

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15c

War and Peace In Israel

By A. B. Magil

TALL, gray-haired Count Bernadotte adjusted his monocle. "That's a very tricky question," he said smiling at me. "Perhaps you're trying to lay a trap for me."

The question I had asked at the press conference in Tel Aviv on June 20, 1948 was, what UN decision would form the basis for his forthcoming negotiations with Jews and Arabs at Rhodes? The Count began fumbling among his papers and finally said, "The Security Council Cease-Fire and Truce Resolution of May 14 (he meant 29) would form the basis of negotiations."

I asked, what about the UN Assembly resolution of last November 29, which forms the legal foundation of the State of Israel? "You're trying to get me into that trap," replied the Count.

This answer is typical of Bernadotte's evasiveness throughout the conference. His failure to include the November 29 decision as a basis of the Rhodes discussions strengthens suspicions that Rhodes is another name for Munich with Israel slated to play the role of Czechoslovakia. Despite this, the provisional government of Israel, Bernadotte announced, has agreed to participate in the Rhodes conference.

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AUGUST 1948

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

By Dr. Harry F. Ward

AMERICA'S RACIST QUOTA LAWS

By Ira Gollobin

SLANDER IS AN ANTI-SEMITIC WEAPON

By G. Koenig

AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURAL CONFERENCE IN ENGLISH

Morris U. Schappes

Samuel Barron

Resolutions

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Arthur Lourie, formerly director of the New York office of the Jewish Agency, was named Israeli Consul-General in New York on May 28. He will also head the Israeli office at the UN. Mr. Lourie is a native of South Africa, practiced and taught law there, and has held Jewish Agency posts since 1933 in England and this country. He served as liaison between the Jewish Agency and the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission in 1946.

Establishment of the Institute for Israel, Palestine and the Middle East as a new division of Dropsie College (Philadelphia) was announced early in June. The Institute will train scholars and historians in Middle Eastern studies and will also train personnel for consular, administrative and other administrative and commercial service in the Middle East.

The United Jewish Appeal, against which criticism is rarely made, was the object of severe criticism in the press in June after the UJA ran full-page ads in the press featuring a testimonial by Secretary of Defense James Forrestal endorsing the UJA. Forrestal had spearheaded the administration drive to reverse the UN partition decision. Both the Jewish Morning Journal and the Day, whose ownership is strongly Zionist, denounced the act editorially as a "desecration of Jewish honor." Observers close to top Zionist circles assert that the advertisements were inserted with the approval of Israeli leaders in the United States as a deliberate effort at appeasement.

The Jewish War Veterans of New York State at their 17th annual convention in June passed resolutions opposing the Mundt bill; urging boycott of British goods and services and asking Congress to withhold ERP funds from Britain for supporting the Arabs in the Palestine war; and petitioning the UN and the Big Five to indict the Grand Mufti as "a war criminal and a menace to world peace."

Sixty uniformed members of Brith Trumpeldor, Irgun-supporting youth organization known as Betar, forced their way on June 25 into the Israeli consulate building in New York to stage a memorial meeting for Irgunists who had died in the Irgun-Haganah clash in Israel over the landing of arms in violation of the truce. After they had gained entrance, the youths, apparently 15 to 19 years of age, were unmolested by the Israeli officials. One youth, 18, was taken into custody by the police on complaint of a young woman on the street who charged that he threatened to push a lighted cigarette in someone's face.

Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury in the Roosevelt Cabinet, had to fight the State Department in his effort to secure more effective action in saving Jews from Nazi extermination, it was revealed in former Secretary of State Cordell Hull's recently published memoirs. Hull discloses that Morgenthau and other Jews in high positions "found grievous fault with the State Department and especially with every official handling the refugee problem." He also reveals that the State Department was reluctant to deposit money to the credit of Nazis for the rescue of Jews "even though the deposits were to be made in Switzerland, were to be liquidated only after the end of the war, and apparently could not be used by Nazi leaders."

Chicago's Mayor Kennelly has appointed W. Homer Hartz, treasurer of American Action, Inc. and a banker and industrialist identified for years

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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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with pro-fascist outfits, to the Chicago Board of Education. A fight against approval of Hartz' appointment is expected in the City Council led by liberal aldermen Robert Merriam and Benjamin Becker.

A woman who attacked and abused Wallace campaign worker Tom Sullivan with anti-Semitic remarks was fined \$25 on June 16 by Magistrate Hyman Bushel in New York.

The American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists is suing the Forward Association, publishers of the Jewish daily Forward, for \$100,000 libel, Joseph Brainin, Committee's executive chairman, announced on May 30. On

May 15 the Forward quoted a statement supposed to have been issued by the American Zionist Emergency Council labelling the writers' committee anti-Zionist and pro-Arab. The writers' committee charges that the Zionist body never issued such a statement and that it was invention of the Forward.

(Continued on page 32)

Correction

In the article by Morris U. Schappes on "Jews in Colonial America," in the July issue, a serious typographical error crept in on page 14, right hand column, sixth line. The year "1933" should read "1833."

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

BERNADOTTE COMES THROUGH

AS WE go to press, Bernadotte's proposals for Palestine have just been published. They prove that he serves his Anglo-American imperialist masters well.

Bernadotte proposes that the territory to be considered should include Transjordan, that the entire territory be divided into an Arab and a Jewish state (making the Arab part of Transjordan), that the Jewish state be minus the Negev entirely, that Haifa be made a free port, that Jerusalem be included in the Arab part, that a supreme council be created by the two states which would settle any differences and coordinate foreign policy, defense and economics, that Israel would control immigration in its territory for two years and then subject the question to further discussion, with the decision of the UN Economic and Social Council, and its estimates of absorptive capacity, being binding.

These proposals are a complete betrayal of the UN decision of November 29, 1947 establishing independent Jewish and Arab states. Bernadotte, with an arrogance absorbed from his imperialist masters, went beyond his authority by arrogating to himself the right to reconsider a decision made by the United Nations instead of attempting to find a solution based on that decision. His proposals pave the way for the reentry of British imperialism into Palestine in partnership with American imperialism.

Israel, the Jewish people everywhere, and all democratic forces must firmly reject this treacherous, enslaving and war-fostering "solution" to the Palestine question. Any negotiations by Jewish leadership on any basis other than the original UN decision will represent the betrayal of Jewish interests and of peace.

The only road to the solution of the Palestine question is through the path of the UN partition decision. All else at this time leads to an imperialist blind alley ending in war. A program for solving the Palestine problem must include: 1) full acceptance of the UN decision of Nov. 29 as a basis for discussions; 2) maintenance of the territorial integrity of Israel as established by the UN decision, and securing the independence of Israel; 3) insistence that the U.S. immediately lift the embargo on Israel and raise the blockade; 4) insistence on full diplomatic recognition of Israel by the U.S.

No one could object to a truce that would prevent further bloodshed and war. But there must be absolute guarantees that the truce period will not be used for maneuvers and intrigue by Anglo-American imperialism to defeat the UN decision and betray Israel. Israeli and Jewish leadership, no less than the democratic forces everywhere, has a special responsibility in this regard.

REPUBLICAN HUDDLE

THE Republican Party having met in convention in Philadelphia, we now have seen one side of the standard American political coin. It is definitely counterfeit.

Words there are aplenty in the Republican platform Declaration of Principles. But the actions the platform enumerates and the policies it projects belie the pious sentiments.

It calls for "maximum voluntary cooperation between citizens and minimum dependence on law" in "our competitive system" and declares the "government (should act) as the servant of such a system." On this basis it removes the mask of its support for public housing, and is now solely for private construction, despite the profiteering and hold-up essence of such a policy. It rejects completely any government action against the continuously rising cost of living, or for the control of prices. It drops all promises to end tenant farming, a remnant of feudalism. Not having lifted a finger to do anything about it, it continues hypocritically to decry lynching, but discards all previous promises to adopt a Fair Employment Practices Act. These loud-mouthed eulogists of fascist Taft-Hartleyism have the colossal contempt for the American people to declare that "the rights and obligations of workers . . . should be protected against coercion and exploitation. . . ." These protagonists of the Mundt Bill at least have the consistency not to mention even once the word "democracy," even demagogically, in their platform as printed in the *New York Times* on June 23. They bleat about "justice without regard to race, creed or color" after having just passed an anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic refugee law.

The foreign policy is the reactionary counterpart of the domestic policy, in which it goes down the line in support of the war-mongering bi-partisan policy of the present administration upholding reaction and fascism throughout the world, and approving and pledging to advance American imperialist penetration and domination.

A non-committal draft paragraph on Israel was changed into one calling for full recognition "subject to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter" (whatever that means). The sincerity of this statement can be judged by the fact that it declares that "the vacillation of the Democratic Administration on this question has undermined the prestige of the United Nations." It takes a thief to catch a thief. The administration position on Israel is the same bi-partisan foreign policy which the Republicans support, and it is therefore equally guilty of the "vacillation," more correctly, the betrayal.

Yet it is this Republican Party which a number of dominant leaders of the Zionist movement have lately been

busy coddling. Thus a Curly Brooks was a main speaker at a Zionist rally in Chicago. Dr. Emanuel Neumann introduced Senator Taft at a New York Madison Square Garden Zionist rally as the one American statesman who consistently fought for a Jewish state. And Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver gave the benediction at the convention.

A reactionary domestic policy, an imperialist foreign policy can only lead to the destruction of the Jewish people. It is not benedictions, praise and coddling that the Republican Party needs, but complete repudiation by the American people. And its presidential candidate, Thomas Dewey, merits no less.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

WE CONSIDER the recently concluded sessions of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland to be an event of unique significance which deserves a very thorough analysis. Future issues will carry such an analysis as well as a number of speeches given at the congress.

There is no doubt but that had the leadership of the World Jewish Congress followed a consistent democratic policy of full and equal participation of all Jewish communities, and had developed a militant program of action, this congress would have achieved much more and would have had far greater participation than it did. Unfortunately, the denial of full and real participation and a democratic voice in deciding policy to all communities, has long been apparent in the Congress. It was emphasized at this session by limiting representation from Eastern Europe and by the refusal to elect a single progressive American delegate to the executive.

This key question is not an abstract issue, but one linked organically to basic political problems which the congress had to face. How was one to fight for Israel, to conduct a real struggle against anti-Semitism, to solve any major problem in Jewish life without a fundamental approach to the relationship of forces in the world; without an analysis of whom Jews could rely upon and whom they must fight as enemies? Could the congress refrain from taking a stand on the growing danger of war with all the menacing implications this involves for Jews? And if it could not, could it refrain from indicating who was responsible for this growing danger?

The leadership of Congress attempted to evade the issue by proclaiming a theory of neutrality. Somehow, in some way, Israel as well as world Jewish bodies could avoid involvement in the great struggle going on between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist camps. But as was immediately pointed out by delegates from a number of countries, including our own, "neutrality" was a hoax. It was merely demagoguery to confuse the masses and to hide the fact that what such leaders were really calling for was support of the imperialist camp.

Notable speeches were made by Albert E. Kahn of the

U.S., M. Mirsky of Poland, Moshe Sneh of Israel and A. Raisty of France. The dominant theme of each was the need for a strong World Jewish Congress, democratically leading the masses of Jews in militant struggle for Jewish rights in ever growing solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces of the world as the only guarantee of success.

Though all the resolutions and findings of the Congress are not yet available, it is evident that certain advances were made. While political and ideological differences abound, certain compromises made will make it possible to carry on the work of the congress in the coming period.

In the final analysis, however, the future of the Congress will be determined by the alertness of the progressive and democratic forces, their ability to project issues and to fight with determination to insure that they are carried out in life.

INFAMOUS DP BILL

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has declared that the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is both anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. He nonetheless signed the measure. This is typical of the kind of presidential double-talk that has achieved to date the killing of OPA and the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

No measure passed by the late and unlamented Congress was as crassly anti-Semitic as this discriminatory refugee act. The legislators went out of their way to find and adopt crippling limitations. Forty per cent of the DPs must come from the Baltic states who have supplied only 25 per cent of the refugees. Thirty per cent of them must be farmers. Only those are considered DPs who were in the camps on or before December 22, 1945. Even the President has noted in the statement accompanying his signature of the bill that "more than 90 per cent of the remaining Jewish displaced persons are definitely excluded. Even the eligible 10 per cent are beset by numerous additional restrictions written into the bill." These restrictions also exclude Catholics.

The American Jewish Congress petitioned President Truman to veto what it called the "misnamed" displaced persons bill and requested that he call a special session of Congress to "redeem America's pledges to give succor to the victims of Nazi persecution." The statement called for a veto of the bill "because it sets almost insuperable obstacles to the admission of any substantial number of the actual victims of Hitler's terror while opening the door wide to former Nazis solely on the basis of their 'ethnic origin.' It thereby sets a new pattern for racist legislation which is offensive to American principles."

Several lessons of fundamental importance must be learned from this. The first is that the bi-partisan gang-up is anti-Semitic in content. The second is that no refuse from the mind of a bigot can be anything else but anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic in its immediate objective or in

its long term results. The third is that playing with, or giving encouragement to, or embracing of the political underworld of Europe cannot be anything but anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic and anti all other minorities.

IRGUN PROVOCATION

ON the pretext of super-patriotism, the Irgun attempted open gun-running in full view of UN observers after the Israeli government had signed the truce. Had not the provisional government acted promptly and decisively, this incident could very well have served as an "excuse" for the resumption of open imperialist intervention which would have negated the whole concept of UN responsibility for the security of the Jewish state. The Irgun followed up this act by engaging in civil strife, by withdrawing its members from the unified command and by going underground, breaking all military discipline.

These actions were obviously provocative, and are typical of the adventurism, diversionism and political irresponsibility of the leaders of this movement. These acts justify the sharp objection of the Communist Party of Israel and the United Workers Party to the inclusion of the Revisionists, the political parent of the Irgun, in the government, and to the merging of its armed forces with the Haganah.

Moreover, they justify the opposition of the whole camp of progressives to the political ideology, program and activity of the Revisionists, the Irgun and their agents throughout the world. The ideology, program and activity are riddled with chauvinism, provocation and reaction bordering on the fascist. (For an analysis of the Irgun prior to the establishment of the Jewish state, see JEWISH LIFE, July, 1947.)

We must, however, note that some responsibility for the ability of the Irgun to influence and win adherents among sincere and honest sections of the Jewish people falls on the provisional government, which has been acting in a somewhat vacillating and indecisive manner. The Irgun, for instance, which is notorious for its anti-Soviet ideology, has suddenly called upon the government to adopt a Soviet orientation. The reason the Irgun's demagogic appeal has won a response is the fact that large sections of the people of Israel want such a policy and object to the government's persistent orientation to the west, which had failed in its responsibility to the Jewish people and had tried to betray Israel. Nor has the provisional government strengthened its position with the masses of Jews by agreeing to participate in the Rhodes conference without the firmest guarantees that the discussion would base itself solely on the November 29 decision of the UN establishing a Jewish state over the territory then designated. This vacillation on the part of the government feeds the discontent which the Irgun exploits.

Nevertheless, this does not justify anarchy nor treason. And the Jewish people must carefully select the forces upon whom it can rely and whom it must support. The

Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported from Tel Aviv on June 6, that the provisional government had announced that the "separate collections of funds for the Irgun and the Stern group are not authorized by it, and declared that they should be stopped both in Israel and abroad. These funds were no longer necessary."

We appreciate the desire of the Jews of America to support Israel with all means possible. Such support must be forthcoming in even greater measure. We appreciate also the dissatisfaction of great numbers of Jews with, the orientation and some of the policies of the provisional government. But it would be a total misuse and waste of funds and energy to misdirect them into hands that are determined to undermine the security of Israel and to drag Israel into the blind alley of international reaction.

There are regular agencies for the collection of funds, with a guarantee that they are going to responsible sources. There is the United Jewish Appeal (despite all criticism of some of its allocations), the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order Relief and Rehabilitation Fund, and the \$500,000 Fund to Defend Jewish Rights of the American Jewish Labor Council.

SCHULTZ SIDESHOW

BENJAMIN SCHULTZ, former rabbi of a Yonkers Temple which thought the better of it and finally dropped him as gently as possible, has finally found his place in the sun. True, it is a kind of murky solar system, that produces more headaches than vitamin C. But who is Schultz to reject a crumb?

Schultz has worked hard since he joined the red-baiting confraternity. The wildness of his charges, the profundity of his obscurantism, the violence of his epithets, have won the admiration of his colleagues and he has made the grade. Recently, he spoke at a meeting of dissident trade unionists (400 in a hall with a capacity of about 5000) organized under the influence of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which has become notorious for activity of an increasingly anti-labor character.

In the stellar array that harangued the misled audience, was Victor Riesel, labor "authority" for reaction and provocateur *par excellence*, Representative Abraham Multer, congressman from Brooklyn who treated his constituents shabbily when they came to protest the American State Department betrayal of Israel, and others. And among the others was one Dr. Harry Price, rector of the St. James the Less Church, who distinguished himself by telling anti-Soviet jokes which were also anti-Semitic, which seemed not to bother either Schultz or a reporter of the Jewish daily *Forward* who was present.

Each to his taste is a good motto provided it does not strain the stomachs among whom the individual insists on exhibiting his proclivities. Schultz' exhibitionism, however, is seriously menacing Jewish welfare and should be firmly isolated.

AMERICA'S RACIST QUOTA LAWS

By Ira Gollobin

IMPORTANT changes in recent years have been won in the laws permitting the immigration and naturalization of Chinese, East Indians and Filipinos. There continue to remain racial provisions in the immigration and naturalization laws barring Koreans, Indonesians, Japanese and others.

At the same time, a formidable and hidden fortress of reaction has not yet been attacked. This is to be found in the national origins quota provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924.

This act provides (Section 11) that 1) a study should be made to determine the national origins of the American people as of 1920; 2) the total annual immigration quota should be fixed at 150,000; 3) each nationality should have its proportionate share of the 150,000 based on the 1920 totals for each nationality. As a result, the annual immigration quota for Great Britain was fixed at 65,000 and, together with 60,000 for other countries of northern and western Europe, amounted to 80 per cent of the total world quota. Immigration from the countries of eastern and southern Europe was fixed at 13 per cent of the total. Thus six persons from the former group are admitted for every one from the latter. Rarely, if ever, have the quotas for the former group of countries been filled and rarely, if ever, have the quotas of the latter been open. In fact, most of the latter have a waiting period of from two to five years. Moreover, under the displaced persons immigration law recently enacted, displaced persons are entitled to admittance up to 50 per cent of the quota. The waiting period will therefore become even longer.

Particularly significant is the effect of the quota law on Jewish immigration. From a high of 135,000 in 1921, Jewish immigration fell after the passage of the law in 1924 to about 40,000 and even 30,000 a year. During the ten years of Hitler's rule over much of Europe, only 163,000 Jewish immigrants, or some 16,000 per year, were admitted to the United States.

The background of this national origins quota law reflects significant cross-currents of American history. In the past, those who welcomed the newcomer have always contended with those who wished to end all immigration. The progress of our democracy under Jefferson and Lincoln kept the exclusionists at bay for almost a century. The racists who advocated "America for the Anglo-Saxons" enlisted pseudo-science in their support. Bolstering their positions were the feelings of some underprivileged groups who thought they might achieve security by eliminating the

competition of the newcomer by excluding him from the country. This will-of-the-wisp recipe for prosperity met with limited and temporary victories in 1798 and in the 1840s, when the nativists fumed against the Irish and later against the Germans, and then disappeared from the political scene without leaving any serious trace.

Following the Civil War, with the rapid growth of industry, a great importation of cheap labor took place. Beginning in 1882, with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the nativists found an ally in the immature labor movement. Newly organized labor of the time struggled to maintain its wages against the efforts of employers to depress them by importing cheap labor. The labor movement adopted the policy of organizing only skilled workers, and leaving the unskilled to the mercy of their employers. The logic of this position led the trade unions to insist on a quantitative restriction of immigration. They were interested only in restriction and cared little as to who was to be excluded. This opened the door to an alliance with the nativists who were more concerned with the qualitative racial limitation. It should be noted, however, that the left-wing trade unions and progressive political organizations fought for unrestricted immigration and saw restriction as inimical to labor's interests.

The Campaign Becomes Hotter

The two groups opposing immigration had a powerful enemy in the employers, who wanted a continual supply of cheap labor. Until 1907, the issue between the two remained stalemated. A literacy test for immigrants, which would have restricted unskilled labor, was passed by Congress but vetoed by President Cleveland.

In 1898, 229,299 immigrants entered the United States. In 1907, 1,285,349 came in. More than 75 per cent of those who entered in 1907 came from southern and eastern Europe. This rapid increase in the number of immigrants aroused the American Federation of Labor and the shift from northern to southern Europe alarmed the nativists. Henry Cabot Lodge, who was chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, fired the opening gun of the anti-immigration campaign in 1895 with his work, *Racial Contribution to American Ability*, which proclaimed that the literary, commercial and other ability in the United States was about 90 per cent of British origin. A. P. Schultz, in his book, *Race or Mongrel*, went further in his argument for racial restrictions: "The principle that all men are created equal is still considered the chief pillar of strength of the United States. It is a little declamatory phrase, and only one objection can be raised against it, that it does not

IRA GOLLOBIN is an attorney for the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This study was prepared for the Committee and is printed with their permission.

contain one iota of truth. . . . A nation's strength is due to racial purity."

This much increased pressure resulted in the appointment of a Commission by Congress (Act of February 20, 1907) to make an "investigation into the subject of immigration." The Commission's report in 1911 declared: "Emphasis should be laid that immigration be such, both in quality and quantity, as to not make too difficult the process of assimilation. . . Further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people."

Efforts were concentrated on enactment of a literacy test as the entering wedge. The literacy test law was again passed by Congress and again vetoed, this time by President Taft. Later it was again passed and again vetoed by President Wilson. The scales finally shifted, however, and in 1917 the literacy test law was passed by Congress over the President's veto. Many other excluding provisions were simultaneously enacted, some under the influence of the anti-red hysteria.

The attitude of Congress and the post-war administration was indicated in the Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1923 (page 3): "While the lawmakers were deeply concerned with the mental, moral and physical quality of immigrants, there developed as time went on an even greater concern as to the fundamental racial character of the constantly increasing numbers who came. The record of arrivals year by year had shown a gradual falling off in the immigration of northwest European peoples representing racial stocks which were common to America even in colonial days and a rapid and remarkably large increase in the movement from southern and eastern European countries and Asiatic Turkey."

The reactionaries of the time sought to deflect the unrest ensuing on the post-war depression with political witch-hunts and Ku Klux Klan bigotry.

The 1917 law, which had breached the dike of opposition to immigration restriction, was soon followed by the enactment of the first law (Act of May 19, 1921) providing for the numerical restriction of immigration. The 1921 Act set annual immigration quotas for each country at three per cent of those from that country in the United States in 1910. This continued until 1924, when the "national origins" law was enacted.

Pros and Cons

Four main groups held the stage in the Congressional hearings and public debate: the racists, the American Federation of Labor, the National Association of Manufacturers and a number of democratic groups. The restrictionists, led by the racists and the AFL, were on the offensive; the free immigration forces fought a losing last-ditch battle. I will let each speak for itself.

The high priest of the racists was Madison Grant, whose

book, *The Passing of the Great Race*, was treated as gospel by most members of the Congressional Committee. Here is the voice of Mr. Grant: "Race is everything. Without race there can be nothing but the slave wearing his master's clothes, stealing his master's proud name, and living in the crumbling ruins of his master's palace. . . . The man of the old stock is being crowded out of many country districts by these foreigners. . . . These immigrants adopt the language of the native American, they wear his clothes, they steal his name, and they are beginning to take his women, but they seldom adopt his religion or understand his ideals."

Madison Grant particularly ranted against "the Polish Jews, whose dwarf stature, peculiar mentality, and ruthless concentration on self-interest are being engrafted upon the stock of the nation."

The American Legion and Lothrop Stoddard, author of *The Rising Tide of Color*, also added their support. The Allied Patriotic Societies testified at the Congressional hearings that it "feels very strongly that the main issue with respect to immigration legislation at present is the preservation of the racial integrity of the American people." To this, Congressman Vaile, a member of the House Committee on Immigration, added that "the 'national origins plan' will preserve the blood of the United States in its present proportions."

Joined with the racists was the American Federation of Labor. Here is the voice of its official spokesman, Mr. Wallace, when asked whether he favors suspending immigration: "We have appeared before this Committee time and again and asked for that—at least, until this country shall have a chance to assimilate the people who are now here, and until industrial conditions are such that we can safely say that we need more people in this country."

Mr. Wallace made his peace with the racists in a reply to one of their leaders, Congressman Raker: "If you can point out any other way whereby we can bring about what you consider the desired result and what I consider the desired result, *without showing* such intentional discrimination and offending the dignity of some country, why I believe it would be satisfactory. . . ." (Emphasis mine—I.G.)

Now for the side of those favoring unrestricted immigration. Here is the voice of the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Emery, testifying on the labor issue: "Cheap labor has pretty well disappeared from the United States, and if any member of the Congress of the United States knows where it can be obtained I know a vast number of industrial manufacturers who would like to know it. . . . I think the permanent policy of the United States ought to be predicated upon the admission of socially desirable aliens in numbers fixed by the demonstrated economic requirements of the United States."

The National Industrial Conference Board, research organ for big business, presented a detailed analysis to Congress exposing the falsity of the statistics on the alleged inferiority of foreign born workers.

Jewish Opponents of Racist Laws

The fourth group, representing the essentially democratic forces in the country, was represented by many prominent Americans. The assault on the racists was spearheaded at the hearings by Louis Marshall, the distinguished lawyer. Mr. Marshall declared: "I am not going to bring any politics into this discussion, but one would say, having recently read the proclamation of the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan that the ideas which underlie its theories of government of the United States find an echo in this legislation, because the people to be admitted are white, largely Protestant, and are of so-called Anglo-Saxon stock, although they are white. . . . Whether that be the underlying thought or not, the discrimination between peoples is foreign to the fundamental principles of our government. We have prided ourselves in the past upon the fact that we have not been respecters of persons. It is the man who counts. . . . And, now, these principles of selective immigration, the only sound principles of selection immigration, are to be cast aside and a new doctrine is to be enunciated in these sacred United States, that a man is to be excluded because his cradle was rocked in one part of Europe rather than in another; that if he happened to be born in Great Britain or in Germany or in Scandinavia, there will be no difficulty as to his admission into the country, but if he was born in Italy or in Austria or Czechoslovakia or Russia or Rumania, then he is practically told. 'You must not come into these United States.'"

Mr. Marshall also hit out against any numerical restriction, testifying, "I object to any restraint by numbers as being absolutely unjust and without any proper basis in economics, morals, right or justice."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise also spoke. "Discrimination, even though it cloak itself under the name of 'selection,' is always fundamentally and eternally unjust. . . . I consider any quota arrangement unjust and unfeasible. . . ."

Rabbi Wise also attacked the claim that the American people favored restriction of immigration: "I know something of America and I do not think it at all fair to assume, as you gentlemen do . . . that the country is clamoring for restriction of immigration, for the abolition of immigration. I tell you that America is still under this post-war hysteria. It is rapidly emerging. But that post-war hysteria which still remains continues to work in America and I tell you that you are inflicting a great wrong upon thousands . . . of citizens of America."

The representative of the foreign language press, the late William Edlin, then editor of the *Jewish Day*, answered the American Federation of Labor. "Why should the AFL be afraid of them (the immigrants) when the fact is that these foreigners have a higher standard of living than many of the natives of this country? I say why should they fear them? The foreigner is open to any effort to make a decent citizen of him. He is not one that likes to remain oppressed and downtrodden."

Mr. Edlin also raised constitutional questions concerning the provisions of the legislation. "Whenever a bill is introduced in Congress that directly draws a line between one class of citizens and another, I say that it is not keeping faith with us. It is not keeping faith with the Constitution. . . . I will say this bill shows it, that you are trying to stamp the foreigner as a distinct class by himself."

Racism Prevails

But all these objections proved unavailing. The national origins provision was passed. Clifford Kirkpatrick, a sociologist, summed up in an article written a year after the enactment of the national origins act: "The recent legislation was motivated by Ku Klux Klan hatred of the Catholic and the un-American, the general fear of radicalism, fear of economic competition and belief in Nordic superiority."

The dispassionate view of *The New Statesman*, a British publication, written five years later, was that "The National Origins Law provides an effective example of American minority organization and pressure."

As to the figures on the national origins of the American people, Secretary of State Kellog, Secretary of Commerce Hoover and Secretary of Labor Davis declared in a joint letter to President Coolidge in 1927 that "the statistical and historical information available raises grave doubts as to the whole value of these computations as a basis for the purpose intended."

Prof. Franz Boas, the scientist and sociologist, wrote in an article entitled, *This Nordic Nonsense*, that "the recent laws regulating immigration discriminate, not in words, but in fact against all people that are not considered as representatives of the 'Nordic' type."

Underlying the law—which is in effect today and operates today as the law of the United States—is also the doctrine that American culture consists of the survival of a superior Anglo-Saxon culture against all "corrosive" efforts of other "inferior" cultures by subordinating and remaking them in the image of the "superior" culture. The view that American culture is a fusion of many equal cultures to form a new and higher culture is rejected. Prof. Boas maintained that the real danger was that the immigrants' cultures might be lost. "The social resistance to Americanizing influences is so weak that it may rather be regretted that we profit so little from the cultural heritage of the immigrants than that we should fear their modifying influence upon American thought and sentiment."

The study of the nature, results and backgrounds of the national origins provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924 shows that the law rests on the same racial theories as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and on the denial of one of the principle cornerstones of our democratic principles—that all men are created equal. Americans fought and died to defeat the nazis in war but the nazi ideology still holds an important bridgehead in our immigration laws.

SLANDER IS AN ANTI-SEMITIC WEAPON

By G. Koenig

THE Jewish daily *Forward* on Feb. 29, 1948, featured an article by Jacob Pat (secretary of the American Jewish Labor Committee) sensationally headlined, "The scandal of the anti-Semitic movement promoted by the communists in France." And as if this were not enough, there is a subhead, "Poisonous incitations against Jews in the French communist press in the manner of the Hitlerite Streicher in Germany." Following these violent headlines is a text full of filth and of the ugliest accusations of anti-Semitism against the French Communist Party. Just listen to this: "The communists in France have begun an anti-Semitic, provocative, black-hundred propaganda against Jews in the style of the most bitter anti-Semites of Germany and Poland. . . ."

But Jacob Pat obviously felt that even the backward *Forward* readers would not believe him too readily, so he forearmed himself hypocritically. "At first it sounds unbelievable. . . . I can understand that you are rubbing your eyes. . . ." Then in order to try to win the confidence of the readers, Pat himself appears surprised. "We know the communists well," he writes. "We know what they are capable of doing. But we confess that we rubbed our eyes. . . ."

After this collective "eye-rubbing," Jacob Pat takes another step. "But in the last analysis why should we be surprised? If communists should discover that anti-Semitism serves their purposes, why shouldn't they grease their wheels with anti-Semitic oil?"

And what is the communist goal? According to Pat, "only the devil understands their goal today." But it seems that Pat is that way with the devil, because soon he reveals the entire secret. "The goal is might, domination, Russia, Stalin, the rotten, naked, brutal beast of prey. . . ."

As soon as Pat feels that he has helped *Forward* readers to "rub their eyes," he turns with a pious face to the other Jews, to the communist Jews of Paris and New York and he speaks to them in words that would move a stone. Well, he says, it is clear that Thorez, Cachin and Duclos are anti-Semites and want to destroy the few remaining Jews. But you, who are really communists, are, however, also Jews (true, not such kosher, not such passionate Jews as Pat, but Jews nevertheless)—what do you say about this? Pat concludes in a pathetically melodramatic tone. "I am bothered by the questions, what does such a Jew feel and think now?"

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

So we will hasten to satisfy the curiosity of Jacob Pat and to answer his question: "You are a liar and a scoundrel, Jacob Pat!" That is the feeling and thinking not only of such a Jew, but of *every* Jew in France who has the "pleasure" of reading you. Because every Jew in France knows that while you, Jacob Pat, were safe and secure in America, and while your *Forward* called upon the Polish Jews, who had been saved in the Soviet Union, to return to nazi Poland (in order to die in Hitler's crematoriums and gas chambers), the French communists were working to rescue tens of thousands of Jews from certain death. At that time, Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos remained in Paris under imminent danger of death and led armed resistance against the nazis, wrote calls to the French working class to rescue Jewish women and children and organized the National Movement Against Racism.

What French Jews Think

The Jew of France feels and thinks that while you opened the columns of the *Forward* to the pogromist Denikin, communist partisans threw the Vichy pogromists into prison immediately after liberation, tossed fascists and collaborationists out of Jewish homes and returned thousands of Jewish families back into their apartments. At that time, Thorez, in the name of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, published the famous call to fight against every trace of anti-Semitism.

The Jew of France feels and thinks that at the same time that you defend in your *Forward* the Zaifman brothers,¹ the murderers of 17,000 Jews of Ostrow, the communists demand the most severe punishment for the murderers of Jews.

The Jew of France knows that his best, his only defenders, the most ardent fighters against anti-Semitism, are the communists. He knows that wherever there is a communist mayor he will get his home back, he will be able to work, he will have his place of business, will be able to move about freely.

If you ask any Jew in France, he will tell you that while the communists were in the government Jews had the fullest freedom; tens of thousands of Jews entered France

¹ During the war the Zaifman brothers collaborated actively with the nazis in Poland to herd thousands of Jews into murder camps at great personal profit. They are at present in Brazil where they were excommunicated from the Jewish community there. The *Forward* attempted to discredit the excommunication proceedings by raising legal technicalities. The *Forward* printed letters by the Zaifman brothers, but refused to print testimony of their victims.—Eds.

from the camps of Germany; the immigrants were not subjected to attack. Since the communists were removed from the government, however, anti-Semites raise their heads, murderers of Jews are being freed from prisons, dozens of trials are going on against immigrant Jews from the camps, worry and insecurity pervade the Jewish community in France.

When you, Jacob Pat, ask us what we have to say about your crocodile tears for the "anti-Semitism" of the Communist Party, the only answer is, "You are a liar and a scoundrel, Jacob Pat!"

We know that no matter how much Pat rubs his eyes, he will never see or want to see anything other than Chanin's and Abe Cahan's dollars. We know his blind hatred toward the Soviet Union, the communists and everything progressive. We want to quote, however, for those American Jews who might be confused by the ugly falsehoods of a Pat, a few facts from the dozens in the past year which show the relationship of the French Communist Party to the Jews.

Pat Versus the Facts

In March 1947, an exhibition opened in Paris on Jewish participation in the resistance movement in France during the Nazi occupation. A member of the Political Committee of the French Communist Party, the famous labor leader, Marcel Cachin, loyal servant of the labor movement for nearly 60 years, spoke there as follows:

"I sympathize with you in your great pain. No other people has suffered as much as you. Never in history was there such terrible slaughter and terrible, refined methods of murder as those used upon you. It is incredible that in the twentieth century such vile creatures could exist.

"You Jews did not deserve such a horrible fate. I love, I value highly the Jewish people, your great traditional loftiness and your belief in the future of mankind. Your people gave humanity three great men in Christ, Spinoza and Marx. Is it because you have given the world such giants that you deserve such a bitter fate?

"Let us do everything possible to guarantee that this will never happen again. Only the radical transformation of human society and of the human soul will finally put an end to all race hatred and oppression."

And this great working class leader, whose name millions of Frenchmen and tens of millions of workers in the whole world utter with the greatest love and admiration, this noble friend of our people, Jacob Pat tries to smear and turn into an anti-Semite!

And here is a second fact. During the scandal of the "Exodus 1947," when 3500 Jews were most cruelly driven over the seas and thrown back into the German camps, the most prominent communist leaders demanded justice for our brothers at large meetings, in protest letters, in petitions. The central organ of the Communist Party, *L'Humanite*, most widely circulated morning newspaper in France, devoted much space to the "floating Oswiecim"

and fought in defense of the suffering Jews. Said Pierre Courtade, prominent communist journalist, in *L'Humanite* in September 1947:

"The vile wave of anti-Semitism was able to spread anew over Europe only because fascism is preparing for vengeance. Anti-Semitism develops together with anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and hatred for the people. The swinging of rubber hose in Hamburg should be a warning to all democrats, to all free peoples. The demand that the Jews be treated honorably is not only humanitarian. It is a political act. It means fighting for democracy, against fascism, whose forerunner is anti-Semitism."

That is how the French communists understand the struggle against anti-Semitism, not simply in a humanitarian sense, but as a vital necessity in the struggle for democracy and against fascism.

Here is a third fact. The highest French court, composed of representatives of all parties, several months ago tried Xavier Vallat, the bloody commissar of Jewish affairs during the German occupation, who was responsible for the murder of 120,000 Jewish men, women and children of France. The majority of the court, which has a socialist as chairman, sentenced this murderer, who earned the gallows, to ten years in prison with extenuating circumstances. Thus Vallat may go scot free quite soon. Eight judges rose in protest and left the court before the reading of the sentence. Do you know who these judges were? They were the eight communist members of the court.

And these communists, who demanded the extreme penalty for the murder of Jews, Pat dares to smear with the charge of anti-Semitism!

French CP Is Anti-Fascist

And here is a fourth fact, really only an episode, but a very characteristic one. At the end of January, Thorez spoke at a Lenin Memorial meeting in a large Paris hall. When naming those who fell in the resistance movement, he emphasized particularly a number of Jewish resistance heroes. Then a Soviet film was shown. Do you know what kind of film was shown to Parisian workers at this communist meeting? It was *The Unvanquished*, a film with Benjamin Zuskin in the leading part, a film describing the Nazi slaughter of Jews in the Ukraine, a film that calls for the rooting out of anti-Semitism and that preaches brotherhood of man and friendship between peoples.

In the first row sat Thorez, Duclos, Cachin, Marty. Together with the whole audience, they applauded the glorious scenes of the sympathetic Jewish doctor. And when the Ukrainian farmer saves a Jewish child, the large audience thundered its applause and more than one French working class woman recalled a Jewish child which she herself had saved during the occupation.

And this Pat calls "anti-Semitic oil on communist wheels!"

And here is a fifth fact. On March 3, 1948, 5,000 Parisian Jews of all strata and political beliefs, attended a Jewish unity meeting to express their solidarity with the Jews of Palestine. The secretary of the Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, declared at this meeting in the name of the French Communist Party, "We communists are consistent anti-racists. We combat racism, no matter what its form—anti-Semitism or the lynching of Negroes. . . . I greet the Jewish people in its heroic struggle. . . . I want to bring you this evening the fighting solidarity of the French Communist Party."²

That is how the communist leader, Duclos, spoke in the name of a million organized communists, in the name of six million Frenchmen who had voted for the Communist Party. Thus spoke Duclos at the very time that the *Forward* was busy informing against Jewish immigration to Palestine!³ We should like to see you, Pat, step up and repeat to the thousands of Jews—Zionists, communists, socialists and non-party—who rose in unison with prolonged, enthusiastic applause for Duclos—repeat to them even a hundredth part of the filth you poured on Jacques Duclos and his comrades!

Since you were not at this meeting, let me inform you that the least you would have heard from the Parisian Jews would have been, "You are a liar and a scoundrel, Jacob Pat!"

Some Jews Are Reactionaries

What is happening now in France? The people are fighting hard to hold their democratic gains and to win back national independence. Under the pressure of Washington there has arisen here the so-called "American Party," whose two main parts are the "Third Force" and De Gaulle's Party. The Communist Party accuses the Socialist Party of disarming the working class, of collaborating with reaction, of laying the basis for De Gaulle's return to power, of delivering the country to the American trusts.

Leon Blum stands at the head of the Socialist Party. If the communists attack Leon Blum it is not because he is a Jew, but because he carries on reactionary policies. It was Blum who was the author of "non-intervention" in Spain. It was he who supported Munich. It was he who broke united action with the communists and removed them from the government in obedience to Washington. It was he who united with the De Gaullists in the municipal elections, and is now preparing the marriage of the "Third Force" with the De Gaullists. That is why the communists attack Blum, as well as the other reactionary socialist leaders, whether they are called Guy Moffet or Daniel Mayer or Marcel Pivert.

In the present government there is a socialist minister of the interior who sent police and military forces against

strikers during the last strike wave and who introduced anti-labor laws in parliament. Obviously, the communists fight very hard against him. This minister is a Jew, Jules Moch. But it would not occur to any honest person that Moch is under attack because he is a Jew. The communists fought just as hard against the previous socialist ministers of the interior with such non-Jewish names as Le Trocquer and Depreux.

The communists are fighting against the present finance minister, whom they accuse of being in the service of the big banks and of the American trusts. This minister is called Rene Mayer and his finance plan is called the "Mayer Plan." What is more, Mayer is administrator of the Rothschild bank. Not only the communists refer to the "Mayer Plan." Minister Mayer himself calls it that, as do the entire press and all the deputies in Parliament. *L'Humanite* criticizes Rothschild just as it criticizes the non-Jewish heads of the trusts, the de Wendels and Michelians. Pat shows great ignorance on French (as on all other) matters. For him, the Mayer Plan is the communist name for the Marshall Plan, while the Mayer Plan as we just saw, actually is the plan of the present finance minister of France.

Pat clutches at a cartoon in *L'Humanite*, which allegedly represents only Jews as being in the government. Pat enumerates "Moch, Mayer, Blum, Schuman. . . ." Well, first of all, Blum does not appear in the cartoon at all. Premier Robert Schuman and Foreign Minister George Bidault are also pictured. Both are non-Jews. Incidentally, Pat gets his names all mixed up. He thinks the premier of France is Morris Schuman, when it is in fact Robert Schuman, a different person. Furthermore, he makes the premier a Jew, when in fact he has nothing to do with Jews. Ignorance or evil? Perhaps both.

But for Pat, all the ministers in the cartoon "must" be Jews. Otherwise he cannot make his point about the caption of the cartoon, in which the ministers say to one another that they do not know the *Marseillaise* because it is a French song. According to Pat they say this because they are Jews and "aliens." He concludes triumphantly that the caption means that French ministers of Jewish origin do not even know the *Marseillaise*.

"L'Humanite" Replies

The fact is that *L'Humanite* accuses the French government of singing the songs of Washington instead of the *Marseillaise*. One can agree or not that this is so. But what has this to do with anti-Semitic incitement? We will give here a few excerpts of *L'Humanite's* reply to this slander.

"*Le Populaire* has dared to write that our party spreads anti-Semitism, which the great Lenin called 'filth.'

"This accusation is of a piece with the permanent betrayal by *Le Populaire*. It is fitting in those who united with De Gaulle and the Jesuits to smear the 'Party of the Executed.' (That is what the Communist Party is called, because 75,000 of its members were executed by the nazis.)

² This speech was published in *JEWISH LIFE*, May 1948.—Eds.

³ This refers to a *Forward* article supporting Bevin's statement that the Soviet Union was urging partition in order to smuggle communists into Palestine.—Eds.

"To insult the party of Jacques Solomon and Georges Politzer (both Jews), who were tortured by the Gestapo and special brigades, the party of Feldman, who was murdered in the prison of Rouen, is easier than to discuss the 'honorary' deportation of the traitor Leon Blum.

"No, the French will not forget that Krigel-Waldemann (communist deputy, a Jew from Alsace) was insulted by Xavier Vallat, who supported Munich in 1938 together with Blum, leading to the fascist and racist invasion of Europe and the world; the French will remember that the socialist minister Moch issued the latest xenophobic decrees against the foreign workers.

"They remember that it was the Labor minister Bevin who permitted Jews to die on the concentration camp ship 'Exodus.'

"Down with the provocateurs! Down with slanderers!"

This answer by *L'Humanite* is also an answer to Jacob Pat. That's the answer to the evil campaign to try to charge with anti-Semitism a party that is the proved fighter against anti-Semitism and the best defender of the Jewish masses.

Our people are living through dangerous days. In Israel Jewish blood is flowing, at Lake Success the imperialists are trying to choke the Jewish state at its very birth. Anti-Semitic incitement is rising. A strong, reactionary and militaristic Germany is being rebuilt. There is incitement and preparation for a new bloody world slaughter, which can lead to the annihilation of our entire people.

The provocateur articles in the *Forward* aim to hide from the Jewish masses the true danger which menaces them from American reaction and from the Bevins, Schumans, De Gaulles, the "Third Force." Slandorous attempts are being made to frustrate the building of a mighty united democratic front in Jewish life.

This must be clear to all the Jews in America, if they value their lives and the lives of their children, if they are devoted to the national interests of the Jewish people. They must everywhere unmask the ugly incitations of the *Forward* and of its employee, Pat. In conclusion we repeat once more what we Jews feel and think. "You are a liar and a scoundrel, Jacob Pat!"

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

By Dr. Harry F. Ward

THE recent comprehensive and valuable survey of anti-Semitism in America by Carey McWilliams, *A Mask for Privilege*, raises a question it does not answer: can the alterations in the social order which are necessary for the ending of anti-Semitism be accomplished without a change in the nature of its economic base? In other words does the abolition of anti-Semitism depend upon the achievement of the transition from capitalist to socialist society? This question is not only pertinent but extremely practical because that step in social progress is now under way. It has already occurred in one sixth of the earth's surface and is in process in an additional significant portion. Consequently both those who suffer from anti-Semitism and desire freedom from it, and those who see and desire to end its disastrous effects in the social order, have now to make up their minds whether they need to aid the great transition now in process in order to achieve their goals.

Because he does not tell us his mind on this matter, McWilliams' important book, for all its knowledge, insights and clear exposition of particular issues, does not quite fulfill itself and becomes in the end another illustration of the competence in analysis of the accepted methodology in social science, and its inability to achieve the synthesis that is called for by the point at which the development of human society now stands.

DR. HARRY F. WARD is Professor Emeritus of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and Honorary Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress. He is the author of *Democracy and Social Change*, *In Place of Profit*, *The Soviet Spirit*, etc.

That McWilliams sees this need is clear enough. "The society that produces the sweat or fever of anti-Semitism is a sick society—how sick, in fact, can be largely determined by the number of anti-Semites. When the fever chart shows a rise in anti-Semitism, one can rest assured that society, in some of its parts, in some of its relationships has begun to show symptoms of deep-seated maladjustment and disorganization." And again, "While social cleavages of all kinds are emphasized in periods of economic crisis, anti-Semitism seems to bear an intimate and special relation to major crises, to periods of profound social maladjustment."

Recognizing also the need for "a general attack on the socio-economic conditions which breed the disease" of anti-Semitism, McWilliams then declines to go into that phase of the subject. "This is a task of a large order which it is not my purpose to outline, even if I felt competent to do so." Part of the large order in that task is the relation of the socio-economic causes of anti-Semitism to the nature of the economic base of capitalist society. Since this is the basic question concerning the present sickness of our society, of which anti-Semitism is one of the symptoms, social scientists, especially if they are also valiant and effective fighters against social injustice, as McWilliams is, cannot be excused from the obligation to attempt an answer.

Nor can the urgent social necessity accept the plea of non-competence. As Louis Harap has pointed out in these pages, "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." The writer who can do this could certainly trace the relation of these facets to the nature of the economic base of our present society. The responsibility of judgment concerning the nature of the capitalist economy, especially when it is revealed by such consequences as anti-Semitism, with its relation to fascism and the relation of fascism to war, cannot be passed by the social scientist to the moral philosopher. The sickness of the acquisitive society is both functional and ethical, and the two aspects are interwoven. As a social scientist McWilliams has properly expressed clear ethical judgments on anti-Semitism. To be conclusive these judgments must finally include the nature of the economic order.

Anti-Semitism as Economic Weapon

McWilliams has already entered that field. His title, *A Mask for Privilege*, exhibits both an economic and an ethical judgment, implicitly recognizes that a scientific ethic must be included in the social sciences. He might have gone further in this direction and made his title "A Weapon for Power," for he clearly shows the use of anti-Semitism in the economic struggle. In his preface he indicates that he chose the term "mask" in order to expose the process by which "privileged groups manufacture a system of screens to mask their attempted monopoly of social, economic and political power." He affirms that "anti-Semitism is a favorite weapon of proved efficiency in the socio-economic conflicts of a class-riven society." In his historical survey he shows how the Grant-Stoddard ideology "rationalized the socio-economic conflicts of the period and served as a mask for privilege." Finally, in the concluding chapter, he calls this use of anti-Semitism as a weapon "its social function."

How this weapon is used in the economic struggle for power is shown in detail. The various phases of anti-Semitism are shown to have arisen out of changes in the economic situation as part of the struggle for power. How social discrimination follows after exclusion from key parts of the economic process is revealed. The judgment rendered by McWilliams is that the uniqueness of the American economic structure is in its anti-Semitism. Plainly the conclusion should be that, if anti-Semitism is to be ended, the economy needs to be changed from the struggle for power to a planned cooperation to meet common needs.

Despite his disavowal of the purpose and his modest doubt of competence, McWilliams is driven by his analysis to make some general suggestions in this direction. He sees that the task of removing the economic causes of anti-Semitism involves "the creation of a society in which production is organized on some basis other than individual aggrandizement." But in place of a description of that other basis we are given the formula for a regulated capitalism with a vague general purpose. "To eliminate discrimination, our acquisitive economy must be brought under con-

scious democratic controls, and must be made to serve a major purpose of all social organization—namely, to enlarge the areas in which cooperation rather than competition is the norm." How can the acquisitive economy be regulated into serving a purpose contrary to its nature? The record of our attempts at inconclusive "trust busting" should be a sufficient answer as to their effectiveness. Especially after McWilliams has put alongside that record the story of the increase of anti-Semitism as a screen to mask "attempted monopoly of social, economic and political power."

Analysis Stops Short of Conclusion

It would seem that an analysis which shows the inevitability of the increase of anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, and anti-democratic, fascist, tendencies in a "class-riven society" at least demands the general finding that the kind of economy that we need is one which clearly leads in that general direction. But instead of being led along that road, we are taken back from economic causation to the psychological aspect of our problem, by way of "issues not directly related to the type of economy in which we function." One of these is "how can we fashion an industrial society in which full provision is made for basic human needs?" Obviously this could not be answered without reference to the failure of our present monopoly economy to perform its function in this respect and the nature of the changes needed to get rid of the defect. So, instead of carrying through, the question of the frustrations of modern life that can be traced to the kinds of work that people are required to perform, is introduced and answered with the vague statement: "Socially speaking the function of work should be to orientate the individual to reality."

McWilliams prefaces his excellent summary of immediate measures for the lessening of anti-Semitic and other discriminations with the remark that "what is most needed in the United States today is the development of a concept of functional equality." He sees that this needed concept can only become vital by the concrete realization of the guarantees contained in our Constitution, and before that in the Declaration of Independence. But this leads us back again to the nature of our economic order. The capitalist economy operates on the basis of functional inequality. That is the way it gets its leadership. It raises the strong to power. It keeps the Jew, the Negro, woman, most of the children of the low income group in a subordinate position. How then can we get to functional equality by way of an economy that moves in the opposite direction? The best we can do is to mitigate some of the worst inequalities and thereby gain more strength for the changing of the direction of the economic process.

How the attempt to keep the fight against anti-Semitism within the confines of our present acquisitive economy leads always up a blind alley, is shown again by the discussion of the relation between anti-Semitism and fascism. McWilliams finds correctly that anti-Semitism "has always

been used by the enemies of the people for the purpose of arresting progress; in periods of social upheaval and social stress; and against the interests of the people." It is "essentially anti-democratic in character." Therefore, "Whatever anti-Semitism is or may have been it is today a weapon of reaction—part of the mechanism of fascism." Since one of the main objectives of all fascists is the ending of the democratic process, this anti-democratic weapon, anti-Semitism, fits their purpose as the glove the hand and is used, as McWilliams says, "for many inter-related purposes." One of these is to prevent the coming of the socialist society. That means to stop the extension of the democratic process to the economic order. To do that the political democracy of the capitalist period has to be destroyed or devitalized.

That is why the lords and rulers of our present acquisitive economy subsidize fascist leaders and organizations. Because the system these lords and rulers administer is increasingly unable, by its inefficiency as well as its injustice, to command the consent of the people, they must try to take away the democratic means by which a more efficient and more ethical system could in time be developed. So once again we are confronted with the same conclusion. Neither fascism, nor its use of anti-Semitism can be ended without a change in the nature, as well as the control of the economic order.

The logic and ethic of this book required it to end in a discussion or at least a recognition of the nature of the economic change that its analysis demands. But instead it concludes with a psychological discussion concerning the function of anti-Semitism in the personality of the bigot. McWilliams has voiced his impatience with those who spend hours of talk on the minutæ of group tensions, yet he spends several of his concluding pages on Sartre's typically vague, rhetorical definition of anti-Semitism as "fear of man's fate." Then the closing words, from James Joyce's *Ulysses*, are, "'History,' Stephen said, 'is a nightmare from which I am trying to awaken.'" Irresistibly one recalls the challenge of Marx when he said that the philosophers have tried to explain history, but our task is to change it.

The relation of the explanation to the task is what McWilliams does not discuss, except in specific aspects of his problem. If he had pursued the inseparable relation of the social function of anti-Semitism to its individual function in the personality of the bigot, his book would have ended differently. It is true that "To demonstrate the social function of anti-Semitism does not explain the predisposition toward anti-Semitism in the individual." It is also demonstrable that if the social function of anti-Semitism is eliminated by socialist society, ending the struggle for economic power and the resultant class divisions, the "pre-disposition toward anti-Semitism in the individual" will be much lessened and more easily dealt with.

If that is understood, and it has been historically demonstrated in the Soviet Union, and this demonstration is now being repeated in the new democracies of eastern Europe,

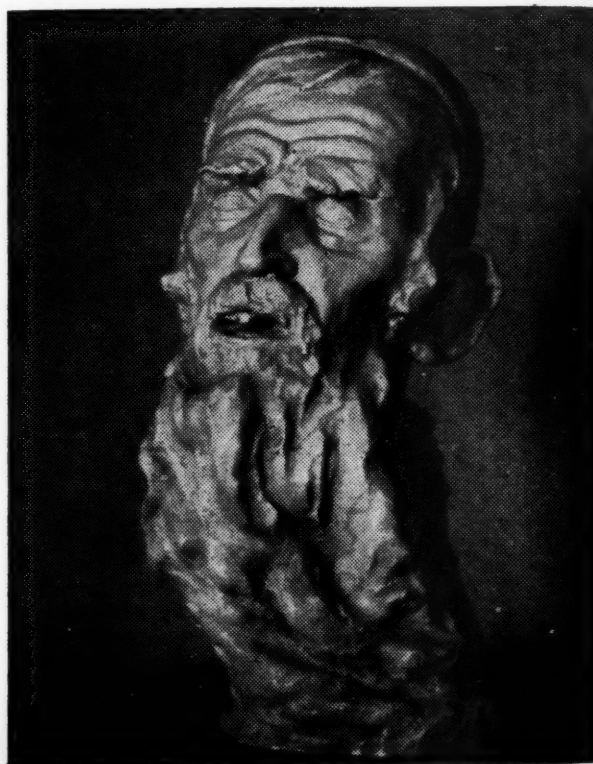
then the campaign here to eradicate anti-Semitism will not, as McWilliams proposes, be organized "on two levels" but on one plane with two inter-dependent objectives: one to remove the economic causes, the other to eliminate particular forms of discrimination. The degree of success that can be achieved in the latter objective depends upon the accuracy with which the former is determined and the thoroughness with which it is pursued. Education and regulation for the prevention of discrimination and the attainment and exercise of privilege come fully into their own only when the economic pressures that produce these evils are removed. Conversely the gathering and training of the forces to accomplish to the full the economic change that is needed, is achieved in the battles against the injustices that occur because of the nature of our present acquisitive economy.

For the ammunition and the stimulus that McWilliams has provided for both aspects of the fight against anti-Semitism, all those enlisted in it must be grateful. Many of them will also hope that the next time he writes he will not limit his economic purpose, but will pursue that aspect of the matter beyond the borders of the acquisitive economy and in all its relationships.

HEAD OF AN OLD JEW

By Lena Po

(Lena Po is a blind Soviet sculptress.)



PIETA

A Short Story

By Joan Sullivan

WHEN she heard his key in the lock, Mary went to the door, her eyes as always swinging like a compass-needle to the magnet of her husband's mood. Tonight his face wore scars of weariness and a grey sheen muddled by an end-of-the-day beard; he moved slowly to put down the things he carried, to hang up his coat and hat.

"You're late, David," she said.

"I know."

"Is she worse?"

He took his place at the table in the kitchen while Mary served their dinner. "Worse? Better? Who knows? They called me at the office this afternoon to tell me I'd have to take her out of the hospital at once. She's been on a hunger-strike. Won't eat a thing but milk and *matzo*s. I went up to the apartment to get her some clothes to wear so I can take her out tonight."

Mary turned to look at the pile of clothing on the chair where David had put it. It was almost as though a third person sat in the small room with them. "But I thought . . ."

"I know what you thought, but damn it, I have no choice!"

"Shhh. You'll wake Davey."

"I'm sorry. God knows I've got no reason to be angry with you, Mary. But I'm caught, that's what gets me. Caught."

"We're all caught one way or another, it seems. Main thing is to extricate the best part of yourself from the trap, even if it means gnawing off your own foot like a fox or something." She tried a smile intended to encourage. "Eat your dinner now. We'll talk about it later."

They ate in silence although Mary felt she could almost hear the words threshing about in David's mind, could almost feel hostile eyes staring into her back from the clothing on the third chair in the kitchen. For over a week now they had wandered in the maze of this problem ever since Anna Loewe *née* Kapelov had fallen helpless, the arthritis in her hip finally crippling the seventy-year-old body which had fought too long to follow the routine of its days. For over a week, David's mother had lain in a ward at Bellevue and pleaded to be allowed to return to her two-room apartment in the Bronx. David put down his coffee-cup with a clatter that startled Mary.

"God damn it!" he exclaimed softly. "She *can't* live there alone any longer. She can't take care of herself, yet no hospital in the city will take a chronic case, they need the beds. What the hell am I going to do with her, Mary?"

JOAN SULLIVAN is a New York fiction writer.

Mary avoided his eyes as she sought an answer. "I've been thinking about it, David, these past days. Maybe this is all our fault. Maybe she's being punished now because we didn't face up to her when we married. We kept putting off telling her about us, because we didn't want to hurt her. So now we have hurt her worse. It isn't fair. If we'd told her when she was still well and strong. . . ." She hesitated then looked up at him squarely. "Then maybe she would have learned to live with us by this time and would never have got so sick."

"You don't know what you're saying!" David's voice made the words sound like an oath. "We've been over this a thousand times and you still don't know the scenes we would have had to endure. And then when Davey was born last year, the whole thing hashed over and over again like dogs fighting over a bone. Damn it, my son'll know he's part Jewish, but he'll know it from *me*, without the humbug. He's going to learn the best from both of us and grow up to be part of the best of us."

"I know that's what we want, darling, but sometimes you have to compromise, too. . . ."

"I wouldn't! I wouldn't put that yoke around your shoulders any more than you've put your family's ideas around mine! I wouldn't have my old woman dam the rising flood of my son's intelligence!"

"But . . ."

"No 'buts,' Mary. It would never have worked so let's stop the recriminations."

"Then it will have to be what we said before, David. A Home. Where she'll get medical attention and be freed from housework and . . ."

"Freed from the only thing she's got left, her independence! Well, I can't count on it, but yesterday she did promise she'd go to a Home if only I'd take her back to her own apartment for a while first, until she can get used to the idea. But she won't keep that promise. I know her."

"They said they'd have a room for her within the next week, didn't they, and it's a nice place, David. You said it was a very nice place."

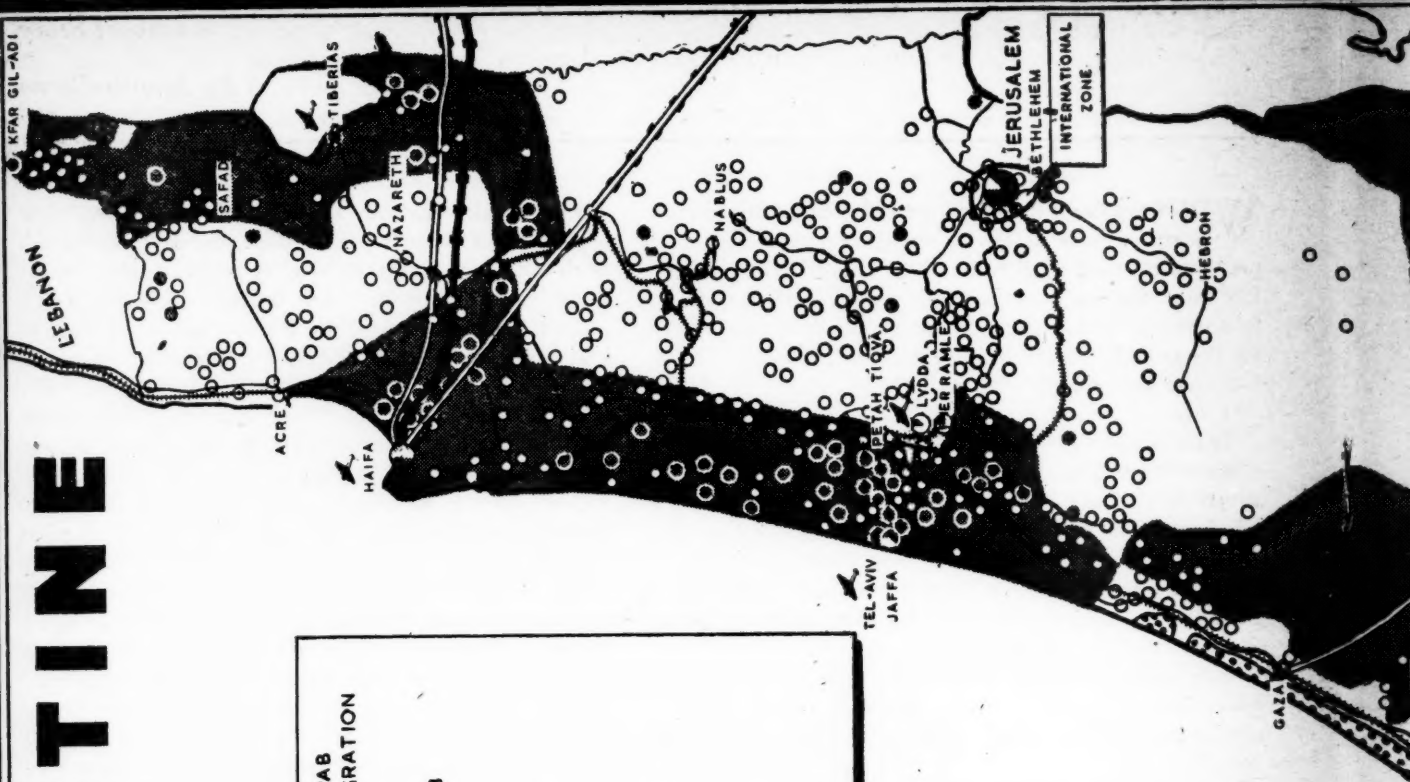
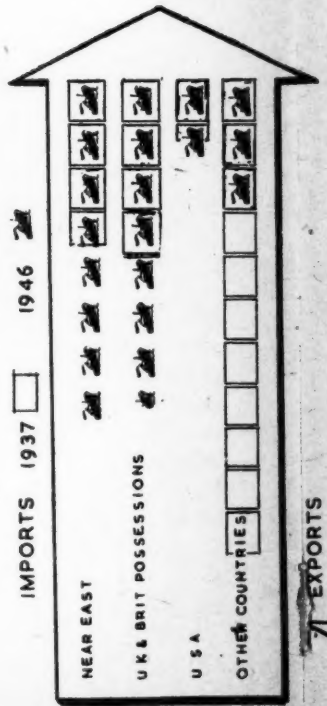
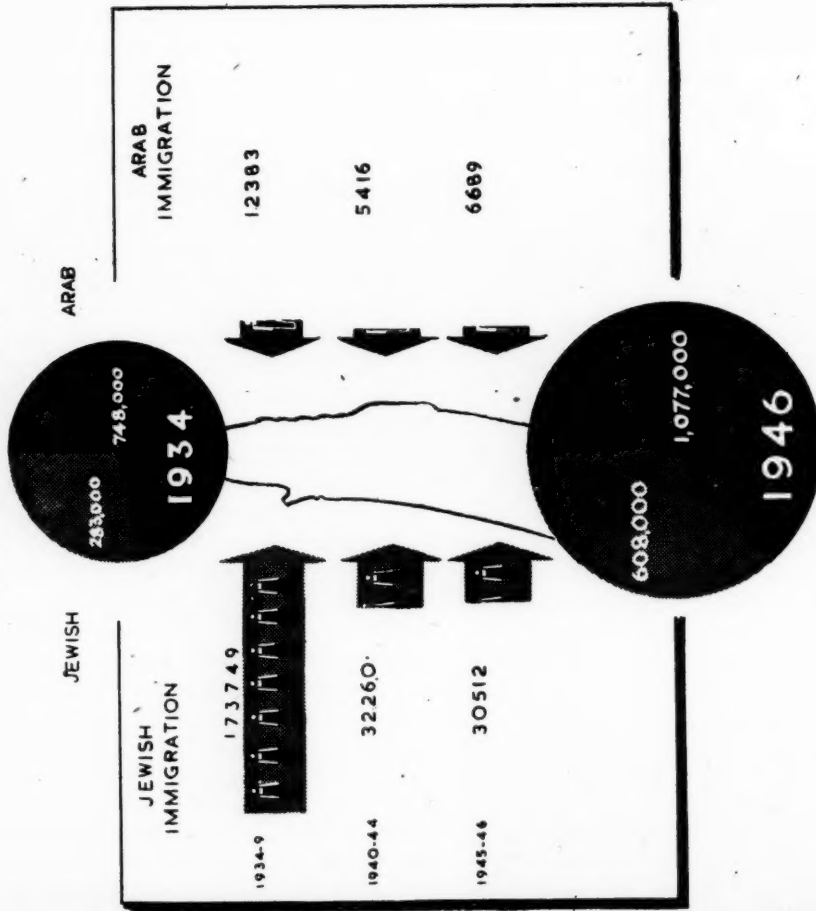
"Nice as such places can ever be. Hygienic and modern and lots of sunshine and trees and a fine synagogue. Yeah, and everywhere you look, old forgotten cripples shuffling past on crutches, in wheelchairs, that blank, useless look of patience on their faces!" He grimaced. "It's a nice place. It's the best place we can afford."

"But surely, dear, after this experience at the hospital, after another few days alone at home, surely then *she'll* see herself it's the only thing to do."

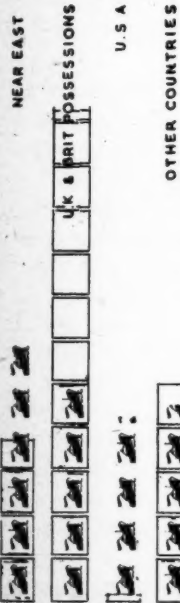
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PALESTINE

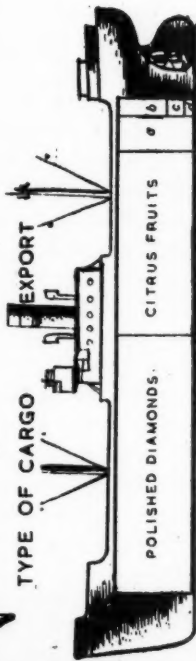
SETTLED POPULATION



EXPORTS



TYPE OF CARGO



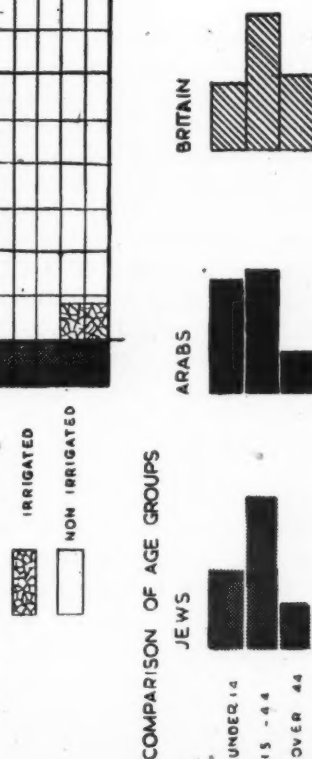
POTASH & CLOTHING & INSTRUMENTS & ELECTRICAL GOODS & TOILET PREPARATIONS
EXCLUDING IMPORTED OIL WHICH IS REFINED & RE-EXPORTED

SOME COMPARISONS

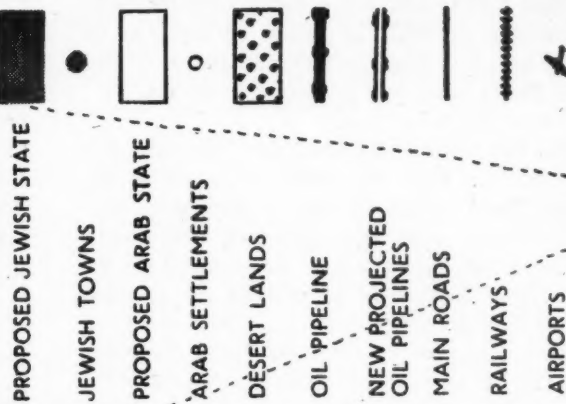
JEWS ARABS



COMPARISON OF AGE GROUPS



KEY



Designed by the PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTISTS UNIT

His smile was skeptical yet strangely proud. "You don't know the old girl, Mary. She clings like a leech to those two rooms. If she leaves them, she admits the final failure. She'll go in the end, I guess. But it will kill her."

Mary touched his shoulder as she rose to clear the table. "You're beginning to think in circles, darling. Go lie down and let me try to think for a change. Just be careful not to wake Davey when you go into the bedroom."

"I'll help with the dishes first."

She nudged him towards the door, like a shepherd dog nosing a bewildered lamb, her hands as gentle as her voice. "Please, David. Maybe I'll have an inspiration. You always said I was a great little make-doer, remember?"

"I remember everything about you," he answered gruffly. "I remember how you married me without fear or question. How you had the guts to tell your family about me when I shirked telling my mother about you. I remember how you got a job when I lost mine. I remember how you never yelled once all the way to the hospital when Davey was born. I remember. . . ." He pulled her up against him as if she were his only shield against an enemy world. "I remember too much, that's why it's so hard. But there's nothing you can think of this time that will help. There is no answer to a trap."

She smiled as she urged him from the room. "I can try, can't I? You rest a little."

HE OBEYED HER SUDDENLY, AS IF ALL RESISTANCE HAD SEEPED from him; and while she washed the dishes, Mary thought of the things David had told her about Anna Kapelov. If I just go about it patiently, like a child doing a picture puzzle, she told herself, then these pieces should fit together to solve the problem that was defeating them both. One by one, she held her bits of hearsay knowledge before her and studied them with care.

First there was the Anna who had sailed across a terrifying ocean at the age of 17 to work in a sweatshop in a strange and terrifying country. Then Anna Kapelov married to Moishe Loewe. And the Anna Loewe *née* Kapelov who had a son and raised him clean and sound among the uncleanness and insecurity of the East Side. Here were Anna's hands worked into knots and veined with grime; Anna's will pitted against the will of her adolescent son who used a violin as a weapon to fight against the religious bonds she sought to twist around his active, growing mind. At 14 David had achieved release from some of those bonds by leaving home each Friday before the Sabbath meal at sunset to rehearse with the settlement-house orchestra. Painfully, stubbornly, he had saved and earned the 50 cents a week each lesson cost him in order that he could in all good conscience insist upon that much independence. Yet such was the magnitude of his mother's domination that he never really enjoyed the rehearsals; behind every bar of the music on the stand before him he saw her bitter, accusing eyes until the freedom for which he had fought so valiantly and which

should have been so sweet turned bitter as those eyes.

There was the Anna who nearly died when her husband dropped the burden of life from his shoulders; an Anna who would have died then but for a blood-transfusion from the body of her rebellious, unhappy son. And finally there was the Anna who had wept and cursed and torn her clothing when, arthritis not yet having claimed her bones for pain, that same son left her to live his own life, negating at 35 his need of her. If I fit these pieces into each other, Mary thought, they should give me the answer. But one piece of the puzzle was missing, the piece labelled Anna herself.

Slowly Mary hung up the dish-towel and faced the shapeless spill of clothing on the chair. She walked towards it as towards a person, then stopped, one hand on the wool of a black coat. Timidly self-conscious at this introduction, she picked up the coat; simple, clean, one button hanging from a thread. Under it a dress, wool, too, with a path of food-spots tracing the pattern of the old across the bosom. And as she raised this in her hands, there came from its folds that pervasive odor of the poor . . . a smell of grease and boiled vegetables, of yellow soap, of perspiration not quite conquered by the ritual of weekly bath. Something caught in Mary's throat at this odor so different from the smell of her own mother's starched aprons or her Hudson seal coat with a ghost of violets rising from it. Vibrant as a voice, it brought a world she had never known into her kitchen. She sank into a chair, the dress still in her hands, and stared across at the neat pile of darned cotton underwear, the lisle stockings folded one inside the other, the shoes gaping widely where bunions had determined their shape. And as she stared, Mary felt pity rise in her to attack reason with its own sly weapon.

For she found herself staring, as well, at the past six years. Six years of marriage to David. Poor at times, yes, but always the \$50 check mailed the first of each month to the address in the Bronx, no matter what they had to do without to send it. Yet never really poor. For they had had music and laughter and a deep well of talk to drink from; they had so much to learn about the world and each other—David's particular experiences and tradition and culture enriching her as she had hoped hers enriched him—that there was no least cranny in their days for fear or worry or boredom to seek a hiding place. And all through those six years, Anna Loewe *née* Kapelov had lived in her widow's flat; had polished the Grand Rapids living-room suite, washing the linoleum that covered the oak floor, cooked *gefulte* fish for David's command visit every Friday, gone to *schule* and read her Yiddish newspaper. This little her all.

For Anna had refused to learn English. She had never read a book nor been to a theater nor seen a movie nor listened to a radio, long after her cronies from the old country had seen and done and learned to enjoy these disturbing things. When David was still in college, living with her at home and fiddling nights in a dance-band to

earn his way, he had tried to urge these distractions upon his mother as substitute for himself. But she had rejected them contemptuously, her natural wit making of her rejection a biting comment on all progress while she clung the more tenaciously to her only son. Imperious as an aging but still powerful queen, she demanded that David observe the major traditions of the past; but she, in turn, refused to make any slightest concession to the future which filled most of his waking hours away from her.

This was sad, for her mind was keen as a needle that had stitched together little more knowledge of the strange and terrifying country in which she had lived so long than she had had on the day she left her Latvian village. She constantly sharpened this needle of her mind on the emery of ancient compulsions, familiar rules, tried-and-true rituals, thus denying it any opportunity to sew a better garment to warm her in her old age although no rust accumulated on it. It was as though her terror of America was so great and her confidence to become part of it so small that she felt secure and safe only within the well-worn circle tramped into the Latvian ground by her pogrom-haunted family and her child-self.

WHEN MARY HEARD DAVID'S STEP, SHE ROSE QUICKLY AND began to fold the clothes. "Feeling better, darling?" she asked when he came into the room.

"And your idea, Mary? Your solution to a problem that has never yet had a happy answer in the back of the book?" He opened the suitcase he had brought with him and knelt to put the clothes into it.

"Maybe I've found one," Mary said slowly. He looked up at her, frowning. "Maybe. . . . Look, David, your little study. We were going to make it into a nursery for Davey this Spring. But he . . . he doesn't really need a room of his own yet. He's still a baby. She could stay there. And maybe if I tried hard to do everything exactly the way she wanted it, she'd learn to accept me. It isn't too late to try. She'd love Davey and being with you and . . . it wouldn't be for long, would it? She so old and . . ."

"No!" David jerked to his feet, the coat and dress lying across his arms as though he held a body.

"But, darling, she's your *mother!*"

"Listen to me, Mary!" His fingers dug into the clothing as if into flesh that he would hurt. "She is my mother, yes. And I'll take care of her as best as I can as long as I can. But she is such a mother that I can't speak to her of the biggest thing in my life—you. She has never seen you nor you, her. She doesn't even know Davey exists . . . she, who wants a grandson more than anything in the world! Funny, isn't it? Yet you ask me to bring her into our home. To present her with a *shicksa* daughter-in-law! You ask me to do that to you? To Davey? Even. . . ." He faltered and Mary saw his eyes fill with tears that were stronger than his rage. "Even to . . . to *her?*"

For a long moment, Mary stared at his face with its scars of weariness, its twisted mouth. Looking at him,

trying to understand him, she seemed to see the face of a statue she had once seen in Rome: A "Pieta," the Madonna with her dead son lying limply across her knees. Here, his mother's dress and coat in his arms, stood another Pieta indeed; the son before her as tormented as that Mother. And she saw, too, that if they did not act to prevent it, someday even their Davey, in his turn, might be standing like that with *her* clothes across his arms. . . .

She almost cried out in panic to David, but his wry, unexpected smile stopped her. "Thank you, anyway," he said softly. "Thank you for even thinking it could be tried."

His hands hurried with coat and dress as he folded them into the case and quickly closed its cover on their pleading odor. Mary knew then that, alone and stubborn and in pain, David would take his mother back to her apartment that night; return her to dependence upon neighbors for marketing and cleaning; return her to the double-bed and the golden-oak cupboard which hoarded the never-used wedding-gift of Limoges china, the cutglass, and the *Bar-Mitzvah* salt-and-pepper shakers. Return her to her little world until she came to accept the solution which she herself had made inevitable.

"Take good care of Davey until I get back," David said as he straightened, bag in hand. Then he turned and went out the door.

Long after he had gone, Mary still heard the brave, torn tone in which he had said those words.

ONE OF THE JEWS (50 A. D.)

By Konstantin P. Kavafis

Translated from the Greek by Rae Dalven

Painter and poet, runner and disk-thrower,
handsome as Endymion, Janthis Antonios:
From a family of people of the synagogue.

"My most honorable days are those
when I quit aesthetic investigation,
when I abandon the beautiful, hard hellenism
with its sovereign absorption
in perfectly shaped, perishable white limbs,
And I become the one I always wanted to be:
One of the Jews, the son of the holy Jews."

His declaration is very ardent "Always
to be one of the Jews, the holy Jews."

But he did not stay such a man at all:
The Hedonism and the Arts of Alexandria
kept him a devoted son.

KONSTANTIN P. KAVAFIS is a Greek poet who died in 1933. This poem will be included in an anthology, *Modern Greek Poetry*, to be published this fall by Boni and Gaer. The translator and editor of the volume is RAE DALVEN, Greek American writer who recently returned from a sojourn in Greece.

WAR AND PEACE IN ISRAEL

By A. B. Magil

(Continued from page 1)

The provisional government of Israel had accepted unconditionally, but with openly expressed misgivings, Count Bernadotte's British and United States-inspired plan for a four week truce. At a press conference held early in June, Moshe Shertok, foreign minister of Israel, denied knowledge of any U. S. pressure, official or unofficial, on the provisional government to accept the truce. He insisted the government had acted independently.

But the tragic shadow of Spain hovered over the conference room as Shertok explained to the press his government's reasons for accepting the UN truce and embargo order. The parallel was accentuated when Robert Capa, noted American photographer who covered the Spanish war, asked Shertok, "Do you think this non-intervention will be more effective than in Spain?"

"You are fully entitled to that sad thought," was Shertok's cryptic response.

When he was asked by this reporter whether the government considered the embargo more harmful to the Jews than to the Arabs, Shertok first gave a non-committal answer. When pressed, however, he said:

"It stands to reason that the embargo will be more harmful to the Jews. It will be easier to control little Israel than the vast territories of the Arab states. Second, we also believe we use arms far more effectively than they and denial of even a limited quantity of arms hurts us more."

Asked why Israel accepted the embargo, Shertok replied: "Because this isn't the only consideration. When a body like the Security Council takes action, even though we are under no legal obligation to abide by it, we feel we must agree."

What Price Truce?

Shertok declared categorically, however, that the government would not accept any revision of the November 29 resolution which would result in diminishing Israel territory.

But the decision by the Israel government to accept the UN truce proposal is not popular among the people, especially the youth in the fighting forces who are in a confident

mood and regard the acceptance of the truce as a heavy blow. The overriding fact is that the government's decision to accept the Security Council's armistice plan with its onerous provision for an arms embargo is like a bucket of ashes on the flaming fighting spirit of the people of Israel.

"Main Street won't like it," said a Jewish Agency official to me even before the official announcement was made. This is especially true of the GIs. I had run into one of the chief commanders of Galilee where Israeli forces had pursued the enemy into Lebanese territory. He told me he was deeply opposed to the armistice plan.

Alarm is growing in Israel over the fact that in one week after the cease-fire order, the country suffered greater defeats than in the four weeks of war. Israel is being denied arms and men. A new White Paper—this time bearing the UN stamp—is imposing humiliating restrictions on immigration. Agents of western imperialist powers are controlling the harbors and roads. And new schemes are being hatched for hogtying military power, reducing the territory and shackling Israel's independence. And many people are beginning to smell a rat in Bernadotte's pious gestures.

Sneh Warns

Indicative of this is an exclusive statement given to this reporter by Dr. Moshe Sneh, who was former commander-in-chief of Haganah, who was a member of the General Zionist Organization, and who resigned from his post as a member of the World Zionist Executive about a half year ago charging the Zionist leaders with a one-sided orientation to the western powers. He subsequently joined the newly-formed United Workers Party, the second largest party in the country. Because of its importance, I give the statement in full.

"Count Bernadotte's first steps revealed three bad omens which indicate the direction of the negotiations he is planning (at Rhodes):

"First, he gave the Syrian Army, which was the most unsuccessful of the Arab armies, over two days to improve their positions in Galilee. Bernadotte's excuse that he lacked observers can't be considered genuine, because at the time that the Syrians, unhindered, broke the truce, four American observers were controlling Tel Aviv harbor to make sure no immigrants came in.

"Second, the interpretation Bernadotte gave in reference to the immigration question during the truce sharply contradicts the decision of the Security Council, which spe-

A. B. MAGIL, formerly editor of *New Masses*, is at present *Daily Worker* correspondent in Israel.

cifically rejected the British proposal to ban or limit immigration of persons of military age. The British ban on the exit of refugees from Cyprus and the American act in returning Palestine-bound Americans on the Marine Carp prove Bernadotte committed his abuse not without the agreement of Britain and the United States.

"Third, Bernadotte invited participation in the control apparatus of only representatives of three countries—all three of the Western Bloc, all three colonial imperialist powers. In this way the international character of the control has been vitiated. Failure to include the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and the more progressive Latin-American Republics which support the UN decision of November 29, stamps Bernadotte's mediation as one-sided Anglo-Saxon in character.

"This is a bad prelude to the political negotiations which Bernadotte will probably conduct in the spirit of the new Anglo-U.S. compromise: Jews to yield Negev, and Israel to be incorporated into a federation with an enlarged Kingdom of Abdullah, with Haifa as a joint harbor.

"For this price, the Arabs are to recognize the Jewish state as an accomplished fact. Such a plan would mean not only a painful constriction of the Jewish territory and of its power to survive economically, but also drastic limitation of Jewish sovereignty, because instead of the economic union with the independent Arab state under UN supervision, which is a necessity for us, there would be a federation with Abdullah, with actual control probably divided between Britain and the United States, with Britain continuing to run Transjordan and the U.S. dominating Israel.

"Against this danger, we can prepare ourselves by fulfilling three tasks: first, by economic and military mobilization of the whole Yishuv population, men and women; second, by introducing a social regime that will place the economy of the country in the service of the defense, for example—a progressive tax system, nationalization, control of production, help of families of soldiers; third, by establishment of the closest relations with the true friends of Israel, above all the USSR and the people's democracies to assure us political, economic and military aid.

"We must free ourselves of the political terror of Washington which prevents the government of Israel from dealing with Moscow. Our government's subordination to Washington has reached such ludicrous and scandalous extremes as failure to exchange diplomatic representatives with the Soviet Union on the pretext that the reply from Molotov has not yet been received.

"If we carry through this program, in the coming weeks, we will be able either to rebuff the danger of the imperialist-dictated settlement at Rhodes or effectively continue war if the negotiations fail."

Demands of the Left

In this situation, the provisional government is acting like the unhappy husband who, on discovering his wife is

carrying on with other men, decides to be very stern—in his diary. The fact is the UN is being used as a figleaf for the policies of the Anglo-American cabal. And the government's so-called neutrality and insistence on basing itself on the letter rather than the spirit of the UN is facilitating the aims of the Washington-London Axis which—whatever differences exist among themselves—is agreed on keeping Palestine as an imperialist preserve.

It is clear that the provisional government, which is predominantly a coalition of capitalist and right wing social democratic parties, did not wish to break with American imperialism, which collaborated with the British in placing the UN seal on the scheme for short-circuiting the Jewish victory that would jeopardize not only the rule of the feudal Arab clique but the imperialist stranglehold on the Mideast. Confirmation of the dangerous course of the Israel government was given recently at the annual All-Palestine Conference of the Labor Party. Foreign Minister Shertok told the conference: "We can't give up the western concept. America and all those who are interested in the establishment of the Jewish state—and I'm sure Russia is—will understand our tendency to the west."

On June 20, at a meeting of the Provisional State Council, Shertok gave a report in which he sought to minimize the harmful role of Count Bernadotte. The government line was sharply challenged by Berl Repetur of the United Workers Party and Meier Vilner, communist representative.

In the name of his party, which has two members in the cabinet, Repetur presented a resolution demanding no negotiations on the basis of further compromise but only on the basis of the November 29 UN decisions: no territorial cuts, no restrictions on immigration, and of protesting the barring of Soviet representatives as cease-fire observers.

Vilner supported Repetur's resolution and made some additions. He proposed that the government refuse to participate in the forthcoming negotiations which are being arranged by Count Bernadotte in Rhodes because they will not be carried out on the basis of Israel's independence and the November 29 decision. He demanded that the government declare its dissatisfaction with the way Bernadotte is organizing control and request the matter be turned back to the Security Council. He asked why the government is orienting towards Anglo-Saxon powers and was neutral towards Soviet participation in the team of observers. He proposed immediate establishment of genuinely friendly relations with the Soviet Union and an appeal to the USSR and other democratic countries for aid. *Al Hamishmar*, United Workers Party daily, and *Kol Haam*, communist paper, also criticized the one-sided dependence on Anglo-Saxon imperialism.

The person selected to represent Israel in Moscow is Mrs. Golda Meyerson. Mrs. Meyerson, who was brought up in Milwaukee, will have as her first assistant Mordechai Nemirowsky, member of the executive committee of the Histadruth, the Jewish Labor Federation, and head of its trade union department.

The delay in announcing the representative to Moscow, on the pretext that Molotov's reply to Shertok's communication had not been received, had been the subject of sharp controversy here. Progressives had charged that the real reason for the delay was the provisional government's subservience to Washington. They also criticized the choice of Mrs. Meyerson who, though a political personality of first rank, was closely linked to American pro-imperialist circles and had no knowledge of Soviet policy. It was also pointed out that Mrs. Meyerson's present trip to the U.S. was hardly the best preparation for establishing friendly relations with the power which has proved the truest friend of Israel.

In the meantime, life is growing harder for the people of Israel. I visited Jerusalem with the first party of correspondents to travel the new Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road which Jewish ingenuity and heroic efforts cut through Judean hills under the very noses and incessant shelling of Arab legionnaires. After a few days in Jerusalem, I was most impressed not by the achievements of Bevin's and Abdullah's artillery against the walls and buildings of this city, but by their offensive against the stomachs of its people. The food situation in the New City is at the point where the ugly word "starvation" is beginning to pass from rhetoric into fact.

The overwhelming majority of the civilian population is hungry—not with the hunger that bespeaks a good appetite, but with the gnawing pangs that come from lack of food. Every individual gets 160 grams of bread daily—equivalent to about three slices. This is the only food you are certain of obtaining regularly. Every couple of weeks, if you're lucky, you may be able to buy 50 grams of cheese

or 50 grams of margarine. Among the foods that are virtually unobtainable for the average citizens are meat, milk, butter, eggs, citrus fruits, rice, potatoes, onions, vegetables, noodles or macaroni, and canned food. One girl told me that she managed to buy six potatoes—for Passover.

Children up to the age of two are given rations of powdered milk and butter. Coffee, which has hitherto been available, is now becoming scarce. Water is rationed, two gallons per day to a person. No electricity is available for homes and only a few essential enterprises and offices are able to get any.

Despite all this, people do not go around looking cadaverous and defeated. In fact, they look surprisingly well and under the circumstances, their spirits, if not exalted, are certainly hopeful. Neither hunger nor the torment of artillery shelling has disposed Jerusalem's Jews to invite Abdullah to become their emperor.

Food is now being rushed to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv by the new road secretly built during the last days of the cease-fire. I came by this road myself and saw how painfully slow and inadequate it is. The question is whether Count Bernadotte, under the ambiguous terms of his four-week truce, is going to continue the unholy starvation of the Holy City or see to it that necessary supplies are provided—and quickly. Meanwhile, Bernadotte, a Christian whose religion, too, has its holy places in this fabled city, ponders whether Christian charity and the lusts of modern empire require him to sever the precious new lifeline for Jerusalem's mothers and children.

At the same time the American public ought to know the truth as it is today: the diet of the average Jerusalem family is approaching the Nazi concentration camp level.

AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURAL CONFERENCE IN ENGLISH -- JUNE 18-19, 1948:

I. ANSWER TO A PEOPLE CALLING

Excerpts from Main Address

By Morris U. Schappes

WHY have we come together here as Jewish Americans, and not merely as Americans together with non-Jews? These problems of American imperialist threats to world peace, of the future of Israel, of the struggle against fascist repression of progressive thought and action here at home, these are general problems that face the American people as a whole. Why then do we meet as Jews? Is this not a divisive act of separatism alien in spirit to progressive ideology? . . . Is not assimilation the ultimate goal of progressive mankind, and does not a conference such as this defeat that end?

It would be in the Jewish tradition of dialectic to answer by another question: Since when do progressives, Marxist or non-Marxist, separate themselves from their people? . . .

There are some progressives, and even Marxists, who have been reared intellectually in an atmosphere in which assimilation was considered part of an ideal pattern of life. Some even thought they were basing themselves on Marxian principles. To such, we would say the following:

It is true that when imperialism has completely and universally been replaced by socialism, and that when the

epoch of world socialism has developed itself into the epoch of world communism, and that when the forces of fusion at work in this epoch of world communism have reached their qualitative fruition, then out of one world there will emerge the one single "nation" of humanity, and even, as Frederick Engels predicted, one world language. . . .

But we are compelled to admit that we are not now living in that distant future. Therefore we cannot act as if we were. We live in the period of the decline and fall of modern imperialism. Imperialism does not, however, decline into a vacuum. . . . Imperialism falls because the working classes and the masses of many peoples and nations fight imperialism and vanquish it. The last days of imperialism are the days of . . . liberation struggles linked in a chain of international interdependence and solidarity. . . . But when a people or a nation throws off the oppressive yoke and achieves freedom, is its next act one of self-liquidation?

No. The epoch of socialism for which Marxists work is not the epoch of the dissolution of nations and national differences, but rather of the abolition of national antagonism and national strife. On the basis of an internationalism that is essential to a socialist content, national forms of culture are cultivated and veritably bloom in the epoch of socialism. The truth of this theory has been demonstrated in the Soviet Union, and is also now being verified once more in those Eastern European countries that, unsanctioned by the Marshall Plan, are laying the foundations for the transition to socialism.

But the Jews are not one single nation, and one cannot mechanically apply this theory to them. Yet these principles can be applied . . . not only to nations but to all ethnic groups in whatever stage of formation they may be. A people dwelling in many lands, Jews are in various stages of integration in various places. Whatever the level, however, Jewish communities want a future and not only a past. They want to be there in that great human epoch when that final amalgamation and that ultimate assimilation take place. And to make their contribution then, they must make their specific contributions now.

More than fifty years ago, this desire and this strategy were given profound utterance by one of the classics of Yiddish literature, Isaac Loeb Peretz. In an essay, "Vos Viln Mir?" (What Do We Want?), he explained to the Jewish intellectuals:

"It is high time that our real intellectuals understand what duty and responsibility they owe to our people: To work among their own kind, for their own brothers, does not mean to let the banner of humanity slip from your hand. Today everyone must work, plow and sow his own piece of land, although, or rather because, we hope for a future in which there will be a common granary to which will be brought all kinds of grain and the entire crop. This granary will feed all alike. It will provide for everyone without regard to who his grandfather was or what color his skin is. . . .

"We also want to deliver a bit of corn and wheat to this granary. . . ." (My translation—M.U.S.)

Assimilationism Today

Is this appeal in contradiction to the prophecy of an Engels? Hardly. The appeal contains an explication of the intermediate stages that have been too often overlooked by those who tried to leap into the future without regard to the laws of gravity. Heading for a sound internationalism, they leaped vainly into a shallow cosmopolitanism. Some, disappointed in cosmopolitanism, picked up their disillusioned spirits, and then vaulted into a dangerous nationalism. And all because they failed to see the true relation between progressive national and people's unity on the one hand and progressive internationalism.

The assimilationist escaped not only from the ghetto, but from his people and, often, from himself, leaving a hollow thing. The bourgeois nationalist sought to build his own ghetto walls, not of medieval stone but of modern streamlined glass brick. We progressive Jews are opposed to ghettos no matter how fancy, and we refuse to separate ourselves from our people. . . .

We seek to integrate the American Jewish national group on a progressive basis with the progressive mass of the American people and its working class.

But what of the progressives who did not think in terms of socialism and Marxism? What was there in the nineteenth century bourgeois ideal of assimilation that made it so attractive to these intellectuals? Well, like all the ideals proclaimed by the bourgeoisie (remember "liberty, fraternity, equality!"), it expressed the best aspirations of mankind; but a century and a half taught many of them that these aspirations are most difficult of attainment. For just as capitalism limited, and imperialism debauched, liberty, equality, and fraternity, so assimilation was limited and debauched. Thus Professor Morris Raphael Cohen, a believer in assimilationism, towards the very end of his life made the following judgment: "The older ideal of assimilation had degenerated into an ideal of blind aping of Gentile ways. Yet obviously, Jews could not make any significant contribution to American civilization by mere imitation or acceptance." Unwittingly, perhaps, even here Professor Cohen reveals a touch of the Zionist nationalism that he consciously rejected, for when he pits Jewish ways against "Gentile ways" he misstates the situation: for bourgeois assimilation had degenerated not into imitation of Gentile ways in general, but chiefly of *reactionary* ways, while only a minority followed the path of affiliating themselves with progressive thought and movements.

But in the past fifteen years, English-speaking American Jewish progressives have begun to reconsider their relationship to the Jewish people. The volatile rise of anti-Semitism in the United States, the Hitler holocaust and slaughter of six million Jews, the example of Yiddish-speaking American

Jewish progressives, and the developments in the theory of the national question by Marxists and particularly in the Soviet Union, tended to steer some progressives who had wilfully separated themselves from Jewish life to return to it and to seek out its progressive aspects and content.

The Base for Jewish Culture

The first and easiest means of re-identification came in the field of economic and political struggle. For it was soon obvious that there was a well developed and highly organized Jewish life in the United States. There was a confusing multitude of organizations and institutions—cultural, recreational, educational, scholarly, fraternal, labor, social welfare, political, religious, professional and even gastronomic—with a press in Yiddish, Hebrew and English, a literature and a theater, a radio and music and art, an educational system and a body of scholarship. We found a distinguishable population concentration in metropolitan urban centers. We found not a common economic life, of course, but a clearly discernible occupational pattern, with a heavy emphasis on marginal businesses, on the “free” professions, on government service and white collar employment, and on a few skilled trades. We found a network of ties, personal, sentimental, and organizational, with Jews in other countries.

We found this organized Jewish life dominated financially, politically, socially, and culturally by the Jewish bourgeoisie, the rich Jews, and by their allies, the reactionary social-democrats, Trotskyites, and other renegades from progressive life. For these Jewish institutions and organizations maintain a large body of Jewish intellectuals who furnish the talents, skills, and services required to administer their programs, the content of which was either bourgeois, assimilationist, bourgeois nationalist, or some confused blend of both. Strategic positions in this work had already been handed over to not only ordinarily conservative Jewish professionals, but particularly to Trotskyites and social democrats (as on the magazine *Commentary*), and to adventurers of the Ben Hecht stripe. To begin to challenge the organizational influence and ideological leadership of such elements was the first task undertaken by the English-speaking Jewish progressive. But the question soon arose: how can the cultural worker best make his contribution to the many-sided struggle against reactionary and conservative forces that dominate organized Jewish life? For some time now progressive groups have been developing such a struggle on the numerous issues facing the Jews and the country as a whole. But they have not had enough of the cultural expression of their depth, passion and ideals. Therefore they have summoned us to ask of us that we make that profound contribution to progressive Jewish life that our talents and skill as cultural workers make uniquely possible. . . . And we Jewish writers, graphic artists, composers, choreographers and theater artists, educators and scholars are responsive to the summons because we want to

work, not only in the marginal area of our abilities which can be used in the obvious forms of what is called political activity, but in the very centers of our consciousness where lie our creative energies.

If the forms of progressive American Jewish life among the native English-speaking Jews are not easily discernible there is good reason for the vagueness. Our generation has to do the work of two, or three. Had this problem been properly placed 20 or 40 years ago, the task would have been simpler for us. . . . The transition from American progressive Jewish life expressing itself in Yiddish and in older *mores* would have been easier. Fortunately, however, we have not confronted our problem too late. There is still a mass of progressive American Jews speaking Yiddish, from whom we have much to learn. There are also, and more significantly, growing numbers of English-speaking Jews, who are becoming increasingly determined to work out the forms and content of a progressive American Jewish life for themselves. . . . In this period of transition, our contribution as cultural workers is equally, therefore, that of reflectors of what is and as shapers and molders of what is becoming.

But it is not only the progressive Jews of America that call for this contribution. Progressive America as a whole wants the progressive Jewish life so that it may take its rightful place in the complex culture of many hues and varied sources that is being built up in defiance of the reactionary Anglo-Saxon domination hitherto of American culture. . . .

And outside this country, progressive Jews, expressing themselves in many languages besides the most common Yiddish, want our American progressive cultural work, which they will translate into their own languages, including Yiddish, and absorb into their lifestreams. Non-Jewish progressive cultures abroad likewise want to taste the full flavor of American progressive culture, and they expect the Jewish tang to be included.

Who, seeing this scope, can think that we are separatists when we make distinctions, that we will divide when we integrate on higher, more effective levels our stream of progressive Jewish culture with the tide of progressive American culture as that works its way to the ocean of progressive world culture?

Sources of Nourishment

As we proceed with our chosen task, we shall find we have much to learn from progressive forces in Jewish history and from contemporary progressive Jewish life in other countries. From the past, we may conclude at least this much. First, the Jewish people have always lost when reaction triumphed, and have always won when progress was in the ascendant. Secondly, within each Jewish community there has also been this conflict between reaction and progress. The Jewish reaction, of course, tended to collaborate

with non-Jewish reaction, thereby endangering the Jewish community as a whole. Progressive Jews, on the other hand, to fight the general reaction that repeatedly threatened them, also had to fight their own Jewish reactionaries. . . . Steadily but unevenly down the centuries, the cause of progress has made irresistible headway. Thus no amount of repression, and of collaboration with the oppressors on the part of the assimilationist upper crusts of Jewish communities, could wipe out the Jewish *people*, because as a mass they withstood the onslaught and found the allies to compensate for their own numerical weakness. From this past we can derive great and viable lessons.

From our contemporaries abroad, too, we can extract nourishment and strength. To many, the new Israel will come to mind first. The effect of Israel upon Jewish life in other countries will of course be profound and far-reaching. Different classes and groups in Jewish life will, however, draw different conclusions from Israel, as they have already begun to do. American Jewish nationalists will look to Israel as the sole center of Jewish culture—and will therefore neglect the duty of building an American Jewish culture. American Jewish assimilationists will heave a sigh of relief, and think that now the Jews in Israel can be Israeli and do as they please, while Jews in the United States can be just Americans, with no Jewish adjectives before the proper noun—and they too will deny the need for American Jewish culture. But we progressives will take from Israel what is progressive: not the nationalist, the mystical, the religious, the theocratic, but the democratic, the international, the materialist, the secular culture of the working class and of the agricultural colonies which, even if they are utopian in their extreme collectivist structure, are still inspired by the ideal of socialism. . . .

From some of the East-European Jewish communities, particularly from that in Poland, we can already take much. There, where what is reactionary and anti-democratic has been decisively defeated, entire communities are progressive in outlook, are rebuilding their own social and economic structure as an integral part of the new democracies, and are producing, in Yiddish and other languages, a progressive Jewish culture whose range, gravity, and quality make one marvel. Deeper and even more instructive is the Jewish cultural work in the "old" socialist democracies of the Soviet Union, where the levels of Jewish life are many and reach their peak in the socialist Jewish national homeland in Birobidjan. . . . Translations and more translations are therefore needed, to render such works from the languages in which they are written into English for our own comprehension.

But translations, even of the best sort and of the best works, will not do our job for us. We cannot live, or build a culture, on importations from abroad. The masses of progressive American Jews know that nothing progressive and Jewish from anywhere in the world is alien to them. But we American Jews must create our own works, tell our own truths, fight our own battles, suffer our own

losses, and win our own victories, interconnected, of course, with the truths, battles, losses, and victories of all other peoples.

Essential Truth

Maxim Gorky, at the unionwide Soviet Writers Congress in 1934, asked the Yiddish poet, Itzik Feffer, "Does your youth know how Jews lived under tsarism?"

Let us ask ourselves, "Does our American Jewish youth know not only how our fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers lived in other countries, but how Jews have lived here for almost three centuries, and how many of them fought colonial oppression, fought Negro slavery, and the trusts, and the sweatshops, and anti-Semitism, and fascism and imperialism, and how many today live for the fight for socialism?" Ask also: "Do the American people as a whole have that picture?"

We have had the question put: "Shall we tell the truth as we see it about Jewish life? If we do, will not the anti-Semites make use of this truth to harm the Jews?"

The answer is: "Does anti-Semitism feed upon truth or upon lies?"

The truth is progressive . . . the truth is what the enemies want above all to suppress.

But if the question is asked at all by sincere people, it is because such persons are perhaps governed by a retail, piecemeal, granular concept of what is true. A fact is not all there is to truth. Facts seen in their full dynamic relationship are the substance of truth. Do we deny that in the Jewish community here, in which there are class and social conflicts as part of the general American conflicts, there are ugly, backward, reactionary, rancid elements, which we progressive Jews do everything to combat and root out? To deny that would be to mislead progressive Jews and render their struggle meaningless; to misinform progressive Americans and make them wonder what tasks progressive Jews have to perform; to strengthen Jewish reaction, which wants its evil covered up; and to strengthen general American reaction, which would then exploit and monopolize the exposure of what is undesirable in Jewish life.

To tell the truth about a people, however, means more than to tell partial, isolated, shreds and patches of facts in which the surface of verisimilitude is taken for the essence of truth. To tell the truth about Jewish life must include to show the process by which progressive American Jews are striving to make the good prevail over the evil, the forward-moving over the decaying and backward. Such dynamic truth is a weapon against the anti-Semite.

Patterns of Heroism

For the immediate future, one task supreme has been set before us by the progressive mass of American Jews: to give them back, in artistic and scientific form, the patterns

of heroism that they have been creating all the time. . . . We Americans and we Jews in America, share the inescapable duty of bringing to book that last great citadel of imperialism that has its roots in Wall Street and its strangling tentacles in innumerable places and bases over the world. If ever the working class and the oppressed of our country needed heroes, it needs them now. Particularly do we Jews need heroes *en masse*. For whatever of terror fascism holds in store for the working class, for the Negro people, for all those who would think free, fascism means something special and final for the Jews. Ours is not the horrible alternative of freedom or slavery. Slavery is a luxury that the fascists have proclaimed they will deny to the Jews. For us the bald choice is freedom or death, death irreversible. Those in the Warsaw Ghetto . . . who understood rose up in arms, sometimes with bare arms, and fought nazis like heroes.

Heroes are bred by necessity, yet what if the recognition of necessity is weak or scattered? But we are the artists and the scholars, the culture-builders, that can make the necessary be the real, the desirable. The progressive section of the Jewish people that has already recognized the necessity . . . wants the patterns of Jewish heroism of past and present so that the mass of our people, and the mass of the American people, may be inspired, heartened, toughened, steeled. They ask of us no ease; they want us to serve no balm. The oils they would have us bring should anoint for battle. The badge of sufferance is to be put off; the badge of resistance, to be put on. Our people despise those Jews who propagate the heroics of futility; they cry down the plaster Jeremiahs who lament the futility of heroism.

Too big a section of the still large American Jewish working class is dominated by social-democrats, whose influence is maintained in the very teeth of the epithet Quisling. Collaboration with imperialism is on their still untattered banners. We must strip the spreading catàract of illusion from the eyes of these Jewish workers, and propel them into the battle for life.

The American monopoly economic structure has bred among American Jews an inordinately large middle class, in which the intellectuals and professionals and student youth are an exceptionally prominent portion. Vacillation is the historic hallmark of such a class, turning, in the classic system of choices, this way sometimes to the paths of freedom, and that way sometimes to the paths of slavery. But when the choice is unprecedented, cannot the vacillation be checked? There are some among the Jewish middle class now already so subservient that they believe they could accommodate themselves to any degree of slavery; they would be content to be intellectual and professional eunuchs if only they were assured they could grow plump in their impotence. . . . But mass recognition that the one choice is life or death can be a firm bridle on vacillation. Have we the skill in our forms of work to awake that recognition?

In that middle class, and even among the masses influenced by the works of that class, there is dominant the

ethics of personal survival at all cost. How can I, alone, escape the fate that will befall others—that is the false question that the fascists encourage the individual Jew to ask, so that he may waste time and the energies of his people vainly seeking an answer. But not now, nor ever, has that been the right question, or even the safe question, for the Jewish people or any other people.

Ages long ago the wise Hillel memorably asked the wiser questions: "If I do not take care of myself, who will take care of me? If I act only for myself, what do I amount to? If not now, when?" Such is . . . the morality of progressive Jews and progressive people everywhere. . . .

For Jews facing fascism, the idea that the cult of self-preservation leads to death both for the individual and the community is no more metaphorical than is Maidanek. Imperialism maintains the threat of Maidanek in many forms: in insolent support for the invasion of Israel, in the Marshall Plan to rebuild a powerful savage Germany, in the inhuman voices of Rankin and Mundt. . . . Our people . . . want to gird themselves forever to put an end to Maidanek and the threat of Maidanek, so that only the memory shall remain and be transmitted for generations, that they shall know well the past out of which they came into the all-human future.

Thus our people call upon us to give them and the world the works of art and science—the novels, the stories, the plays and films, the dance and the song, the figure and the painting, the research, the teaching and the scientific interpretation—that will lead them to heroism and to victory. Too long have they had works from Jews who are reactionary, or confused, or demoralized, or even treacherous. Our people have begun to see what we progressive American Jews are capable of in the opposite direction. . . . Our people know we can do more if we work together. So they have called us together in this Conference. That we are here signifies that we are prepared to answer. The full answer, not in assertion of faith but in works, will come after the conference, as we give our people in abundant but perhaps ever insufficient measure that which they ask of us, and which they alone can inspire us to give.

To Progressive Jewish Cultural Workers!

Our attention has been called to the fact that an organization, Congress for Jewish Culture, Inc., has been approaching progressive Jewish artists for contributions to an art exhibit to be held in September 1948, on the ground that it is a *united, non-political* organization interested only in showing New York how well Jewish artists paint. The address of the organization, 175 East Broadway, as well as its officers, are a dead give-away. This is a Jewish daily *Forward* creature, reactionary social democratic in content, and disruptive in purpose.

II. OPENING AND CLOSING REMARKS

By Samuel Barron

WE face the problem of the maximum mobilization of Jewish American cultural workers to answer the call of our people—for never has the Jewish will to live expressed itself so emphatically and so militantly. And never have the enemies of Jewish existence been so powerful and so ruthless. And never has the Jewish struggle to live been so intimately bound up with the democratic struggles of peoples everywhere.

Israel's fight to live as a Jewish state has fired the consciousness and pride of Jews everywhere. Its epic struggle for existence has become the culminating point of the will of every individual Jew to live wherever he may be. That Jews will survive, given the determination to do so, is proved by the revival of Jewish life in the Soviet Union, the flowering of Jewish statehood in Birobidjan, the renaissance of Jewish life in Poland, Rumania and in other eastern European democracies.

This is a conference to rally the creative artists and scholars around our people, to help them orient their outlook and their talents, to probe the problems facing them as artists and scholars, as Jews and as Americans, so that they can contribute the maximum of their powerful talents to the life of our people.

There are some who are a bit concerned that this is a Jewish cultural conference in *English*, who think that Jewish culture can exist only in Yiddish. We cannot nor do we wish to deny the importance of Yiddish as the language of the overwhelming majority of our people, of the richness of its storehouse of culture of the Jews. There is an undeniable and compelling need to return constantly to this source for the tradition of our people and as a fount of inspiration.

But no language ever has had, or has now, a monopoly of Jewish culture. The Babylonian Talmud in Aramaic, the commentaries in the jargon of Rashi, to name but two, are a part of the heritage of Jewish culture. Today, besides the revival of Jewish culture in Yiddish in Eastern Europe, we have the flowering of Jewish culture in a reborn Hebrew in Israel. It has always been a source of strength of Jewish culture that it has turned to the vernacular of the people for its survival, for its continuity, for its enrichment. One cannot deny the English-speaking Jew his right to contribute to and help evolve Jewish culture. Our task is to win the English speaking creator to Jewish culture.

There are some who have declared that this conference is not going to concern itself sufficiently with Israel, that it is going to be a political and not a cultural conference, that it is left-wing. It is a sad fact in Jewish life today that there are forces who have a rather inconsistent record in estimating and analyzing *current* events and who yet undertake to state opinions about what is *going* to happen.

We will let the record of the conference speak for itself on whether Israel will be taken into account, or whether the emphasis will be on politics or culture. We would, how-

ever, like to note that, having overlooked the politics of the recent period, perhaps these elements can show us the culture of six million Jewish dead, or how they can guarantee the safety of any culture by divorcing it from politics. And it is an unhappy fact that some Jews, even some who claim to be progressive, have become so terrorized by the Mundts and the Rankins that they have begun to echo their sentiments. We proudly accept the appellation of left-wing if it means that we are determined to help evolve a *progressive* American Jewish culture. And we declare now that we welcome *all* democratic forces in American Jewish life who can and are willing to contribute to the building of *progressive* American Jewish life and culture.

* * *

The question has been raised whether we are Jews first and Americans second, or vice versa. It is my opinion that this is a wrong placing of the question. To raise it in this fashion is to fall into the trap of the racists, and those who would establish an "Anglo-Saxon" stamp on being American. This is the behind the thinking, if it can be called such, of a Rankin, who in the last days of the recent Congressional session began to offer one-way passports to Israel to those Jewish members of Congress who disagreed with his reactionary viewpoint.

No, you cannot separate the American Jew's Jewishness from his Americanism. And we cannot contribute to American culture our share in its development if Jew and American are separated. To be good Americans, we must be good American Jews—and that means *progressive* American Jews. American Jew is a term that embodies an inseparable and indestructible unity. Out of this unity will come all that is fine and rich and positive as our contribution to the American way of life.

This will be so provided we make conscious effort to direct our efforts into positive channels. Our problem is not to create a desire for culture among the American Jewish masses. Anyone who has had even the slightest contact with the American Jewish community has gotten abundant evidence of this cultural hunger of our people, and of their call to the Jewish American cultural creators to mobilize around their people. If this cultural yearning expresses itself today in ways that are not satisfactory to the high standards of the cultural creators, or in an inconsistent way, it is primarily the fault of the progressive cultural workers who have to some extent neglected our people.

Our task is to supply our people with the kind of cultural works that will elevate their standards. And our task is to take our people away from reactionary cultural leadership and direct them into progressive channels. I believe we have taken at this conference the first positive, even though preliminary, steps in that direction.

DOCUMENTS

AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

GENERAL

WE Jewish American cultural workers have gathered in conference to appraise and advance our creative heritage. For some hours we have grappled with the extremely subtle problem of what our Jewishness implies for our art and thought. Should we turn our backs upon our Jewish past and allow it to be obliterated by the prevailing winds of national nihilistic doctrine? If not, what is there in our life as Jews in America that can find unique expression in our art and thought? Our collective thinking here has only breached the problem. Where do our thoughts tend after these few hours of intensive collective thinking?

We are aware that art in the broadest sense is an infinitely serious matter. It is nothing less than one of the most potent forces shaping the minds and actions of our countrymen. That is why we must put our art and scholarship in the service of our people and of democracy itself, upon which our survival as a people depends.

We recognize that as cultural workers we are flesh of the flesh of our people in America, that to us falls the special task of objectifying the trials and aspirations of our people. The hammer blows of events have tempered our Jewish consciousness; their accumulated power can no longer be denied. The mounting horror of Hitlerite hate against the Jews has made the fact of Jewishness inescapable. The anti-fascist war burned into Jewish minds the inexorable unity of Jewish and democratic survival. No Jew could stand aside from the uphill fight for a Jewish state in Israel. This fight has pitilessly exposed Anglo-American imperialism's enmity to the Jewish people and democracy itself. The struggle has revealed the undeviating support of Israel by the Soviet Union and the eastern democracies, their friendship for the Jewish people and democracy everywhere.

We were stirred to the depths by the establishment of the state of Israel, which will be a source of cultural inspiration to Jewish people everywhere, including America. The proclamation of the Jewish state reaffirms the stubborn will of the Jewish people to cling to its identity and heritage. Doubters of a Jewish future who yielded to assimilationism will be forced to reconsider this attitude.

The historical continuity of the Jewish people depends not only on the growth of Israel, but also on the full development of Jewish communities all over the world. The experience of Birobidjan, the inspiring renaissance of Jewish life in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and other new democracies, where the new people's governments are encouraging this revival, must be studied and supported.

But it is not enough to get emotional about these great events. Their significance must be integrated into our lives as Jewish American citizens and cultural workers. All the more, because we are threatened with fascism at home and with a resurgence of fascism abroad. To our shame we recognize that our own government is the world sponsor of this fascist resurgence and of the threat of cataclysmic war that is fascism's twin. We must press our government to change its course so as to promote peace.

If we are to survive as Americans and as Jews, we cannot ignore our special experience. Our objective must be to comprehend the fullness of American life. The Jews are not alone. The democratic camp in the United States is composed of all progressive elements, of labor, the Negro people, of minority groups, in an alliance of struggle. And Jewish experience is also a part of it. This means that we must not limit ourselves to a rendering of American life exclusive of its Jewish component, nor should we restrict ourselves to the Jewish component alone. We must make the Jewish contribution to the whole.

We must therefore fire our Jewish experience in the smithy of our cultural work and forge the weapons of art and scholarship to achieve a progressive life. This end will be served if each group in America articulates that area of experience it knows best, and for us this means the special world experience of our people, molded in the shape it has taken in America. This is not easy. Many unsolved problems lie ahead. But we have begun to accept our responsibility as artists and scholars to the Jewish people and to our country. Our presence here is testimony to that acceptance.

We cultural workers assembled in New York at this American Conference on Jewish Culture in English on June 18-19, 1948, resolve that we shall make our contribution to Jewish culture in America in recognition of the necessities facing our

people and our country. We resolve to explore our Jewish cultural heritage, seek for vital modes of expressing democratic Jewish aspirations as our obligation in the present crisis of the Jewish people and democracy.

ON ORGANIZATION

NO conference, no matter how thorough, profound and inclusive are its deliberations, can consider its work successfully done without laying a basis for converting the fruits of discussion into practical activity.

This has been *in fact* an exploratory conference. After the best of deliberations, creative cultural workers cannot help feeling that discussion is but the prelude to concrete work and that its results can be expressed only in products of creative effort.

This conference has, however, been deliberately limited in scope in order to permit the greatest amount of probing. It has not been the expectation of this conference, nor has it been possible, to achieve full-blown conclusions. Past experience, though considerable, has not been sufficiently extensive nor consciously organized to permit such concrete immediate results. It has, however, been successful in opening up fields of thought and of artistic experimentation. And it has laid the basis for reaching out into broader circles of artists and scholars to draw them into conscious effort in the creation of American Jewish culture along progressive lines.

This conference therefore considers it premature to set up a permanent organization of progressive Jewish American cultural workers. This conference does, however, consider it necessary to continue its work so that organizational questions may be successfully solved in the near future.

It is therefore proposed that a Continuations Committee of the American Jewish Cultural Conference in English be set up, charged with carrying out the following decisions:

1. To publicize in whatever way it sees fit the results of this conference;
2. To maintain contact with the delegates to this conference;
3. To find ways and means to encourage progressive artistic creation and works of scholarship on Jewish themes by establishing a fund for the purpose;
4. To help introduce the use of progressive cultural activity in mass organizations and trade unions;
5. To plan and organize a week-long cultural festival, or for as long a period as is feasible, to be held some time in the winter of 1949, to include an art exhibit, evenings of presentation in music, the dance, literature, drama and scholarship,

and to close with a week-end conference of a broad character; to encourage the creation and the preparation of material for the festival; to investigate the possibility of the establishment of awards for work presented at the festival; to prepare appropriate cultural exhibits for the festival; to establish a broad sponsorship and trade union and organizational support for the festival. This festival shall be the culminating point of activity for the Continuations Committee.

6. The Continuations Committee is to elect its own officers and maintain a mailing address so that delegates may maintain contact with it for the duration of its existence.

ON HOWARD FAST AND ASSOCIATES

HAVING achieved their own freedom with the aid of representatives of the progressive forces from other nations, the American people have found it a source of strength always to support the democratic struggles of peoples everywhere. It has been the compelling sense of justice of the American people that has ever prompted them to give aid and succor to the victims of oppression regardless of race, creed or color. So much has this become part of the fiber of the American people that it has been inscribed on the symbol of American freedom, the Statue of Liberty, in the verse of the great Jewish American poet, Emma Lazarus.

Consciousness of this proud tradition of the American people has constrained us, 400 Americans attending the American Jewish Cultural Conference in English at the New School in New York City on June 18, 1948, to express our profoundest concern and our deepest resentment at the persecution of Howard Fast and his ten associates, Dr. Jacob Auslander, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Dr. Lyman Bradley, Mrs. Marjorie Chodorov, Harry M. Justiz, Mrs. Ruth Leider, James Lustig, Manuel Maganna, Dr. Louis Miller, Mrs. Charlotte Stern, in the leadership of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at the hands of anti-democratic and un-American forces who are today trying to ride herd over the American people. The failure of the United States Supreme Court to review the conviction of these brave and patriotic citizens has shaken the confidence of democratic Americans in the instrument set up by the Constitution of the United States for the dispensing of justice and for guaranteeing the civil rights of the people.

Mr. Fast and his colleagues are accused of having expressed public support for the Spanish people, who are fighting against the modern tyranny of fascism, and of organizing aid to the victims of

Franco fascism. They have done no more than the entire American people did in the years between 1941 and 1945 when we were engaged in a life and death struggle to secure our liberty against the efforts of Hitler fascism to enslave us. If Mr. Fast and his associates saw the menace of fascism earlier than most Americans, and if they recognize its continuing menace, it is a credit to the farsightedness of these loyal and devoted Americans.

We who are vitally concerned with the culture of the people, who are meeting to devise ways and means to enrich Jewish and American culture, feel very deeply that had he not taken this forthright position on the struggle for the Spanish people for liberation, Howard Fast would have betrayed the tens of millions of people who have bought and read his novels, and who have grown to love him as a symbol of all that is finest and most progressive in the American way of life. Howard Fast would have betrayed his trust as a cultural spokesman for the entire American people.

We therefore urge you, Mr. President, to extend executive clemency to Howard Fast and his colleagues to offset a grave miscarriage of justice, to reverse this dangerous capitulation to the worst forces of American reaction, to bolster the institution of American democracy.

ON ANTI-SEMITISM

BE it resolved that we of this Conference are determined to fight against any anti-Semitic or anti-nationality stereo-

types in the arts, particularly in the mass art media. We furthermore resolve to help organize public opinion to demand that films, radio and other mass media present truthful and understanding portrayals of the Jewish people, the Negro people and other minority groups.

ON THE TEACHING OF YIDDISH

WHEREAS the public high schools teach the languages of various national minority groups in the U. S.; and whereas Yiddish is the language most commonly used by the Jewish people and is claimed as the mother tongue by a great number of Americans; therefore, be it resolved that we go on record in favor of the introduction of Yiddish as a credit course in the public high schools.

ON THE EMMA LAZARUS CENTENARY

THE centenary of Emma Lazarus' birth in July 1949 can and should be one focal point for inspiration of many creative works in Jewish culture. The centenary furthermore should focus attention on the richness of Jewish participation in the development of democracy in our land.

This Conference calls upon the Continuations Committee of the Jewish Cultural Conference in English to consider ways and means for the participation of cultural workers in making the Emma Lazarus centenary a highlight in Jewish life in the struggle against fascism.

LETTER FROM ABROAD

ARGENTINE REACTION BANS JEWISH PAPER

THE Argentine progressive Yiddish newspaper, *Der Weg* (The Way), which in less than three years of existence, first as a weekly and later as a daily, had gained respect and recognition from the broadest Jewish circles in the country and abroad, has been forced to suspend publication because of pressure from the government on the print shop where it was printed. On April 27, the municipal police called the head of the Standard Company, and advised him immediately to stop printing *Der Weg* on his rotary press. The advice was verbal, and absolutely no reasons were given. But there was a warning that if the newspaper continued to be printed there, the press would be shut down because of working conditions or similar reasons.

This is not the first time the government

of General Peron, whose representatives advertise to the wide world the "democratic" character of the present regime, has applied the quiet method of choking every newspaper that displeases Peron. That is how the press of *La Vanguardia*, a socialist publication, was shut down, and later the press of *Union Eslava*, organ of the Slavic groups in Argentina. Other political publications were similarly shut down, as for instance the Greek publication *Neocosmos* and the Spanish *Pueblo Espanol*.

Certain reactionary sections of Jewish organized life are not innocent in the matter of *Der Weg's* suspension. It is no accident that *Der Weg* was shut down at the very time when the agent of the American Jewish Labor Committee and the *Forward*, Jacob Pat, and his companion, Pinchas Gingold, were visiting Argentina.

They had come to smash the established Jewish cultural organizations and to induce into the Jewish community the anti-democratic and anti-Soviet hysteria of the Truman policy. *Der Weg* had been the only daily Yiddish newspaper which had the courage to unmask publicly the dirty intentions of this Jewish "cultural mission." The paper affirmed that this mission could not expect the least success in Argentina for their so-called "Cultural Congress," so long as the progressives were free to express their opinions.

That is why the activity of Pat's crowd in Argentina began with a stepped-up offensive against the progressive newspaper, *Der Weg*. S. Rojansky, A. L. Schussheim and others incessantly labelled this paper communist, although it was in fact non-partisan and the spokesman for the democratic Jewish masses. But the last word was said by that filthy soul, Velvele Chernovetzky, or "Tepliker," editor of the *Argen-*

tine Magazine, who has a long and ugly past as informer and collaborator of the "Special Section against Communism."

In the April issue of the *Argentine Magazine*, which appeared a week before *Der Weg* was shut down, this character wrote, "The time will soon come when they will return to the holes from which they had emerged." He wrote this in relation to statements made against Jacob Pat, and he refers to the "Jewish communists" and Moscow's Jewish stooges, as he calls all who do not favor Pat's mission. On the frontispiece of the same slanderous sheet there is a cartoon of a stooge leading a small dog, which represents *Der Weg*, with the following caption: "Stooge (to dog): sic him, tear his clothes, because he is against the communists!"

A week has already passed since *Der Weg* was forced to suspend, but not one of the "culture creators," with Pat at their head, has found it necessary to protest the

injustice. On the contrary, their joy is great because only in this way can they have an opportunity to build their institutions (Pat has an old Polish experience of a similar nature).

Nevertheless, the progressive Jewish masses will not permit themselves to be ruled by traitors of the Jewish people, and in spite of all difficulties will make every effort to make their just and clear words be heard again. The leadership of *Der Weg* is doing everything possible to resume publication of the newspaper, and it believes that it will succeed in defeating the betrayal and calumnies against it. But no matter what happens, the progressive Jewish masses will continue, as they have up to now, the struggle for democracy and for a free Jewish life in a free world, which was the aim of the courageous newspaper.

Buenos Aires

A. LANDSBERG

A Statement to Our Readers

A progressive magazine, in these days of intensified offensive of reaction, can turn only to its readers when it faces a serious problem.

We are proud of our readers. You have proved your devotion. You have been generous in your comment. You have helped build the circulation by taking upon yourselves the responsibility of getting new subscribers. When we made a modest financial call upon you, you came through.

On our part, we have tried to produce a lively, readable and cogent magazine. That we have in a measure succeeded is shown by you in your response to date.

Now, however, we are faced with a serious and menacing problem. Inflation is tightening the noose and is endangering the future of JEWISH LIFE. Budgets have been knocked sky-high. Since we are now working on a minimum of staff and administration, there is nothing we can do on this end to overcome the problem. We do not want to increase the price of JEWISH LIFE because we want to make it possible for all to get it.

We are therefore compelled to turn to you, our readers. We have no one else to whom to turn. Our needs total entirely \$15,000. This is small enough. But to achieve it, each one of you must give the very maximum you can spare from your own high cost of living.

We are confident you will come through. But we urge you to do so as soon as you possibly can.

THE EDITORS.

JEWISH LIFE • 35 EAST 12th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

REVIEW

THE MIND OF A MASTER MURDERER

By Gerhart Eisler

Lieut. Gen. Kurt Dittmar, nazi radio propagandist, came home today, after three years in British prison camps. A train brought Dittmar here with 75 other German generals and admirals who had been freed by Britain. *United Press report from Germany, May 17, 1948.*

If the Americans ever leave, within a few hours our people will burn Zeilsheim (a Jewish DP camp in the outskirts of Frankfurt) to the ground, because it is a black market center.

Oskar Friese, 29 year old policeman in Frankfurt. Quoted by Edwin Hartrick, N. Y. "Herald-Tribune," May 20, 1948.

THE publication of a selection from a German manuscript purporting to be the 1942-1943 diary of Paul Joseph Goebbels, is quite a useful undertaking.¹ In reading this diary of a master scoundrel and murderer many Americans will find out to what extent nazi propaganda, especially its anti-communist and anti-bolshevik keynote, is not only typical of German reaction alone, but of reaction in all countries, and especially of American reaction.

Paul Joseph Goebbels, born in 1897, was the son of a factory foreman who lived and worked in the industrial town of Rheydt in the Rhineland. His parents were devout Catholics. Goebbels was brought up in Catholic schools, secured a number of Catholic scholarships and attended eight famous German universities. He studied history, philosophy and the history of art and literature.

German schools and universities, Protestant included, were hotbeds of reaction in the Weimar Republic, poisoning the youth with the barbaric ideas of Prussianism and German imperialism. Goebbels was the son of a foreman, instrument of the capitalist boss in the factory and so often hated by the workers and in his turn hating the workers. He was taught religious anti-Semitism in his youth about the Jews who killed the Son of God. He was imbued with all the wild prejudices against the progressive ideas of the young bourgeoisie in the 18th century and against the modern Marxist labor movement. He grew up in a time of defeat of German imperialism in the First World War and during the bloody class battles between the revolutionary workers and the German imperialists in which the imperialists recovered power with the help of the right wing social democrats and the imperialists of other countries. Indeed, Goebbels was conditioned, like so many millions of Germans, and especially German intellectuals,

semi-intellectuals and professionals, to become more or less active scoundrels in the various counter-revolutionary organizations and movements.

While yet a young man Goebbels found his way to the nazi movement, was fascinated by Hitler, and soon became one of the leading super-scoundrels of this nazi front organization of German big business. As a professional in counter-revolution and the wildest reaction, he was well rewarded. His "talent" was an ability to articulate a propaganda of the most barbaric and foul ideas and prejudices. He was very proficient with his tongue and pen in the propaganda of everything that was rotten beastly in the history of Germany and in her contemporary society.

Such types as Goebbels also exist in the United States in the hundreds and thousands. They are spokesmen of everything foul in American history and in contemporary life. However, that such a lumpen intellectual as Goebbels could play the role he did, it was necessary that the German imperialists should discover in him and his nazi party a useful instrument to crush the German workers and to set up the nazi dictatorship as a preparation for an all-out war of aggression against the world. But the Goebbelses are never remarkable. What is remarkable is the downfall of a nation which allows such creatures like Goebbels to become its leaders.

In these 500 pages of Goebbels' diary we find relatively little not already known about nazi Germany and her political, military and industrial leaders. The Nurnberg Trials, the innumerable documents captured in Germany, the growing literature of German and European Marxists about the nazi hell, the millions of surviving witnesses of the bloody diary of nazi Germany have told us practically everything about this most shameful period of German history.

In the *Diaries* one is sometimes struck by the remarkable identity of Goebbels' "ideas" with those of American reaction and of the present American official policy in its unscrupulous and malicious hate campaign against communism and the Soviet Union.

"The Fuehrer endorses my anti-Bolshevist propaganda. That is the best horse we now have in our stable" (p. 284). "We still have one great opportunity with our anti-Bolshevist campaign" (p. 263).

Doesn't it sound like the *leitmotiv* of Truman's and Marshall's foreign policy

when Goebbels notes that, "For the Fuehrer there is practically no possibility of a compromise with the Soviets. They must be knocked out exactly as we finally had to knock out the communists to attain power" (p. 359)?

Or doesn't it sound exactly like a quotation from a discussion between Stassen and Dewey or other pathetic would-be-killers of American communists, when Goebbels writes: "Personally I regard Communist Parties operating illegally as much more dangerous than those under official surveillance, unless one is ready to extirpate them completely" (p. 394)?

Like a warning to all whom it may concern, one can follow in the *Diaries* the mounting desperation in the face of Soviet military power. The nazis, and even earlier all German bourgeois parties and the right wing social democrats, had spread so many lies about Russia, about her supposed political, economic, military and moral weakness, that they believed they could knock out Russia in a few weeks. But something completely different happened: the nazis knocked themselves out by fighting the Russians. "Only an uncivilized, barbaric nation like the Russians can stand all this," complains Goebbels. "The Fuehrer, too, is absolutely in the dark concerning the number of reserves the Bolsheviks still have at their disposal" (p. 285). "He (Goering) seemed to me helpless about the Soviet war potential. Again and again he asked in despair where Bolshevism still gets its weapons and soldiers."

It is only with the greatest difficulty and unspeakable hatred that one can read the triumph and malice with which Goebbels records the systematic destruction of the Jews and his own role in this destruction, as well as his hope of spreading anti-Semitism among the prisoners of war and among the other nations. Reading this book is even harder in the light of what is happening to the Jews in Palestine, to the Jews in the DP camps of Germany and Austria, and the fact that the German war criminals are once again being brought systematically to power in the western zones of Germany.

Louis P. Lochner's notes prove that he never understood how fascism happened to come to power in Germany. Sometimes Lochner writes such malicious nonsense as that Goebbels was "nearer" to the communists; he accepts the nazi propaganda lie that the Polish officers and soldiers found in the mass grave of Katyn were murdered by the Russians. And when he polemises against Goebbels in one of his notes in the effort to prove that Germany had great men, he mentions Gustav Stresemann, the imperialist foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, and does not mention Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx.

¹ *The Goebbels Diaries*, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Louis P. Lochner. Doubleday, New York, 1948.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

David Marcus, Israeli commander in the Jerusalem area, was killed shortly before the cease-fire order went into effect. Marcus, 47 years old, was a native of Brooklyn and a former colonel in the U.S. army. He was New York City Commissioner for Correction from 1929-1933. He was a West Point cadet and last served in the War Department's division of war crimes. He also saw combat service on most fronts during the war, parachuting into Normandie with invasion forces in 1944. He also participated in drafting surrender terms for Germany and Italy and served as legal aide during the Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam conferences. He was given a state funeral in Tel Aviv and his body was returned for burial in the post cemetery at West Point with military honors.

A merger of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, oldest rabbinical seminary in the country, with the Jewish Institute of Religion, founded in New York in 1922, was announced on June 16. Dr. Nelson Glueck, fourth president of the college, became president of both schools and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, founder of the Institute and its president, became president emeritus.

EUROPE

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's Reichsbank President who is now serving an 8-year term in Germany as a war criminal, is in complete agreement with the Marshall plan, calling it "an excellent start" towards rebuilding Europe's economy. "The Western world is moving entirely in the right direction," he said on May 27, "and for this I give the greatest credit to American politics." Schacht also favors recent moves toward a federated union of European nations. Schacht expected to be acquitted when he came up for rehearing in June.

Voluntary recruitment to the Arab Legion among former nazi officers is going on in Austria. Recruitment is by mail and in several Vienna cafes. Preference is given to pilots and wireless operators. The Austrian press also reports that former SS-General Eicham is now in Cairo forming a special staff for the Arabs from former nazi officers.

Willie Messerschmitt, designer and builder of the famous nazi planes bearing his name, was fined 2,000 marks by an Augsburg court as a penalty for his services to Hitler. Messerschmitt joined the nazi party in 1933 and was among the top leaders of the nazi war economy. The fine is that for nazi "followers," a minor category of war criminals.

A recent poll of the American Military Government in Germany reveals that racist attitudes have not decreased. The poll showed a one per cent decrease in openly expressed anti-Semitic attitudes, that late teen-agers are more apt to be anti-Semitic than other age groups and that racial prejudice is more evident among women than among men and in rural rather than in urban populations.

The tribute of Alexander Easterman, Secretary of the World Jewish Congress, to the status of Jews in Bulgaria is quoted in *Evreisky Vesti* (Jewish News), organ of the Jewish Consistory of Bulgaria. Mr. Easterman stated at the third conference of Bulgarian Jewish communities in Sofia on May 3: "I am happy to know that in

this newly emerging democracy there exist no national, racial or religious discrimination. We Jews are grateful that at least in some parts of the world there is justice for us. When I go back . . . I shall tell them that I visited one country where the Jews feel like free citizens and where they can work in complete freedom."

The recently approved Constitution of Rumania contains the following provision (Article 24): "In the Rumanian People's Republic the right to use their mother tongue is ensured to all the nationalities living in the country, as well as the right to organize education of all grades in their own language. Administration and Justice, in areas inhabited by nationalities other than Rumanians, will use orally and in writing the language of the respective nationalities and will appoint functionaries belonging to these nationalities or other nationality, who know the language of the local population."

Departure of Rumanian Chief Rabbi Alexander Shafran for Switzerland last December, which aroused considerable bitterness among Rumania's Jews, was severely criticized by the Federation of Jewish Communities' steering committee as "desertion" and a "grave breach of duties." The committee declared the post of chief rabbi vacant and is proceeding to election of a new chief rabbi.

The Czechoslovak Maccabi sports organization, long active in the country, has been absorbed into the Sokol, only sports organization now recognized by the Czech government. The Jewish group will be allowed to carry on its special program within the framework of the Sokol.

The Polish government has approved a proposal submitted to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to convert one hundred million zlotys raised for Haganah into foodstuffs for Israel. The Ministry agreed to the suggestion by the Central Jewish Committee to ship immediately the worth of the money raised in sugar, eggs and other food supplies for Israel.

A hint to Jews in Turkey to avoid expressing any support for Israel at the present time was made in an editorial published in the semi-official newspaper *Ulus* in mid-June. At the same time the left-wing Swiss paper *Voix Ouvriere* reported that the Turkish government, with the approval of certain Washington figures, was preparing to give military aid to the Arab states in Palestine. Reports have it that Truman Doctrine aid to Turkey is to be diverted to the Arab war against the Jews.

M. Bakhmuskty, secretary of the Birobidjan Region reports that in the last 18 months, 20,000 Jews have immigrated into the Region. This does not include many who have entered the Region as individuals.

Forty-one Jews were killed in early June in a pogrom in Djerada, French Morocco.

French longshoremen's unions in Marseilles refused to permit their workers to load 20 tons of arms and war materials sold to Lebanon by French munitions makers before the imposition of an embargo. A few days later Foreign Minister Bidault announced ratification of a French-Lebanese pact and defended arms shipment to Lebanon.

British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin flatly rejected on June 2 leftwing labor demands that

Britain end its nine million dollar military subsidy to Transjordan. Bevin denied that King Abdullah's Transjordan Legion has invaded Palestine. What happened, he said, was that Palestine Arabs invited the Legion into the area earmarked for Arabs under the UN partition plan. Later in the month Bevin admitted in Parliament that there is an Arab radio station operating in Cyprus but denied that either the Foreign Office or the Cyprus governor is responsible for it.

Dr. Israel Brodie, senior Jewish chaplain in the British armed services, has been elected Chief Rabbi of the British Empire.

ISRAEL

Hungary and Rumania recognized Israel during June. The Bulgarians were reported to be willing to recognize Israel if the Jewish state formally seeks such recognition, according to a statement by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister. French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault confirmed at a cabinet meeting that British Foreign Minister Bevin had requested the French government to delay recognition until conclusion of Anglo-American negotiations on Palestine held in London. Italian communist deputies in Rome, on June 7 presented an urgent demand to the government for the recognition of Israel. The demand was presented by communist Senator Umberto Terracini, a Jew and former president of the Constituent Assembly. He asked Premier de Gasperi and the Foreign Minister "why they have not yet provided for the recognition of Israel and if they do not believe it necessary to do so without further delay in order to prevent the silence of the Italian Republic from being interpreted as approval of a policy which has stimulated and continues to sustain the barbarous war of aggression which bleeds Palestine."

Israeli Labor Minister Mordechi Bentov in mid-June announced a new manpower control act, effective immediately, under which all men over military age but less than 55 years old will be called up for labor in essential services in agriculture and industry. Women up to 50 will be liable to the labor draft. Punishment for violation of the measure will range up to 10 years imprisonment and \$10,000 fines. The legislation is expected to release a large number of men and women now holding down essential jobs to the armed services.

According to a statistical analysis published in the Israeli Hebrew press, some 500,000 Arabs have fled Palestine since the outbreak of war, while only about 40,000 remain within the territory of Israel. It is estimated that the Arabs have suffered losses amounting to \$400,000,000 in goods, real property and crops abandoned in their flight.

It is reported that 80 per cent of some of the units of the Arab Lebanon army used in the invasion of Israel are nazi personnel, chiefly former Gestapo officers. An eye-witness report from Jerusalem of a London correspondent on May 3 states that "The Iraqis wear bronze badges made in Cairo bearing the German eagle and the swastika and the words, *Deutsche Ehre ist die Treue* (German Honor is Faithfulness). . . . Every Iraqi I have seen wears one."

The first naval engagement of the new state of Israel was held with Egypt in early June, with victory for the Israelis. Involved in the battle, which lasted three hours, were an Egyptian convoy consisting of a corvette, two British-type landing craft and the 2600-ton vessel *El Emira Fawzia* and one Jewish corvette assisted by two light bombers overhead. Jewish naval personnel are mostly seamen trained by the British during the last war.

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