform fails to propose federation as the structural form of the country upon which free political unity of the Jewish and Arab states can be based. Absence of this provision contradicts the principle of real political equality between the nations of which the platform speaks. A clear, precise formulation with respect to future political structure is imperative not only for the programmatic completeness of the platform. It is also necessary for the immediate political situation. Such a formulation is vital for the achievement of that Arab-Jewish unity without which, as the platform itself agrees, the unification of the country is impossible.

Experience proves, however, that despite agreement on these general premises in the past, certain circles in the uniting parties were not deterred from the "activities" of militant displacement of Arab workers (*Kibbush Avodah*), boycott measures, etc. In the light of this bitter experience it is clear that a general proclamation about "complete equality of rights" is not sufficient. It is a fact that even Mapai (Labor Party of Palestine) champions complete equality of rights in words, but is not prevented thereby from practicing inequality in deeds.

The platform must be clarified on whether it advocates discrimination against Arab workers in the Jewish State or the right to work of every toiler without national distinction. Does it favor "Jewish production" or "national production"? A progressive position on these questions will provide the general proclamation on equality with real content.

The struggle for a genuinely democratic Jewish state is intimately bound up with the problem of the basic practical relationship with the large Arab minority in the

state. It is therefore imperative that the position on this question be defined with the utmost clarity.

We find nothing in the unification platform about the relationship of the *Yishuv* to the Jewish communities in Europe and elsewhere.

The construction of the Jewish state in Palestine does not negate the survival and many-sided development of the Jewish communities in Europe and elsewhere. Just as it is necessary to increase the efforts to build the Jewish community in Palestine, so it is equally necessary to establish positive relations with the activities for survival of Jewish communities everywhere. The principles of the united party disregard the will-to-live and to-survive of the Jewish communities of the world in which about 95 per cent of the Jewish people live. They fail to take a positive and constructive position with respect to them.

The United Workers Party announces in its Platform of Unification that "it draws upon the heroic traditions and sources of the revolutionary thought of socialism and bases its educational activities on the principles of the world view of Marxism."

Along with this theoretical principle, the united party declares that it will support "the development of a practical fighting alliance between the workers of the world and the Soviet Union."

This is very noteworthy and worthwhile. However, it is rather strange that at the moment when Meyer Yaari, leader of the Hashomer Hatzair, is seeking to translate this clause into reality, the "world view of Marxism" is thrust aside and the date for the formation of a progressive front is postponed indefinitely.

In relation to national and international needs and to the communist parties of the world we find, to our sorrow, these strange words: "political communism requires subservience to orders from on high. International orders are binding upon every Communist Party, even if they negate immediate national interests." Furthermore, "As a consequence of our struggle for national and social liberation, we are unable to see our way clear to an international unity of workers except through the channel of the realization of Zionism and the gathering of the dispersion. We are compelled to postpone the actual joining of the front to which we are committed." (Mishmar, Dec. 26, 1947.)

Yaari's explanation is very significant. He attacks communist parties in the familiar way. Leon Blum, right wing leader of French social democracy, says crudely, "Orders from Moscow." Meyer Yaari says the same thing more politely, "Orders from on high," "orders which negate immediate national interests."

We are told that a contradiction between a progressive solution of the national ques-

tion and international interests is possible. This approach is a negation in principle of Marxist theory. Marxism teaches that the true national interest of all peoples is identical. These interests are not contradictory to but in complete consonance with the general interests of the forces of progress.

The "practical" advice of Meyer Yaari according to which the united party is compelled "to postpone the actual joining of the front to which we are committed," means in effect non-participation in the international anti-imperialist struggle, which is no less a national struggle of the Jews than of any other people. "The front to which we are committed" is the battlefield against imperialist aggression, against the warmongers, against fascism and anti-Semitism everywhere.

Whoever reassures himself and others that it is possible to "postpone" active political participation in such a front is far from serving the best interests of the Jewish people. It is possible to be for the progressive front or against it. There is no third alternative. We are forced to admit that the policy of postponing joining the great army of the progressive workers movement, at whose head stand the communist parties, casts a shadow over the many radical pronouncements of the Unification Platform.

Speaking of the unification, Meyer Yaari says, among other things, that Hashomer Hatzair regards the unification as one step in the direction of setting up "a united front of the three workers parties in the defense of labor hegemony in the development of political independence." (*Mishmar*, Dec. 26, 1947.) "Three workers parties" means—according to Yaari—Mapai, Hashomer Hatzair and the Achduth Avodah Movement.

The platform of the united party completely disregards the need for the establishment of a front of *all* the opposition groups within the Histadruth against the Mapai leadership. It disregards the need for the joint action of the united party and the Communist Party. Despite the fact that one of the points of departure for the formation of a united opposition movement is need for struggle against the political and economic line of Mapai, Meyer Yaari does not fail to call for joint action with Mapai. In addition, he disregards the need for joint action with the Communist Party.

It is known that the "black clause" in the constitution of the Histadruth, according to which communist workers were excluded from its ranks, has long been invalid. In 1945, the executive board of Histadruth resolved to restore the rights of communists in the Histadruth. The communist group is recognized and is represented on the Histadruth Council.

In the elections to various trade union

councils (Haifa, Nathanya), municipal councils (Nahariah, Rishon L'Zion) and the Representative Assembly, the Communist Party succeeded in electing its candidates. The daily *Kol Haam*, established through the efforts of thousands of enlightened workers, is proof of the extent to which the Communist Party is finding roots and is expanding in the *Yishuv*.

Joint action does not mean loss of identity, or surrender of the autonomy or ideology of any of the parties. Joint action means the coordination and strengthening of the fighting issues against a common enemy.

We therefore turn to the united party with a proposal of joint action on the principles set down in the Unification Platform.

REVIEW

DIGGING TO THE ROOTS

By Louis Harap

WITHOUT ado it should be said that

Carey McWilliams has written a very important book¹ which can substantially help in the fight against anti-Semitism. Some reviewers have suggested that this book will not convince confirmed anti-Semites. This comment indicates that they miss the point of the book, which is intended to sharpen the understanding of anti-Semitism among those who detest it and thereby to make more effective their fight against it. The book is a welcome addition in a field where too often the battle is being sabotaged, wilfully or not, by some of those very organizations and "authorities" who pretend to be combating anti-Semitism. Thus McWilliams gives the *coup de grace* to those "social scientists" who get lost in the minutiae of "group tension" (p. 236); to those who spend enormous sums in distributing so-called "tolerance propaganda," as they would sell tooth paste (p. 243), with a fatuous "educational" technique; and to those who promote the "silent treatment" method (pp. 257-261), since "fascist tendencies must be opposed in an organized manner, openly, publicly, democratically" (p. 261).

What makes the McWilliams book almost unique in the literature of the subject is its consistent tracing of the various facets of the problem to their socio-economic foundation. One may have reser-

¹ *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America*, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown & Co., 1948. \$2.75.

1. Against political reformism and for a class line in the Histadruth.

2. Against reaction in the *Yishuv* and for struggle for the hegemony of labor and democracy in the *Yishuv*.

3. Against any dependence whatsoever on imperialism.

4. For the realization of complete equality of rights of both Jews and Arabs.

5. For Jewish-Arab agreement.

The relationship with the Communist Party and the experiences of joint action will prove to be the test of the workers' parties. We are certain that a resolution on the readiness for joint action on the part of the united party with the Communist Party will prove very meaningful for the class struggle of the workers and for the character of the Jewish state.

ventions at some points of his argument, but on his primary thesis it seems to me that McWilliams is sound. At the start he demonstrates that anti-Semitism in America entered a new phase in the 1870's. One may question the historical accuracy of some of his statements about the phenomenon before that time, but there can be no doubt that his explanation of this new stage of anti-Semitism is the best we have ever had. By the seventies, the "Second American Revolution," "the revolution that assured the triumph of business enterprise" (p. 8), was decisively won. The rise of a new phase of anti-Semitism at this time was a symptom "of the profound transformation taking place at the base of society" (p. 11). The same time saw the spread of the general pattern of making scapegoats of minorities with the help of the courts and federal policy.

Until the 1920's anti-Semitism grew gradually. McWilliams points out that discrimination against Jews in want-ad columns begins about 1911 and rises with the years. Why so? McWilliams cogently explains that the second generation of Jews was then entering into competition for white-collar jobs, for which most of the discriminatory ads appeared. By the 1920's the build-up of anti-Semitism issued in a new phase. Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* first assaulted the Jews in 1920; the Ku Klux Klan revived; the Immigration Act of 1924 was chiefly aimed at excluding Jews; and the public advocacy of a college quota system was made by President Lowell of Harvard in 1922. On the ideological front Madison Grant,

Burton J. Hendrick and Lothrop Stoddard were fabricating the racist myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority. "Races" and "classes" were used interchangeably and these writers hated democracy. "This ideology," says McWilliams, "rationalized the socio-economic conflicts of the period and served as a mask for privilege" (p. 67).

By 1933 still another more overt and dangerous phase was reached. The depression had intensified job competition; organized anti-Semitic groups mushroomed; in 1933, Rep. Louis T. McFadden attacked the Jews on the floor of Congress; anti-Semitism was explicitly introduced into politics from the 1936 presidential campaign on; street meetings by anti-Semites reached alarming proportions by 1939, egged on by the political anti-Semitism of "Father" Coughlin; the New York *Daily News* entered the lists against the Jews; and in 1941 Charles Lindbergh charged the Jews with warmongering in his infamous Des Moines speech in 1941 before 7,500 persons.

After this historical survey McWilliams devotes the rest of the book to an analysis of anti-Semitism as it confronts us as an imminent and highly dangerous problem. "Anti-Semitism," he writes, "has always been used by the enemies of the people; for the purpose of retarding progress; in periods of social upheaval and social stress; and against the interests of the people" (p. 88). But what is anti-Semitism? He shows that there is no definition that adequately covers this "favorite weapon of proved efficiency in the socio-economic conflicts of a class-riven society" (p. 87). McWilliams disposes of the attempts to define anti-Semitism in purely

psychological terms or by the patently false theory of xenophobia (dislike of the stranger.)

The nature of discrimination is brilliantly analyzed as primarily an economic weapon whose function is the protection and securing of their power by the most powerful economic groups in society. McWilliams takes up each form of "exclusion" of Jews in turn, beginning with discrimination in the "elite" clubs and resorts which is imitated lower down in the social scale. He goes into the reasons for the anti-Semitic fraternity and sorority systems in the colleges and the quota systems, especially in the professional schools. In each case he digs down to the socio-economic roots, which he discovers in the place which the Jews have been assigned in the economic structure of American capitalism. At the base of this whole system of discrimination is the fact that "Jews have been excluded from participation in the basic industries of the country, the industries that exercise a decisive control over our whole economy" (p. 146). The Jew has been shunted off into the "marginal" businesses, those with large risks, or those regarded as unimportant, or into new industries like radio and movies, and those which carry a certain social stigma. Thus the Jew is not allowed to participate in those industries which endow their owners with prestige and power.

The crucial significance of the economic element is indicated by McWilliams' observations on the implications of discrimination for religious liberty. He points out that the economic pressures and discrimination to which the Jew is subjected, invest everything connected with Jewishness, including the Jewish religion, with disabilities that cause many to abandon their identity with the Jewish group and with the religion. McWilliams' discussion of the Jewish stereotype lights up many dark corners of that important phenomenon. The stereotype will exist, he says, so long as "the relationships out of which it arises exist" (p. 182).

The relation of the "crackpot" anti-Semite to the men of power is expounded. Anti-Semites of the lunatic fringe could get nowhere on their own steam. But they serve a very important function for the finance capitalist: they are the "sappers and shock troops" who soften up the American people for the final all-out attack on democracy by big business reaction. Until then the big money men "furtively" finance these crackpots. In the past few years the big money men have brought forth their "intermediary" figures, the semi-respectable figures like Upton Close and John T. Flynn. When the hour is ripe, the big business men will try to unite the crackpot movements and, discarding the discredited crackpots, will

advance an extreme right-wing program that will inevitably become fascist and anti-Semitic.

When McWilliams comes to discuss what is to be done about anti-Semitism, he states that "the task involves . . . the creation of a society in which production is organized on some basis other than individual self-aggrandizement" (p. 224). More specifically, he proposes that only complete "functional equality" will solve the problem; equal educational opportunity, equal access to housing, health, medical facilities, cultural facilities, public accommodation, equal law-enforcement and civil rights. He proposes that implementation of the President's Report on Civil Rights will help. But McWilliams is strangely indecisive on the ultimate solution. For it is apparent that his analysis leads to one conclusion: only under socialism can the kind of society that will provide these equalities fully, be achieved. To be sure, every effort must be exerted now to mitigate the inequalities engendered by anti-Semitism in the present. But why does McWilliams shrink from the final step of recognizing that the job will not be done fully until the socio-economic base to which he has properly ascribed the foundation of anti-Semitism, is replaced

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by the new socialist society in which the motivations for aggrandizement are finally removed?

Despite this ultimate reticence, McWilliams' book can be a very powerful weapon in combating anti-Semitism today by its clear-sighted, trenchant diagnosis of anti-Semitism. The deeper the study of this book by democratic organizations—es-

pecially Jewish organizations—and individuals, the greater the prospects for an effective fight now against anti-Semitism and the forces responsible for its existence in this perilously reactionary period.

(Fuller and more detailed analysis of this important book will be made in an article in a future issue.—Eds.)

LETTER FROM ABROAD

BRITISH JEWRY IS PASSIVE

THE campaign against the *Yishuv*—and implicitly against the Jewish community—goes on unabated in the British press and over the radio. The propaganda against the *Yishuv* sounds much the same in all the newspapers. It is as if all their articles were written in some central office and by the same person. News items with anti-Jewish bias continue to be given front page publicity—and very often “authoritatively” denied. Misleading headlines are put at the head of Palestinian news items in order to deepen ill feeling against the Jews. Here is an example from the London *Evening News* (March 6, 1948). A news item eleven lines long deals with a raid by armed Jews on an army camp, in which one British officer and several soldiers were killed, and with the rejoicing of Jerusalem Jews at the reception of food and supplies. The news item was headed: “Britons killed in raid by Jews,” and a subhead read, “Convoy dance of joy.” The impression one gathers by glancing at the item is that both headings relate to the same news item.

The purpose of the campaign is to cover up the evidence pointing to the imperialist reactionary character of British policy in Palestine of the British Labor government. At the same time the ground is being prepared to facilitate acceptance of Britain's explanation of the bitter Arab-Jewish battles, which follow Britain's policy in Palestine. This treatment is part of the divide and rule technique which British imperialism has applied successfully on so many previous occasions elsewhere.

It is becoming more and more evident that Great Britain is banking on the hope that as the crisis deepens in Palestine and the disturbances grow more violent, the appeal for her to remain in Palestine will also grow and may even prevail. This is becoming more urgent as May 15th draws near. But Britain cannot permit a vacuum in Palestine. Britain's calculations are, furthermore, based on the assumption that the United States might prefer Britain to stay on in Palestine rather than strengthen Arab aspirations in the Middle East. This

will certainly be the case if Abdullah of Transjordan succeeds in overrunning and remaining in Palestine following Britain's withdrawal from there.

So far Britain has maintained the initiative in Palestine. Through her policy of refusal to implement any decision by the UN which did not meet with the entire approval of both Jews and Arabs, she allowed herself freedom of action. She can pose as a friend of the Arabs, now in the process of making amends for all the ills and discomforts which she caused the Arabs; and she can keep the Jews guessing as to her future attitude towards them. In this respect Britain has an advantage over the Americans who have so far succeeded in antagonizing both the Jews and the Arabs by their repeatedly somersaulting policies.

The British government has so far succeeded in carrying British public opinion with it on the question of Palestine. The debate in the Commons on the Palestine bill showed how small was the opposition to its policy.

Regrettable as it may be, that British public opinion is not viewing Jewish aspirations in Palestine sympathetically, it is even more regrettable in the case of the Jewish community. This applies as much to the Zionists as to the anti-Zionists. Very little public agitation has been carried on here against the reactionary policies of the Labor government. This inactivity is particularly obvious since the United States reversed its policy on partition.

April 8th, the day suggested by the American Zionist Emergency Council as a day of prayer, parades and demonstrations by the Jews of various countries against the United States' decision to abandon the Palestine partition plan, passed off in Britain without a ripple of activity.

The Board of Deputies, at its monthly meeting, refused to say anything on the attitude of the British Government to the problem of Palestine. Because a member insistently demanded a discussion on Palestine, he was expelled from the meeting

—the first time this has happened in the past 25 years. A number of deputies submitted a motion for the forthcoming meeting of the Board of Deputies.

The motion read, in part: “The Board of Deputies, conscious of the serious danger that now besets the *Yishuv* as a result of Anglo-American plans to continue the subjection of Palestine through repression and intimidation to foreign rule, unhesitatingly recognizes its responsibility to the *Yishuv* by conducting an open and courageous campaign against the Palestine policy of the British Government.” The motion was found unacceptable by the Board leadership “because discussion thereon would be against the interests of the community.”

The Jewish Workers' Circle has been trying to arrange a big public meeting to protest against the British government's attitude to the *Yishuv*. Up to the moment of writing it has been unable to obtain any number of prominent Jewish speakers to address the meeting.

This attitude on the part of leading Jewry—and particularly of the British Zionists—points to the possibility that an agreement has been reached with the British government concerning the future status of Palestine. It is possible that not only the principle of partition, but even that of an independent Palestine, has been foregone. That this would be a betrayal of the *Yishuv* has no meaning either to imperialists or to imperialism's servile tools, irrespective of category.

Only the British Communist Party has made its attitude clear on the future of Palestine and partition. A leading article in the London *Daily Worker* states: “The Jewish community has, however, declared its intention to proceed with the setting up of its State, and in this course it must be given the help and assistance of all friends of democracy and national independence.”

This is the policy which will be put in a number of meetings organized now in London and provincial towns by the Communist Party. These meetings may act as a spur to the public opinion of Great Britain and thus contribute towards achieving the only solution which can free Jewish and Arab Palestine from the imperialist and reactionary yoke.

London

L. ZAIDMAN

PATRONIZE
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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Theodore G. Bilbo. Zorach's indignant letter of refusal proposed that the only statue worthy of the late Senator's memory was a crucifixion cross bearing the tortured figure of a lynched Negro.

Rev. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, extension secretary of the Church Peace Union, charged that the Protestant Church press is not sufficiently active in helping to combat anti-Semitism here. He made the charge before the annual meeting of the Associated Church Press, organization of Protestant church editors. "The church press," he said, "has not been vigilant enough in exposing the 'enemy within the gates'—the vicious anti-Jewish propagandist who is on the pro-fascist fringe of the church and works through such pernicious periodicals as Harvey Springer's *Western Voice*, Carl McIntire's *Christian Beacon*, William D. Herstrom's *Bible News Flashes*, Gerald B. Winrod's *Defender*, Bob Shuler's *Methodist Challenge*, and Gerald L. K. Smith's two publications, *The Cross and the Flag* and *Letter*. We may think this infantile fringe is numerically insignificant, but we forget they whether on editorial pages or in the pulpit, are an extremely dangerous influence on American life, especially because they reflect the prejudices and perversions of the Protestant middle class mind."

The American Automobile Association hotel list for tourists identifies hotels which have a discriminatory "restricted" policy. Officials say they want to save motorists embarrassment.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey signed a bill in April banning religious and racial discriminatory practices in admitting students to colleges and universities in New York and giving the State Education Department power to eliminate such practices.

Habimah, the National Theater of Palestine, opened a six weeks' engagement in New York May first. The company of 29 will give four plays in Hebrew, *The Dybbuk* by S. Ansky, *The Golem* by H. Levik, *David's Crown* by Calderon de la Barca and *Oedipus Rex* by Sophocles. This visit is the first since the 1926-27 season.

EUROPE

The fifth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was celebrated in Warsaw on April 19 with the unveiling of a monument to the ghetto heroes. Among the participants in the commemoration of the battle, which cost over 40,000 Jewish lives, were some 3,000 delegates from communities in all parts of Poland, 200 delegates from Jewish communities in 20 nations outside the country and representatives of the Polish government, army and all political parties. One American representative was the Yiddish poet Yuri Suhl, who is traveling in Europe. In the forefront of the ceremonies were survivors of the ghetto battle and Jewish partisans who fought with the Polish and Soviet armies during the war. Polish Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz led the group of government officials present. The granite memorial which was unveiled is 50 feet high and 30 feet wide and has four menorahs, one at each corner. The lights in the menorahs will burn eternally. The center piece, cast in bronze by sculptor Nathan Rappaport, depicts a group of ghetto fighters on one side and a party of Jews being shipped to their death by the nazis on the other face. The monument is located on the spot where the first contingent of 2,000 Nazi troops entered the ghetto to suppress the uprising and

cost 100,000,000 zlotys. The Polish government contributed 10,000,000 zlotys, Polish Jewry 18,000,000 and the rest was raised by contributions throughout the world.

The Justice Department of Poland has announced that it has ordered an investigation of Jewish police officials who served in the Warsaw Ghetto for possible collaborationist activity during the German occupation.

At the conclusion of what has been called the "biggest murder trial in history," a three-man American military tribunal convicted 20 Nazi SS officers of engaging in the murder of at least one million persons. The convicted men were four SS generals, 12 colonels, three majors and one lieutenant, commanding officers of so-called *Einsatz Commando* groups, which were sent into Russia behind the German armies to wipe out whole groups of people listed by the nazis as "racial undesirables." These included Jews, Gypsies, communist partisans, and persons generally referred to by the nazis as "Asiatic inferiors."

The office of the U. S. Military Government in Berlin on April 1 clamped a ban on distribution of *The German American*, progressive German language paper published in New York, in the British and American zones of Germany. No specific reasons were given for the ban. Mailing of *The German American* was based chiefly on gift subscriptions paid by American relatives and friends of persons in Germany. During the war the newspaper rallied German Americans to support of the war effort and was widely used for re-education of German POW's here.

In reply to a question in Parliament for an explanation of an appeal broadcast over the radio of a German officers' POW camp in Northumberland asking for officers with experience in winter fighting on the eastern front to act as advisers in the winter exercises of the British army, British War Minister Emanuel Shinwell admitted that this had been done.

Members of the British Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women combatting anti-Semitism have adopted the tactic of erecting their own speaker platforms in all places where pro-fascist and anti-Semitic speakers are accustomed to hold meetings. At several such street corners where hundreds have usually turned out to listen to the inflammatory remarks of the anti-Semitic speakers, reports indicate that these same crowds are now flocking around the Jewish veterans' rostrums.

News from Rumania. . . . Final returns from the Rumanian elections revealed that all five Jewish candidates named to represent the Jewish population in the Parliament on the government bloc ticket were elected by heavy pluralities. Zionists supported the government in the elections. . . . The executive of the Zionist Organization of Transylvania has expelled the provincial United Zionist-Revisionist Party following charges that the Revisionist group had engaged in "activities contrary to the democratic principles of the Zionist Organization." . . . For the first time in the history of Rumania the government is providing support for a Jewish theater. Support is being furnished on the same basis as that extended to other national minorities in the country.

The Turkish government has not yet acted on an application made some time ago by the Jew-

ish community of Turkey for permission to become affiliated with the World Jewish Congress.

In mid-April some 200 members of the fascist Italian Social Movement Party invaded the Jewish quarter of Rome singing fascist songs and shouting "Death to the Jews." When the Jews booed the fascists, the latter started swinging rubber truncheons. Four persons were injured seriously in the melee which followed. Police finally drove the fascists out of the quarter. Jews protested in a large demonstration in the Rome synagogue and government authorities took measures to prevent a recurrence.

Egon Erwin Kisch, Czechoslovakian author and journalist who had been elected honorary chairman of the Prague Jewish community, died in Prague in April at the age of 63. The anti-fascist journalist reported the Spanish civil war and lived in Paris after the Munich betrayal. After the war broke out Kisch was refused admittance to the United States because he had been a communist city counselor of Prague. He accepted the invitation of the Mexican government to live in Mexico and returned to Czechoslovakia in 1946. He was the author of more than 20 books.

The Board of Rabbis of Moravia and Bohemia has called upon Czech Jews to support the new regime of Premier Klement Gottwald, stating that the aims of the new regime are in the best interests of the country.

PALESTINE

The General Zionist Council in Jerusalem on April 22 issued a revised declaration of independence. The official reason given for revision was widespread "criticism" of the denunciation of British "domination" in the original declaration issued April 12. Sole reference to the British in the new declaration is the following: ". . . upon termination of the mandatory regime there shall be an end to foreign rule in Palestine."

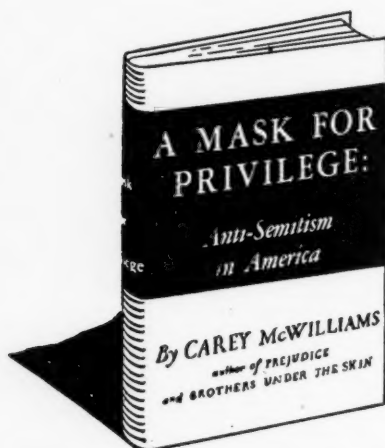
In a syndicated column Drew Pearson reported that he had obtained a top secret 32-page memorandum from the British Office ordering the Palestine government to sell to policemen (meaning Arab police), at reasonable prices weapons, ammunition, horses and camels, to auction off trucks and to destroy armored cars before Britain withdraws from Palestine. A Reuters dispatch from Baghdad states that a six-man military mission has left by air for London to supervise shipments of war equipment for the Iraqi army.

In addition to the embargo on arms and ammunition from Britain to Palestine, an embargo has been placed on books which deal with arms and ammunition. The following textbooks are listed as "not for export to Palestine from the United Kingdom": *Manual of the Sten Gun*, *Manual of Street Fighting*, *The Elements of Ammunition*, *Manual of Grenades*, *Manual of Rifles*, *Manual of Modern Automatic Gun*. However, the books are not banned for export to the Arab states and are daily sent safely to Transjordan, Syria, etc.

According to government statistics recently made public, Jewish income represents 66 per cent of the total national income of Palestine. Within the Jewish economy, income from industry and handicraft amounts to 33.9 per cent of the total national Jewish income.

Transjordan signed a new treaty of alliance on March 15 with Great Britain providing for "reciprocal" defense relations. Britain's annual grant of \$8,000,000 for the upkeep of the Transjordan arms forces will continue, as well as the number of Britain's officers serving with the Transjordan army.

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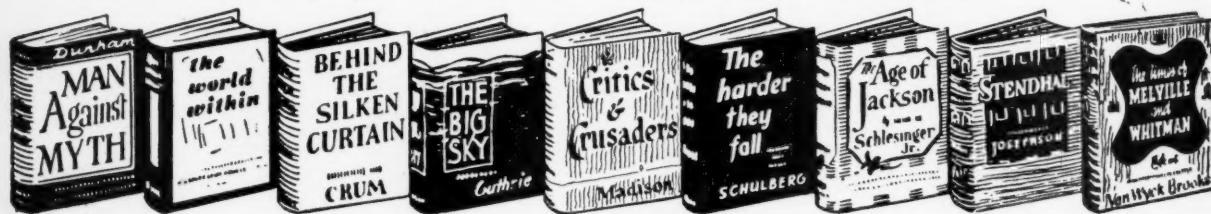
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