

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

## To Live in Freedom!

*An Editorial*

**I**N RECENT weeks, a major ominous effort was made by official government agents to make a shambles of American liberties. The super-salesmen of Anglo-Saxonism abroad have exposed their political racketeering at home. The arrest of top communist leaders on a phoney charge of force and violence conspiracy has tipped the hand of the slimy gentlemen in Washington, and has revealed how the Hitlerian cadavers intend to treat political opposition to their fascist plans.

The American people are beginning to see through the crooked dealings of the bi-partisan cabal in our nation's capitol. They expressed their awareness, their outrage, their resistance in one of the most enthusiastic and fruitful people's political conventions in the history of our country. The new Progressive Party convention during the week-end of July 23-25 made the hair of American reaction stand on end. It compelled Truman to new heights of demagogic promises before the special session of Congress. And the response of the people petrified Dewey once again into a Sphynx.

This is but the first, preliminary skirmish in the life and death struggle of American democracy. The very brazenness of the original offensive of reaction, the very crudeness of the hypocritical reply of reaction to the people's movement are expressions of the desperation of American reaction, of its ruthlessness. The arrest of communist leaders on frameup charges, this climax of the hysteria fed from the wells of Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, of reactionary jingoism, of imperialist world conquest, is the boldest, crassest and most terroristic action to date by the conspirators who would convert the United States into a fascist stronghold.

*(Continued on page 3)*

SEPTEMBER 1948

## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN JEWRY

*By Alexander Bittelman*

## MISTER TWISTER

*A Poem*

*By Samuel Marshak*

## 50 YEARS OF PUERTO RICAN ENSLAVEMENT

*By Jesus Colon*

## WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

*Albert E. Kahn*

*Dr. Moshe Sneh*

*A. Raisky*

*M. Mirsky*

## From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

### AT HOME

One of the resolutions passed by the Zionist Organization of America at its July convention condemned the recent attempt of the Irgun Zvai Leumi to "conduct separatist military activities in defiance of the authority of the Provisional Government of Israel" and adds "that all aid to Irgun or any similar group in the United States or in Palestine shall be discouraged." *New York Post* editor Ted Thackrey refused in early July to accept a paid advertisement appealing for funds for the Irgun following the split between the Irgun and the Israeli government. "I simply did not feel," he said, "that I could accept an appeal, couched in the most violent terms, for funds to promote civil war in Israel between the government and the Irgun." About the same time a *New York Yiddish* daily refused to publish an article criticizing the Irgun *putsch* and published a page advertisement for the Irgun.

Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D., N.Y.) demanded in mid-July a Congressional investigation of "racial and religious prejudice" of John Bernard Faust, U.S. consul at Beirut, Lebanon. Faust is reported to have made anti-Semitic and anti-Negro remarks to the 41 Americans who were removed from the "Marine Carp" at Beirut in June on their way to Palestine. Before their departure for New York, Faust was reported to have said, "Well actually you'll beat the rap over there (i.e., in New York), just like the niggers down South beat the rap when it comes to lynching. You four and a half million," he added, referring to his estimate of the U.S. Jewish population, "are always jeopardizing the rest of us."

*In Fact* revealed (July 12, 1948) that important Dewey backers and campaign appointees have pro-fascist and anti-Semitic records. "One of the three top Dewey strategists who engineered the nomination was Edwin F. Jackle, the man who incorporated the German-American Bund in this country and later appeared as a guest speaker at a Nazi rally near Buffalo. The man named to the all-important job of raising campaign funds is James S. Kemper, prominent America Firster who sponsored the anti-labor and anti-Semitic broadcasts of Upton Close. . . . Appointed GOP national chairman is Grundy's protégé, Rep. Hugh D. Scott, Jr., who was one of the Congressmen on Gerald L. K. Smith's 'must' list in 1946."

A look into the past of Rep. Fred A. Hartley, co-sponsor of the slave labor law who threatened progressive New York labor leaders with contempt of Congress citations in July, shows that he spoke at an outing of the Federation of German Societies of Essex County, N. J., of which the Nazi Bund was an official part, on July 14, 1940. Three days earlier Hartley had spoken with Coughlinite Father Edward Lodge Curran, of Brooklyn, at a meeting in the Mosque Theater in Newark. Ten days before Pearl Harbor, according to the Associated Press of November 28, 1941, Hartley said, "Without provocation on Japan's part, we have made her a powerful enemy," in the course of a speech before the America First meeting at Paterson, N. J.

According to Drew Pearson, Senator C. Revercomb (R., W.V.), who was largely responsible for the much-criticized Displaced Persons Act, told colleagues: "We could solve this DP problem if we could work out some bill that would keep out the Jew!" Revercomb kept secret a letter from the State Department asking that the eligibility date for DPs be moved to 1947. When Sen. Kilgore found out about this letter and pro-



VOL. II, No. 11 (23)

SEPTEMBER, 1948

### EDITORIAL BOARD

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

PAUL NOVICK

SAMUEL BARRON, *Managing Editor*

ALBERT E. KAHN

SAM PEVZNER

MOSES MILLER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, *Editorial Associate*

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

THE EDITORS.

### CONTENTS

#### FROM MONTH TO MONTH

TO LIVE IN FREEDOM!	1
THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN JEWRY by Alexander Bittelman	4
FIFTY YEARS OF PUERTO RICAN ENSLAVEMENT by Jesus Colon	7
BOYCOTT BRITAIN CAMPAIGN, a letter and a reply	10
MISTER TWISTER, a poem by Samuel Marshak, translated by Sam Raphael Friedman	11
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, JUNE 27 - JULY 6, 1948	
I. JEWS MUST FIGHT REACTION AT HOME by Albert E. Kahn	18
II. WHAT IS GOOD FOR JEWS? by Dr. Moshe Sneh	19
III. DANGERS CAN BE OVERCOME by A. Raitsky	22
IV. ONE STEP FORWARD AND A HALF STEP BACK by M. Mirsky	24
DOCUMENTS	
ISRAELI YOUTH CALLS TO WORLD YOUTH by the Young Communist League of Israel	26
CALL TO ALL ARAB SOLDIERS by the League for National Liberation of Palestine	27
REVIEWS	
DID WELLES FAIL? by Joseph Starobin	28
THE FLAMBOYANT ADAH MENKEN by Morris U. Schappes	29
TWO NOVELS OF EUROPEAN JEWISH LIFE by Nathan Ausubel	30
LETTERS FROM OUR READERS	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS, edited by Louis Harap	2

JEWISH LIFE, September, 1948, Vol. II, No. 11 (23). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1948.

tested that it was not brought before his committee, Revercomb retorted, "The State Department recommendation was made by the Jews. The Department is full of them."

The New York City Council has adopted an investigating committee's report recommending the retirement of Prof. William E. Knickerbocker, chairman of the Romance Languages Department of City College, because of this teacher's anti-Semitic activities. Sixteen Council members voted in favor of the report and two members abstained—Queens Republican Hugh Quinn and Manhattan Republican Edward Rager. The Council also voted to recommend the award of the

medal for proficiency in French to Morton Gurewicz, who was denied the medal by Prof. Knickerbocker in 1942 because he was Jewish. The Anti-Defamation League had refused to press the case because it failed to find "clear and convincing evidence" of anti-Semitism, but continued pressure of the college Hillel chapter finally achieved an investigation by the American Jewish Congress.

Among the score of prominent educational, civic and political leaders who appeared before the New York City Board of Superintendents to

(Continued on page 32)



# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## TO LIVE IN FREEDOM!

*(Continued from page 1)*

What is the meaning of this Gestapo act? It is an attack on the most stalwart, self-sacrificing and experienced fighter for democracy, the Communist Party, which presents not only an immediate program for the advance of democracy, but the ultimate program of socialism as a solution to our common problems. It is an attempt to weaken the whole democratic camp by removing a fundamental and leading force within it. It is an attempt to sow confusion, disorganization and paralysis in the ranks of the opposition to nazifying America. It is an effort to divert the American people while their mouths are gagged, their pockets picked, their throats slit by American reactionaries and imperialists bent on conquering and enslaving the world by first shackling and degenerating the American people.

This is the first and major step in the pattern of Hitler. This may sound like a cliché but it is a blood-curdling fact nonetheless. Fifty million casualties was an exorbitant price to pay for this lesson, and we would be suckers, which we are not, not to utilize the lesson fully.

This action on the part of Attorney General Clark's and Edgar Hoover's SS-men must evoke in the more understanding American people the determination and the activity necessary to rally ever broader sections of our countrymen into what Henry Wallace has called the "Gideon's army" for the democratic crusade. Never was the time for such a crusade more propitious, more necessary, more possible. And never were the masses of the American people more ready and anxious for progressive leadership. All sections of the American people are searching for the way out of their mounting problems.

The veterans of World War II did not find fox-holes and pup tents so comfortable that they enjoy living in rat-holes now that they have returned. They resent being gouged by profiteers. They have read the programs of the Siamese-twin Wall Street political parties. But the authors are the same gentlemen who have been killing public housing proposals, who killed OPA, who have looked the other way while monopolies kicked prices sky high. And the veterans consider the Republocrat platforms counterfeit through and through.

The American people consider themselves fortunate that their losses in the last war were at a minimum. But they dread another holocaust. They do not want another war, not against the Soviet ally whose heroic war effort

was most responsible for reducing our losses to a minimum, nor against anybody else. Yes, they hear the mouthings for peace of the five-star diplomatic agents of Wall Street, who today dominate our government. But they measure these utterances against aid to fascist Greece, support for fascist Spain, intervention in Italy, the destruction of national economies and sovereignty through the Marshall Plan, the scuttling of the Teheran and Potsdam agreements, the rebuilding of militarist, fascist Germany, the slander and provocation against the Soviet Union, the re-introduction of the draft and of universal military service. And they consider the Republocrat policies a menace to peace.

The workers contributed heavily to produce the sinews of a people's war. It was they who shouldered the main burden and sacrifice for winning the war. They voluntarily imposed limitations on themselves. They adopted a no-strike pledge. In the face of the most arrogant provocations, they maintained collaboration with their employers. They disregarded hard-won gains in labor standards in order to win "E" banners as reward for doubling production so that the "arsenal of democracy" might flourish, even though the monopolists flourished simultaneously. Now they read Republocrat programatic praise of the workers, and pledges of taking care of their "interests." But these same gentlemen are the ones who are trying to make self-imposed and temporary war limitations permanent by fascist labor laws like the Taft-Hartley Act, by government injunction, by official red-baiting and witch-hunting. And the workers recognize a double-cross when they see and feel it, and they reject phoney civil rights programs, or toothless presidential messages, or meaningless vetoes when there is a guarantee that the veto will be overridden. And the workers suspect the Republocrats.

The Negro people were insulted and segregated and discriminated against even in the "people's" army—and given promises of better things to come. Now they see neither Americanism, nor democracy, nor profit in being lynched, in being shot down cold-bloodedly by city police. Now they see that bringing up first an anti-poll tax bill so that southern reactionaries can filibuster both the bill and the special session of Congress to death before anything constructive is forced from it, is nothing but a filthy Republocrat maneuver.

The Jewish people who watched six million of their brethren driven like cattle into the scientific slaughter-

houses of Hitler, who contributed their full share to the destruction of the Hitler war machine, view with alarm the hidden American friends of Hitler remove their masks and set the groundwork for the repetition of Hitlerism on American soil. To them the Republican Dewey, with his "Clear it with Sidney" slogan, and the Democratic Truman, with his "The — Jews of New York are disloyal" statement, are equally evil. And the Republocrat platform statements on Israel, in view of the treacherous behavior of the American bi-partisan delegation in the UN, is nothing so much as a diplomatic new look to rob the Jewish state of its independence and freedom.

The members of the different national groups of our country, whose families in their lands of origin suffered untold misery under Hitler conquest, who made indescribable sacrifices in ridding these lands of both foreign and native Hitlerism and in establishing democracy, do not want these achievements destroyed, do not want Hitlerism returned to these lands or imported to America. And Republocrat policies aim at these objectives.

These are the American people. This is the source of strength for the new Progressive Party and for the democratic camp in general. What choice do they have? To live in freedom or die in slavery! There is no third alternative. The American people are determined to live. They fought one people's war so that they may live. And that they may live they will fight the reemerging enemies of the people—the bi-partisan imperialist masters and their

weak-kneed servants in labor and so-called liberal ranks.

And there is no third force. There is only the democratic camp or the camp of reaction, imperialism and war. And he who straddles the no-man's-land between these two camps, whether he be a politico like Leon Henderson, or a pen-pusher like Max Lerner, or a labor traitor like David Dubinsky, merely obstructs the advance of democracy and of progress.

There are no more vital, no more indispensable tasks for the American people than the tasks of this struggle now facing them. And they are immediate, urgent. Whether in the special session of this Congress, or the new Congress to be elected, this body must feel the pressure of the masses of people for civil rights, for price control, for housing, for full recognition of a sovereign and independent Israel, for the lifting of the embargo, for legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination, for opening our doors for real DP's without national or religious discrimination. The administration—the *bi-partisan* administration—and members of Congress who utilize the people's needs and demands to feather their own political nests, to mask their sell-out to the money changers, the oil dispensers, the masters of American economy, must feel the wrath of the people. And the organization of the American masses takes precedence over summer heat that we may enjoy victory in the cool of November.

The crusade for democracy and peace and security is on! It must not, it shall not falter until the people triumph!

## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN JEWRY

By Alexander Bittelman

THE American Jews occupy an important and significant place in the life of the Jewish people. The American Jewish community has only recently, historically speaking, begun to awaken to its true role and responsibilities with regard to the progress of Jewish communities abroad. Nevertheless its potentialities, capacity and influence have already proven itself to be great not only because of its size but also because of its vitality, its readiness to meet its obligations to our people and its actual contributions to the survival of our people.

It is therefore regrettable and unfortunate that large sections of American Jews are still influenced by and follow a leadership which negates the progressive potentialities of our community and which directs our capacities into channels incompatible with the progress and survival of our people.

This fact must be stated plainly and honestly if we are

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA, General Secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association and a JEWISH LIFE editorial board member.

to bring about changes vitally necessary to the life of the Jewish community in the United States. It is particularly urgent to recognize this fact in view of two important Jewish gatherings that took place recently. We refer to the second session of the World Jewish Congress held in Switzerland, June 27-July 6, and to the National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Pittsburgh, July 2-5.

These two gatherings differed in many respects, just as the nature and role of the two organizations differ. But at both conferences the traditional American Zionist leadership gave us a fresh demonstration of its policies, program and methods. For the democratic and labor forces of the American Jewish community, the outcome is cause for alarm.

What are some of the most crucial and urgent tasks facing the masses of the American Jews at the present time? The primary task is undoubtedly that of joining with the democratic and labor forces of the American people as a whole in the fight for peace and against the



new world war that Wall Street and its two political parties are preparing for. It is imperative for American Jewry to join with the progressive forces of the American people as a whole in the fight against mounting reaction at home, against the menace of fascism, against the alarming growth of anti-Semitism and discrimination, which are inseparably bound up with Wall Street's bi-partisan, anti-communist, red-baiting "crusade." The fight against the Wall Street war-incendiaries and promoters of fascism is literally a matter of life and death to the American Jews not only as Americans but also as Jews. The fight against the danger of war and fascism—the danger which comes from the American monopolies—is the front line for Jewish masses everywhere, as their progressive leaders well understand.

But how does the traditional American Zionist leadership understand this task and how did it handle this crucial matter in the two aforementioned conferences?

### **The Silver-Neumann Leadership**

On the decisive issues of war or peace, fascism or democracy, the Silver-Neumann leadership in the Zionist Organization of America did not align itself with the progressive, anti-fascist and peace forces of the American people or with the anti-monopoly coalition and Progressive Party, but with the forces of war, reaction and fascism. The Silver-Neumann leadership collaborates politically with the Republican Party—with Dewey, Taft and Dulles—one of Wall Street's main political instruments for the promotion of war, fascism and anti-Semitism. These conclusions were very evident from the behavior of the Silver-Neumann leadership at the Zionist convention. This group did not allow the Zionist convention to say a word against Wall Street's drive for war and fascism. It pretended not to see the growing menace of anti-Semitism and discrimination in the United States emanating from Wall Street imperialism and reaction and from its two political parties. By its refusal to point to and arouse the Jewish people against American and British imperialism as the main enemies of an independent democratic Jewish state, it failed completely to help Israel resist the combined attacks and pressures of American and British imperialism. It deliberately omitted to express gratitude to the Soviet Union or to recognize the decisive role of the Soviet Union and its allies in the establishment of Israel and in the defense of Israel's rights.

This performance of the Silver-Neumann group at the Zionist convention, a performance which is beginning to reach the proportions of a national disgrace, is the direct result of this leadership's pro-imperialist, pro-Republican and pro-monopoly political orientation. It is the direct result of the political class orientation of certain circles of the Jewish bourgeoisie in the United States, an orientation which, by all signs, is deeply resented and distrusted by wide groups of rank and file and even some leading members of the Zionist Organization of America itself.

What position did the Zionist leadership in the American

delegation to the World Jewish Congress take towards these critical issues?

The American delegation to the World Jewish Congress, because of the undemocratic method of representation, had a dominating voice at the World Congress. The Zionist leaders also dominated the American delegation, again because of undemocratic methods of representation. Thus Zionist leaders had a controlling influence over the majority of Congress delegates.

This dominance imposed upon the Zionist leaders a great responsibility for the outcome of the second session of the World Jewish Congress. How did they meet this responsibility?

They failed to meet this responsibility. They failed because they refused to collaborate honestly and consistently with the left and progressive labor forces in the Congress on the basis of a policy of democratic and anti-imperialist unity of the Jewish people. It was the failure of another group of American Zionist leaders—a group headed by Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Shad Pollier, Rabbi Morton Berman, David Petegorsky and Dr. Joachim Prinz.

This latter group failed because it holds the mistaken and even dangerous political position that the Jewish people must not side with either the imperialist or anti-imperialist camp, that the Jewish people must remain "neutral." *In reality, in practice, this view means that the Jewish people drag after the camp of imperialism, reaction and war.*

### **Stand of Labor-Progressives**

The democratic and progressive delegations from the new democracies of Europe (Poland, Rumania, Hungary), from France and from Israel, as well as the progressive labor delegates in the American delegation (from the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order), put up an energetic fight on many issues most vital to the life and progress of the Jewish people. These delegates fought to make the World Jewish Congress more genuinely representative of the democratic and labor forces of our people. They tried to bring Congress to take the initiative in mobilizing support all over the world, by organizing mass protests and struggles, for the independence and territorial integrity of Israel. They wanted Congress to become an active force in the world-wide struggle for peace and democracy and against the imperialist war-makers and fascists, led by American imperialism. They pressed Congress in the direction of active leadership for the struggle to outlaw anti-Semitism in the capitalist countries, especially in the United States. They fought for the World Jewish Congress to become a real, live center of the anti-fascist unity of the Jewish people.

This fight has great significance. It is in line with the approach and perspective of the Resolution on Jewish Work issued by the Community Party of the United States in October 1946. This struggle will have a major influence in stimulating the fight of all progressive and labor forces

among the Jewish people for united action—for unity—against the warmakers, imperialists and fascists led by Wall Street and its junior partner, British imperialism. This fight also left its impress on the deliberations and outcome of the second session of the World Jewish Congress. Some of the resolutions passed at the session point quite definitely in the direction of such united struggles.

But why did not this second session of the World Jewish Congress adopt an effective platform of united Jewish anti-fascist struggles for the progress and survival of our people? Why did the Congress not become fully and truly representative of all democratic and labor forces of the Jewish people? Why did Congress fail to accept the proposals of the progressive European delegations and of the labor-progressive American delegates to mobilize support for Israel by organizing struggles against its imperialist enemies and betrayers—British and American imperialism—and for the independence and territorial integrity of Israel?

Because the American Zionist leaders, who dominated the American delegation, which, in its turn, dominated the second session of the World Jewish Congress, followed a political orientation based upon collaboration with imperialism—collaboration with American imperialism, with Wall Street and its two political parties. It is probable that most of the traditional Zionist leaders in the American delegation favor collaboration with Truman and the Democratic Party while the Silver-Neumann group collaborates with Dewey-Taft and the Republican Party. But the policies of the Zionist-Democratic politicians are no less imperialistic and dangerous to the Jewish people than those of the Zionist-Republican politicians.

### **Reactionary Role of AJ Committee**

This pro-imperialist orientation works out in relation to the Jewish community abroad in such a way that these Zionist leaders appear to be aping some of the methods of the Marshall Planners toward Europe. This activity is closely related to the mounting drive of the American Jewish Committee to expand and consolidate its domination of American Jewish life. Pressed hard by this drive of American Jewish big business, which is supported by the *Forward* gang of social democrats, traditional Zionist leaders move ever more rapidly towards policies of compromise with and capitulation to this fountainhead of reaction in American Jewish life. This tendency is enhanced by the fact that the American Jewish Committee and other American Jewish elements of Wall Street imperialism are acquiring an ever more dominant and exclusive control over the collection and distribution of funds for Jewish philanthropy, social work, relief abroad, building up of Israel and maintenance of Jewish Welfare Board institutions, the Zionist movement, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, etc. This control by the big Jewish bourgeoisie over the allocation of funds is growing especially potent and dangerous in the United Jewish Appeal, as well as in the Joint Distribution Com-

mittee. This control is actively undermining the independence of many Jewish democratic organizations. It is a major contributing factor in the anti-democratic orientation of the traditional Zionist leadership in the United States.

Opposition of the traditional American Zionist leadership to the inclusion of a representative American left-progressive labor forces in the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress is especially revealing of this more rapid turn to reaction and pro-imperialism. It reveals hostility and opposition to labor participation and influence in American Jewish life and in Jewish affairs in general, which can have only one source. This source is the reactionary, assimilationist Jewish big bourgeoisie and its social democratic servants. This source is Wall Street imperialism, reaction, anti-communist and red-baiting drives, anti-Semitism and war preparations.

Here, again, we see that the "neutral" position of these Zionist leaders, as between the camp of progress and the camp of reaction, turns very neatly into a position which imitates the methods, policies and even the arguments of the Marshall Planners.

If Dr. Wise made the statement attributed to him by the press upon his return from Europe, that the left-progressive American Jewish labor forces are too unimportant to deserve a place on the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress, then he puts in doubt the importance of the entire democratic camp in American Jewish life. And this is a strange and disturbing, as well as profoundly false, idea to come from the president of the World Jewish Congress and of the American Jewish Congress.

It should be added at this point that this anti-democratic and pro-imperialist orientation of the traditional American Zionist leadership, which explains its failure to organize struggles against the American and British imperialist attacks upon and conspiracies against the independence and territorial integrity of Israel, bears much of the responsibility for the growth of tendencies to compromise and capitulation to the imperialists by leading forces in the government of Israel. American Zionist leaders must be held directly responsible for such dangerous tendencies to compromise with imperialism Israel's independence as were expressed in Moshe Shertok's interview with C. L. Sulzberger (*New York Times*, July 23, 1948).

### **What We Must Do**

In view of these facts about the Zionist leadership, the following conclusions are inevitable:

1. The progressive, labor and anti-imperialist forces in the American Jewish community must greatly intensify the fight for Jewish democratic unity, for integrating the Jewish democratic forces fully with the progressive coalition of the American people and the Progressive Party. The progressive and labor forces among the American Jews must mobilize the widest masses to resist the expan-



sion and domination in American Jewish life of the reactionary and imperialist elements, to fight for the democratization of Jewish life and for labor's leading role in it, for the democratization of the United Jewish Appeal and the Joint Distribution Committee, for building the democratic unity of the Jewish people as a whole on the basis of true democracy, anti-fascism and anti-imperialism. This requires the systematic exposure and struggle against the imperialist servants among the Jewish masses—the right social democratic leaders of the *Forward*, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Liberal Party of New York, and the Republican and Democratic politicians in the Zionist leadership.

2. The central task of all American Jewish progressive and labor forces in the current months is to mobilize the Jewish masses for active participation in the national election struggles, as an organic part of the people's coalition and its Progressive Party. This requires the systematic exposure of the Democratic and Republican Parties as the instruments of Wall Street and as the enemies of our people. It requires the exposure of and struggle against all reactionary forces in Jewish life working with Truman and Dewey—Wall Street's parties and candidates.

3. The progressive and anti-imperialist currents in the Zionist movement of America have the responsibility of combatting and defeating the anti-democratic, anti-national and pro-imperialist orientation of the traditional leadership. It is the task and duty of the progressive elements in the American Zionist movement to organize their

forces and to help crystallize and bring to effective expression within the Zionist movement all progressive, anti-imperialist and true democratic tendencies.

4. The progressive and labor elements in the American Jewish Congress, faced with the task of helping save Congress as a live and active center of Jewish democratic forces, are now compelled to raise the question of a new, united and representative leadership of the American Jewish Congress. The fight to democratize the Congress and to direct it along the path of struggle for the interests of the Jewish people now demands creation of a new leadership capable of realizing the great progressive tasks now facing the American Jews.

American Jewish communists will now, as in the past, participate wholeheartedly in the struggle of all progressive forces of our people along the foregoing lines. At the same time, we shall systematically popularize among the masses the program of the Communist Party, the ultimate socialist aim and immediate program of struggle for peace, democracy, equal rights and social security. We shall rally the widest masses in defense of the Party against the attacks of reaction and, in doing so, we shall be building the power of the American people to resist and defeat the general fascist and warmaking offensive of the monopolies. In all these struggles, communists will always remember that the major guarantee for the lasting success of the American people's struggles against its enemies is a strong, influential and authoritative Communist Party in the United States.

## FIFTY YEARS OF PUERTO RICAN ENSLAVEMENT

By Jesus Colon

**J**ULY of this year marked the fiftieth year of Puerto Rican enslavement to American imperialism. Yet today little is known in the United States about this country and its terribly oppressed condition. No wonder there are some who still prate about the United States being a non-colonial, or even an anti-colonial, power. Some American people are still blind to what goes on at their doorstep.

Once I was lecturing on Puerto Rico to a group of supposedly well-informed Americans. In one corner of the room there was a world globe nicely lit from the inside. "Who can get up and point out in two minutes where Puerto Rico is?" I asked the audience. Only two of the 25 intelligent, well-informed Americans raised their hands. A few fundamental questions tactfully asked about the elementary geography of this American colony showed an appalling lack of elementary knowledge. From this

JESUS COLON is president of the Cervantes Fraternal Society, Spanish Section of the International Workers Order.

you can judge for yourself what the average man in the street knows about Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans. But the facts are a necessary background to understanding the plight of the Puerto Ricans, the struggles in which they are engaged, the large migration to the States, particularly to New York.

Puerto Rico is an island 1400 miles southeast of New York, 35 miles wide and 100 miles long. Under the worst colonial conditions anywhere in the world, 600 persons per square mile struggle to exist. With an agricultural economy based on one product—sugar—26 out of 100 Puerto Ricans are chronically unemployed. About one-half of the population works from three to six months during the year depending on the seasonal work provided by the monocultural sugar economy of the island.

By the first half of the 19th century Puerto Rico had already developed all the characteristics of a nation. As a result of the growth of social forces and class relationships,



a feeling of being Puerto Ricans and not Spaniards began to emerge. Puerto Rico has a right to be a sovereign nation.

When gold was abundant in our streams and mines, our Indian population was practically exterminated by work in them. We have been used as an island fortress, we are still, with many of the biggest aerial and naval bases of American imperialism hidden under our cocoanut palms. We have been transformed into a great sugar factory. Many "liberal" educators and coordinators of inter-American cultural relations want us at this late date to be a melting pot for the fusion of the "Nordic" and Latin American civilizations. The Puerto Ricans as a people refuse to eliminate themselves to satisfy Anglo-Saxon ideas of infiltration into Latin America.

But ever since we started thinking and feeling as Puerto Ricans in the early half of the 19th century, a louder and louder demand has been growing for complete and absolute independence that will wipe out colonialism forever and bring forward among us the potentialities of a free union. This has been recognized as the only solution to Puerto Rico's problems by 90 per cent of the Puerto Ricans living on the island. Spain had given a form of autonomy to Puerto Rico because of the pressure of its war in Cuba and a premonition of the oncoming of the Spanish American War. This partial autonomy was also partly the result of a long series of progressive and revolutionary movements in Spain and Puerto Rico to liberalize the governments of both Puerto Rico and Spain.

### ***The Colossus Invades***

Under the autonomic constitution of 1897, Puerto Rico had the right to impose tariff and custom duties upon any product imported or exported from the island. Puerto Rico could make commercial treaties and buy and sell with any nation in the world. The rights given by this constitution were irrevocable and could not be taken away by the Spanish government. The United States found Puerto Rico under such a form of practically free government when the soldiers and sailors of the young imperialist Colossus of the North invaded Puerto Rican shores in 1898.

The first act of the United States government was to replace the autonomic constitution of the government of Puerto Rico with the Foraker Act. This law, approved by the Congress of the United States and signed by the president, took away all the power previously given to Puerto Rico by Spain.

Puerto Rico was forbidden to impose its own tariffs, make its own commercial treaties or buy in whatever market it chose anywhere in the world. The Foraker Act and the coastwise shipping laws of the United States obliged us to buy and sell in the most expensive markets in the world and to carry all Puerto Rican products in the most expensive ships. All subjects in school are taught in English, a language foreign to the Puerto Rican children accustomed to talk and learn in their native Spanish. And in this year of 1948, cultural enslavement was emphasized

when President Truman vetoed a law passed by the Puerto Rican legislature providing for school instruction in Spanish. The island agriculture was changed from a diversified to a practically one crop agriculture. Notwithstanding the existence of a law prohibiting any corporation from owning more than 500 acres of Puerto Rican land, it was not enforced and was flagrantly violated through holding companies and other corporation maneuvers. Absenteeism grew with "latifundism," the system of enormous plantations. The absentee owners of these lands in Puerto Rico were only concerned with the dividends their investments were going to bring them.

Then the peasant was cheated into selling his piece of land. He and his family came to cities. And when the few dollars that he received from the sugar company for his land were consumed in food, clothing and shelter in the cities, the peasant lived a nomadic life from town to town. Chronic unemployment or sporadic employment increased, and the *Fanguitos* (Hooverilles) multiplied and expanded all over the land. An era of wandering and frustration—cultural, economic, political—came upon the Puerto Ricans.

### ***The Party in Power***

Were the Puerto Ricans to blame? No. The blame for the pauperism and misery in which the broad masses of Puerto Rico are living today lies with Wall Street imperialism, the political and military representatives of this same imperialism who profit from the colonial system imposed on Puerto Rico.

The dominant political force among the Puerto Ricans today is the Popular Democratic Party (*Partido Popular Democratico*). Today this party has 17 of the 19 senators and 37 of 39 members of the lower body and has been in power for the last eight years. The party is organized around Luis Munoz Marin, son of Don Luis Munoz Rivera, Puerto Rico's resident commissioner in Washington for many years. Marin returned to Puerto Rico from the United States in the twenties. After years of political apprenticeship on the island and after adopting the slogan "Bread, Land and Liberty" (*Pan, Tierra y Libertad*) from the Puerto Rican Communist Party, he organized the Popular Democratic Party. During its early years the party leadership was in daily contact with the people and supremely confident of their potentialities. The present period sees the leadership, and Marin in particular, supremely afraid, if not contemptuous of the collective judgment of the people.

The party rose to power in the past eight years on a program of land to the peasants (*jibaros*), government ownership of public utilities owned by the American imperialists, respect for the labor movement and its hard-earned rights, solution of the unemployment problem by industrialization and an implicit promise to fight for the independence of Puerto Rico. Although some steps were taken to implement this program in the first years of its triumph, the party has since 1944 become increasingly con-

servative. Today agrarian reform is forgotten. In the first three years of power the party distributed 13,000 pieces of land among the peasants. From 1945 to 1948 only 4500 were distributed. The sugar barons are no longer molested. Maritime lines raise their rates with scarcely any protest from the government. The Taft-Hartley Law has been applied to the labor movement and the recent legislative session enacted three laws that are worse than the Mundt-Nixon bill. American industrialists have an open invitation to establish factories on the promise of cheap labor and tax exemptions. Independence efforts are stifled by a "third way" formula of some "dominion" status that is confusing public opinion. In sum, the party is today the willing tool of American imperialism.

Marin is surrounded by political parasites making a holiday with a pork-barrel governmental budget. The Popular Democratic Party is in continuous internal turmoil because of contradictory political theories and programs for the final political status of Puerto Rico and how it should be achieved. This party is slowly but surely losing ground. It is contributing to the sense of hopelessness and frustration of the Puerto Ricans, especially the youth, that is driving them to emigrate. The masses hate confusion and uncertainty. They demand that the party take a stand—whatever it may be—on the desired political status of Puerto Rico.

Ever since the 1946 victory of the Republican Party in the United States, the Popular Democratic Party has been moving more and more to the right. Reactionaries and anti-independence characters who knew they could not possibly defeat the Popular Party from without, have been infiltrating into government positions and influence the day to day policies of Marin's party. Though the party will continue as the majority party even after the 1948 elections, its vote then will not be as large as that of 1944.

Other political parties are the Liberal, Republican, Socialist, Nationalist, Independence and Communist parties.

The Liberal Party advocates independence as determined by the national Puerto Rican bourgeoisie. Both the Republican and Socialist parties work for statehood. The Liberals and Republicans are now trying to achieve a coalition against the Popular Democratic Party in the effort to destroy the meager social gains of the recent period.

The Nationalist Party, headed by Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos and having a few hundred devoted followers, takes a legalistic view of the problem of independence. Since the United States invaded Puerto Rico, they say, Puerto Ricans are not obliged to accept any act of the invading power and hence all laws are illegal. At present the Nationalists are campaigning for a boycott of the coming elections, a program that is impractical and unrealistic and characteristic of the abstract 18th century tactical approach of this group.

The Puerto Rican Independence Party was organized about a year and a half ago, representing the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie. This party will undoubtedly defeat the Popular

Democratic Party eventually. The party leadership and program are not greatly concerned with the economic and social demands of the people or with the link of Puerto Rico with world colonialism. However, because of its strong program for independence, it has been supported by the Communist Party, though it has repudiated that support.

### ***A Revived Communist Party***

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico was liquidated under the influence of Earl Browder, but was reconstituted on March 10, 1946 and has since made creditable progress in reorganization. It helped to orient the Independence Congresses of the past few years to link the struggle for independence with social and economic demands of the people. The communists are trying to show the people that the Popular Democratic Party has departed from its original program of Bread, Land and Liberty. The visit of William Z. Foster and George Blake, United States communist leaders, to Puerto Rico this year gave the Puerto Rican party great ideological and political stimulus.

Two years have been expended in the organization of the central party office and training of national leaders. Lack of funds is simply incredible. There is not sufficient money to pay a single national leader a salary. Nevertheless the party succeeds in publishing some pamphlets and a paper, *People's Vanguard (Vanguardia Popular)*. It concentrates on work in slum areas, among youth, veterans, and women. The program of the party for the November elections includes: use of Spanish in the public schools; trade union rights, labor unity, price control, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; agrarian reforms; maritime reform and development of a Puerto Rican merchant marine; protection of native industry and measures against unemployment; defense of civil rights and electoral rights of small parties; against United States' war aims and UMT; against racial discrimination and terrorist dictatorships in America; and for economic cooperation of the Caribbean nations.

### ***Trade Union Struggle***

Before 1945 a great Confederation of Labor existed in Puerto Rico. But the Popular Democratic Party scented this labor movement as a threat to its political power and that the confederation might serve as a base for a future labor party with a clear-cut social and economic program and strong advocacy of independence. With the aid of slick lawyers posing as labor leaders they succeeded in destroying the confederation in March 1945. Today the Barreto faction of the labor movement tails after the Popular Democratic Party and the Gordian faction has gone "international," working with the Peron trade union movement in the effort to smash the Confederation of Latin American Workers, of which Vicente Lombardo Toledano is president.

Out of this confusion has arisen the new General Union of Workers (*Unidad General de Trabajadores*) or U.G.T.



under the able leadership of Juan Saez Coralez. The U.G.T. was recognized as the sole representative of Puerto Rican workers at the last Continental Congress of the Latin American Confederation of Labor in March 1948.

Puerto Rico also has a Free Federation of Workers (*Federacion Libre de Trabajadores*) organized under AFL leadership. This old organization represents the most conservative tendencies and social democratic confusion among the workers. It backs the Marshall Plan, has forced the Taft-Hartley Law on its unions and works hand in hand with the Dubinskys and Antoninis to make sweat shops of the homes of Puerto Rican workers and a source for cheap labor for United States' needle industry.

### **Exodus to New York**

Colonialism and all that this implies is the reason why Puerto Ricans are leaving their home island and coming to the United States, particularly New York, which contains the largest Puerto Rican community abroad. The way to encourage these people to develop their own country in their own interests is to give them their political independence. Then the Puerto Rican people will have the rights and freedom with which to be able to industrialize and develop their country without having to drag the heavy chains of imperialism after them.

To say that the Puerto Ricans are immigrants to New York is like saying that people from California or Ohio are immigrants if they choose to come to live in the Empire State. For Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States by the Organic Law passed by Congress in March 1917. They are supposed to have the same rights and privileges as any other citizens. When the Irish came to America after the potato famines of 1846, they were absorbed into the citizenry of the country. This also happened to the Jews, the Italians and all other minority groups. Likewise the Puerto Ricans—American citizens as they are said to be—should be welcomed and helped in a friendly way.

But the powers that be are perhaps not very much pleased with the vigorous way in which the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are protesting that they are not second class citizens and that they will not allow themselves to be exploited in a cheap labor market. They use their voting rights in favor of progressive congressmen like Vito Marcantonio and Leo Isacson. The Puerto Ricans join with the progressives and the rank and file committees in all unions and all other organizations like Dubinsky's I.L.G.W.U., in which they sense that reaction, or, what is even worse, phoney "liberalism," is entrenched in the leadership. They join hands with their American Negro and Jewish brothers in big May Day parades in the streets of New York, crying at the top of their voices: "We want freedom for Puerto Rico" and "Down with Franco." We believe that Wallace will make a better president than Truman or Dewey. And, of course, you know that according to such newspapers as the *New York Times*, *World-Telegram*, *Daily Mirror* and *Daily News*, and magazines

like *Life*, which recently raised such a howl about the Puerto Rican "invasion" of New York, these policies and acts which the Puerto Ricans support and participate in are not the "American Way." Hence these periodicals hate to see the Puerto Ricans come to continental United States.

We Puerto Ricans are not weak and humble, as reactionaries picture all downtrodden and colonial people. We have learned that the Hoover-Truman-Marshall kind of Americanism is detrimental to all national and colonial liberties. We want a place to fight it out democratically, side by side with our brother American workers and progressives, to return this country to the true American traditions of Patrick Henry, Jefferson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. No display of sacred documents in freedom trains will obscure the facts of lynching and anti-Semitism here and colonial oppression in Puerto Rico. We have learned to say in English: "We come from Missouri."

Repudiate lovers of gold made from the bitter sugar produced under the lash of the Puerto Rican tropical sun. Show us that you really care for the words eternally written in those documents of freedom that you are showing around. Give Puerto Rico independence. Then Puerto Ricans will not have to come to New York to run away from colonial starvation for which the thirst for super-profits of the imperialist clique in America has only itself to blame.

### **BOYCOTT BRITAIN CAMPAIGN**

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

I for one feel that the "Boycott Britain" campaign is very wrong and dangerous—and diverts the thinking of the people in the wrong direction.

I think that by this slogan the finger is pointed at Britain only—thereby whitewashing the role that American imperialism has played, along with its junior partner, Britain, in the whole situation in Israel. I think that by this campaign, the whole question of American money to supply Britain with munitions which are sold or given to the Arabs to kill the Jewish people is buried; the role of the American oil kings is buried; the betrayal of Israel by America in the UN is not taken into account, and that this slogan "Boycott Britain" completely supersedes the slogan which I think at this time should be "Lift the Embargo."

I was very much surprised, and even, I will admit, became slightly confused when the American Jewish Labor Council, at the time of its can collection, gave a "Boycott Britain" button to whoever contributed money to the collection.

This letter is being sent to you at the request of several people. May I ask therefore that you try to find space in your very excellent magazine to answer it.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

S. T.

*We are in general agreement with the views expressed by S. T. It seems to us that any campaign in support of Israel that does not simultaneously expose the role of American imperialism misses the essence of the present situation and therefore does not contribute fundamentally to the well-being of Israel.*

THE EDITORS.





# MISTER TWISTER

By Samuel Marshak

Translated by Sam Raphael Friedman

*When in Rome  
Do as the Romans do . . .*

Tourists  
Abroad  
Do their touring  
Through Cook.

Whenever  
The wanderlust  
Moves you  
To book  
A trip  
Round the world  
All its wonders to see—  
The tower of Pisa,  
The Kremlin, Paree—  
Cook

In a flash—  
Should you relish  
The notion—  
\* Will charter a ship  
For a sail  
On the ocean,  
Or furnish a plane  
For your personal use,  
Or send you  
A camel,  
Or maybe  
A moose;

Reserve you  
A room  
In the finest hotel,  
With breakfast in bed  
At the touch  
Of a bell.

To highlands  
And lowlands,  
To East  
And to West—  
To all lands  
Cook  
Takes you,  
Each dressed

In its best.

\* \* \*

Mister  
Twister,  
Quondam  
Minister,  
Mister  
Twister,  
Millionaire,  
Banker and broker,  
Owner of stocks,  
Newspapers, steamers,  
And real-estate blocks,  
Opined that he needed  
A rest from his labors,  
A trip round the wide world  
Without all his neighbors.

And so  
He decided  
To trek with his wife  
And Suzie,  
His daughter,  
The light of his life.  
His Suzie  
Was willing,  
And likewise his wife.

"Let's go!"  
Whooped Suzie.  
"Call James!  
Where's the car?  
Let's all go and visit  
The U.S.S.R.!"

"But darlingest daughter,"  
Her fond parent said,  
"Who planted  
Such nonsense  
In your pretty head?  
There's Spain we could visit,  
There're bullfights to see . . ."

Said darlingest Suzie:  
"Then go  
Without me!

I want something different:

Fresh caviar  
And *shchi*,  
And loll  
In the shade  
Of a cranberry tree."  
Old Twister,  
He pleaded  
And fumed,  
Cried "Pshaw!"  
But Suzie  
Was firm,  
And her word  
Was law.

\* \* \*

Anon  
Rings the phone  
At Cook's:  
"M'lad!  
Reserve  
Four staterooms:  
New York—  
Leningrad.  
With bath  
And a pool,  
And a garden,  
Begad!  
And listen,  
Be sure  
The crowd  
Isn't low-brow,  
No Negroes  
Or Hindoos,  
Or riffraff  
From 'Ho-chow'  
Old Twister,  
He's touchy  
Concerning  
Dark faces.  
He can't stand the sight  
Of those colored races."

Answers Cook  
At the telephone:  
"Oh yes, Sir!  
Okay, Sir!  
We're glad to oblige you!  
We'll do as you say, Sir!"

• • •

SAMUEL MARSHAK is an outstanding Soviet Jewish poet and a member of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union. He is a writer of children's verse, some of which is known here, and one of the best Soviet translators of English poetry and folk tales. During the war he wrote verses for the famous Kukryniksy posters.

In exactly  
Two minutes  
The boat was to sail,  
When along came  
The Twisters  
And climbed through the rail.

He came  
With his spouse  
In her travelling clothes,  
Her tortoise-shell glasses  
Perched high on her nose;

He came  
With his Suzie,  
Bewitchingly dressed,  
Her marmoset monkey  
Pressed close to her breast;



He came  
With a mountain  
Of trunks all in tags,  
He came  
With four giants  
With forty-four bags.

\* \* \*

The steamer is sailing,  
A-sailing  
The sea,  
To the S.U. a-sailing—  
The U.S. alec.

Its course  
Lies due eastward  
As your crow ever flies;  
Its wake  
Churns and gurgles  
As onward  
It plies.

Mister  
Twister,  
Quondam  
Minister,

Mister  
Twister,  
Millionaire,  
Banker and broker  
And newspaper king,  
Who liked playing poker—  
Which wasn't the thing—

While on the briny  
Decided he'd try  
To learn  
To play tennis  
To keep himself spry.



On deck  
In a garden  
Fenced in by a net,  
He leaps for  
A ball

In a wild pirouette;

All shaded  
By palms  
From the sun's blazing rays,  
He chases  
A ball  
Like a bull in a maze.

Then laved  
In a lather  
And pleased as Punch  
He jumps  
In the pool,  
Where he has his lunch.

Refreshed,  
He makes  
For the billiard hall,  
Where he "takes his cue"  
From a stand  
By the wall.

And the ship  
Sails on  
As a ship should sail—  
Like a palace fair  
From a fairy tale.



And all  
Of his playmates  
Are folk of his nation—

No Negroes  
Or Chinese  
But gents of his station.

The Negroes  
And Chinese  
In making the trip  
Were packed  
All aboard  
In a far different ship.

The Negroes  
And Chinese  
Were packed in a freighter;  
The sea waves  
Or fumes  
Flooded them sooner  
Or later.

\* \* \*

Mister  
Twister,  
Travelling far,  
Is tourist bound  
For the  
U.S.S.R.



The hustle,  
The bustle  
Of Leningrad nears.  
Off to the starboard  
The skyline appears.  
On steely gray water  
Ride boats  
By the score,  
And workshops unending  
Extend from the shore.

Clutching  
Their hats  
As they strut down the plank,  
The Twisters  
Are soon  
Strolling over the bank.

Then,  
With a glance  
At a golden-tipped spire,  
They turn  
To their auto  
And test every tire.

The ladies  
Are seated,  
The luggage  
Is stowed,  
The car with a rush

Roars off down the road—  
The driver  
In front,  
Where a driver should be,  
Old Twister  
In back,  
With a bag on his knee;



His spouse  
At his left,  
Her umbrella clutched tight,  
The monkey  
And Suzie  
Squeezed in at his right.

\* \* \*

Mister  
Twister,  
Quondam  
Minister,  
Mister  
Twister,  
Millionaire,  
Banker and broker,  
Who liked playing poker,  
Drives up  
And enters  
Hotel Angleterre.

Chewing  
Away at his gold band  
Cigar,  
He cries  
(Speaking English),  
"Well, folks,  
Here we are!  
Porter!  
My bags!  
Hi, clerk!  
How're tricks?  
Get all the cables  
I sent you?—  
All six?  
My suites—  
Are they ready?  
We're all feeling blown.  
I'm dying for victuals.  
I'd welcome  
A bone!"

"Your rooms, Sir,  
Are ready—  
The second floor, right.  
It's cool there

And quiet,  
With plenty of light."

\* \* \*

Then  
Straight  
Through  
The  
Foy-  
Er  
In Sin-  
Gle  
File  
Trooped  
Twis-  
Ter  
And  
Daugh-  
Ter  
And  
Mon-  
Key  
(In  
Style)—  
Followed by Mrs.,  
Her eye on the tags—  
Beside her the porter  
(With four of the bags).

They  
Entered the lift.  
It  
Rose to their floor.  
They  
All then continued



The  
March to their door.

Past mirrors,  
Round corners,  
With  
Slow  
Measured  
Pace,

They  
Marched  
On  
And onward—  
Like snails  
In a race.  
In front  
Strode  
The porter  
In gold-braided gear,  
Behind him  
Came Twister,  
"A flea in his ear,"  
Behind him  
His spouse  
Looking quite *comme il faut*,  
Behind her  
The maiden,  
The monkey  
In tow.

All  
Of a sudden  
The Twisters  
Stopped dead.  
They gaped  
And they goggled,  
"Lord help us!"  
They said.

They stood there  
As though  
Just roused from sleep,  
They stood there  
(The Twisters)  
Struck all of a heap:

Along  
The hall  
From a suite  
Near theirs  
Came a Negro  
Calmly  
Bound for the stairs.

From the suite  
Near theirs  
Came  
The dark-skinned man;  
He was big  
And strong  
And dressed spick and span;  
And he puffed  
His pipe  
As he strolled along,  
And he smiled  
To himself





As he hummed  
A song.

And the numerous  
Mirrors  
That covered  
The walls

Reflected  
A picture  
Of numerous  
Halls,  
And along  
Each hall  
From a suite  
Near theirs  
Came a Negro  
Calmly  
Bound for the stairs;  
In each  
Of the mirrors:  
A dark-skinned man  
Who was big  
And strong  
And spick and span;

Each puffed  
His pipe  
As he strolled along.  
Each smiled  
To himself  
As he hummed  
A song. . . .

Mister  
And Mrs.  
(The maiden too),  
Wished they were back  
In Kalamazoo.

"What's this!"  
Roared Twister  
"Does he live here?  
I'd rather live  
With a racketeer!  
Gangway!"  
Roared Twister  
And turned in his tracks—  
"We'll find a place  
Where there ain't no blacks!"



Hallway

File

Daughter

Style!)

Headlong,

Fast;  
The porter  
Alone  
Walked  
Leisurely,  
Last.  
They

At

They tore  
Through the door  
In a mad stampede!



then  
back  
through  
the

Single

Twister  
and

(ignoring  
all

her

monkey

rushed

his

wife

scuttled

the  
stairway

break-  
neck

speed,

They rushed  
To their auto,  
Piled in with a crash!  
And in frumious silence  
Drove off like a flash. . . .

\* \* \*

The porter  
Thought hard,  
As they sped  
Down the street,  
Then went  
To the telephone  
Next to his seat.

He dialed  
A number:

Four 2's and an O—  
"Hotel Astoria?  
Is that you,  
Joe?  
This is Peter  
The Porter . . .  
Uh-huh, that's me.  
Now listen, old boy,  
It's like this:

You see—

A party  
Of tourists  
Are headed for you:  
A man,  
wife

and

daughter

And monkey—  
Some crew!

"They're the kind  
As talk big—  
With their dough  
And white faces.  
They won't stand the sight  
Of the colored races.

"They'll ask  
For a room, Joe,  
Just shoo them away! . . .  
You said it!  
So long, Joe,  
Be sure they don't stay!"

He dialed  
Again:  
Four 4's  
and a 2—

"Hotel Sicilia?"



Steve,  
Is that you?

This is Peter  
The Porter . . .  
Uh-huh, that's me.  
Now listen, old boy,  
It's like this:  
You see—

A party  
Of tourists  
May come your way:  
A man,  
wife  
and  
daughter,  
And monkey—  
Today!

"They're the kind  
As talk big—  
With their dough  
And white faces.  
They won't stand the sight  
Of the colored races.

"They'll ask  
For a room, Steve,  
Just send them away! . . .  
You said it!  
So long, Steve,  
Be sure they don't stay!"

This time  
He dialed  
Three 5's  
and a 10—

"Hotel Europa?  
Is that you,  
Ben?

"This is Peter  
The Porter . . .  
Uh-huh, right you are.  
Now listen, old boy,  
It's like this . . ."  
et cetera . . .  
\* \* \*

Up  
Every avenue—  
Quiet and clean—  
Down  
Every avenue  
Whizzed a machine,  
The driver

In front  
Where a driver should be,  
Old Twister  
In back,  
With a bag on his knee;  
His spouse  
At his left,  
Her umbrella clutched tight,  
The monkey  
And Suzie  
Squeezed in at his right. . . .

The wind came up—  
'Twas a wind  
From the sea;  
The sun went down—  
'Twas the hour  
For tea;  
The ladies sighed—  
'Twas a sigh  
From the heart;  
The monkey mewed  
For his truffle  
And tart. . . .

Hotel Astoria,  
Gogol Street—  
"No,"  
Said the porter,  
"Nary a suite!  
We're full up  
And booked  
Till I don't know when.  
The cotton-field farmers  
Are meeting  
Again."

Hotel Sicilia,  
Pestel Gate—  
"No,"  
Said the porter,  
"You're just too late,  
We're full up  
And booked  
For a month  
In advance—  
It's a congress  
Of breeders  
Of mulberry  
Plants."

Hotel Europa,  
Pushkin Place—  
"No,"  
Said the porter,  
"Sorry, no space!



We're full up  
And booked  
For a week  
Or so.  
A Tartar troupe's here now  
To put on  
A show."

Up  
Every avenue  
Whizzed the machine,  
"Jumping"  
The red lights,  
"Racing" the green.

All of a sudden  
A tire blew out . . .  
Little  
By little  
The fuel gave out. . . .  
\* \* \*

Mister  
Twister,  
Quondam  
Minister,  
Mister  
Twister,  
Millionaire,  
Banker and broker  
(His thoughts far from poker),  
Arrives  
Again  
At Hotel Angletterre.

With him  
His spouse  
In her travelling clothes,  
Her tortoise-shell glasses  
Now low  
On her nose;  
With him  
His Suzie  
All rumpled and mumpish,  
Her marmoset monkey  
Decidedly dumpish.

He entered  
The lobby  
Demanding his suite;  
He wanted  
A shower  
And something  
To eat.

The clock  
Struck 12—  
High time for bed.

From his post  
Came the porter  
With leisurely tread.

"You're late!"  
Said the porter.  
"Your rooms,  
Sir,  
Are taken!"

"The devil!"  
Cried Twister,  
Now thoroughly  
Shaken.

"You see,"  
Said the porter,  
"We're packed  
To the ceiling . . ."

"Again,"  
Whispered Suzie,  
"Go automobiling?  
I won't!"  
She wailed.  
"It's a wild-goose chase.  
If we can't  
Get a suite here  
Then buy out the place!"

"With pleasure,"  
Said Twister,  
And dolefully sighed,  
"Or a house on the Neval  
With pleasure!"  
He cried.

"But, darling,  
Remember,  
You're not in Chicago  
Or even,"  
He added,  
"In old Santiago.  
In Leningrad  
People  
Just simply don't sell—  
You can't buy a house,  
Let alone  
A hotel!"

"Look!"  
Gruffed the banker  
And owner of stock  
To the Leningrad porter,  
Who looked  
At the clock,

"Wangle  
A place  
For the ladies and me,  
And hang the price!"  
Quoth the porter:  
"You see,  
"Money  
Can't get you  
A place here tonight! . . .  
Our rooms  
Are all taken  
By black folk and white! . . ."

"My darling,"  
Growled Twister,  
"It looks pretty bad  
Let's go find  
A park bench.  
We'll sleep there, begad!"

His Suzie  
And spouse  
Stood aghast  
At the notion . . .  
The Leningrad porter  
Soon stilled the commotion.

He offered  
Them cots—  
"Proletarian fare!"  
And for Twister  
He brought  
A "luxurious" chair

The ladies  
Turned in.  
And were soon counting sheep.  
"Ho-hum!"  
Yawned Twister,  
"Me for some sleep!"

And so off to dreamland—  
Lodged

in  
a  
chair  
that  
stood  
near  
the  
door  
of  
Hotel  
Angleterre—

Dropped Mister  
Twister,  
Quondam

Minister,  
Mister  
Twister,  
Millionaire. . . .

\* \* \*



He slept . . .  
While sleeping  
He smiled and he scowled.  
He dreamed  
A dream.  
And he laughed  
And he howled.

He dreamed  
He was homeless,  
Alone in a town,  
Tramping the avenues  
Up and down,  
When all of a sudden  
Who should appear  
But Cook  
In a plane—  
With a case of beer!

Twister  
Was tickled,  
As tickled  
Could be.

"You're just  
The guy  
I wanted to see!"

The airplane landed  
And Twister  
Stepped in.  
"Let's go!"  
He cried  
To Cook  
With a grin.

The plane  
Climbed high,  
And it flew and it flew  
Till it reached his mansion



In Kalamazoo.

Then out  
He jumped  
And he rushed  
To the gates.  
"No plathe,"  
Lisped the butler,  
"For you in the Th-tate-th!"—  
And slammed the door  
With a sneer  
And a glare.  
And Twister awoke  
In Hotel Angleterre—  
Awoke in a sweat  
In an angular chair—  
Mister Twister,  
Quondam Minister,  
Mister Twister,  
Millionaire.

\* \* \*

Bright and early  
The bootblack  
Appeared,  
Collected  
The footwear  
And mightily smeared.  
He smeared on the polish  
And warbled  
A lay.  
He smeared on the polish  
And polished away—

At black shoes  
And brown ones,  
Narrow and wide,  
At Swedish  
And Polish,  
That tied  
On the side;

At others  
Marked Soviet,  
German, and French,  
British, Bulgarian,  
Made at the bench,  
Czechoslovakian,  
Danish  
And Dutch.

He polished  
And smeared  
With a masterly touch.

He finished the lot  
With a flick  
And a snap!

He whistled a tune  
As he pulled on his cap;

When lo  
And behold!  
From a well-screened chair  
Rose a foreigner  
Yawning  
And smoothing  
His hair,

And out of the office  
Headed for him  
Came Peter  
The Porter,  
Neat and trim.

"We have,"  
Said the porter,  
"A three-room suite,  
With bath  
And a sun parlor  
All complete.

"I'll show you  
The place,  
If you like,  
Although—  
Perhaps  
There's something  
You ought to know:

"In the room to the left  
There's a Bengalese,  
In the room to the right,  
A Singhalese;  
In the room above  
There's a Japanese,  
In the room below  
A Javanese;

"Across the hall  
An Annamese  
Together with  
Some Siamese.

"Up the hall  
There's a girl from Malay,  
Down the hall  
A girl from Tokay;

"Not to forget  
The folk from Tibet,  
The Abyssinians  
And Palestinians,  
The Indonesians  
And Polynesians.

"Along the hall  
There's a Hindu  
And Zulu.

"There's guest  
From the Nile,  
And a guest—  
A Kabyle,  
A Negro,  
An Eskimo,  
A Dyak,  
A Slovak,  
Folks from Peru  
And Timbuctu,  
From Foochow  
And Soochow,  
Hankow  
And Kwangchow,  
Tungchow

And Wenchow . . .  
And many more  
On every floor."

Old Twister,  
He chuckled  
And slapped his thigh.  
"Okay! my boy!"  
He roared in reply,

"Give us the keys  
And make it

Snappy!"  
He whistled a tune—  
He was thoroughly  
Happy.

Then grabbing  
His Suzie  
And monkey  
And all,  
And followed by Mrs.,  
He danced down the hall.

With a skip  
And a hop,  
Like a prancing bear,  
Upsetting  
The calm  
Of Hotel  
Angleterre,  
Went Mister  
Twister,  
Quondam  
Minister,  
Mister  
Twister,  
Millionaire.



## **I. JEWS MUST FIGHT REACTION AT HOME**

*An Address*

*By Albert E. Kahn*

**I** WANT to speak briefly on two questions raised during the opening session of the Congress: first, on the question of the growth of anti-Semitism in the United States; and second, on the question of the position that the World Jewish Congress should adopt toward what Dr. Nahum Goldmann referred to as the "world struggle." And I should perhaps state at the outset that my views do not necessarily reflect the official policy of the American delegation.

In his comprehensive speech Dr. Goldmann expressed the view—and I quote from the Congress press communique summarizing the speech—that "the strength of anti-Semitism in the United States did away with the facile notion that democratic institutions were in themselves a permanent guarantee of full citizenship" for the Jewish people. I cannot agree with this opinion. The fact of the matter is that democratic institutions, if sufficiently sound and truly democratic, *are* a guarantee against anti-Semitism and a guarantee of full citizenship for the Jewish people.

Why is anti-Semitism growing in the United States? Why in fact has it reached an extent and intensity unprecedented in the history of our country? Not because of the existence of our democratic institutions, of course; but rather because these institutions are today being rapidly undermined by sinister influences in our land, because war-hysteria is rampant and because reaction is mounting by leaps and bounds throughout the United States.

A vivid indication of the extent to which reaction and fascist tendencies have grown in the United States since the end of the war and the death of President Roosevelt, is the fact that the notoriously pro-fascist and anti-Semitic Un-American Activities Committee now operates in full cooperation with key government agencies such as the Department of Justice; that the Committee has recently received a vote of confidence from the overwhelming majority of both the Democratic and Republican members of the House of Representatives; and that this Committee has been given an official, public endorsement by President Truman himself.

You have probably read the shameful news that Howard Fast, one of the outstanding American writers, a leading member of the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, has been sentenced to prison. And why has Fast been sent to jail with ten of his colleagues? They have been sent to jail because they are militant anti-fascists.

**ALBERT E. KAHN**, president of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, was a delegate to the World Jewish Congress. He is an author, an editor of *JEWISH LIFE* and American Labor Party candidate for the 25th Congressional District, Bronx.

At the same time, fascist and anti-Semitic agencies in the United States, many of which cooperated with the Axis during the war, are today functioning throughout the United States without any interference whatsoever on the part of the American government.

Reaction and anti-Semitism go hand in hand. The latter is in fact a product of the former. It is impossible effectively to combat anti-Semitism without at the same time waging a relentless fight against reaction as a whole. For this reason it today becomes an imperative function of American Jews—and of the American Jewish Congress—to combat the present reactionary domestic policies of the United States government. Under the brilliant leadership of Rabbi Stephen Wise, who is one of the most beloved men in our land, the American Jewish Congress has done much to combat reaction, but we have by no means done enough; and today we must do more than ever before.

For American Jews, as for Jews throughout the rest of the world, democracy is not an academic question. During the last decade, fascism in Europe cost the lives of one third of the Jews in the world. The fight against reaction in the United States today is actually a fight for the lives of our children.

### ***Harmony of Jewish and Democratic Interests***

Dr. Goldmann said that there must be no "dual loyalty" among American Jews. But there is no conflict between the interests of American Jews and the interests of the American people as a whole. The interests of American Jews are basically the same as the interests of all Americans. There is, however, a conflict between the policies now being pursued by the American government and the interests of the American people, including the Jewish people.

At a recent meeting of the American Jewish Congress, I stated that it is completely contrary to the American tradition to demand unquestioning loyalty and obedience from the people to the government. The American tradition is to demand loyalty from the government to the people. And when a government ceases to be loyal to its people—when it pursues domestic and foreign policies that are alien to the interests of its people—then the time has come to change the policies of that government by changing its composition and by electing to office men who really represent the interests of the people.

That time has come in the United States; and I believe that it is necessary for the American Jewish Congress to participate vigorously in the political struggle being carried on by progressive forces in the United States

to change the present reactionary character of the American government and to elect a new, truly democratic American government. Only in this way can the interests of American Jews, as of all other Americans, be really protected.

On the question of the position that the World Jewish Congress should adopt in the "world struggle," as Dr. Goldmann calls it. According to Dr. Goldmann, the Jewish people should not take sides in this struggle, which he apparently believes is a struggle between the east and the west. In my opinion it would be a fatal error for us to conceive of the world as divided into "two halves," to use his own term. There is, of course, an intense conflict going on in the world today. But it is not basically a struggle between geographic areas or different states, even though it may sometimes express itself in this form; it is basically a conflict between progress and reaction, between democracy and fascism, between the people and imperialism. And it is a conflict which has penetrated into every section of the globe.

Should the World Jewish Congress take sides in this struggle? Of course it should. Because the life of the Jewish people depends upon the outcome of this struggle, and upon the maintenance of democracy and peace in the world. The World Jewish Congress must be aligned on the side of the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

In order, for example, to protect the interests of world

Jewry, the World Jewish Congress must take every possible action to combat the policies of the so-called Truman Doctrine. Not only has this Doctrine repeatedly betrayed the interests of the Jewish people in Palestine—and I must say that we would be very naive if we blamed all the problems of Israel upon British imperialism and overlooked the role of American imperialism in the Middle East; the fact is that, wherever this Doctrine finds expression—whether in Germany, Spain, Greece, China or South America—it gives aid to the forces of reaction and resurgent fascism. The Truman Doctrine, in other words, is an imperialist doctrine. And must the Jewish people fight against imperialism? Of course, we must! We must fight against imperialism whether it be British, American, or of any other breed. The Congress cannot be neutral in this struggle.

One last word. Speaking as an American Jew, I want to say that Jews throughout the world should take note of the immense strides that have been made by the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe toward the eradication of anti-Semitism and toward raising the Jewish people to a position of actual, not merely theoretical, equality with all other peoples. In these areas anti-Semitism has been made a crime. If anti-Semitism can be made a crime there, it can be made a crime elsewhere. And we of the World Jewish Congress should do everything within our power to see that anti-Semitism comes to be regarded as a crime in every country of the world.

---

## **WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS -- SECOND SESSION -- JUNE 27-JULY 6, 1948:**

### **II. WHAT IS GOOD FOR JEWS?**

*An Address*

*By Dr. Moshe Sneh*

**O**UR session today has already made clear that a profound change has occurred in Jewish life with regard to the unification of the Jewish people. There was a time when the thesis of a Jewish territorial state center in Israel divided the Jewish people. Today Israel has been transformed into a factor for unity among the entire Jewish people. And there was a time when the thesis of solidarity and community of the fate of all Jewish communities in all countries, the thesis of the oneness of the Jewish people, despite our dispersion, was a divisive policy in Jewish life.

Today this thesis of oneness has been transformed into a factor that cements and unites all parts of the Jewish people, except a few marginal elements of no serious weight. We are on the way to a great unity, and the World Jewish Congress has the privilege of demonstrating this. Congress is not creating this unity, for no loose organization creates historic, social changes. It can only reflect and confirm them.

---

DR. MOSHE SNEH was an Israeli delegate to the World Jewish Congress. He was a top Haganah leader and resigned from the Jewish Agency last December in protest against its policies and is now a member of the United Workers Party.

The Congress demonstrates Jewish unity not only because Jews of 60 countries sit in one organization, not only because Jews of various persuasions and statuses—bourgeois and proletarian, orthodox and non-religious, Zionist and non-Zionist—gather in one conference room. We are not unified only because Jews of Israel and Jews outside Israel are as one people and are joined in one organization. We and you are united not only by a common national consciousness, but also because there is absolutely no division between the Jews of Israel and the Jews of other countries.

Whatever has come into existence in Israel to date—is this then final? No. Israel is a process of national territorial concentration of large Jewish masses. The Jewish state was not brought into existence as an end in itself. It was brought into existence first of all for one purpose, for the continuation of a large Jewish mass migration. And if there is an element that unites the Israeli with Jews of the rest of the world, it is this process of migration. This guarantees that the Jews of Israel and the Jews of the *golos* (diaspora) will never be separated. The bridge that leads Jews to Israel also unites Jews forever, unites those who live in Israel with those who will come there and with those



who will remain outside Israel. I mean that the great statesmen of the world, who supported us in our efforts to achieve independence in Israel, understood this deeply. And I want to cite only one sentence in the letter of recognition of Israel from Molotov to Shertok where the former very precisely and profoundly formulated his greeting of the fact that the Jewish people—not only the Jews of Israel, but the entire Jewish people—have set up the sovereign state in Israel.

### **Unity Against Common Danger**

We are united in this Congress because over this hall hovers the consciousness and realization of a great danger. I say one danger, which threatens the state of Israel, because it has the same source as the danger to Jews outside of Israel. The state of Israel is menaced by the danger that its territorial integrity may be violated even after partition. The Jewish people of the world are menaced by a rising hatred of the growing hate-campaign. We have learned from our trials that he who sows hate wants to reap destruction. We are united in alertness to this danger and in the determination to resist this danger both in Israel and outside Israel. The highest commandment of the hour is to be united in the struggle for defense.

If we draw the substance from the speeches, debates and statements we have heard for 24 hours in this room, it is a call to the Jews in the entire world: Jews of the world, unite in order to save yourselves! Unite in order to save the Jewish state, which is in danger! Unite to support the provisional Jewish government! It is possible to be critical of this government's policy—I too am critical—but we must unite behind the government against every murderous attack of enemies who seek to undermine its authority and sovereignty. Unite to strengthen morally, materially and physically the Haganah, the Israeli army, whose soldiers in Israel were today sworn to loyalty to the Jewish state. Jews of the whole world, unite in a solid front to resist the new murderous attack being prepared against the peace of the world by ghosts who did not disappear after the second world war ended.

Unity is possible, unity is necessary. But this unity must be one of plan and action, not a formal unity that evades the painful and bloody questions we face. Unity not on the basis of no thinking, no analyzing, no influencing, no interference, no knowledge, in order to avoid struggle. Such unity is suicide. Unity is necessary for action, for struggle, on the basis of a unified plan. I want to reassure those who are disquieted. I do not mean that we should affiliate the Congress with one of the world blocs. That is simply nonsense. First of all, it is a lie that the world is dividing itself into east and west. It is a base lie because he who propagates it has the evil intention of dividing the world. The world is not divided in this manner. The world is divided thus: on the one side are the overwhelming majority of hundreds of millions of peace-loving peoples who want work, quiet, development, freedom, progress, peace; and on the other side is a small minority who exploit and oppress, who set

one against the other, and incite a new world war. That is the division.

### **Who Are Our Allies?**

If the division is seen that way, as it actually exists, there can be no doubt that the Jewish people belong with the great majority of peace-loving, laboring people and nations seeking freedom. That does not mean—I want to reassure you further—that the World Congress must identify itself with a definite world view or with a definite ideology. Who demands that? Don't we know how heterogeneous the World Congress is? Who does not know that the Jewish people are as varied as all other peoples in the world? I am ready to accept the primitive Jewish criterion of the common man of which the Mizrahi rabbi from America had reminded us here, that the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish people should do only what is good for the Jews. I am ready to agree that the Congress should support only what is good for Jews, and to struggle against only what is bad for Jews. I will not examine his *tzitzis*, let him not examine mine. We came here in order to do what can be done in unity. What purpose is there, therefore, in trying to resolve differences that cannot be resolved? But let us apply the criterion, "good or bad for Jews," without compromise. Let us not be evasive or confused but honestly face the problem in every case.

I want to begin with consideration of Dr. Goldmann's position when he opened the debate. He holds correctly that the problem of Congress is Jewish policy, and that policy does not mean simply to present a memorandum, to hold a protest meeting, to adopt a resolution. Policy means first of all to seek allies. And he further says correctly that allies can be found only among true democratic and progressive forces. I ask only one thing, that we should decode this algebraic formula. We cannot adjourn this Congress with an esoteric formula. I will attempt as briefly as possible to indicate what all this means.

The danger on the Israel front consists of the fact that we are still at war, that we are in a dubious truce, that any day the warfare may be resumed, and that political intrigue can oppress and betray us. Is there still anyone around today who is uncertain as to who is our enemy in Israel? Is there one single Jew in the world who would dare to say that it is the Arabs, who have been incited and bribed and sent against us, and not British imperialism which is the enemy of Jewish revival in Israel? Imperialism is bad for Jews! Who will doubt that? Can anyone doubt that, if there is danger of reducing our borders, limiting our sovereignty, it is the military, imperialist, big industry clique in Washington that is preparing this slaughter? Who will deny this?

If we are honest and courageous enough to call a spade a spade, and not use coded formulas, we shall be able to designate not only what is bad for Jews, but also what is good for Jews. Last night we unitedly applauded Guatemala, a small country without great influence, because it stood by us. Did we then ask what kind of regime rules

there? Will we not utilize this friendship and repay it with friendship? In the same way we must ask ourselves who it was, besides Guatemala, of the three great world powers, the controllers of the relations of smaller states, which set itself with steel-like firmness in favor of Jewish independence in Israel, and for Jewish rights in Israel, from the very beginning, before the May 1947 session had sent the committee of investigation, and then stubbornly forced through the decision of Nov. 29? When America tried to reverse the decision, which great power did not permit the change? And when there was an attempt to exchange partition for a trusteeship regime, who prevented it? And now that an attempt is being made to wipe away the question of who is the aggressor and who is the defender, who prevented the whitewash? Is there one Jew who in his heart will not confess that it is the Soviet Union? I do not ask that the American rabbi express wonder at the socialist regime in the Soviet Union. Let him say who is good for Jews. Tell the truth, the whole truth, and call a spade a spade.

### ***On the "Golos" Front***

The same thing can be said about the *golos* front. I myself come from Poland. As a delegate from the Polish community I once helped build this Congress. After the war, I twice visited the rubble of Polish Jewry. I know something of the history of Poland and the Polish Jews. Unfortunately only a handful of the former Polish Jewry remains, but I saw that for the first time Poland has a regime which has set up the Jewish community on a basis of full equality. The former Poland had a long history of oppression. There were instances of high privileges for Jews, but equality there never was. For the first time equality is a reality there, for the first time the regime suppresses anti-Semitism. And let us not complain here that the Polish people have not yet freed themselves entirely from anti-Semitism. A regime cannot do more than root out anti-Semitism both through punishment and education. And there is taking place in Polish society not only the suppression of every anti-Jewish expression, but also education against anti-Semitism. Let us not say that there Jews are menaced as Jews. At the celebrations of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, rabbis carrying the Holy Scrolls marched at the head, and the celebrations were greeted by representatives of the Polish government and army. I do not say that we should here go into a general analysis of this regime. I want to affirm only one thing, that the regime of the people's democracy is good for Jews, and therefore must be supported.

I mentioned Poland as an example. Rumanian Jewry is in a difficult situation after all it has gone through. But Jews are secure in Rumania for the first time in the history of that country—they have not only security of limb, but also of organization. In Jassy I attended a Zionist mass meeting of thousands of Jews of all political hues, from the right to left Poale Zion. Neither is it true that emigration is not permitted. In Poland a decree was issued against

emigration, but an exception was made of Jews so that emigration to Israel was permitted. It is necessary to see the reality of Jewish life as it is, bad features and good.

### ***Common Enemy of Israel and "Golos"***

A representative of British Jewry did not have to pass over in secrecy the growth of anti-Semitism in Britain. It is no accident that the same Attlee-Bevin regime that has been transformed into the enemy of world Jewry on the Israel question, tolerates in its midst the Mosley movement and excesses. The same regime that ordered the bombing of the synagogue "Oyr Zaira" in Manashiya, near Tel Aviv, tolerates arsonists of synagogues in England, rejects the demands of the delegations of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the trade unions, and passes over on the agenda the decision of the last annual labor convention to limit the freedom of the Mosley movement. That is bad for Jews, but I don't say this against England in general or against the west in general. For there are progressive and democratic forces in Britain that are opposed to the Mosley movement and that struggle against it. I know that today they are still weak. I know that today Bevin can still easily defeat them at the labor conference.

But that alone is not enough to condemn the entire British nation, or to be against peoples which find themselves geographically in the west. I have faith in the British nation just as I have faith in the Polish. But in Poland democracy has already come to power, while in England the people still have to achieve it. Correct Jewish national policy means to orient and rely upon and to establish ties—as Dr. Goldmann himself said—with those who guarantee us democracy and freedom, and there are such in England and in America. But we must designate them correctly.

Of course there is a growth of anti-Semitism in America, not only among the people, but also in the legislation of Congress. The most recent law to admit over 200,000 DPs into America was denounced not by a Marxist, but by Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, by Pres. Goldman of the Bnai Brith, by Rabbi Irving Miller and by Judge Meyer Steinbrink as a law in conformity with the old nazi racist ideology. This growth of anti-Semitism is certainly part of the attempt to revive the heritage of Hitler, to follow an anti-communist world policy. This is what Hitler began with, and now it is being revived. And no sooner is it revived, than it is used with effect against the Jews. Such a policy is bad for Jews. We must oppose such a world policy, but not against America, not against the American people, not against American democracy. There are also among the American people tremendous democratic forces. There is a movement that has the courage to fight against the wild incitation against Russia, that seeks peace with Russia. And the same movement simultaneously fights against race discrimination against Negroes and Jews. Such a movement is good for Jews.

Dr. Goldmann said that we must seek allies. I say, of course. I only want to name them. And let anyone here stand up and say that these I have named are not the allies.



I have heard it said that we, the poor Jewish people, should not mix in the great diplomatic struggle around Germany. Of course we must involve ourselves, because we are directly concerned! If Germany is again revived as a big military power, then it means that the Nazi menace in Europe is renewed, that an armed fortress is being built in Europe of our enemy, our deadly enemy, such an enemy as we've never had in our history. Can we really be unconcerned about it? And if there is a proposal to revise the borders for the benefit of Germany, can I say it doesn't matter to me?

Rabbi Marcus said correctly that there are some exceptional situations where we have to butt in. I will give you an example. If there is an attempt to throw back into Germany the Jews who are now living peacefully in Lower Silesia, the Jewish people cannot agree to this. And if, God forbid, our DPs, our rescued remnant of wretched refugees, should remain under German rule, can we be quiet about it? We know from opinion surveys that the Germans have remained anti-Semitic. The problem of Germany is a Jewish concern. Let's take another example. If a pogrom takes place in Morocco, was it not provoked by the same evil forces that are attacking us in Israel and are bombing Tel Aviv, under decrees from the same powers? Our fight is indeed one front!

Therefore let us work for unity of the Jewish people, for unity of action, for unity on a practical plan to defend ourselves, to tie in with true allies without fear of naming them, and for application of the one criterion of the welfare of the Jewish people. Let us not fear certain circles who will frown upon us; let us not accommodate ourselves to the reactionary psychology which now rules a great part of the world, to the incitation against the eastern world; nor swim with the stream, because Jews will not be saved by readiness to follow reactionary psychology or swimming with the stream. Jews may very well perish unless they resist hysteria, together with all others who resist the plan to divide the world into two parts. Not only should we not

tie ourselves to one bloc. We must also fight against the move to divide the whole world into two blocs.

Just as we have reached the point in Jewish life where the Jewish individual has begun to understand that he cannot defend himself without relying on the whole Jewish community in his country; just as we have reached the point where every Jewish community within one country understands that it must meet and collaborate with other Jewish communities, because in unity it will be easier for it to defend itself and to defend the Jewish people; so must the Jewish people of the world understand that it cannot legislate itself, but must unite with all other oppressed peoples that are fighting for freedom, with all other progressive and peace-seeking movements, with all freedom-loving forces in the entire world, in the east and in the west, in the south and in the north. We must lean on all freedom-loving forces, and first of all mobilize our own. And we will fight through to a new and better future.

The World Jewish Congress must become the organizational form and the expression of such a united democratic Jewish people's policy—a policy of defense, of resistance, of cementing and securing and broadening Jewish existence and Jewish sovereignty in Israel, of securing Jewish existence wherever we find ourselves, of open, courageous, democratic activity.

The World Jewish Congress must adjust itself to a democratic policy and to democratic organizational forms; must strengthen its ties with national representatives, strengthen control by democratic elements over its management. If the Congress will fulfill all these obligations, then it will together with other institutions, Jewish and non-Jewish, together with the government of Israel, together with the Zionist organization, together with international organizations which fight for human freedom and for human rights, make its contribution in such a huge concert of forces to the securing of the future, peace and existence of the Jewish people, and make a significant contribution to peace and freedom for all humanity.

---

## **WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS -- SECOND SESSION -- JUNE 27-JULY 6, 1948:**

### **III. DANGERS CAN BE OVERCOME**

*An Address*

*By A. Raisky*

**T**HIS session of the World Jewish Congress began under the unforgettable impression left by the Warsaw Ghetto memorial to our martyred six million. But our session also is symbolic of Jewish renaissance. Never before were the Jewish people so full of hope, courage and fighting spirit. The signs of Jewish renaissance are the establishment of the

Jewish state in Israel and the reconstruction of Jewish life in devastated Europe.

What are the sources of our courage and faith in the future? They are 1) the participation of our people in the victory over German Hitlerism; 2) the great victory over the imperialist forces that the proclamation of the Jewish state of Israel involves; 3) the historic movement of our people in parallel with that of other oppressed peoples toward a better and brighter morrow.

We live in a period when the oppressed have gained

---

A. RAISKY was a French delegate to the World Jewish Congress and is General Secretary of the Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid.



many successes over their oppressors and we share in the fruits of these struggles because we are taking our place in them as Jews. And if we need more proof of the strengthened Jewish national urge, of our people's vitality, proof that we are a people not only of the past, but also of the future, this Congress of ours is best evidence.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann very correctly emphasized at the conclusion of his introductory report that only peoples who fight, survive. We Jews of Europe understood this during the tragic years of occupation, together with the workers and anti-fascist groups. We all knew that it is "better to die on your feet than to live on your knees" and we fought an uncompromising struggle against reaction and fascism.

But the policy of struggle does not mate with the idea of neutrality. The fruits of the great people's victory over the mortal enemy, nazism, the victory of the Jewish communities of Europe over their destroyer, the victory of May 14 in Tel Aviv are in danger of destruction by those who have caught up the flag that Hitlerism was forced to drop. The victory is endangered by those who call for a crusade against peaceful nations, against the Soviet Union, the only country in the world whose friendship for the Jewish people and for Israel stem from its basic principles and from its democratic socialist character.

The future of our people depends on the resistance of the peace-loving, democratic world against the war-inciters and imperialist robbers. A people cannot be neutral to its own fate! If the Jews of Europe had remained indifferent to the war against Hitlerism, would we remember them today? If the Jews of Israel had remained neutral toward imperialist oppressors, there would be no state of Israel today.

The best way to remove the dangers raised by the activities of reactionary circles, the best way to maintain world unity and to fend off genocide, is to strengthen the great democratic front that knows no boundaries, that exists in every country, even where the warmongers are temporarily in power.

### ***Who Are the Enemies of Jewry?***

Who menaces the unity within the Jewish people? It is endangered by those anti-democratic Jewish elements, who try to draw our people onto the side of open or covert enemies, of those who spread, or support the spread of anti-Semitism, of those who free the nazi war criminals and restore them to power in covert alliance for war tomorrow.

We have before us a bloody fact, the fact of the six million. No Jewish institution in the world has the moral right to alter the relationship of the Jewish people to the bloody authors of this fact.

Jewish unity is endangered today if you place our people in the camp of those who are loath to recognize Israel, and who carry on warfare to destroy Israel.

We believe that the unity of the Jewish people can be guaranteed if all Jewish communities, no matter in what part of the world they are, follow their national interests

and participate in the efforts of the peoples to defeat the war-plotters and drive back the attacks against progress and freedom.

That is why the choice between war and peace, between reaction and democracy, is a national necessity for the Jewish communities in the world. Neutrality involves the danger of splitting and division.

But the problem of Jewish unity for the sake of security and the further development of our people has still another aspect, namely, the reciprocal relationship between the Jews of Israel and the Jews of the rest of the world. We do not wish to discuss here the future historic evolution of the Jews, or the immediate proposals for the next steps in this development. The creation of the Jewish state does not immediately solve the problem of the security of our whole people. Even more, the creation of the state has not yet solved the problem of the independence and security of the Israeli community.

We can therefore conclude that, despite the political and legal differences in the situation of the various Jewish communities, one policy is common to Israel and all other communities. It is necessary for all to struggle against the dangers brought on by the common enemy, the forces of oppression and imperialistic reaction. Our common interest is to block the way to a third world war, the greatest danger for Jewish security in the entire world.

There is in reality no discrepancy of interest or opposition in the strivings of the Jews of Israel and the Jews of all other parts of the world. Unitedly we will struggle for the full independence of Israel. And the common activity on one program can lead to a further deepening of the bonds.

Hence it is clear that the cement for unity is not a congress of any group which had always preached a policy of building a Jewish state at the price of the interests of the Jews of the world. But this World Jewish Congress can become that cement, for the foundation of this Congress is the harmonizing of Jewish interests and not deepening of differences.

This Congress, however, will not be able to fulfil its new historic role if it is used as an instrument by one movement and limits its arena only to the *golos* (diaspora). The World Jewish Congress must be considered as the expression of all aspects of the Jewish struggle, of all communities, Israel included. Only in this Congress can there be a meeting ground for all communities. In the new Jewish reality of today there is no place for two congresses!

It is necessary to democratize the Congress. This does not mean merely the use of the word "democracy," but actual democratic representation of all elements in the guiding bodies of the Congress.

But not all sections of the Congress agree on the position of unity.

As a European Jew who felt the nazi lash on his flesh, as a representative of Jews who suffered under the nazi knife, I take the right to turn from this platform to the American delegation and through it to American Jewry:

Beware of the consequences of war hysteria and of anti-communist incitation. If you participate in this kind of

policy, you undermine the existence of the Jewish state, you menace with your own hands not only your Jewish national rights, but also your civil rights as Americans!

In the Jewish Congress there must be no policy of discrimination, and in the new executive all tendencies must be represented. We must correct the mistake committed with respect to the progressive forces, to whom the leading committees were closed. Change of the composition of the executive will be a confirmation that something has really

changed in the Congress. A fighting people demands a fighting Congress! A democratic people demands a democratic Congress.

We express the hope and conviction that at the earliest possible session we will gather to establish the fact that the aspirations of the Jewish people have been realized, that Israel had achieved its full independence and that the Jewish communities throughout the world are living free and secure in a united and happy world.

---

## **WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS -- SECOND SESSION -- JUNE 27-JULY 6, 1948:**

### **IV. ONE STEP FORWARD AND A HALF STEP BACK**

*An Appraisal  
By M. Mirsky*

**W**E never had any illusions that the World Jewish Congress could change its character overnight and become the truly democratic institution of all Jewish communities of the world. The fact is that the World Jewish Congress was born 12 years ago as an institution without an independent life, but as a united front organization for the Zionist Action Committee in order to remove from the latter the burden of so-called *golos* (diaspora) work. This heritage still exerts a great influence.

Nevertheless, the war years had their own influence. Unfortunately we have not before us the resolutions of the first session of the World Jewish Congress to compare with the resolutions of the recent second session which took place in Switzerland. But we can say without hesitation that the World Jewish Congress made definite strides forward. The fact that organizations of a democratic labor character have entered its ranks, that Jewish communities which are building their lives on a new, healthy people's democratic foundation have affiliated to it, places a new aspect on the character of the Congress and has influenced its development in the direction of broad democracy both in content and in form.

Of course the resolutions of the second session, which took place at Montreux, Switzerland, from June 27 to July 6, are still covered with a thick mist of abstract, diplomatic phraseology, in which the kernel of a call for concrete political action is so heavily covered over that the simple Jew will never reach the core. Of course all this is true. However, here and there new thoughts can already be noted, new formulations, a new way of grasping political events and also a new way of reacting.

Let us take an example from the recently adopted general political resolution. In paragraph six we read among other things: "In view of the danger to the Jewish people from the reactionary, anti-democratic forces in the world, we

affirm that our common goal is to secure the status and rights of the Jewish people everywhere, to contribute to the advance of democracy and to create significant conditions for a creative development of Jewish economic, cultural, spiritual and religious life."

Even here a spade is not called a spade. It is not shown that the "reactionary, anti-democratic forces" stem from Wall Street and the London City. But it is clear that this is what is meant, for at the Congress the fact was prominently expressed that in the countries of people's democracy the situation of the Jews is politically and morally stabilized and economically secured. In contrast, in the western countries and particularly in the Arab states, the situation of the Jews is becoming daily more serious.

#### *New Features of Congress*

The new aspect of the World Jewish Congress was expressed even more clearly in the resolution on racism and anti-Semitism. Says the resolution: "The Congress calls upon all Jewish organizations together with all democratic and progressive non-Jewish organizations in those countries where the growth of anti-Semitism is to be noted, to continue and to strengthen the struggle against anti-Semitism, race theories and their concrete expressions."

Similarly we must note the resolution on Germany in which we read: "We consider every attempt to reconstitute Germany as an economic and political and therefore inevitably military power without adequate guarantees of Germany's ability or willingness to serve the interests of peace and freedom, as a danger to Jewish security and to the peace of the world."

In the light of these examples only from these few resolutions, the fact emerges that the concept of "neutrality" of the Jewish people in the struggle between the peace-loving nations and the war-inciters has vanished. If we add to this the declaration opposing revision of the western borders of Poland, as expressed in the peculiar Congress

---

M. MIRSKY was a Polish delegate to the World Jewish Congress. He is a leading member of the Central Committee of Polish Jews and chairman of the Jewish Committee of Lodz.



language; if we will recall the resolution on unity in cultural work, on calling a Jewish cultural congress through the World Jewish Congress; if we add to this the new organizational measures, the broadening of the composition of the administrative committee, the general council and the executive, we must objectively include that *something* has changed in the World Jewish Congress, that it has taken a step forward.

Now, while we have happily established the above mentioned positive aspects, we are duty-bound in this democratic critique to express our dissatisfaction with two facts which emerged at this recent second session of the World Jewish Congress. First, the session did not adopt any kind of resolution on such an important question as the State of Israel. Second, there was in some respects discrimination against representatives of the American Jewish progressive labor movement on the part of certain sections of the American delegation. Let us take these in order.

No matter how strange it may sound, it is nevertheless a fact that the second session of the World Jewish Congress did not adopt any sort of resolution on the question of the bloody struggle in Israel for independence and well-being, even though the majority of the Congress were actually Zionists.

### **No Resolve on Israel**

Does this mean that nothing was said about Israel? God forbid! A great deal was said. There was not a speech of a Zionist or a non-Zionist in which the problem of Israel was not discussed. Even more, one sitting was especially given over to the Israel question. Very fiery speeches were made. A fiery declaration was adopted. Fiery words, but nothing *concrete*. Not a word about British imperialism, not a word about the pro-British role of Count Bernadotte, not a single concrete word about the political tasks of Israel, let alone about the role of the American State Department. Delegates of the left, the communists, the representatives of the labor parties, and the United Workers Party of Israel (Hashomer Hatzair, the left Poale Zion and Achduth Avodah) were the only ones who placed the Israel problem on the agenda of the political commission. And when the issue was in the end neglected, it was brought up at a special meeting of the presidium of the Congress where action upon it was rejected by the Zionist majority against the five votes of Poland, Israel, United Workers Party and Rumania. Dr. Nahum Goldmann opposed the resolution because he thought that the World Jewish Congress presumably could not take up matters that belong within the competence of the Zionist organization.

Obviously this was an excuse for the naive. If the resolution presented by the left-democratic bloc were as watery in content as the declaration finally adopted, the World Jewish Congress would have found it within its competence to adopt it.

It was characteristic that the majority expressed itself against the formulation of the left-democratic resolution submitted to the plenum of the Congress. The right Zionist

majority of the Congress tried to keep the Congress within Jewish Agency policy on the question of Israel. That means to underplay the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the decision of November 29, 1947, to orientate toward the United States and even to refrain from rejection of certain illusions about Britain in the tragic conflict. Grabovski of Mapai (right Labor Party) even attempted to argue for the need to subordinate the policy of the World Congress to the foreign policy of Ben Gurion's government. Here we must unfortunately record that the Congress showed no independence. The Zionist majority of the Congress handled the matter in consonance with the unfortunate tradition of Congress to serve as a united front organization for the Jewish Agency and not an independent factor with its own political line and tactics.

What was not achieved at this session, will have to be achieved under pressure of the Jewish democratic public opinion. The left-democratic bloc must campaign for adjustment of Congress to the new features of Jewish life in the post-war world.

### **Discrimination Against the Left**

It is painful also to call attention to a second deficiency of Congress. The majority of the American delegation took the position of not permitting the representatives of the American Jewish People's Fraternal Order to enter the executive. The reasons were of doubtful and unconvincing character. The truth is that bourgeois Jewish circles in America reflect the general anti-democratic discriminatory tendencies with regard to labor representatives. This is a terrible precedent that must be fought against and rooted out. The labor representatives of other countries understood this clearly and protested. Their declaration called forth an expression of sympathy by the United Workers Party, the Mapai and even by a part of the Mizrachi (orthodox).

The labor representatives refused to accept the seats in the executive to which they were entitled until the discrimination was ended. They also decided to bring the entire matter to the Jewish organizations from which they were delegates.

Thus the World Jewish Congress after the second session appears to have taken one step forward and a half a step back.

### **ANNOUNCING**

### **SPECIAL ELECTION ISSUE**

•  
**October 1948**  
•

**Inquire immediately for special rates on  
bundle orders for mass distribution.**



## DOCUMENTS

### ISRAELI YOUTH CALLS TO WORLD YOUTH

*Following is a communication sent by the Young Communist League of Israel to the Secretary, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Paris.*

**O**NLY now, after postal facilities between the State of Israel and the outside world have been reestablished, have I the opportunity to give you some detailed information about the recent events in Palestine.

Six months of war in Palestine, provoked and sustained openly by Britain and indirectly by the United States government, have made visible some aspects of the proposed solution of the Palestine problem by partition which were not so obvious four months ago, when I wrote you my last letter. At that time not all progressive people understood quite clearly the position of the U.S.S.R. and other democratic forces in the world, and the progressive youth in Palestine.

The stand taken by us was based on the assumption that the antagonism between large parts of the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine, artificially created by 30 years of imperialist rule, makes temporarily impossible the most favorable solution: the establishment of an independent democratic and united bi-national Palestine. We saw the main question in achieving independence, in the freeing of our country and its subjugated peoples from foreign troops. Today it has become evident to everybody that the realization of the decisions of the UN Assembly on independence and partition of Palestine is the only way out. The alternative is British or Anglo-American colonial rule. We supported—and still support—the partition plan because the UN decision on partition was based on the abolition of the British Mandate, evacuation of foreign troops and establishment of two *independent* states, connected by economic unity.

The hatred with which this decision was received by British imperialism and by Arab feudal reaction were striking signs of the anti-imperialist and progressive nature of that decision. The change of position by the American government strengthens this assumption. Anglo-American imperialists have now taken a more or less united stand against the realization of the UN decisions of Nov. 29, 1947, because it endangers their colonial rule over Palestine and their strategic control over the Middle East, an important part of their general plan for a Third World War.

During the last six months we could see the development of the well-planned British policy, favored by the ruling imperialist circles of the U.S., to create "anarchy" in Palestine in order to sabotage the UN decision and to remain in Palestine.

First of all, British officers and administrators encouraged the creation of Arab bands with such fascist elements and the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's agent, at the head. Then "volunteers" from the neighboring countries under Fausi Kaukaji, also a former agent of Hitler who had spent the war years in Germany, infiltrated into Palestine as the Arab League's Bevin-made "Liberation" Army. International fascist reaction was organized in and for this "Arab army." With British help, German SS officers, former prisoners of war, "escaped" from British camps in Egypt to Palestine to join Kaukaji's army. Poles of Gen. Anders, Yugoslav Ustashis, Spanish fascists, etc., came via Italy. And last but not least, many hundreds of British police and military personnel "deserted" with their arms, "stole" armored cars, etc., and joined the Arab reaction.

I want to illustrate the British intervention by a few striking, characteristic facts:

1. On different occasions, fascist Poles were caught in Jewish Jerusalem and Tel Aviv spying in favor of Kaukaji. They were executed by Jewish people's guards.

2. After the attack on Jewish Kfar Etzion, German officers were found among the killed attackers. At Seith Dejan, in the middle of March, a German officer approached Jewish defense posts and presented an "ultimatum" that they should surrender. At the same time a German officer was killed at Brer village near Gass while leading the attack on a Jewish convoy.

3. United Press reports on May 25 the words of U.S. Ambassador Lewis Douglas after his visit at the Foreign Office as follows: "Even the permanent supporters of the British government began to doubt whether there is any logic in continuing to support the Arab Legion of Transjordan by sending money and British officers, in view of public opinion in Britain and abroad. But the British Foreign Office does not change its stand and does not want to consider even to return the 40 British officers home, or to stop the payment of 8 million dollars—the annual grant to Abdullah."

4. On May 30, the spokesman of the government of Israel informed foreign jour-

nalists at a press conference that at least two high-ranking Britons are at the top of command at important sectors of the Jerusalem forces of the Arab Legion. Their names are Major Newman and Major Hawkin.

5. As late as May 31, Reuters reported from Aman (Transjordan) that "all British officers who had been lent to the Arab Legion, left this night from Palestine." The importance of this message lies in the fact of admission that British officers are active in Palestine. As to their evacuation—don't forget that it is Reuters (a British agency) which publishes it!

6. On June 20, today, after more than a week of "cease-fire," the spokesman of the government of Israel declared that 32 British officers have these days reached the Old City of Jerusalem. They are in possession of Transjordan passports and are wearing Arab clothes.

7. Since the beginning of the disturbances, many Arab policemen were able to "flee" with quantities of arms, British soldiers were "assaulted" and "robbed" of arms and ammunition. Whole trains carrying supplies, arms and ammunition, allegedly for the British army, were halted by Arab gangs, always at the same stations, and "robbed" completely . . . no British resistance being reported.

In view of all these facts of imperialist intrigue, it is of utmost importance to stress that the main portion of the Arab working and trading masses of Palestine remained *outside* the attacking camp, and that this is the main reason for the great propaganda for Arab "volunteers," and finally the invasion from Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, etc. We had many examples of local truces between Arab and Jewish villages, there were whole districts where Arab villages and workers maintained their contacts with their Jewish neighbors for long months, where they worked and traded together and in some cases even resisted the infiltration of reactionary Arab gangs. This was the case in the district of Emek Ofer (Vadi Havarit), some suburbs of Haifa, some parts of the plain of South Judea (Gedera, etc.). For instance, the Arab village, Hodge, resisted with rifles the infiltration of Arab bandits, and so did many other villages.

On the other hand we have actions by Jewish circles, the reactionary military organizations of Irgun Zwai Leumi and Stern, which objectively help British imperialism and Arab feudal reaction to widen the gap between the broad masses of Arabs and Jews. So they perpetrated, for instance, the provocative bombing of Arab workers at the Haifa Oil Refineries, which brought in consequence a pogrom of Arab local workers on the Jews and the brutal attack on the Arab peasants of

Deir Yaseen village in which many women and children were butchered. Further serious excesses have been committed, mainly by Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern, against life and property of Arab inhabitants at other places.

The stand to be taken by progressive Jewish youth in the actual fighting is clear. All Jewish youth have to take part in the self-defense and in the fight for the realization of the independence decisions of UN on Nov. 29, 1947, and against the combined Anglo-Arab reactionary assault supported by the U.S. While fighting, it is our duty to be on the alert against chauvinistic tendencies on the one hand and against pro-imperialist "compromising" on the other.

The whole Palestine Young Communist League is mobilized, and our comrades are in all parts of Palestine in the forefront of the battle. Some of our comrades have already given their lives. Comrade Sasha Chanin of the YCL secretariat (who participated in the World Youth Festival and in the sessions of the Council at Prague) was wounded quite seriously in a battle against a joint Arab-English gang, during which he distinguished himself. Now he will have to be confined to bed for a rather long time (he will be glad to receive letters). Rabino (David Rabino-vici), also a member of the YCL central committee, who was present at the Prague Youth Festival, distinguished himself in many battles and was twice wounded. I myself have also some responsible, quite dangerous duties during which I tour all southern Palestine to the Egyptian border and contact all positions and settlements. (This letter is being prepared at a desert stronghold and I hope when returning to Tel Aviv in about a week to type and forward it.) Many others, especially among those comrades who visited the Festival and worked at the Yugoslavian Youth Railway last year, have responsible positions and are good anti-imperialist fighters. (It is interesting to note that two participants of the progressive Palestinian delegation to the Festival who were expelled by us for chauvinist deviations are now deserters and left Palestine . . . it is always the same story!)

Our Arab comrades and friends have no less dangerous and responsible jobs. They have to explain that the actual Arab armed fight is contrary to the interests of their people, that it only strengthens the positions of Anglo-American foreign rule and the local landowners, and that the real liberation struggle of the Arab masses is in turning the rifles and fighting side by side with the Jews against reaction and for independence of both peoples.

Our Arab comrades have taken this path and they are doing good work, partly open, partly underground. It should be

noted with protest and anger everywhere that the progressive Arab weekly *Il Ittihad* had been banned by the British government because it took the above-mentioned path.

Since the above was written, the situation here has changed considerably. On the one hand there were quite big successes of the Jewish defense forces in the fight against the almost completely foreign Arab gangs; on the other hand, the Jewish state is becoming more and more a reality. The army is formed during the battles, all services suspended by the British with the intention to increase the *tohu wawohu* (anarchy) are taken over and continued by the Jewish institutions, a State Council of Israel has been formed representing all parties.

Therefore, as the efforts to build Jewish independence are bearing fruit militarily and politically, Bevin has decided to play his not-old card: he rushed to Palestine thousands of new British soldiers, tanks, planes, etc., 12 days before the supposed end of British rule, in order to safeguard his Arab gangs (now as these reactionaries are defeated again and again, Bevin suddenly remembers that he is responsible for "law and order"). On the other hand he organizes the open military intervention of his feudal serfs, the Arab rulers of the neighboring states with King Abdullah at their head.

This third, last phase was reached at the eve of May 15, 1948, the day of the proclamation of the State of Israel, when the seven Arab countries officially declared war on Israel and crossed the Palestinian borders from north, south and east. As a matter of fact, the invasion was organized by the British government.

This letter is completed in the first days of the "cease-fire" agreement organized by Count Bernadotte, officially an officer of the Red Cross, but politically without doubt an officer of Anglo-American imperialism. His real aim is to cancel the UN decision on independence and to bring the leadership of both peoples to compromise with Anglo-American imperialist rule.

During the coming weeks the situation may become more and more confused, new difficulties may arise and tendencies to appease imperialism may become evident in the Jewish camp too. But we feel sure that the Jewish masses will be on the alert and will continue to fight the anti-imperialist struggle for independence. The Jewish attitude towards the Arab people will be of crucial importance and we know that a lot has still to be done and great responsibility rests upon us. Progressive Arab opposition will grow and the fight against imperialism will finally be won only by a united Jewish-Arab struggle.

However, the way is still long, the fight very hard and without pity, and the losses will be heavy. But we gain strength when we remember that the same war as ours is being fought in Greece, Spain, Indonesia and elsewhere.

Last year we went to Prague and worked on the Yugoslavian Youth Railway. In that way we took part in the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle. Now we are on the battlefield in our own country and we feel that all our Prague Youth Festival comrades from 1947 are with us.

This year we cannot send anyone to take part in reconstruction schemes in Europe; we are very busy here. Our struggle is for life and death; *all* the Jewish youth is mobilized and fighting.

In the midst of this hard struggle we are confident that the World Federation of Democratic Youth and all national youth movements affiliated to it will do everything in their power to mobilize public opinion in their countries and all the world over in active political support to our just cause — independence — and against our murderous enemy—imperialism!

We leave it to you to find the practical form for this action, but we appeal to you now: *speed action!*

Palestine youth is anxious to hear your call of solidarity.

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF ISRAEL  
E. Shomornik, Secretary

Tel Aviv, June 20, 1948

## CALL TO ALL ARAB SOLDIERS

*We are glad to fill in a little the almost complete vacuum of news of progressive Arab activities in the present crisis with the following manifesto issued by the Arab League of National Liberation in Palestine.—Eds.*

**SOLDIERS** of Egypt and other neighboring countries! Return to your countries and aim your weapons against the imperialists and their flunkys!

Brother soldiers! On whose behalf have your governments sent you to be killed on the battlefields of Palestine? Has it really been for the liberation of Palestine—as these reactionary governments claim? Are we really to believe the deceitful claims of these treacherous, reactionary governments which have sold their countries and their peoples to the Anglo-American imperialists? Why don't these reac-



tionary governments allow you to liberate Egypt, Sudan, Transjordan, Iraq and Lybia from the British occupation forces? Aren't these the self-same governments which at all times give orders to open fire on workers' and students' demonstrations, and even on the masses of the people when it demonstrates for liberty and evacuation? Have not hundreds of victims, native sons of Iraq, Egypt and Sudan fallen while demonstrating against the British occupation?

These very reactionary governments, who claim to have sent you to liberate Palestine, are not they the ones that opened wide the gates of the Arab countries to the imperialist brigands? Who robs Egypt and the entire Arab world of its resources? Who is it that is stealing the oil, the cotton, the gold, the dates and the other products of the Arab world and of Egypt? Who, if not these British and American imperialists?

\*These very treacherous governments, who claim to have sent you to liberate Palestine, have not they themselves served as the watchdogs of imperialist firms and interests?

For thirty years the British suppressed Palestine. Why didn't the governments of the Arab countries think then of sending you to liberate Palestine, before the 15th

of May, and not promptly after the British mandate had come to an end?

To these reactionary governments, the problem is not one of liberating Palestine. It is, above all else, a question of carrying out those base imperialist designs which aim to withhold from Palestine that independence which the United Nations decided upon. It is nothing but a brazen effort to annex the Arab part of Palestine to Abdullah's kingdom, Abdullah, the flunkey of British imperialism.

Brother soldiers! You are serving as fuel on the fires of this evil plot and you are its innocent victims. The freedom of Palestine will not be attained save through a joint struggle of both its peoples, the Arabs and the Jews, against imperialism. It will not be attained through mutual extermination.

Brother soldiers! You are getting killed here, far from your homelands and your families, for the interests of traitorous feudal Arabs who themselves sold their lands and fled the country. Your governments are sending you to Palestine only to divert from themselves your just anger against them and the imperialists who have occupied and ravaged your countries. They are sending you away from your countries in order to direct your just revolutionary indignation into racial channels

in which there is certainly no hope for liberation.

Your reactionary governments persecute their workers, fellaheen, students and all lovers of freedom. Now they have armed themselves with advantages of martial law and turned your countries into a veritable hell of terror and starvation no longer endurable.

Brother soldiers! Your presence in Palestine benefits none but the imperialists and reactionaries. We appeal to you: return to your countries—they need you! Return to your countries and point your weapons at the hearts of the imperialists and their vassals. Liberate Egypt and the Arab world from the blight of imperialism and its followers!

Long live the solidarity of Egypt with the other Arab peoples in their common struggle against Anglo-American imperialism!

For liberation and independence!

For the overthrow of reaction!

For the establishment of democratic peoples' governments!

Long live free, united and independent Palestine!

THE LEAGUE FOR NATIONAL  
LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

July 1948

## REVIEWS

### DID WELLES FAIL?

By Joseph Starobin

AT first glance, Sumner Welles appears to be an able and persuasive protagonist of the Zionist cause and a devout supporter of the United Nations. Even though his book<sup>1</sup> suffers from the fact that events have outpaced his publisher and many of his concerns are now academic, one might welcome it as a voice of reason and principle crying out in the wilderness of American foreign policy, protesting the intrigue against the Jewish people and warning the American people of the consequences which must flow from abandoning principle for the narrow selfish interests of militarists around the White House and oil barons around the State Department. It is hard to think of Mr. Welles as a modern Isaiah. But that is the complexion of his book—at first glance.

If that were all that were involved, it might also be said that Welles has expressed with great power and even passion

the case for a Jewish homeland in Palestine and the case for a consistent American policy within the United Nations to help realize that homeland.

And it is true that the first passages form an excellent rebuttal to those who would deny the Jewish case. Welles relies not only on the classic documents—the Balfour Declaration and the historic case for a Jewish Palestine—but on the experience of the war, the mass extermination of the Jews in Europe, and the dangerous presence of anti-Semitism. His argument, in other words, is on a high level.

"All of the Western nations in greater or less degree must share in responsibility for those world conditions which permitted the rise of Hitlerism and the mass murders of the Jews of which it was guilty"—a point which Andrei Gromyko and Semyon Tsarapkin have dramatized so effectively at the UN.

Again Welles stands on high ground when he admits that "lurking behind the problem of Palestine is to be found the whole bitter issue of anti-Semitism. There are too many of us here in the United

States who find it more agreeable to ignore this aspect of the problem and to blind ourselves to the shameful truth that it exists here in our midst." Thus, from the viewpoint of historic justice, from the need of saving the Jewish community, and giving it areas where it may develop a national life, Welles argues for a Jewish homeland. This is not the full story for us; for while we accept these premises, we do not relinquish the struggle against anti-Semitism as a phase of struggle for the preservation and fulfillment of democracy. But it remains true that Welles shows the capacity to grasp central issues and to argue them well.

The discussion of the American record in the UN could be considered equally satisfying, even though Welles wrote in mid-Spring when the trusteeship idea seemed to be more real and dangerous than it subsequently proved. His thesis is that the UN should have provided some kind of armed force, by contingents from the smaller capitalist states. He bitterly accuses the White House and the State Department of rejecting the lesser risks of such a policy for the shame of reversing the partition plan and throwing the UN into its mortal crisis.

What then are the difficulties with Welles' book? Why have I approached even its most meritorious aspects with such reserve? I believe that the difficulty

<sup>1</sup> *We Need Not Fail*, by Sumner Welles. Houghton Mifflin, Boston. \$2.50.



lies in two aspects of his reasoning. His castigation of American policy for its duplicity toward the Jews arises from a conviction that a Jewish Palestine will in fact be a base for anti-communism in the Near East; second, his concern over the American reversal at the UN flows from a fear that by refusing to use the UN properly as the midwife of a Jewish state, American policy threatens to destroy the usefulness of the United Nations in future contests of strength with the Soviet Union.

On the first point, what is Welles' real complaint? It is that the White House and the State Department and the War Department have acted out of fear that "communism" would gain if a Jewish state were established. In Welles' opinion, this was a tactical error and the product of ignorance. For in his view, the "overwhelming majority of the Palestine Jews are vehemently anti-communist," and "the leadership within the Jewish Agency has consistently based its policy on the West, and in recent times more particularly on the United States."

By its Palestine policy, says Welles, "the United States has materially reduced the chances for the construction of a Near Eastern bulwark of western democracy and has thereby lessened the likelihood that many of the strategic advantages that it hopes to secure by abandoning partition can now be won."

In other words, Welles' interest in Palestine is that of an imperialist who hoped, and still wishes, to reduce the Jewish state to an outpost of the Marshall Plan. And the question arises: is such a man a real friend of Israel in the long run?

The second point is equally clear. It is not that Welles believes in the United Nations as an agency which must reconcile and prevent conflicts based on American-Soviet unity. On the contrary. For Welles, the United Nations is an instrument to be used against the Soviet Union—but used skilfully. His most bitter complaint against Ambassador Austin in the UN revolves around the speech of March 19 in which Austin claimed that the Security Council could not enforce a political settlement and the United Nations was not committed to carrying out the partition plan as a political settlement.

This, says Welles, is a dangerous doctrine. For it cuts the ground under such political settlements as Trieste; it disqualifies in retrospect the entire American use of the United Nations with respect to the Iranian issue in March, 1946. And it undermines the current American endeavor to form a western bloc under the fig-leaf of the United Nations provisions for regional security arrangements. All this is not as explicitly stated as Welles' position on the potentialities of Israel as a "Near Eastern bulwark of democracy." But it is there nonetheless.

## Reviewers

NATHAN AUSUBEL is the editor of the acclaimed *Treasury of Jewish Folklore*, recently published by Crown Publishers.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES is a scholar of American Jewish history and a *JEWISH LIFE* editor.

JOSEPH STAROBIN is foreign affairs editor of the *Daily Worker*.

I do not need to argue the dangers both to Israel and to the American public from such a strange advocacy of the Jewish cause. Obviously, the evolution of the problem since Welles laid down his pen—the truce and the attempt to limit Israel's sovereignty and democratic future via behind-the-scenes negotiations during the truce—will hardly find Welles in sys-

tematic defense of Israel. He may feel a pique that his own course was not tried. He may, however, feel that his own aims are being accomplished in other ways.

As an outpost of the Marshall Plan bloc, Israel's internal political development toward a solid democracy would be in danger. Its economic independence would be illusory and its hard-won sovereignty menaced by those very demands for "strategic advantages" which Welles admits were implicit in the American backdown on partition. As for the United Nations, the whole case of Palestine proves that its future does not depend on a more skillful exploitation of it against the Soviet Union, but the abandonment of the entire policy based on anti-Soviet premises. So long as such premises, no matter in what variation, dominate our policy-makers, the UN will either disintegrate or be the screen for a course that must ultimately destroy the institution itself.

## THE FLAMBOYANT ADAH MENKEN

By Morris U. Schappes

**A**N index to the anarchy of scholarly production both in England and the United States may be found in this fact: there is as yet no biography of such a great woman leader and fascinating personality as Ernestine Louise Rose, and not even a substantial summary of her amazing and influential career in Europe and in our country; but of the sensational Adah Isaacs Menken we have scores of articles, several pamphlets, and two full-length biographies: Bernard Falk's *The Naked Lady*, published in London in 1934, and now Allen Lesser's volume.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it likely that Mr. Lesser will be allowed to have the last word, for the lurid colors that irradiate from his subject will probably continue to attract attention to a life that is unimportant in all respects except its loud pathos.

When this Louisiana girl died, almost friendless, in Paris in 1868 at the age of 33, she had already passed the peak both of her fame and notoriety. She had thundered across the stages of the United States, England and France to the gasps of pop-eyed admiration and the snarls of flouted convention. She had wheeled through the theatrical heavens trailing clouds of scandal, the butt of taunt, ridicule and gossip that, after a time, she deliberately fed. She was beautiful, dazzling, gregarious, audacious, intelligent, witty,

generous, and contemptuous of convention in that most sensitive of convention's areas, the personal, sexual relations of men and women.

At the height of her mad career she aroused an international furore by her theatrical performances, not by superior art as an actress, but by two other factors: her beauty, which she exhibited with more boldness than could, in the 1860's, be found anywhere outside the ballet or burlesque; but which nowadays would, on the musical comedy stage or screen, seem puritanically swathed in full length tights and drapes; her skill as an equestrian, which brought in packed houses to see her, tied seeming-nude to a wild horse, dash night after night up a narrow runway that led from the stage to the top-most balcony, in the popular melodrama, *Mazeppa*. Mr. Lesser reproduces a Philadelphia cartoon that shows her as a female centaur, the head and torso of a woman on the trunk of a horse. Stirred by her successes, crude imitators appeared on the stage ready even to strip their tights to rival Adah Menken, but without her dash, beauty and horsemanship they were flops. There was only one Menken. At her height, she had "fame, wealth, love, and the admiration of great men and women—all her heart had ever desired was now hers" (p. 148).

Yet hers was a wasted life, unstable, unoriented except to the "lure of fame," and profoundly unhappy. Edgar Lee Masters recognized that when, in his sketch of her in his *Domesday Book* (1920), he had her say of herself: "My body and soul

<sup>1</sup> *Enchanting Rebel*, by Allen Lesser. Beechurst Press, N. Y. \$3.50.

are in a scramble and do not fit each other." Her misery is exhibited in her poetry, which reveals talent and imagination, and is really her only valid claim today for public consideration. "Who can hear the slow drip of blood from a dead soul?" she asks in "Resurgam," written in the free verse cadences she adapted perhaps from the Bible, perhaps from Ossian, perhaps from Whitman, whom she admired in an essay in 1860, when others were mocking him. In "Infelix," she sums up her life:

"I stand a wreck on Error's shore.

A spectre not within the door."

Mr. Lesser discounts the sincerity of these poems and ascribes them to a Byronic pose. If it was a pose—and she expressed it so movingly—then she was unhappy indeed. A maturer psychological interpretation than Mr. Lesser commands would not deny the obvious misery in order to achieve the spurious contentment of Adah Menken thinking on her deathbed, in Mr. Lesser's fancy, thus: "For the life she had lived, she had no regrets. She had achieved her goals." Mr. Falk in his book is not so vacuous.

The record of her four luckless marriages is the measure of her instability. The first was Alexander Isaac Menken, a Jewish musician from Cincinnati, who brought her for a time into the environment of the young middle class Jewish intelligentsia of that city, in which she first blossomed as poet and writer. Even after the separation, she always clung to his name, and perhaps to his memory. The second was John Carmel Heenan, heavyweight champion and Native American Party bruiser, who took her into the low sporting crowd in New York. Her third was Robert Henry Newell, man of letters best known as "Orpheus C. Kerr," the Union satirist during the Civil War. Last was the Confederate Captain James Paul Barkley, whom she left three days after the marriage to go to Europe to have her baby three months later. (She was a Confederate sympathizer during the Civil War, was arrested in Union-occupied Baltimore and paroled, and was the favorite of Confederate exiles in London and Paris after the war.) She was the mistress of the aging Dumas in Paris, and the close friend of Swinburne, whose impotence kept her relationship on the plane of "holy love." When notoriety inexorably overtook her early in her life, she decided, in 1861, "to parade her notoriety for all it was worth" (p. 71). The decision stopped her from suicide, but not from misery. She was too intelligent and too sensitive profoundly to enjoy her *succès de scandale*.

Mr. Lesser's book has the prime virtue of having more carefully sifted information than is to be found in any other single volume. Since Adah Menken floated many fabrications about herself

and others piled Ossa on Pelion to make gigantic lies, this sifting is invaluable. Unfortunately, the book is frequently undocumented, and leaves many questions unanswered. Aiming at the kind of readability that made it possible for the Jewish Book Guild to select the volume for its subscribers, Mr. Lesser frequently lapses into lush writing. Unlike Bernard Falk, he takes no note of the anti-Semitism that the former pointed to as contributing to the English press denunciations of Adah Menken. On the other hand, Mr. Lesser would have us believe that she made significant contributions to the struggle for women's rights, which cannot be substantiated. "She *might* have been an honor to her sex," was Elizabeth Cady Stanton's just estimate of Adah Isaacs Menken.

Finally, Mr. Lesser is convinced that Adah Menken was born Jewish. I am not. Her own written statements are absolutely contradictory. In 1860 she asserted she was born Jewish; in 1861, that she was converted to Judaism; in 1862 she dodged the question; in 1865, she gave herself a new father, a Spanish Jew. What is definite is that among the useful list of about 100 of her poems and essays, Mr. Lesser includes in an Appendix, about one fourth of them are on Jewish themes or use Jewish history as a source of images. Most of

them were published in *The Israelite*, and a couple are included in her collection of poems, *Infelicia*, issued shortly after her death and since reprinted eight times up to 1902. In 1865, *The Israelite* itself said she had been born and raised a Christian, but had passed part of her life in a Jewish environment, and had written in behalf of Jewish civil rights (*Archives Israelites*, Paris, XXVI, p. 231). Another bit of evidence overlooked by Mr. Lesser is the testimony of Leo Wise, the son of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, editor of *The Israelite*, who recorded this invaluable recollection: "she most ardently desired to become one [a convert], and often requested Dr. Wise to receive her into the fold, going so far at one time as to implore him on her knees . . . to accept her as a convert. For some reasons unknown to me he steadfastly refused to do this." (*The American Israelite*, June 30, 1904, p. 14.) The mystery of her birth is therefore not yet solved. (There is even a theory, very inconclusively set forth, that she was the daughter of a free Negro—John S. Kendall, *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXI, pp. 850-852—which Mr. Lesser might have noted and refuted, if he could.) At her death, though, she called in a rabbi to administer the last rites, and she is buried in a Jewish cemetery.

## TWO NOVELS OF EUROPEAN JEWISH LIFE

By Nathan Ausubel

IT is indeed ironic that two such highly gifted novelists as Leo Katz and Soma Morgenstern, in writing on Jewish themes, each from the perspective of his own ideology, should have given us only the husk and not the kernel of Jewish life and character. It seems to this reviewer that the literary shortcoming of Leo Katz's novel<sup>1</sup> lies mainly in its lack of unity. As for Soma Morgenstern's book,<sup>2</sup> it is more concerned with the formalism of Judaism than with Jewish life itself.

Admitting the brilliant literary achievements of both writers, they, nonetheless, can hardly satisfy the reader who wishes to probe for the insights and deeper truths in Jewish life and mores. Literary facility, knowledge and wit cannot compensate for the poverty of inner content in a book.

Soma Morgenstern's novel, *In My Father's Pastures*, which is a sequel to *The Son of the Lost Son*, although pos-

sessing brilliant qualities is, with regard to its subject matter, much ado about little. Yet this Galician writer's gifts are not inconsiderable. He is a genuine poet and his prose sings and soars. Some of this is no doubt due to the sensitive translation from the German by Ludwig Lewisohn. Unfortunately, because of the shallowness of Morgenstern's approach, his values seem trivial. He succeeds in communicating the shadow but rarely the substance of reality. Vividly drawn as many of his characters are, they are little more than synthetic creations because they almost completely lack psychological or ideological motivation in their actions. Therefore, the novel does not hang together. To the novelist words must serve as clay does to the sculptor and not just as something with which to produce resounding sonorities or idyllic moods. He must model with words to the end of putting the flesh of truth on human experience and personality. This Morgenstern does not do.

The story tells of the return of 19-year-old Alfred Mohilevski, the son of an apostate Jewish father and a Gentile mother, to his family's "ancestral" landed estate in Galicia. His uncle, the present owner of the estate who is childless, wants to make

<sup>1</sup> *Seed Time*, by Leo Katz. Translated from the German by Joel Ames. Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1947. \$3.

<sup>2</sup> *In My Father's Pastures*, by Soma Morgenstern. Translated from the German by Ludwig Lewisohn. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1947. \$3.



Alfred his heir provided he will become a pious Jew. The conversion, which is tediously retailed step by step through a great part of the book amidst colorful descriptions of peasant life, wenching and even sodomy, rings hollow because the only ostensible reason the reader can gather for his return to the fold is that the estate is well worth the inconvenience.

The story, which projects the life of a small rural Jewish community in the midst of Polish and Ukrainian peasantry in Eastern Galicia, remains static until the last quarter of the book. This is due to the author's use of his tenuous plot as a framework on which to plaster an informative but wearying apologia for Jewish orthodoxy, its ceremonials and rituals. But he negates his own purpose, for, while he grows ecstatic over the beauties of some special Sabbath prayer or the manner in which a worshipper cantilates the Torah he, nevertheless, remains unconvincing to the non-religious reader. After all, what remains valuable in traditional Judaism to the enlightened Jew are not its prayers, ceremonies and customs, but its ethical and humane teachings.

On the other hand, Leo Katz is at cross-purposes with himself in his scintillating novel, *Seed Time*. Unfortunately, he attempts to do too many things with diametrically opposite styles. Furthermore, he is ill-served by an inept and crude translation.

There are three major narrative planes in *Seed Time*. One is a satire on the political hacks and buzzards that strut across the official stage of Sereth, a provincial town of Bukovina in Imperial Austria of 1907. Another is the account of a Rumanian peasant revolt just across the border, while the third portrays Jewish life in the region. Yet all three elements lack integration and leave the reader bewildered as to the author's real intentions.

Leo Katz is most successful in his sharp sketches describing the skullduggery worked for their own profit by the Gentile and Jewish ruling clique of Sereth. In these he is delightfully witty and sometimes even brilliant. He has a natural flair for satire and, had the novel been entirely written in this vein, he probably could have created a more memorable work. However, even his satire frequently lapses into caricature and this dulls its rapier thrust.

At their best, Leo Katz's humor and irony spring from the same folk source as those of Mendele Mocher Seforim and Sholom Aleichem. This association comes to mind on reading his description of the feud between the Jewish butchers of Sereth and Feivel Goathoof, the brothel owner, but particularly in his account of the town's Jews making their pre-Sabbath ablutions in the steambath. They are superb.

It is regrettable that the other parts of the book are qualitatively inferior. For instance, it is hard to understand how Leo Katz could have described a peasant's revolt with the stock effects appropriate in an operetta. At least to this reviewer the reason for the revolt was never made quite clear although there is somewhere an oblique reference to land partition. When the revolutionaries appear on the scene, and that but too casually, they parade about like stage supernumeraries. Leo Katz, surprisingly enough, seems to be utterly

out of sympathy with them so that he describes them in an almost unfriendly manner, underscoring their shortcomings and rarely ever their virtues.

Jewish life as depicted in this novel is drawn with factual fidelity but, considers only peripherally the social conflicts that inevitably take place in the microcosm of a European Jewish community. However, as a humorous raconteur and a deft satirical portraitist there is hardly a novelist today who can compare with Leo Katz.

## LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

### Legislation Against Anti-Semitism

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I have read with interest the article by Dr. Walter S. Neff in the July issue entitled "Psychoanalysis and Anti-Semitism." The author refers to Simmel's recommendation that legislation be passed making the manifestation of minority-hatred a punishable crime as an "exceedingly tame recommendation." He believes the fighter against anti-Semitism should direct his fire against the main enemy, imperialism.

Perhaps I am mistaken, but this has the fragrance, to me at least, of a slightly leftist attitude toward the need for such legislation. Perhaps this would have not disturbed me so much, had I not already encountered among progressives a tendency to belittle the need for such legislation.

Why is there not agitation for such laws? Not merely for laws against discrimination and violence—but against any kind of anti-Semitism, verbal or written, or even veiled? If the roots go deep, are we to believe that we must not strike into those depths now, but wait for a change in society?

Perhaps Dr. Neff wishes to believe that phenomena like anti-Semitism do not have roots within the individual, that the roots are outside of him somewhere out in society, with the stems growing into his ears and eyes, the flowers in the brain. Remove the roots in society, and presto, the individual is freed of the flowers, which wither away. Any real honest and searching observation reveals that this is not so, and it is possible to believe that this is not so without tracing anti-Semitism back to any specific biological need.

As a psychologist Dr. Neff should know that a thoroughly reinforced reaction to a conditioned stimulus, after many years of reinforcement, has the force almost of an unconditioned stimulus, and for all practical purposes the things that were learned early in life and associated then with biological needs remain powerful and lasting in their effects. Why is it necessary to continue the at-present seemingly fruitless argument as to whether certain actions or reactions are inherent or not? The thing to agree on is whether they are deep and powerful, whether they are dangerous and what must be done about them.

Anti-Semitism is deep and powerful. It can spread throughout a nation like an epidemic in no time at all. Like smallpox it must be stamped out with drastic measures *wherever and whenever* it makes its appearance. And this is no easy task, as certainly evidenced by the fact that people who should take the leadership in such

work take no immediate steps for its implementation.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

SYLVIA SCHNEIDER

### Dr. Neff Replies

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In answer to Sylvia Schneider's letter, I would like to quote from my article:

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

In no way do I belittle or ignore the urgent necessity for action aimed towards passage of immediate legislation against anti-Semitism, and for every form of activity that will aid in the struggle against it.

Sylvia Schneider will agree, I am sure, that in order to uproot and outlaw anti-Semitism, to expose it for what it is, to arouse people to demand action and legislation against it, one must also (and at the same time) rid the Jewish community and non-Jewish anti-fascists of ideas that tend to demobilize and inactivate them in this important struggle. This holds true for the "hush-hush" theory and practice; for the wrong "theory" among many progressives that anti-Semitism needs no special forms of struggle, etc.

The purpose of my article is explained in its title: "Psychoanalysis and Anti-Semitism." Its aim was to explain a system of ideas, very popular in many circles, that purports to give an explanation of anti-Semitism. This theory, as I tried to outline, cannot but have harmful effects on the struggle against anti-Semitism, especially as it appears as a very "scientific and scholarly" approach. In its own way it plays the role among many liberals and others of diverting them from the very urgent and timely action that Sylvia Schneider calls for in her letter.

Further, this article should be viewed as only one part of the many-sided theoretical and practical struggle against anti-Semitism called for by the magazine, JEWISH LIFE.

Chicago

DR. WALTER S. NEFF



# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

denounce the banning of the *Nation* from the public schools because of a series of articles on political activities of the Catholic Church, were Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress and Oscar Seagar of the American Jewish Committee.

Of the 97 non-sectarian colleges and universities in New York State, 68 still ask for information in their application for admission blanks as to the applicant's race, religion, color, ancestry or national origin, it was revealed in a survey of college application blanks made public by the American Jewish Congress. Discrimination by educational institutions has been made illegal by New York's Quinn-Olliffe Law, which went into effect July 1. The AJ Congress will apply to have these questions ruled illegal.

The New York *World-Telegram* was forced on July 12 to retract a slanderous article by Frederick Woltman, ace journalistic red-baiter, retailing fabrications by Ira J. Palestin, Liberal Party Councilman from the Bronx, and Rabbi Abraham Schultz of the American Jewish League Against Communism, which impugned the sincerity of the American Jewish Labor Council's campaign for Israel. The statement of the Jewish Labor Council exposing the slander stated that the Council had contributed a total of \$84,000 to Palestine and to Jewish communities in Europe within the past few months. Some \$64,000 were given through the Histadruth, the Haganah, the Red Mogen Dovid and the Association for Popular Culture in Tel Aviv. Twenty thousand dollars were allocated by Jewish communities in various European countries.

## EUROPE

An official U.S. Military Government Report disclosed in July that more than 60 per cent of the judges and 76 per cent of the prosecutors in Bavarian courts are former Nazi party members. The Bavarian Ministry of Justice recently announced the appointment of four former Nazis as judges of the newly organized Supreme Court of Bavaria and the promotion of a former Nazi as chief prosecutor of the city of Wurzburg. "The percentage of reinstatement of civil servants previously removed by the Military Government is presently 85 per cent," said the report. Relaxed denazification procedures have also been felt in Greater Hesse with the return of former Nazis to economic and political positions to the point where legislation has been introduced to protect non-Nazis.

The Polish military authorities have devoted a whole chapter of the new *Army Manual for Political Education* to help eliminate anti-Semitism. The soldier is told that the Jews have the "fullest right" to be considered equal citizens with non-Jews; that Jews fought alongside the Poles in the underground armies and partisan units against the Germans; that many Jews gained the highest awards for bravery. Special attention is paid to dispelling the falsity of the claim of the anti-Semites that the Jews rule Poland. "Anti-Semitism," says the *Manual*, "only served the enemies of Poland. This was true under the Russian Tsar, and also under Hitler, and those who today still follow the anti-Semitic trend are enemies of Poland."

Joseph Buehler, former chief administrative officer of the Nazi occupation government in Po-

land, was sentenced to death in July by the Supreme National Tribunal in Warsaw for the murder of millions of Jews and Poles. He was also found guilty of responsibility in the deportation of some 2,000,000 Poles and Jews. The War Crimes Court in Krakow also sentenced to death Kurt Schupke, former commandant of several German concentration camps in Poland, for participating in the execution of thousands of Jewish camp inmates. The Central Jewish Committee is also considering numerous charges against Jews accused of working with the Germans during the war.

From Prague comes word in July that Arnold Zweig, noted Jewish writer who settled in Palestine after the Nazis came to power and who is at present touring Europe, has been refused a visa to enter Britain for talks with his publishers. A letter from the British Home Office said that while Mr. Zweig's application has been "carefully and sympathetically considered," the secretary of state is unable to grant him a visa.

The representative body of Turkish Jewry applied for their government's consent to attend the World Jewish Congress second plenary session in Switzerland in July. The Turkish government rejected the application. Since the birth of the Turkish Republic the Jewry of that country has never been able to be represented at any international conference.

More than 30 Jewish communities comprise the Jewish population of Bulgaria today. The largest community is in Sofia, with 27,000 Jews; next largest is Plovdiv with 1,000. Twenty-nine cooperative factories have been set up by Jewish workers, many of which are aided by the Joint Distribution Committee and the Geula Bank, run by the Jewish community.

## ISRAEL

A series of discussions are taking place between leaders of the Communist Party of Israel and the United Workers Party to explore the possibilities of cooperation, basic programmatic problems, problems concerning the Provisional State Council and the war effort. Participating for the CP are Meir Vilner and Elijah Gwansky, for the United Workers Party are El Levita and Jacob Riffin (who recently returned to Israel from a visit in the United States).

Communists and alleged communists were ordered arrested in all Arab-held areas in July following the distribution of two anti-war leaflets by the Arab League of National Liberation, which is led by communists.

The Israeli government has announced preparations for national elections for members of a constituent assembly which must be established by October 1, according to the terms of the UN partition decision. The Israeli government has completed a draft constitution which is to be submitted to the initial meeting of the first Israeli constituent assembly.

Premier David Ben Gurion appointed a seven-man commission to investigate the clash between the Israeli army and the Irgun when the latter attempted to land arms and ammunitions from a gun-runner against government orders during the truce.

Since the opening of the war November 29,

1947, date of the partition decision, 2,600 Jewish soldiers have been killed.

It was revealed that when the British evacuated the port of Haifa, 48 seized refugee ships which were lying in the Haifa harbor, passed into the possession of the Jewish state.

At a huge, colorful ceremony in Tel Aviv at the end of June the Israeli army troops took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional government. The real names of top Haganah commanders, hitherto secret, were revealed as each stepped out to take the oath. They were: Brigadir Ben Gal, a 42-year-old former major in the British army, who administered the oath; Yigdal Yadin-Sukenik, 34, an archaeologist; Yigal Alon Feikowitz, communal farmer who commands the Palmach (commandos); Moshe Carmeli, commander of the forces that captured Haifa; Itzhak Sadeh, colorful six-foot, bearded man of middle age who served with the Soviet Army until 1923 as a private and organized the Palmach during World War II; and Uri Jaffe, Eliahu Ben Hur, Dan Even, Yehannan Kattner, Yosef Avidar, Yehzekiel Secher, Israel Amira, Michael Schochem, Mordechai Maklev, Moshe Zakok, Zvi Ayalon, Shalom Eshet, Shlomo Shamir, Shmuel Admon and Shimon Ardani.

Joseph Sprinzak, Histadruth leader and member of the Labor Party (Mapai), was elected chairman of the Israeli State Council, replacing Goldie Meirson, who was appointed minister to the Soviet Union. Dr. Abraham Granovsky, managing director of the Jewish National Fund and a General Zionist, was named deputy chairman, as was Nahum Mir of the United Workers Party. A third deputy chairman, assigned to the Mizrahi, has not yet been appointed. A move to give the Revisionists a deputy chairmanship was defeated 14-12.

The Provisional Government of Israel announced in late July that all but \$400,000 of the 1948 twenty million dollar national loan had been subscribed or pledged.

## BIROBIDJAN

As part of the welcoming program for a group of recent arrivals to Birobidjan from Nikolaev in the Ukraine, the D'Usseau-Gow play, *Deep Are the Roots*, was presented. The play is said to be sweeping the Soviet Union.

The Birobidjan State Theater closed for the summer after a six-play season. During the summer the cast tours collective farms in the country and helps organize dramatic groups and lectures.

The machine and tractor stations of the Jewish Autonomous Region fulfilled their half-yearly program of tractor work on June 25. First place was won by the Birobidjaner Machine and Tractor Station, which carried out its program by 128 per cent.

More than 500 youngsters, members of the Young Pioneers, met for the first time this year in Birobidjan to discuss problems of children's organization. They were shown the play, *The Red Scarf*, by the Jewish State Theater and exhibits of arts and crafts and airplane model building were held.

Mothers of large families in Birobidjan city and district have recently been presented with medals for having raised five or more children. The medal awards carry monetary grants as well as honors.



V  
N  
S  
L  
X  
S