

Jewish Life

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PALMACH UNDER FIRE *by David Matis*

WHERE DOES YOUR MONEY GO? *by Moses Miller* ... **THE JEW IN CELLULOID**

by Millard Lampell ... **MENDELE MOCHER SEFORIM** *by Sidney Rosenblatt*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

The New York Appellate Division on Dec. 20 upheld Supreme Court Justice F. C. Benvenista's denial of a motion by three Negro war veterans seeking to enjoin the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s jimcrow renting policy in Stuyvesant Town. The Negroes' suit was supported by a brief of the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress and the NAACP. Defendants argued against jimcrow in the tax-exempt project. Metropolitan attorneys' position was that a privately-owned company could select tenants of its own choice and this view was supported by the O'Dwyer administration's attorney. A poll of tenants showed that 62 per cent favored inclusion of Negroes as tenants and 3,000 signed a petition asking the city to reverse the jimcrow rental policy. Defendants will appeal up to the Supreme Court if necessary.

Between 70 and 90 Negro, Catholic and Jewish government workers in 11 cities, mostly postal employees, are threatened with discharge for "disloyalty" because in every case they worked for the application of the Truman FEPC order issued last June. The United Public Workers Union and the NAACP are fighting the threat. The Delegate Assembly of the Jewish Community Council of Cleveland, where 29 persons were being investigated, voted on December 7 to memorialize the president to insure civil liberties safeguards in these "loyalty" investigations.

The National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, including as members many famous Americans like Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Philip Murray, issued a 91-page report on December 10 showing that segregation is more prevalent in the national capital than it was 50 years ago. The report places the responsibility for segregation mainly on "dominant real estate, commercial and financial interests" and affirms that "It is not the poor whites who set the pattern, but men of acknowledged culture and refinement, the leaders of the community." The report also charges that segregation extends to the capital's Catholic churches and that civil rights laws passed in 1872 and 1875 were quietly dropped from the statute books when the D.C. code was recodified in 1901.

New York is the most advanced state in anti-discrimination legislation, the American Jewish Congress reveals after a survey of more than 200 laws throughout the country. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Illinois follow New York in that order. Nevertheless, a survey by the American Jewish Congress and the Research Committee on Intergroup Relations, released on December 18, showed that one of every five New Yorkers has personally experienced discrimination in employment. This survey stressed that very few people were sufficiently familiar with the anti-discrimination laws to complain to the enforcement agency. Gimbel Local 2 of the retail workers union and the New York Urban League made known that discrimination complaints against Gimbel's had been given the runaround by the N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination.

The movie *Gentleman's Agreement*, which strongly denounced anti-Semitism, was voted the best picture of the year in the *The Film Daily's* annual poll of film critics. Of the 508 reviewers, 278 voted for the film. The movie also won the Film Academy Award as best picture of the year.



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

THE EDITORS.

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After considerable delay the Federal Communications Commission has decided to hold open hearings in the case of G. A. Richards, owner of radio station KMPC in Los Angeles, who has been charged with ordering KMPC's newscasts slanted in an anti-Semitic and otherwise biased manner. It is alleged that Richards ordered his newsmen to read items involving Jews and communists one after the other so as to identify them in the public mind. Newsmen who rebelled were promptly fired. It is also alleged that Richards tried to get Jewish newscasters to use their orig-

Cover Picture

Right to left: Col. Yitzhak Sadeh, "father" of the Palmach and a leading officer in the Israeli army; commander of armor in Sadeh's brigade; A. B. Magil, *Daily Worker* correspondent in Israel. Photo reproduced from *Dvar Hashavna*, July 1948.

inal Jewish-sounding names as a cover-up. It is known that Bing Crosby has substantial stocks in (Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

DANGER IN ISRAEL

An Editorial

WHEN the Palestine question first came before the UN, Britain declared it would not agree to any solution which did not meet with Arab-Jewish approval. Aware of the heritage of antagonism for which it was responsible, Britain was confident that no such agreement could be reached. Today, however, particularly because of the many defeats suffered by the Arabs, the possibilities for direct Arab-Jewish negotiations have increased tremendously. Britain sees its house of cards collapsing and the Arab League, upon which it had placed so much hope, crumbling. In the recent events in Egypt, Britain sees evidence of rising Arab discontent and national awakening. Britain fears direct negotiations between the Jews and the Arabs and recognizes this as a blow to its prestige and power. His majesty's "socialist" government has therefore decided upon open warfare against the Jewish state. It is now marshalling ground, naval and air forces and is creating "incidents" in order to confront Israel with two alternatives, either of which spells death to Israeli independence: submission to British dictates through acceptance of puppet status or full scale war.

Nor does British perfidy end here. The British lion is not above threats of pogroms if its Middle Eastern designs are frustrated. Listen to the roar of Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, British prosecutor at Nuremberg: "I was always proud that in my country Jews had always been welcomed and that careers in every sphere had been thrown open to them. I have therefore a personal right to ask the Jews not only in Palestine but in the United States to pause before they alienate English good-will."

"Hundreds of thousands of Jewish people would suffer if this country were to cease to be an asylum or if there were to be a change in the feelings of kindness and toleration to them which have marked English civilization and the English character."

"It is not too late for leaders in Tel Aviv and their backers in the United States and Czechoslovakia to stop the present selfish and aggressive courses and make a sincere bid for peace in the Middle East. Refusal may leave psychological sores which may not heal for a generation." (*New York Times*, January 11.)

The situation is very grave. True, the determined resistance and offensive power of Israel, the unswerving political support of the Soviet Union and material aid by countries like Czechoslovakia, have frustrated Anglo-American machinations till now. But how long can Israel, heroic though its citizenry may be, continue the drain upon its

human and economic resources, especially if it is forced into full scale war against a major power? Those who have so glibly and smugly affirmed their faith in imperialism and have urged upon the masses faith in imperialist good will toward the Jewish state; those who have preached that the problem of Israel can be isolated from world affairs—these people must reevaluate their position in the light of the present danger. Are the Israeli people today in a very different position from that of the noble fighters of Republican Spain who chose "to die on their feet rather than to live on their knees," but who suffered defeat because of infamous embargoes, imperialist sabotage and failure of the peoples of the world to arise against betrayal by governments? Is the problem of Israel so different from that of the Republic of Indonesia, which today is fighting against a conspiracy of its own imperialist master, Holland, in collusion with the major imperialist powers of the world, which see a threat to their domination of the world when any people move toward independence?

American Complicity

Let honest people who are devoted to the cause of Israeli independence, as of the independence of all peoples, consider the realities existing today. Could Britain, impoverished and declining as a world power, carry on its warfare against Israel without the aid of Marshall Plan millions? Could the Dutch carry on their war against the Indonesian people without American dollars, which are not given to rehabilitate the hungry, devastated peoples of Europe, but to revitalize decadent regimes and bolster corruption and fascism?

Many Zionist leaders have loudly praised President Truman and his administration. What great contribution has the administration made to the Israeli cause? An embargo on Israel, at a moment when it was fighting for its life. A warning to Czechoslovakia to cease sending aid to Israel. Trusteeship proposals in the UN a few weeks after the historic November 29th decision was adopted. Refusal to give full diplomatic recognition, thus preventing Israel from achieving full sovereignty and stability. By this refusal the Truman administration has encouraged Britain and the Arabs to persist in warring on Israel.

This is the mighty American contribution to peace in Israel. Fine promises and sweet words nullified on every hand by unfriendly acts or failure to act.

Zionist leadership in America bears a heavy responsibility for having lulled the masses into a sense of security and into feeling that all would be well with Israel. Yet the evil designs against Israel have been accumulating for a long time. Nevertheless, no leadership has been given to the American community and little has been done to arouse the people to an awareness of danger.

The need for immediate action cannot be overemphasized. Democratic Americans who believe in peace and freedom and the right of peoples to self-determination, must join in militant efforts to halt imperialist designs in Israel. Above all, a sweeping campaign must be launched to compel President Truman to bring about the immediate cessation of all hostile moves by Britain against Israel. The American people must insist upon immediate *de jure* recognition of Israel so that Jewish defense may be founded on the firm base of sovereignty. The American people must insist upon cooperation with the Soviet Union in the demand that all troops be immediately withdrawn from territories in Palestine where their presence has no sanction. And the American people must see to it that the infamous embargo placed upon Israel by President Truman, be lifted immediately.

Peace is decisive for the survival of Israel, as it is for the world. But peace can be won only if the people take up militant struggle against imperialist designs.

LET WASHINGTON KNOW!

AS OUR nation approaches the half-way mark of the Twentieth Century, great questions loom before us. Which way America? Does a new depression impend, with its train of hunger and shattered hopes? Does global war of undreamed horror threaten once again?

These vast, legitimate questions demand prompt, sober replies. Instead, we hear one monotonous incantation. Depression? "Beware the communists!" Peace? "Beware the communists!" Democracy? "Beware the communists!" What, citizen, you protest the breathless rise in living costs while U.S. Steel makes unprecedented billions? "Look, there's a spy!" You object to freeing Ilse Koch and restoring nazi bankers to power? "Look at the pumpkin papers!" You fear betrayal of Israel, Greece and China? "Look, there's a communist, a communist, a communist. . .!"

All right, look at these papers that accidentally appeared in a pumpkin. What do they reveal? That the communists were right in their contentions through the past ten years: *that our State Department, at the trusts' bidding, egged Hitler on, urged him to make war on his European neighbor, promised him trade agreements if only he commanded his blitz-krieg legions to march against the Soviet peoples.*

Are the men of the State Department and the trusts, who plotted against the national interests of the American people, whose encouragement helped Hitler precipitate World War II, standing before an American court of justice? No. It is the leaders of the Communist Party, men

who warned and fought against Munich and appeasement and who urged a policy of collective security against fascism, who are now being accused of disloyalty to America.

The common man demands answers—and is given circuses, witch-hunts, spy scares, anti-communist trials: a device as old as Nero, as new as Goebbels. This is the plague of the Big Lie, perpetrated by men who seek to hide their own guilt, their own betrayal of the nation, and to cover up their present Big Grab for markets.

The trial of the communists is on the surface a judicial process against 12 men but is actually a menace to 12 times 12 million Americans. The Jews, of all people, should recognize this truth. For they know from their own tragic experience how innocent men are turned into scapegoats.

An aroused people must, for the sake of a democratic America, halt the witch-hunt. If we allow the Big Lie to get bigger, it will submerge us completely in fascism and we shall in the end be guilty of our own destruction. Mass pressure can avert the outcome that beset Germany. Let Washington know that we mean to keep America democratic!

LABOR JUDAS

SELDOM in all labor history has a labor misleader dared so blatantly to double-cross labor and democracy as did David Dubinsky in his Christmas present to the American people. Condemnation of the Taft-Hartley law by the whole American people was decisive and unmistakable last November. Yet Dubinsky and the general executive board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union offered a "substitute" for this infamous law which is in many respects worse than the law itself. Dubinsky proposed that the crippling "cool-off" and "fact-finding" procedures like those of the Railroad Labor Act be extended to all industrial disputes.

What this can mean for the labor movement as a whole is evident from the precipitous decline of railroad workers' wages. While railroad workers in 1921 ranked fifth of 25 industries in both hourly and weekly earnings, they had dropped in 1947 to 24th in hourly earnings and eighth in weekly earnings (the latter is not lower only because they work a 48 to 56 hour week). Dubinsky also proposed control of "jurisdictional disputes" through a Labor Department board, which in effect would give this agency arbitrary power over many unions. He would extend government control over unions even farther than Taft-Hartley by requiring unions to file data on finances and rules which amounts to licensing of unions. He would retain the Taft-Hartley-given right of employers to petition for a bargaining election, which gives company unions a happy hunting ground. And he would even extend the abomination of non-communist affidavits from elected union officers to full time paid union officials.

There is method in this labor madness. The Truman administration is on the spot, for Truman promised to

repeal the Taft-Hartley law, but wants essentially only to change its name. His State of the Union message showed that, with its proposals for "certain improvements" he recommended two years ago, that is, "fact-finding and cool-off" procedures in line with the Railroad Labor Act. Truman also recommended wage-freezing, measures to prevent "strikes in vital industries" and provisions against boycotts and jurisdictional disputes. Dubinsky's function now becomes clear. He is greasing the way for Truman's renegeing on his election promises by introducing confusion in labor's ranks.

Dubinsky is only one of the labor misleaders who are the fifth column of monopoly capital within the labor movement. Some of these misleaders are social democrats—that is, they talk socialism and act for the employers; others are the labor reformers—they profess to favor "improving" the conditions of the workers and act for the employers. But **seldom has one of these misleaders so** crudely exposed his real function, for Dubinsky has gone even farther than Truman in his proposals to retain the substance of the Taft-Hartley act. Are the rank and file of the ILGWU pleased? One can imagine what the pioneers of this union, who starved through sweatshop exploitation and sacrifice in bitter strikes, would say to this purported leader of the union they built. If the Taft-Hartley threat to labor's rights and civil liberties is to be thwarted, the workers must exert unyielding pressure against the administration and their own leaders to wipe this threat off the books.

ANTI-DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

THE same Board of Education that has persistently tried to whitewash anti-Semitic Professor William E. Knickerbocker of New York's City College, is now showing us the reverse side of the coin of anti-democracy in education. Some weeks ago the Board received a complaint from the hysterical and discredited "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz that the Children's Schools of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, which holds classes in city schoolrooms, were teaching "atheism and party-line ideas."

The charges are as phony as the man who made them. Schultz' behavior has been so degraded that Rabbi Stephen S. Wise characterized him as a "professional, and probably profiteering communist-baiter, unworthy to be even a member, not to say a rabbi, of a Jewish congregation." And this is the man whose complaint received the most prompt and careful attention of the Board. Hearings on the case are being held at this writing.

The Children's Schools are performing a valuable service to American democracy and to the Jewish people. For 25 years they have taught Jewish children Yiddish and the great traditions of our people in a setting of the labor movement. The schools are secular and have taught neither religion nor anti-religion, in line with the basic American principle of separation of church and state. And underlying

this teaching has been militant advocacy of equality among races and peoples. How baseless are the slanders of Schultz can be judged from the statement of Mark A. McCloskey, superintendent of the Board's afternoon programs: "I have never received any reports indicating that the JPFO teaches anything subversive. We have always had observers in their classes." Acquiescence to Schultz' wild charges will mean a further step along the path of thought control. Individuals and organizations should let the Board know that it must not tamper with American freedoms.

NUREMBERG LAW, US STYLE

HITLER was unoriginal, after all. His Nuremberg laws were anticipated by decades in our own country. The Mississippi State Constitution of 1890 included a law that anyone with more than one-eighth Negro or Mongolian blood was prohibited from marrying a white. This law was never applied—until December 1948. Davis Knight, a white navy veteran of Ellisville, Mississippi, married a white girl. He was arrested on the charge that his great-grandmother Rachel was a Negro. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to five years in prison. Mr. Knight will appeal.

The brutality and inhumanity of this law and the Knight conviction in particular should shake whatever complacency Americans may still have. The injustice to an individual is heinous enough. But even more serious is the danger to all of us involved in this racist crime. The Knight case brings terrible memories to the Jews. And it should alert all Americans to the lessons of the past 15 years—that Nuremberg laws against any group leaves no one safe from the fascist axe. Fascist symptoms are all too abundant. The 60-year-old law involved in the Knight case was *first* applied in 1948. And that other Nuremberg law, the DP Immigration act, which restricts Jewish and Catholic immigration in favor of pro-nazi elements, was passed.

These events—and a hundred more, every day, in many forms—spell danger to every American. They all add up to a grand attempt to break down the anti-fascist resistance of the American people. The answer is obvious and urgent. Let no fascist manifestation go unresisted!

NAKED FASCISM

AS we go to press, the retrial of Robert J. Burke, a few weeks ago convicted of indecent acts before the 7 year old daughter of communist leader Thompson, resulted in his acquittal. The evidence in the case was as clear and unequivocal as any reasonable person could demand. Nevertheless a court of three Queens County judges totally ignored this evidence and absolved a hoodlum and tool of fascists. This is an open invitation to violence against communists and progressives. Fascism has come a long way here.

WHERE DOES YOUR MONEY GO? II

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

By Moses Miller

SPOKESMEN for the United Jewish Appeal assert that its "paramount achievement rests in having welded American Jews together in a single compelling purpose regardless of group or ideological differences."¹ No doubt many thousands of Jews are convinced that this is so. But even a superficial analysis shows that the men who control the UJA and are so eager for every one else to give up their "ideological differences," are not at all eager to follow suit.

Most people, including many progressives, are extremely naive in the matter of contributions for relief. Judging from their attitude, one might suppose that funds are turned over to some mythical non-political entity entirely divorced from any viewpoint or orientation. Yet anyone who has the slightest knowledge of Israel, its development and political parties, knows that money is not allocated in a vacuum. Funds are turned over to men and to parties with specific political attitudes and convictions. It is true that these men and parties use the money collected to bring immigrants into Israel and to develop the country. But it is just as certain that the money is allocated along definite political and economic lines and in such a way as to help strengthen the political group and authority of those who control the funds.

Clearly, then, making a financial contribution is a political act. By contributing one dollar or ten or twenty to a given cause, one is in fact supporting the political orientation and organizational activity of the controlling group. And it is shocking to realize how often contributions are made to groups to whose political outlook and activity the donor is completely unsympathetic or even hostile.

In the first article we showed the makeup of the United Jewish Appeal, the tremendous sums collected over the years and the closed circle character of the controlling group. We discussed in detail the United Palestine Appeal, one of the three bodies that benefit from UJA collections.

Like the United Jewish Appeal, the United Palestine Appeal is not an autonomous body. Every year it is reconstituted anew by two organizations: the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), fiscal arm of the Jewish Agency, and the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth), which purchases land in Israel. Officers of the UPA are designated by these two organizations. Each year an agreement is drawn up providing for a board of directors and an executive committee "consisting of the persons whose names are set forth on a schedule hereto affixed and made part of this agreement." Nothing is said as to how or by whom they are to be selected. An examination of the "names . . .

affixed" shows that the overwhelming majority are officers and leaders of the Zionist Organization of America, whose political orientation is conservative. Considering that UPA funds are contributed by many thousands, Zionist and non-Zionist, many of whom disagree with ZOA policy and orientation, the totally undemocratic nature of the setup, as well as the dangers inherent in it, become obvious.

Information Wanted

Precisely where do UPA funds go? UPA publicity material gives little help in answering this question except in a most general way. One can find charts and tables exhibiting in round figures how much goes for immigration, land purchase, defense, etc. But an exact accounting of funds allocated is seldom available to the public.

For a complete picture of where one's money goes, one would have to analyze not only the United Palestine Appeal but its two major beneficiaries, the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth. For the net proceeds of all UPA drives, after all duly authorized allocations have been made, are turned over to these two organizations. UPA records would only indicate therefore that it had turned over certain given sums but nothing of what happened to the money from then on. Even an analysis of UPA's "duly authorized expenditures" will not give a complete picture since allocations, other than those explicitly named in the agreement, may be made, if "authorization therefore first is given by the said Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth."

All recent agreements have provided an allocation to the Zionist parties in America for their activities in laying the basis "for the successful conduct of . . . the United Palestine Appeal." The 1948 agreement allocates \$54,000 to the Zionist Organization of America, \$9,800 to the Poale Zion (labor Zionists), \$9,800 to the Mizrahi (orthodox religious Zionists) and \$3,000 to Hashomer Hatzair (left wing Zionists).

Aside from the major allocations to Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, the UPA budget set aside large sums for two other bodies, the Mizrahi Palestine Fund and the General Zionist Fund. The Mizrahi Party in Israel, representative of the orthodox community, received \$400,000 in 1945, \$750,000 in 1947 and \$900,000 in 1948. The 1947 agreement provided for an allocation of \$500,000 to the General Zionists Fund, payments to be made to "the World Confederation of General Zionists through its officers in New York City." This sum was to be "spent entirely in Palestine for the constructive projects and activities of the Confederation of General Zionists." In the 1948 agreement there is no provision for any such allocation. But this does

¹ "Community Patterns," by Samuel Kreiter, *Congress Weekly*, Nov. 15, 1948.

not mean that funds were cut off. For a report issued by the World Confederation of General Zionists in 1948 indicates that allocations amounting to \$900,000 were made to the General Zionist Fund directly by Keren Hayesod and Keren Keyemeth. Here we see how necessary it is to have some accounting not only of UPA itself, but also of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Keyemeth.

Money for Mizrachi

Let us consider the allocation to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund. The Mizrachi, a political grouping of the religious Jewish community, advocates firm adherence to orthodox religious precepts as the basis of the Jewish state and fights vigorously against the separation of church and state. The struggle for separation of church and state has been intensified since the establishment of Israel. Politically the Mizrachi is aligned with the bourgeois parties and on occasion with the extreme right—the Revisionists and even the Irgun. When, for example, immediately after the “Altalena” incident, the Israeli government announced its intention of punishing the Irgunist perpetrators of this crime, Rabbi Fishman, Mizrachi leader, resigned from the cabinet.

By contributing to the UPA, one is also contributing to the Mizrachi. True, money given to the Mizrachi and its projects undoubtedly helps the development of the country. But one is helping that development along certain definite political lines. And one is helping the Mizrachi to strengthen its positions and its opportunities to influence the political and social direction of the country.

What of those UPA contributors who oppose the policies of the Mizrachi? What of those who believe firmly in free-

dom of religion but who are equally firm in their advocacy of the separation of church and state and who consider violation of this principle as reactionary and a menace to democratic development? Do such people want their funds to go to the Mizrachi? What chance do they have to express their opinion?

Who Are the General Zionists?

What of the money allocated to the General Zionists Fund? This fund is dispensed by the Confederation of General Zionists, who represent the bourgeoisie in Israel. Its counterpart in this country is the Zionist Organization of America and it is an affiliate of the World Confederation of General Zionists. The General Zionists are the most powerful single Zionist grouping in the United States but in Israel they are comparatively weak. The figures of representation at the last World Zionist Congress bring this out.

<i>U.S. Delegation</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
General Zionists (ZOA and Hadassah).....	57
Labor Zionists	24
Mizrachi and Hapoel (Labor) Hamizrachi.....	14
Revisionists	5

<i>Palestine Delegation</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
General Zionists and Aliyah Hadashah (New Immigration)	11
Mapai (Labor Party)	35
Achdut Avodah and Hashomer Hatzair (now united in United Workers Party).....	25
Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi.....	13
Revisionists	13

Bomb shelter of a kindergarten of the Agudath Tarbut Laam (Jewish Cultural Organization) in Tel Aviv supported by funds from the JPFO.



The weakness of the General Zionists in Israel is emphasized by the fact that the figure above includes the Aliyah Hadashah, a grouping similar in outlook but nevertheless a distinct and separate political party. The General Zionists alone probably would account for about seven or eight per cent of the total 11 per cent vote.

As we noted, the General Zionist Party represents the interests of the industrialists, merchants and landlords. Here are a few points of their program.

“General Zionism insists that . . . the national interests should supersede every party interest in Israel.

“General Zionism insists on full attention being given to the development of private initiative . . . as the best means of providing employment for a maximum number of immigrants. . . . Unless Israel is to remain a backward Middle Eastern agricultural land, there must be incentive to business and indus-



Masthead of the first number of Frei Yisroel (Free Israel), new Yiddish weekly published in Tel Aviv with the help of funds from the JPFO.

try to create the necessary economic conditions for rapid and healthy growth.

"General Zionism recognizes fully the right of workers to defend their economic and social positions; in the interests of the economic position of the *Yishuv* as a whole it will aim at the elimination of all conflicts between employer and employee by the strengthening of machinery for mediation and national arbitration.

"General Zionism seeks to avoid extremes . . . holding the movement steady and constant against the pull by extremes of both left and right." (Italics mine.—M.M.)

High-sounding phrases aside, this program is in complete accord with general capitalist ideology. Trade unionists and progressives generally understand exactly what "national arbitration" means to the workers as a solution to the conflict of capital and labor. The same is true of "national interest."

Class Struggle in Israel

Even a superficial analysis of the struggles in Israel today on such questions as taxation, high cost of living, struggle for position in the government and the crucial question of who are bearing the burden of the war, would easily establish clear cut party differences stemming from different class approaches. Nor are these questions unrelated to the basic issue of the sovereignty and independence of Israel.

It is no secret that most General Zionists have favored an alliance with Britain and were convinced that the future of Israel rested on close collaboration with the British Empire. This tendency has not disappeared to this day, despite the clear exposure of the role of Britain and its aims both in Israel and in the Middle East generally. Other General Zionist leaders have changed their viewpoint only to favor substitution of one imperialism for another, rather than to repudiate imperialism altogether. In view of the increasing loss of prestige and power of the British empire, they feel that they must now hitch their wagon to the stronger imperialism, that of the United States. No amount of demagogic phrases about being "the champions of the center, holding the balance between the left and the right" can obscure the fact that such talk is only a blind to destroy the unity of the left to weaken left influence and to assure the fulfillment of their own bourgeois-oriented program.

If it were not for the influence of the General Zionists in America and their dominant role in world Zionist

affairs, the General Zionists would play hardly any role at all in the life of Israel as a political party. And the General Zionist leadership in America is able to maintain its dominant position not only because of the fact that it controls the largest fund raising apparatus in the world, but also through its system of interlocking directorates. For example, Rabbi Israel

Goldstein, a former president of the Zionist Organization of America, is chairman of both the United Palestine Appeal and the World Confederation of General Zionists; Dr. Abraham Granovsky, president of the Keren Kayemeth in Israel, is also a member of the board of the Constructive Enterprises Fund of the General Zionists Fund.

Goal Is Democratization

Many Jews who contribute to the United Palestine Appeal consider the political and economic policy of the General Zionists to be inimical to the creation of a democratic and independent Israel. Is any avenue open to them to voice their protest against allocation of money to the General Zionists Fund, to change this situation or to earmark their contributions so as not to support political groupings with whose views they completely disagree? None whatsoever.

Of course the issue is much deeper and more fundamental than the question of Mizrahi and General Zionist funds alone. The problem relates to the fund as a whole and to the general character of those who hold fund raising and allocations in a tight grip. At bottom the question is one of the democratization of these fund raising organizations.

The problem can be dramatically highlighted by the case of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, national chairman of the United Jewish Appeal. During a recent visit to Israel, Mr. Morgenthau declared that every dollar that goes to Israel will help make it a bulwark against communism and the "expansionist aims" of the Soviet Union. I don't know who authorized Mr. Morgenthau to speak either for the community of Israel or for the Jewish community in America along these lines. Nor do I believe that the men and women of Israel, who feel deeply the debt they owe to the Soviet Union for its uncompromising aid to Israel, will appreciate Mr. Morgenthau's statement. But the man is head of the United Jewish Appeal and, as such, has quite a bit to say about allocation of funds. Will Mr. Morgenthau and his colleagues try to influence the policies of Israel by intimating that funds might not be available to groups which do not agree that Israeli citizens should devote their lives to becoming cannon fodder in a war against the Soviet Union? Is the UJA to be a little Marshall Plan with the dollar held over Israel's head as a club, as is the case today in France and Italy and Germany?

Consider how contradictory and short-sighted it is to carry on a struggle against the betrayal of Israel by our

administration and for the full independence and territorial integrity of Israel, and at the same time to place funds in the hands of men who praise President Truman as the great savior and who plan to make Israel subservient to American imperialist interests. Does this confused approach aid Israel's independence? Does it insure the full development of Israel's industrial potential, which is the only basis on which immigration and the integration of the immigrants is possible? Those who consider it possible for Israel to develop independently under such conditions of subservience to imperialism, should glance at what is happening to larger and more powerful countries than Israel. What is happening in France under the aegis of Marshall Plan dollars? There is gradual slow-down of any production which is in competition with American goods. The same is true of any country that has allowed itself to become subservient to the Marshall Plan.

Or consider the Middle Eastern neighbors of Israel. See the poverty and disease among the people of Transjordan, which is ruled by Abdullah, with whom some Israeli leaders wish to negotiate for his absorption of the Arab part of Palestine. Is Abdullah responsible for these conditions? Certainly. But who keeps this feudal tyrant in power so that he can wallow in luxury, while the people go begging and children die like flies? Who gives him arms and money to maintain his throne? And who has prevented the people of Transjordan from achieving freedom and independence? Britain is responsible, under Tory and Labor governments alike. Are things any different in Saudi Arabia under Ibn Saud, potentate by the grace of American imperialism to the tune of \$40,000 a day dished up by Aramco?

Does control of your contributions by those in Israel who approve an agreement and economic unity with Abdullah, (that is, Britain) have no political significance?

Numerous organizations and individuals have long been aware of the need to democratize the United Palestine Appeal as well as the United Jewish Appeal. The question can no longer be postponed. The Jewish community of America, and certainly the progressive and trade union movement, must carry on a real and militant struggle for genuine democratization and for guarantees that progressive organizations and movements will have full participation in deciding policy. Integrally linked with these questions is how money will be spent. Will funds be allocated without discrimination or will progressive and anti-impe-

rialist groupings in Israel be excluded? To raise the former problems without the latter creates illusions that solutions have been reached.

Some Proposals

What should we do? *The progressive Jewish movement must arouse the Jewish masses to an awareness of the political implications of relief. It must exert pressure upon the leadership of the fund raising organizations through mass campaigns. It must insist on the right to earmark funds contributed so that minimum guarantees will be established that funds are used to aid the progressive organizations and the interests of the working class and the overwhelming mass of the people in Israel.* The progressive movement in the Jewish community of America dare not tolerate conditions under which working class organizations in Israel, such as the Communist Party or any other left organization which does not agree with the ideologies and the policy of ruling circles and which carries on a consistent struggle for an independent and democratic Israel, should be discriminated against by those who control the purse.

Progressive trade unions, fraternal organizations and landsmanshaften which raise large sums of money for Israel should and can, within the framework of developing Israel, send delegations to Israel and establish projects under their own names, projects which will be of value in the further development of Israel. And, finally, campaigns like those of such organizations as the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council deserve the support of people who are concerned with harmonizing their relief activity with their political aims and aspirations.

Aid to Israel is vitally necessary and must be supported by the whole American Jewish community. But such aid can be misdirected, unless it is coordinated with the struggle for the freedom and independence of Israel. Failure to insist that one's aid be given in consonance with one's political beliefs and activities, is to compromise not only one's own political objectives, but even more important, the future and the independence of Israel.

Our inquiry into fund raising in the American Jewish community will continue in the near future with an examination of fund campaigns for the Histadruth (Israel's Federation of Labor).—Eds.

Beginning next issue:

NO PEACE OF MIND by George Stewart

Two articles giving a Marxist critique of psychoanalytical theories, based on a study of Joshua Loth Liebman's *Peace of Mind*

MENDELE MOCHER SEFORIM

By Sidney Rosenblatt



ALMOST a century ago Sholem Yakov Abramovich, the immortal "Mendele Mocher Seforim" of Yiddish literature, looked out from his ivory tower of Hebrew classical education and decided that it was about time for the artist to meet

his people. The reunion was happy for both. By the time the sun had set on a rich, creative life spanning three turbulent generations of world history, Mendele had become the foremost literary spokesman of his people. He had tilted his powerful satirical lances with devastating effect against the Jewish upper-bracket betrayers and oppressors of their own folk. What's more, Mendele elevated both the language of his people and the people to a dignity denied them for hundreds of years.

The Sholem Yakov Abramovich who later became the beloved "Mendele the Bookseller" (from *Mocher*, seller, and *Seforim*, books) to the Jewish masses, was not born with a social conscience. At his birth in 1836, in Kapula, White Russia, he practically had a silver spoon in his mouth. Since his father was a prosperous merchant, Sholem was brought up like all Jewish male children of wealthy parents—in the classical Hebrew tradition of the synagogue and the Torah. He was removed from real life and knew neither hunger nor privation—for a time. Because of his father's position he escaped the *happers* (those who pressed Jews into military service, from *hap*, to snatch) of the Tsar. The Jewish *happers* were bought off.

Even the infant capitalism of 19th century Russia had its crises. One of these "readjustments" wiped out Sholem's father's fortune. Soon after, the father died. The orphan Sholem left home to become a wandering *Yeshiva bocher*. He was convinced that if only he could educate himself, he would be successful in achieving the elusive *tachlis* (goal) sought so desperately by all poor Jews.

It was rough for all the poor people in Russia, but the cards were stacked even worse against the poor Jew. The latter suffered not only a continuous economic pogrom, but also a grinding national oppression. In the nightmarish jungle resulting from the breakdown of feudal serfdom and the dispersal of the Jews from the land and the villages into the over-crowded super-ghetto called the "Pale," they

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were forced into murderous competition against each other.

The top Jewish clique became wealthier and the *luftmenshen* and *shnorrers* and *shacher-machers* who were denied ownership of land and entry into most professions and businesses increased in numbers. At the same time a Jewish proletariat in the new factories began to emerge.

The *Kahal* (Jewish community) leaders, who had replaced the old ethical values with ruble values, had been fairly successful up to then in keeping the masses quiet. But the new workers and the brutally exploited artisans added another problem. The *Kahal*-leaders kept them in mortal fear and fought them in a grim class struggle with no holds barred. The young intellectual Sholem Abramovich was tossed into this seething pot.

Settling in Kamenetz Podolsk, in the Ukraine, Sholem grasped at the straw of the new bourgeois-liberal "enlightenment" (*Haskalah*) of the time. At 20 he was appointed to the Jewish government-supported (and regulated) school. His very first literary effort (1859) was written in Hebrew and concerned with education. The following year, he married and settled in Berdichev.

The young writer looked at the world around him and noticed that new factory centers were rising in cities like Warsaw, Kiev and Odessa, while towns like Berdichev were beginning an economic decline. And since the lot of the poor Jew became harder and the lush life of the rich remained undisturbed, it seemed that God was just only to the wealthy.

"Haskalah" Not Enough

There were some people, including Sholem Abramovich, who couldn't stomach the hypocrisy of those who talked about "reforms" to be achieved by "modernizing" education and remaking the Jew into an "up-to-date" person. These ideas were reflected somewhat in Sholem's first booklet, *Mishpat Sholem* (The Justice of Sholem), pub-



lished in 1860. "The life in our present literature is no life at all," he wrote. "The spirit of a living and tumultuous time is not felt in these works. . . . A literature that has no relationship to the people and its needs and is uninfluenced by them, cannot affect their lives. The people want no part of it and it becomes completely superfluous in a living and creating earth." Later he wrote in his autobiography: "I wanted writers to get down to earth and see the life of the people . . . and to hold this before the eyes of the people."

In 1864, an event occurred that was important not only in Sholem's creative career but in the history of Yiddish literature. This was the publication of his first story in Yiddish, *Dos Kleine Mentshele* (The Little Fellow). Thenceforth the great writer expressed himself solely in the language of his folk. As he put it: "if the majority does not understand the Hebrew language, of what value is it for the writer to expend so much energy?"

Sholem at this time also rejected the liberal-bourgeois "enlightened" theory that it was only necessary to have a literature satirizing and ridiculing "backward customs and archaic religious dogmas." He insisted that a people's literature must fight not only the decadence of the past but also the decay arising out of a new group of oppressors, the upper middle class.

"I am not at all afraid of uncovering and taking apart our innermost faults," he said. But he also maintained that economic and social oppression was just as terrible as spiritual and social stagnation. While he heaped withering satire on the backward customs of his people, he never ridiculed the people themselves, a lesson that could well be learned by some current authors and "humorists."

The "little people" of the 1860's in Russia sound like direct ancestors of some American Jews today. In those times few Jews thought of changing their names or denying their origin, but the bourgeois "you're not in the norm, if you don't conform" siren song was aptly explained by one of the *Maskillim* ("enlightened" Jews) in Sholem Abramovich's novel: "Become one of the 'little people' just like everyone else and you'll be rich. Work will get you nowhere . . . wisdom isn't worth a damn. One must be able to wheedle one's way into people's graces, know how to tell lies. If you have money, you have the world. . . ."

Stories for the Masses

Naturally this novel loosed a storm of protest around the young writer, who was the first to defend the interests of the poor masses against their "leaders." Not only did he unmask these parasites, who sucked the blood of their own folk, but he also introduced in this work another familiar type, the "enlightened liberal," who talked of "reform" but actually kowtowed to his bourgeois masters while betraying the common people. This great work of Sholem's marked him not only as a master of social satire and a champion of the oppressed, but also as an immortal folk symbol.

Still using the name of Abramovich, in 1866 he published



Mendele Mocher Seforim in later years

Dos Vintshfingerl (The Wishing Ring). It relates allegorically the life story of the *Maskil* Hershele Rotman, who comes from a town with one rich man while everybody else is terribly poor. The people console themselves by dreaming of the wonderful "wishing ring," which brings all that the heart desires. But Hershele sadly learns that "wishing ring fantasies" offer no solutions to his people's problems, and that knowledge and true understanding are needed before mankind can attain the promised land of a decent, fruitful life.

Fishke der Krumer (Fishke the Lame) was Sholem's first work under the name of Mendele Mocher Seforim, by which he is famous for all time. Again in a story within a story Mendele portrays with breathtaking realism and humanity the oppressed and crushed poor, the backward, the maimed, the cripples—and the men who prey on them. In the very lowest rungs of society he seeks out the painfully torn yet beautiful, loving hearts of his people. This novel signified a tremendous growth by Mendele as an artist of the people.

With a compassionate pen Mendele next published *Di*



Taxe (The Tax-Collector), exposing not only oppression by the wealthy of the Jewish community of their own brethren, but also the double-talk of the "liberal" groups. The book actually related Mendele's own fight against oppressive taxation in his home town of Berditchev.

Mendele's pen became a scalpel, dissecting the relationship of forces which permitted outrages in the name of taxation allegedly imposed to raise money for the needs of the Jewish community. Actually, large chunks of this legalized graft stuck to the fingers of and lined the tin boxes of the rich Jewish leaders who were charged by the Tsarist government with collecting the duties.

Taxes of Glupsk

The story was laid in the mythical town of Glupsk, where the wealthy Jews (who always argue that they are doing the poor a "favor" by "leading" them), combine with the religious elements and a "liberal" character named Shtandoff, to mulct the people. But this time the poor, "ignorant" and "illiterate" suckers begin to grumble. They actually have the nerve to demand an accounting of the funds! Two people's spokesmen, a worker and a poor intellectual, come forward. *Di Taxe* burst like a bomb on Berditchev's Jewish community. But Mendele told the complaining Berditchev Big Shots: "You see, I sewed on your clothes like a tailor. They seem to fit you. So wear them in good health!"

In one respect the book was weak. While the story called for struggle against the top Jewish leadership, it did not analyze the social base of each group portrayed. Despite his sharp satire against the rich Mendele didn't yet understand that the rich *Bal-Toyves* (those who confer "favors") of the Jewish community and the Tsarist government were brothers under the skin, and that the alleged "enlightened ones" were misleaders of the people. That is why Mendele apologized for his "liberal" Shtandoff: "He possesses marvelous ability, wonderful qualities but the only trouble is that bad men have misled him!"

With the ill wishes of the Jewish upper cliques upon him, Mendele moved to the town of Zhitomir. He went further to the left, impelled by his personal experience. Mendele the truth-seeker, the champion of the oppressed, became rooted more solidly in his folk. He broke yet another tradition by

becoming the first writer in Jewish literature to present a picture of social oppression and social struggle within his folk. For the first time, there was no longer meekness, but rather open hatred of the oppressed for his oppressor.

"The Old Nag"

In 1873, after the Tsarist authorities refused him permission to establish a Yiddish newspaper in Zhitomir, and he failed to secure a diploma leading to a post at the Rabbinical School (a sermon he delivered as part of his examination turned into an attack on the top Jewish cliques), he published his most famous work, *Die Klyatsche* (The Old Nag). This was an even more powerful indictment of the persecutors, Jewish and non-Jewish, of the downtrodden Jewish poor. No longer were there illusions about *Haskalah* (enlightenment) or the possible kind-heartedness of the Tsarist regime. But a Jew in Tsarist Russia had to be careful, so the work began with a literary introduction making it appear that Mendele was not the author, but rather "Yisrolik the Crazy *Mashil*," whose story Mendele was telling.

Yisrolik tells how he rescues the ancient, beat-up *Klyatsche* from some tormenters. In gratitude the old nag relates how once, long ago, she was a princess. But for thousands of years she has been wandering as a persecuted beast, despised and abused by all. Later, Yisrolik, who has failed to educate himself to help better the lot of his people, again rescues the old horse. In the midst of a violent storm he asks the *Klyatsche* how long she intends to go on suffering.

"Until people become better and wiser and until truth and justice rule the world. . . . The storm in which justice will appear, will be much stronger than the one we have just experienced," says the persecuted nag in a remarkable prophecy of the great Revolution that set free one-sixth of the world.



Yisrolik fails to get help for the poor nag from the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He is told that the horse should "first educate itself and then it will be given help." The *Klyatsche* rejects this advice thus: "I want nothing of your pity. I am like all others, a living creation and like them I have the right to live. If you will deal with me justly, then you see, we can talk about other questions!"

In a dream, Yisrolik is crowned to replace one of the rich Jewish *Bal-Toyves* who has just died. Ashmadei, king of

the evil spirits, then lectures Yisrolik on how to act like a Big Shot—appear to be pious, pretend goodness, work hand in glove with the tax collectors and put the masses to sleep with phony lullabies. Above all—*always see to it that the masses are asleep!* The last sentence is a most concise statement of how oppression operates.

Satirizing the Backward

In 1875, Mendele struck a mighty blow with *Masoas Benyomen Hashlishi* (The Travels of Benjamin the Third) at the backward concepts remaining in Jewish life. As in a Yiddish *Don Quixote*, *Benyomen* satirized the feudal separation from reality, the Talmud culture of shadows and the dim past, the Messianic dreams and illusions of the Jews. This great work is actually more pointed than Cervantes' satire. Mendele called a spade a spade and amply showed that freedom as a practical solution for the oppressed is not to be found in daydreams.



By the turn of the century Mendele Mocher Seforim's fame and influence were so great that revolutionary propagandists pointed up their speeches with his works and characterizations. Around this people's spokesman rallied many advanced progressive elements of the Jewish masses.

In 1905, when he was 70 years old, a wave of horrible pogroms swept over Russia. The venerable writer, now dubbed the *zaida* in recognition of his position as the grandfather of Jewish literature, became ill. He was persuaded to go to Switzerland for his health and he continued to work and gave help particularly to young writers of the new school of realism in Yiddish literature.

Ben Ami, noted Yiddish writer, recalls how Mendele criticized decadence, extreme naturalism and "trashy" work. "You would never think," said Ben Ami, "that this man was 70 years old. His white hair is like beautiful snow that has just fallen on fields that were green only a day or two ago. And his brilliant stream of words issued forth like sparks."

The *zaida* bluntly refused offers to travel to America. "I must return to Russia, home to my poor ones. I have still much to do there," he told his daughters. And so in the winter of 1908, Mendele returned home. Wherever he went, thousands of people—not just the intellectuals, but



the Jewish workers, the tired and the poor—greeted with joy the man who had laid the foundations of Yiddish literature, and who had become the champion of their fight against their Jewish oppressors. Although the upper crust tried to adopt him, Mendele stuck to the common people. They were his and he was theirs.

Last Years

The first imperialist world war brought pain and suffering to the aged *zaida*. He wept at the news of hundreds of thousands of Jews uprooted, driven to hunger and death. His sadness grew deeper with the loss of his young literary co-fighter Peretz, and with the death of his devoted *ainikl* (grandson) Sholem Aleichem.

But in the last month of his life, in 1917, Mendele saw the earthshaking October revolution which forever destroyed the poverty and the oppression of the suffering people of Russia, and which wiped away for all time the political and national inequality and persecution of the Tsarist "prison of nations."

In the mind of this beautiful human being, whose life was ending just as a new and glorious life was beginning for his people, there must have echoed a tender passage from his autobiography: "The wind carried me away, shook me up and carried me to various experiences. . . . It carried me down to my suffering brothers, who lived under the worst conditions, so that I might live *with* them a life of pain and feel their sufferings. . . . From their pain I received a double portion."

And when the great storm prophesied by the *Klyatsche* broke, Mendele the Bookseller must have smiled a smile of peace and closed his eyes for the last time with these, also his own words: "The phony and hypocritical 'protectors,' the bloodsuckers and the *Tuneyadevkes* (the small town upper crust) who lived as parasites on the unhappiness and the tragedy of the people, are now forever banished."



THE JEW IN CELLULOID

By Millard Lampell

"If you got a message, send it by Western Union." Ancient Hollywood proverb.

IT was some time ago when I first came to the realization that the tattered history books I studied back in P.S. 20, Paterson, New Jersey, had given me a magic-lantern version of events—taking the truth and casting it back in a series of eerie shadows, upside-down. Yet I had always assumed that in my bobtailed grammar-school history, at least the dates were accurate. The discovery of America was carefully listed: Columbus in 1492, and the landing at Plymouth Rock in 1620. It wasn't until I got to Hollywood that I realized that my history books had even botched that one. They had completely neglected to mention the date of the Warner Brothers landing at Burbank, Cal. And yet, as I was to find out, on that historic date a new continent was discovered, a shining, pure, antiseptic, immaculate America, white and fearless and Protestant Anglo-Saxon.

In this celluloid America, the heroes came in several varieties: there was the open-faced, appealing, All-American boy, and the lean, worldly, poetic adventurer-with-clipped-British-accent. There was also the Private Eye—worn, cynical, tough—and white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon.

That was the primer lesson for writing in Hollywood. You could shape your hero in any mold you liked—lean, hefty, even slightly balding—just so long as he was white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, and as long as he did not touch on any moral problem not covered by the Boy Scout oath. "If you got any messages," producers kept saying with a peculiar and bright-eyed monotony, "send 'em by Western Union."

There was, of course, in this celluloid America, a crusty but lovable old Irishman, a low-comedy dialect Italian who ran the corner fruit store, and a jolly Negro maid chuckling and laughing all the day. But no Jews. Oh, once in a decade a wierd caricature turned up (*Abie's Irish Rose*, Mervyn Leroy's *Mendel the Plumber*). And one freak exception, *Mrs. Skeffington*, dealt with a mixed marriage. But by and large, the Jew simply did not exist in Hollywood's America. With a competence that would have appealed to Himmler, the face of the nation on the screen was reserved For Gentiles Only.

The producers had always advanced a righteous ex-

MILLARD LAMPELL is a screen, radio and fiction writer. He wrote the original screen play for *Miss O'Brien*, with Joan Crawford, now in production, and his first novel, *The Hero*, to be published by Messner in the spring, has been purchased by Columbia Pictures.

cuse for this policy. "You put a Jew in a picture, you're asking for trouble. All hell breaks loose. You got the Jewish outfits down on your neck, you got the church down on your neck. They don't like this, they don't like that. So why monkey with dynamite?" That was the producers' line—echoed alike by the impeccable Yale man and banking-house boy (J. Cheever Cowdin) and by the reluctant Jew and intimate of archbishops (Louis B. Mayer).

And it was a thundering irony that through the years of the Protestant Anglo-Saxon movie hero, the classic All-American boy and the classic adventurer-with-clipped-British-accent were both Jewish actors—Cary Grant and Leslie Howard.

It was about five years ago that a young man slipped past the Hollywood immigration authorities. He turned up in the United States Marines, fighting at Guadalcanal. His name was Diamond, and he was a pal of the hero in *Pride of the Marines*. And he was a Jew. The first Jew of dignity and courage to appear in a contemporary American movie.

The fact is that throughout the war, 99 per cent of Hollywood's pictures ignored or distorted the deeper issues. What we got was the old formula, with a "switcheroo" thrown in. The villain had a swastika and a guttural accent, but he was the same old heavy. Most war pictures were simply Westerns, with the Indians carrying Lugers. The heads of the great studios who had for years discriminated against minorities in employment and in subject-matter, who had fought the unions tooth and nail, who were tied by an umbilical cord of interlocking directorates to the great banking houses, approached the subject of anti-fascist pictures with wary uneasiness. Mostly, they were content to make flag-wavers and military musicals.

The Democracy Gimmick

Yet a few producers sensed that they had a new and extremely commercial product to sell—what I heard one of them refer to as "this democracy stuff." For a variety of reasons, a few American war films turned to truth for their themes. It was good business, it was patriotic, and it was a way to get magnificent work out of the best craftsmen in town—the progressive creative workers who had been fighting for years for this chance.

So transpired *Sahara*, *Action in the North Atlantic*, *G.I. Joe* and others. And so appeared the Jew as a recognizable human being. There was the fiercely proud Diamond in

Pride of the Marines, and tough, stolid, ever-lovin' Friedman in *A Walk in the Sun*.

Once this historic step was taken, the "put a Jew in a picture, all hell breaks loose" maxim was shattered. But when peace came, the State Department diplomats and their banking house brethren quickly cast aside the anti-fascist mask and dove for plunder. And hard on the heels of the foreign-policy reversal came the cultural reversal. Once again Truth was barred from the studio lot, and the old "Gentiles Only" signs went up on the screen. Yet there had been a stride forward, and there were a scattered few who chose to continue moving on. Two films broke an ancient taboo and dealt with the problem of anti-Semitism.

First came *Crossfire* and then *Gentleman's Agreement*. It is important to note that both of these were made, not by "quickie" independent companies, but by major studios—RKO and 20th Century. The pictures had their flaws, but they were a huge stride beyond the old Hollywood horizon. And they were successful. *Crossfire* was made on a low budget, and it cleaned up at the box office and reaped a harvest of critics' hallelujahs and special awards. *Gentleman's Agreement* had a high budget and a constellation of top-flight stars, and its profit was not so high, proportionately. But it brought the studio and the producer, Darryl Zanuck, a jackpot and glory—commodities rated just below the dollar in Hollywood currency.

Both these pictures were made over the vigorous protest of ranking motion picture magnates. Louis B. Mayer—who has long admonished Jews to talk softly, vote Republican and contribute heavily to Catholic charity—tried to kill *Gentleman's Agreement* while it was still in the script stage. Jack Warner—whose humanitarian outlook recently took the form of tear gas thrown at striking workers from studio parapets—stated that *Crossfire* was "a stupid and dangerous film."

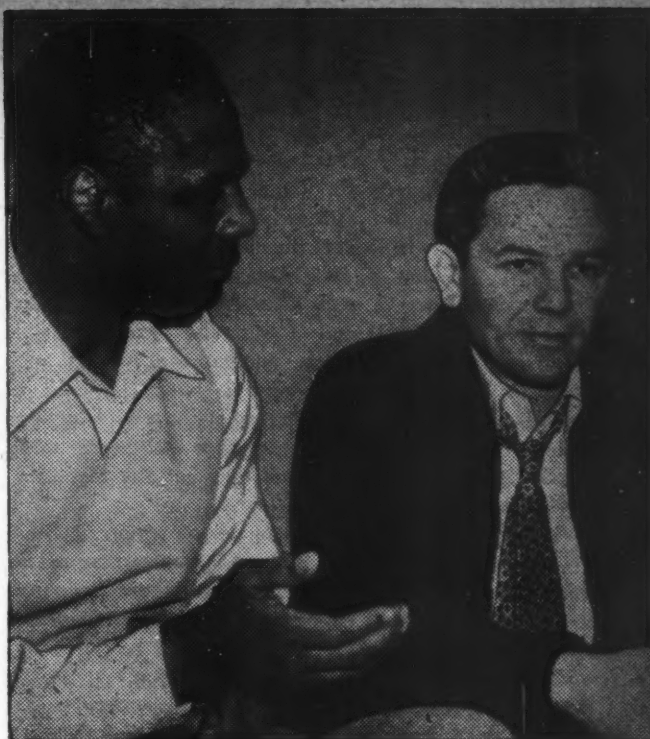
Yet, for many reasons, the monopoly structure of films has not crystallized to the point where the major companies can afford to cease scrabbling to beat each other to a fast buck. So *Crossfire* and *Gentleman's Agreement* were made in spite of protest.

At this point, several other projects were announced: Sam Goldwyn had Howard Koch working on the script of *Earth and High Heaven*, an adaptation of a novel dealing with a "mixed marriage." Universal listed a proposed picture on Palestine.

Along Came Thomas

And at this point, also, the Thomas Committee clanked into action.

Beyond a shadow of doubt, the Thomas Committee deliberately set out to cripple and shackle those film-workers who were circling dangerously close to the truth in their pictures. In this respect, Rep. J. Parnell Thomas was merely the idiot errand-boy of the State Department. No longer was "this democracy stuff" a useful commodity. It



In the film *Body and Soul*, the boxing champion (John Garfield) and ex-champion (Canada Lee) discuss loyalty to their peoples.

was, in fact, a dangerous one. Dangerous to Marshall, dangerous to Truman, dangerous to Forrester. A nation which went to see films dealing sympathetically with Jews might wonder why its diplomats were dealing sympathetically with fascists.

The Thomas Committee went at its job with the high glee of a Christian Front defacing a synagogue. One of its leading lights was the outstanding Congressional anti-Semite, John E. Rankin. At least two-thirds of the 19 "Unfriendly Witnesses" subpoenaed were men who had helped produce films which treated Jews or Negroes sympathetically. Albert Maltz was the writer of *Pride of the Marines*, and the prize-winning short, *The House I Live In*. Adrian Scott and Edward Dmytryk produced and directed *Crossfire*. Ring Lardner, Jr. wrote *Brotherhood of Man*. And so on.

Everyone knew that the Thomas Committee was out to get the men who had made the film statements for human equality. Even Jack Warner knew. And it will remain a memory of shame and a new low in self-degradation, that when asked to point out "Un-American" material which had been slipped into his films, Warner voluntarily chose a scene from *Pride of the Marines* "... where the fellow on the train said, 'My name is Jones, so I can't get a job.' It was this kid named Diamond, a Jewish boy in the Marines, a hero at Guadalcanal." Here was Warner, a Jew, choosing as an example of un-Americanism, a scene attacking anti-Semitism!

Now the Hollywood hearings are writ in history. The parade of foppish finks (Adolphe Menjou, Robert Taylor, *et al*) is recorded; the magnificent courage of Lawson, Maltz and others of The Ten is recorded. And it is also recorded that the producers uttered a half-hearted whisper of coy protest, and then wheeled and headed for the kennel in New York whence their banker-masters had whistled for them. And that incredible convulsive action known as the economic reflex sent them to their knees, heads bowed, eyes turned reverently toward the Mecca on Capitol Hill from which prophets Thomas and Rankin sent down The Word. And the word was—lynch. Lynch The Ten! Lynch the truth! Cut out the films with significance, cut out treating Jews and Negroes with understanding! Gag the writers! Tell 'em if they got any messages, send 'em by Western Union!

In the Congressional debate on the contempt citations of The Ten, Rep. Rankin delivered a venomous anti-Semitic tirade. Out of the hundreds of Hollywood figures opposing the Thomas Committee, Rankin deliberately singled the few who had names which were obviously Jewish.

Yet if the producers obediently leaped to lay their heads on the block, there were some creative film workers who fought back. While the Thomas Committee was chattering hysterically for the headlines, still another honest picture found its way into the theaters. It was *Body and Soul*—its hero was a boxer who also happened to be Jewish. And one of his closest friends was a gentle and dignified ex-champion who happened to be a Negro. *Body and Soul* was a landmark of the American screen. For where pre-

District attorney (Robert Montgomery) interrogates anti-Semitic killer (Robert Ryan) in *Crossfire*.



vious pictures with Jewish characters had dealt head-on with anti-Semitism, here was the story of an American who simply was also Jewish. And it was a smashing hit!

Unquestionably the greatest number of studio bosses have turned back with a vengeance to the old celluloid America, the brittle, corrupt, ominous myth they have spread throughout the world for so many decades. But there are growing forces in Hollywood fighting to move on down the frontier road opened by *Crossfire*, *Gentleman's Agreement* and *Body and Soul*.

Goldwyn's *Earth and High Heaven* project seems shelved in limbo, and Universal has dropped its plans for a film on Israel. RKO is in the hands of Howard Hughes, the Texas Ranger in tennis sneakers who has flatly stated that he is against "Think" pictures, and that his major production for the coming year will be *I Married A Communist*. Warner Brothers has let its producers know in no uncertain terms that there will be no Negroes or Jews in their pictures. (I was rather briskly asked to remove a Negro child from a script of mine.)

Need for Public Pressure

Yet at Columbia, John Huston has just finished *Rough Sketch*, in which John Garfield plays a Cuban-American revolutionary. And in Israel today, Fred Zinneman, director of the prize-winning *The Search*, is preparing a script in which Montgomery Clift, Hollywood's hottest young star, has agreed to play the lead. There have been rumors that Zanuck is preparing a film about a Negro-white friendship—*Quality*. Serious pictures continue to gross sensationally at the box office—witness *Snake Pit* and *Johnny Belinda*. The motion picture executives are aware that the public will no longer follow the glittering names into theaters where the latest trashy Hollywood argle-bargle is playing. No longer is the simple act of releasing a film enough to insure a profit, as it was during the good old days. No longer is the star's name enough. The American people, their purses precariously emptied by skyrocket prices, have become increasingly tough customers. They want good, mature pictures. And in the final analysis, it is the music of the cash register to which Hollywood dances.

Yet the motion picture industry, unlike steel, chemicals and other monopolies, faces a hazard in adopting an openly reactionary policy. For it must sell its product directly to the people. And the people can live without motion pictures. Films are especially sensitive to pressure and boycott. The Catholic Church has made use of this situation for years. Progressives have never made enough use of it.

A militant and organized fight for progressive ideas on the screen can have telling effect. The American people can determine to a large extent whether they will get the old, pawed-over merchandise, or whether they will get films of the America that actually exists. The people can decide which it is they want for the price of admission—a ticket to treason or a ticket to truth.

PALMACH UNDER FIRE

By David Matis

IN Israel people talk of the Palmach and its heroic feats as though it were a legend rather than a corps of living men and women.

People's faces would light up if you asked for the story of these shock troops, who spearheaded every fighting column and every attack. Today, people's faces light up no longer. For the Palmach has been dissolved—by order of Premier and Minister of Defense David Ben Gurion.

What is this Palmach that enlists such passionate loyalties and makes its dissolution a major political issue in Israel?

The Palmach, derived from two Hebrew words meaning "shock troops," organized seven years ago, was the striking arm of the Haganah. The men of the Palmach were at the same time tillers of the soil, industrial workers and shock troops in battle. Their training camps were organized so that military training was combined with vocational training.

"The cadre units of our armed force—the Palmach—were drawn from the most politically conscious elements of the worker's movements, the *kibbutzim* and the majority of the officers were drawn from the same sources," wrote United Workers Party leader Yaakov Morris (*Youth and Nation*, New York, November 1948).

During the war, Palmach units in the allied armies were given hazardous assignments. They operated behind nazi lines in Vichy-controlled Lebanon and Syria. Many units were parachuted into nazi-occupied Europe where they engaged in sabotage and saved many Jewish lives.

In spite of weaknesses and contradictions resulting from adherence to Zionist tenets and ideology, the Palmach was essentially a democratic organization with a high degree of democratic discipline and a true sense of comradeship.

With the end of the war and the intensification of British imperialist attacks on the *Yishuv*, the Palmach became shock troops of the counter-attack. Palmach units harried the British on land and sea. They sank British deportation ships off the shores of Palestine and piloted many refugee ships through the British blockade.

Operating as an independent unit with its own high command, the Palmach spearheaded the battles in the Negev and Galilee. In April 1948, it was the Palmach which led the costly and bloody victory that opened the road to beleaguered Jerusalem and its over a hundred thousand Jews, starving and cut off from the rest of the country.

In a recent letter to a wounded Palmach soldier, Ben Gurion, obliged to pay tribute to the Palmach, nevertheless

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tries to minimize its achievements. He wrote: "The old Palmach members and the soldiers and officers of the Second World War fulfilled a decisive function in the military training of our army in preparation for combat. Palmach units distinguished themselves in guarding strategic highways, in capturing Galilee, in the mountainous regions of Jerusalem, in the city of Jerusalem, in the Negev and other places. Each Palmach member has reason to be proud of his unit. *Although the reputation it has achieved may be partly exaggerated, the Palmach as a whole cannot be held responsible for this.*" (Italics mine—D.M.)

One sight stands out vividly in the memory of my first days in Tel Aviv. Not far from shore stood the burned hulk of the "Altalena," haunting reminder of the traitorous attempts of the Irgun soon after the establishment of the Jewish state, to carry through a putsch against the government. But to most Israelis the "Altalena" is also a monument to the alertness and heroism of the Palmach who were the first to reach the Tel Aviv shore to frustrate the designs of the Irgun.

Moshe Sneh, former commander of the Haganah and certainly a qualified authority, points out that "the Palmach was crystallized as the essential nucleus of the Haganah. The basic principle of volunteering pervaded the Palmach so completely that it was hardly ever necessary to assign difficult military tasks by command. The soldier of the Palmach soon became famous for outstanding bravery and readiness for personal sacrifice."

Spirit of Palmach

Palmach *esprit* and readiness to spearhead every attack, no matter how dangerous, arose from the more fundamental understanding and perspective that it had achieved on basic political problems. Its membership recognized that a free and independent Israel could be established only if the *Yishuv* were prepared to wage an all-out fight against imperialism. And it set itself the task of uniting the *Yishuv* on this issue through propaganda, but even more through its own example.

Both the leadership, as well as the rank and file of Palmach, championed the cause of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union as fundamental to the national well being and development of the *Yishuv*. And for the same reason, although inconsistently, it worked for working class unity and leadership as the guarantee for a victorious struggle.

The inner life of Palmach, its true sense of comradeship and its democratic structure sprang from its basic political



Courtesy of Haganah Speaks

A Palmach commando of the unit Shuarei Shimson (Foxes of Samson) who engaged in the Operation "Ten Plagues" in the Negev.

orientation. Palmach leaders recognized the need for imbuing its ranks from top to bottom with a sense of personal responsibility for the outcome of each individual struggle, as well as for the course of the war as a whole. This demanded a high level of morale which could be achieved only through a continuous program of political education and a life completely in harmony with its political orientation. It was quite natural that those elements in the Yishuv which disapproved both of the policies and the methods of the Palmach, should undertake to undermine its prestige and its power.

Anti-Palmach Offensive

Ben Gurion's campaign to dissolve the Palmach was in full swing early in October when I arrived in Israel. On October 30, Ben Gurion won: the Security Committee of the State Council approved the general staff's decision to dissolve Palmach headquarters. Wherever I went in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem or Haifa, I saw huge Communist Party and United Workers Party posters demanding the maintenance of the Palmach and denouncing Ben Gurion's decree. Nowhere were disappointment and anger written larger than on the faces of the Palmach men, the young khaki-clad warriors proudly wearing their emblem of two ears of wheat crossed by a sword. The press gave little coverage to the controversy because the government clamped down a censorship and forbade press discussion of the decree. Both *Al Hamishmar*, United Workers Party daily, and *Kol Haam*, Community Party daily, appeared with fillers that obviously called attention to the censored subject. *Al Hamishmar* printed the song Palmach while *Kol Haam* ran a cartoon of a man with a lock on his lips.

A few weeks later the issue came before the executive of the Histadruth. Ben Gurion and the majority of the government were accused of having "sabotaged" the war

effort by this decision. Ben Gurion personally was denounced as "betraying the working class." These charges were made by leaders of the Mapam (United Workers Party). Their bill of particulars charged that:

1. Ben Gurion and the majority of the government had ordered dissolution of the Palmach general staff because the leadership was progressive and the membership organized on a genuinely democratic basis.

2. For these reasons Ben Gurion had removed Israel Galilee, a Palmach officer, from his post as commander-in-chief of the Haganah.

3. The decision to dissolve the Palmach weakened the fighting potentialities of the Israeli army and destroyed the democratic character of the defense forces.

4. Ben Gurion was attempting to efface the record of the Palmach.

5. Government censorship had been established to prevent the press from discussing the issue.

A representative of the Mapai (Jewish Labor Party, headed by Ben Gurion), which dominates the Histadruth, replied to these charges by insisting that the dissolution of the Palmach was purely a military question and no concern of the Histadruth.

"Socialist" Maneuvers

The reply itself indicates the trend of the policies of Mapai, which is today the dominant party in Israel. It is indeed sad when a "socialist" party notifies its working class that workers have no right or authority to discuss the basic question of defense and the character of its army. Yaakov Morris, in the article quoted above, in which he discusses this issue and analyzes the striking contrast between the government's approach to the Irgun and Palmach, concludes "that the government, while seeking to weaken the left sections of the Israeli forces, hastened to compromise with and appease the fascist right."

Ben Gurion's determination to dissolve the Palmach was evident from the first day after the Jewish state was proclaimed. Because he was aware of the popularity of Palmach and anticipated the storm that dissolution would create, he decided to move warily. He kicked Israel Galilee, commander-in-chief of the Haganah and a member of the Mapam, upstairs to the post of Assistant Security Minister. Ben Gurion's pretext was that Galilee's post had been a duplication of his own functions. Galilee was infuriated and realized that this move was intended to strip him of authority. He pressed charges against Ben Gurion to the Israeli cabinet. An investigating committee of five, which included Ben Gurion and Moshe Shertok, Israeli Foreign Minister, was appointed. Except for Ben Gurion, the entire committee voted to uphold Galilee's charges. When Ben Gurion threatened to resign as Prime Minister, no action was taken and Ben Gurion won his point.

Meanwhile Ben Gurion was quietly hacking away at the Palmach. He ordered individual Palmach units to

separate fronts, subject to authority of the area commander, thus destroying the organic unity of the Palmach. He introduced new recruits into the Palmach who had neither the political orientation nor the experience of the original Palmach men. Ben Gurion's culminating act was the dissolution of the general staff.

Ben Gurion had tried to justify the dissolution on the ground that there is no room for separate units with separate commands, that such a structure would destroy the competence of a national army, would introduce confusion in the issuing of military orders and reduce the "economy of man-power and weapons." Actually, however, the issue involved is not one of military expediency but rather of basic political importance. Is the Israeli army to be a people's army, subject to the democratic will and policies of the people, or an army divorced from the people and, like all capitalist armies, used as an instrument for the execution of reactionary policies?

"Before the new government," writes Yaakov Morris, "there existed two alternatives in the construction of the national army. Either the traditions of equalitarianism and democracy . . . would be the basis of the new force, or the creation of a bourgeois national army would be initiated with the classical gamut of social inequality and class privilege. Unfortunately the government chose the latter course. The pattern of the British army became the pattern of the Israeli forces not only in military organization and technique but also in *social* composition. Thus we found that behind the shield of the Palmach . . . the new army began its traditions of special officers' clubs and messes, inequality of conditions, saluting, symbols of rank and all the old military palaver of the West. . . . Naturally, the new bourgeois army needed a 'new' type of officer, different from the famous 'political' Palmach and Haganah. Thus we heard the famous Ben Gurion slogan of 'non-political officers' and awoke to find a new general staff minus the old Haganah and Palmach commanders."

Nucleus of People's Army

Had the government desired a democratic army in make-up and in spirit, it would have constituted the Palmach as its essential nucleus. A continuous cycle of training of the entire Israeli citizenry by the Palmach would have insured preparedness for all military exigencies. At the same time the army would have been spared the evils of a bureaucratic set-up and separation of the army from the people. Minimum disruption of the country's economy would have been insured.

The Palmach was well qualified to serve as the nucleus and guiding spirit of national defense. As *Kol Haam*, communist daily, wrote: "The Palmach is a military unit in whose inner life there is a real people's character. Relations between officers and men are on a true comradesly basis. The Palmach has been developing as a democratic people's army. Leading circles in the *Yishuv* seek to dissolve the Palmach and argue that the creation of the Jewish

state has given rise to the need for a regular army 'like those of other countries.' Of course Israel must have an army. But what kind of army? The British army cannot be our model. We want a democratic people's army. And the Palmach has been developing along these lines." (Oct. 15, 1948.)

The Palmach controversy in relation to national defense cannot be separated from the foreign and domestic policies of the government. The United Workers Party did carry on a campaign against the dissolution of the Palmach. Unfortunately, this campaign was sporadic and was in great measure vitiated by the failure of the United Workers Party to establish broader unity of all anti-imperialist forces in Israel. Time and again urgent efforts of the Communist Party of Israel to form a united front with the United Workers Party have been unavailing. Thus, while right-wing parties have formed a common front to achieve their aims, the left-wing and progressive forces are disunited and therefore hindered from achieving a militant unity which could frustrate undemocratic trends. Unity of the left could put across a really progressive and anti-imperialist program.

Typical of the attitude of the average man in Israel towards the policies of Ben Gurion and the Mapai, is the story I heard in a restaurant at the airfield in Haifa. A tailor in Tel Aviv was sitting in his shop one day when a Histadruth official rushed in and demanded that the tailor make him a frock coat as quickly as possible. The official said that he had just been appointed Israeli ambassador to Malaya.

"But, my lord," said the tailor in amazement, "do you speak Malayan?"

"No," said the new ambassador quietly. "But I do speak Mapai-ish."

The Palmach was dissolved because it did not speak "Mapai-ish," because it spoke and fought like a real people's army. Although the Palmach general staff has been dissolved and its units dispersed, the issues involved remain very much alive.



Youth of Kibbutz Negba training for the Palmach.

HIGHLIGHTS OF PALMACH ACTION

1941

May-June. Lead British attack in Syria. Act as scouts, saboteurs and intelligence agents.

1942

October. Move into Palestine defense positions when Rommel threatens Palestine invasion from El Alamein.

1943

October. First Palmach *kibbutz* established at Beth-Kasha.

1944

March. Begin illegal immigration. *April.* First parachute action in Yugoslavia. *August.* Parachute to Slovakia for underground work.

1945

April. Infiltrate German lines disguised as nazis; join Jewish Brigade of British Army. *August.* Sea units bring refugee ship "Dalin" into Palestine; assigned to protect country against internal enemies of Jewish unity. *September.* Attempt to bring in three refugee ships. *October.* Attempt to bring in two refugee ships. Free 300 refugees from Atlas camp.

1946

February. Free refugees at Sfas police station; destroy Mt. Carmel radar station. *March.* Fight with British police at Beria. *May.* Attempt to bring in three refugee ships. *June.* Destroy all bridges at Palestine borders.

July-December. Guard and pilot 14 attempts to bring in refugee ships.

1947

February. Undersea agents destroy British police and military ships. *March.* Put ashore refugees of "Shapsai Luzinski." *April.* Undersea agents sink two British deportation ships. *May.* Retaliate against two Arab villages that attacked Jewish settlements. *July.* Anti-British sabotage; action against Irgun and Stern Gang traitors. *December.* Accounting for year shows 21 attempts to bring ashore refugee ships, two succeed.

1948

January. Thirty Palmach soldiers repulse 3,000 Mufti Arabs. Destroy Benos-Yakov bridge, connecting link with Syrian troops. *February.* Rescue Tirat-Zvi and help rout Arab attackers. *March.* Secure Negev, insure food, water supply to Negev. Guard Jerusalem road, battle with Arabs. *April.* Help defend Mishmar Haemek *kibbutz*; break striking power of Kaukaji's "freedom army"; help capture sections of Jerusalem. *May.* Whole country celebrates 7th birthday of Palmach; on that day capture Sfas, main Galilee city. Operate alone in Negev, capture forts, villages, etc. Sabotage behind enemy lines in Syria. Break through to defenders of old city of Jerusalem. *June.* Open "Burma Road" to Jerusalem. Frustrate Irgun putsch in "Altalena" affair. *July.* Help safeguard road to Jerusalem, capture Lud, Ramleh and villages on Ramleh-Latrun road. Stand guard in Negev against Egyptians.

COUSIN SAMUEL WOULDN'T UNDERSTAND

A Short Story

By Henry Blankfort

THE smell of the sap hung heavy and sharp, cutting through the breaths of the crisp cold air. The white dwindling mounds of snow dripped liquid diamonds in the afternoon sun, and the ice thinly breaking its roadside patches tinkled brightly. The road was wide, from the pine forest bordering it to the shingled bus station shelter whose paint had long since mellowed away. And it went far, from the rise of the rolling hills into the gleaming platter of the valley and beyond. A ribbon of concrete binding Virginia and Kentucky, and Kentucky and Ohio, and Ohio and Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania and New York, and all points, east, west, south and north; and the names of the cities, and of the mountains, and of the roads, and the rivers they crossed rhymed one over the other like poetry in Phil Somin's mind.

Like a map it was, he thought, thought in his own language from across the sea, and a smile warmed his

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thin body as he waited patiently for the bus, his lined face lifted to the Virginia sun.

Phil Somin liked maps, although a few he longed to forget. One of a road of darkness measured in bloody footprints, and the prod of a bayonet and the stern command, "Achtung!" But that was in the past. And this was the present: This was Virginia, U.S.A. Blue and pretty on the map it was, as serene as the summer Danube sky; and Phil Somin, in his dream come true, on the very soil it marked. His finger traced the small fine print under the bold circle on the map, the words so quietly stating: "Here the Fifth Maine Vounteers held the wood bridge over the creek until the last man fell, September 17th, 1863."

A moment to translate, then to think. September 17th, 1863. Generations of harvests past. Steel and stone now crossed the creek where the wood bridge had once been fought, and firm bulwarks channeled the waters. Grass and

pine needles packed deep where the last man had fallen, and the earth had long since absorbed his redness.

Phil Somin wondered whether the earth was now more fertile, and what crop yielded from the planted seed. And he looked long at the land about him, and it was good.

The shrubbery of his new country so like the country of his birth, and the bridge— He tried to thrust away the intruding shadow of another bridge, and the effort made the tattooed number on his arm crawl and burn, and the scar, back of his ear, grew hot, the scar earned that frightened night when his mission had been to blow such a bridge—and the swastikaed panzers came too soon—and his long torture began.

But now the torture was over. To Phil Somin came a kinship with those who fell on that far gone September day. They were men no different from him, of that he was certain. Had he not seen men no different, his very brother, die under a tank as it burst aflame in cascading memorial?

Little Jacob, always he was little Jacob, as mild a brother and as loyal a friend as any man would want. A trouser pressed just so was a work of art to Jacob; and his room in back of his shop, a stone's throw from the Wilhemstrasse, was all the castle he had desired. A stone's throw! A window smashed! Phil Somin wondered again, as he had for countless times. What catalyst had converted little Jacob into big Jacob? What alchemy had girded dynamite to his belt and forged him into its instrument?

THE GIANT YELLOW EIGHT-WHEELED BUS GRINDING OVER THE rim of the hill awakened Phil Somin from his reverie. He felt quickly for his ticket. Good. To think here one needed only tickets, not police records, and no yellow badge on your arm to stop you. He would get used to it. A man must have time to remould his fears into nothingness.

How his cousin Samuel, soft in his soft chair in the Bronx, had laughed at his fears; and how he could not comprehend when only four weeks after his arrival, even before he had a chance to settle down, Phil Somin said that he must travel in his new country, that not until he actually breathed the air of it would the suffocating nightmares go.

His cousin Samuel laughed. Why not? His cousin Samuel never read past the headlines. His cousin Samuel had a fine business, and to think of gas chambers took his mind from it. Furs, that was cousin Samuel's life, and his wife, always there, ready to shine at his every word, and his daughter. A fine woman. Research chemist. She knew to a dram how much fat was needed for a cake of soap. Phil Somin also knew. And his stomach tightened. His cousin Samuel had a fine bank account. Fine. His cousin Samuel had no fears. None. So from the fine bank account he unlocked this beautiful new country to Phil Somin.

For six weeks now, by bus and train, the guide books and the maps had come to life; Boston Common, and the Hall at Philadelphia and the Liberty Bell, the White House

and the marble Lincoln, and Phil Somin's nightmares were slowly being done to death.

Cousin Samuel didn't really understand. How could he? Cousin Samuel never read past the headlines, unless it were the baseball scores. Maybe some day Phil Somin would understand the baseball scores, and the fascination of hits, runs and errors. Errors, mistakes. All marked clear on the record in black and white. Like life. Only in baseball a player had another chance. Like life, too. Hadn't life given Phil Somin another chance? He smiled at the shining bright paint on the bus. Yellow like gold. America like gold.

The yawning stubbled face of the bus driver turned surprised at the "*Guttentag*." He reached for the ticket. "Stranger?" Phil Somin straightened with pride. "*Nein*—no. An American." He groped for the words. "Like you." "Sure," agreed the bus driver and waved at Phil Somin, and grinned, and the slanting sun through the windshield bathed him. And the bus rolled ahead.

The bus was quite empty. A pair of faded denims clutched a lunch box between its knees, and another man drowsed in the seat nearest the driver. Practically a private bus, such comfort, and Phil Somin weaved to the welcome rear seat with its wide window framing the moving countryside.

The sun dropped lower as time rolled up. The small villages and the lonely houses, and the fir trees and the steaming black iron kettles in front of the unpainted shacks unreeling in never ending panorama. The pictures filed away, of children running and shouting, of clean wash cavorting on the lines, of buckets of food tossed to lumbering pigs, and of trucks loaded high, rumbling past with efficient snorts—and no storm troopers. And no barbed wire except to hold back a cow or horse ambling slowly and contented. No wonder his cousin Samuel had no fears.

The bus gradually filled. Phil Somin conjectured that he still had considerable to learn about being an American. Here he was all alone on the big wide seat while the other Americans crowded in front, past the shining upright rail three-quarters of the way back. But why not? They did not know how it was to be packed so tightly that it was less of a problem to die than it was to breathe. They could not know how important one cubic inch of space could be.

The bus stopped. Three men boarded it. Two of them were together as friends. A memory sparkled. It was such an American like the tall dark one with the tight crisp hair who first came to liberate Phil Somin, and lifted him tenderly, from the dirt floor to the stretcher. He was happy that the man and his companion moved toward him.

The third man stopped short, abruptly. The sweep of his glance compelled Phil Somin to turn. He watched the cheek muscles flex, then saw him slip into the narrow seat next to the denim legs. Phil Somin smiled at the dark man beside him. A hesitant flash more felt than seen. Why did the black eyes swerve away so swiftly, why did the man's full lips quickly thin? Why did he move his shoulder away?

A trouble faintly stirred within Phil Somin as if a once

aching wound had stretched its lesions. But the ache soon went and was forgotten. The country rolled into higher hills, and the snow drifted soft. Here and there a house, warmly lit, became an island, and in the settling night the unpainted walls tinted purple, and the sparks titling from the chimneys spoke of families and of peace.

He would describe it all to his cousin Samuel. He would tell him how different these nights were than those he had fled from. How here the darkness was a blanket of rest and quiet, and not a curtain for the storm troopers. No. He must not even have such thoughts. He relaxed deeply in his seat absorbing its comfort.

A glow of flame danced toward him out of the night. The acrid perfume of the turpentine released from the burning pine knots seeped into the coach and flavored the growing mustiness. Then the shadows straightened as the bus ground to a stop before a roadside logger's camp.

A fine strong scene, and Phil Somin took his full of it. Fine strong men flailing their mittened hands. Two shapes mounted the steps and became men in the lights of the coach. Two men dark enough to be brothers of those who sat beside Phil Somin. The young one, with red bandana, his sweat on it still hoar frosted, laughed over some joke or other; the older, too tired to more than smile.

Phil Somin pressed back his valise to make room as they moved to the wide seat. The bus geared into speed as he raised his head, then paused; and suddenly beads of perspiration needled on his palms.

THE BLUE-EYED MAN WHO HAD GLANCED TOWARD HIM WAS murmuring to the man in denim, and although Phil Somin heard not one word, a fright came to him. His lips dried. And his throat tightened. He saw the denim legs turn away as if the whisper was without consequence.

The whispering man grew angry at the rejection. He stood up in the bus and his eyes burnt Phil Somin, then he lurched to the driver, and a fear came to Phil Somin, and the wound inside him twisted.

Again that horrible whispering and a backward glance. The bus driver, at first reluctant then goaded, braked the coach to the roadside.

Phil Somin watched the heavy shoes tread down the aisle toward him, and sensed the men beside him draw away. His fright loomed darkly.

"Sorry, mister," explained the driver, "you can't sit back here."

Relief enveloped Phil Somin. So that was it, that's all. A simple business of sitting in the wrong seat. He must cure himself of groundless fears. He nodded to the bus driver, and smiled.

"Please—excuse me. I thought any seat I could take."

"You can't!" The angry man rasped and pushed past the driver.

"Oh, I understand. A reserved seat. It is first class back here? I didn't know. If it costs more, I will pay. I like the window, and if—"

"You're white, ain't you?" cut Phil Somin short and the eyes above the bitter mouth glittered.

Those eyes! He had seen them before. Oh, God—where? He hardly knew he questioned.

"White?"

"Your skin. You're white, ain't you?"

What had his skin to do with this?

"Yes, of course, I am white," and Phil Somin forced a smile, "maybe a little pink in it and yellow. I am not white like a, how you call it, a sheet."

"Funny, ain't you?" But no one laughed.

Phil Somin swallowed. He had said the wrong thing. He could tell. He had long experience in such telling. But what had he said that was wrong? And the perspiration needled his palms again, and the cold swept his feet.

"Get out. These seats are only for niggers!"

"Niggers?" Oh—the black ones. He recalled hearing that word before.

"Yeah. Now git!"

Phil Somin was confused. But if he could not sit there, he could not. He reached for his valise.

"There's a law down here, see. It says no nigger can mix, get it, mix. No nigger can sit next to white-folks."

Phil Somin's hand faltered. That was impossible.

"A law?" and the doubt made him sit up.

"Yep. A law."

This could not be. For some reason they were trying to trick him. Had he not read and reread the laws of his new country, in Buchenwald and in the hospital, during the long wait and on the boat, until each word of them was engraved in his thinking? The valise slipped from his moist hand, and bravely he masked his nervousness with the certainty of what he knew.

"There is no law which says that. Not in this country. Nein."

"You tellin' us?" ripped the man.

"Mister," pressed Phil Somin. "There is a law which says that such a law like you said, cannot be. It is—yes, the Fourteenth Amendment to your Constitution, I mean, please, my Constitution, too. I am not so used to it yet, having it mine." And there was apology in his tone.

"Oh—a smart guy."

Phil Somin was at a loss, but he knew he must go on, and the law came from him by rote.

"'No State shall make or enforce any law which deprives any person of life or liberty.' That is it. So not to sit equal is the same as taking away liberty. So there can be no law like you said. And please, mister, why are you doing this to me?"

"Who you kiddin'?" The words were tight.

Phil Somin was pleading now. There was danger here. He felt it.

"Please. The Bill of Rights. That, too, says there can be no law like that. And the Declaration of Independence—"

"An agitator, huh!" An angry hand grabbed at Phil Somin. "A lousy Red!"

A laugh blossomed in the bus, then quickly wilted into the pregnant quiet. A quiet broken by the man in denim.

"Leave him be," he cracked. "Hey, driver, let's get goin'."

The bus driver arrested the angry hand. "Sure. Forget it, bud," he soothed. "He don't know no better."

But Phil Somin did know. He was sure of what he said.

"Then I'm for teachin' him. This is Virginia. No white man's gonna sit next to a nigger. And this bus don't move until that—"

The bus driver shrugged his defeat. "Okeh." Then he waved a beckoning thumb at Phil Somin.

"We got a schedule. Looks like mebbe you'd better sit up front."

A MAELSTROM SWIRLED IN PHIL SOMIN'S MIND. VIRGINIA, the blue space on the map. And the "X" marking Monticello, and another charting Mount Vernon, and the echo of a voice demanding liberty or death, and a declaration boldly signed proclaiming the equality of man. Black skin, white skin. Please, God, what should he do? He should sit there. That's what he should do. Was he not an American like any of them? His arm pressed close and felt the application for his citizenship papers pinned to his inside pocket. "I swear to uphold the Constitution of these United States. So help me God." A million times he had rehearsed it. But this was it. This was upholding the Constitution. He would sit there. No one would move him.

A hand jerked at him. Phil Somin brushed it back, then his eyes locked with those of the angry man. Those eyes! He knew them now, and his numbered arm winced with hurt. The eyes of the nazi who had beaten him. The eyes of the judge who had condemned him for the unforgivable crime of having been born a Jew. The eyes of the Gestapo. No! He must steady himself. A nightmare.

"Listen, you dirty Jew—, I'll—"

This was no nightmare. Life. Another chance. But for whom? Hits, errors. He must make no error. Desperately the thoughts raced. Maybe it would be best to move. He wanted no trouble. Had he not had enough. And he prayed for courage to be weak.

"I didn't know . . . I apologize . . . excuse me, please." The torn words tumbled from him like precious documents torn to shreds.

"Okeh. But you furriners better get wise to yourself or else go back where you come from."

Go back where he came from. He could no longer equate his thoughts. Where he had come from was now here. He wanted no trouble. Please, God—no trouble.

"I'll move. Right away. Quickly."

Those eyes.

He reached for his valise. The young Negro beside him, silent with an anguish Phil Somin could almost feel, shifted uneasily. Phil Somin felt his glance upon him. Above the smoke-begrimed bandana their eyes met. The lash of memory. Those eyes, too, he had seen before. A faded day sharply focused. Munich. He had been walking with a friend—and then the passing Brown Shirt. Phil Somin moved close to his friend, but when the nazi spat upon Phil and called him "*Judische Schwein*," the friend had suddenly become a stranger. When Phil Somin

returned home he had looked long into a mirror to see what it was that made him a man apart, and to ask, "Why—why this hate?" That's where he had seen the Negro's eyes before. They were his eyes.

Suddenly he knew what he must do. He needed to breathe deeply. He needed to brace himself against the straw back of the seat. He need to hold his knees tightly, and then, thrusting the clawing hand from his shoulder, he spoke.

"No," he said quietly, "I will sit here. I will sit here because I am a good American. That is all, please. But I will not move."

And his feet flattened tight to the floor boards and his tattooed arm no longer pained, the wound and the fear inside of him was gone, and he no longer needed the straight back of the chair to strengthen him. And although his throat was dry, his chin moved up and his eyes had an old look in them, a look old in Virginia, the look of a Patrick Henry, of a Paine, of a Douglass, of a Solomon, and of a man named Brown, and others too numerous to mention.

But none realized this, least of all Phil Somin. And a gasp exploded in the bus, the loudest from the angry man.

"You kike!" As brutal as a lashing foot. "You lookin' for grief?"

Grief. Phil Somin had never been so calm. His only misgiving was how he could explain what had happened to his cousin Samuel. That is, if he would be able to. Perhaps he would be beaten. The threat was in those eyes; and the pulse beat throbbed heavy in Phil Somin's temples.

"No. I am not looking for grief. But I will sit here."

The angry man lurched at him.

"Hold it, bud." The angry man spun around. The denimmed man, lanky nad tall, stood square in front of him. His jaws worked easily on the quid of tobacco, good Virginia tobacco. "Ain't no use to git so riled," and the words were easy, too. But the muscles bunched near his shoulders.

"Who asked you?" resented the angry man.

"Sometime a feller gits to answerin' somethin' he ain't been asked," reckoned the intruder and a big calloused hand caressed his chin. "I guess we all know the law down hereabouts, and mebbe I got less truck with the nigrus than you have. Dunno. But a feller can do a pow'ful lot a'thinkin' in a few minutes—and I been a'doin' it."

"No nigger—"

The big hand moved fast, tight to the shoulder of the angry man.

"Reckon you'd better let me say my piece," and the knuckles whitened through the grime. "Now, like I said, I've been a'thinkin', and mebbe I ain't so smart, but 'til I get it kind a'figgered out clear, I reckon mebbe we'd just better let this y'here bus get along, seein' it's late and my old woman's a'waitin'."

His jaws clamped shut and the big hand lowered slowly to his belt, and he hitched his denims higher.

The air grew heavy in the bus and it seemed as if all the seats tilted forward; and the angry man grew livid;

but before he could vent his rage, another spoke.

"Sure. Let's push. I got me a date and she ain't the waiting kind."

The bus driver looked straight at the angry man.

"Got a schedule," and brushed past him to the wheel.

Phil Somin sat silently unmindful that he had stirred the swamp mud, had brought it to the surface in all of its rot, and its decay.

"Mebbe you'd better sit down," suggested the denimmed man to the angry one. "The road ahead is kind a'rough." Then he turned to Phil Somin. "Mind if I set beside you? Mite crowded up front."

The angry man knew he had lost. The veins thickened

in his neck and his snarl became unheard as the powerful motor spun to life. The gears meshed and the air grew lighter, and it was easier to breath.

Phil Somin could not help but turn to the Negro beside him. Again their eyes met. Phil Somin again remembered. They were his eyes. They were his eyes that day of liberation. And he returned the smile. He wondered how he would relate all this to his cousin Samuel, then decided that it would be useless. His cousin Samuel wouldn't understand.

Phil Somin felt the denimmed knee against his, and it was good, and the big yellow bus gathered speed, and the road was smooth.

JEWES OF THE USSR: IV

THE WAR YEARS

WORLD WAR II was a supreme test of all the material and spiritual resources of every people in the Soviet Union. As Stalin said in his historic speech on Feb. 9, 1946: "The war was something like an examination for our Soviet system, for our state, for our government, for our Communist Party, and it summed up the results of their work, saying to us, as it were: 'Here they are, your people and organizations, their deeds and their lives. Look at them well and reward them according to their deeds.'"¹

The war proved to the world that "the Soviet social order is a form of organization, a society superior to any non-Soviet social order . . . that the Soviet state system is a system of state organization in which the national question and the problem of collaboration among nations has been settled better than in any other multinational state."²

Nazi plans for a blitz-victory over the Soviet Union were based in great measure on successfully injecting national antagonisms among the Soviet peoples. The nazis hoped that this tactic would create chaos at the front and in the rear. The nazis used the vilest means to spread national hatred, racism and especially anti-Semitism. But they failed miserably. The fraternal friendship of the nationalities established and deepened during the years of Soviet power not only remained unshaken during the war, but became even firmer. This provided a most important source for the extraordinary power of the Soviet Union. "It is not only military defeat that the Hitlerites have sustained in this war, but moral and political defeat as well. The ideology of equality of all races and nations which has taken firm root in our country, the ideology of friendship among the peoples, has emerged completely victorious over the Hitlerite ideology of bestial nationalism and racial hatred."³

The war against the Hitlerite invader became a holy

L. SINGER is a Soviet writer. The last installment of the series will appear next month.

By L. Singer

Translated from the Yiddish by Joseph King

war of the entire Soviet family of nations for their national existence, for their homeland and for socialism. Every nation and nationality tried to contribute its maximum of heroism and self-sacrifice in defense of the common socialist homeland. This vital and amazing creative Soviet patriotism gave all of them great power.

The Jewish population of the Soviet Union also contributed to the defense of the socialist homeland. Decorations for heroism in action against the German invaders were bestowed upon 123,822 Jewish soldiers and officers. One hundred and five Jews were honored with the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Among the peoples of the Soviet Union the Jews hold fourth and fifth places in the number of orders and medals won in battle and in the number of Heroes of the Soviet Union, respectively.

Outstanding Heroism

Many of the best sons of the Jewish people were outstanding in their heroism. Guard Colonel David Dragunsky, son of a small town tailor, was twice named Hero of the Soviet Union. Jacob Kreiser, Hero of the Soviet Union and member of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, advanced from Colonel to Colonel General during the war. Among the Heroes of the Soviet Union are tank soldier David Katz, the brave flier Michael Plotkin, the submarine men Israel Fisanovitch and Cesar Kunikov, Lieutenant General of the Artillery Israel Beskin and young Red Army artilleryman Hyam Diskin. Among the Heroes of the Soviet Union, Joseph Bumagin, worker of the Birobidjan coach plant, stands out by his emulation of the immortal heroism of the Russian soldier Alexander Matrosov. There is also the pilot Pauline Gelman. Many books

¹ *The Soviet Union and World Peace*, by Joseph Stalin and V. M. Molotov, New Century Publishers, New York, 1946, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

³ Stalin, *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, International Publishers, New York, 1945, p. 136.

could be written about the heroism of the Soviet Jews in the great Patriotic War.

Together with the Soviet patriots of other nationalities, the Jews fought as partisans in the enemy rear. Many displayed fearlessness and self-sacrifice. Major General S. A. Kovpak, twice a Hero of the Soviet Union, and former commander of a partisan band, tells glorious tales of his valued gunner, the brilliant tank commander Abram Friedman. Major General Alexei Fyodorov, also twice a Hero of the Soviet Union and former partisan commander, recalls the story of Samuel Gotsban, who killed 12 German officers and men in the battle near Kovel. Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel A. B. Brinsky tells remarkable exploits of the Jewish partisan commander Sedelnikov. Sedelnikov's name became legendary to the people in his area. They rallied around him in such great numbers that for a short time his detachment was transformed into a brigade. Leader of the partisans operating in the Leningrad region, famous as "partisan country," was the Jew, D. Novokovsky, son of a small town worker. Mikola Konitchuk's (Kruk) detachment was composed almost entirely of small town Jews, who joined it with their families. Soviet Jewish patriots fought in both special and general detachments in the forests of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldavia and other regions. Many of them were outstanding

soldiers, commanders, commissars, squad leaders, scouts, liaison officers and doctors.

The situation of the Jewish masses, who were imprisoned in ghettos under the occupation, was tragic. Yet many in this desperate situation fought stubbornly against the occupationist, harassed and hurt the enemy wherever possible and escaped through the heavy barbed wire fences to join the partisans. A remarkable book about the fighters in the Minsk ghetto was written by H. Smoliar,⁴ one of the leaders of the struggle in the Minsk ghetto and a participant in the partisan movement in Byelorussia. At the end of his book, Smoliar lists the detachments with which the Jewish avengers of the Minsk ghetto fought. He concludes: "We report to our party and government all those who escaped through the deadly cordon of the Minsk ghetto and joined the partisans in a disciplined way. They fought heroically on every front of the great people's movement of merciless avengers."

Workers in the Rear

Soviet Jews, equally with the other peoples of the USSR, carried out their duty as devoted Soviet patriots

⁴ *The Minsk Ghetto*, by H. Smoliar (in Yiddish), Moscow, 1946. An English translation of an excerpt from this book was published in *Jewish Life*, April 1948.—J. K.

"All my hopes are in you, Red Soldier," says this Soviet war poster.



in the rear, as well as the front. Men and women, young and old, evacuees and local citizens, worked without stint in the military establishments and factories, in the collective and state farms, and in transportation.

There was, for instance, Y. Spitalnik, worker in an aviation plant in the Kirghiz Republic, who exceeded the production norms by seven times during the war. The metal turner, P. Visotsky, member of a group of a thousand workers under the leadership of the prominent Stakhanovite D. Bossi in the Urals, exceeded the norm by 11 times. Despite his 55 years, Z. Kapustin tripled the norm in a metallurgical plant in the Urals. In the heavy industry of the Chkalov region, Sara Volochinskaya was an outstanding Stakhanovite, as was Chaya Ratner in one of the most important Kuibishev factories. Samuel Dvorkin, master of the Sverdlovsk mill "Uralmash," was honored with the Order of the Red Banner, etc., for selfless labor during the war.

Among the leaders of war plants were Heroes of Socialist Labor Isaac Salzman, Lev Honor and others. The air-

planes of the aviation designer Lavotchkina were famous at the front. Many hundreds of Soviet Jews contributed to victory as prominent specialists in technology, science and art.

In the Urals and in Siberia, in the Far East and in Middle Asia—the evacuated Jewish population everywhere labored tirelessly with the local population to supply the front. "The Jews who were evacuated from the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia," wrote Miminov, chairman of the presidium of the upper council of the Uzbek SSR, "were warmly received by us. . . . We can recall dozens of names of Jews—workers, engineers, doctors, scientists and professionals—who won the recognition of the people by their self-sacrificing labor. Among these were the Stakhanovites Benjamin Melamed and Abram Kagan, the engineer David Schreiber, dynamics Professor Kaminsky, medical Professor Gershonovitch and many others."

The people and governments of the republics and regions to which the Jews were evacuated took all measures effectively to settle the evacuees in collectives, to provide them with work, homes, food and to create a warm human atmosphere for them. The evacuated Jewish population in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Khirgiz, Siberia and in the Urals was made to feel at home. The Jews were received as honored guests and lived on good terms with the local population.

The evacuation of many Jews from the western to the eastern regions of the country effected greater decentralization of the Jewish population of the USSR. Centers with compact Jewish populations sprang up in Middle Asia, Siberia, the Urals and the Volga region. Some of the Jewish evacuees acclimatized themselves in the new places and settled there permanently.

The war brought about some changes in the life of the Jewish population of the USSR. Many Jews were drawn into agriculture and industry. Older evacuees and women were drawn into collectives and state farms. A certain number worked in the evacuated plants. It is interesting to note that during the war some Polish Jews in the Soviet Union had the opportunity of engaging in productive work and of becoming skilled workers in large, modern plants, while others entered agriculture.

The productivity of workers among the evacuated Jewish population in the Khirgiz SSR and Cheliabinsk Region is indicated by the following figures through the middle of 1944:

	<i>Khirgiz SSR Cheliabinsk Region</i>	
	<i>Percentage of Total</i>	
Workers	36	47
Salaried employees	39	43
Artisans	15	6
Workers in Collectives	10	4

The tendency was toward a larger percentage of workers in collectives in the Khirgiz SSR and of factory workers in the highly industrialized Cheliabinsk Region. The social reconstruction of the Jewish population was advanced in the war years through an increase in the number of Jewish workers and peasants.

BLOOD FOR BLOOD

By Yusif Chaikof



DOCUMENT

REPLY TO SLANDER

On November 8, 1948, the Yiddish daily Forward published an interview by H. First with a Polish refugee, Shimen Haar, who had fled to the Soviet Union after the Nazi invasion of Poland and finally reached this country. This article, which is typical of the stream of anti-Soviet abuse and prevarication that fill this newspaper, slandered the Soviet Union so flagrantly that a Dr. Joseph Nover, also a Polish refugee who had lived in the Soviet Union for several years after his flight from the Nazi invaders and, as he says, a Zionist and no sympathizer with the Soviet system, wrote a protesting letter to the Forward which that paper refused to publish. He then sent it to the Morning Freiheit, which printed it on December 12, 1948. A translation of Dr. Nover's statement follows.—Editors.

I am driven to write because my conscience is troubled by the Forward interview with Shimen Haar. I propose to tell the whole story and to fill in the gaps left by Haar. At the outset I want to make clear that I have been a Zionist for almost 30 years. In speech and in writing I have fought against the Soviet Union as an enemy of Zionist ideology. Consequently no one can accuse me of subjectivity or of being an advocate of the Soviet Union. I write here in the name of justice and human dignity, which require an honest person to present the facts as they actually occurred. . . .

From Haar's story we learn, first of all, that Haar's entire family escaped over the Russian border, near Lubichov, when Hitlerite bands invaded his town. From there the Russian power sent them to Zabarzh where they wandered for eight months under very harsh circumstances.

Dear friend Haar. How familiar this story is to me. It reads as though we had both together lived through the same suffering. My family and I fled from the Nazis at the same time that you did.

Herr Haar, did you see the terrifying spectacle of tremendous masses of Jews pouring across the Russian border? Did you see the cars of pitiful Jewish refugees, who choked all the roads in their dash to cross the Russian border areas? Did you not wonder that the Soviet power should allow countless hordes of Jewish refugees to cross its borders from Poland—that country which for many years carried on open anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda? What did you feel,

friend Haar, when you crossed the Russian border?

I shall tell you how we felt. When the Russian border guard gave us the sign to enter, my family and I and friends from our city sobbed and cried and fell upon each other's necks and kissed each other in indescribable joy. Very soon the Russian militia came up to us and, speaking Yiddish, comforted us and told us to calm ourselves. They assured us that we were out of danger, for we were now under the protection of the Russian power. How new and wonderful for us—these expressions of understanding and sympathy by militia and police. . . .

When I think what a long journey every one of us refugees had to travel to come to America from the American zone in Germany, it seems impossible to understand how the Soviet Union allowed thousands of refugees over its borders without conditions or obstacles. Among these refugees were varied elements. Among them were anti-communists and many who were demoralized by the indescribable hardships of their flight. Regardless of my attitude to the Soviet system, have I the right ever to forget that this humanitarian act of the Russians saved my family and myself, as well as the lives of the Haar family and 200,000 other Jews?

From First's article one gets the impression that the Soviet power forcefully loaded these people onto cars and sent them to Zabarzh against their will. I remember how the Jews, after they had crossed the border into Russia, often pleaded with the authorities to be allowed to go to specified places. Some had relatives or friends in South Ukraine. Everybody tried to get to a specific place in the hope of settling there. But because of the fantastic travel load and the abnormal border situation, the Soviets could not possibly provide enough transportation. Each of us felt himself the luckiest person in the world when he finally got on a train.

You, friend Haar, went to Zabarzh, and we to Lemberg. Of course the trip was horrible because the trains were overcrowded. Our nerves were strained by the experience. After weeks of wandering from one place to another, we were weak and most depressed. Actually we were at the brink of despair. How naive we were then to think that we were coming to the end of our suffering. It would have been hard to sustain faith and optimism

through all this if we had then known that this was only the beginning of the thorny road we had to travel until the end of the war. But you, friend Haar, you blame the Soviet Union, as if it were the Soviet Union's fault that Hitler embroiled the world in war, and drove us from our homes; as if the Soviet Union were responsible for the refugees' martyrdom.

Now I want to touch on another point raised by friend Haar. He says that we were forced to accept Russian passports and were then taken to Siberia. But one must understand the structure of Soviet economy, if one is to have the faintest notion of the serious problem that the refugees created for the Soviet power. Every Soviet citizen is a unit in the Soviet economic system. Therefore no citizen can be without a passport and the workcard obtained in his particular place of work. Those who lack these documents are outside the law, for such people are either political or other criminals in hiding.

The Soviet Union is guided by the principle, "He who does not work shall not eat." Each person gets his food, clothing and even housing on the basis of his work-card. (This was the practice during the war. What changes have occurred since, I do not know.) After the Soviet Union occupied the southern Ukraine, it had to contend with the problem of a people molded in capitalist Poland. Three types of people had to adjust themselves to one another: the local pre-war population, the families of Red Army officers and soldiers from the heart of Russia and refugees from Hitler-occupied Poland. This created economic chaos which the Soviet Union was unable to unscramble. The government had to set up new workshops and to assign as many people as possible to them. Furthermore, these people had to be integrated into the prevailing Soviet economic system. But the Soviet Union could not execute this plan for several reasons. First, economic conditions in the Southern Ukraine were becoming increasingly worse, particularly because the refugees from Poland came completely empty-handed and were dependent on their new home for absolutely everything. Second, the mode of life of this new Ukrainian population was transient. People breathed an atmosphere of insecurity. Some refugees looked for the outbreak of a Soviet-Nazi war; others anticipated the war's end and return to Poland.

Finally, the authorities decided to take drastic measures. The Soviets decided to offer citizenship to these refugees, thereby introducing into the economic life of the refugee territory the same discipline as existed in Russia as a whole. The government gave the refugees these alternatives: either you become a Soviet citizen and receive a passport and the rights and duties of all Soviet citizens; or you register for



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WHAT THEY SAY
ABOUT COHEN?"**

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return to Poland and are then given the means to leave the Soviet Union. The Soviet proposal to give them Soviet passports was interpreted in several ways. Some thought this meant that they must remain in the Soviet Union forever, thus losing the right to return home. Others feared that they might be mobilized into the Red Army. Others with relatives in other parts of the world did not want to be cut off from them forever as a consequence of accepting Soviet citizenship.

Hence many refugees refused to accept these passports. Instead they registered for immediate return to nazi-occupied Poland. This attitude of many Jews left a most unfavorable impression on the Soviet authorities. At that time I had the opportunity to speak to Soviet officials and Red Army officers. It was clear to them that a Jew who preferred to return to a life under Hitler occupation and certain death rather than remain in the Soviet Union, must have a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. Since many of the Jewish refugees preferred to return, they constituted a danger to the Soviet Union. At the same time word came that the Germans had closed the border, and would not allow the refugees to return.

All who registered for return to the nazis were loaded on trains and taken to Siberia. Packed into these trains together with the Jews were the so-called bourgeois people, the owners of large industrial concerns, Polish lords, Ukrainian fascists and white-guards—in short, all elements that were suspect or disloyal to the government.

This is the naked truth. It is a tragic chapter of Jewish history. After months of joyous tears and happiness during the first period of contact between Polish Jews and Soviet power, a tragic shake-up occurred. It resulted from the clash between two worlds, extremely different and alien to one another. Many Jews accepted Russian passports and remained in the Ukraine until the Soviet-nazi war broke out. Many of the refugees who were sent to Siberia managed to accommodate themselves and got along pretty well. Others who could not adapt themselves to the climate and the strenuous physical and moral problems became ill and did not return. The refugees' attitudes and living conditions in Siberia to a great extent depended on the local authorities and on the aid received from relatives in the Ukraine.

After the Soviet Union was attacked by Hitler, an agreement was reached with General Sikorsky whereby the Soviet Union declared an amnesty of all Polish citizens sent to Siberia.

If those refugees in Siberia during the war felt themselves passing through a tragic period, it is also true that the Jews in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan were hardly aware that a war was going on.

This writer spent some time in Kazakhstan and about two years in Uzbekistan, visited many parts of these areas and worked among large masses of Jews. From first-hand experience this writer can assert categorically that Jews traded there, worked on collective farms, in factories and various social institutions and led almost a complete, normal life.

Of course, the American reader may wonder how Mr. Haar could live on 120 rubles a month when one kilo (about two and one half pounds) of bread cost 70 rubles. I'd like to clear up this point. As Mr. Haar says, every worker received a bread-card. Every establishment had a kitchen that distributed soup and *kasha* to the workers. The daily bread ration received by each worker with a bread-card consisted of 450-600 grams. Workers in basic and essential war-work received a whole kilo. The bread received on this card cost a few cents, so that it was a minute part of one's budget. One may ask if Mr. Haar was being paid 120 rubles a month to buy his bread ration for a few cents, or to buy bread on the black market, which the Soviet Union was fighting bitterly? One might question whether the bread ration was sufficient for daily needs. No it was not. But the Russian population itself went hungry during the war. The motto of the Soviet Union throughout the entire country was: "Everything for the front." "The greatest sacrifices for victory over the enemy." Patriots voluntarily made sacrifices, others were forced to.

Let us consider—in view of objective circumstances could the Soviet Union have treated the refugees better than its own citizens? Mr. Haar himself admits that Soviet citizens did not live any better.

Willingness of the Russian people to make sacrifices during the war was the Russian people's contribution to the bloody and tragic struggle of the Soviet power against the Hitlerite Germans. We, the refugees of pre-war Poland, found it difficult to accommodate ourselves to these conditions. But can one blame the Soviet power for this?

If I get the opportunity some time to write in more detail about the life of the Jews in Russia during the war, I should answer a *Forward* article, "Why Masses of Jews are Running Away from the Soviet Union," by Jacob Pat. I, too, was among those who felt very happy in 1944 to cross the Russian border into Poland on the way home—or rather, I should say, to the place that was my home. But it is a crying injustice to throw mud at the country which gave refugees an opportunity at a most critical moment to survive the cataclysm of war, a time when the very life of the Russian state was in danger.

New York City

DR. JOSEPH NOVER

JEWISH LIFE

REVIEWS

THE ROAD TO NEGRO LIBERATION

By Herbert Aptheker

"FREEDOM — Free Land" were the closing words in a letter one slave rebel wrote to another in the Virginia of 1856. "What do you want?" a Union general asked an Arkansas Negro in 1865. "I want some land," replied the Negro. "I cannot help myself unless I get some land."

This desire, which permeates the history of the Negro people, is grasped and expressed in modern terms by Harry Haywood,¹ Negro worker and communist, as the "essentially agrarian-democratic character of the Negro movement."

He sees the heart of Jimcrowism in the semi-feudal, single, cash-crop plantation economy of the South, and particularly within that region's Black Belt where some 5,000,000 Negroes live. He sees the root of the Negro people's oppression as lying in the serf conditions to which American imperialism has subjected them. He sees the effective ownership and control of this area as residing within the industrial-financial oligarchy of the North for whom the festering systems of chauvinism and Bilbonic politics are weapons.

Haywood insists upon the special nature of the Negro question—its national character—arising out of a common and, in significant part, unique history of over 300 years, centralized through most of that period within a stable, contiguous land mass. He knows and demonstrates persuasively the interpenetration between the special and immediate demands of the Negro people and their revolutionary liberation, their realization of complete equality and freedom, and the right of self-determination.

The thesis of the work is buttressed with careful documentation and in the course of establishing it, an effective polemic is offered against the Myrdal-Embree "liberal remedy" nostrum.

Haywood's volume is the fruit of his own participation in and study of the extended discussions concerning the Negro problem that have been held within the Communist Party for a generation—culminating in those of the last two or three years. It is, too, the product of the experiences gained by the party in the course of its heroic struggles to eradicate chauvinism and to further in day-to-day encounters the liberation efforts of the Negro people.

Negro Liberation has two transcendent

virtues. Mr. Walter White concludes his recent book, entitled, with characteristic modesty, *A Man Called White*, with the words: "Yet I know, I know, I know that there is no reason for this killing, this hatred, this demarcation." Mr. White may feel possessed of this triple certainty, but of course there is a reason. And the reason lies, essentially, in the power and profits accruing to America's propertied interests from the super-exploitation of the Negro people. It is in demonstrating and analyzing this—the basic relationship between American imperialism and the oppression of the Negro people—better than has been done in any other single volume, that I find the first of the major contributions of Haywood's book.

The second major contribution of the work lies in the effective presentation of the crucial significance of the land question for the liberation of the Negro people. The chapter entitled "Land and Freedom" establishing the necessity of "land to those who till it" and describing some of the mass efforts to realize this goal was, to me, the finest section of the book.

Present, too, is a valuable 40-page characterization of the highlights in the organized Negro protest movement from the turn of the twentieth century to the Second World War, with a particularly illuminating discussion of the Garvey "Back to Africa" association. Very little of value has been written on this epoch of Negro history and future writers in this field will find themselves very much in Mr. Haywood's debt on this score.

The work does suffer, in my opinion, from certain failings. Some omissions are damaging and these might have been included in the book without making its size prohibitive by a careful pruning of the quotations which now make up about one-third of the volume.

Thus, for example, the author refers several times to the central significance for his work of the idea of Negro inferiority, but nowhere is any attempt made to present the reader with a refutation of this slander. In this connection some extended notice might have been taken of the tremendous cultural, artistic and scientific contributions made by the Negro people to world civilization rather than the page and a half devoted almost to a listing of some notable figures.

Again, though opportunities abounded, as in the discussion of restrictive covenants, no attempt is made to show the organic relationship between the oppression of the

Negro people and the discrimination practiced upon other groups such as Jews, Mexicans and Orientals.

This reviewer felt, too, a distinct underplaying in both a descriptive and analytical sense of the very important modern phenomenon in Negro history of the development of a fairly numerous Negro bourgeoisie. The data on the growth of a Negro proletariat—central to any consideration of Negro liberation—are given more fully. Mr. Haywood rightly sees this Negro proletariat as being "in alliance with the masses of the oppressed agricultural population of the Black Belt, and leading them." But a key theoretical problem that arises from the fact that both the Negro bourgeoisie and the Negro proletariat are—predominantly—outside the Black Belt is not discussed. Had this problem been investigated it is certain that Haywood's contributions would have been greater than they are. Again, in connection with the discussion of the national question some carelessness in terminology, especially a confusing of the Negro in the Black Belt, in the South, and in the United States, was apparent.

Some errors of commission, as they appear to me, must be noted. It is my opinion that the author is overkind to Booker T. Washington, when he says that the Tuskegee leader appeared "out of the morass of hopelessness and despair" that followed the collapse of the Populist movement and that, in view of his time, "his was an impressive voice of encouragement . . . in the routed ranks of Negro freedom." No single person played a

Masses & Mainstream

In observance of Negro History Week, our February issue will include a number of outstanding features on the Negro people—articles, stories, poetry, art, criticism.

Highlights in the February number are: Samuel Sillen, on the American literary tradition and its bourgeois critics; Herbert Aptheker, on the Negro Woman; Louis Aragon, on Lysenko and free discussion; a poem by Langston Hughes; stories by Carl Offord and Gwyn Thomas; four drawings by Jacob Lawrence; Max March, on the life and music of the Mexican composer, Revueltas; contemporary work of Negro poets reviewed by Millard Lampell; Israel Epstein, on recent books on China; newly published documents on Negro history; and other features and articles.

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¹ *Negro Liberation*, by Harry Haywood, International Publishers, New York. \$2.25.

greater part in producing that "rout" than Booker T. Washington. He did not appear suddenly "out of the morass of hopelessness" following the destruction of Populism; he was an active agent in its destruction. One's understanding of Washington's rise into the national limelight from the late 1880's to 1895 is partial at best if one does not see the close relationship between the threat Populism represented to the Bourbon and his northern master and the building up of the acquiescence program of Washington. Similarly, when Haywood asserts that the later Washington, whose Tuskegee machine was fully geared to reaction's side, "failed to understand the crucial issues of the time" he is, it seems, exaggerating the bigness of his heart at the expense of a sudden deterioration in his "understanding."

I feel, too, that the author errs in insisting that, following the Civil War,

the confiscation of the land would have been "no more revolutionary" than the ending of slavery. The move from chattel slavery to serfdom was revolutionary, but the move from serfdom to independent land ownership does represent a "more revolutionary" step; indeed, the argument for this step being taken now is the core of Haywood's thesis.

These criticisms, and certain other errors of less importance, do mar, in my opinion, *Negro Liberation*. But an area in which so very few Marxist books have been published, is one in which the avoidance of errors is a terribly difficult task. Mr. Haywood's book is a notable contribution to the literature on the Negro people. It represents the most extended and most carefully documented presentation of the Negro question from the materialist viewpoint at present available. As such it is required study material for everyone.

1914 that in the United States "the anti-Jew feeling is quite rabid." The champion of the frontier as the decisive force in American history, Frederick Jackson Turner, disapproved of the shift of immigration late in the nineteenth century from the North and West to the South and East of Europe and maintained that the coming of Italians, Poles, Russian Jews and Slovaks was "a loss to the social organism of the United States."

Where there is racism and anti-Semitism, hostility to organized labor and to the use of democracy by the masses is also to be found. In fact, fear that the immigrant working masses would organize in their own interest is a guiding principle of almost all the historians analyzed by Dr. Saveth. H. H. Bancroft was not above calling for the use of force and violence against labor. Dr. Saveth writes: "Bancroft invoked a spirit of vigilantism among native Californians urging them to suppress immigrant influences by 'fire and blood.' Such a 'revolution,' Bancroft said, was necessary to vest control of public affairs in the hands of those who would not permit foreign infusions into the ranks of the 'superior race' of native Californians." Francis Parkman was opposed to universal suffrage. Oberholtzer thought it was a mistake to give the vote to Negroes and recent immigrants. Rhodes opposed the popular election of senators.

Of particular interest are Dr. Saveth's sections on two historians who became politically prominent, Theodore Roosevelt, believing that "our nationality was definitely fixed in all its essentials by the men of Washington's day," favored the melting-pot that would reduce all immigrants to his concept of American nationality. Like Lodge, Bancroft, Parkman, and Rhodes, Roosevelt supported immigration restrictions, and would make, says Dr. Saveth, "no compromise with immigrant culture patterns." The measure of Roosevelt's jingoism can be taken from his dogma: "There should be but one language in this country—the English."

Woodrow Wilson was at first hostile to and fearful of the later immigrant streams because of their possible effects on the democracy of the "English race," father of American democracy. To him, Thomas Jefferson was "not a thorough American because of the strain of French philosophy that . . . weakened all his thought." Immigration was a threat, Wilson thought, to our "Saxon habits in government." Especially bad for us were the immigrants from South and East Europe, whom he called "the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports." As a political candidate, Wilson changed some of his attitudes towards Jefferson as well as towards the immigrants, whose votes he needed. Opposing

AMERICA'S PREJUDICED HISTORIANS

By Morris U. Schappes

ONE of the ways in which most national groups suffer from undemocratic and oppressive discrimination is by having their role in the history of our country ignored, slighted, or misrepresented by the most "respected" writers on American history. The work of these historians, shaping the minds of teachers and the contents of text-books, is to this day partially responsible for the spreading of the myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority in the majority of our public school systems. Startling facts to substantiate the existence of this bias are plentiful in a very useful dissertation recently published by Columbia University.¹

Dealing chiefly with the major historians, Dr. Saveth's extensive if not exhaus-

tive survey stimulates, perhaps unintentionally, a wholesome disrespect for this bourgeois historical scholarship. A rampant and revolting, and of course unscientific, racism is revealed in such pillars of American historiography as John Fiske, John W. Burgess, Henry Cabot Lodge, Henry Adams, Nathaniel S. Shaler, Francis Parkman, Frederick Jackson Turner, James Ford Rhodes, Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, and others. Herbert Baxter Adams, Fiske and Burgess were decisive in propagating the theory of Teutonic origins of American political institutions, which "demonstrated" that American democratic forms were inherited from those used by German forest tribes long, long ago!

Of course among believers in the theory of inherent and permanent "race" superiority one can expect to find anti-Semitic attitudes and judgments. James K. Hosmer, devotee of the Teutonic hypothesis, scorned the Jews, whom he considered "Semitic flotsam and jetsam thrown upon the Aryan current." Henry Cabot Lodge declared that Jews (and Poles) lacked "the nobler abilities which enable a people to rule and administer and to display that social efficiency in war, peace, and government without which all else is vain," and that the Russian peasant was unchanging because of "the nature of the race." The delicate and sensitive Henry Adams (who believed not in Teutonic but in Norman superiority) was so anti-Semitic that he supported the persecution of Dreyfus, envisioned himself as not incapable of helping to lynch "Rothschild on a lamppost in Picadilly," and remarked approvingly in

¹ *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925*, by Edward N. Saveth, Columbia U. Press, 1948. \$3.00.

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immigration restrictions, he had faith in a process of forced assimilation whereby, as Dr. Saveth cautiously puts it, "the peoples from southern and eastern Europe were indoctrinated in canons of Americanism established by earlier arrivals." In plainer words, Wilson was confident that ruling class ideals of "Americanism" could be imposed upon the new arrivals by a combination of economic pressure and political and ideological control.

Of the historians dealt with in this book, only two emerge as worthy of respect, John Bach McMaster and Edward Channing. McMaster, although he considered the early Anglo-Saxon settlers superior to later immigrants, did place the immigrant within the main stream of American history and was mindful of his contributions to our life. Channing, whose treatment of immigrants Dr. Saveth regards as more satisfactory than any other, concluded that by 1763 even "early English stock had lost many of the characteristics associated with Anglo-Saxons" and felt the need for more and better histories of the immigrant groups. Yet even Channing was afraid of "alien" socialist and communist experiments, and used "racial characteristics" and "racial" stereotypes to interpret historical events.

In his last chapter, Dr. Saveth abandons both academic reserve and judgment to lash out against what he calls "filiopietism" (ancestor-worship) on the part of historians, largely amateur, among the national groups who have sought to redress the balance by making their own researches and putting forward their own claims. Because these claims are often exaggerated, Dr. Saveth intemperately expresses contempt for the entire body of work done by German, Irish, Norwegian, Jewish and other ethnic group historians, and rashly concludes that "the jingoism of the historians of recent immigrant ancestry far exceeded the chauvinism of historians derived from the older American stock." Thus even-handedly does Dr. Saveth rebuke both the victimizer and the victim, with the heavier blow falling on the victim.

Dr. Saveth would have done better had he placed the major responsibility upon the "standard" historians he so ably exposes, and more sympathetically explained the reasons for filiopietism and given more credit for the achievements of the ethnic group historians. The ancestor worship which still afflicts too much of ethnic group historiography, including the Jewish, is the bourgeois-nationalist reaction to the imperialist chauvinism of the dominant historians and teachers of history. These ancestor-worshipping historians reflect the desire of the mass of their national group for a more honest picture of their history in America and of their

progressive traditions. The filiopietists usually distort this desire in order to mislead it into safe channels, in which the masses are asked to venerate individual leaders of the past, usually of the upper class. Filiopietism, however, will be properly fought not by the method used by Dr. Saveth but rather by historians who will combine sound historical techniques with close connections with the progressive elements in the national groups.

The cause of Dr. Saveth's "impartiality" to victim and victimizer is not far to seek. Although he shows that most of the historians discussed had unscientific and intolerable attitudes toward immigrant groups, he does not stop to ask what class purposes such views served. Sometimes he uses an unscientific economic determinism to explain a particular historian in terms of his birth and breeding and class position; on other occasions, as in his chapter on Henry Adams, he seems to want to explore the psychological motivation. In these ways, Dr. Saveth, although sometimes speaking of classes, covers up the class conflicts that could explain his historians. It is not accidental that Dr. Saveth concludes that "peoples of non-English origin are far from being 'suppressed nationalities' in the United States, and . . . therefore the jingoism of their historians appears rather uncalled for." They may not be "suppressed nationali-

ties" in the European sense of the term, but the American national groups of South and East European origin certainly face economic, social, cultural and ethnic discrimination at the hands of the American ruling class.

Dr. Saveth believes that "the contemporary American historians treat the immigrant rather fairly." I would it were so. Yet Dr. Saveth himself admits that "historians still tend to avoid the field of immigration." And my own reading in contemporary American historians indicates that fair treatment of our multinational origins as a nation and of the nature of national group life is still the exception. Moreover, in text-books and teaching, fair treatment is rare indeed, except in so far as conscious and organized movements to exact such treatment have succeeded in various localities. For that reason, a book like Louis Adamic's *A Nation of Nations*, whatever its weaknesses, does not merit the bitter attack upon it as "labored jingoism" that Dr. Saveth felt impelled to include. Although he denies it, the work of the ethnic group historians, faulty though it is, and the labors of men like Adamic have been a stimulus to the more democratically minded in the historical profession to begin to do fuller justice to their profession and to the national group roles in American history.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

the station. Richards also owns stations WJR in Detroit and WGAR in Cleveland.

The American Civil Liberties Union has heard from J. Arthur Rank, British producer of the film *Oliver Twist*, which is reported to contain the worst anti-Semitic character in recent film history, that the film will be shown in this country despite the great protest. The ACLU is supporting Rank's efforts on grounds of "freedom of speech." Gerald L. K. Smith has joined the campaign through his journal, *The Cross and the Flag*, to have the film shown here. Letters of protest should be sent to the distributor, Universal-International, 445 Park Avenue, New York.

A six-page folder ascribing to Bernard Baruch and David E. Lilienthal leadership of a world movement "to get control of the atom bomb and . . . wipe out all Christian civilization" flooded New York in December. Writer and distributor of the pamphlet is Jonathan Ellsworth Perkins, cousin of Gerald B. Winrod and collaborator of Gerald L. K. Smith. The pamphlet aims to agitate for transfer of the atom bomb from civilian to military control and offers to send the forgery, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The American Jewish Committee is planning to open an office in Tel Aviv.

More on Knickerbocker-Davis Case . . . In an unofficial brochure addressed to the State Commissioner of Education, City College Student Council members and the faculty, the New York City Board of Higher Education stated for the first time that Knickerbocker had admitted making anti-Semitic statements. . . . A delegation of 100 community, political, labor and cultural leaders and students visited City College President Harry N. Wright to demand the suspension of Knickerbocker and Davis. Wright was not in to the delegation, which conferred for two hours with Dean John J. Theobald. The delegation was sponsored by the Unity Council for Democracy in Education and was led by Paul Brown, student recently put on probation for passing out a newspaper demanding the ouster of the two biased teachers.

The Senate committee investigating the commutation of sentence of Buchenwald sadist Ilse Koch held closed hearings in December on the army's action. The committee, headed by Sen. Homer Ferguson, heard the army officers responsible for the commutation, some of the original prosecutors of the case and former Buchenwald inmates. William D. Denson, who had headed prosecution of the case, declared that no legal justification exists for the commutation. He stated that it was not necessary to show that Ilse Koch had beaten any one or that she made lampshades of human skins. It needed only to be established that she participated in the common design of Buchenwald. Ferguson gave as the reasons for the closed hearings that prolonged public testimony might give the Russians an opportunity for propaganda and that the testimony might embarrass Gen. Lucius D. Clay during the Berlin crisis. On December 26 the Senate committee announced its conclusion that the commutation was not justified and recommended that means be found to punish her as she "justly deserves."

EUROPE

The British bribery scandal involving government officials and some Jewish financial operators has stirred anti-Semitism in Britain. Central figure in the scandal is a Jew, Sidney Stanley, a business man who admitted giving presents to government officials. British Attorney General Sir Hartley Shawcross said in his final address to the inquiry commission: "There are some who think that some of the matters under investigation here involve some reflection on the Jewish community. That is unfortunate and, I submit, an unjustifiable impression." Apparently in reference to some of the anti-Jewish news reporting on the case he said that "it is neither helpful nor relevant to say whether or not witnesses took the oath with hats on." A reported effect of the trial is the Conservative Party withdrawal of Jewish Commander Ashe Lincoln from candidacy in East Harrow.*

The British Broadcasting Corp., government owned and operated, faces parliamentary hearings on charges of programming an anti-film industry series punctuated with anti-Semitism. Two M.P.'s brought charges made by British and American film interests. According to critics, the program regularly makes Jews the central figure of supposed satire and is regularly anti-Semitic in tone. One of its chief forms of satire seems to be to hold up Jewish names to ridicule and contempt.

Sixty demonstrators barricaded themselves in a London county schoolhouse in early December in an effort to prevent Sir Oswald Mosley, chief of the fascist and anti-Semitic Union Movement, from delivering a speech. Hundreds of demonstrators paraded outside in the street. Police reinforcements succeeded after an hour's struggle in ejecting the demonstrators. Several were injured.*

The publishers' organizations of Bavaria, Wurttemberg-Baden and Hesse, American zone provinces, have protested the decision of the U.S. Military Government to abandon licensing of the press (which was intended to keep nazis out of it), to take effect early in 1949. The publishers fear that control of newspapers and other publications will return to the hands of former nazis and will lead to a revival of giant press trusts.

Evidence has been presented to Army Secretary Kenneth C. Royall that the decartelization program was not being carried out in the case of an international trust, the Robert Bosch Combine, manufacturers of auto-electrical engineering equipment. Detailed evidence on this and other cases shows evasion of the decartelization orders.

The lower Saxony denazification council on December 7 announced that Hjalmar Schacht would soon be tried again for activities as a top nazi before the Luneburg denazification court. Schacht was twice tried and acquitted on this charge.

Soviet citizens who are parents or dependents of Israeli citizens may leave the USSR and join their relatives in the Jewish state, under the terms of an agreement concluded between the Jewish Agency and the Soviet delegation in Tel Aviv. The agreement is conditional upon the Agency's accepting full responsibility for the immigrants the moment they cease to be Soviet citizens.*

The Rumanian government will establish five

schools for the training of rabbis and Jewish religious servants under the law that the state must provide for the training of ministers of all the recognized religions in the country. The school program will be worked out by the Supreme Rabbinical Council to be established under the new by-laws for the centralization of the work of Rumanian Jewish communities.*

Construction has been started on the first buildings to rise on the site of the former Jewish ghetto of Warsaw. Eventually some 10,000 families will be housed in one huge project on Muranov Street, one of the main streets of the old ghetto razed by the nazis.*

An American-produced film, made in Italy and entitled *The Earth Cries Out*, with a background of struggle between British and Jews in Palestine, has been temporarily barred from exhibition in Italy by censors of the Italian Foreign Ministry. It is said that the anti-British overtone of the film might jeopardize relations with London during negotiations on former Italian colonies.*

ISRAEL

Israeli elections are now scheduled for January 25. Census shows that 477,000 residents are eligible to cast their votes. . . . Negotiations for a united list of candidates between the Revisionists and the "Freedom Movement" (formerly the Irgun) broke down and the two groups are offering separate lists. . . . Religious groups, which agree that Israeli law should be founded on Biblical statutes, will offer a united slate. . . . Of the approximately 70,000 Arabs in Israel about half are eligible to vote. . . . The Electoral Committee of the Provisional Government decided that electioneering by word of mouth would be forbidden among the troops. The left opposed this ruling as a violation of the soldier's civil rights. The ruling means that no election meetings may be held by the troops. Campaigning in the army would therefore be limited to the written word. It was further decided that Israeli army officers would be permitted to address political meetings, but that they would have to do so in civilian clothes.

A dissident group of Israeli Jewish communists, who broke away from the Communist Party a few years ago and veered towards nationalism, have been readmitted into the party. The group admitted that its policy had been in error.*

Bulgaria recognized Israel late in November and immediately established diplomatic and trade relationships with Israel.

"The Israel Trade Association," an Israeli government company founded recently, has been negotiating to establish trade links with the Soviet Union. Plan is to import raw materials from the Soviet Union for Israeli industry. Payment is to be made in sterling and conditions are reported favorable. This arrangement was considered a step towards the signing of an Israel-Soviet trade agreement.*

Between the establishment of the Jewish state and November 1948, it is estimated that nearly 75,000 immigrants reached Israel. Israeli ships manned by Jewish crews transported about 80 per cent of these.

According to the latest reports of education in Israel, 97,668 children attended school in the past year. Of this number, about 22 per cent went to labor schools and 22 per cent to Miz-rachi (orthodox) schools.

(All items marked with an asterisk (*) were drawn from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency news services.)

