

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

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MARCH 1949

NO PEACE OF MIND: I

A searching Marxist critique of psychoanalysis *by George Stewart*

THE GREAT HERESY HUNT

THEY FEAR THE PEOPLE A guest editorial *by Leon Josephson*

SUBVERSION IN NEW YORK'S SCHOOLS *by Abraham Chapman*

HOW ISRAEL VOTED *by A. B. Magil*

ERNESTINE ROSE, QUEEN OF THE PLATFORM *by Morris U. Schappes*

TRIAL OF SHOMER A critical essay *by Sholem Aleichem*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

THE 17TH ANNUAL MEETING of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds held on January 14-16 authorized creation of a committee to investigate means for stabilizing fund raising and gaining increased representation in setting national fund raising policies. Critics of the Council, however, maintain that donors of large contributions actually dominate the local funds that make up the CJFWF and that this coordinating agency cannot therefore be said to give democratic representation to the whole Jewish community of this country.

WORKERS AT THREE agencies in Philadelphia affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Charities and who belong to Local 2 of the UOPWA-CIO, threatened to strike February 1. The three agencies, The Association for Jewish Children, the Jewish Family Society and the Employment and Vocational Bureau, refused to negotiate with the union. The Philadelphia Board of Rabbis, CIO Council, Labor Zionist Organization and American Jewish Congress urged that the agencies negotiate. Cecil Bragge, president of the CIO Council, wrote the three agencies, the Federation and the Community Chest that he would find it hard to explain to the Council's 100,000 members that part of the Community Chest refuses "to deal with their employees in the customary manner." The strike was averted when two of the agencies agreed to negotiate wage increases to comparable levels in other cities, and the third agency agreed to negotiate this issue and union recognition.

A TOTAL OF \$24,960,000 in wage increases, longer holidays and vacations, health and life insurance and other economic improvements were won in 1948 by 100,000 fur and leather workers in the United States and Canada.

HENRY MORGENTHAU, until recently head of the United Jewish Appeal, was elected chairman of the Palestine Economic Corporation on January 23. The corporation will make a nationwide effort to obtain investment capital for the economic development of Israel. Some quarters suggested that Mr. Morgenthau would use the influence of this organization to help bring Israel into the world anti-communist front.

CIVIC OFFICIALS of Neptune, a small New Jersey town, refused to allow a Bnai Brith agency, the Institute of American Democracy, to distribute ink blotters with tolerance slogans in local schools. The officials asserted that the conservative Bnai Brith was on an FBI "subversive" list.

HEAVY PUBLIC PRESSURE prevented musical performance in the United States by two nazi collaborators, orchestra conductor Wilhelm Furtwaengler and pianist Walter Gieseking. Leading soloists such as Jascha Heifetz and Vladimir Horowitz and the Chicago local of the American Federation of Musicians stated that they would refuse to play with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, if Furtwaengler conducted. The conductor has withdrawn. . . . In spite of rumblings of protest for over a year, the State Department issued a visa to Gieseking for a concert tour. A great public outcry and picketing of his first scheduled concert forced the government to hold Gieseking for investigation, with the option that he leave the country immediately, if he did not wish to stand investigation. Gieseking left the country promptly on January 26 without performing once.

A LATVIAN IMMIGRANT, Theodor Daniloff, was accused of being a Gestapo agent by a HIAS official who recognized Daniloff as his former

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MARCH, 1949

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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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concentration camp tormentor on Daniloff's arrival on a refugee ship. The Latvian was allowed to enter the country.*

A NEW DP IMMIGRATION BILL was introduced early in January into the House by Rep. Francis A. Walter and an identical bill in the Senate by Sens. Francis J. Meyers and Brien McMahon. This bill is designed to correct some of the discriminatory provisions of the DP act of 1948. The bill calls for the raising of the number of those admissible from 205,000 to 400,000 and changes the admissibility date from Dec. 22, 1945 to April 21, 1947 and eliminates priority require-

ments that 40 per cent of those admitted be Balts and 30 per cent farmers.

PROF. EPHRAIM CROSS in January disclosed that the New York City Board of Higher Education vote exonerating anti-Semitic Prof. William E. Knickerbocker divided as follows: no non-Jewish members voted to investigate Knickerbocker and three Jewish members joined the non-Jewish majority while the remaining Jewish members voted for an investigation. Ordway Tead, Board chairman, replied that Cross' criticisms may lead to charges of "conduct unbecoming a teacher."

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THEY FEAR THE PEOPLE

A Guest Editorial
By Leon Josephson

THE attempt to imprison the 12 Communist Party leaders on the charge of teaching Marxism-Leninism has its historical precedents. The communists in this country constitute a small political minority, a minority which does not in any way constitute an immediate threat to the rule of big business in this country. Why then the daily vilification, the almost insane drive against them? This drive against the communists can be likened to the historical persecutions against the Jews, who also formed a small minority in whatever country they were persecuted.

Ruling classes in their prime feel their positions secure and therefore have no need to resort to religious or political persecution to maintain their position. When the ruling class is in its old age, it is seized with fear for its ability to hold on to power. This fear makes the ruling class resort to persecution in order to drain off the energy of protest. Its *anxiety* causes it to suspect all kind of plots, its *uncertainty* causes it to doubt its own effectiveness, its *apprehension* causes it to fear even a small minority. This *anxiety-insecurity-fear* neurosis of a class has always resulted in persecution.

So it is with our ruling class today. The idea of the full economic and social equality of man which underlies Marxism-Leninism, has been taught in this country for years. But now 750 million people in the world have been drawn into the socialist orbit. Internationally capitalism no longer enjoys world economic monopoly or world political hegemony. At home the development of the working class movement since the New Deal has grown tremendously and the ruling class is trying to reduce the new power. More than this, our ruling class, in spite of the fact that it dominates the strongest economic country in the world, feels itself challenged by the communist idea of realizing equality in life. Hence the most insane drive—abroad expressed in the Truman Doctrine and the “cold war” and at home in the drive against labor, in congressional witch hunts, in the vilification and trial of the communists.

If we read the history of the Jews in Spain, in Germany, in Poland, in Russia, in Austria from the 10th to the 20th centuries, we find that, while anti-Semitism in some form always existed, persecution became intense when the existing ruling class began to feel its rule slipping. Simultaneously, oppression was visited on whatever new economic or social groups sought to challenge the old rule. In Germany in 1933 Hitler was put into power by the big cartelists who, as a result of the world crisis, felt their rule slipping. The drive was made against both communists and Jews and then against all liberals and progressives.

Historically, pogroms against the Jew erupted as a result of crisis in which the ruling class was challenged economically and politically. Failure of liberals and progressives to grasp this historic fact has led to their being chopped up one after the other. In Germany, neither the Jews, socialists, liberals nor progressives saw that in the defense of the communists lay their own defense. For once the ruling class defeats the communists, it cannot stop as long as the conditions which scared them persist. And what a price the Jews and progressives of all shades of opinion have paid for not understanding this lesson of history!

Here in the United States our own ruling class is cooking an old *tsimes* to which “something new has been added”—the spices of uranium salt and plutonium pepper. Our medicine men, our congressional shaman are stirring up this witches’ brew (the main ingredient is red-herring, but anti-Semitism is also in it) with which they hope to scare away the evil spirits, evil spirits which always seem to reassemble on the left. Now they are at the height of their orgiastic ritual, whipped-up by the tom tom of the editorial writers and political experts whose opinions consist of nothing more than hyperbolic commonplace vociferated with emphasis! And unfortunately too many average men and average Jews, too, lap it up as the average German lapped up the same fare.

Single words are hammered into the heads of the people by the sheer force of repetition until they take the place of ideas. And phrases are likewise coined and dinned into the ears of the people until they take the place of judgments. People adopt social, literary and political prejudices as ducks take to water because it does away with the need for having opinions. And how easy it is for the average man and the average Jew to take his patriotism ready-made from the newspapers like some predigested food! And these Jews cannot see that a ruling class never stops after liquidating the main challenge to its rule. It never gets over its scare, therefore it proceeds to deal likewise with other minority groups. But the lesson of history that in the defense of the communists lies the first line of defense of all progressives and racial minorities, must not be lost.

Well, a reaction must set in against this monomania. As in medical cases, the manifestations taking place are symptomatic of a disease reaching a crisis. What a torturous road mankind has and is travelling to final complete emancipation—to the dream of every saint and poet—to socialism and finally the highest stage of socialism—communism!

FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

ONE of the basic democratic rights won by the people in the course of the struggle against feudalism was that of trial by jury. Man was entitled, according to this credo, to be heard and judged by a jury of his peers. And the concept of "peer" under democratic law recognizes no class distinctions and is applicable to all regardless of origin, economic status, religion, nationality or color. That this principle has been and will always in greater or lesser degree be subverted under a system in which one class holds power, can be readily proven by the long record of historical miscarriages of justice, particularly with regard to labor.

At no time, however, has the subversion of this democratic principle been so clearly exposed than by the defense counsel of the 11 communist leaders. A series of maps prepared by the defense indicate violation of federal law by the calculated exclusion of low income and minority groups in jury selection in the Southern District of New York.



The map adjoining shows the location of homes of a jury panel of 400 of December 7, 1948. Look at that map and you will find that not a single name was drawn from the 19th Congressional District, a Jewish working-class area. Look again at the map and you will find that only two names were selected from the 22d Congressional District, a predominantly Negro district. In the 18th Congressional District, represented in Congress by Vito Marcantonio, no jurors were drawn from the northern part of the district, populated mainly by Italian-American and Puerto Rican working people. Jurors were drawn from upper-bracket areas on and near Fifth Avenue and in the swanky sixties.

In the 24th Congressional District of the Bronx, represented in 1948 by Leo Isacson, only three jurors were impaneled. This district is populated overwhelmingly by Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican working people.

An analysis made by counsel for the indicted communist leaders shows that the bulk of the jurors over an eight-year period were consistently drawn from the silk-stocking, high rent, upper-bracket districts, or from wealthy sections with mixed districts.

Let those who feel that Leon Josephson exaggerates in his guest editorial, when he draws a parallel between the present day attacks on the Communist Party and the historical persecution of the Jews, consider the facts here presented. Is it an accident that Jews have been consistently excluded from serving in the grand jury system? Is it an oversight that the Negro has no right to sit as "peer"? Is it by chance that working men and women are considered unfit to sit in judgment? The court has ruled that the speech made by Judge John C. Knox in Uniontown, Pa., on January 23rd, in which he stated that people who are discontented would not make good jurors, was hearsay and could not be introduced into the evidence.

But is it not high time that the people grew very "discontented" when the chief judge of a federal district implies in a public speech that men who might oppose the Taft-Hartley Act or are concerned about lynching, the DP problem or the question of Israel are unfit to sit as jurors?

The American people must consider this problem with the utmost seriousness. For this whole trial signifies not only an attack upon the rights of communists—in itself a basic issue—but equally the fact that the liberty, freedom and rights of all Americans are at stake.

History teaches that fascism has nowhere arisen overnight. It has always come as the result of a whole series of attacks upon the people's rights. Certainly the Jewish people should know from their own bitter and tragic experience that Hitler's tirades against the Jews in 1930 turned into the exclusion of the Jews in 1933, into physical attacks in 1934 and finally into Treblinka and Maidanek in 1943.

The Jewish people, as part of and together with all Americans, must take their stand *now*, must call a halt to the hysteria which threatens to engulf our country and rob Americans of their cherished freedom. The first line of defense of this freedom is the assurance of democratic rights to the Communist Party.

SUBVERSION IN NEW YORK'S SCHOOLS

By Abraham Chapman

THERE are many real evils in the New York public school system. There is a criminal shortage of school buildings and classrooms, teachers, textbooks and teaching supplies. The shocking state of the New York City schools, long obscured by the Board itself, was brought to light some time ago in a report made by the Public Education Association on conditions in the New York City school system. This report pointed out that "New York City lags behind other cities in its own state. . . 10,000 more teachers would have to start work tomorrow to equal the rate at which Albany staffs its schools." "To catch up with the standard maintained by other localities throughout the State," New York City would require 125 more dental hygienists, 200 more nurses, 228 more doctors, 9,000 more classrooms, 3 times as many textbooks, 3 times as many library books, 2 times as many teaching supplies. "If New York City took care of these and over 150 other weaknesses," the report stated, "its 850,000 pupils would be receiving only the same advantages as students in other large communities in the state." Unless emergency measures are taken, New York City will be threatened with a major breakdown of the school system. The large wartime crop of babies approaching school age demands still more school rooms, teachers and educational facilities.

It should be emphasized that the most aggravated and backward conditions, seriously retarding the education of the children, prevail in the working class and among the Negroes and some national group communities of the city.

Anti-Democratic Crusade

Instead of solving these urgent problems, the Board of Education is preoccupied with an unholy crusade to hound and persecute progressive teachers, to stamp out progressive and honest ideas from the classroom, to deny the use of the city school rooms after class hours to labor and progressive organizations. In this crusade the New York City Board of Education has been guilty of brazen and offensive aid to the propagation of anti-Semitism and racial hatred in a city composed primarily of diverse ethnic, religious and national groups.

On January 20, 1949 the nine appointed men who rule the public schools of New York City with an autocratic hand climaxed a long series of atrocities against freedom of education. They adopted a resolution, with a third of the Board members absent, forbidding the International Workers Order to hold classes and lectures in the city schools. The implications of the resolution go far beyond the con-

stitutional right of one progressive organization to conduct classes and lectures in school buildings which belong to the people of New York. The resolution is a limitation on the freedom of assembly in New York of every labor and progressive organization.

The events that led up to this resolution are illuminating. The proposal was introduced to the Board of Education by the discredited and disreputable "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz of the American Jewish League Against Communism. Schultz cooked up a hodge-podge of lies, slanders and insinuations against the children's schools of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, IWO, a few of which are conducted in classrooms of the city schools after hours. This is the same "Rabbi" Schultz condemned by the New York Board of Rabbis on October 22, 1947, for using "the smear technique of the scandal-monger" and for endeavoring "to bring into question the loyalty and Americanism of religious teachers." It is the same Schultz of whom Rabbi Stephen S. Wise has said: "I brand him as a professional and probably profiteering Communist-baiter, as unworthy to be even a member, not to say a rabbi, of a Jewish congregation." (For a full expose of this character, see "Thou Shalt Not Bear False Witness," by Joseph King, *Jewish Life*, December 1947). This person was the Board of Education's "authority." The Board could not plead ignorance of his unsavory record. The JPFO gave the Board a complete record of star witness Schultz.

On January 13, 1949 hearings were held at the Board of Education on a resolution to deny the use of city school-rooms to the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order children's schools. The overwhelming majority of participants in the hearing vigorously opposed the resolution. Schultz's allies in support of the resolution were essentially the same reactionary coalition that stood behind the anti-Semitic teacher, May Quinn, whom the Board of Education sent back to the schools to teach our children after a slight slap on the wrist. These allies were the New York Board of Trade, Catholic Lawyers Guild, various Americanism Committee chairmen of the American Legion and the Knights of Columbus. A new ally also appeared, a spokesman for the New York State Federation of Labor. The lineup of forces for the resolution was clear: big business, clerical reactionary forces and Legion jingoists, aided by the social democratic press. The speeches of the resolution's proponents were punctuated with anti-Semitic insinuations. In one of the largest audiences ever to appear before a Board of Education hearing, the opponents of the resolution disproved every allegation and warned sharply that the present resolution was another step by the Board in the direction of censorship and denial of freedom of education.

ABRAHAM CHAPMAN is editor of the *Fraternal Outlook*, monthly organ of the International Workers Order.

JPFO Open Letter

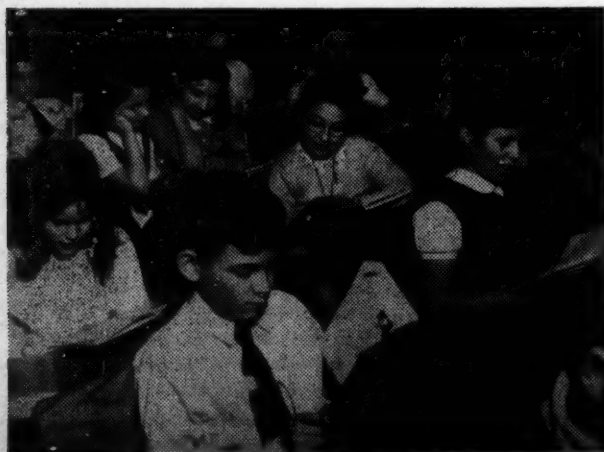
A few days after this hearing the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, IWO, issued an open letter to Mayor O'Dwyer and the New York Board of Education which appeared as an advertisement on January 19th in the *New York Star* and the *New York Post*.

The open letter pointed out: "The resolution now before the Board would impose a grave injustice on a vital section of the Jewish community and would whittle away the liberties of all the people of our city. The children's schools of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order are secular, with a tradition of 23 years of service in educating a generation of conscious and progressive Jews, permeated with an appreciation of the equality of all peoples and nations. The schools have been built and sustained by Jewish working parents, to provide the children with a progressive Jewish education, the study of Yiddish and Jewish culture, Jewish traditions, and the role of the Jew in American life and the American labor movement.

"The resolution now before the Board of Education would deprive thousands of Jewish families in the City of New York of the right to supplement the general education of their children with an after-school, secular, progressive Jewish education. This would violate the freedom to assemble in the schools of the City, which are the property of the people of New York.

"The introduction of this resolution is cut of the same cloth as the shameful banning of *The Nation* in the city schools and the censorship against novels condemning anti-Semitism, like *Gentleman's Agreement*, *Focus*, etc.

"The resolution is undemocratic, arbitrary and politically motivated against progressive thought. Not a single shred of evidence has been introduced to prove any impropriety in the conduct of the schools. On the contrary, Mr. McCloskey, the Superintendent of After-School Programs of the Board of Education, declared to the press after hysterical and untruthful charges of 'subversive' and 'atheism' had been levelled against our schools by irresponsible ele-



Subverting young minds in New York's schoolrooms. A Yiddish class of the JPFO Children's Schools.

ments that 'I have never received any reports indicating that the JPFO teaches anything subversive. We have always had observers in their classes.'

"We want to emphasize the fact that the resolution now before the Board is packed with anti-Semitic implications. Its adoption would strengthen and hearten the anti-Semitic forces in our city, and would serve as a green light to the bigots, who would deprive the national groups in our city of their rights. This resolution would impose an unpardonable injustice upon an organization of 55,000 Jews, rooted in the American Jewish community and loyally serving the fraternal, cultural, and civic needs of American Jewry."

The open exposure of the anti-Semitic implications and the numerous protesting telegrams made the Board of Education fearful of the charge of anti-Semitism. The Board tried to cover up the anti-Semitic character of the resolution by rephrasing it so that all references to the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order were eliminated and the International Workers Order substituted. This imposed yet another injustice, since the anti-Semitic implications remained unchanged and the resolution banned the IWO without any charges or evidence against it and without any hearing being granted to the International Workers Order.

To the shame of the major Jewish organizations in New York City, their voice was not heard against this denial of city facilities to Jewish schools. And it should also be noted that Maximilian Moss, who has posed as a liberal, tried to confuse the issue with some individual, technical grounds for voting for the ban. Despite his prefatory speech, the fact remains that he was an accomplice in this act.

It remained for George A. Timone, the notorious Franco supporter and darling of the Christian Front, to voice the true mind of the Board. Without mincing words Timone said that this resolution was just a start in the effort to ban all progressive organizations and ideas in the schools.

Repression Accumulates

It is important to realize that this resolution is not an isolated event. It is the culmination of two years of increasingly repressive and bigoted actions by the Board of Education of the largest city in the United States. The reactionary offensive of the Board began with the appointment of George A. Timone to the Board by Mayor O'Dwyer early in 1946 in the face of opposition aroused by Timone's pro-fascist activities. Soon after came the Board's infamous whitewash of May Quinn, who had presented excerpts from notoriously anti-Semitic leaflets to her class. Timone's contribution to the Board was the type of mentality typified by the Coughlinite movement. The Hearst, Scripps-Howard and other reactionary newspapers pressed for reactionary actions by the Board. The *Brooklyn Tablet* and organized clerical reactionary groups hammered in the same direction. The Board yielded to this pressure and increasingly veered away from the most elementary premises of academic freedom in the direction of imposing bigoted education on the children of New York.

The Teachers Union (UPW-CIO) of New York has spearheaded a consistent and heroic fight against every reactionary move of the Board. For this, members of the Teachers Union and all liberal-minded teachers have been and are being persecuted, hounded, penalized and intimidated by the Board of Education inquisitors.

Let us recall some of the acts which indict the New York Board of Education. After Timone got in and May Quinn was exonerated, Howard Fast's *Citizen Tom Paine* was banned. Then the persecution of teachers began. Case after case piled up. Notorious is that of Isadore Rubin, war hero and winner of the top award in the Mediterranean theater of war in an essay contest on "What Victory Means to Me," who was suspended without pay and severely punished by the Board for exercising his civic right of picketing on behalf of striking bank workers. At the same time, as the Teachers Union has pointed out, the Board of Education has failed to act on a number of fully-documented cases presented over a period of years of teachers who consciously spread racial and religious hatred in their classrooms. (The records of such cases are available in the files of the Teachers Union, UPW-CIO.)

Adding still another scandal to the growing list, Superintendent of Schools William Jansen in December 1947 ordered that a course for teachers on intercultural education be discontinued. This course, sponsored by teachers' organizations and prominent civic and religious leaders, exposed bigotry and equipped the teacher with tools to help the students understand the brotherhood of man. Then, in the spring of 1948, two novels exposing and condemning anti-Semitism, *Gentleman's Agreement* and *Focus*, were banned from the shelves of school libraries. As a re-

sult of mass protest the ban on *Gentleman's Agreement* was lifted, but that on *Focus* and *Citizen Tom Paine* stands.

The Board moved further with censorship and repression in June 1948 when it slapped a ban on *The Nation*, ostensibly for some references in an article critical of non-religious activities of the Catholic hierarchy. Many prominent citizens protested and are still fighting the ban. As the Authors League pointed out in a statement calling for revocation of the ban, "It is obviously no long step from banning *The Nation* for 21 sentences . . . to banning a magazine for ten sentences or, indeed, one sentence which does not meet with the approval of the Board of Superintendents for whatever the reason."

Then came the shocking Gutride case. Mrs. Minnie Gutride, a New York school teacher for 17 years with an excellent teaching record, was called out of her class without warning on December 21 and confronted by the assistant superintendent of her school district, Nicholas Bucci (law secretary of the Board of Education) and a stenotypist, and asked questions about meetings that had taken place in 1940. Suddenly confronted with a lawyer and stenotypist, Mrs. Gutride was understandably terrified and refused to answer any questions without legal counsel. That night she committed suicide. The next day Teachers Union President Abraham Lederman was called before Bucci, New York School Superintendent William Jansen and a stenotypist, and he refused to answer question without legal counsel.

This developing trend to suppression threatens not only the people of New York City. It is part of an ominous national pattern of subversion that affects every person and organization refusing to knuckle under to the drive toward war and fascism. At stake is the Bill of Rights itself.

ERNESTINE ROSE, QUEEN OF THE PLATFORM

By Morris U. Schappes

The following article on a distinguished woman is our tribute to International Women's Day, March 8th.—Editors.

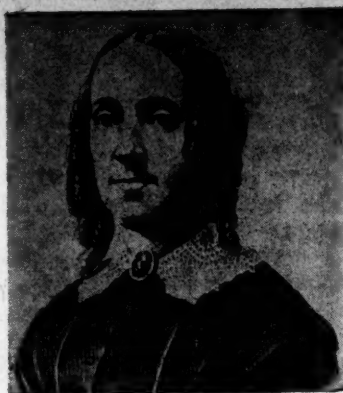
THERE is accident and no design in the fact that Ernestine L. Rose lies buried in the Highgate Cemetery in London only several paces from the grave of Karl Marx. But the proximity is not unfitting. She, like Marx, burned with freedom's flame. She was a Utopian Socialist, inspired by her association with and the teachings of Robert Owen. Marx went beyond the Utopians to establish the theory of scientific socialism. With history connecting the two movements, there is an aptness in the fact that those who visit Marx's grave would recognize, a few steps away, Ernestine Louise Rose's, if there were a stone to mark it.

In accordance with one of her own last requests, the oration at the graveside was delivered by her old friend, the eminent leader of the English cooperative movement, George Jacob Holyoake, and the *Daily News* was only one

of the newspapers to find the address important enough to print in full. She had "the fire of Judith in her," Holyoake said, "and her passion was to see women possess civil and social equality, and to inspire women and men with self-helping sense, not taking religion, politics or social ideas second-hand from their 'pastors and masters,' but choosing principles of belief, government and conduct for themselves." He underscored that "Mrs. Rose took truth for authority, not authority for truth." After more than 40 years of public activity in the United States and England, she was at peace in her eighty-third year when she died on August 4, 1892. "The slave she had helped to free from the bondage of ownership, and the minds she had set free from the bondage of authority, were the glad and proud remembrances of her last days."

Other obituaries in Canada, the United States and England struck the same chords of tribute, for there were not a few who remembered her battles against bondage, even

though they had been fought as far back as the eighteen-thirties. Her causes had been many. She was a leader among the free-thinking atheists and the advocates of equal rights for women. The Polish movement for independence evoked her enthusiasm as she recalled Piotrkow in Russian Poland, where she had been born on



Ernestine Rose

January 13, 1810 into the home of a Rabbi. The Central European revolutions of 1848 won her support. In the 1850's, when the slavery question came to the fore, she included abolitionism among her activities. And after the Civil War, she linked the international peace movement to the other causes in which she was still active, although declining health became a hindrance.

She Defends the Jews

In the condition of the Jewish people, furthermore, she was more interested than has hitherto been assumed. It is not only that both the public and her associates knew she was Jewish, and that she was introduced on the platform, as at the Syracuse Woman's Rights Convention on September 9, 1852, as "a Polish lady, and educated in the Jewish faith," or that in her opening words on that occasion she pleaded "for the equal rights of her sex" as "a daughter of poor, crushed Poland, and the down-trodden and persecuted people called the Jews, 'a child of Israel'." There was more than that. She could ably defend the Jewish people against misrepresentation and hostility. Thus one day in 1864 she read with amazement in the *Boston Investigator*, an atheistic weekly with which she had been closely connected for more than a decade, this sentence: "Even the modern Jews are bigoted, narrow, exclusive, and totally unfit for progressive people like the Americans, among whom we hope they may not spread."

Such anti-Semitism she would not allow to go unchallenged. In a long letter that the editor promptly published, Ernestine Rose exclaimed that when she read this sentence "I almost smelt brimstone, genuine Christian brimstone." And as for the writer's hope that the Jews would not spread, she thought that "smacks too much of the Puritan spirit that whipped and hung the Quaker women," and she demanded to know what this bigot would do to stop the spread: "would you drive them out of Boston—out of 'progressive America,' as they were driven out of Spain?" She proceeds to mock the idea that there is any danger in the Jews spreading: "In this city, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and other places they have synagogues, and have no doubt spread as much as they could, and no calamity has yet befallen any place in consequence of that fact; and wherever

they are they act just about the same as other people. The nature of a Jew is governed by the same laws as human nature in general. In England, France, Germany, and in the rest of Europe, except in Spain, in spite of the barbarous treatment and deadly persecution they suffered, they have lived and spread, and outlived much of the poisonous rancor and prejudice against them, and Europe has been none the worse on their account." Then she refers to the Mortara case of five years before, when a Jewish child who had been baptized secretly and without the knowledge of the parents was later, by order of the Inquisition in Bologna, forcibly taken from its parents and brought up as a Catholic. But in other countries that are "more civilized and just," she points out, the Jews "progress just as fast as the world they live in will permit them." In New York the editor of *The Jewish Record* was so pleased with this rejoinder of Ernestine Rose that he published it in full on February 19, 1864, with the introductory remark that although she was an atheist, she still revealed "the old leaven of the Jewish spirit."

In England in the 1830s, when she became a Utopian Socialist under Robert Owen's leadership, she also accepted the ideals of the New Morality that he was preaching as a challenge to all established religions and churches. Her marriage to the English watchmaker and Owenite, William Ella Rose (her maiden name had been Ernestine Louise Süsmondi Potowski), was performed by a civil magistrate without religious sanction. When in 1836 the young couple came to New York, she found both the Old and New Testaments being quoted by reactionaries in justification of the denial of equal rights to women, and later to slaves, and so her attack on organized religion became not only an assault on the fundamentalist doctrines that were then supreme but also a battering at theories used to prop up maleficent social institutions and practices.

Hers was also a bold spirit, ever applying even from her youthful days in Piotrkow the principles of righteousness and justice she may have learned from her rabbinical father. She was 16 when her mother died in 1826. Perhaps she could not get along with the very young woman that her father soon married. Perhaps he tried to compel his daughter to marry a man she did not want to marry. There also seems to have been a lawsuit, which Ernestine won, involving her mother's will. For these and possible additional reasons, she found her father's household and Piotrkow intolerably oppressive. So in 1827, alone, this pretty girl of 17 suddenly left her home, went to Berlin, won the right to stay there, and spent almost two years in that city, studying, and maintaining herself by selling a perfumed paper that she invented. One hundred and twenty five years ago such personal independence and self-reliance on the part of a girl coming from a backward Russian-Polish province was incredibly rare, and bespoke the courage and resourcefulness she was constantly thereafter to exhibit privately and in public.

The story has often been told how, recently arrived in New York, in the winter of 1836 she, after hard work, man-

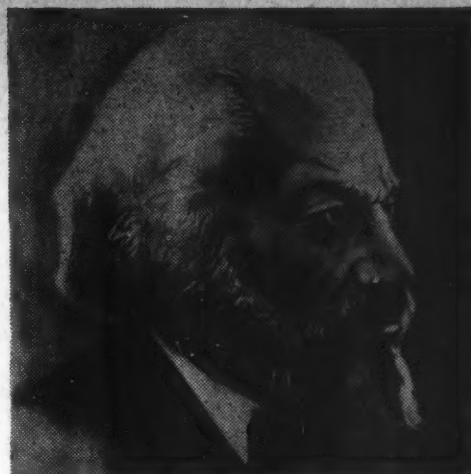
aged to get all of five signatures to a petition to the State Legislature, the first of its kind, asking for a law that would enable wives to inherit the property of their husbands! Year after year she worked in that cause until in 1848 such a law was passed, the first in the United States. When the more prominently known leaders of the later woman's rights movement came to the cause, Ernestine L. Rose's activities and speeches were among the factors that attracted them. She was on the scene before Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony. As an orator, Ernestine Rose was the best as well as one of the earliest in the field, and men like William Lloyd Garrison, the former slave Frederick Douglass, and Wendell Phillips, themselves giants of the platform in the cause of women's rights and abolition, honored her, and she came to be known as the Queen of the Platform.

Yet she was also, as the editor of Sallie Holley's letters writes, "one of the worst-abused women of her time." The abuse was sometimes verbal and sometimes physical. Ridicule and misrepresentation in the press were accompanied sometimes by attempts at disruption of meetings and by the hurling of eggs and vegetables. But she never abandoned a platform, and William Cullen Bryant in the *New York Evening Post* and Horace Greeley in the *Tribune* were moved to praise her for poise and fearlessness, and to heap their scorn on the gentlemen that would not let her speak, lest her eloquence perhaps impress them. She addressed meetings of various sizes in New England and New York and the west as far as Michigan and the South down to South Carolina.

Orator for Progress

Characteristic of journalistic diatribes against her is one that appeared in the *Albany Daily State Register* on March 7, 1854, complaining that Senatorial and Assembly Committees "have sat for hours, grave and solemn as owls, listening to the outpourings of fanaticism and folly of this Polish propagandist." Her personal charm irritated the editor, who ungallantly deplored that there are American women "willing to follow the lead of such foreign propagandists as the ringleted, glove-handed exotic, Ernestine L. Rose." In Europe, he reminded her, "she would be prohibited . . . from her efforts to obliterate from the world the religion of the Cross . . . and to overturn social institutions that have existed through all political and governmental revolutions from the remotest time." But here, instead of being "compelled back to her woman's sphere," the Ernestine Roses are permitted to "exhibit their flowing ringlets and beautiful hands, their winning smiles and charming stage attitudes to admiring audiences," much to the editor's disgust.

But the great men of her time recognized her brilliance and grandeur. William Lloyd Garrison frequently noticed her lectures and appearances in *The Liberator*, and declared her "one of the most remarkable women, and one of the ablest and most eloquent public speakers, in this country." (March 23, 1855.) Some of her addresses he thought worth reprinting in full in *The Liberator*. One



Frederick Douglass, Negro Abolitionist

such magnificent oration he had himself heard her deliver on August 4, 1853, when they shared the platform together at a meeting in Flushing, Long Island, called to celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the West India Emancipation. Despite unfavorable weather, several hundred people had gone by boat to Flushing, under the auspices of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society. There were some five or six hundred in the audience, many of them Negro. Garrison, who preceded Mrs. Rose as a speaker, listened attentively to her "highly effective remarks" and published them on the front page of *The Liberator* on August 19, 1853.

"All my feelings and principles are republican," she said. "I may say I am a republican by nature; but in comparison to the liberation of 800,000 slaves, the Declaration of Independence falls into utter insignificance. It falls short, just as theory falls short of practice." The audience applauded. She turned to the theme of the alleged inferiority of the Negro. "But the great act of the emancipation of 800,000 human beings has shown to the world that the African race are not only capable of taking care of themselves, but are capable of enjoying peacefully as much liberty and as much freedom as the white men."

She also had an answer for the apologists of slavery who contended that slaveholders were kind to their property. "Ay," she exclaimed, "even if slaveholders treated their slaves with the utmost kindness and charity; if I were told they kept them sitting on a sofa all day, and fed them with the best of the land, it is none the less slavery—(applause); for what does slavery mean? To work hard, to fare ill, to suffer hardship, that is not slavery; for many of us white men and women have to work hard, have to fare ill, have to suffer hardship, and yet we are not slaves. Slavery is, not to belong to yourself—to be robbed of yourself. There is nothing that I so much abhor as that single thing—to be robbed of one's self. We are our own legitimate masters. Nature has not created masters and slaves. . . . I go for emancipation of all kinds—white and black, man and woman . . . there should be no slaves of any kind among them. There are ties that bind man to man far stronger

than the ties of nation—than the political and commercial ties—ay, even stronger than the ties of relationship; and these are the ties of humanity.”

But the slaveholders cried that civilization was at stake! Mrs. Rose retorted sharply: “The only civilization you have exists among your slaves; for if industry and the mechanical arts are the great criterion of civilization (and I believe they are), then certainly the slaves are the only civilized ones among you, because they do all the work.” The audience laughed and cheered as she told them that when she had made this statement several years before in Columbia, S. C., a southern gentleman had said he would tar and feather her if she were not a woman!

During the Civil War ten years later, Mrs. Rose was still fighting for emancipation. Addressing the Loyal Women of the Republic in New York on May 14, 1863, she expressed her discontent with Lincoln’s proclamation. “He has emancipated all the slaves of the rebel states with his pen, but that is all. He has not emancipated them actually; he has simply pronounced them free. To set them really and thoroughly free, we will have, I fear, to use some other instrument than the pen.” And what about the slaves outside the Confederacy? “It is a mockery,” she thundered, “to say that we emancipate the slaves we cannot reach and pass by those we can reach. First, free the slaves that are under the flag of the Union. . . . The slaves must be freed in the Border States.” With slavery she refused to compromise. Thus she and Frederick Douglass, and the Communists like Colonel Joseph Weydemeyer pressed ever forward for a bolder political and military prosecution of the

war not only to maintain the Union but to abolish slavery.

Why, after thirty years in the United States, William and Ernestine Rose left the friends and co-workers of a lifetime to resettle in England in 1869 is not clear, so scanty is the biographical record. Her failing health may have been one reason. But in England, to which her fame had reached, she maintained her interest in social reform and contributed her unfaded eloquence and boldness of thought to many a conference and meeting. Occasionally she also represented the National Woman’s Suffrage Association at an international conference in German or France. But when her husband died in 1883, she withdrew from public life, but not from devotion to her principles, and lived the last decade of her long life in the warmth of a few dear friends, among whom was Holyoake.

Because the vigor of her life was spent in the United States, Americans may well claim Ernestine L. Rose as part of their progressive heritage, even though she was born in Poland and died in England, where she lived as many years as she did in our own country. No Jewish-American woman of the nineteenth century, and very few American women of any group, fought so many great battles on so many fronts of the war of human liberation as did Ernestine L. Rose. In defense of Jew and Negro, woman and man, revolutionary Pole and Hungarian and Italian, atheist and scientist, her voice and pen were ever in the lists of combat, and she left more than a passing mark upon the progress of her time. Maligned, scorned and called subversive by reaction in her day, she can move the pulse of those who now fight reaction in our day.

HOW ISRAEL VOTED

EXIT the provisional, enter the elected government of Israel!

Even Ernest Bevin could no longer pretend that the Jewish state was not a fact. Yes, a tiny state, but a massive, irreversible historic fact. And Bevin’s senior partner in Washington hastened six days before the balloting to grant a loan that was intended to pay political dividends in the election and after.

This flagrant American intervention had been foreshadowed and its political meaning underlined by one of the leading newspapers in Israel, the right-wing *Haboker*, a General Zionist daily which is the spokesman for the industrialists and landlords. In an editorial last December 26 it wrote: “The fact that Canada’s recognition—granted, no doubt under the influence of Washington rather than at the behest of London—has come before the elections in Israel goes to show a significant trend in the Western camp. Should the American loan also come before February—as is quite likely—it will show that the Western pow-

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By A. B. Magil

ers are interested in bringing Israel into their camp. The time has come, they have apparently realized, to prove wrong those who pointed to the Soviet Union and the East European countries as the only friends of Israel. But if the Western powers want to impress their friendliness on us, they had better do so without waiting for the results of the elections in Israel, for otherwise they will only strengthen the hand of those among us who favor an Eastern rather than a Western orientation for Israel.”

And after the loan was announced, *Haboker* chortled happily (January 21): “And even if the assumptions of those who declare that the American loan was granted on the eve of the elections in order to prejudice them prove true, we now have concrete evidence that America is at least interested in achieving some influence over us and in gaining our friendship.”

Thus the obedient servant welcomes the would-be master. However, the capitalists propose, but the people will have something to say about disposing. The issue of relations with foreign imperialism (chiefly the United States), which is essentially the issue of completing or compromising the struggle for independence, is the central one before the

country. It cannot be said that the first election resolved this issue in the clearcut fashion desired by *Haboker*. Nor can it be said that the election resolved it in an unequivocal anti-imperialist way. The results were mixed, expressing both the aspirations and confusions of a nation in swift transition, preoccupied with the military phase of the independence battle and with the prospects for peace.

Few Surprises

The election results contained few surprises. It was a foregone conclusion that the Labor Party (Mapai), which held the key positions in the provisional government and controls the powerful trade union federation, Histadrut, would continue to be the country's largest party. At the time I left Israel in October, it was also the consensus among discerning progressives that the United Workers Party (Mapam), a left Zionist group which is the second largest party, would lose ground proportionately, while the Communists would gain. Though American newspaper reports have referred to the "surprising" strength of the United Religious Front, its vote actually represents a slight percentage decline (see table below). The nearest thing to a surprise—a decidedly welcome surprise—was the relatively poor showing of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, now masquerading as the Freedom Movement.

Of outstanding significance is the fact that the three workers' parties together won an absolute majority.

Since this is the first election in Israel, there is no accurate past standard for measuring proportionate gain or loss for the various parties. However, there are two rough standards: the elections in 1944 to the *Assefat Hanivcharim*, the Jewish assembly created under the mandate with jurisdiction in communal and religious affairs; and the elections in 1946 to the World Zionist Congress. Such comparisons must of course be approached with considerable reservations. This is so not only because of the special character of the institutions for which the previous elections were held, but even more because of the deep-going changes that have taken place in the *Yishuv* and the much higher level of the political struggle today. It should be remembered that in 1944 and even in 1946 one could not yet speak of a mass Jewish independence movement in Palestine. The Zionist leaders were still able to limit the scope and aim of the popular struggle while they negotiated for concessions that did not alter Palestine's colonial status.

A total of 199,867 valid ballots were cast in the 1944 election, and 196,189 in 1946—in each case less than half of the 427,027 who voted this year. In neither of the past elections did the Arabs participate; in the present balloting the Arabs constituted nearly 10 per cent of the voters.

A further difficulty in making comparisons with the past is that new parties and electoral slates appeared in this election. However, we can get an approximate picture if we compare them with their equivalents in the past. In the case of the United Workers Party we can combine the votes previously received by its three constituent groups: Hashomer

Hatzair, Achdut Haavodah, and Left Poale Zion. The Progressive Party, a liberal middle-class party formed only a few months ago, is likewise a merger of three groups: Aliya Chadasha, the left wing of the General Zionists, and Haoved Hatzioni, a General Zionist workers' party. The United Religious Front, which is an electoral coalition rather than a single party, comprises Mizrachi, Mizrachi Workers (the largest of the groups), Agudat Israel, and Agudat Israel Workers. The latter two did not participate in either of the two past elections, but it is estimated that in 1944 they represented between 6,000 and 7,000 voters, or about 3.4 per cent of those that cast ballots.

As for the Irgun, it did not participate as such in previous elections. However, it can be assumed that in the past the Irgunists voted for the extreme right-wing Revisionist Party, which created the Irgun and was until recently closely associated with it. Most of the former Revisionist voters backed the Irgun in the present election. In fact, one of the significant results was the virtual disappearance of the Revisionists, who received only 2,844 votes, insufficient to elect a single candidate.

Bearing in mind these reservations, we get the following picture for the parties and tickets that elected at least one candidate:

Party	Per cent of Total Vote		
	1944	1946	1949
Labor Party (Mapai).....	36.8	35.1	35.8
United Workers Party (Mapam).....	21.5	24.5	14.8
United Religious Front.....	17.0 ¹	15.5 ²	12.4
Freedom Movement (Irgun).....		13.7 ²	11.5 ³
General Zionists.....		4	5.3
Progressive Party.....	14.9 ⁵	7.8 ⁶	4.1
Sephardim.....	7	7	3.5 ⁷
Communist Party.....	2.0	7	3.50
Arab Democrats of Nazareth.....	7	7	1.7
The Fighters (Stern group).....	7	7	1.2
Yemenite ticket.....	2.5	7	1.0
WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization).....	2.2	7	0.9

From this tabulation it is evident that, despite the large influx of new immigrants and the more than twofold increase in the number of voters, no spectacular changes in political alignments have taken place. Concerning Mapai, a traditional social democratic party, what is notable is that its percentage of the vote is virtually unchanged despite the fact that, besides controlling the trade unions, it now has a

¹Includes an estimated 3.4 per cent for Agudat Israel and Agudat Israel Workers in 1944, and an estimated 3 per cent for them in 1946. They did not participate in either year.

²This is the Revisionist Party vote. The Revisionists boycotted the 1944 election.

³If we add the small Revisionist vote, the percentage for this trend is 12.2.

⁴The General Zionists formerly consisted of two parties, Groups A and B. In 1944 only Group A participated in the election, receiving 2.4 per cent of the vote. In 1946 the General Zionist Party, after the fusion of the two groups, received 3.9 per cent of the vote. In 1949 the General Zionists, split once more, consisted substantially of the right-wing Group B, while most of Group A had become part of the Progressive Party.

⁵Includes the vote of the General Zionists, Group A.

⁶To this figure there would have to be added a small percentage for General Zionists, Group A, which it is difficult to estimate.

⁷Did not participate.

vast state and military apparatus at its command. Moreover, as the chief governmental party, it is able to take credit for the creation of the Jewish state and the remarkable military victories—trusting that the voters' memories will not extend to the time when Mapai was one of the most pro-British parties in the *Yishuv*, or to the more recent period when Prime Minister Ben Gurion was in sharp conflict with those dynamic Left forces in the army that were largely responsible for routing the invaders.

One of the positive results of the election is the setback for the Irgun. This party of nascent Jewish fascism spent thousands of American dollars in a lavish campaign pitched on a note of extreme chauvinist demagoguery. Its vote exposes the hollow claims made for it by its American press agents.

What about the progressive forces? Here the results are mixed. The decline in the vote percentage of the United Workers Party can be largely attributed to its wavering policy and failure to give fighting leadership to the working people of city and countryside. Its public declarations are usually excellent: it is against the government's appeasement of American and British imperialism; it demands cooperation with Israel's real friends, the Soviet Union and the new people's democracies; it criticizes the failure to control prices and the soak-the-poor tax system; it attacks official efforts to undermine the democratic character of the army. All this would have won wider support for Mapam were it not for the fact that too often this party has contented itself with words, while in practice dragging after the Labor Party. Moreover, many workers were unable to understand why a party, which talks so militantly and describes itself as Marxist, refused to join with the Communists in a united front for the elections.

The Communist Party, while still a small organization, almost doubled its proportionate vote as compared with 1944. Moreover, it was the only party that put up both Jewish and Arab candidates, expressing the unity of the



Elected: Samuel Mikunis

Of the 129 Communist candidates 26 were Arabs. Most of these were veterans of

Jewish and Arab masses of Israel. (The Stern group also had a few Arabs on its slate, including a wealthy sheik; actually the Stern group, like the Irgun, represents extreme anti-Arab chauvinism.) Among the few Arabs elected to the Constituent Assembly is the 25-year-old Communist, Tawfiq Toubi of Haifa. He was given the number two spot on the Communist ticket, directly after the party's gen-

the former League of National Liberation, a communist-led organization whose struggles against the Arab reactionaries and for peace and friendship with the Jews won it considerable influence among the Arab population.

But one must look beneath the surface of the vote to find the deeper currents flowing in the *Yishuv*. Though foreign policy was the central issue, Mapai and the capitalist parties did everything to obscure it. Only Mapam and the Communists called for opposition to Anglo-American imperialism and cooperation with the progressive forces of the world, headed by the USSR and the peoples' democracies. Their combined vote, constituting nearly one-fifth of the total (and in the case of Mapam especially strong in the armed forces) therefore represents the clearest expression of the anti-imperialist course essential for genuine independence.

But it would be a mistake to conclude that anti-imperialist sentiment is limited to the supporters of these two parties. During six months in Israel I was struck by two prevalent attitudes: a deep desire for freedom from all foreign domination, and a warmth of feeling for the Soviet Union and its allies as a result of the great help they have given Israel. Because of this popular mood no party dared openly to advocate a pro-imperialist policy, as most of them did under the mandate. The Mapai leaders, by professing to steer a neutral course "between East and West," attempted to conceal the fact that they are steering more and more by the Washington compass.

At the same time it needs to be recognized that the anti-imperialist attitudes of the majority of the people are still largely inchoate and entangled in nationalist and chauvinist confusions. This is exploited by the Mapai leadership and the capitalist parties with whom they collaborate so intimately. Undoubtedly the Labor Party chiefs and the new government they head regard the election results as a mandate to press forward with a policy which, if not reversed, will eventually convert Israel into a semi-colony and war base of American imperialism. Whether a formidable opposition to this policy develops within the country largely depends on how quickly the members of the United Workers Party, learning from their leaders' mistakes in the elections, join hands with their Communist comrades in forging a broad, democratic, anti-imperialist alignment that can also involve large sections of Mapai rank and file.

But a big job must be done in America by Americans, Jews and non-Jews alike. The American loan is evidently a token of the kindness that kills. *Davar*, Israel's leading newspaper and the one closest to the government, writes in its issue of January 21 that "it is reported" that the \$35,000,000 of the Export-Import Bank credit which has already been granted—about one-third of the eventual total—cannot be used for the development of the Negev. Clearly a crass example of economic pressure to achieve the political aim of forcing Israel to give up all or part of the Negev and in general to "play ball." Isn't it time for progressive public opinion in America to renew the fight against the carrot-and-club policy by which the bi-partisan cabal is betraying not only Israel, but the best interests of our own country?

FIGHTER FOR NEGRO EMANCIPATION

In connection with Negro History Week, which is being celebrated as this issue goes to press, it is interesting to recall the great speech delivered June 29, 1863 at the Missouri State Convention by the outstanding Jewish abolitionist, Isidor Bush (1822-1898). As a member of the Convention's Committee on Emancipation, Bush had already opposed the plan for gradual emancipation favored by the majority, and had presented a minority report urging immediate emancipation to go into effect at the end of the year. Despite his efforts, the ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri was not passed until January 11, 1865. —Morris U. Schappes.

MR. BUSH: Mr. President, I have listened for days to the gentleman speaking on the subject of emancipation, and I now bespeak their attention for a few minutes.

The one said "slavery" and the other "anti-slavery" is the cause of this war. I say it is part of that everlasting war between Ormuzd and Ariman, between light and darkness, between right and wrong; it is that irrepressible conflict between free labor and slave labor. The South wanted to put down abolitionism with fire and sword, establishing and extending a great empire of slave aristocracy. The North will now, and must in self-defense, put down slavery. It matters not whether the President of the United States, much less whether you or I, have any such desire and intention or not; it is the inevitable logic, the necessary consequence of events, stronger than the will of the President, the decrees of courts, or the acts of Congress. The people of this State have to take a stand on one side or the other. . . . The great majority of the people are in favor of emancipation. Most of those even who were opposed to it, a short time ago, acknowledge that we cannot avoid it even if we would; that emancipation is an unavoidable necessity of this war. I might almost say, in the Lincolnian style, that "as we cannot remove anti-slavery, we must remove slavery." *Still you hesitate. . . .*

You will admit, Mr. President, that slavery is rapidly disappearing, and no one will deny, I think, that it is now in fact, though not in law, a mere voluntary servitude. Such is the present. Now look to the future; look to history as it will be transmitted to your children and children's children. On the one hand, the humiliation, that we would not consent to free ourselves from the institution of slavery until the slave freed himself; that,

worthless as the institution has become, we would not sacrifice the peculiar institution to the maintenance of our Union, to the peace and safety of the State. On the other hand, the proud and glorious record, that this was the first State that, by the free and voluntary action of its own people, and without compensation, nobly sacrificed and blotted out that peculiar institution. Which are you inclined to choose? . . .

Mr. President, I desire to notice but one point more before I close. Some of the gentlemen, members of this Convention, have drawn so horrible a picture of the evils resulting from emancipating the Negroes,² and leaving them afterwards free among us, that they and their misguided hearers inevitably come to the conclusion that emancipation without deportation would ruin this State. They tell us that the Negroes would be but one great band of idlers and vagabonds, robbers, murderers, and thieves. If this be true, I ask these gentlemen, "Are these the boasted blessings of Christianity, which you, the advocates of slavery, have ever and always claimed to have given to these poor Africans, in return for their freedom?" But it is *not* true, and you cannot help knowing it to be false. Look at Delaware—I do not ask you to go for information to Jamaica, or the other West India Islands—look at Delaware, I say. The census of 1860, now before you on your tables, will show you that 19,829 free Negroes live in that little State of our Union—a State not larger than three of our counties; and you pretend to say that Missouri, thirty-two times as large as Delaware, would be ruined by a comparatively small number of her Negro population, if free! New Jersey has 25,318 free Negroes, on an area only one-eighth that of Missouri; and where is the murder, the rapine, and other crimes, committed by that class? Three cases of murder, and two of homicide, are all that occurred in New Jersey in 1860; against 21 cases of murder, and 26 of homicide, during the same period in Missouri. I have no words for such slanders against poor human beings, so much sinned against. It is not enough that you hold them in bondage, toys of your whim and your lust, but you must charge them with crimes they never committed and never dreamt of. I pray you have pity for yourselves, *not* for the Negro. Slavery demoralizes, slavery fanaticism blinds you; it has arrayed brother against brother, son against father; it has destroyed God's noblest work—a free and happy people. . . .

¹ For a sketch of the career of Isidor Bush as an advanced and consistent bourgeois-democrat, see the article, "Themes for a People's Artist," by Morris U. Schappes, *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1947.

² Although the official proceedings of the Convention, from which this excerpt is taken, use the small "n" for Negro, the capital "N" is used here to betoken the right to equality of the Negro people. —M. U. S.

A RADICAL IN THE FAMILY

A Short Story

By Rita Lipkis

"DON'T *hockmirachinick* about the class struggle," my Uncle Irving used to say. "You don't look undernourished to me." And with that he would pinch the fleshy part of my arm and give me a stick of gum, a sign that I should remember he was a busy man with no more time for foolish talk even after factory hours. Shaking a warning finger, he would add, "A girl your age should be learning to cook already, not *ferdrehing* her head about what a Mr. Marx said or didn't say. Besides, one radical in the family is enough."

My uncle must have been flattered by my close attention. He could have no idea that I was memorizing his words like a diligent secret agent in order to give my Uncle Leo an accurate account the next day at the store. To listen to my Uncle Leo was like playing a familiar record with beautiful antiphonal responses. I usually sat on top of the pickle barrel in the delicatessen department.

"That poor Uncle Irving of yours," my other uncle would begin, cracking open a walnut for emphasis. "He is blind. He is deaf. He is living in such a shell like this one here, only not so easy to open. Fifteen years in this country—what has he learned to read except his income tax papers? If you explain to him a hundred times what is the bourgeoisie, what is the solidarity of the working classes throughout the world, would he understand it? No. And if he understood it, would it make any difference? With him, no."

He would pause here and sigh deeply. "You heard about America's 60 families. Tell me, have you heard where your uncle was invited he should be the sixty-first—Irving Goldstein the Third? Naturally we ask ourselves who is this uncle? What is his role? An exploiter on a small scale, a manufacturer of men's neckties. Pfuh!"

His tone suggested that exploiters on a small scale were not worth bothering with. If they happened to be members of the family, so much the worse for them. He reserved the full vigor of his attack for the real enemy, all the passionate indignation that won my heart as a child.

Perhaps it was the atmosphere in my own home which was placid to the point of dullness; more likely it was my Uncle Leo's vocabulary. No one since in my experience has been able to evoke images of such splendid violence. In those days they were more absorbing than *The Green Archer* and other Saturday matinee serials because with Marx you were left in suspense not for a week, but for half your life or more, and because the case included all humanity. There were dramas within dramas like *The Case of Tom Mooney* and *The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti*. There was the fascination of the old steel engravings my

Uncle Leo collected, engravings as crowded with characters as a Cecil B. DeMille production. I think they had to do with the last days of the Paris Commune, but the application was general. The street scenes showed ragged workers defending themselves valiantly with their bare hands against mercenaries equipped with rifles, knouts, hob-nailed boots. The scenes were not stereotypes then, at least not to my Uncle Leo and me. They were the blueprints of the future. I had no doubt that one day I should see the same barricades stretching solidly two ways across Soto Street and Brooklyn Avenue.

Like Hamlet who vowed, "My thought be bloody or be nothing worth," my Uncle Leo had a hard time suiting the action to the word. He was as unaggressive a radical as ever took up the cause. For 20 years he and Aunt Lottie owned a little grocery store with two rooms for living quarters in the rear. The markets in Los Angeles have grown as large as railroad terminals. But their spectacular displays of food are monuments of vulgarity compared to my Uncle Leo's little corner in Boyle Heights. My Uncle Leo regarded each fruit, each vegetable, as a separate work of art. I am sure he sometimes forgot the fact that they were bought to be eaten. During a lull in business I have seen him pick up an eggplant, dust it lightly with his sleeve, and examine its purple lights as if he were the craftsman, not the merchant, before replacing it in the mosaic. The only really creative outlet he had was his cello. He belonged to a trio of middle-aged amateurs who played as uncertainly and as sympathetically as he. Nothing had as secure a place in his daily existence except the Workmen's Circle group which he had helped to charter.

IT IS CLEAR THAT MY UNCLE LEO WAS NOT A PRACTICING revolutionist, although he boasted that in the old country he had done his stint with a mimeograph machine. When I came to know him, his life was static. His store had become the landmark of the neighborhood. When I grew older and learned to fume over the headlines of the reactionary press, my Uncle Leo used to say, "Patience is what is called for. Patience and faith. The system will destroy itself, wait, you'll see." I was ashamed then, thinking of his much longer patience. In my earliest recollection of my Uncle Leo he was already an old man, slightly stoop-shouldered, with a bald, gray-fringed head and deep-set brown eyes that had a look of waiting in them deeper than any other expression there.

In place of the revolutionary spirit were left certain idiosyncrasies. He and Aunt Lottie managed to avoid bankruptcy without quite becoming successful. Aunt Lottie didn't complain much. Once she said to me privately,

RITA LIPKIS lives in California.

"Other people can make money. If your uncle did, he couldn't look himself in the face. He'd think he was betraying the revolution." I felt she exaggerated. She seldom re-read the pamphlets in my Uncle Leo's library.

His generosity was one of the trials of her life. Herself generous but full of ideas of self-improvement and progress, she was the kind to set definite limits to their charity. "Oranges, yes," she would say regarding a basket on credit for the family of an unemployed customer, "but chocolate marshmallows, no. Why give them *dreck* like that? They can't afford milk and oranges, you expect them to afford trips to the dentist too?" My uncle had no defense except that the children liked marshmallows.

At other times he could exhibit remarkable stubbornness. Most markets in the Heights have signs reading *Do Not Handle* attached to the price signs over the bins. My Uncle Leo would not yield to this custom, and some people wondered why. His answer was, "Somewhere I am reading how workers are always told *Private, Do Not Enter, Do Not Walk on the Grass, Do Not Park Here*, do not this, do not that. A list a mile long. I should make it longer?" Still like everyone he had his breaking point. Whenever Mrs. Salzman began pinching the life out of an avocado, he would rush up to her and whisper, "Please—please," with such an expression of suffering that it seemed he must be identifying himself with the avocado.

But even before he got sick, soon after the end of the war, my Uncle Leo went about from time to time with a look of pain. It may have had nothing to do either with Mrs. Salzman or his angina, but with what nowadays is called a psychic distress. For a generation history had not been following the blueprints properly. The future—the clear sunlight of a classless society—was shrouded over by a cloud of uncertainty, possibly a mushroom-shaped cloud at that.

It wasn't only that terrible things had happened in China, Spain, Germany, in faroff places. The newsreels in the late thirties had made the blood run cold. The added horror was the recognition of the shadow of the thing at home too, even over this second land of milk and honey. My Uncle Leo felt no differently from millions of others. After war broke out, the walls of his grocery were plastered with posters illustrating the Four Freedoms, showing black hands and white united in national defense. In the center was an enormous picture of President Roosevelt replaced affectionately every few months when the edges started to curl. My Uncle Leo gave time to the OPA and encouraged Aunt Lottie to roll bandages for the Red Cross. But he was not fooled the way some of us were. He didn't think the end of the war would usher in Utopia, although a picture of the flags of the United Nations, very prettily arranged, took over the spot on the wall once reserved for President Roosevelt.

ONCE I TRIED TO EXPLAIN TO AUNT LOTTIE MY UNCLE'S STATE of mind. "He's an idealist," I told her. "He's for the underdog. For the Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Italians, Irish, or for

anyone that's not getting a fair break like kids growing up in slums, or union organizers beaten up, or men scared of their lives, and women old before their time—"

"Like me?" asked Aunt Lottie.

"If you want to know," she told me another time, "why your uncle eats his heart out, it's because the world won't follow his advice. As a prophet he is so far 100 per cent wrong."

What she meant was that Uncle Irving, to take one example, showed not the slightest sign of fulfilling the destiny of his class, which was to be crushed between the oppressors and the oppressed. It seemed more likely that my Uncle Leo would be the one forced to the wall by Big Business. Independent grocers were selling out in droves to the chains. During the war Uncle Irving had received a government contract to process parachute equipment, and since then he was spending more time than ever with his income tax papers.

Worse, neighbors were leaving the Heights. They were moving in a trickle at first, then in a steady stream, to settle on the other side of town, in the West Adams district, or around Beverly and Fairfax, and Wilshire and La Brea. It was an exodus, one that my Uncle Leo disapproved of. The Feldmans, the Margolises, the Warnicks, all regular customers since depression days, were moving away.

"Here in the Heights it's not good enough for them any more," he groaned. "Here is the California air and sunshine not so pure like around Carthay Circle. On the East side maybe it stinks too much from lox and marinated herring, you should pardon the expression."

Aunt Lottie said softly, "Out on the West side the homes are newer. There are better stores and theaters. You're blaming people that they're trying to improve themselves?"

There was silence. She continued, "Ten years ago remember I said we should leave the Heights. All right it's a risk. What isn't a risk today? You'd be smart to move with the old customers, and in my opinion it's not too late. Irving's so close to Beverly Hills he gets to the beach in no time, to say nothing of their having a bathroom upstairs and downstairs and a place where you can cook outside in the yard."

"No," said my Uncle Leo. I felt Aunt Lottie had made a tactical error in mentioning Uncle Irving. Irrelevantly he added, "Any day now I'm waiting to hear Irving's family is changing their name. Did you hear the Slatkys have changed their name to Sloane?"

"There's nothing so pretty about Slatky," said Aunt Lottie. "For the children it would be a handicap."

My uncle flamed. "In a decent society it would be no handicap. It would be no handicap if their name was Ibbybibbety and they had purple hair and green eyelashes. What kind of society have we got instead? Anarchy. Every man fights his brother for money, stepping all over each other to get to the top. And a man who doesn't want to step on his brother, he's a no good bum in this society, a loafer."

"All right, all right," said Aunt Lottie. "Don't get so

excited. You know what the doctor told you. So do you want to go over the invoices now or should we eat first?"

WHAT BROUGHT EVERYTHING TO A HEAD WAS THE INFLATION. With prices skyrocketing my Uncle Leo had to go about the store almost daily changing the labels on every shelf. To complaining customers he gave away free with every purchase his opinion of the wreckers of the OPA. If business was slow a long discussion might develop with my uncle usually having the last word. "What do you expect under capitalism—a living wage? Prices a worker can afford?"

Then one day the climax. Far flung over the East side were consumers' resistance movements with well organized campaigns. Rumors of their demonstrations were occasionally reported in the papers. One morning after my Uncle Leo had just finished a new price adjustment, Aunt Lottie called him over to the cash register. She pointed. Three pickets were slowly marching back and forth in front of the market—three women, one wheeling a baby buggy. They carried hand-made placards: *Boycott Butter and Meat, Don't Patronize Profiteers, Bring Prices Down.*

It was on a Saturday. At home my mother was making a big family dinner including noodle pudding and strudel, but it was no use. What kind of dinner could it be with my Uncle Leo unfolding his misery to all of us?

"I didn't think I'd live to see the day, so help me, God, I'm being picketed. For three hours in the morning. My life's blood I give to the workingmen's causes, and the result is today they picket the store. Am I paying anybody starvation wages? Am I robbing their pockets?"

"Don't take it like something personal," said Aunt Lottie. "Let them complain if they don't like high prices. Who does? Is it your fault?"

My mother said gently, "They don't know you from Adam, Leo. They must be from another neighborhood."

"I should be happy they're not neighbors! I suppose I should feel lucky they're not members of my own family. Don't try to soften the blow, please."

"Look," I said, "it's ignorance. Imagine wanting you to sign a contract to sell food below what it costs you! But they'll learn. You're the one that's always talking about patience."

"One of those pickets looked like a wind would blow her away," my uncle mourned. "A TB case, I'm sure."

"It's not your business," Aunt Lottie said firmly, "and do me a favor, don't get so excited about it. Three women not even customers want to wear out their soles on your sidewalk, you're not disgraced for life."

"Has anybody seen any good movies lately?" asked my mother helpfully.

But my poor Uncle Leo had to sip his cup to the dregs because Uncle Irving dropped over, and of course he had heard the story. I think it was the reason he came by.

"Mazel tov. So it's happened to you. Honest, I'm glad. With such a little business as you operate how else would you understand we manufacturers are kvetching all the time about the unions. Give'm an inch and they take a

yard. Now you know personally what it's like."

Before my uncle could answer, Aunt Lottie inquired about Uncle Irving's business. "I can't complain," he answered. "You heard we're making better ties now than before the war—handpainted, first class merchandise. Have a look."

He showed us a few samples. The colors merged into each other the way they do on the surface of an oil puddle. "This is no longer just business," said Uncle Irving solemnly. "This is art."

Then he told us how hard it was to find good artists and what high salaries they asked. It seemed they all thought they were Rembrandts.

My Uncle Leo didn't feel up to taking part in the discussion. Suddenly, we noticed him leaning back on the couch, his cheeks and lips grayish. Before we knew what had happened, he had popped a pill under his tongue. In a minute or two the attack passed. From then on the conversation was careful and dull until it was time to go home. Afterwards when everybody had gone, my mother turned to me with a frown. "The strudel wasn't as good as usual, did you think?" And she burst into tears.

MY UNCLE LEO DIED THREE MONTHS AGO. IF YOU CONCLUDE sentimentally that he died broken in spirit, you would be entirely mistaken. It was the disease that killed him. The fact was that before he died he enjoyed a period of marvelous serenity. It dated from the Monday after the Saturday the pickets first appeared. The events of that day made the only kind of success story possible for my Uncle Leo.

On Monday morning there were three new pickets carrying the same placards. One of them was a sweet-faced blonde who walked with downcast eyes. She looked as if it were taking all her courage not to run away. The customers paid less attention to the pickets than my Uncle Leo. "One whole hour and a half they're walking already in practically summer weather," he observed. "I'd like to give them some water or fruit juice, what do you think? Will they laugh or get mad like I was trying to bribe them?" He brooded a while over the dilemma before he asked one of the pickets how she felt about it.

Just then a few cars pulled up at the curb in front of the market and what looked like a mob of women stepped out. They had on walking shoes and were also carrying placards. Big ones. My uncle's eyes were fixed on the placards as if they were magnetized. *Goldstein Plays Fair With Consumers, Protect the Little Man—Protest Monopoly, Fight the Food Trusts—Not Your Independent Dealer.*

They were all similar, and my Uncle Leo didn't have the chance to read every one because he was busy recognizing familiar faces—Mrs. Warnick, who had moved three years ago to West Adams, Mrs. Silver from near Wilshire and La Brea, Mrs. Salzman, the avocado pincher, all the way from Kings Road near Beverly. Aunt Lottie counted twelve women. She had a smile from ear to ear.

By now a crowd was gathering out of curiosity, and an old-fashioned sidewalk reunion was taking place. You

would have thought a public holiday had been declared. The three original pickets decided to go home, but the West side pickets insisted first that they apologize to my Uncle Leo for their embarrassing presence.

My uncle was of course a changed character. His face was red as if he had been drinking, and he talked as volubly. He congratulated the West side women on how well they looked and on their new daughters-in-law and grandchildren. He commiserated with them on the housing shortage. He went so far as agreeing that as a shopping district the Miracle Mile had more to offer than Brooklyn Avenue. It was almost a half hour before he thought to ask, "How did you know about this? Who told you?"

The women looked at Mrs. Warnick. She was an energetic little woman who used to bake the most delicious *choloh* on our block. "I heard about it, never mind how," she said. "In our neighborhood we're deciding if anyone should be picketed, it should be the big food corporations and chains. They're causing the inflation in the first place with their fancy prices and fancy profits, not independent grocers like Leo. He has to pay what the monopolists charge."

My Uncle Leo nodded his head vigorously at every word like a school teacher hearing the recitation of an "A" student. Aunt Lottie's eyes were large with respect.

We had a party that night. No less than eight customers and neighbors, and ten cousins came in to congratulate my Uncle Leo—that's how fast news travels in our community. My mother laughed whenever the doorbell rang.

After we had toasted the guest of honor, somebody yelled "Speech!" My uncle cleared his throat nervously. There were many young people in the group, and for the moment he would be a fountainhead of wisdom.

"My friends," began my uncle, standing stiffly erect. "In the old country we had a custom to begin speeches in our house with a verse from the Bible. This I do now. In English it goes: 'A good name is more to be cherished than great riches, and loving favor more than silver and gold.'" He paused, looking at Aunt Lottie. "Something else. A man needs his wife and vice versa. This is like political democracy and economic democracy. The one is no good without the other." He sat down. When everyone realized that he had finished, the applause was long and hearty.

Afterwards my uncle told me, "That Uncle Irving of yours, he congratulates me, the kind of pickets I have, they're actually good for the business. He can't understand I'm not celebrating about the business. I'm celebrating about the housewives, the people. You see I was right. They're learning finally. They're getting a practical lesson in economics. What an education they're getting today!"

NO PEACE OF MIND: I

By George Stewart

In a recent article in JEWISH LIFE ("Psychoanalysis and Anti-Semitism," June 1948), Dr. Walter S. Neff showed that the writings of certain leading psychoanalysts on anti-Semitism lead to very dangerous conclusions. He demonstrated that the attempt to present anti-Semitism as a psychopathological problem, related to certain deep 'anti-social' 'instincts' assumed to be present in all men, is quite consistent with Freud's general views of human personality. Subjecting this point of view to criticism, Neff concluded that the Freudian view leads to "extremely reactionary social conclusions" and that the "application of Freudian psychoanalysis to the problems of society can only divert attention from genuine and lasting solutions." The intent of this article is to continue Neff's analysis of the reactionary social implications of Freud's theoretical views, extending it now to the social problem in general. As starting point, we take the views expressed recently in the best-seller by the late Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman.—G.S.

RABBI Joshua Loth Liebman's *Peace of Mind* is truly a phenomenon of our time. After all, nothing succeeds as much as success, we are told, and the book has sold to the tune of 750,000 copies in the year and a half since its pub-

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lication, remaining towards the top of the best seller lists during the entire period. Almost every leading publication has devoted a leading article to the book, a great many prominent divines have delivered sermons on it, not a few conservative leaders in public life have felt called upon to mention it with praise.

It is undoubtedly true that peace of mind is such a rare commodity today that a book with this title might well be sought after by many people. But what does Rabbi Liebman offer? What magic formula does he present?

Let us see what Rabbi Liebman himself says as to his intentions: "I have written this book in the conviction that social peace can never be permanently achieved so long as individuals engage in civil war with themselves. I maintain that a cooperative world can never be fashioned by men and women who are corroded by the acids of inner hate, and I believe that our much-heralded 'society of security' will remain a Utopian vision so long as the individuals composing that society are desperately insecure, not only economically, but emotionally and spiritually." (*Peace of Mind*, p. xi.)

And what is his recipe for exorcising these inner demons? "Today's cringing world needs the support of a peace-giving faith that combines the substance of the old with the light of the new. Such a faith exists; its powerful instruments lie ready at hand. Prophetic religion now has an ally in what may be called revealed psychology—a sci-

ence that lays bare the diseases of men's troubled souls and provides a serviceable therapy for healing them. Fused together by terrible necessity, religion and psychology now bend forward as one, to succor stumbling humanity, to lift it up, anoint its wounds, and fill its cup to overflowing with the oil of peace" (p. 15).

"Aha!" says the reader. "A marriage of religion and psychoanalysis." Yes, this is precisely Dr. Liebman's intention, or, as he puts it "religion which has already made its peace with Copernicus and with Darwin, will have to make its peace with Freud" (p. 20).

Psychoanalysis and Religion

Now to one who has carefully watched the development and influence of psychoanalysis, this has its comic side. For, to this writer at least, one of the positive elements in the entire unwieldy structure of Freud's theoretical framework was his attempt to put psychology upon a materialistic basis. As we shall see later, this materialism of Freud's was one-sided and limited, but materialist in outlook it certainly was. There is little doubt that Freud considered it part of his duty as a scientist to destroy all spiritual and non-material illusions about the nature of Man. He approached his task with the background of the great scientific victories of the latter half of the 19th century and always believed that he rigorously excluded from his theoretical structure any concept which did not have its source in the real world. So, in the *New Introductory Lectures*, we find him saying: "Let me, in conclusion, sum up what I have to say about the relation of Psychoanalysis to the question of *Weltanschauung*. Psychoanalysis is not, in my opinion, in a position to create a *Weltanschauung* of its own. It has no need to do so, for it is a branch of science. . . . Scientific thought is still in its infancy; there are many of the great problems with which it has as yet been unable to cope. A *Weltanschauung* based upon science has, apart from the emphasis it lays upon the real world (my emphasis—G.S.), essentially negative characteristics, such that it limits itself to truth and rejects illusions. Those of our fellow-men who are dissatisfied with this state of things, and who desire something more for their momentary peace of mind, may look for it where they can find it. We shall not blame them for doing so; but we cannot help them, and cannot change our own way of thinking on their account."

It was Freud also who wrote a series of papers on the origins of religion (*Totem and Taboo*), in which he attempts to find a material basis for religious belief, considering that he found a deep analogy between religious aspirations and the wishful thinking and flight from reality of the child or the adult neurotic. One might imagine that in the above quoted passage, old Freud was speaking directly in criticism of such an attempt as Rabbi Liebman's to reconcile psychoanalysis and religion. Rabbi Liebman himself appears to recognize this when he concedes (p. 179) that Freud's attitude to religion was "negative." This does not prevent Liebman from blandly mixing oil and water on almost every page of his book.

Freud was responsible, perhaps more than anyone else, for turning attention to the importance of non-intellectual factors in human behavior. For a long time before him, the conception had been prevalent that Man was purely a rational being. Theologians, philosophers and psychologists prior to Freud were accustomed to distinguish between Man and the lower animals largely upon the basis of Man's ability to reason, believing that the lower animals were driven largely or entirely by blind, instinctive forces. There can be little doubt that this older view was heavily influenced by the viewpoints of organized religion, which itself regarded Man as the only earthly being possessed of a soul. Freud supplied a much-needed corrective for this one-sided spiritualism. He showed that it is not possible to explain our action and our conscious thoughts without reference to motivating factors of which we are not aware, but which nevertheless exercise influence over us. He showed that very often the effect of social standards is to check or distort conscious thinking about an apparently disapproved course of action, while the underlying motivation still persists in plaguing us. Finally, he showed that when a course of action or a set of desires has thus been barred by social restraints, other fields of behavior or thought—apparently quite unrelated—may be disturbed or stimulated as a result.

Now in thus turning attention to the irrational side of Man's behavior, in demonstrating that Man is not quite so controlled by "pure reason" as the moralizing philosophers of the 18th and 19th centuries supposed, Freud has performed a service. There is little doubt that behind the basic principles of psychoanalysis (unconscious motivation, repression, transference) there is a good deal of acute observation of the human material he had at his command, and a large body of solid fact. And certainly, since Freud, there are very few who dare to argue that Man is a purely rational being who must learn only to reason properly in order to solve his problems.

Freud's Errors

But let us look deeper. Why is psychoanalysis (as developed by Freud and those who follow him closely) a thoroughly reactionary world outlook? What is there about it that makes it attractive today to all kinds of mystics, obscurantists and reactionaries? How is it possible for a contemporary theologian, who seeks to bolster up religion, to turn to Freud, who thought that religion was an illusion from which Man must free himself (see Freud's *The Future of an Illusion*)? All this in the face of the fact that it was Freud who proclaimed: "We accept the evolution of man's conception of the universe . . . according to which the *animistic* phase is succeeded by the *religious*, and this in turn by the *scientific*" (*Totem and Taboo*).

The essential fact to be recognized is that while Freud corrected one error, he made another; in taking one step forward, he took two steps backward. It is true that Freud discovered the irrational and non-intellectual in Man's behavior. But he ended by making them the dominating

elements in Man's nature. One wonders how much Freud was influenced by the concept of Original Sin, which is central to Christian Fundamentalism. For Freud, Man's basic nature is anti-social, destructive, individualistic.

The infant comes into the world as a bundle of blind, self-seeking instinctive drives—destructive and anti-social in their direction. The uncontrolled gratification of these primitive instincts—the animal nature of man—would bring men into constant conflict with each other and would destroy society. Organized society, therefore, in the person of the parents, establishes certain prohibitions: "Thou shalt not do this!", "Thou shalt not do that!" The child's need for parental love and his dependence upon the parents for life itself force him to yield to these prohibitions, thereby "repressing" his instinctive desires, driving them "into the Unconscious." As the child develops toward adulthood, these precepts of the parents, who represent society, become "internalized"—that is, at first they are regarded by the child as alien to his own wishes, as coming from outside himself, but finally are incorporated in his unconscious and function as his "own" standards of conduct. The important point, for Freud, is that the demands of the individual are in basic conflict, a kind of eternal civil war which rages within every individual. It is this unconscious civil war within the breast of each of us which is the source of all distortions and malformations of human behavior, which lies at the bottom of the imperfections of social life, and which creates anxiety, depression and mental disorder. So says Freud!

It will easily be seen that Freud's view of the individual and of society is deeply pessimistic and aristocratic at one and the same moment. So, we find him saying: "Civilization is the fruit of the renunciation of instinctual satisfaction, and from each newcomer in turn it exacts the same renunciation." (*Thoughts on War and Death, Collected Papers, Vol. 4.*)

And: "Every culture must be built upon coercion and instinctual renunciation. . . . One has, I think, to reckon with the fact that there are present in all men destructive and therefore anti-social and anti-cultural tendencies. . . ."

"It is just as impossible to do without government of the masses by a minority as it is to dispense with coercion in the work of civilization, for the masses are lazy and unintelligent, they have no love for instinctual renunciation, they are not to be convinced of its inevitability by argument." (*The Future of an Illusion, 1943.*)

Source of Contradictions

In considering this whole question of Freud's understanding of the relation between Man and society, we are reminded of the ancient tale of the blind men and the elephant. Each grasping a different part of the beast's anatomy, they variously decided that the elephant is like a snake, like the trunk of a tree, like the wall of a house, and so on. Freud was able to observe contradictory desires and aspirations in his patients. He noted that they seemed

to be torn between opposites; between love for their fellow man and hate for him; between self-love and self-hate; between narrowly individualistic and socially oriented desires; between the Golden Rule and the Law of the Jungle. Society and the individual appeared to him not merely out-of-step but out of phase, at opposite poles.

Believing that what he was observing was the basic nature of man, he presents these conflicts as if there were a struggle between the biological and the social, so that the development of society presented Man with an ever-increasing threat to his internal security. The more civilization, the more anxiety, mental breakdown, neurosis. Murder, sexual aberration, wars and social conflicts, jails, judges and police are, for Freud, simply inevitable accompaniments of Man's inability to adapt to the demands made upon him to renounce his instincts.

What part of the elephant is Freud grasping? Very clearly, the reflection in men's minds of the contradictory nature of life in a society in which production is highly socialized but the fruits of production are appropriated by a few and denied to the great majority. It is perfectly true that men are torn between contradictions. What is one to say of a social order which teaches, on the one hand, that one must "do unto others as you would have others do unto you," and on the other, operates under the shibboleth "do unto others before they do you!" And this is more than a vulgar joke! *What Freud was unable to see was that the source of the contradictions he so acutely observed was not an eternal contradiction between the inexorable laws of biology and the equally inexorable laws of society, but that these contradictions find their origin in a single source—a contradictory society.*

The possibility of a bridge, therefore, between such a theologian as Liebman and such a professedly anti-religious scientist as Freud exists in this: both have the same general view of human nature. The theologian regards Man as limited and blind, unwilling or unable—left to himself—to take the path of righteousness; Man must be "saved," his demons exorcised, and he must be persuaded or compelled to live the good life. The psychoanalyst regards Man as a bundle of blind, destructive, anti-social drives and instincts, unable and unwilling—left to himself—to live at peace with his fellows; he must be repressed, commanded, exhorted and, perhaps, "analyzed," if he is to live the good life. Neither bother to ask the question: is Man essentially evil or destructive at all? Both take this for granted, the theologian on the authority of divine revelation, the psychoanalyst on the authority of a speculative biology. Thus it is



easy for an up-to-date theologian to substitute the Oedipus Complex for "Original Sin," the *Id* motives for the promptings of the Devil. It is little more than a problem in translation. And it should be easy, also, to see that Freud's materialism remains one-sided and mechanical, closing one door on idealism while opening another to it, so long as Freud does not permit himself to inquire more deeply and more rigorously into the sources of the "human nature" he observed around him.

Man is irrational, says Freud. He is also *rational* (or how would science, and Freud himself, have made their appearance?). How can we untangle this bewildering mixture of the rational and irrational that makes up Man?

Marxism and Human Nature

It was Karl Marx who first clearly established the view that "human nature" is a social product, or, as he put it, "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." Marx, therefore, anticipated Freud in understanding that behind the conscious thoughts of men lie factors of which they are not aware, but which nevertheless influence their thoughts and actions. Where Freud, however, only sees blind instinct in struggle with the internalized precepts of the parents, Marx sees something else: "In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general." (Marx, *Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy*.)

Marx was perfectly well aware of the irrational component in Man's behavior. In fact, he uses the term "ideology" to refer to the "false conceptions about themselves" which arise in terms of the social relations among men conditioned by a particular stage of development of Man's control over nature. But for Marx, this irrational component was not absolute and universal (as it is for Freud) but relative and historic. In one of the earliest joint works of Marx and Engels, they say: "Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything

else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to *produce* their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organization. . . .

"The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the actual means they find in existence and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, coincides with their production, both with *what* they produce and *how* they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production." (Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, 1848.)

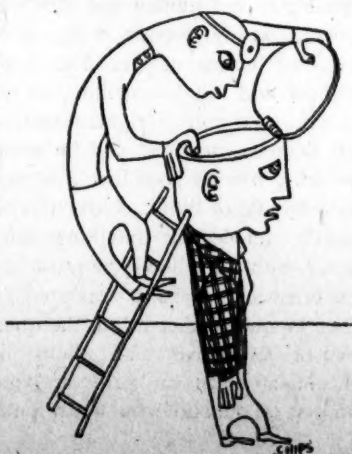
It will be seen that for Marx, his co-workers and followers, there can be no such thing as a universal, eternal human nature. *Man is what he does*. To each stage of development of Man's control over nature there corresponds a different set of social relations. To each mode of production—primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist, communist—there corresponds a different sort of "human nature," since each mode of production generates its own "ideology," i.e., its own views as to what is moral, customary, just, appropriate, desirable.

Emphasis on the Irrational

For a Marxist, therefore, the very question which Freud puts is meaningless, and his materialism remains one-sided, limited and mechanical. Man is essentially a social animal, and to attempt to abstract Man from Society is like peeling an onion—once all the layers are removed there is nothing left. It is all very well for Freud to discern that Man is torn by contradictions. It is *not* well for him to argue that the *source* of the difficulties lies in some ancient and eternal strife between an hypothecated biological nature and a repressive, demanding society.

It is Freud's inability to grasp the dialectical character of the relations between men that make up society that leads him toward pessimism, toward his great overemphasis of the irrational aspect of Man's behavior. And, of course, it is precisely Freud's emphasis on the irrational, his harping on an alleged destructive and anti-social human nature that opens the door to all kinds of mystical, obscurantist and superstitious beliefs and doctrines. It is thus quite possible for a religious Rabbi Liebman to find some common ground with the anti-religious Freud.

It is simply too easy. Freud is not the first ideologist of a ruling class to find something ponderous and "profound" to say about "human nature," which somehow serves to bolster up the rule of the social class he represents. Marx grasped this also, in saying: "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. . . . The ruling ideas are nothing



more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance." (Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*.)

It should not be surprising to a Marxist that Freud can be no more penetrating than his class prejudices allow him to be. Thus, he cannot see that his "own" society is the source of all contradictions which he observes in the individual. Instead of devising a theory of the "primal horde," he should have looked out of his own window. A strongly-torn class society is the source of enough contradictions, without invoking biological speculation. But, of course, Freud's own training and upbringing in a comfortable bourgeois family prevented him from seeing anything basically wrong with things as they are.

Discontent and Ideology

On the contrary, those of us whose loyalty to an oppressed class helped us to tear the blinkers from our eyes, will not have to search far to find the source of man's inhumanity to man, of this curious combination of love and hate, kindness and cruelty, affirmation and negation which makes up the people around us. We regard it as our task to search out the conditions of human personality under capitalist society within the complex features of life in a contradictory class structure. The task will be difficult. There is no one-to-one relationship between the economic base and the "super-structure" of ideology. Otherwise it would be as easy, as Marx put it, as the solution of a simple equation of the first

degree. But to look elsewhere is to seek a chimera. And it is precisely a chimera which Freud—and such newcomer disciples as Rabbi Liebman—have made it their task to find.

The plain fact is that the entire structure of psychoanalysis, as Freud presents us with it, very neatly reflects the dominant ideas of a ruling class, which is desperately attempting to keep its hold over the minds of millions of increasingly discontented people. In a very real sense, the Freudian views of "human nature" and human motivation have tended to become the dominant bourgeois ideology today, or at least are offered as arguments to buttress this ideology. It is not only the men of God who are turning to Freud. Prominent economists, sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists are finding it very convenient to describe the human beings they study as "irrational," thus neatly accounting for the maze of contradictions in which their bourgeois outlook have landed them.

It is all the more regrettable that many honest progressives have allowed themselves to be enmeshed in the pitfalls of psychoanalysis, swallowing so uncritically what is basically so harmful and dangerous to their own social objectives. Attracted by certain features of the technique of treatment in which Freud pioneered, they end by accepting all or most of the conclusions, and such a course can have no other outcome but a dulling of their class-consciousness and a blurring of their social zeal.

It is, therefore, necessary to cope with the question of the Freudian therapeutic method, with which we shall deal in the concluding section of this article.

(Concluded in next issue)

THE TRIAL OF SHOMER

*A Critical Essay
By Sholem Aleichem*

In the last few decades of the nineteenth century a number of Yiddish novelists flooded the market with a debased imitation of cheap romantic French novels. These sensational, over-sentimental books sold profusely in the Jewish communities of the Russian Pale. The most prolific and best known of these writers was Shomer (Reb Mayer Shai-kowitch). In 1888 Sholem Aleichem published a devastating critique of Shomer in the form of a pamphlet called The Trial of Shomer. So powerful was this condemnation, that it finished off Shomer's popularity. Shomer was forced to end his literary career and to leave for America. The essay reveals the humanity of Sholem Aleichem and his profound conception of a people's literature.

Below are excerpts from this critique in the first translation into English, so far as we know. We publish this in honor of the ninetieth anniversary of Sholem Aleichem's birth on March 2, 1859.—Editors.

IT IS about 20 years since the Yiddish language began showing signs of life, to stir and to move. Four such

giants as Abramovich (Mendele Mosher Seforim), Linetsky, Goldfadden, and Eisig Maier Dik felt enough strength in themselves to put the Yiddish language on its feet, to make it a live literature, to raise it from the realm of a grandmother's tale to a novel, from the synagogue's "songs of lament" to satire. These four giants infused the spirit of Europe into the old language. Readers took to Yiddish with an enthusiasm and a passion for which Jews are noted. Today there isn't a Jewish family where one or another member is not laughing himself to tears while reading Linetsky's *The Boy from Poland*; there isn't a family where the immortal and delightful songs of Goldfadden are not sung; where scenes from Abramovich's *Taxes* are not declaimed or acted out. In short, a happy hour had struck in the history of the Yiddish language, a happy time which Jews remember with great joy to this day. . . .

But after the bright sun, thick shadows come creeping in. Wherever fruit trees grow, there are also weeds, and roses are known to be surrounded by thorns. In literature a great talent often walks along the same path as the non-

entity and the quack. In the tracks of the mighty giant, the lion, crawls the little worm. If the great talents and geniuses lived forever, they would guard literature with their wings, and the worm would not be noticed. However, since geniuses appear but rarely, the little worm grows into a big worm, and brings so much harm that people begin looking for ways of smoking him and his family out. Unfortunately this is not done so easily. . . . The famous people's writers noted above, have laid down their arms, and people are gradually beginning to forget them. That was the time when the worms crawled out of their crevices, laid their eggs, grew and multiplied; all sorts of cockroaches and bugs overran and dirtied up the Yiddish language with such filth that it will take a great deal of washing and cleansing, before it will be fit for decent use again.

Yiddish writers poured forth like so much sand; these hacks filled literature with novels—and what novels! They ruined the public's taste so that it wouldn't touch anything but novels. More than that. All the readers became writers, all the youngsters and ne'er-do-wells became novelists. It is enough for one of them to read a book, a strange novel, and he becomes a novelist himself. He changes the names of the characters, gives the book a Yiddish title and sells his "masterpiece" in four parts and an epilogue to a bookseller. The bookseller becomes a publisher, and the brazen quack—a people's writer, a novelist. The public buys, business is good and all is well.

However, the greatest, the most prolific and richest of all the cockroaches and worms is our great scribbler, the accused—Shomer.

This clever fellow was not joking when he decided to inundate Yiddish literature with his inadmissible and vapid novels, with his fantastic creations; his writing is not only below any sort of criticism, but brings definite harm to the reader by way of slow poisoning. Shomer ruins the feeling of beauty in his reader with his monstrous lies, his fantastic absurdities, and heart-rending scenes, about which our Jewish reader has no notion whatsoever.

OUR REPRESENTATIVE, CONSIDERING THE SITUATION AS INTOLERABLE, called together a commission of enquiry. This commission examined over 50 of Shomer's novels and came to the following conclusions:

1. Practically all of Shomer's novels are plagiarized;
2. All his novels have practically the same plot;
3. He does not give a true picture of Jewish life;
4. His novels have therefore no relation whatsoever to us, Jews;
5. Shomer's novels only inflame the imagination without



Sholem Aleichem and friends

contributing to one's knowledge or inspiration;

6. The novels are filled with pornography and cynicism;

7. They are badly written;

8. The novels prove that their author is a coarse and illiterate person;

9. His novels should not be permitted to circulate among school boys and girls;

10. It would be a very good deed to root him and his queer and grotesque stories out of literature with the aid of critical exposure.

Here on the table are over 50 of this man's novels; they are the best evidence of what happens when the silence of the critics allows an illiterate charlatan to continue writing for a naive public. . . .

Prosecuting Attorney Speaks:

Honorable Judges and Gentlemen of the Jury!

The accused is not a thief, not a murderer, not a swindler. The accused did not commit a criminal act; he did not hurt anyone. Yet before us sits a criminal. What does it all mean? What is all this?

In my considered judgment, Gentlemen of the Jury, Shomer is much more a criminal than a thief, a hold-up man or a murderer. This gangster did not use a knife or a gun when he began ruining people. He used a pen. Stealthily he began to destroy Yiddish literature, to spoil the public's taste, and to ruin many simple people who are not able to distinguish between good and evil, folk who, without guidance, cannot tell the difference between the writing of an Abramovich and the garbage of the accused Shomer.

To cheat a friend, to take his money or to kill him, is to my mind, a lesser crime than to cheat a whole people, to destroy a young literature, to ruin the taste of thousands of readers. In the first instance there is the loss of but one individual, in the second, the whole social structure, all the people suffer.

Please bear in mind the results of this scribbler's activities! Look at the depravity he engendered in our people! Our workers, our women and girls are so filled with Shomer's absurdities, their minds so cluttered up with his drivel that they are unable to read and understand one single good book which would bring them some knowledge. They refuse to look at any book if it is not one of Shomer's tear-jerkers, with his pornographic love scenes; novels in which people steal, rob graves, commit adultery, etc. . . . and all this plagiarized from the worst Russian and German novels, or from the French of Xavier de Montepaigne, of Paul de Kock. . . .

I am certain that you, Gentlemen of the Jury, are acquainted with the sacred duty of literature. Literature is a

precise echo of real life, a life which is known to every reader. Literature depicts in various ways the bright and seamy sides of man's character in order to acquaint the reader with his own spiritual strength. Further, since too many edifying books could become boring and tiresome, poetry was created, the novel was developed. The novel is a sort of theater, a form in which the author shows imaginary characters who speak, laugh, sing, travel, walk, etc., all in order to interest the reader; with the aid of his imagination the author thinks up various situations, tells humorous or sad stories, pictures for us touching scenes over which we often cry.

When does an author achieve his objective? Only when he gives us descriptions of life which are known and understood by us, or at least, when he gives us situations which we know could happen in real life. However, when the author tells us about how the poker fell in love with the oven-fork and the goose-wing became jealous and roused all the geese and turkeys, then it is legitimate to ask what use, what moral can one get out of it? Whose heart will it touch? To whom will it bring a feeling of joy or of sadness?

SHOMER'S FLIGHTS OF FANCY TOOK HIM SO FAR THAT HE HAS A *melamed* turned into a lord, a chimney-sweep into a duke, a live person into a corpse and a corpse into a live person. Diamonds and millions in money are strewn around like so much trash in his stories. All servants in his novels are forever falling in love ("romancing" as Shomer calls it), the butlers with the maids, the maids with the coachmen, etc. . . . and then they commit suicide by shooting, drowning or hanging themselves. It is the same stuff-and-nonsense which we used to read in French novels; when you read this in Shomer's serials, you may think that Berdichev¹ was transferred to Paris, and that *Khaim*, *Yosl*, and *Avremel*² are sitting on plush sofas holding snow-white lap dogs on their knees and are singing sentimental love songs. . . .

Love, Gentlemen of the Jury, is an old, old song in literature, very old! Every writer and every reader knows that the best material for a novel is love, love between young people. Love is a sacred emotion, of course, and a gift of the God above; without this feeling we human beings would not be so far removed from animals. However, there is love and love . . . there is, for instance, the love of parents for their children and the reverse, the love of children for their parents; there is the love of brothers, sisters, friends, etc.; there is the love of a comrade; the love of humanity, nature, knowledge; but only the well-known kind of love between man and woman, the boy-girl love is the love which attracts practically all the world's novelists, and thousands of novels have been written about this kind of love. . . .

However, one must be as naive as a child to believe that the entire interest is whether the boy gets the girl or not. I have already stated that the basic problem of the novel is to depict both the positive and the negative sides of a person's character, and a genuine writer, a literate novelist not only provides enjoyment for his reader with his true

characterizations, but also presents an instructive moral to every reader according to his or her understanding. In this manner the author shows us the good and the bad, inspires us to emotions of tolerance, love, humaneness, enriches our knowledge of life. . . .

The talented Turgenev showed us that the love of the most villainous father for his child is more noble than all our feelings, even though one has in mind such a grasping and greedy character as the supervisor Geersh. Please compare what the Russian author writes for the Russian people and what the Jewish author writes for the Jewish people! Why the difference? Because Turgenev is a genuine writer, a genius, an artist who loves people, who has esthetic sensitivity and taste.

TO BECOME A PEOPLE'S WRITER ONE MUST BE A TALENTED artist, a patriot and a friend of the people; one must love people, and even though criticizing and poking fun at them, one must remain faithful and loyal to them. Such a writer is Abramovich.

"When I write about my unfortunate people," writes Abramovich, "my heart bleeds. I seem to be laughing but it is a bitter laugh, and when I write fervently, I, too, am afire and am gradually consumed like a candle. . . ."

So writes Abramovich. Shomer, on the other hand, thinks in terms of scandal and pornography. He thinks that his readers like that sort of a thing; and if he is mistaken, well, he is not a man to worry too much about it.

A writer, Gentlemen of the Jury, a people's writer, is an artist, a poet. A real poet serves his epoch, his times, his generation, as a mirror in which rays of life are reflected, as the rays of the sun are reflected in a spring. That is why an idea is first conceived by a talented writer, by a thinker. That is why, when a misfortune or an act of God happens to us (may it miss us!), it is first perceived by the sensitive poet, one who feels for the people. When there is good news, glad tidings, it is the people's singer, the inspired writer, who brings it to us. That is why there is such an indestructible bond between the people and the writer; that is why the writer is in the eyes of the people a servant of God, a prophet, a champion of truth; and the people love this prophet, this champion of truth, who soothes them in sadness, who is happy when his people are happy, and who has dedicated his art to all their thoughts and aspirations. There isn't anything in life, a people's misfortune or sadness which does not concern the writer. It touches him like a proverbial seventh rib. . . .

Now that I have explained what a scribbler this Shomer is, I hope that your sound judgment, taste and conscience will guide you to judge the accused in the strictest sense the law provides. He is a harmful writer and deserves no mercy. In convicting him you will accomplish two good deeds: you will remove this hack from the literary scene, and you will safeguard our young and suffering Yiddish language from other such parasites. I call upon you, Gentlemen of the Jury, not for myself, but in the name of literature, in the name of the masses of readers, in the name of our people.

¹ A Jewish center in the Pale of Settlement in Tsarist Russia.—Eds.

² Common Jewish names like Tom, Dick and Harry.—Eds.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

By L. Singer

Translated from the Yiddish by Joseph King

WHEN victory finally came, much of the land was desolated. Hundreds of cities and thousands of villages had been literally wiped out by the fascist vandals. Nowhere was the destruction greater, the degeneracy and bestiality of the fascist vandals more apparent than in the Jewish villages. They murdered in cold blood those who did not have time to evacuate; reduced homes and farms to ash; annihilated the healthy and prosperous farming population that was built up with such infinite care and devotion during the years of Soviet power.

The Soviet people enthusiastically turned to the problems of reconstruction and peace time activities. Soviet workers rolled up their sleeves and went to work to efface the memories and scars of war, to resume the task of building socialism. Soviet Jewry, which had suffered so much and for whom the land of socialism had become more dear, joined fervently with all Soviet peoples in the great reconstruction.

Even during the war the Jewish population returned, as did other peoples, to their homes as soon as a city or region was liberated. The partisans returned from the forests. Jews who were hidden in cellars by their non-Jewish neighbors, were freed. And later, those evacuated to distant regions and demobilized soldiers returned home en masse.

By the beginning of 1946 the number of Jews in the cities of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania and Latvia was estimated as follows: in Kharkov 30,000; in Dnepropetrovsk 50,000; in Odessa 80,000; in Mogilev-Podolsk 3,000; in Novograd-Volinsk 3,000; in the former town of Malin about 1,000. At the beginning of 1947, Chernovitz, had about 70,000 Jews.

After the war the press frequently reported devoted Stakhanovite labor by Jewish workers, farmers and intellectuals in the mills, collectives and establishments of the Soviet republics. Among the Stakhanovites were a great number of machinists, engineers, factory department heads and industrial workers of all kinds.

Although Jewish agriculture was temporarily shattered, it still had a spark of life. After the war, evacuated and demobilized Jewish collective farmers began the return to their old homes. By the beginning of 1946, about 250 collective farm families had already come back to the Kalinin district in the Kherson region. Many collective farm families also returned to districts of the Ukraine, the Crimea, and to many suburban collectives. By dogged effort and the

help of Soviet agencies and neighboring peoples, Jewish collective farm life revived. Jewish collective farmers contributed their share to the continuing development of agricultural economy in the Soviet homeland.

Jewish intellectuals also contributed to post-war socialist construction. A great number of Jewish intellectuals were Stalin prize laureates and winners of orders. Among them were many scholars, technical engineers, medical workers, artists and writers.

In 1946, a Stalin prize was awarded to V. A. Shimelevitch, distinguished physician of the RSFSR and chief physician of the Botkin Clinic. In that year Stalin prizes were also awarded to the late Solomon Mikhoels, People's Artist of the USSR and the artistic director of the Moscow Jewish State Theater; to Benjamin Zuskin, People's Artist of the RSFSR; and to Alexander Tishler for his production of *Freilachs* at the Moscow Jewish State Theater.

Jews are represented in the Soviet intelligentsia by a galaxy of noted people: Academicians Frumkin, Lena Stern, Bernstein, Leibson, Zbarsky, Yofan, Trainin, etc.; writers Ilya Ehrenburg, Vassili Grossman, Samuel Marshak; winners of the world music competition Professor David Oistreich, Emil Hillels, Yakov Fleer, Yakov Zack, Lisa Hillels, etc.

Jewish cultural activity began to revive after the war. The section of Jewish culture in the Ukrainian Academy of Science renewed its investigations into the sources of Jewish people's art, language and literature. In Vilna the Jewish Museum was established by decision of the executive of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR. The work of the newspaper *Einikeit* and *Der Emes* Publishing House, which prints Yiddish books, broadened. Editions of Jewish books have increased over pre-war years. Soviet Jewish writers Bergelson, Nister, Hoffstein, Markish, Halkin, Kvitko, Feffer, Fininberg, Kushnirov and others have enriched literature with many significant works. New Jewish musical and art works have been created. Three Yiddish literary miscellanies are issued regularly: *Heimland* in Moscow, *Shtern* in Kiev, *Birobidjan* in Birobidjan. All the Yiddish theaters have returned from evacuation and are operating again and mass artistic activity is developing.

After the war the tempo of development of the Jewish Autonomous Region gathered speed. Especially significant are the achievements of the Region in 1947, the second year of the post-war Stalin Five Plan. In this year a number of new and important undertakings got under way: a paper mill, textile plant, shoe factory and confectionery plant. Socialist competition to fulfill the year's economic plans

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ahead of time took place in the Region as in the rest of the country. The enthusiastic efforts of the workers in 1947 bore fruit. Thirty-six of the 60 socialist industrial establishments in the Region fulfilled their year's plans by the 30th anniversary of the great socialist October revolution in November. The collective farmers improved their yield and were the first on the Chabarovsk border to fulfill the plan for grain deliveries and overfulfilled the plan by tens of thousands of pood of grain. By September 17, 1947, the Jewish Autonomous Region reported fulfillment of the state grain plan by 102 per cent.

New perspectives have opened for the region with its colossal natural resources, great land areas, increase of industrial establishments, collectives and state farms, growing production experience, developed cadres and broad network of cultural institutions. The Region still has an insufficient number of immigrants. At the beginning of 1946, the executives of the soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR proposed to take measures to consolidate and further develop the economy and culture of the Jewish Autonomous Region. These measures of the party and the government heartened the workers of the Jewish Autonomous Region and strengthened the desire among the Jewish population to settle in the Region and build a Jewish socialist state.

This decision of the Soviet government was inspiring to the Soviet Jewish population, who looked on it as further evidence that the Bolshevik Party and the government wished to strengthen the Jewish Autonomous Region. Among the settlers who came from the city of Vinnitsa the following skills and social groups were represented: 48 builders, 25 locksmiths, 18 turners, 25 chauffeurs, 20 smiths, 48 shoemakers, 37 tailors, 155 collective farmers, 5 tractor drivers and a number of engineers, technicians, doctors, teachers, agronomists, etc.

A comparison of the composition of the first settlers in the Crimea not long after the Revolution with that of the current settlers in the Jewish Autonomous Region reveals enormous differences.

Social Composition	The Crimea	Jewish Autonomous Region
Workers & Artisans.....	38.3 per cent	40.0 per cent
Farmers	7.8 per cent	29.0 per cent
Intellectuals	6.8 per cent	31.0 per cent
Traders & Others.....	47.1 per cent	—

The present Jewish settlers are no longer largely non-productive in agriculture and industry. The percentage of



Four Soviet Yiddish writers (right to left): Ephraim Kaganovsky, David Bergelson, Der Nister, David Hoffstein.

intellectuals has increased many times. These intellectuals are in a position to assume leading posts in the economy and cultural institutions of the Region. While merchants and other declassed elements comprised almost half of the Crimean settlers, they are totally absent in the Region.

A government decision of June 19, 1947 provided aid to settlers on the Region collectives with loans for the building of homes, maintenance loans for two years and long term credit for the purchase of cows. Every family gets financial aid for the purchase of household articles. Exemption from agricultural taxes and deliveries to the state are granted to collectives that accept a certain number of new settlers.

The Jewish Autonomous Region now has every possibility for economic and cultural development, but lacks only people to harness its natural wealth. The rich natural resources of the Region and the existing and growing establishments await builders, technicians, engineers, etc. The Region needs specialists in light industry. It must have people for slate and cement production, for the lime industry, for work on marble, for extracting and working on graphite and sapphires. There is need for agronomists, shepherds, gardeners, bee keepers, landscape gardeners, irrigation engineers, etc. There is urgent need of cultural and medical workers, etc.¹

Today the Jewish population of the Soviet Union can proudly say: we are no longer what we were before the October Revolution. The Jewish people has evolved together with the entire country, with all peoples. We have become an equal among equals in the great fraternal family of peoples of the USSR. The future holds for the Jewish population, together with all other peoples of the Soviet Union, ever brighter prospects. In hand with all equal peoples of the USSR, the Jews of the Soviet Union will continue to build with enthusiasm and passionate love the glorious structure of communism for our homeland.

THE END.

¹ A. Bakhmutsky, "Main Questions of the Present," *Einiheit*, Moscow, August 28, 1947.



lectivist and co-operative" (p. 148). This simple-minded socialist-capitalism, in which we all now own the means of production, is exemplified in this pathetic observation: "A tired-looking woman clinging to a subway strap may not know it, but the bank in which she is putting her weekly savings may hold a mortgage in the office building where she mops floors, thus making her one of its owners."

What the authors ignore is the elementary axiom of Marxism that shows the contradiction between the social-co-operative, interdependent character of capitalist production and the private, anti-social, piratical character of the appropriation of the profits of that production. With this axiom, they might have better understood what they unexpectedly allude to on the last page: New York "has not solved the basic problems of existence. Nowhere are there more glaring contrasts between rich and poor. Life is hard for millions, and living and working conditions are deplorable in many respects."

There are many well presented historical and contemporary facts in this book, but one will look in vain for anything even faintly approaching adequate treatment of labor, or the development of our public school system, or the scandalous reactionary press, or the multinational origin and pattern of New York's masses.

Organized labor is ignored. There are many pages about the marvels of the New York waterfront and the transit system, but nothing about the workers there. The garment industry is mentioned in passing as the city's largest manufacturing enterprise, but its workers, rich in traditions of unprecedented and here unmentioned struggles that smashed the sweatshops,

are insulted with the queer assertion that "electric power . . . ended the sweatshops." The authors' information about labor is suggested by the fact that they speak of the Congress of *International Organizations*, and their insight is measurable by this judgment: "Except in really Big Business, labor is better organized in New York than capital. Certainly it is more powerful in many ways."

Since the authors make much of New York's having become the permanent home of the United Nations (hence the "world's capital city"), one would expect them to pay attention to the national groups. The opposite is true. One consequence is a historical distortion. For instance, the writers begin their account of the battles for liberty in New Amsterdam with the Quaker Flushing Remonstrance of 1657, omitting the struggle that Jews conducted there from 1654 to 1657. Or the authors will assure us that "religious liberty" was guaranteed in the 1683 Charter of Liberties and Privileges, when

in fact that Charter granted such liberty only to those "who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ," thus excluding the Jews. Unwittingly, Mr. Rodgers and Miss Rankin drive home the lesson that no adequate American history can be written that is not fully alive to the national group elements, including the Jews.

Of the future of New York, the authors are optimistic in a Marshall Plan fashion. Recognizing that New York's "consolidation at the turn of the century was definitely related to the emergence of the United States as a world power and was an important factor in the world-wide expansion that followed," they expect New York to become the world's capital city not only as the home of the United Nations but, I suspect, as the financial center of Wall Street's world empire. I believe my beloved city has a greater future in store for it—as a center of daily resistance to Wall Street's control, and of the long-range struggle to replace that rule with the rule of the people. The world will love New York better that way.

Documents

LEFT UNITY IN ISRAEL?

The Communist Party of Israel proposed on August 29, 1948, in a communication to the left-wing Zionist United Workers Party (Mapam), the formation of a united slate for the elections on the basis of a nine-point program on which both parties were in agreement. (This communication was published in JEWISH LIFE, December 1948.) The offer was rejected. Following are the reply of the United Workers Party and the final response of the Communist Party of Israel. This exchange provides illuminating material on the character of Mapam and on the whole question of the united front tactic. —Eds.

To the Communist Party

Tel-Aviv, Sept. 6, 1948.

1. You write: "for years our party has been fighting for unity of all left labor forces in Palestine." This emphasis is a little strange to us because:

a. For years, your party has opposed immigration, the constructive work of the Jewish people in Palestine. This negative attitude could not constitute a basis for the unity of left-wing labor in the country with you.

b. Thereby, your party provided an example not of unity, but of splitting.

c. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the left camp in Palestine, organized in the Ahduth Avodah-Poale Zion and the Hashomer Hatzair Workers Party, united in theory and practice, and created the United Workers Party!

2. You write: "In spite of our great efforts to achieve cooperation and a united front between our two parties on the aforementioned basis . . . your party has up to the present refused to set up such a front." This, too, does not conform with reality.

a. Our party did not refuse, but suggested cooperation through regular liaison for coordination between the representatives of the two parties in an effort to achieve cooperation in various spheres such as the State Council, the League for USSR, etc.

b. For us the "United Workers Front" under our conditions and in conformity with the practice of the whole left-wing labor camp is a more general term. Such a front would not exclude the Palestine Labor Party (Mapai) either. We fight for such a workers' front as vital for the workers of Palestine. Nor do we absolve right-wing labor from agreement on such a front despite its rejection of this front.

3. We were prepared to open discussions with you on the programmatic foundations for a united front of Palestine workers, and we agreed to discuss these foundations. The first essential point of discussion naturally centered upon the focal issue for the Palestine labor movement and our people in general—territorial concentration in Palestine as the solution to the Jewish problem. To our regret, we have not as yet received a basic reply from you on this issue on which there is agreement today among the whole working class in Palestine and the masses of our people in the whole Diaspora. Your comrades preferred—before this discussion was summed up—prior discussion on some practical questions. We agreed to this...

4. Among the fundamental points raised by you, you omit to mention one which has occupied a place of considerable importance in our discussions—the attitude towards the activities of the *Halutz* (workers' training) movement and towards the rights of the Zionist organization in the Diaspora. This point is basic for any cooperation with us, and calls for a clear answer and practical consequences.

5. You write: "the absence of a united progressive workers' front has already had most serious consequences." And you mention the cases of Abdullah, the Arab democratic forces, taxes and Jewish fascism. These are most serious matters—but you should not ignore some simple facts:

a. The fight on these important issues is being conducted mainly by three institutions: the Zionist Organization, the state of Israel, and the *Histadruth*. The Zionist Organization . . . is boycotted by you up to this day. Since you are not represented in the Zionist Organization, you are not in a position to support, for instance, our move against Abdullah in the Zionist Executive Council.

b. In the State Council we have five delegates and you have one. Notwithstanding the striking difference in the balance of forces, we appreciate our parallel policy with you respecting all important questions pointed out in your letter.

c. In the institutions of the *Histadruth*, in which our representation amounts to more than 40 per cent, you are represented (in the *Histadruth* Council) by one member in an advisory capacity. In this case, too, joint or separate action with you does not make much difference in practice.

d. Certainly we do not make cooperation within the labor movement conditional on numerical value and weight. However, some remarks in your letter are somewhat out of proportion to the numerical balance of forces within the working class and left-wing labor in Palestine.

At the same time, we approve of the

continuation of our negotiations, and hope the negotiations will have constructive results. . . .

6. As regards the question of elections to the Constituent Assembly of Israel, we shall discuss your appeal when our party discusses the question of these elections and we shall inform you of the results of our discussions.

With comradely greetings,

UNITED WORKERS PARTY OF PALESTINE
Central Secretariat: L. Levite; J. Riftin.

To the United Workers Party

Tel-Aviv, Nov. 7, 1948

From your letter of September 6th and from the discussion between the representatives of our parties which followed, we understand that you continue to oppose the setting up of a united front of the United Workers Party and the Communist Party of Israel and that you have no intention of putting up a joint list with us for the elections to the Constituent Assembly of Israel.

In our appeal to you last August we pointed out that the consolidation of the forces of fascism and reaction for the elections calls for a united progressive workers' front. . . . We suggested that this front be based on a nine-point political program, including the basic problems and the foreign and home policy of our state, the problems of the toiling masses, Jewish-Arab relations, immigration and colonization, the struggle against the dangers of American imperialist penetration and the safeguarding of peace.

As early as our first meeting in the beginning of September, you informed us explicitly that you consider the platform suggested by us acceptable in principle, and that this might serve as a basis of operation between us. However, in addition to this platform, you asked for a discussion of basic ideological questions.

We told you then that we are not opposed to ideological discussions. However, the setting up of a united front based on an agreed political program does not necessarily include a common ideology of the two cooperating parties. A united front is not an organic fusion of two workers' parties, which requires identical ideological foundations, but a front of joint defence and attack, which calls for an agreed minimal program adequate to the interests of the working class and the masses in the period involved.

You make the setting up of a united front conditional on our accepting Zionist ideology. We on our part did not demand

from you as a condition that you should accept the Marxist ideology on the national question. Every sound thinking individual will understand that it is neither logical nor practical to demand such conditions, which in advance doom to failure any attempt at progressive cooperation within the working class. You cannot point to a single example in the history of the world labor movement when cooperation has been started *this* way. We believe in the future organic unity of the working class in this country. However, it is obvious that this unity will only be possible on the basis of the victorious theory of Marxism-Leninism. . . .

You frustrate all attempts of united action by emphasizing points of friction between us, and not of common interest, and by raising questions from the past. We proposed a united front from the viewpoint of significant needs of the present and immediate future and not from the point of view of "bygone memories." We did not, for instance, remind you that for long years, and even up to the last moment, you supported the British Mandate in Palestine, opposed the struggle for independence of Palestine, etc., because we want cooperation with you.

A progressive workers' party is being tested by its deeds in days of trial—and these are days of trial. The very fact that, as against our proposal of a united front with you, you stress the need for a front with Mapai, raises doubts as to your understanding of this front and its needs.

The question is not how broad and long the front is to be, but its quality and political foundation. From your own criticism of Mapai it is evident that no common basis exists today for a front with it under its present leadership, which follows the foreign and home policy of the

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bourgeoisie. . . . It is only a united front of the United Workers Party and the Communist Party of Israel which can effect ideological changes within Mapai and create conditions for a united front with it in the future.

Your reply reminds us of relations that existed within the League for Friendship with USSR. When we called upon the Hashomer Hatzair to carry out certain actions to save the League from stagnation, they made their agreement conditional upon the consent of Ahduth Avodah-Poale Zion. The latter would agree, if Mapai would, and so on. No, comrades! This is too open a maneuver. Your reply to a united front with us, which is possible and necessary, is a front which makes the inclusion of Mapai unreal today. This approach is not serious and incomprehensible.

We accuse you of insincerity and hypocrisy relative to the tasks which today face a progressive workers' party—progressive in its deeds, not only in its proclamations. We accuse you of double book-keeping, one in Israel and another in the countries of people's democracy.

It is known that your party stands in a united front with the communists in the new democracies in central and local authoritative institutions in Poland, Rumania and other countries. In those countries you did not make the united front conditional on their acceptance of the Zionist ideology or on the national question. It is known that in those countries you are numerically insignificant as compared with the communists. However, the sincere approach of the communists with respect to the democratic front renders this cooperation possible. Do not these rules apply to the state of Israel as well? Do you think you can solve the problem by your acquiescence to "contact and coordination" with us in such fields as the State Council, the Israel-USSR League, etc., instead of practical cooperation in the political arena? It seems that you were ready to pay lip service to the cause of the united workers' front and to "do your duty" before the outside world by your "contact" with the C.P.I. Maybe it suits you to play the democratic game for the benefit of Warsaw, Bucharest, Sofia and other countries, and to fulfil a typical social-democratic function in Israel, on the main front in which the progressive and non-progressive character of a workers' party is reflected. . . .

In your efforts to find as many pretexts as possible to justify your divisive attitude, you simply arrive at absurdities. For instance, you ask us to "view favorably" the rights of the Zionist movements abroad—in other words, you wish us to fight together with you for the rights of fas-

cists within the Zionist movement (Revisionists and "Heruth" (Freedom) people of the Irgun Zvai Leumi), for the rights of the Brodetzkys and Goldmans of the Bevin gang, for the rights of the Silvers and Neumanns and the representatives of the bourgeoisie and reaction in America, who belong to the Republican and Democratic Parties, for Dewey and Truman, for the rights of the clergy and of all those who belong to the imperialist and anti-democratic "Western" camp. And these people, as is known, constitute the overwhelming majority in the Zionist movement.

You still hold the mistaken and harmful view that the Jewish people is split into two camps: Zionists and non-Zionists. This brings you into "brotherly proximity" with Jewish reaction within the same organization, and to the rejection of relations and actual cooperation with the forces of progress in Israel.

The truth is that the Jewish people, like all other peoples, are divided into two camps: the camp of pro-imperialist reaction, which in all countries is related to the warmongers and enemies of USSR and the peoples' democracies, on the one hand, and the camp of peace-loving progress, which is related to the progressive labor movement, the friends of USSR and the peoples' democracies, on the other. And it is known that the main and ruling forces in the Zionist Organization support those imperialistic forces who work to bring disaster upon Israel, reduce its boundaries and infringe upon its independence and sovereignty. The progressive forces among the Jewish people—and the communists first of all—are leading an obstinate and consistent struggle, together with the USSR and the countries of people's democracy, for the defense of

Israel and its frontiers, independence and sovereignty. Is this not striking proof of the correctness of our evaluation with respect to the relation of forces among our people? Does not the general national welfare demand the setting up of a front of our two parties for the fateful political struggles?

The independence and sovereignty of Israel, its frontiers and natural resources, the democratic liberties of its citizens and the vital interests of its working class are threatened. Anglo-American imperialism and its satellites; the big Jewish bourgeoisie and its fascist wing *Heruth* (founded by the Irgun); and clericalism and its satellites among the working class attack us in order to liquidate the achievements of democracy and its victories in this part of the world.

The answer must be: a progressive workers' front. The day has come for testing your anti-fascist and democratic proclamations, your proclamations in favor of the progressive unity of the working-class and your sympathies with the anti-imperialist camp in the world. You should realize clearly: your refusal to set up a united front and a joint list with the Communist Party of Israel in the elections to the Constituent Assembly will fully serve the interests of the forces of fascism and reaction in our state. We ask you to reconsider this question in view of the clouds that are gathering in the skies of our country. You should put aside any narrow party quarrels in order that we may carry out the great tasks in the policy of our state which are demanded today of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

With fraternal greetings,

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

S. Mikunis, Gen. Sec. M. Vilner, Sec.

Letters from Abroad

WHAT REALLY GOES ON IN RUMANIA?

The letter below from a member of the Jewish Democratic Committee of Rumania is a reply to the calumnies and hysterical attacks in this country against the new people's government of Rumania and its Jewish community for alleged "anti-Zionist" actions there. Mr. Eisinger here tells what is really happening. The attempt of

the Jewish press in our country to confuse the issue of Zionism and the cause of Israel is scandalous in view of the record of the Rumanian government toward the Jewish state. Rumania was one of the first to grant de jure recognition to Israel and only recently gave a hearty welcome to the Israeli ambassador. Hysteria of certain sections of the Jewish press about Jewish schools in Rumania is shown to be groundless by the recent news that Rumania has a network of 69 elementary and 32 high schools with over 1,000 teachers. All studies

in these schools are conducted in Yiddish. This language is also taught in general schools in those areas where over 20 per cent of the population is Jewish. Courses in Yiddish language and literature are offered in all advanced schools and universities. Jewish students are excused from writing on the Sabbath and holy days if they so wish.—Eds.

Bucharest, January 12.

Reactionary Jewish newspapers in the United States and Canada have recently tried to outdo one another in slanderous articles about alleged "anti-Zionist pogroms" in Rumania. A certain Ephraim Auerbach writes an article in the *Morning Journal* entitled, "Communist Pogroms on Zionists in Rumania" (Dec. 15, 1948). A "comrade from the Bund," A. Schonfeld, unknown here but perhaps known to the American public, writes an article in the reactionary *Forward* under the same heading (Dec. 15, 1948), detailing what he presumes to be going on here. Editorials of the same nature appeared in the *Day*. These gentlemen and their friends probably have the same sources of information as those who publish slanderous lies against the Soviet Union and the new people's republics.

A Rumanian reading all this rubbish would be surprised to find the Zionist offices open at Bucharest 17 and the Zionist newspaper, *Viata Evreiasca*, sold as freely as *Union*, paper of the Jewish Democratic Committee, in cities and towns.

What really happened? Zionists from political right to so-called left were sabotaging the work of the Jewish Democratic Committee. They did their utmost to hinder the process of productivising the Jews and to isolate the Jews from other nationalities in the population by nationalistic propaganda. They continuously agitated for the emigration of all Jews. They tried to create an atmosphere of uncertainty and instability among the Jewish masses in line with their demagogic purpose. For they were trying to prove their reactionary theory that the liquidation of anti-Semitism is impossible and hence tried to persuade the Jewish masses that it was necessary for them to leave the country. They tried to conceal the fact that anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is a thing of the past.

Here are a few concrete examples of their attitude toward the Rumanian People's Republic. They not only failed to respond to the appeal to all youth organizations to help rebuild the country by voluntary labor: they expelled several members of Zionist youth organizations who did respond to the appeal. The Zionist paper *Viata Evreiasca* completely ignored heroes

of the Rumanian working class, but published long articles by the anti-Soviet "specialist," Jacob Lestchinsky. They printed not a word about Birobidjan and the new developments there. They ignored the building of socialism in Rumania on the ground that they were interested only in Israeli events. They did not give any attention to what is being done for the Jewish masses in Rumania.

The so-called "left-wing" Zionists put forward Marxist phrases and tried to palm themselves off as socialists. Their phrases were progressive but they practiced class-collaboration and an anti-working class Jewish "national unity." These "left-wingers" maintain that Jewish workers and Jewish big financiers have the same interests. By this practice of Jewish "national unity" they actually betray the working class movement.

Today the Jewish workers of the Rumanian People's Republic can proudly point to a number of achievements of people's democracy by both the Rumanian Workers Party and the government. One of the most important of these is the law against racial persecution. Does the United States or Britain have such a law? Does the *Forward* approve of the sentences to hard labor or heavy fines for war criminals and murderers and looters? I doubt this in view of the position taken by the *Forward* in the Ilse Koch case.

In Rumania freedom of religion, which did not exist under the reactionary regime, is guaranteed. All those who lost their jobs under the fascist dictatorship, have been reinstated. All who were left widows, orphans or invalids by anti-Semitic persecution, now receive the same pensions as the same categories of war orphans, widows and disabled. Jewish welfare and cultural organizations receive help from the state. The Jewish masses are guaranteed the right to study in their mother tongue in state-owned schools, whether it be Yiddish, Rumanian or Hungarian. Among Jewish cultural developments are the Ikuf (*Yiddishe Kultur Farband*), the Yiddish State Theater, Yiddish newspapers, etc.

For the first time in the history of Rumania the Jew can proudly say that he is an equal among equals. The Zionists here, the bourgeois nationalists, were not working alone: they operated as allies and agents of the Anglo-American imperialists. By their actions they placed themselves outside the Jewish Democratic Committee. And this organization is becoming the central force in leading the Jewish masses towards making a positive contribution to the building of socialism in Rumania.

M. EISINGER



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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

er." Cross made his disclosure in the course of a petition made jointly with another member of Knickerbocker's department, the CCNY day student council and the American Jewish Congress to the state board that it order the city board to review the case.

A UNITED PRESS survey of major cities from coast to coast revealed numerous instances of realtors, banks and other lending institutions upholding in actual practice the "white Gentiles only" rule that the Supreme Court recently declared legally unenforceable. Leading financing authorities in many cities agreed that restrictive covenants still were maintained by the device of discouraging financing of non-restrictive housing on the ground that possible litigation gave such property a "cloudy title." Banks are therefore adhering to the covenants as a matter of "practicality."

THE GEORGIA HOUSE of Representatives killed a bill on January 20 by vote of 89 to 65 to prohibit members of secret organizations or other citizens from wearing masks in public or at public demonstrations for the purpose of hiding their identity. During the fiery debate the KKK was upheld as "a shining symbol of the Southern way of life."

FORMATION OF THE Israel Music Foundation to develop Israeli musical talent and to bring the musical culture of Israel to a world-wide audience was announced in January. Activities of the foundation will include research, production of recordings, the publishing of music, maintenance of a reference library of Hebrew music and the granting of exchange scholarships for American and Israeli music students. Among the advisors of the foundation are authorities A. W. Binder, Harry Coopersmith, Rev. Gershon Ephros, Milton Feist, Max Helfman and Siegfried Landau.

INDUSTRIALIST JACOB BLAUSTEIN was elected president of the American Jewish Committee at the committee's 42nd annual meeting in January. He succeeds Judge Joseph M. Proskauer.

THE DECLINE IN POPULATION of the East Side in the past 30 years to the low point of 220,000 in 1937 has been reversed in the past few years. It is estimated that up to 100,000 new "immigrants" will move to the lower East Side's many public and private housing projects (Lillian Wald Houses, Jacob Riis development, Vladeck Houses, etc.). While many middle-income group people are moving in, several thousand Puerto Ricans and European DPs are moving into the old tenements. The East Side's little businesses are being forced out of existence by these developments. It is estimated that the Peter Stuyvesant and Peter Cooper projects alone forced 900 shops out, of which one-third never went into business elsewhere. Miss Helen Hull of the Henry Street Settlement charged that the new elements moving into the tenements were being exploited by greedy landlords.

EUROPE

AMERICAN AUTHORITIES in Germany, it is reported, will hand over Ilse Koch to the Germans in the Soviet zone for trial at the conclusion of her commuted sentence in the fall of 1949.*

SOVIET AUTHORITIES in Berlin have announced that the Soviet-controlled Berlin radio station will broadcast 15-minute programs in

Yiddish on the first and third Fridays of each month. Yiddish language broadcasts are now being made by the American-controlled station in Munich every Friday.

RENAZIFICATION NEWS . . . Franz von Papen, nazi diplomat who helped boost Hitler to power, was freed on January 26 by a German Denazification Court of Appeals after serving less than half of his eight-year sentence as a war criminal. The court restored his fortune after fining him 30,000 marks (\$9,000) and barred him from all public service. During his trial court-room spectators applauded him. . . . Protests in the Bavarian provincial parliament against the transfer of Jewish DPs from the Frankfurt to the Munich area developed into an anti-Semitic demonstration with applause and cheering. One speaker asserted that "the entire sink of the population is coming together here. We do not need them" . . . Charles La Follette, who resigned his post as MG director for Wuerttemberg-Baden, said at a farewell dinner that it was "tragic" that "a lot of former nazis take over" in industry. . . . The German newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* on January 25 charged that the *Neue Zeitung*, United States Army's German-language publication, is employing "the prominent P. K. (propaganda company of the nazi era) and publicist of the one-time Goebbels organ, *Das Reich* . . . not to mention . . . other National Socialist publicists who presented themselves unabashedly with their names in the issue of Dec. 31."

A JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE official has accused the Greek government of failure to carry out pledges to Jewish victims of persecution during the nazi occupation. He said that a law passed in 1946 to allot the income from heirless Jewish property for the welfare of the Jewish community was not being carried out. Instead, this property is being confiscated under the guise of taxation.

AT A SYNAGOGUE service in Budapest to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the liberation of the city's ghetto by the Soviet Army, Rabbis Fabian Hershkovitch and M. Katona praised the Hungarian government for its treatment of the Jews and called upon the Jews to help the government defeat those who look back to the "old liberty" which, he said, included the "liberty to establish a ghetto."*

THE NATION ASSOCIATES submitted a report from a French intelligence source to UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie in January that the British released 6,000 former nazi prisoners of war for training in Egypt for participation in the war against Israel and that nazi generals have been flown from the British zone in Germany by British military planes to help in the command of Arab armies.

PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE was met by heckling and jeering during a political speech in London. The fascists shouted for Mosley. Almost the only part of Attlee's speech that was listened to in comparative silence was his attack on the communist parties. When Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P., got up to speak, the fascists shouted at her, "You are a Jewish collaborator."

CULTURAL NEWS FROM POLAND . . . There are 60 Jewish artists in Poland, all of whom maintain close contact with the Jewish Art Society, which arranged three exhibits in the past two

years. . . . At the opening of the season of the Jewish Theater in Lodz last November, distinguished Polish public officials attended, such as Minister of Culture and Fine Arts Stefan Dybowski, Lodz Mayor Stawinski and others. . . . The Jewish Ballet School in Wroclaw presented a Jewish Children's Ballet in November before a packed house.

ISRAEL

THIRTY-THREE STATES had recognized Israel by January 30. It was thought that entrance of Israel into the UN was now assured.

ELIJAH GOURJANSKY, 35, a member of the political bureau and secretariat of the Israeli Communist Party, was killed in a plane crash in the Greek mountains while returning from a mission to Prague. Gourjansky was in charge of the communists' work in the Israeli war of liberation. He had first gained prominence at the age of 27, when he led a diamond workers' strike.

MOSCOW RADIO REPORTS in December stated that a Soviet trade delegation would visit Israel shortly to discuss plans for strengthening Soviet-Israel trade relations. It is believed that shipping services between the two countries will be discussed.

THE COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION of Israel has 400,000 members and 1,500 cooperatives. The area under cultivation by cooperatives has grown from 152,000 dunams in 1936 to 335,800 dunams in 1947. This figure is 57 per cent of the entire area under cultivation.

SIXTEEN RECEPTION CAMPS are now available for new immigrants in Israel with a housing capacity of 30,000. During 1948, 130,000 immigrants arrived in Israel; 100,000 arrived after the establishment of the new state; and 50,000 arrived during November and December.

THE JEWISH AGENCY for Palestine is planning a \$225,000,000 housing and resettlement program to meet the unprecedented expected arrival of 180,000 immigrants. Part of this program is a \$15,000,000 housing corporation headed by Rabbi Israel Goldstein of New York, and the establishment of 130 to 150 new settlements is planned.

FORMER HAGANAH LEADER and present United Workers Party editor Moshe Sneh, recently called for universal conscription of men and women in Israel. He also said that the Israeli military program must be completely financed by Jewish money. "If foreign aid finances our army," he said, "our army will become a vassal of imperialism." Although Sneh maintained that Israel needs a large reserve force because of Arab hostility, he believed that the regular army should be kept small in order to avoid creation of a professional officer corps that would develop into a "reactionary clique."

SIX LEADERS OF the Jewish community of Yemen have been arrested following the discovery of bodies of two Arab girls in the vicinity of a synagogue in S'ana, Yemen's capital. The leaders are being held as hostages and it is feared that a ritual murder case will be trumped up against them. Conditions for Jews in Aden, British protectorate, are said to be tense and approaching a "pogrom atmosphere." British officials refuse to intervene to protect Jewish children from kidnapping or Jewish property against robbery and destruction.*

(Items marked with an asterisk (*) were drawn from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency news service.)

