

Jewish Life

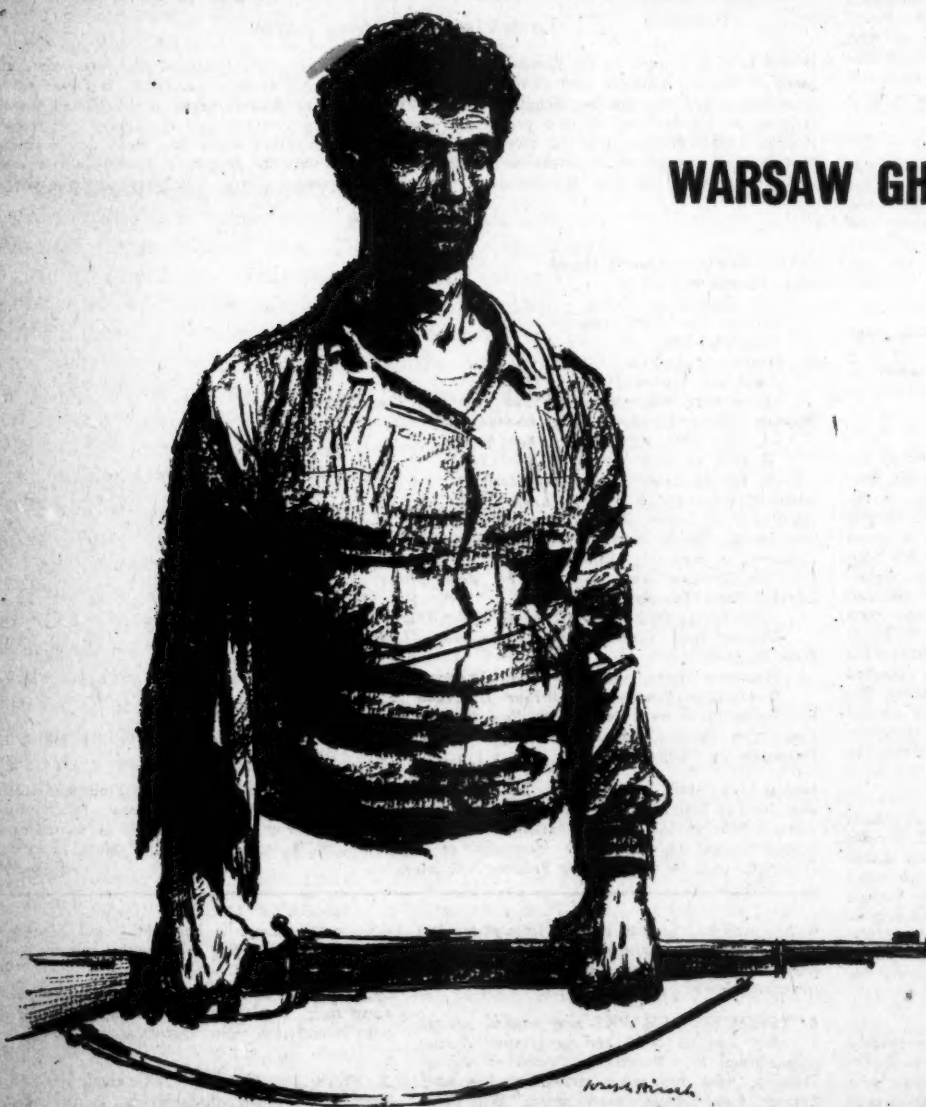
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APRIL 1949

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

Sixth Anniversary



CAN WE OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM? *by Moses Miller* . . . **NO PEACE OF**

MIND: II *by George Stewart* . . . **MINDSZENTY MADNESS** *by Louis Harap*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

REJECTION OF STALIN'S offer for a personal meeting by President Truman was criticised in sermons in early February by leading New York Rabbis William F. Rosenblum, Louis I. Newman and Joseph Zeitlin. They characterized the rejection as a setback to world peace.

BORIS SMOLAR, editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, wrote in his weekly column early in February that Washington is calculating Israel's potentialities in case of war with the Soviet Union. "Many have come to the conclusion that although Soviet Russia strongly supported the establishment of the Jewish state, the Israeli government is pro-American, not pro-Soviet. And there are even some who are of the opinion that the Israeli Army, small but well-organized and experienced in battle, may bar the way to a Russian advance into North Africa."

EL PASO'S B'NAI B'RITH Lodge 509 is sponsoring and giving substantial financial aid to the McCall Nursery for Negro children in the Texas city. The proposal was accepted unanimously and no lodge member raised the question whether aiding the Negroes in the South might be "bad publicity" for the Jews.

JEWISH CENTER MEMBERSHIP during 1947 rose three per cent over the preceding year to a high of 458,000. Total cost of center operations rose from \$8,207,000 in 1946 to \$9,361,000 in 1947.

DECISIVE ANTI-NAZI feeling displayed in the cases of Wilhelm Furtwaengler and Walter Gieseking has caused the officials in charge of the coming German trade fair in New York April 9 to 24 to examine their plans carefully to avoid cause for protest. The name of the fair has been changed from "The Germany Forty-Nine Industrial Show" to "Military Government German Exhibition." One of the Munich business men has been told not to come to New York. He is Dr. Albert Degener, who spent many years in the United States before the war and was deported as an enemy alien shortly after Pearl Harbor. He is said to have been an "ardent nazi" and an important figure in nazi propaganda here. However, he is working with the fair committee in Germany.

A JOINT COMMITTEE to Combat Anti-Semitism was formed in February by the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council. The committee sponsored a bill introduced into the New York City Council by Eugene P. Connolly outlawing anti-Negro and anti-Semitic propaganda. The proposed measure would bar offensive or threatening remarks about the Jewish or Negro people and distribution of material of offensive to Jews or Negroes.

MUCH MATERIAL VITAL to an understanding of minority groups is never presented to American children in school textbooks, according to a study recently made by the American Council on Education for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In the 267 elementary and secondary school textbooks, 24 introductory college manuals and 100 children's library books studied, no text was free from bias or coloring



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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.

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with regard to minority groups. Immigrants are treated patronizingly and most of the material on Jews dealt with ancient, almost none with contemporary Jews.

ANTI-SEMITIC REMARKS were uttered against a picket line of AVC and progressive Zionist organizations at a concert in Detroit of Kirsten Flagstad, who has never renounced her nazi leanings. Some of the remarks were: "Why don't you kikes go join the Stern gang?" "I'll bet there is not one veteran in the bunch. They are all a bunch of Jew bastards." "The American Veterans Committee, why everyone knows who they are. They are a bunch of kikes. Just look at

their noses. There is Izzy, Jake and Sammy." "We'll be singing Sieg Heil in this country yet."

OF 118 POSTAL workers in 10 cities interrogated about their "loyalty" or membership in organizations recently, 66 were Negroes and 41 Jews.

A STAY IN THE RULING made by New York City's Board of Education to bar classes of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order from city schoolrooms was granted on March 3 by State Commissioner of Education Francis T. Spaulding.

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE LESSON IS CLEAR

SIX years ago this month, a people imprisoned in a ghetto performed an act of heroism which filled men with wonder and new hope. The unity necessary for the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising did not come easily. Even within the confines of the disease-ridden Ghetto, even in the face of death, men did not easily give up ideologies and outlooks molded over a lifetime. But unity finally came, particularly after that cold and bitter January when the magic word "Stalingrad" passed from lip to lip. The enemy was not invincible. The myth of the nazi superman was broken. All over Europe men and women took heart. The Red Army had brought hope that tomorrow could be free.

The Ghetto began to organize. Differences kept men apart, but they were subordinated at last to the dictates of the hour. Communists, Zionists, Bundists, Orthodox Jews argued, disagreed, but finally shaped a plan. Traitors had to be put away and the faint-hearted had to be rendered harmless. But anti-fascist unity was the command of the hour. Once the uprising had begun, only one thought lived in the minds of the fighters—death to the fascists, the murderers and tormentors of the people! As the bullets sped true and fast into the bodies of the defilers of humankind, these tortured Ghetto dwellers dreamed of a world without ghettos, where no nazis walk free among decent human beings; where the echo of children's laughter is heard again and ploughshares, not guns, are weapons of life.

The Ghetto and its heroes lie buried in rubble and ash. But the uprising was not in vain. For that act of immortal courage, now enshrined in the hearts of our people everywhere, became a link in the mighty chain forged by freedom loving people everywhere who finally brought ignominious defeat to the "new order."

But six years have passed. What of the dream for which they fought and perished?

Shall we tell them that the unity achieved in those years has been shattered? Shall we tell them that Ilse Koch, Fritz Kuhn, Hjalmar Schacht and Fritz Thyssen are now restored to grace by generosity of the American and British governments? Shall we say that the weapons of war are once again manufactured in the Ruhr? Shall we tell them that an anti-Semitic movie, *Oliver Twist*, was permitted by the British to be shown to a people drenched in anti-Semitism? Shall we show them that it is no longer popular to speak against fascism and that those who yesterday whispered, now proclaim openly that it was a mistake to have fought side by side with the Soviet Union against Hitlerism? Shall we show that Hitler's anti-communist weapon for the division and destruction of people, has now been taken up by the leaders of America? Shall we say

that the people, led by Wall Street, are being urged to march side by side with the hangmen of Maidanek, the butchers of Treblinka, with the rapists and sadists who put millions to death, in a new crusade against communism?

Shall we tell of the hysteria sweeping over our land, threatening to destroy every vestige of the democratic tradition? There are "loyalty" decrees and attacks upon the foreign born. The men of the trusts and cartels are pushing our country ever closer to the brink of fascism. The sanctity of our homes and our country are threatened by no one, but military budgets mount and feverish preparations for war assume ever greater proportions. Ours is now a land of spy scares and atom bomb hysteria.

And we have our own Reichstag fire trials. Leaders of the Communist Party have been arraigned for teaching Marxism. As in Germany, the Van der Lubbes, the renegades, the stooges of the American Century will have their day in court. The headlines will shriek and the radios will blare forth the great menace of these 12 men and their party.

But there are lands where the dream of the Ghetto fighters is coming true. The Ghetto fighters would be proud of the new Poland, of its new people. The *Pani* are gone. The trade unions grow strong. The land has been divided. The Jew is an equal amongst equals. And in this new Poland, nazis, collaborators and murderers of Jews find no haven and no comfort.

The same is true in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania. Their indissoluble tie of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union has given them strength and a mighty ally in their march to security, to socialism.

Fear of this new world drives the imperialists along the road to destruction. Awareness of the shaky foundations upon which their economy rests gives the *raison d'être* for their feverish armament program. The certainty of resistance explains their program of repression.

As in the days in the Ghetto, so now unity and resistance are not easily achieved. Illusions die hard. The experience of yesterday is often forgotten and in too many cases was never even learned. But the camp of resistance today is more powerful over the world. As in the days of the Ghetto, people are learning that there can be no compromise with the enemy. And here lies our hope that peace will be won.

In Warsaw the people have erected a great monument to commemorate the heroic deeds of the Ghetto. All over the world men and women who cherish freedom, peace and democracy are erecting monuments. Not of stone but in their hearts and through their deeds. "All glory to the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto," is on the lips of those who have learned that resistance is the only way to freedom.

BEHIND THE UPA DISPUTE

WHAT is the meaning of the conflict within the United Palestine Appeal?

First, as to the facts. Last November Henry Montor, executive vice-chairman of the UPA, tendered his resignation. He charged that the Zionist Organization of America was using its control of UPA "as a lever with which to change or dominate the social structure of Palestine. . . ." Following close on the heels of the Montor resignation came the formation of a Committee of Contributors and Workers, which demanded 50 per cent representation on the UPA board and the re-organization of the UPA so as to insure "the Jewish Agency in Israel retaining full control over expenditures in Israel."

The issue was resolved when the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds stepped in as mediator. An agreement was reached that community welfare funds be given 40 per cent representation on the UPA board. Hardly had this conflict been resolved when another flared up, this time as a result of the Henry Morgenthau's refusal to accept the chairmanship of the United Jewish Appeal, unless Montor were allowed to serve with him. The ZOA refused to accede to this demand. At this point the Jewish Agency, in an unprecedented move and over the vigorous objections of the ZOA, came here in a body from Israel to resolve the dispute.

The upshot of the matter was that the Jewish Agency agreed to Morgenthau's demands for a free hand in the selection of personnel and the much-outraged Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Emanuel Neumann resigned from the Jewish Agency. On February 27, after negotiations had completely broken down, the United Jewish Appeal announced that the campaign would proceed without the UPA and that the recipients of UPA funds, the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, would enter directly into the United Jewish Appeal campaign. It was further agreed that, if the leadership of UPA reconsidered its position, the UPA could resume its place in the UJA. The UPA board finally agreed to submit, with Rabbi Silver and his followers abstaining from voting and renouncing responsibility for the conduct of the campaign.

These are the bare facts. But what lies behind this tempert? Several factors must be taken into consideration. First, one must bear in mind that conflicts over control of fund raising apparatuses is not new. Over the years the oligarchy of America's wealthiest Jews have consistently striven to gain control, knowing full well that he who holds the purse strings, is in a strategic position to dominate Jewish life. This group, centered around the American Jewish Committee, exerts great influence and controls many welfare funds and federations.

Assimilationist in outlook and arrogant in method, this group never could win the favor of the overwhelming mass of American Jewry. The result was that, although the oligarchy made headway in taking control, the process was slow. The creation of the Jewish State afforded this oli-

garchy a new opportunity to achieve its aims. For the creation of Israel brought new tensions and frictions within the Zionist movement. The Zionist Organization of America under the Silver-Neumann leadership had increasingly become more aggressive and demanding. It persistently tried to get control of the world Zionist movement and attempted to dictate policy within Israel as well. The first test of ZOA strength came last summer at the Zionist Actions Committee meeting in Tel Aviv. The first round was won by Silver and Neumann when they insisted that 1) members of the Israeli cabinet should not hold office in the Jewish Agency and 2) that an American section of the Jewish Agency be established with broad powers delegated to it. This victory was a source of deep alarm to Israeli leadership and particularly to the Mapai (Israeli Labor Party), not because of any basic difference of political outlook or program, but because this represented a challenge to their own authority and power.

There is no doubt that, when Montor precipitated the conflict in this country, he was well aware of this internal dispute and counted on support from Israel for his position. The result of his action is now clear. The second round of the battle was lost by Silver and Neumann and their defeat was engineered by the Jewish oligarchy in America with the help of the Jewish Agency, top Zionist world body.

The fact that this American Jewish oligarchy has thus succeeded in concentrating more power in its hands, is certainly cause for alarm. For its control of fund raising and allocations, far from insuring democratic procedure, will make this even more difficult of achievement. If under Zionist control the masses had little voice in deciding such basic questions as division and allocation of funds, there will surely be no improvement in this oligarchical set up.

This long drawn out battle, perhaps more than any other event in Jewish life, reveals the deplorable absence of democracy in Jewish life. For months the conflict raged. The titans sat and argued and fought and bickered over who was to have control. But never in the course of the dispute did it ever occur to anyone that the Jewish masses who make up the mass of contributors, should have their say.

It is clear that the presumed issue of democratization of fund raising precipitated by the Montor faction, was pure demagoguery and that the struggle for real democratization has yet to be waged and won.

SLANDER, INC.

THE *omnium gatherum* of obsessive anti-Soviet "labor" figures among the Jewish people, organized into the Jewish Labor Committee, has spent somebody's good money preparing a report on East Europe's Jews which was splashed on the front page of the papers on Feb. 28. The headlines asserted that the governments of Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia were "oppressing" the Jews. The report assembles all the lies and slanders against the one area of the world in which equality for the Jews is an active principle of government, the only countries where

anti-Semitism is a crime. Heading up this committee are men like David Dubinsky, most of whom are associated with the Jewish daily *Forward*, counterpart of the Hearst-McCormick press in Yiddish journalism.

The report notes "a spirited attempt of the Jews in the various countries (of Eastern Europe) to rebuild their culture and their institutions" since the end of the war. But it tries by indirection to make it appear that the Jews are doing this in the face of government obstruction. This is a blatant slander, for anyone who knows anything about Jewish life in these countries knows that the governments have shown the greatest sympathy and given material aid for the rehabilitation of their Jewish communities. Observers of various political complexions have been at one in their admiration of the help given to the Jews, as we have reported frequently in our pages. And the report does not acknowledge the immense, determined efforts which these governments have made to stamp out anti-Semitism in countries heretofore backward and intensely anti-Semitic. The report's attempt to pervert the truth about the relation of the government to the Jews in these countries is a crime against the Jewish people.

But the report goes further. These governments are "oppressing" the Jews! The report has the temerity to assert, for instance, that "there are no more Jewish schools, Jewish cultural groups, Jewish communities, Jewish organizations" in Rumania. This is a brazen lie. Only recently we learned that the Rumanian government has established a network of 69 elementary Jewish schools, 32 Jewish high schools, five rabbinical schools, a Jewish state theater, Yiddish papers and other institutions. And in Hungary recently several Budapest rabbis, at a service honoring liberation of the country by the Soviet Army, praised the government for its treatment of the Jews and called upon the Jews to defeat those who looked back to the "old liberty" which, they said, included the "liberty to establish a ghetto." It is this "liberty" which the Jewish Labor Committee wants to return to Eastern Europe.

But it is against this "old liberty" that the new democracies are fighting. Among those who are trying to bring back the old oppressive regimes are some Jews. Some of these are Zionists who are trying to panic the Jews into sabotaging reconstruction of their country. These are Jewish agents of the cold war, just as there are Catholic or Protestant agents who are breaking the law and are being tried for it.

By its program of slander against the new democracies the Jewish Labor Committee is only fulfilling its program of helping reaction to instigate a war against the socialist part of the world. The committee is collecting huge sums of money to subsidize labor-splitting and war mongering by fascists all over the world. The committee is doing its utmost to make the way easy for anti-Semites and to bring the decrepit reactionary and fascist forces in the new democracies back to power. The committee is helping to bring back the truncheon and the crematorium. The Jewish Labor Committee is the enemy of the Jewish people.

APRIL, 1949

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

ANYONE who is disposed to consider as an exaggeration the characterization above of the Jewish Labor Committee as helping fascist forces, should be acquainted with a recent concrete instance that should dispel doubt. A *Forward* man, Harry Berkowitz, was elected to the New York Newspaper Guild executive board in the recent right wing sweep. At a board meeting a few weeks ago Robert Stern, leader of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists faction which dominates the Guild right wing (which is a coalition of the ACTU and social democrats of the *Forward* type), proposed that the Guild drop its endorsement of the protest against the banning of the *Nation* from the New York schools for printing a series of articles critical of the political activities of the Catholic Church. The ACTU faction won and Berkowitz voted with them. The *Forward* representative, in other words, was here flagrantly exposing the affiliation of his group with the reactionary and clerical fascist forces responsible for the ban. Nor is the case of Berkowitz an isolated one. Last August the ILGWU, headed by David Dubinsky, supported a resolution at the AFL convention to uphold the ban. Dubinsky and his fellow social democrats are doing their best to lead the Jews to their own destruction.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY WEEK

FOR several years the example of Negro History Week has led some Jews to work towards the creation of a like period when attention might be focussed on the neglected field of Jewish history which, like that of other minorities, is underplayed, distorted or simply neglected. In 1946 the *New Masses* made a strong bid to get such a week started, but the effort did not succeed. Now the American Jewish Historical Society, in affiliation with its sponsoring organization, the National Jewish Welfare Board, has inaugurated American Jewish History Week to be observed from April 24 to 30, 1949. Unfortunately the materials prepared by the Welfare Board neglect such vital topics as Jews in the American labor movement and the history of anti-Semitism in the United States. While progressives applaud the initiation of this history week, they emphasize the necessity of correcting these gaps in the Welfare Board's conception of the week's scope. *JEWISH LIFE* urges its readers to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by this week the better to acquaint themselves with the history of our people in America. We have prepared a bibliography of writings on American Jewish history that have appeared in *JEWISH LIFE* and invite our readers to request copies. We also urge you to write for an outline on American Jewish history prepared by Morris U. Schappes for the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order. Copies of this outline may be obtained by sending 25 cents to the JPFO, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

MINDSZENTY MADNESS

An Editorial Article

By Louis Harap

AMIDST the hysterical chorus of protest against the arrest and conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty were the voices of some Jewish organizations and individuals. Statements to this effect were issued by Judge Meier Steinbrink for the Anti-Defamation League (whose function is presumably to resist anti-Semitism), the American Jewish Committee (organization of America's wealthiest Jews), the Jewish Labor Committee (organ of obsessive anti-Soviet Jewish "labor" leaders) and the Jewish War Veterans. Individual Jews like Herbert H. Lehman and Rep. Emanuel Celler protested the trial. Jack L. Warner, himself a Jew, has announced that his film company will do a screen biography of Mindszenty and Cardinal Spellman has agreed to help.

The significance of these acts by men who claim leadership in Jewish life cannot be underestimated. These acts should give the deepest alarm to the Jewish masses. For such men are not innocents. Because of their functions and connections these men know better than most that the anti-communist hysteria today is linked with growing anti-Semitism. They know that facts and incontrovertible proof exist that Mindszenty was an active anti-Semite and clerical fascist.

No more damning evidence of the hypocrisy of the American Jewish Committee and its anti-communist spokesman, S. Andhil Fineberg, who wrote a letter to the *New York Times* (Feb. 17) condemning the case as another Reichstag trial, can be cited than its own publication, *The American Jewish Yearbook*, which repeatedly called attention to Mindszenty's leadership in Hungarian anti-Semitism. The 1946-47 *Yearbook* (p. 362-3) noted that in 1946 the Cardinal refused to allow the Catholic Church to join an interfaith movement against anti-Semitism because Hungarian Jews served on tribunals dealing with Nazi war criminals. The *Yearbook* for the next year (p. 418) notes that in Hungary "statements from the right like those of Cardinal Mindszenty made peace between the Jews and Gentiles dependent upon the liquidation of the political police and abandonment of the prosecution of war criminals."

Anti-Semitism in the Raw

Mindszenty's feudal reaction makes up a pattern that spells clerical fascism in our time. As might be expected, this included a Nazi-like anti-Semitism, as is proved by indisputable evidence from diverse sources. Over a year ago a correspondent of the *London News Chronicle* interviewed the Cardinal and reported that he told her: "Under the Horthy regime the Hungarian people were economically oppressed by the Jews. But today, after the war, the

Hungarian people suffer political persecution from the Jews." He also stated that the Jews "bear the blame for their own fate and for the fate of the Hungarian people" and he constantly alluded to "Jewish guilt." What these views meant in practice can be judged from an occurrence reported in *Jewish Social Studies* (July 1946): "On February 10, 1946 a sermon delivered by Prince Primate Joseph (now Cardinal) Mindszenty in a Budapest church touched off an anti-Semitic riot, which had to be quelled by the police, when the crowds leaving the church began shouting anti-Semitic slogans."

Several documents written by Mindszenty himself and published recently by the Hungarian government in the *Yellow Book* show distinct anti-Semitic convictions. One statement read: "It is our good fortune that the great 'reservoir' of Galician and Bukovinian Jews, the millions of the Jewish masses in the ghetto, have, as a result of the German war of destruction, been reduced to some 500,000." Another document, written in the Cardinal's own handwriting, stated: "On April 18, 1938, Viktor Toth, who was a great sympathizer of the fascists, and I convoked a conference of priests in Budapest. . . . The conference committed itself to follow a National Socialist line. We decided that we thought the Jewish problem ought to be solved by way of racial laws in the same way as the fascists wanted it." Furthermore, Mindszenty proposed as a solution of the Jewish problem in Hungary "that by restoring the status quo as of March, 1944, everyone appointed to public office after that date can be dismissed. Therefore all Jews and half-breeds can and must be dismissed."

Enemy of Democratic Reform

If the charges against Mindszenty were not obscured by anti-communist hysteria, the American people could evaluate them well enough. Mindszenty was a key figure in an international conspiracy to prevent democratic reform in Hungary. It is demonstrable that the Cardinal tried to perpetuate a medieval feudal Hungary. One correspondent reports that the Cardinal told her that he regarded Darwin as a "very dangerous heretic who should have been burned at the stake" and that he refused after the war to change Catholic textbooks describing the French Revolution as "that mob movement of the late eighteenth century in France which was designed primarily to rob the church of its lands." (Ruth Karpf in the *Nation*, January 8.) What is more, Mindszenty committed treasonous acts to bring back the Inquisition.

The trial is being camouflaged as an attack on religious freedom and it is on this spurious ground that Jewish organizations are protesting. This claim is an outright lie.

The fact is that the Cardinal was engaging in *political* activity to prevent the democratization of Hungary. Separation of church and state, long accepted as an elementary democratic principle, was long overdue in Hungary. On June 16, 1948 the Hungarian parliament passed a law handing over to the state all schools which had previously been directed by the church—and these amounted to 60 per cent of all the schools in the country. At the same time the law guaranteed religious freedom and even provided that religious education was to be compulsory in the state schools. All schools for nuns and priests remained under church control and the state was to pay salaries of teachers in these schools, as well as religious instructors in the state schools.

Mindszenty also led the movement to retain the feudal land system in Hungary, which supplied the material basis for the church's political power. Prior to the land reform in Hungary in 1945, a law which provided that all estates over 150 acres be distributed to the peasants, the Catholic Church was the biggest landowner, possessing 900,000 of the 16,000,000 arable acres. While the church lands were distributed to the peasants, each parish church was allowed to retain 15 to 30 acres and each episcopacy 300 acres. Yet the feudal serfdom in which the peasants were held down before the land reform "could not be considered unhealthy," said the Cardinal.

Plotting with Foreign Agents

When Mindszenty failed to prevent the creation of the republic and to frustrate the school and land reforms, he turned to the Americans and British, who were helping reaction gain power all over the world. Powerful foreign influences apparently agreed with Mindszenty that their political ends could be achieved through the restoration of the doddering Hapsburg monarchy. Mindszenty traveled to the United States in June 1947 to confer with Cardinal Francis Spellman in New York and Prince Otto of Hapsburg in Chicago. Mindszenty subsequently wrote that he granted Spellman's request during the visit for "a letter of commission to Otto which would entitle him to represent Hungarian Catholics." After the Cardinal's return to Hungary, he conferred with Selden Chapin, U. S. Ambassador to Hungary. A plan was projected to restore the monarchy in the manner in which the Greek king was pushed onto the throne by the American and British governments a few years earlier. Further, a new combined Hapsburg state was contemplated in which Austria and Bavaria would be added to Hungary under Anglo-American occupation with Mindszenty as regent. Chapin gave the Cardinal assurance that World War III was coming soon, and that the plan could be fulfilled. In the meantime Mindszenty led an espionage operation against the republic. "I kept up regular connections with the Budapest legations of the western powers," Mindszenty confessed. "I furnished data on Hungarian politics, economic questions and on the third member of the Allied Control Commission, that is, on the Soviet army, to heads of the Eng-

lish and American missions." His subordinates worked with the American Counter Intelligence Corps. This confessed treasonous activity was a basis for the conviction of the Cardinal.

The Hungarian government finally arrested Mindszenty on December 26, 1948 on charges of plotting with foreign powers against the republic and against all the democratic measures taken to make that country a modern, progressive state. The Cardinal was arrested not for his *opinions* about monarchy and land reform; even less was he arrested because of his religion. On the contrary, the Hungarian government forwarded the indictment against the Cardinal to the Vatican with the proposal that the charges would be dropped, if the Vatican replaced Mindszenty. The Vatican confirmed on February 15 that this offer had been made and rejected. Hence the Hungarian government had no choice but to go through with the trial. It was the Cardinal's politics, not his religion that the Hungarian republic was fighting.

No Support to the Enemy

The facts presented in this article are incontrovertible and easily available to anyone interested in the truth. If so-called Jewish leaders were genuinely concerned to fight for Jewish rights, which are integrally linked to the fight against fascism as a whole, their position would be similar to that of those Jews who are the direct prospective victims of the Cardinal's plots. The latter expressed "great relief" at the Cardinal's arrest. Four Hungarian Jewish organizations (Central Board of Jews in Hungary, Managing Committee of the Central Board of Autonomous Orthodox Religious Bodies in Hungary, Hungarian Zionist Organization and the Hungarian Section of the World Jewish Congress) issued a statement deploring support given to Mindszenty by Jews abroad. This statement characterizes the Cardinal as "the arch enemy of Jews in Hungary and Western Europe." Mindszenty was "partly responsible for the terrible tragedy of Hungarian Jews" and was helping to make "plots for a new Auschwitz." The statement appeals to Jews abroad not "to accept solidarity with the enemies of our people."

But American Jewish leaders have aligned themselves with the enemies of democracy by opposing the trial. They now find themselves in strange company. While in flight from the wrath of his country, Hitler's Hungarian puppet, Admiral Horthy, paid tribute to Mindszenty as "a really strong man who was burning with love of freedom" and called the arrest a "terrible outrage." And another burning lover of freedom, Franco's ambassador to Uruguay, also voiced his admiration of Cardinal Spellman's hysterical, hypocritical speech at St. Patrick's Cathedral on February 6.

Let us be clear about what is happening in the Mindszenty case. Jewish spokesmen who support the confessed anti-Semite and clerical fascist are thereby aiding the anti-Semitic movement. The Jewish masses must repudiate such leadership.

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

Sixth Anniversary

I: THE UNVANQUISHED

By Ber Mark

NINETEEN FORTY-THREE marked the turning point for Polish Jewry. In that year Polish Jewry was virtually annihilated. But in that year, too, the will to resist and the determination to fight back against the Hitlerite murderers ripened. The liquidation of the Jews began in March 1942 and ended in 1943.

Here is an account of the Jewish tragedy given by the Jewish National Committee of Poland in April 1943, in its organ, *The Spark*, which was smuggled abroad through the underground:

"Within the confines of Poland, only 220,000 Jews remain alive. Shipment of Jews to the torture chambers of Belzen, Oswiecim and Treblinka continues. On January 18, the second evacuation of the Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto began. Except for a few Jews remaining in the city, the Bialystok district has been completely 'purged' of all Jews. Outside of small ghettos in the cities of Wilno and Lodz, not a single Jew is left in the districts of Wolyn, Podole, Byelo-Russia, Silesia, Pomorze, Lodz and Wilno. Recently the Krakow Ghetto was liquidated. Jews in eastern Galicia are being put to death; all Jews found in hideouts and in the woods are killed immediately. Death by electric current, gas, steam asphyxiation, machine gun, crematorium—millions of Jews from Poland and other occupied countries face this Golgotha. Death is the destiny of every transported Jew.

"Destruction of Jewish life continues. Synagogues are burned down, cemeteries plowed under. All territories east of the former German border must become absolutely *Judenrein* ('purged' of Jews—*Eds.*) within the next three months. Thereafter, no Jews will be left between the Oder and the Dniester rivers. Every day brings thousands of new martyrs; every passing day provides fodder for the torture chambers. S.O.S. Help."

The Spark was dispatched to London, according to a marginal note to the above text in a copy recently found in Bialystok. In reply to the S.O.S. of the few remaining

BER MARK is editor of *Neie Lebn*, Yiddish organ of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, and a member of the committee's praesidium. He is also chairman of the Society of Jewish Artists and Journalists and a writer on cultural subjects.

doomed Jews, the Anglo-Saxon world remained silent. The English torpedoed two ships transporting several thousands of Jews seeking shelter in Palestine. In Poland the underground representative of the London emigre government replied to the appeal of the Jewish Fighters Organization for arms and instructors, that the time for military action against the enemy had not arrived. At the same time these representatives demanded an understanding with the Jews that any arms given to them should later be used against the Red Army. Since the doomed people in the Ghetto refused to comply with such terms, they received no munitions. Despite the unprecedented German terror, despite the cold or, at best, passive attitude of the A.K. (Home Army), despite the resigned attitude prevailing among the hungry, maltreated prisoners of the Ghetto, 1943 marked the turning point of resistance.

All through 1943, the poorly-equipped surviving Jews challenged the might of the enemy. True enough, the resistance movement had existed in the ghettos before 1943. But this movement was a sort of psychological preparation for armed struggle and was expressed in individual acts of heroism, assassinations, etc. Beginning with January 1943, the opposition movement becomes better organized and coordinated, advancing from individual action to mass street attacks and from passive to active resistance.

Armed Resistance

The first armed resistance of the Jewish Fighters Organization in the Warsaw Ghetto took place on Mila and Zamenhoff Streets on Jan. 18-21, 1943. Jewish fighters made a surprise attack on SS companies, which had entered the Ghetto to ship the remaining inhabitants to the labor camps of Lublin district. The plan of the Nazi Polish commander was foiled. After a hard street battle, the Germans retreated hastily. A pitched battle took place on Leszno and Nowolipie Streets.

The Jews also fought a defensive battle in Bialystok on Feb. 5, 1943. Here, too, Jewish youth in a heroic fight inflicted another defeat on the enemy. The Germans then

appealed to the *Judenrat*: "If the Jews continue to work loyally in the factories, we'll forget what happened." The attacks ceased. The *Judenrat* gave their promise but the masses of Jewish people now resorted to sabotage. It should be emphasized that the Bialystok defenders maintained contact with the Jewish Fighters Organization and the Central Committee of the PPR (Polish Workers Party), both in Warsaw.

It was in April and May 1943, that the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto made their last heroic stand.

The prisoners at Treblinka concentration camp had for a long time prepared a plan of revolt. On August 2 this plan was put into operation by the Jewish Fighters Organization. Survivors of the Warsaw Uprising assumed leadership here. The guards were wiped out and the prisoners found themselves "free," only to be attacked by the enemy from the air. Most of the prisoners who escaped were machine-gunned by the enemy pilots, but the death camp had been partially destroyed. The Germans feared that the surviving fugitives would spread the truth about Treblinka.

Meanwhile, the Jewish resistance movement had spread beyond the confines of the ghettos.

"They drove us out of the cities, so we took to the forests, and there we raised our heads high," says a Jewish partisan song. Jewish youth had taken to the woods as early as May 1942. Warsaw youth were the first and they were followed by the youth of Bialystok and other cities and towns. Jewish youth groups did not take part in large-scale military operations until August and September 1943, at first among the Guards, and later with the People's Army and the Soviet detachments. The "*Forojs*" (Forward) company won fame in the battles of Suprañski and Kyszynski forests. In the forests near Wyszokowice and Warsaw the "Defenders of Ghetto" company fought, only to be treacherously routed and massacred by the NSZ (National Armed Forces, a reactionary Polish force—*Eds.*). In the woods of Lublin district the famous division of Captain Chil was organized as a unit of the People's Army in October. Jewish groups also participated in the partisan movement in Byelo-Russia, Wolyn and Lithuania.

But the most important and powerful act of resistance in 1943 was the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto, which has a special place in the history of the Jewish people.

Some time passed before the idea of armed resistance won over the people of the Ghetto. They harbored theories which reflected trends in the Polish underground itself.

The enemy organized two legal institutions in the Ghetto, the *Judenrat* and the "Thirteen." The *Judenrat* was composed of old bourgeois leaders who worked on the theory that hard work and bribery would enable the people to survive somehow; in any case, at least some of the people would survive; if the majority died of exhaustion and hunger, then a more important minority would survive. The *Judenrat* gambled on a false idea like that of "good" and "bad" Germans.

But the Germans were not satisfied with the *Judenrat* alone. In the Ghetto the enemy had to have its "eyes and

ears." The "Thirteen" played the part of informers. The first task of the resistance movement was to wipe out members of the "Thirteen" and the criminal police commanders. Deceptive illusions of the *Judenrat* also had to be reckoned with. The *Judenrat* had to be exposed as a detriment to the welfare of the Jewish people.

Conflict in the Underground

But the underground Ghetto was no more homogeneous than the Polish underground as a whole. Conflict of ideas among the Ghetto leaders reflected political divisions. One group was ready to undertake armed insurrection, sabotage, assassinations, preparations for armed attacks. On the other hand, the London government's slogan, "Arm yourselves and wait," seeped into the Ghetto. Maurycy Orzech, representing the right wing of the Bund, and Menachem Kirszenbaum, representative of the General Zionists, supported the latter group.

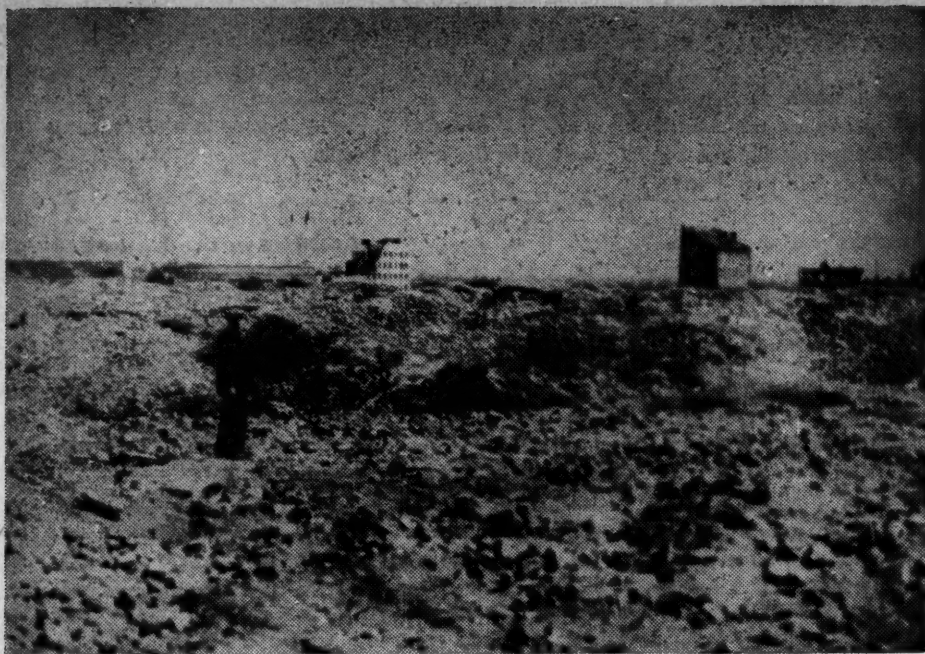
Thus the second task of the resistance movement was to destroy fear of armed struggle. The theories of the WRN (Freedom, Equality and Independence, a fascist group—*Eds.*) and of the Home Army on Ghetto soil had to be uprooted.

Still another division arose. Certain Jewish cultural leaders proclaimed the theory that under Ghetto conditions of isolation from the wicked world, a truly Jewish national culture could thrive. One of these leaders coined the motto: "*Oneg Shabat* is more important than fighting."

Oneg Shabat were cultural affairs held under the guise of ceremonies of religious psalmists. Later the leader of this group admitted his mistake. The resistance movement did not challenge the importance of cultural work; indeed, it actively participated. But it construed such work as a form of education that gave the Ghetto prisoners a spiritual lift and prepared youth for the greatest task of all, revenge and self-defense. It did not regard cultural activity as an influence towards pacifism and national-Ghetto mysticism. The third task of the resistance movement, therefore, was the elimination of the harmful belief that Jewish culture would be saved from dissolution in the Ghetto, and that enforced isolation from the world would help to preserve Jewish "national" existence.

Jewish opinion in the Ghetto was also divided on the conception of both a liberated Poland and its relationship to the USSR. Groups differed on whether the resistance movement should be limited to the confines of the Ghetto or become part of the common struggle of the people to throw off the Hitlerite yoke. Further, should the fighting be undertaken in the Ghetto alone or should it be carried in the woods as well? The left wing fought to give an anti-fascist character to the whole Jewish resistance movement.

But the most important problem of all was that of unity, the creation of a united, anti-fascist, national front of the fighting Ghetto. For a long time, some elements mentioned above opposed united armed action. These elements joined



Devastation of the Warsaw Ghetto.

the united front only in the face of eventual annihilation.

The movement adopted the slogan of Jozef Lewartowski, Ghetto secretary of the PPR: "We are all brothers and children of one family." It also accepted his call to battle during the first enemy attack in the summer of 1942: "Attack the walls. Tens of thousands will perish, but thousands will get through."

Preparing the Uprising

By October 1942, the united Jewish Fighters Organization in the Warsaw Ghetto was an accomplished fact. The composition of the staff symbolized fighting unity of the people and was not assigned according to numerical or political-ideological preponderance. The staff included members of "Shomer," PPR, "Halutz," left poale-Zionism and the Bund. Mordechaj Anielewicz became commander.

From the January incidents until the day of insurrection hurried preparations were made for the final battle. During this period the program of the left won out. The *Judenrat* no longer controlled the situation and the masses lost confidence in this collaborationist institution. The stooges, nazi agents and police commanders were eliminated. A war to the end was declared against speculators and black marketeers. No longer did the Ghetto rely on the Home Army. The insurrection incorporated into practical life the ideas and concepts promulgated by the left-wing, anti-fascist element of the Ghetto.

The insurrection also saw the realization of the slogans of the left-wing Polish underground. From the start, the PPR called upon the Jews to fight in the common battle, just as it appealed to the non-Jewish Poles to maintain

solidarity with the suffering, fighting Ghetto.

The Ghetto movement could not broaden the scope of its work until the Polish underground of the left developed larger plans. The People's Guards partisans had been active since May 1942. The Jewish youth who joined the partisans in the woods were then able to send well-trained commanders back to the Ghetto and the Jewish Fighters Organization. A new fighting temper developed after October 1942 when the Home Army policy of marking time until the end lost favor. Warsaw became the scene of frequent heroic fighting and sabo-

tage organized by the People's Guards. The possibility of an armed uprising in the Ghetto then appeared.

The first shots of the uprising were fired at 6 A.M. on April 19, 1943, from the corner houses at 29 and 31 Nalewki. Fighting units in the attics of 33, 35 and 37 Nalewki joined in the battle. The battle continues on Nalewki and the adjoining part of Gesia. The Jews fight with hand grenades, with bottles filled with gasoline, with carbines. The enemy is better equipped: they are motorized and have automatic arms. Pawel Bryskin, Meniek Zylberg, Zacharjasz Arsztejn command at Nalewki. An encounter with the enemy takes place on the corner of Mila and Zamenhoff. Fighting units of Lejb Gruszelec, Mordechaj Growas, Berek Braudo and Dawid Hochberg take their positions on street corners. Protected by tanks, the German column moves forward and is caught in the crossfire of the Jewish marksmen. The enemy is forced to retreat.

Uprising Begins

On the same day a battle rages at Muranow. This was one of the toughest battles ever waged by Gen. Jurgen Stroop, German army commander in charge of liquidation of the Ghetto. The fighting units hung on the roof of 11 Muranow the flags of the uprising, one red, one white and red, and one white and blue. Leon Rodal, who hung out the flags, was shot dead by a German sharpshooter. In this sector the fighting was tough for the Germans, since the German positions on the "Aryan" side of Muranow were attacked by the Poles. But the Jewish, as well as the Polish, defenses were pierced. On the second day the fighting units retreated.

The fourth encounter with the enemy took place on the same day on *Szczesiwa*, where the "wild" front-line units commanded by Szymon Kaufman fought.

On the following day fighting was extended to Leszno, Smocza and Nowolipie. Eliazar Geller, Dawid Nowodwirski, Hersz Kase, Janek Szwarcfus, Rozka Rozenfeld, Majer Majerowicz, Benjamin Wold, Jehoszua Winogron and Wolf Rozowski were in command. April 20 saw the defense of the brushmakers district in the four-cornered Swietojerska-Walowa-Franciszkańska. The Jews detonated a mine at this junction and the Germans, having suffered great casualties, were forced to retreat. Brushmakers' groups of Jurek Grynszpan, Hersz Berlinski, Jurek Blones, Henoch Gutman, Jakub Praszkiea and Marek Edelman distinguished themselves in this battle.

With Franciszek Bartoszek ("Jacek") and Zygmunt Bobowski at their head, a unit of the People's Guards comes to the rescue of the Ghetto fighters on the second day of the uprising. The Polish Guards take positions on Nowiniarska, whence they attack the battery of the German field artillery that was bombarding the Ghetto.

On April 21, the third day of the uprising, fighting was resumed on Nowolipie and Smocza, and carried over in part beyond Nowolipie. The example set by youth of the Jewish Fighters Organization affects the Ghetto masses, some of whom are inspired to take up the fight against the enemy. On the following day, the PPS (Polish Socialist Party—*Eds.*) organization, commanded by Waldyslaw Andrzejczak ("Antek"), attacks the Germans on the corner of Franciszkanska and Bonifraterska Streets.

On April 23, the People's Guards assault the Germans in various sectors of the city. In command of these attacks are "Gustow" (Dr. Henryk Stenhal), Tetmajer and Leszak. Over-all command is given to Engineer Andrzej Skrypij, commander of the People's Guards of Warsaw. The Guards assault the Germans in the streets adjoining the Ghetto, Freta, Kiercelzak, Powazkowska and corner of Leszno.

Two tactics of the Polish underground of the left movement during these tragic days of the desperate Jewish fight for survival emerge from these actions: first, to penetrate into the Ghetto (it is known that one group commanded by Grom-Potyka did enter Franciszkanska Street through the canals to join Jewish fighting units); second, to spread the uprising throughout Warsaw so that the "Aryan" Poles would be drawn into the struggle and thus to extend the base of fighting.

Last-Ditch Fighting

Neither goal was achieved, despite the fact that the left forces suffered losses and were ready to carry on. Obstruction to these aims came from the stubborn stand of groups in control of the armed forces, arsenals and finances of the Polish underground—the London government groups, the right (conservative) and right of center parties. If these parties had taken a different stand, the armed uprising of the

Jews in April and May, 1943, might to some extent have taken a different turn.

Up to April 23, the Jews fought openly. After that date the situation changed. Nobody was under the delusion that the initial Jewish successes in battle would scare the Germans. The enemy had at its disposal tanks, artillery, airplanes, automatic arms, forces that were rested and numerically superior, well-qualified officers and freedom of movement behind the front line. Under pressure of the destructive German military machine, the outposts of the insurrectionists crumbled one by one. For the fighting Jews were poorly equipped, hungry, without trained commanders and had no country behind them. The Jewish forces took an awful beating. Open warfare gave way to partisan actions. This sort of fighting continued, with some interruptions, till the end of May. The echoes of the fighting through the ruined streets becomes more and more subdued as the month wears on.

By the end of April, the defense posts on Leszno and Mowolipki are captured. The defense post on Stawki, commanded by Engineer Edward Fondaminski, is annihilated to the last man in the early days of May. Together with Commander Mordechaj Anielewicz, the Jewish Fighters Organization perished in its headquarters at 18 Mila Street.

The last battles on Gesia Street took place on May 10, 12 and 16. Szymon Melon, in charge of the so-called rubble fighters, is killed here.

Meanwhile, the Soviet air force makes a strong attack on Warsaw. The fighting unit on Okopowa Street (commanded by Marysia Zober), vainly tries to break through the German lines via the Powazkowski cemetery. German encirclement still keeps the Ghetto in the pincers of its artillery, tanks and automatic arms.

Mila Street, the heart of the Jewish working class districts, falls around May 15. Soon the opposition on Nalewki Street collapses. On May 16, Gen. Jurgen Stroop informs his superior officer and General of Police Kruger in Krakow: "There was a Jewish section in Warsaw, but it no longer exists. Today at 20:16, the *Grossaktion* (great project to liquidate the Ghetto) came to an end."

But the Hitlerite general was mistaken. The destroyed Zamenhoff, Muranov, Pawia, Bonifraterska, Majzels streets give proof that there were skirmishes on June 3 between the last of the Mohicans of the uprising, entrenched in the rubble, and the German patrols. On that date and on succeeding days, the Zacharjasz Artsztejn group, last of the Jewish Fighters Organization, entrenched in the rubble, carried out raids against German guards and brown-shirted police, who were searching in the ruins for legendary treasures, and dispersed them to the great consternation of the conquerors.

With fire and dynamite Gen. Stroop crushed the Warsaw Jews and their uprising. Truly, the "Jewish Section" had ceased to exist. In the rubble that once had been the Ghetto, tens of thousands of Jews, dead and alive, were buried. The largest, most vital community of Jews in Europe fell in the ruins. Individual Ghetto dwellers, by luck or with the help

of workers' organizations or the Council to help Jews, who survived the cataclysm, lived the precarious lives of hunted animals. The German police was not alone responsible for the sad plight of the few Ghetto survivors. The scum of Polish society, contemptible informers, preyed upon the helpless victims.

Justice for Criminals

However, the historic drama of the Warsaw Ghetto did not end. After several years of hard, bloody, sacrificial and victorious fighting, justice triumphed. The Soviet Army and the democratic Polish Army caught up with the criminals responsible for the Warsaw Ghetto tragedy. Justice caught up with the arch-executioner of Poland and of Polish Jews, Governor General Frank. At the Nuremberg trial, he was sentenced to death by hanging.

The new Poland, for which the Pole Bartoszek and the Jew Lewartowski fought and died, meted out justice to the oppressor and murderer of the Jews, Judwik Fischer, governor of the Warsaw District.

Gen. Stroop, who was in command during the destruction of the Ghetto and who gave orders to shoot Jewish mothers, who tried to jump from fire-swept buildings, will soon face the Supreme National Tribunal in Warsaw. Konrad, Gen. Stroop's partner in crime against the Warsaw Jews, will also face the people's tribunal. As yet, justice has

not caught up with Hoeffle, the third executioner of the Warsaw Jews. As special emissary of Globotznik and his chief Himmler, Hoeffle was sent to Warsaw on a mission to organize the first liquidation of the Jews in the summer of 1942. He returned in April 1943 on a mission of complete annihilation. This war criminal and executioner of the Jews is at large in Austria under American care, and has not been extradited to Polish authorities, who are preparing the trial of criminals responsible for the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto. Toebeans, a manufacturer, partner in crime with Fischer and Hoeffle, trusted by the SS, a man whose very name evoked terror in the Warsaw Ghetto, is still at large. On the way from Austria to Poland, he escaped from the "custody" of the American convoy.

The very same people who stuffed their ears with cotton in the last months of the Warsaw Ghetto liquidation to keep out the S.O.S. of the Jewish National Committee, are now holding the war criminals in protective custody.

On May 16, 1943, Stroop wrote that the Jewish Section in Warsaw is no more, that there are no more Jews in Warsaw. But today we can definitely point to one more turn of historic justice: thanks to the Soviet Union, thanks to the democratic people's forces of new Poland, Jewish life is growing and developing in Poland. True, the number of Jews has been tragically reduced. But the surviving remnant fosters the ideals for which the military units of the Warsaw Ghetto fought and died.

II: OUT OF THE ASHES

By Yuri Suhl

I arrived in Wroclaw, capital of Lower Silesia, on the morning of April 25, 1948, a week after the unveiling ceremonies of the Warsaw Ghetto monument which marked the fifth anniversary of the historic Ghetto uprising. One hour after my arrival I was invited to attend a gathering of about 500 Jewish workers from all parts of Lower Silesia, at the large theater auditorium "Popularni."

It was a mild, sunny spring morning and it was Sunday. In front of the "Popularni" people were milling about, dressed in their holiday attire, talking excitedly, exchanging greetings and shaking hands with one another. The atmosphere was gay and festive, and the air was charged with excitement. One could sense that a big and important event was about to take place.

Every five or ten minutes an open-roofed truck filled with singing men and women, Jewish workers from out of town, came rolling up, and stopped at the entrance of the auditorium. As the passengers dismounted from the trucks,

shouts of greetings went up from those standing on the sidewalk. The trucks were decorated with flowers and slogans in Yiddish. Some of these slogans I marked down in my notebook: "For the Honor of the Jewish People." "We are Building a New Jewish Yishuv." "Long Live the New Jewish Yishuv of Lower Silesia."

The New Jew

When the last of the trucks had been emptied and all the people went inside, the auditorium was filled to capacity. On the wall in back of the stage, facing the audience, was another slogan in Yiddish, with red letters on a white streamer: "Greetings to Jewish Heroes of Labor." I leaned over to the man who sat next to me and asked: "What is happening here? What kind of gathering is this?"

He looked at me questioningly, as if to say: who in Lower Silesia does not know what is taking place here today?

"I have been in Wroclaw only one hour," I explained, "I'm a foreigner, a guest from America."

"Oh," he said, with astonishment, "all the way from America!" Then how could you really know?" He looked at me scrutinizingly, as though trying to judge from my

YURI SUHL is a prominent Yiddish poet who recently returned from a six months' visit to Poland and Western Europe. He read his poetry before Jewish audiences in nearly every town in Lower and Upper Silesia and other parts of Poland.

face how he could best answer my question. Then he said: "This is a gathering of *shlugler*, Jewish workers who excelled in their jobs. Some have even been decorated and are now Heroes of Labor. You see that man in the corner, with the black uniform and the tall feather in his cap? That's Motel Grundman, a Jewish coal miner from Walbzych. And this one over here," he pointed to a man two rows in front of us, "is Chaim Silberhaft, a textile worker, one of the best in his co-operative. And over there. . . ." He was about to continue informing me when a voice from the platform stopped him short. It was the voice of Jacob Egit, chairman of the Regional Committee of the Jews of Lower Silesia, who called the meeting to order.

"Jewish workers, Heroes of Labor, guests and friends," he began in a deep and ringing voice. "Only yesterday, it seems, we came out of the woods, the hiding places and the concentration camps, starved, emaciated bedraggled; some of us still wearing the striped uniform of the prisoner, our eyes sunk deep in the hollows of our sockets, our tears streaming down our skeleton-like faces. Tears at the joy of our liberation, and tears at the great tragedy that had befallen our people. And now, for the first time in the history of the Jews of Poland, we are gathered here, Jewish workers and laborers of Lower Silesia, in order collectively and with great pride to take stock of our achievements and examine our contributions to the regeneration of the new Poland in which we live, work and create."

He paused, as if waiting for the very walls of this crowded auditorium, to saturate themselves with these words. Then he continued: "And who are we today? Of the more than 500 decorated Jewish workers assembled in this historic gathering, 98 of you are coal miners, 161 are in the textile factories, 121 in the co-operatives, 41 in metal industry and the rest in various other trades. And you are in the forefront, examples for others to follow."

Yes, it was of a new type of Jew that Mr. Egit spoke. A productive type of Jew who is firmly entrenched in the economic and social realities of his land. The *luftmentsh*, the *Menachem Mendel*, the builder of economic castles in the air was absent from this meeting. If he was still wandering outside this hall, he was one of a small number

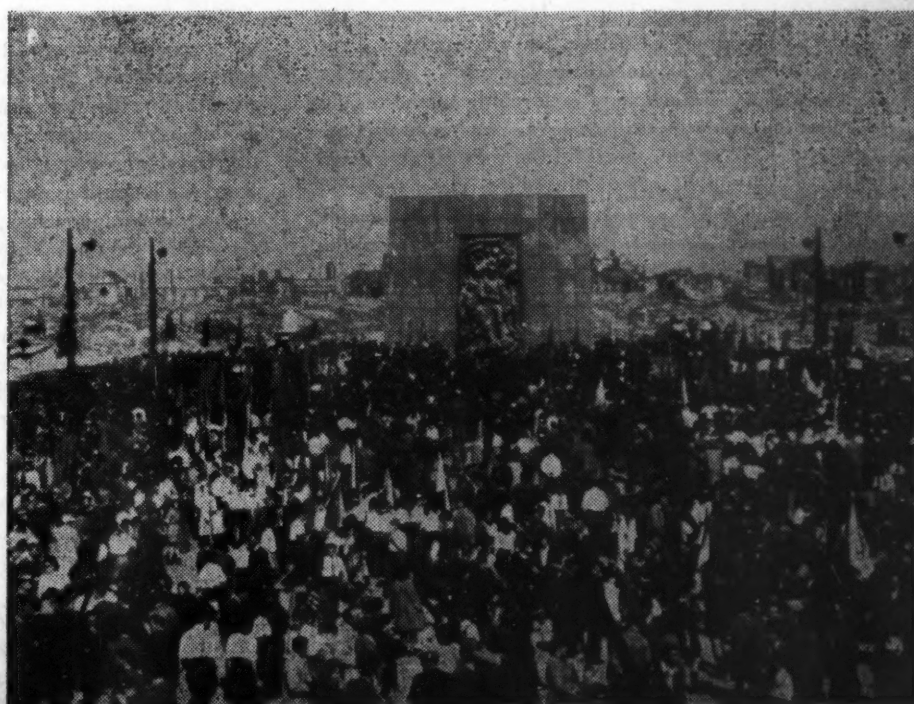
that was rapidly dwindling, a remnant of the past, a relic of a bygone social structure which looked upon labor as a curse and the worker as an unfortunate being consigned to a life of poverty and social ostracism.

In present day Poland the complete opposite is true. Here labor has been raised to the level of dignity and the worker who fulfills his social responsibility to the best of his abilities is upheld as an example to be emulated and receives the title of Hero of Labor. Perhaps it could best be summed up in the words of the twelve-year old girl who greeted the gathering in the name of the Sholem Aleichem school of Wroclaw: "We, the Jewish children of the new Poland," she said, "promise to follow in your footsteps to grow up to be good Jews, useful citizens and people with dignity."

But it was not of economic achievements alone that Mr. Egit spoke. Side by side with the steady growth of the material wellbeing of the people there takes place a cultural development of astounding proportions. Here are some figures and institutions Mr. Egit cited:

There are now in Lower Silesia 22 Jewish schools for children, serviced by 150 teachers. Recently the first Jewish gymnasium (advanced high school) was opened in Wroclaw. A seminar for raising the qualifications of the teaching personnel has also been started. The "ORT" trade schools for Jewish youth show a registration of 413 students, 170 of whom have graduated as qualified technicians and are already working independently in various branches of the country's industries. The Jewish Music School for children is considered by the Ministry of Education to be one of the

Unveiling of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial in Warsaw, April 19, 1947.



finest in Lower Silesia. The Ballet School for Jewish Children is the only school of its kind in the world.

So much for schools. The number of other cultural institutions is equally impressive. Twenty libraries, 36 reading rooms, 16 Houses of Culture, 16 dramatic groups, six orchestras, three adult choruses, six youth choruses, 17 sport clubs, 39 children's homes, institutions and summer colonies.

Cultural Rebirth

The Jews of Lower Silesia are especially proud of their Theater Collective. Composed of actors and actresses who had once been members of various theater companies that existed in pre-war Poland, this ensemble combines the best traditions of a cultural past with the spiritual rebirth now taking place in the social atmosphere of a people's democracy. In the course of three years, it has achieved the reputation of being the best Jewish theater collective in Europe next to the Moscow Jewish Art Theater. In the past year and a half it has produced ten plays and given 190 performances in 28 towns outside of Wroclaw. The last performance which I attended shortly before my departure from Poland was *Tiefe Vortzen* (Deep Are the Roots). I remember going to the theater that night with certain apprehensions. How could these Jewish actors, I thought to myself, who had never come in contact with the problems of Negro life in America, capture the mood of this play, without which it is impossible to carry across its vital message?

After watching the play for 15 minutes, I found myself so absorbed in the exciting performance that I had completely forgotten about my earlier apprehensions. Although I had seen the play on Broadway, it was like seeing it now for the first time. In the excellent translation by Isaak Turkov, who also played the principal Negro character in the play, the dialogue sounded natural and unaffected and the entire cast showed a genuine understanding for the problems involved. But what made this evening in the theater a most unforgettable experience was the emotional response of the audience. The atmosphere in the theater was electrically charged throughout the performance. These Jews did not have to be Negroes or progressive Americans to be able to identify themselves with the Negro characters on the



Jewish Children's Ballet dances the tailor's song.

stage. To those people discrimination was no theoretical abstraction. Some of them carried their concentration camp numbers tattooed on their arms. Watching a play like *Deep Are the Roots* was like watching a relatively mild chapter out of their own recent history.

When I arrived in Lower Silesia, I was taken to see a building in the process of construction. "This will be the home of our theater," members of the Jewish Committee said with pride. "Right on the main street of Wroclaw, a few houses away from the Polish opera house." Later on when I traveled up and down Lower Silesia, I was able to see with what love and devotion Jewish coal miners, farmers, textile workers, tailors and shoemakers rushed their contributions to the Jewish Committee in Wroclaw to expedite the completion of this building. Six months later, shortly before I left Poland, the masons were putting the finishing touches to this structure. Soon the Jews of Lower Silesia will celebrate the official opening of their new theater with Sholem Aleichem's *Wandering Stars*. Not only will this be an important event in their lives, but also another milestone on the road of their cultural progress.

Perhaps the most characteristic expression of the cultural renaissance now experienced by the Jews of Poland, is their insatiable hunger for books. Wherever I went, whatever institution I visited, whether it was a children's school or a dramatic club, a youth home or a library, a house of culture or just the headquarters of the local Jewish Committee, the cry was everywhere the same: "Send us books. We have plenty of food, and our clothing situation is gradually improving. But books we can't get enough of. Together with the Jews of Poland, Hitler has destroyed the spiritual treasures of the Jews. We need books for adults and books for children."

How does one explain this cultural resurgence among the Jews of Poland which is so alive and vital that its influence makes itself felt wherever Jews live? How does one account for the high qualitative content of this culture produced by a community so small in numbers? My extensive travels through Poland, my numerous talks with Jews of every description and my own observations have led me to the following conclusions:

1. They are now living in a people's democracy. This perhaps more than any other reason accounts for the cultural renaissance now taking place among the Jews of Poland. Under the present regime the Jews are not only getting the fullest opportunity to express themselves culturally in their own tongue, but they are also encouraged and stimulated to greater cultural heights. For everywhere in Poland one witnesses a cultural resurgence on an unprecedented scale.

2. Except for the Jews of the Soviet Union the Jews of Poland have always been a great reservoir of Jewish culture. This tradition is still alive today.

3. The majority of the Jews now living in Poland owe their very physical existence to the Soviet Union since they spent the war years in that country. For more than six years they lived in a socialist environment where even in the difficult war period culture was never neglected.

III: POLISH ARMY PRIMER ON EQUALITY

Below is an historic document. It is the chapter on anti-Semitism from the Polish army Manual of Political Education, issued in 1948 as a textbook for a two-year course for army privates. When one remembers the virulent anti-Semitism with which the pre-war Polish government was infected, this document brings into sharp relief the democratic character of the new Polish republic.—Editors.

1. The Tragic Fate of the Jews Under the German Occupation in Poland

YOU are all, no doubt, familiar with the word "anti-Semitism." (The word "anti-Semitism" means dislike and even hatred of the Jews.) Anti-Semitism is still a weapon of reaction used to confuse the Polish people so as to harm Poland.

Before the war reactionaries justified their anti-Semitism by arguing that too many Jews lived in Poland. They said that the Jews deprived the Poles of their livelihood, taking away their bread and jobs. Poland could become a great nation, they argued, only by ridding herself of Jews. Characteristically enough, the very same people who shouted anti-Jewish slogans were those who were the most fanatical followers of Hitler and advocates of friendship with Germany.

Then the war came. Poland found herself under German occupation, betrayed by those who shouted loudest about their patriotism. Millions of Poles lost their lives in concentration camps and gestapo torture chambers or were shot by Hitler's henchmen. But Polish citizens of Jewish extraction suffered the worst fate. At first they were confined by the Germans to overcrowded city districts known as "ghettos." Cut off from the outside world by thick walls, congested in a small area and deprived of food, the Jewish people died in great numbers. But that was not enough for the German cutthroats. They began to transport the Jews to death camps—to Maidanek, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelm, Oswiecim and other camps. There, the unfortunate victims were killed by poison gas or machine guns and their bodies burned in crematoria. Without exception, men, women, the aged, children, the healthy as well as the sick, were killed by the German murderers.

At first the Jews were tricked by the Germans into believing that they were being shipped to work in the east. Soon, however, the Jews learned the truth. As a result, armed uprisings took place in many Polish ghettos. The biggest revolt, which lasted several weeks, occurred in Warsaw in the Spring of 1943. The Germans offered to spare the Jewish fighters if they gave up the struggle. But the Jews refused and fought to a finish. They chose to die fighting, to inflict casualties on the enemy, rather than sur-

render. Practically all the Jews perished. It was owing in large part to the aid given by the Poles that a handful of Polish Jews were able to escape the clutches of the German murderers.

As a result of the German occupation, almost all Polish Jews were exterminated. Of the 3,500,000 Jews who had lived in Poland before World War II, less than 100,000 survived and live there now.

One would think that after the extermination of the vast majority of Polish Jews, there should be no anti-Semitism in Poland. Can any one claim that a handful of surviving Jews can hinder the Poles? Of course not. The terrible and undeserved misfortune of the Jews at the hands of the Germans should sound the death knell of anti-Semitism in Poland. For, after all, the Jews were killed by the same enemy who murdered millions of Poles. After all, the same Germans who completely wiped out the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw, destroyed the city itself a year later.

2. Present-Day Anti-Semitism and Its Causes

Common suffering under the German occupation taught many people, even those who were anti-Semites before the war, that their dislike of the Jews was not justified. Yet, despite all this, anti-Semitism has not yet died out in Poland.

In the short time since Poland was liberated, many Jews have been killed there. They were not killed by the Germans but by Polish fascists. Among those who perished were Jews who survived Hitlerite concentration camps, as well as Jewish partisans and soldiers who distinguished themselves while fighting for Poland and her independence. Even helpless women and children were among the Jewish victims of Polish fascists. What are the causes of this un-Christian, blind hatred of fellow-men which leads to murder?

We know for a fact that even the most fanatical anti-Semites cannot explain away their dastardly deeds with the alibi that there are too many Jews in Poland. Consequently, they introduce a different set of causes. The anti-Semites now say that the Jews are a foreign element and are enemies of Poland. The anti-Semites say that Jews occupy all the high state posts and want to rule the Poles. There are even some anti-Semites who claim that the Jews murder Christian children. Let us calmly look at these arguments and see how much truth there is in them.

Those of you who are acquainted with the history of Poland will surely remember the story of Berek Joselewicz, the Jew. At the time of Gen. Kosciuszko's uprising this Jew organized a company of Jewish volunteers, who

bravely defended Warsaw against the attacks of the Prussian and tsarist armies. Later, leading his Jewish company, Berek Joselewicz fought for a free Poland under the command of Gen. Dombrowski and Prince Jozef Poniatowski. This brave Jew died like a hero at the battle of Kock.

3. The Jews Have Earned Full Citizenship Rights

During the January uprising in Poland (1863), one of the most generous of Polish patriots was Rabbi Maizels of Warsaw. The Poles named a Warsaw street after him.

The Jews fought for Poland's freedom in 1905. They fought as part of the Polish legions during the First World War. They also fought in 1939 in the Polish Army. They were among the partisans during the German occupation. They took part in the Warsaw uprising and fought together with Polish soldiers on the western front. Many Jewish soldiers distinguished themselves at the battle of Monte Cassino, among other battlefronts.

Soldiers who saw combat with the First and Second Armies knew Jewish soldiers and officers who fought bravely against the Germans. These heroic Jews refused to retreat and died for their Motherland. Wherever the reborn Polish Army fought, Jews are buried in common graves with Polish soldiers of all creeds—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—united in death in common cause for Poland.

Who among you can say that he or she saw Jews who did not behave like patriots? And what if there were such? Were there not enough cowards and even betrayers of their Motherland among the non-Jewish Poles? Can we say that Poland was a nation of traitors because there were *Volksdeutsche* ("honorary" Germans—*Eds.*) among us? Of course not.

Other alleged characteristics of the Jews could be analyzed in the same way.

Do you recall the days before the war when anti-Semites claimed that all Jews are traders and speculators, and that once Poland got rid of Jews, she would be rid of speculation? And what happened? Today there is but a handful of Jews in Poland, and very few are engaged in business. Is there, however, no speculation in Poland? Yes, there is. As a matter of fact, many Poles deal in the black market, trade and speculation. They are gypping the public just as much, if not more, than the Jewish speculators of old. On the basis of this, can we say that Poland is a nation of speculators? Of course not.

From all this one conclusion follows. Every nation has its good and bad people, its patriots and traitors, its swindlers and honest workers. In this respect, the Jews do not differ from other citizens of the nation.

Past experience, especially in the last war, teaches us that the great majority of Polish Jews sincerely love the land of their birth and of their forefathers. Those Jews who, together with us, remain in Poland, have joined the ranks of all honest citizens in the difficult task of rebuilding

Poland; they spare no energy for the good of our common Motherland. In all respects they are as good citizens as we are. They share equally in our duties and hardships and they should therefore enjoy the same rights as are enjoyed by other citizens.

Precisely from this point of view—equality of rights and duties—is it necessary to examine another argument used by anti-Semites, that the Jews hold responsible positions in Poland.

4. Let Us Not Give Credence to Falsehoods

Do Polish Jews work for the government? Of course, some of them do. Do they hold these jobs because they are Jews? No. They hold them because they are qualified. Anybody with common sense will admit that people should be hired not because of the color of their hair, the shape of their noses, their religion or descent, but on the basis of their ability to perform a given task.

A sick man never considers his doctor's creed or nationality. A sick man calls a doctor who is competent in his profession and who will cure him of sickness.

Even ancient Rome believed in the principle that "the welfare of the Republic should be the highest law." The criterion of selection of men and women for governmental office should be the usefulness of their work. If a man is a capable and honest worker, there is no reason for removing him from office because he professes this or that religion. If his work is unsatisfactory, then he should be discharged, whether he is a Jew or a Pole.

All the big powers of the world take this attitude. In England, America, the Soviet Union and France, which include people of various nationalities or creeds, including Jews, responsible state offices are held by Jews.

However, in view of what we have said, is it true that Jews hold many state offices in Poland? Of course not. A trip to any ministry, any provincial or other state institution will convince us that we do not often encounter Jewish officials there. Even anti-Semites who deliberately disseminate falsehoods—for instance, that the Jews rule Poland—know this. Since they are unable to find Jews in high governmental posts, these gossip-mongers call important state functionaries Jews who are not Jews at all. Most assuredly, many of you have heard stupid talk that the premier, or the minister of public safety or some other minister is a Jew. Of course, all this is nonsense.

But people who want to raise the issue of anti-Semitism in Poland do not rely on falsehoods alone. In various parts of Poland, rumors are spread from time to time that Jews murder Christian children to get their blood. These are the so-called "ritual murders" about which the highest dignitaries of the Catholic Church have often expressed their opinion. Even before the war, Pope Pius XI solemnly declared that rumors of ritual murders are criminal falsehoods. Those who tell tales about ritual murders count heavily on ignorance of the masses. No enlightened man will ever give credence to such rumors.

5. Who Profits from Anti-Semitism?

The question arises: if all this is true, if in reality the Jews are not worse than other people, why do we have anti-Semitism? For the simple reason that there were and are today certain people who try to gain their own ends by inoculating us with the feeling, on no justifiable grounds, of dislike toward the Jews. Examples are near at hand.

The greatest disseminators of anti-Semitism before the First World War were the Russian tsars. Why? Because the tsars oppressed the Russians and other nationalities (the Poles, among others) and feared the wrath of the masses. Thus, in order to divert the attention of the people from the tsars, the true oppressors, the Russian rulers tried to direct the dissatisfaction of the masses toward innocent people such as the Jews. In 1905, when Russian and Polish workers took up arms to fight for their freedom, Tsar Nicholas II organized special groups, the so-called "black hundreds," who staged pogroms against the Jews. At the same time the tsarist police purposely spread rumors in Poland that the Jews were murdering Christian children. Polish patriotic organizations understood only too well that this was a typical stratagem of the enemy. Such Poles, fighting for independence, issued special appeals to the people not to bite on this bait and to seek out the true enemy of the people. Thus we see that the Russian tsars used anti-Semitism as a tool with which to subjugate the Polish people.

The same holds true of Hitler's anti-Semitism. Why did Hitler proclaim slogans of hate against the Jews? Why did he murder millions of innocent people? He did this for no other reason than to deceive other people, whom he intended to conquer, after he first threw them off guard.

Hitler said that he warred on Russia because the Jews ruled that country; that he warred on America, England and France because the Jews were the rulers there, etc. When the Germans invaded Poland, they said and even wrote that no evil would come to the Poles. The Germans said that they were against the Jews only, that the Jews were the cause of war and other misfortunes. Why did the Germans act so? In order to divert the attention of the Polish people from the Germans and their crimes. The Germans murdered the Jews in order to instil in the Poles the conviction that we Poles were not so badly off after all. The Germans permitted certain Poles to help themselves to material goods robbed from the murdered Jews, thus aligning such Poles with themselves, making them partners in crime. The Germans invented the theory of racial superiority of one nation over another in order to prove that Germany is a nation of supermen.

Thus we see that anti-Semitism was necessary for our mortal enemies, who murdered millions of our brothers and sisters. This alone should convince us of the dangers of anti-Semitism, that it is a poisoned arrow aimed against all freedom-loving people.

However, it is a known fact that not only the tsar and



Honor guard of Jewish miners at Memorial unveiling.

the Germans spread anti-Semitism in Poland. It is a known fact that there were and are today Poles who try to inoculate us with the venom of hatred toward the Jews. What are the causes of this?

Who Are Polish Anti-Semites?

Many of us no doubt remember from whom anti-Semites were recruited. Such political parties as the Endeks,¹ ONR² and Sanacja (Sanatzia)³ most vehemently propagated anti-Semitic slogans before the war. What was the nature of such parties? Were these the parties of the workers and peasants? No! These were the parties of rich landowners, manufacturers and bankers, who fattened at the expense of the nation. The worker suffered misery. The peasant was helpless on his small tract of land; either as landless farmer or as hired man he tried to make a living, working on a rich landowner's estate. The rulers feared that the people might lose patience, demand what was theirs and reach for the palaces and thousands of hectares of land. Hence the war cry of the anti-Semites: "Go after the Jews! The Jews are the cause of your misery!" The worse the situation became in Poland, the louder the anti-Semites yelled and the more they praised Hitler. Germany was making preparations to fight Poland, but the Sanacja diverted attention of the people from the German danger in order to turn the Poles against the Jews. Small wonder that Hitler rubbed his hands with joy and helped our anti-Semites by whatever means possible, even providing them with funds. Anti-Semitism, thus, helped Hitler to subjugate Poland.

It has been no different since the end of the war. Anti-Semitism has been the trump card in the hands of those

¹ National Democratic Party, a reactionary, anti-Semitic movement of the extreme right.—Eds.

² National Radical Camp, a fascist, anti-Semitic, program-making organization which began as the youth branch of the Endeks and was pro-Hitler from the start. This group was the main propagandist for a Hitlerite fascism in Poland.—Eds.

³ The so-called "Non-Partisan" Bloc which cooperated with the semi-fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski.—Eds.

who wanted to return to power and regain their estates at any price. By spreading hatred against the Jews the anti-Semites tried to provoke chaos and confusion in Poland and by this means to reach their goal. You know that the greatest anti-Semites in Poland were the forest bandits of the NSZ (National Armed Forces), of WIN (Freedom and Independence). You also know that these bandits received orders from Gen. Anders and other reactionary emigres abroad. Murder of Jews and the Kielce pogrom, among other acts, were inspired by the reactionaries abroad. Polish citizens living in England and the United States at the time, reported that they were ashamed to be seen on the streets after the Kielce pogrom. The astonished English and Americans asked how it was possible for the Poles to commit crimes of which only Hitlerites could be guilty. They wondered how it was possible for anti-Semitism still to exist in Poland.

Do you know what the Polish reactionary clique abroad did next? It wrote in its newspapers that the Kielce pogrom was the work of the Polish democratic government, that it is a great disgrace, etc. The English and American reactionaries took advantage of such slanders and declared that, if the Poles were capable of such Hitlerite crimes, they should not be helped in any form whatsoever, they did not deserve any sympathy, etc. It is therefore obvious to you that the anti-Semites played a two-fold game. On the one hand, they organized pogroms and incited the people against the Jews. On the other hand, those living abroad put the onus of their crimes upon others, thus

bringing disgrace upon Poland's good reputation throughout the world.

Today, as in the past, anti-Semitism serves only the enemies of Poland. The Russian tsars used anti-Semitism to combat our striving for independence. Hitler tried to make German slaves out of us with the aid of anti-Semitism. Today, those who would exploit the Polish people rely upon anti-Semitism to achieve their goal.

Those who swallow the bait of slanderous anti-Semitic slogans spread by our enemies, do great harm to their country and people. And what is the attitude of religion and Christianity toward anti-Semitism? The gospel places the commandment of loving thy neighbor as thyself above all other commandments. In accordance with the teaching of the Christian religion, a man who wrongs his neighbor is a criminal. Thus anti-Semitism, as well as other symptoms of enmity toward a human being, is a mortal sin not only against the people but against God as well. Every Christian who indulges in anti-Semitism in any form or shape whatsoever, must understand that he is committing a mortal sin and is not worthy to be called a Christian. The Holy Writ says this very clearly, as do many church regulations.

Anti-Semitism is a crime against the people and Motherland, a mortal sin against God, a doctrine that weakens and demoralizes the nation.

For this reason, therefore, all honest Poles ought to brush aside with contempt all those who try to inoculate them with the venom of anti-Semitism.

SHMULIK, GAVRULIK

By Lewis Allan

Shmulik, Gavrulik,
Two playmates were they,
Playing together
At games every day,
Playing at horseback
Astraddle, they'd toss,
Shmulik, the Driver,
Gavrulik, the Horse.

Shmulik, Gavrulik
To manhood, they grew,
One great ambition
Was shared by the two,
To reach America
Oceans they cross,
Shmulik, the Driver,
Gavrulik, the Horse.

Shmulik, Gavrulik
Who walked hand in hand,
Drifted apart
In this bright, golden land,
One became Worker
And one became Boss,

Shmulik, the Driver,
Gavrulik, the Horse.

Shmulik, Gavrulik
Are friendly no more,
Shmulik is wealthy,
Gavrulik is poor,
Shmulik, his landlord,
Evicts him, of course,
Shmulik, the Driver,
Gavrulik, the Horse.

Shmulik, Gavrulik,
Two playmates were they,
Playing together
At games every day,
Playing at horseback
Astraddle, they'd toss,
Shmulik, the Driver,
Gavrulik, the Horse,
Shmulik, the Driver,
Gavrulik, the Horse.

(A free translation of a Yiddish song.)

NO PEACE OF MIND: II

By George Stewart

IN the first half of this article last month we examined certain fundamental questions raised by such a book as Rabbi Joshua Liebman's *Peace of Mind*. We pointed out that his effort to make a "marriage of religion and psychoanalysis"—as ludicrous as such a mixture might seem to many—had a certain bitter logic to it, a logic which permits such eminent theologians as Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Ralph A. Sockman and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, as well as such well-known psychiatrists as Dr. Smiley Blanton and Professor John Dollard, to give the book their enthusiastic endorsement.

What is this logic which appears to tie together religion and science? *It is a common view of human nature.* Both Liebman and Freud are concerned with all that is evil, anti-social and destructive in Man's behavior; they are preoccupied with "man's inhumanity to man." As we saw in the first part of this article, both derive their views of Man's behavior from a similar starting point. Both regard the human being as the arena of a permanent and unending civil war—between good and evil, between the socially acceptable and the socially unacceptable, between body and soul, between the "Id" and the "Super-ego."

Now, the important point for us is that this view of the human personality is essentially static. The blind, pleasure-seeking drives of infancy, under this view, are not lost when they are repressed. They are presumably still "there," driven into the Unconscious it is true, but still able to assert their effect. Man never succeeds in freeing himself, never succeeds in changing himself. Just as "Original Sin" in the eyes of religion is never washed away until death intervenes, until the soul frees itself of the carnal body and flies up to the arms of God; just so Man never can escape his own nature no matter how he twists and turns in relation to his fellow-man. Both Freud and the man of religion regard Man as the victim of forces beyond his power to control—the latter finds these forces in an imagined Heaven, the former in an hypothecated nature. But both seem to believe that once Man is created by God or evolved by nature, his essence is forever fixed. All that they see remaining is for the leaders of men—whether religious or scientific—to take Man as they find him and try to ease somewhat his hopeless struggle with the unbearable conflicts under which he is forced to live.

A great many progressives, who find Freud's reflections on society extremely unpalatable, rest their defense of psy-

choanalysis on the empirical ground that the treatment works, that disturbed people improve under psychoanalytical care. Now I do not propose to dispute this. While there is considerable disagreement among the experts in the field as to percentage of "cures," as well as rather marked changes in methodology since Freud's day, one cannot doubt that psychoanalysis has helped many people. There are, however, three points at issue. First, how far can the therapeutic method be separated from the entire theoretical structure which is the body of psychoanalysis? Second, just what is it that takes place during the psychoanalytic process? Third, what are the social implications of the standard procedure? Within the limits of this article, we will find it possible to make only an observation or two on each point.

Observations on Treatment

At the outset, it must be understood that Freud's therapeutic procedures and his system-making grew up together and are complicatedly intertwined. Freud constantly experimented with his methods as he saw more and more cases. From the outset, Freud believed that what was bothering the neurotic patient was the influence of repressed and "forgotten" memories of certain injurious experiences of early childhood. The problem for the therapist, as he saw it, was to find some way of enabling the patient to recall these experiences and discharge their emotionally-toned effect on the personality. At first, Freud thought it would be sufficient for these repressed memories to be brought into consciousness for the patient to be cured. Believing that the conscious mind repressed these old "memories," he resorted to hypnosis to remove the controls of the conscious "censor" and allow the old memories to come to the surface. He soon found, however, (1) that some patients successfully resisted hypnosis, and (2) that simply discharged emotions did not cure the patient and that the hypnotic procedure, when successful, had to be repeated again and again. Defeated here, he began to experiment with free association and waking suggestion, looking for a means of unlocking the Unconscious while the patient's consciousness was still functioning. This procedure turned out to be more effective in uncovering the past, but now Freud found to his surprise that even when the patient succeeded in recalling all the injurious experiences of his childhood, this alone did not suffice to cure him.

It was not until 1905—ten years or so after he began his work—that Freud published his first description of *transference*, a term which Freud coined for what both he and

GEORGE STEWART is the pen-name of a well-known Marxist and psychologist, who has his Ph.D. in the latter field and has written extensively, both in the professional journals and in popular publications, on the problems he discusses here.

his followers have come to regard as the decisive tool of treatment. By "transference," Freud means the development on the part of the patient of reactions to the physician as though he were not himself but some important person in the patient's past, typically one or both of the parents. Freud eventually came to believe that unless this "transference" developed in the analytic situation, no successful cure would take place, since the patient would never completely reveal to the analyst, and to himself eventually, the content of the emotions that were troubling him. The important point for Freud lies in this: that when the patient begins to display toward the analyst certain emotions that are nothing more than a *repetition* of certain repressed emotional attitudes toward his parents, *e.g.*, when he becomes angry with the physician because the latter begins to take on for him the attributes of a hated father, then it is easier to convince the patient that these emotions are inappropriate now, whatever their rationale may have been when the patient was a child. In a sense, therefore, what the analyst does is to evoke the emotions which the individual had toward his parents, focus these emotions upon himself, analyze their character and carefully reveal these results to the patient, and, finally, free the patient of his neurosis by "breaking" the transference, *i.e.*, convincing the patient that his emotional attitude to the analyst is irrational and unreal, based upon an earlier and immature emotional problem from which he must free himself. Thus, the "transference relationship" is both a tool of investigation and a method of treatment.

But, one may ask, what is it that actually takes place in the analytic situation? What drama plays itself out in the transference relationship? Here there is more disagreement among contemporary psychoanalysts. Some still believe, with Freud, that treatment will not be successful unless the analysis recapitulates every detail of the early emotional development of the child, until the patient is able fully to work-off his feelings of guilt and frustration arising from early ambivalent attitudes to the parents. The consequence of this approach is that the treatment becomes very protracted, often lasting for years—with the not infrequent result that the patient somehow never succeeds in freeing himself from more or less complete dependence upon the physician.

Other analysts—exemplified by Franz Alexander and the "Chicago School"—believe that the transference relationship must be actively manipulated with the objective of terminating it as soon as possible. But all agree that the important determiners of the neurosis are certain early childhood experiences within the family situation; they all agree, further, that the job of the physician is to make the patient aware of these infantile experiences and then use the greatest skill and subtlety in convincing the patient that his emotional attitudes do not accord with reality. Thus, the psychoanalytical interpretation of mental illness is double-barrelled: first, the patient is sick because of certain malformations of emotional development as a child; second, he is sick because he is now reacting to adult situa-

tions in a childlike or infantile manner. The task of the physician is to develop the patient's understanding of his infantile emotions, convince him of their irrationality and inappropriateness, and so deal with him that he comes to handle adult situations in a mature manner.

Unanswered Questions

Now all this is very well in its way, and may even operate to relieve many people of severe anxiety. There would seem to be little doubt that if an adult individual is attempting to meet adult situations in an immature manner, many failures will result and much anxiety thereby will be evoked. Certainly, if the aim of psychoanalysis were merely to eliminate immature and infantile habit patterns it would be difficult to quarrel with it.

But many questions remain unanswered! What sort of situation is it to which the individual is being asked to adapt? Let us imagine that a patient comes to the doctor with a history of being unable to keep a job because he develops such an ungovernable anger for his employer that he cannot continue to work. Now it may be perfectly possible for the analyst to reveal to this patient that the real source of his emotion on the job is unconscious hatred of his father, with whom the patient identifies anyone who has authority over him. The analyst works through this situation with the patient, enables him to grasp its irrational character, and succeeds in freeing him of his irrational fears and angers. Is the patient now supposed to accept his employers with love? What if, driven by his irrational anger, the patient became more sensitive to the worker-employer relation in our society and came to understand its essentially exploitative character. Will he now be urged by the psychoanalyst to regard this understanding as essentially irrational also? Unfortunately, the narrowed viewpoint of psychoanalysis, along with the class bias of many analysts, compel them to regard almost any rebellion against the *status quo* as an infantile reaction and cause them learnedly to analyze social revolutions into explosions of unresolved infantile emotion. Thus, it was easy for Fritz Wittels—a leading Freudian—to propose a few years ago that the class struggle could easily be abolished if only the leaders of labor and capital would submit themselves to the balm of the psychoanalytic couch.

The real problem of treatment turns out, therefore, to be not so much a matter of technique as the question of the goal of the treatment. Is it to relieve a person of psychic pain so that he can then accept the situation in which he finds himself? Is it to "adjust" the individual to his environment, no matter how rotten and decayed that environment is? Is it to permit the employer to exploit his fellow-man without guilt, and the workers to permit their boss to exploit them without resentment or resistance? The literature of psychoanalysis tends to shy away from these questions, arguing that such considerations are not the concern of the doctor or the scientist. But can they really be ignored or avoided?

Source of Tension

Even so essentially conservative a psychiatrist as Franz Alexander starts a recent book with a statement that comes very close to the heart of the dilemma we are posing: "Life," he says,¹ "is becoming increasingly complex, the interdependence of the members of society more and more intricate. Individual self-sufficiency has almost completely disappeared and we are, to an extreme degree, dependent upon each other in assuring ourselves of the basic necessities of life. And yet, in spite of our great interdependence, we live in a free and competitive society wherein each person strives to be an 'individual' with his own specific self-assertive aspirations. We are at the same time friends and rivals. . . . These diametrically opposed principles of competition and cooperation are reflected in each individual as a personal conflict—one which he must settle for himself; and a successful solution in our present age is the exception rather than the rule."

Now this is, in many respects, a very penetrating statement. If we read "capitalist society" for the euphemistic "free and competitive society," if we find the source of the opposition between competition and cooperation in a society in which labor is socialized but the fruits of labor remain appropriated by the few—then this statement becomes surprisingly Marxist and very close to the point of view expressed in this article. Unfortunately, Dr. Alexander draws rather slim conclusions from this fine beginning. What he strives for in his patients is "re-education" of the emotional life, leaving perfectly open the question of to what the now mature person is to adjust himself.

We return again to our previous affirmation. A sick society makes sick people. Perhaps it is possible to help a tiny few of these people by certain psychoanalytic techniques. But the cure remains partial and incomplete so long as the total situation in which the individual finds himself remains inadequate. And of course, it is also like setting to work to drain the sea with a soup-ladle: thousands of prospective patients are being developed while the one is being relieved.

The Way Out

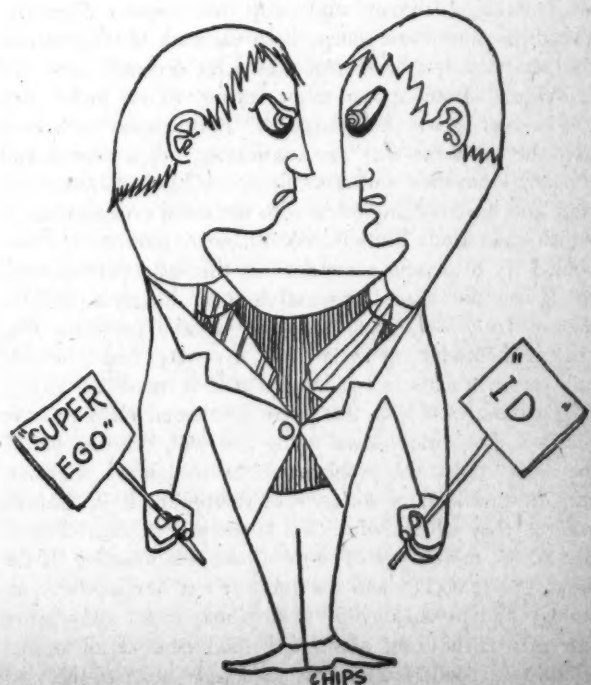
The professional psychoanalyst can, perhaps, be excused for arguing that his problem is to help the people that present themselves at his office—that the problem of doing something about the conditions that produce his patients is too big for him. The division of labor is so advanced in our society that it is very easy for each shoemaker to pay attention only to his own bench. Perhaps it is possible to relieve the individual patients without doing anything oneself about the social sources of the contradiction between competition and cooperation. But the situation becomes less clear when the analyst turns author and begins to write books and articles of a general nature about the causes and cure of mental illness. Now, if he is to be

¹Franz Alexander and T. M. French, *Psychoanalytic Therapy*, 1946, p. 3.

truly scientific, he cannot ignore conditions without which the disease under consideration cannot be understood. Of course, it goes without saying that his responsibilities as a citizen are wider than those he bears as a physician.

This situation becomes aggravated when one purports to be solving the problems of society, as does Rabbi Liebman in his *Peace of Mind*. What Rabbi Liebman presents to his reader is couched as a remedy for all human ills; its avowed aim is "social peace," thus, its title. Now it is precisely here that the one-sided, narrow preoccupation of the analyst with certain disorders of individual emotional development becomes especially dangerous in the hands of a man with an axe to grind.

Organized religion has always found its real basis, perhaps its real social role, in sharply divided class society. Thus, those whose lives are bare of the material necessities may find comfort in the reassurance that the things of the spirit possess far greater importance. Even those at the opposite pole, whose lives are a surfeit of material satisfactions, may end by finding the latter empty, and find no safe source of spiritual release except in the arms of the church. In fact, the extreme polarization of wealth finds its analogy in the polarization of body and mind, matter and spirit, this life and the after-life, heaven and hell—which comprises much of the basis of both Christianity and its predecessor, Judaism. Thus, the contradictions between wealth and poverty, between the powerful and the weak, have reflected themselves in organized religion in the antinomy between the carnal body and the pure soul, between man's evil and God's goodness. If one finds it difficult to accept one's position in life, one may yet reach an exalted position—



high in the heavens—after death. If one starves on earth, it is, at least, comforting to be told that one will feast on high. It is these homilies that have made most ruling classes believe firmly in religion—if not always too seriously for themselves, at least most seriously for those they oppress.

The dilemma in which many theologians find themselves today arises from the fact that the old religious values and institutions—no matter how sincerely held—no longer seem operative to provide man with the solace he needs in the face of the brutal struggle for existence. Vast wars and tremendous economic catastrophes have confronted so many millions with such severe problems that the promise of a serene after-life may no longer block the worldwide struggle—sometimes peaceful, sometimes violent—for a better world here on earth. Many ministers of God, therefore, find it part of their duty to aid their flocks in the social struggle. And it must be noted that Rabbi Liebman counts himself among the number of those progressive ministers who see the need and value of a “more just social order.” The problem is: how to get it! And on this, too, Rabbi Liebman has something to say: “Many men far wiser than I are at work planning social and economic change. For their creative labors, every thinking person must be grateful. We must join with them in the struggle to obtain a common victory for economic, industrial and political democracy throughout the world. At the same time it should be recognized that the healthier society *must be built by healthier human beings.*” (p. xiii.)

The Cart Before the Horse

Now it is precisely at this point that our disagreement with Rabbi Liebman, and with his inspirer Sigmund Freud, becomes most sharp. Both the man of religion and the psychoanalyst have their viewpoint centered upon the individual. Both appear to be saying: “First make man good—then society will be good!” Both appear to believe that the problems they are considering are *universal* and *timeless*—that they will crop up in any kind of human society and have nothing to do with the social organization in which man finds himself. As Liebman puts it: “In this book I try to present some answers that have proved helpful to me about the universal human dilemmas of conscience, fear, love, grief and God—crucial problems that present themselves in every kind of society, and I believe, will present themselves as long as man is man.” (p. xi.)

The basic trouble is that these gentlemen seem to have the problem upside down or, if you will, the cart before the horse. Solve the problems of the individual, they say, and the problems of society will disappear. It is “human nature,” they tell us, which lies at the seat of the difficulty. *But this is exactly the opposite of the real situation.* If the history of mankind and the most recent developments in biology and psychology prove anything at all, they prove that man is the most plastic and modifiable of all animal organisms. Modern biologists no longer talk so glibly of

“instincts” and contemporary psychologists question whether there is any such thing as “a” or “the” human nature. Raise a child from birth among the Eskimos and he will live on blubber, hunt the wild seal, and engage quite calmly and acceptingly in the practice of wife-lending. Raise the same child in New York City and he will gag on blubber, hunt nothing more wild than a job, and abide (officially at least) by the rules of monogamous marriage. Raise him among the Hopi Indians and he will shun competition; raise him in Chicago and he will be forced to compete with his fellows every day of his life. We repeat again, with Marx, “Man is what he does!”

Thus, if one wishes to improve society (and Rabbi Liebman announces this as his aim), it is our contention that one cannot achieve this by tinkering with the individual. First, we must make a frontal assault upon the conditions that limit and thwart the development of the individual; only then will we be able to determine, with scientific accuracy, the limitations of man’s nature that exist *independently* of the conditions under which man develops (always assuming that this is a meaningful problem, which is yet to be proved). In other words, we are saying that the theologians and the psychoanalysts have assumed many things about man’s “inner” nature which may be nothing more than the expression in man’s behavior of a certain set of social conditions. Change these conditions, and the behavior itself will change. Man is not “by nature” irrational; he is irrational because society presents him with problems that he cannot solve within the framework of the society in which he lives. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that what he needs above all is a new society—a social organization that is itself free from contradictions.

No Peace of Mind

What is our conclusion from our long journey through the jungles of religion and psychoanalysis. Essentially this: that any preconceptions as to a fixed and unchanging “human nature”—preconceptions which are so commonly a feature of bourgeois ideology in general—are not only scientifically dubious but somehow end in their playing into the hands of reaction, no matter how good one’s intentions were at the starting point. *Man is an adaptable animal; he is a social animal; his personality and his abilities mirror the conditions under which he develops.* More than this, we are not at present entitled to say. And to say less means to erect mere prejudice to the status of science.

What then of the quest for “peace of mind?” Are we to give it up? Are human beings in our society so bedeviled that they cannot, through the aid of priest or physician, win through to the serene and good life? Perhaps not! Perhaps it is possible to obtain a state of real peace of mind in our turbulent society only by mutilating oneself, by so sealing oneself away from all that is real around us that the desperate wails of suffering mankind are heard only as faint whispers from afar. I suppose it is true that one can find an ivory tower—whether in the arms of the church or in

the physician's office (or in both, as Rabbi Liebman would have it)—so that nothing will jar one out of one's complacency, except the terrible force of an atomic explosion or the personal hardships of mass unemployment. But it remains to be seen if this hard-won peace is any more desirable than that obtained by the mythical ostrich with its head buried in the sand.

No! He who searches for the kind of peace of mind that is offered by Rabbi Liebman runs in search of a chimera. In a world gone mad, it is impossible to be entirely sane. In a world full of danger, it is only the fool or the idiot who is completely calm. Only those who have confidence in the future, who know how to change society and know the stakes involved in the change—only those who understand that it is evil societies which breed evil men, and who understand not only what is wrong with society but how to change it—only such men and women as these can obtain something resembling peace of mind, no matter how tense and worried they may become at momentary upsets and setbacks in the struggle. Complete peace of mind is not only impossible, but actually undesirable, because it means closing one's eyes to the path capable of assuring mankind—in the long run, at least—the real conditions for obtaining it. Despite what our enemies say about us, it is

only those of us who are irrevocably committed to the worldwide struggle for socialism who are reasonably at peace with ourselves. For we, at least, know what we are fighting for, and we know that our goal is realizable here on earth and in the reasonably close future.

Let there be no mistake! We are not saying here that all of those who join with us in the struggle for a better world will automatically thereby solve those agonizing personal problems which a decaying capitalism has bequeathed to them. The movement for social progress is neither a hospital nor a religion. But if illusions about people torture one, we will remove them! If despair as to future of Man concern one, we know how to give hope. And if misconceptions about "human nature" contribute to the problem, we will be able to show—in the process of the struggle itself—how human nature changes. In the long run, only a mature classless society will provide the conditions for the realization of mature all-rounded people; in the face of a society torn by social conflict, all of us are more or less torn. Neither the Balm of Gilead nor the psychoanalytical couch can suffice us for long. Just as socialism will eradicate the ills of starvation, so it will provide the conditions for eventual eradication of the ills of the mind.

THE LITTLE BOY

*A Short Story
By Maxim Gorki*

IT IS hard to tell this story—it is so simple. When I was a youth, I used to gather the children of our street on Sunday mornings during the spring and summer seasons and take them with me to the fields and woods. I took great pleasure in the friendship of these people, who were as gay as birds.

The children were only too glad to leave the dusty, narrow streets of the city. Their mothers provided them with slices of bread, while I brought them dainties and filled a big bottle with cider, and, like a shepherd, walked behind my carefree little lambs, while we passed through the town and fields on our way to the green forest, beautiful and caressing in its array of Spring.

We always started on our journey early in the morning when the church bells were ushering in the early mass, and we were accompanied by the chimes and the clouds of dust raised by the children's nimble feet.

In the heat of the noon, exhausted with playing, my companions would gather at the edge of the forest, and after that, having eaten their food, the smaller children would lie down and sleep in the shade of hazel and snowball trees, while the ten-year-old boys would flock around me and ask me to tell them stories. I would satisfy their desire, chattering as eagerly as the children themselves, and often, in spite of the self-assurance of youth and the ridiculous pride which it takes in the miserable crumbs

of worldly wisdom it possesses, I would feel like a 20-year-old child in a conclave of sages.

Overhead is the blue veil of the spring sky, and before us lies the deep forest, brooding in wise silence. Now and then the wind whispers gently and stirs the fragrant shadows of the forest, and again does the soothing silence caress us with a motherly caress. White clouds are sailing slowly across the azure heavens. Viewed from the earth, heated by the sun, the sky appears cold, and it is strange to see the clouds melt away in the blue. And all around me—little people, dear little people, destined to partake of all the sorrows and all the joys of life.

These were my happy days, my true holidays, and my soul, already, dusty with the knowledge of life's evil, was bathed and refreshed in the clear-eyed wisdom of child-like thoughts and feelings.

Once, when I was coming out of the city on my way to the fields, accompanied by a crowd of children, we met an unknown little Jewish boy. He was barefooted and his shirt was torn; his eyebrows were black, his body slim, and his hair grew in curls like that of a little sheep. He was excited and he seemed to have been crying. The lids of his dull-black eyes, swollen and red, contrasted with his face, which, emaciated by starvation, was ghastly pale.

Having found himself face to face with the crowd of children, he stood still in the middle of the road, burrowing

his bare feet in the dust, which early in the morning is so deliciously cool. In fear, he half opened the dark lips of his fair mouth—the next second he leaped right on to the sidewalk.

"Catch him!" the children started to shout gaily and in a chorus. "A Jewish boy! Catch the Jew-boy!"

I waited, thinking that he would run away. His thin, big-eyed face was all fear; his lips quivered; he stood there amid the shouts and mocking laughter. Pressing his shoulders against the fence and hiding his hands behind his back, he stretched and strangely appeared to have grown bigger.

But suddenly he spoke, very calmly and in a distinct and correct Russian.

"If you wish, I will show you some tricks."

I took this offer for a means of self-defense. But the children at once became interested. The larger and coarser boys alone looked with distrust and suspicion on the little Jewish boy. The children of our street were in a state of guerilla warfare with the children of other streets; in addition, they were deeply convinced of their own superiority and were loath to brook the rivalry of other children.

The smaller boys approached the matter more simply.

"Come on, show us," they shouted.

The handsome, slim boy moved away from the fence, bent his thin body backward, and touching the ground with his hands, he tossed up his feet and remained standing on his arms, shouting!

"Hop! Hop! Hop!"

Then he began to spin in the air, swinging his body lightly and adroitly. Through the holes of his shirt and pants we caught glimpses of the greyish skin of his slim body, of his sharply bulging and angular shoulder-blades, knees and elbows. It seemed to us as if with one more twist of his body his thin bones would break into pieces.

He worked hard until the shirt grew wet with sweat about his shoulders. After each specially daring feat he looked into the children's faces with an artificial weary smile, and it was unpleasant to see his dull eyes, grown large with pain. Their strange and unsteady glance was not like that of a child.

The lads encouraged him with loud outcries. Many imitated him, rolling in the dust and shouting for joy, pain and envy. But the joyous minutes were soon over when the boy, bringing his exhibition to an end, looked upon the children with the benevolent smile of a thoroughbred artist and stretching forth his hand said:

"Now give me something."

We all became silent, until one child said:

"Money?"

"Yes," said the lad.

"Look at him," said the children.

"For money, we could do those tricks ourselves."

The audience became hostile toward the artist, and betook itself to the field, ridiculing and insulting him. Of course, none of them had any money. I, myself, had only seven kopecks about me. I put two coins in the boy's dusty

palm. He moved them with his finger and with a kindly smile said: "Thank you."

He went away, and I noticed that his shirt around his back was all in black blotches and was clinging close to his shoulder-blades.

"Hold on, what is it?"

He stopped, turned about, scrutinized me and said distinctly, with the same kindly smile:

"You mean the blotches on my back? That's from falling off the trapeze. It happened on Easter. My father is still lying in bed, but I am quite well now."

I lifted his shirt. On his back, running down from his left shoulder to the side, was a dark scratch which had now become dried up into a thick crust. While he was exhibiting his tricks the wound broke open in several spots and red blood was now trickling from the openings.

"It doesn't hurt any more," said he with a smile. "It doesn't hurt, it only itches."

And bravely, as it becomes a hero, he looked in my eyes and went on, speaking like a serious grown-up person:

"You think I have been doing this for myself? Upon my word—I have not. My father . . . there is not a crust of bread in the house, and my father is lying badly hurt. So you see, I have to work hard. And to make matters worse, we are Jews, and everybody laughs at us. Good-bye."

He spoke with a smile, cheerfully and courageously. With a nod of his curly head, he quickly went on, passing by the houses which looked at him with their glass eyes, indifferent and dead.

All this is insignificant and simple, is it not?

Yet many a time in the darkest days of my life I remembered with gratitude the courage and bravery of the little Jewish boy. And now, in these sorrowful days of suffering and bloody outrages which fall upon the grey head of the ancient nation, the creator of Gods and Religion, I think again of the boy, for in him I see a symbol of true manly bravery; not the pliant patience of slaves, who live by uncertain hopes, but the courage of the strong who are certain of their victory.

LULLABY

By Samuel Tumin

Zaida's child lies wailing
Pouring innocent tears,
While *Bubba's* back is ailing
And the old walls hold their ears.

O, puckered sweet, hush your wailing,
Burbles away your foolish fear;
For though *Zaida's* breath is failing—
Mamanieu fresh from work is here.

CAN WE OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM?

By Moses Miller

ONE need not be a trained observer to be aware that racism, anti-Semitism and anti-Negro acts and attitudes are rife in our country. Chauvinism in word and deed is advancing by leaps and bounds. And what is particularly ominous is that this chauvinism is rooted so deep within American life that many Americans accept it as a normal phase rather than cause for alarm.

Today in our own country abundant evidence of rising anti-Semitism and chauvinism, increasing attacks upon Negroes and heightened discrimination, represent a trend which we can ignore only at the risk of inviting disaster. It is, of course, no accident that those things happen today. The drive of the American ruling class toward world domination, towards bludgeoning the whole world into subservience to its own interests, has driven that class to attempt to stifle all opposition and to encroach increasingly on the democratic rights and liberties of the American people. Nor can the feverish armament program and the hotting up of the cold war be separated from the rising fear of the ruling class of the impending "bust" and crisis.

The fight against racism and anti-Semitism, of course, is an integral part of the struggle to reverse present day American policy and to extend democratic rights and liberties of the people. Thus, the struggle for peace, protection of the rights of labor, housing and civil liberties—the democratic and anti-imperialist battle in all of its phases—involves also the struggle to prevent the spread of anti-Semitism and racism.

Within this democratic framework, however, the battle against anti-Semitism and against attacks upon the Negro people and other minorities must take specific and concrete forms. Only the calloused or hopelessly reactionary will deny that such a struggle is necessary or that a society can advance towards greater democracy while racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism are growing at an alarming rate.

There are, of course, many aspects in the struggle against anti-Semitism. There is need to mobilize labor and community support and initiative in mass demonstrations against any and every anti-Semitic manifestation. Public opinion must be alerted to the menace of anti-Semitism as a phenomenon which undermines not only those attacked, but the whole of the American community. The American people must be educated to understand that a community that allows itself to be divided by hatred of the Jew, by slander and malicious propaganda against the Jew, is in the final analysis readying itself to accept physical assault and brutality against the Jew. The tragedies of the past few years have been too searing to tolerate fine and legalistic distinctions between anti-Semitic propaganda and anti-Semitic deeds. We have known too many Maidaneks and

Treblinkas, too many crematories to grant any validity to such distinctions.

Legislation is one of the sectors of the battle against anti-Semitism which progressives and democratic Americans have recognized as necessary and important. At present the Jew or Negro, who is insulted, maligned and the victim of antagonism deliberately propagated, has no recourse to law under the existing statutes of our country.

Sabotage of Legislation

It is, however, a deplorable fact that the attempt to introduce legislation to outlaw attacks upon Jews and Negroes has immediately raised opposition not only among reactionaries, anti-Semites and Negro-baiters, but also among many individuals and organizations that claim to be "liberal." And such opposition also very often comes from leading Jewish and Negro organizations.

Last year, for example, the American Jewish Labor Council was instrumental in introducing into the House of Representatives the Buckley Bill to outlaw anti-Semitism. Immediately, both the Council and the bill were severely attacked by all major Jewish organizations. Thus, S. Andhil Fineberg, of the American Jewish Committee, issued a memorandum in which he stated: "It is unfortunate that any one would attack any racial or religious groups with hurtful statements. But to bar all such statements would be an enormous blow to freedom of speech."

This position is, of course, not new. In 1943 the American Jewish Congress succeeded in introducing the so-called Lynch bill, which proposed to bar from the mail materials directed towards inciting hatred against racial, religious or ethnic minorities. At that time, the Civil Liberties Union objected to the bill on the ground that: "Legislation to punish or prohibit race hatred in its very nature is a limitation on freedom of speech." The Lynch bill was opposed not only by the Civil Liberties Union, but also by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on the ground "that enactment of the measures would lead to a stifling of free expression of grievances, and . . . an aggravation of race and religious tensions, which may express themselves in violence. . . ." Such legalistic interpretations have, to date, played their part in helping to sabotage and talk to death the fight for legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism and anti-Negro propaganda.

When confronted with categorical statements like these by an array of legal talent, the ordinary man hesitates to express a contrary opinion. However, with due respect to the legal talent of America, I venture the opinion that this legalism is a lot of humbug and, in fact, places its advocates in the position of giving tacit consent to the anti-Semites and racists to continue their scurrilous activity. And all this in the name of free speech. We are really in a sad state

if, despite everything that has happened over the past 15 years, nothing can be done to prevent the spread of anti-Semitism and racism which inevitably, if unchecked, must lead to mass attacks.

Judge Nathan D. Pearlman, vice-president of the American Jewish Congress in 1943 and head of its Commission on Law and Legislation, whose legal opinion is probably as authoritative as that of any other lawyer, answered the argument of the Civil Liberties Union thus: "Your position is that the activities of these (anti-Semitic) organizations are sacrosanct, that a democratic country should do nothing to defend itself against such traitorous enemies, and must even extend its facilities, namely the use of the mails, to further its own destruction.

"Do you honestly believe that it is better that these organizations spread their poison than that one tittle be taken away from the rights of unrestrained speech? If you do, then the history of the last 10 years has no meaning to you. Your vested and doctrinaire interest in freedom of speech has simply blinded you to the fact that you are living in a changing world."

The "Constitutionality" Argument

Even a superficial survey will show that every single piece of projected progressive legislation immediately came up against the "constitutionality" argument. Such was the case with the regulation of inter-state traffic, social security, progressive labor legislation, etc. And in each case, though judicial interpretation played an important role and even on occasion was instrumental in hamstringing such legislation, in the final analysis it was the militancy and pressure of the masses for the adoption of such measures that were the determining influences upon the legislature and even the judiciary.

Arguments with regard to constitutionality on basic social issues have their place and their value. But they are never the basic and determining factor. Any individual or organization allowing himself to be swayed by legalistic opinions on such questions, is merely surrendering to the dangerous notion that the community is helpless, that its hands are completely tied and that it cannot press for and achieve legislation to outlaw certain inimical and injurious acts or to advance the people's security and well being.

It is scandalous, to say the least, to find leading Jewish and Negro organizations, whose task is presumably to fight for the rights of their people take the stand that the spread of race hatred, of malicious and slanderous attacks upon their people which always and inevitably lead to lynching, pogroms and murder, cannot be outlawed on the ground that this would violate the principle of free speech.

In his study of anti-Semitism, *A Mask for Privilege*, Carey McWilliams, himself a lawyer, has shown how specious are such arguments, even from a legal standpoint. He states: "Just as democracy must distinguish between groups and mobs, between private opinions and organized racism, so it may be forced to distinguish between 'speech,' in the sense of communicating ideas, and speech as a

weapon of abuse. Should this necessity arise, the basis for the distinction has been clearly set forth in Mr. Justice Murphy's opinion, for a unanimous court, in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (315 U.S. 568):

"Allowing the broadest scope to the language and purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment, it is well understood that the right of free speech is not absolute at all times and under all circumstances. There are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which has never been thought to raise any constitutional problem. These include the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous, and the insulting or 'fighting' words—those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace. It has been well observed that such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality. Resort to epithets or personal abuse is not in any proper sense communication of information or opinion safeguarded by the Constitution, and its punishment as a criminal act would raise no question under that instrument."

It would be laughable, were it not so tragic, to see advocates of "freedom of speech" collaborating with those who are fanning the cold war into a hot war. They hurl invectives against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, the only countries where anti-Semitism and race hatred are being eradicated. One of the first measures applied by such people's governments is to write into the basic laws the criminality of anti-Semitism and race hatred. Those who inveigh against the new democracies with cries of righteousness and assumed pain over the destruction of democracy in these countries, would do well to study the chapter on anti-Semitism in the Polish Army manual published in this issue. They will learn how a country that sincerely aims to eradicate racism and lay the basis for real democracy, deals with such problems.

Some liberals argue that they would not oppose such legislation except for the fact that its restrictions on freedom of speech could be used equally against other minority groups. Once restriction is established on freedom of speech, they argue, what is to prevent it from being used against the communists, for example, or against trade unions?

This argument is specious. For the failure to deal with the real and imminent threats, as fascism and racialism are, on the pretext that a firm handling of these issues might jeopardize democratic and minority groups, is to evade taking a stand against the menace which will surely overwhelm the people unless it is put down. Above all, the problem cannot be discussed in a vacuum. Society is not static. The fight against fascism and racism generates and sets into motion those forces that will safeguard democratic and minority forces. A struggle for the passage of legislation against anti-Semitism and Negro baiting would make vocal a broad range of public opinion in America, particularly in the trade union movement, which would crystallize

opinion on what constitutes a menace to free speech and democracy and what does not. The fact is that the only real way to safeguard democratic and minority forces, is to fight against the real menace. Any other approach merely gives the real evil, fascism, freedom of motion and an open road to power.

Dangerous New Bill

The American Jewish Congress recently took the initiative in getting a bill introduced into Congress by Congressman Arthur Klein. This bill purports to outlaw dissemination through the mails of material which libels racial or religious groups.

Although members of the American Jewish Congress had for a long time urged their organization to sponsor such a bill to outlaw anti-Semitism, and although the past two conventions of the American Jewish Congress went on record in favor of such legislation, the leaders were in no hurry to carry out this mandate. The introduction of such legislation, they argued, demanded a great deal of preliminary work, particularly in its legal aspects. When the leadership finally announced that such a bill had been prepared, no one, despite vehement protests, was given the right even to peep at the bill on the grounds that someone might rob them of their precious treasure. The whole situation became so ridiculous that even the administrative committee, the highest body of the American Jewish Congress, was prevented from examining the bill.

When the bill was finally introduced and a scrutiny became possible, it was quite evident why the bill had been hidden from public view. It became quite clear that the top leadership of Congress had introduced a bill only because it had become fearful of rebellion by the membership at its inaction and not because its basic opinions had changed on the question of outlawing anti-Semitism. Every spurious and even dangerous idea about freedom of speech was incorporated into this bill. As a result the bill is not only a travesty, but is actually a potential weapon for subverting the whole struggle against anti-Semitism.

The bill, HR 2270, seeks "to make unlawful the transportation or importation of false and defamatory statements designed to arouse inter-group conflicts." But exactly what is "inter-group conflict?" Why is there no specific statement that the bill intends to make anti-Semitic or anti-Negro materials unlawful? Why this vagueness of terminology? Do not the great legal minds of the Committee on Law and Social Action know that such a bill could equally apply to trade unions? Do not these great legal luminaries know that under such an act people who advocate the rights of the Negro people in the South could be accused of provoking "inter-group conflict?" Could not the Communist Party, or any other group advocating struggle to achieve the emancipation of the working class, be accused under this law of fomenting "inter-group conflict?"

If for no other reason than that the bill is extremely vague and fails to designate exactly and specifically who are menaced, it makes a mockery of the fight against anti-Semitism and anti-Negro propaganda. As now framed the

bill can be completely distorted and perverted. But this is not all. One has to read Section 564 to believe it. This Section states that "No person shall be convicted under this Section if such a statement is true or honestly believed by him, upon reasonable grounds, to be true." Even a person who has no knowledge of the law whatever can readily see what a farce this makes of the bill. Any anti-Semite or Negro baiter has only to tell the court that he believes the statement he made to be true and that is the end of the case. In fact, the bill not only fails to aid in the struggle against anti-Semitism, but actually gives the anti-Semite a helping hand and a public tribune. Get up and tell the world that you really believe what you're saying and all will be forgiven, say the American Jewish Congress leadership and Congressman Klein.

Hardly any greater disservice has been done to the cause of the national groups and minorities of this country and to the cause of democracy itself than the introduction of this bill, which insults the intelligence of the community.

The leadership of Congress will not do much to campaign for the passage of the bill because the American Jewish Congress leadership in the recent past has tried to prevent and stifle any mass action on any issue. That this bill must be defeated goes without saying. But the basic problem of genuine legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism remains as a prime need. The introduction of real legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism is categorically and immediately imperative. If the American Jewish Congress leadership has any concern at all for the needs of the Jewish people and other minority groups, it will scrap this bill and introduce one that meets the issue. If it refuses to do so, then others will and must take the lead. For the outlawing of anti-Semitism can no longer be delayed.

ARSON IN BERKELEY

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

It may be worthwhile to bring to your attention the news of recurring anti-Semitic vandalism in the college town of Berkeley, California. Over a year ago an attempt was made to burn down a synagogue in Berkeley. Definite evidence of arson was found. Some months later, painted swastikas on the walls appeared and the windows were broken. A little later a fire of undetermined origin was discovered at the University of California Hillel Foundation. In September last, a "mysterious" fire swept the Hillel Foundation and destroyed a large part of it, including one of the finest libraries on Jewish subjects in the nation. Again definite evidence of arson was discovered—including some unburned kerosene. Also the circumstances were almost exactly like those during the fires that had swept the synagogue previously: the fire was started between 2:00 and 3:00 A.M., a false alarm was called in another part of the city about ten minutes before the blaze was discovered. The refugee resident caretakers fled their job and the insurance company has refused to insure the building except under special conditions including a huge premium. Now, once again, Hillel had a "mysterious" fire and again evidence of arson was discovered, including piles of firewood on the roof. Fortunately, however, this last fire was discovered early and brought under control before it could cause serious damage. The Foundation, planning to rebuild, was ordered by the Berkeley police department to have the building fireproofed—which cost would be nearly prohibitive. Meanwhile, the Berkeley police department—regarded one of the most efficient in the nation—has been unable to find any clues leading to the arrest of the perpetrators of these constant outrages.

It seems fantastic that things of this sort should occur—and recur—in the enlightened town of Berkeley.

A. K.

Richmond, Calif.

Letters from Abroad

"BITCH OF MAIDANEK"

Paris

Hundreds of nazis and traitors and collaborators from the East-European countries, who fear to return home because just retribution awaits them there, are at large in Paris.

These war criminals are not at all worried by the police of France's "socialist" minister of interior. They are not brought to trial for illegal entry into the country. They are not fined or clapped into jail or concentration camps as was done with the Jewish victims of Hitlerism who fled here from German DP camps. The war criminals are given work cards and treated as "political" immigrants.

In many cases Jews who escaped from the concentration camps have come face to face with their persecutors—concentration camp overseers, Gestapo officials or executioners—on a Paris street or in the subway. The French people are always cooperative on such occasions. People nearly always join in giving the culprit a good beating and in escorting the culprit to the police station in sizable numbers.

Does any good come of all this? The culprit is taken to the police station—but released soon after. These war criminals have connections in the right places. As a matter of fact, not a single one of these criminals has recently even been brought to trial, let alone sentenced. For to sentence them would mean to acknowledge that they are ordinary criminals and according to international law this would require that they be returned to their countries. By dubbing them "political refugees" French officials try to avoid the obligation of returning them. The officials even try to put a halo around the head of these murderers.

A few weeks ago two Jewish women, former inmates of Maidanek, entered a Paris cafe and saw one of the bestial inquisitors of Maidanek, a nazi who had with her own hands murdered dozens of women and children and sent hundreds of others to their death in the crematoriums. They could hardly believe their own eyes. "Can this really be Block Leader Johanna Shimanska?" they excitedly asked each other. There was no mistake. This beast had been known to her unfortunate victims as the "Bitch of Maidanek."

The cafe was in the poorer section of

Paris and those sitting there at the time were mostly Parisian workers. The two Jewish women raised the alarm. People in the cafe immediately joined in making sure that the culprit did not escape. Her table was surrounded until the police came. She was taken to the police station and then turned over to a military court.

At first, Shimanska readily admitted many of her crimes. From her own testimony as well as other sources the judge collected a mountain of evidence to prove what a depraved bitch she was.

The two Jewish women were called as witnesses. But they were not the only ones. The minute the news began to spread, a host of other former inmates of Maidanek appeared to testify.

As is usual now in France, Shimanska didn't stay in jail very long. She was freed without bail before the trial began. Once free, she denied everything. At the trial itself she even permitted herself to mock and sneer at the witnesses, whom she had so barbarically persecuted only a few years ago. As the trial went on Shimanska was disturbed by the fact that her victims dared to annoy her and she looked for new lodgings. She had little difficulty in finding a place.

The United States Consul has given her a visa, in contrast to the difficulty encountered by Jews from the German DP camps who try to get a visa to the United States.

The Paris Yiddish paper, *Neie Presse*, began a campaign on the case and aroused both Jewish and non-Jewish democratic opinion. Each day new statements came from women who had been inmates at

Maidanek and the ghastly truth about this murderer and sadist was publicized. The organization of French deportees demanded that the "Bitch of Maidanek" be punished. Her case became known as the "French Ilse Koch scandal." The great French progressive evening paper, *Ce Soir*, also published a long, documented article and sharply protested against her release. On the other hand, the De Gaulist newspaper, *Paris-Presse*, took Shimanska under its wing, defended her and declared that she was being persecuted for her political beliefs. This scandalous position created a furore. But the protest was so effective that Shimanska was again arrested.

The question however remains, will she be set free again? Will her defenders, who travel in high circles, succeed in getting her off? She still has her passport and visa to America. Can we expect a government which orders people's demonstrations broken up and has for months kept miners in jail, when their only crime was striking for a better living, a government which gives liberty to collaborationists and nazi murderers, to keep this "bitch" in jail?

The outcome will, of course, depend on how powerful the pressure of democratic public opinion becomes.

B. FEDER

BRITISH JEWS CONVENE

London, Jan. 25, 1949

The deliberations and decisions of the conference of the British section of the World Jewish Congress held recently revealed lack of understanding of Jewish needs. The problem is not alone one for British Jewry, since nine members of the Congress world executive committee are British and the European secretariat is composed largely of Britons.

A few words on the organizational preparations for the conference in Britain. Although the British section includes the best organizers of the European secretariat, the preparations were most inept. Almost all the provincial delegates arrived without having received the resolutions which were to be put to the conference. Even the London delegates did not receive them until a day before the conference was due to open. Thus, neither the delegates nor their organizations had had an opportunity to discuss and consider the various proposals which were being made as to future policy, activities, etc.

The storm broke after the report of activities was presented. This report spoke of the activities of the British section



everywhere except in Great Britain. Nowhere did the report criticize the British government for its policies. There was no mention of Aden, a British Protectorate where the Jews were subjected to a large scale pogrom last year and where they continue to live in terror. Rabbi Kopel Rosen, who visited Aden a few weeks ago, reported that at night the Jews barricade their quarters. Nor did the report contain a word about British responsibility for the pogrom in Tripolitania last year.

The leadership of the British section rejected a resolution which "does not consider the present composition of the world executive to be sufficiently democratically representative. It notes particularly the inadequate representation of Eastern European Jewry and the exclusion from leading offices of Congress of representatives from the countries of Eastern Europe. This is evidenced by the allocation of nine seats to Britain and only two to Rumania, though the Jewish communities of both countries are of equal size."

The report paid no tribute to the progressive policies pursued by the governments of the new democracies toward the Jews. No mention was made of the fact that in those countries the Jews have been placed on a footing of equality with the rest of the population; nor that anti-Semitism has been made a crime.

In the discussion which followed, a number of delegates from the Workers' Circle and the Grand Order of the Sons of Jacob asked why the leaders of the British section were globe-trotting instead of looking after their job at home.

They attacked the executive committee for not rousing the Jews, and democratic opinion generally, against the revival of anti-Semitism and fascism in Britain under the benevolent protection of the police. They also referred to the fact that it was with the connivance of the British and Americans that anti-Semitic propaganda was being sponsored in Germany and Austria.

The British section's replies to the criticisms constitute the greatest exposure of this section of the World Jewish Congress. The chairman, Mr. S. Silverman, M.P., and the noble lady, the Marchioness of Reading, stated that the British section only undertook such activities as did not trespass on somebody else's ground. Hence they leave questions concerning anti-Semitism, fascism, etc., to the Board of Deputies, and matters relating to Israel to the Zionist organizations! The fact that the whole Zionist movement in Britain is affiliated to the British section and that about 100 members of the Board of Deputies are members of the British section appears to have no significance.

The discussion on the resolutions included the policy of "neutrality" as defined by Nahum Goldman at the Jewish World Congress meeting at Montreux last July. This resolution read: "This conference is of the opinion that in the present tension and drive to war there can be no neutrality for the Jewish people who have always suffered as a result of war and crisis; believes that only by the coming together of all the peace-loving forces in the world, can peace be secured for all peoples; therefore deplores the attitude of neutrality adopted by the world executive and other prominent spokesmen of Congress, and affirms its support for those forces which are fighting for peace: Cannot accept that those in the West who are encouraging reactionary and anti-Semitic forces, especially in Western Germany, are serving the interests of peace and therefore, calls upon the world executive to change its policy of neutrality to one of opposition to war and reaction."

This resolution was voted down. Except for those delegates representing progressive views, everyone voted against it. The Mapam (United Worker Party) group, which has "left" pretensions, also voted against it and Mapam delegates spoke of the need to concern oneself with the Jews only. Regarding other questions they said, "We had to be neutral."

The Workers' Circle offered another resolution condemning the British government for releasing Dr. Dering, who had been listed as a war criminal by the United Nations War Crimes Commission. The resolution stated that this British attitude was a "breach of a solemn pledge" and called upon the government to reverse its refusal to extradite him.

Mapam had also prepared a resolution which stated that: "the problem of the Jewish people can be solved through territorial concentration in Israel." However, despite the fact that the Congress was overwhelmingly Zionist in character, Mapam did not put the resolution to the vote.

One of the conference highlights was the plea of one delegate that it was not in the Jewish tradition to "pillory" a man and he appealed for an end to the attacks against Dr. Dering. Another occurred when a delegate pleaded against the conference deciding to appeal to the government for legislation against anti-Semitism, etc.

The present conference proved how little the World Jewish Congress, British section, is prepared to adapt its line to the actual situation and needs of the Jewish people.

L. ZAIDMAN



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Book Reviews

HEINRICH HEINE AND THE JEWISH TRADITION

By Edwin Berry Burgum

The Poetry and Prose of Heinrich Heine, selected and edited with an introduction by Frederic Ewen; the poetry translated by Louis Untermeyer, Humbert Wolfe, Emma Lazarus, Margaret Armour, and others, including 110 new translations by Aaron Kramer. The Citadel Press, New York. \$6.00.

For those who love Heine but are not at ease in the German language this collection of his work is indispensable. Its almost nine hundred pages of the poetry, mostly in a new translation by Aaron Kramer, and of the prose, all of it in a new translation by the editor, Frederic Ewen, afford enough bulk adequately to present every aspect of Heine's intriguing personality and his equally unique contribution to modern culture.

Dr. Ewen's preface not only furnishes a convenient life of the poet, but appraises his position in literature more fairly than has generally been done. Seizing upon Heine's conversion to Christianity, criticism has traditionally pushed its significance too far, and glossed over any reflection of Jewish culture as of negligible importance. Professor Ewen achieves a better balance, for the substantiation of which excerpts from the Hebrew Melodies are provided. He suggests what I should be disposed to put more emphatically, that the tradition of Jewish culture was fundamental to Heine's style and an important determinant of his point of view. For it is of the essence of Jewish folk literature that it combines romantic legendary material with a homely realistic, and indeed often crude, observation of every day life, so that the sentimentality of the one is checked by the matter-of-fact, practical wisdom of the other.

The result is that the Jewish folk tradition has, I should say, more humor than almost any other folk tradition. But the tendency of the older translations of Heine, responding to the over-emphasis upon his Christianity, has been to bowdlerize his meaning by toning down in the best Christian Sunday School manner the earthy vulgarity of many of his images. The dis-

tinction of Mr. Kramer's new translations is in his fearless discarding of vaguely poetic obfuscations of the original and in reproducing it in all its raciness.

The particular circumstances of Heine's life, to be sure, changed the balance of these qualities in the Jewish folk tradition. Heine is not Sholem Aleichem. The humor of the tradition has shifted in Heine to bitterness and sarcasm. But what is more important is that this shift appears least in his Jewish poems. It appears there chiefly when he is discussing religion. For Heine was and remained a cultural as opposed to a religious Jew, and even his conversion to a belief in God as a result of his suffering and disease, was a conversion to a God of the sort Rousseau and Paine believed in. Otherwise, when he is discussing Jewish life and Jewish people the humor and good nature inherent in his sense of belonging to them predominates.

The bitterness predominates when he gets into the larger world, and here who will say that it was not justified and that the Jewish part of Heine enabled him more clearly than the Christians of his day to survey the contemporary political and social situation in feudal Germany freed from the delusions Christians could hardly escape. The peculiar blend of sarcasm and sentiment in his work, it is idle to ascribe solely to his self-pity arising out of his long-continued, excruciating paralysis. It is just as over-simplified to



Heinrich Heine

ascribe his criticism of German provincialism, so startlingly substantiated by later history, to the fact that he came from the

Rhineland and shared its enthusiasm for Napoleon and the French culture he brought with his rule. Over and above all this, it is evident that his consciousness of being a Jew, and therefore somewhat set apart from the Gentiles he daily associated with, provided him with a perspective they lacked. It is in the constellation of all these qualities that his distinction is to be found.

Not every Jew at the time reached his perspective. But with the passage of time more of them have, and for this reason Heine becomes more significant with every passing decade, and most significant of all today. We may accept as true for his moment in history the sense of the futility of his striving for a better Germany and a better Europe. Transcending any doubts he surely had concerning the immediate situation, were always those principles he never lost sight of: his hatred of the despotism of kings, of the hypocrisy of sycophants, of the dangerous bombastic emptiness of the military personality, and on the positive side, his sympathy for the underprivileged and his belief that the world must sometime be governed for the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

By Arthur D. Kahn

The Embers Still Burn, by Ira A. Hirschmann, Simon & Schuster, New York. Liberty Book Club Selection.

This book is an indignant expose of the rejection by the present administration of Roosevelt's policy of Big Power unity. As special representative for Fiorello H. LaGuardia when the latter was head of UNRRA, Ira Hirschmann was able to meet top American government officials, ambassadors, Military Government commanders and heads of foreign governments in tours which took him to the Near East and central and eastern Europe. He was able to observe the provocative, anti-Soviet American and British foreign policy at work in key areas of present world tension. His book exposes the aggressive philosophy underlying Anglo-American action in Palestine, Italy, Western Germany, Turkey and Austria and puts into perspective "western" hostility to the eastern democracies.

The value of a book which ties up the separate facets of Anglo-American foreign policy is evident, especially from one who has directly observed at first hand and participated in the international scene, as Ira Hirschmann has.

Although he made only brief and rapid

stops in the many countries he visited, Hirschmann had significant experiences which he presents in reportorial vignettes. His own fairness and humanity emanate from the book. He is shocked by the poverty in Egypt and Turkey and by the almost incredible misery of the Jewish DPs, whose demoralized state he describes in detail. He relates several moving personal anecdotes about the unhappy people he meets. Most poignant of all is his chapter on the search for the lost children, kidnapped from their parents by the nazis during the war.

Hirschmann is not deluded by the anti-Soviet hysteria which he discovers among the American and British officials wherever he goes. He notes that the misery of the Egyptian people rather than Soviet machinations are responsible for the seething in that land. In Italy the Communist Party owes its strength, he reports, not to mythical Moscow gold but rather to the realistic and practical program of action of the party. His short chapters on the developments in Czechoslovakia and Poland provide effective antidotes to some of the vicious poison ap-

pearing in the press about the eastern democracies.

Hirschmann is most concerned overseas with the fact that American Military Government officials were giving top priority to the reconstruction of German industry, disregarding the provisions of the Potsdam agreement in regard to reparations and denazification. He contrasts the adequate living conditions of German civilians with the degradation of most of the Jewish DPs, noting this difference as a direct result of the plan to rebuild German industry/and of the preparations for an anti-Soviet war.

Hirschmann describes his attempt to institute a program for mass migration of Jewish immigrants into Palestine. The plan was thwarted primarily by British opposition. Because of his special concern for the Jewish community in Germany and Palestine, Hirschmann exaggerates the responsibility of the British for the reversal of foreign policy since the death of Roosevelt. He fails accurately to evaluate their role as mere partners (even junior partners) in the Anglo-American imperialist drive. As a result of lapses into a pedestrian style, some of the potentially most moving episodes in the book fail to come alive.

The book summarizes and ties together some of the significant international developments of the last few years and further shows the resulting suffering of thousands of people from the Anglo-American anti-Soviet policies. Hirschmann's book is well worth a high place on your reading list.

government and the oil interests. The same holds true today.

Stone fails to give adequate recognition to a central historic fact. I refer to the fight of the progressive forces throughout the world, led by the Soviet Union and the eastern democracies, in the United Nations. Without this help the people of Israel would have faced insurmountable barriers in gaining even formal independence (it remains to be seen if the government of Ben Gurion will keep Israel truly independent of American and British imperialism).

Stone the liberal finds it difficult to face the basic fact of the present era, namely, that the only genuine and consistent champions of national liberation and freedom, whether in Israel or China, are the progressive socialist sectors of the world. As an honest reporter Stone does record the betrayals by the powerful capitalist governments, and even draws some attention to those who consistently supported Israeli independence from the very beginning in the United Nations. If Stone grasped the fundamental truths of the Israeli struggle, he would not be so uncritical of Zionist philosophy and leadership in the book, for Zionism as a bourgeois nationalist movement has always wavered in the fight against the imperialists, who are the mortal enemies of national independence. Zionist history is replete with instances of a pro-imperialist orientation. Thus the Jews have always faced, as they face today, the danger of betrayal of national interests for class interests by the Zionist leadership.

This is a handy book especially for those whose memories are short with respect to the turbulent and shifting events that marked the establishment of Israel.

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BIRTH PAINS OF A NATION

By Sam Pevzner

This Is Israel, by I. F. Stone, with Foreword by Bartley C. Crum and photographs by Robert Capa, Jerry Cooke and Tim Gidal. Boni & Gaer, New York, 1948. \$2.75.

Aided by three crack photographers who have effectively caught through their lenses the vigorous war-and-peace life of the Israeli people, I. F. Stone presents a brief, fast-paced account of the birth of Israel.

While Stone doesn't draw complete conclusions from the facts that he has honestly recorded, his book does "remind" those who are prone to forget that United States policy aimed at stabbing the UN decision in the back, and that one of the greatest obstacles faced by the fighting people of Israel was precisely the imperialistic role played by the American

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

CHARGES OF LAX enforcement of New York State's Ives-Quinn act against discrimination were made by the Committee to Support the Ives-Quinn Act. Salaries and expense of the commission were not justified in view of the slow and ineffectual handling of cases, said the committee. Most cases brought before the commission concern Negroes. Demand was made to speed up handling of complaints.

EUROPE

MIROSLAV KLIZNER, a Pole, was sentenced in late January to three years imprisonment for publicly insulting a Jew. The sentence was passed by a Warsaw district court in the first such action in the recent history of Poland. The court's decision stressed that the sentence was severe because at this time a man who incited one part of the Polish people against another was a threat to the recovery of the entire nation.*

THE POLISH MINISTRY of Art and Culture has allotted 150,000 zlotys to establish a travelling exhibition to aid the advancement of Jewish sculptors. A large sum was also allocated to restore the ancient synagogue of Zamosch.

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT recently signed an agreement with the leaders of religious Jewish organizations guaranteeing full religious freedom and assigning funds for some of the activities of the community. Full control over all religious questions was guaranteed to religious leaders.

OSWALD MOSLEY, leader of the British fascist Union Movement, held a meeting in the Kensington (a borough of London) Town Hall on January 31 with the permission of the Tory borough council. Hundreds of mounted and foot police protected the meeting, which was attended by 700. Some anti-fascists in the audience threw ammonia "bombs" into the meeting. Mosley attacked the government for its recognition of Israel. In a nearby street a demonstration was held by the Jewish veterans' organization, the Forty-Three Group. Several anti-fascists and one fascist were arrested. Home Sec. J. Chuter Ede persisted in denying that court proceedings against the growing fascist movement were justified and he denied that fascists received better police protection than others. . . . In mid-February the Mosleys held a parade through London's East End, a Jewish district, for the first time since 1936. The Jews ignored the parade. . . . In early February a bottle of inflammable oil was thrown into the Israeli government office at Manchester Square, London. No one was injured.

VIENNA UNIVERSITIES have a total of 226 Jewish students registered at present. About one-fourth are preparing for medical careers and another fourth are non-Austrians who do not contemplate practicing in Austria. Before the Anschluss in 1938 there were about 7,000 Jewish students studying in Vienna schools of higher learning.*

RENAZIFICATION NEWS . . . Hjalmar Schacht, financial wizard for the nazis, will not have to serve an eight-year term as a major nazi because

the denazification review board of Wuertemberg-Baden was unable to agree on the appeals court decision upholding his sentence. Schacht is living comfortably near Hamburg and refused to answer any summonses, even the one to the appeals court. . . . A German appellate court on Feb. 22 (Washington's birthday) freed Fritz Kuhn, former German-American Bund leader and convicted major nazi, by cutting his ten-year sentence to two years already served. Kuhn will try to regain his U.S. citizenship, lost in 1943. . . . The *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, leading American-licensed newspaper in Stuttgart, published an article on Dec. 4 condemning the American press for challenging the commutation of Ilse Koch's sentence. The paper claimed her trial was a "miscarriage of justice" and that the witnesses, former Buchenwald inmates, came from the ranks of "habitual criminals." . . . Top advisors of Gen. Lucius D. Clay, military governor of the American zone, have made anti-Semitic remarks. Gen. Clay claimed he had no control over AMG officials who speak "privately or semi-officially" against the Jews, but that he would ask for the resignation of any who make such statements "officially." . . . Alexander Sacks, a New York lawyer serving with the Army's Berlin civil administration, was suspended for criticizing alleged failure of American authorities in Germany, especially Maj. Gen. William H. Draper, to carry out the decartelization law. His suspension is reported lifted, but the charges against him remain on the record. "It is no secret," wrote Mr. Sacks, "that the operations of the decartelization program have been hampered by Maj. Gen. Draper and his associates in the Military Government. . . . They have done whatever they could, by innuendo and misstatement, to discredit a program which either they did not understand or did not like."

"RED STAR," official daily paper of the Soviet Army, in mid-February published an article stating that the \$100,000,000 loan to Israel by the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the American government's *de jure* recognition of Israel and Transjordan are nothing but a deal reached between the British and American monopolists to work "behind the back of the United Nations" with a view towards creating an anti-Soviet Near Eastern bloc and "convert the Middle East into a military base for Anglo-American imperialism."

THE MOSCOW STATE Jewish Theater recently presented a new play, *Zari Belinovich*, by Max Singer and A. Vitenzon. The theme deals with the Hero of the Soviet Union, the late Captain Israel Fisanovitch. Fisanovitch's comrades and friends attended the opening in honor of his memory.

BIROBIDJAN NOTES . . . The Jewish Autonomous Region at present has 133 public schools, elementary and secondary, 5 junior colleges, and 20 evening schools for working youth. Most important other popular cultural institutions are 29 libraries, 20 clubs, 39 reading rooms and two sport stadiums.

ISRAEL

OF THE MEMBERSHIP of 180,000 in the Histadrut (Israeli Federation of Labor), only about 100,000 voted in February in the elections to the general convention, held every three years. The general convention elects a general council, which

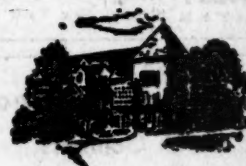
in turn elects an executive committee of 33. Last available results showed following percentages for the five lists: Mapai (Labor Party), 60; Mapam (United Workers Party), 31; Communists, 3; Haoved Hazioni (General Zionist Workers), 3-5; and Haovid Hadati (Religious Workers), 2-5. Importance of the elections is indicated by the fact that 72 of the 120 elected members of the Constituent Assembly are members of Histadrut parties.

ABOUT ONE THIRD of the 15,148 votes cast for the Communist Party in the elections to the Constituent Assembly were Arab. About 500 Communist votes were declared invalid.

THE ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY expelled nine members of its 25-man central committee on Feb. 13. Communist leaders charged that the nine had plotted with the Sternists to undermine the party. The action followed the arrest of a "communist" in connection with a hold-up of the Orthodox Workers Loan Fund. The nine were members of the former "Hebrew Communist Party" and were accused of importing Trotskyist and chauvinist ideology into the party, of secretly co-operating with the Stern terrorists, who are inimical to the working class, and of organizing provocation against the Israel Communist Party. The group calling themselves the "Hebrew Communist Party" joined the Communist Party in December after accepting the political program of the Israel CP and after admitting publicly their error in trying to build a movement on nationalistic lines.

THE LAST JEWISH refugees on Cyprus left for Israel in February. Some 10,280 Jews left Cyprus since the end of the detention policy and 1,809 were said to have escaped from the Cyprus camps in 30 months.*

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



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