

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

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MAY 1949

## ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO ISRAEL

*An Editorial*

## ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: I

*By Moses Miller*

## CASE OF THE TRENTON 6

*By William Reuben*

## THE STORY OF LOCAL 65

*By Catherine Wilson*

## SCHOLARSHIP VERSUS POLITICS IN YIVO

*By Morris U. Schappes*

## THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

*W. E. B. Du Bois • Rabbi Louis I. Newman • Guy Emery Sipler • John Howard Lawson  
Thomas Mann • Louis Golding • A. A. Fadeyev • Two Conference Resolutions*

## From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

### AT HOME

DURING A SERMON in March, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise stated that "the largest of Christian churches is unequivocally for war." In reply to the statement of 10 professors of the Catholic University that this charge was "false and malicious," Rabbi Wise affirmed: "I will not withdraw one word, whether it be the Catholic Church, the Episcopal Church of any other organization. I am not going to be silent. I am going to speak for peace to the last breath of my life."

UNANIMOUS CONDEMNATION of the Bollingen poetry award to Ezra Pound was voted by the executive board of the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, of which Albert Einstein is president.

WARNER BROTHERS have shelved plans to screen the life of Cardinal Mindszenty.

SEVERAL HUNDRED JEWISH community leaders in St. Louis received complaints in mid-March that the executives and officers of the city's five major Jewish social agencies have refused to recognize the UOPWA, Local 83, as bargaining agent for the workers. Over 100 of the 125 workers are members of the local.

OVER A HUNDRED STUDENTS of New York's City College said they participated in a demonstration for the ousting of W. E. Knickerbocker and W. C. Davis, teachers accused of racial bias, during the halves of a Madison Square Garden basketball game early in March. Fifty-foot streamers were unfurled from the balcony and thousands of leaflets were rained down on the arena. After a nine-hour meeting the Day School's Student Council voted to censure nine students involved. The Council was elected last December on a platform that called for firm action to remove the two prejudiced teachers. In late March Judge Hubert T. Delaney, chairman of an alumni committee to investigate discrimination at the college, resigned from the committee with sharp criticism of administration and faculty for inaction in the Knickerbocker and Davis cases.

ON COLLEGIATE FRONT . . . Some 600 fraternity men at Brown University were told by President Henry M. Wriston that fraternities would be closed down unless they stopped discriminatory practices. . . . The Student Council of Rutgers University has decided to recommend that any honorary fraternity which practices discrimination be barred from the campus. At Rutgers also in early March an article in *Targum*, student newspaper, charged that anti-Semitism by a high-ranking army officer was involved in a storm caused by refusal of 13 students to sign a "loyalty" oath as part of a military science course. . . . A boycott against the Jimcrow Alcove Bar in Detroit is being supported by most of the campus organizations at Wayne University. *The Collegian*, campus newspaper, editorially announced its support. . . . An analysis of colleges in Ohio made by the Young Progressives of Ohio revealed that nearly all were open to suspicion of discrimination. Forty out of 42 applications examined (Ohio has 49 colleges in all) asked one or more questions bearing on the applicant's race, religion or nationality.

A BILL TO PROHIBIT discrimination by holders of city-granted licenses, franchises or other

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MAY, 1949

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

THE EDITORS.

### CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO ISRAEL AND BIROBJIDJAN	3
TRAGI-COMEDY ON FOLEY SQUARE	4
NAZI BUSINESS IN NEW YORK	4
NEW BILL AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM	5
PRESS ANTICS	5
MAY DAY, 1949	5
ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: I by Moses Miller	6
THE STORY OF LOCAL 65 by Catherine Wilson	11
NEIGHBORS, a story of Birobidjan by David Bergelson	14
BIROBJIDJAN MARCH, a poem by Itzik Feffer, translated from the Yiddish by Morris U. Schappes	16
CASE OF THE TRENTON SIX by William Reuben	17
SCHOLARSHIP VERSUS POLITICS in Yivo by Morris U. Schappes	20
THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE	
AN EDITORIAL	23
NO MORE WAR! by W. E. B. Du Bois	23
NO PLACE TO HIDE by Rabbi Louis I. Newman	24
THE CHURCHES SPEAK by Guy Emery Shipler	25
THE REAL AMERICA LIVES by John Howard Lawson	26
NEVER AGAIN! by Louis Golding	28
THOMAS MANN WIVES	28
IN THE NAME OF PEACE by A. A. Fadeyev	29
CONFERENCE RESOLUTION: I	30
CONFERENCE RESOLUTION: II	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS, edited by Louis Harap	2, 32
DRAWINGS by "Chips" Wilson	24, 25, 26, 28, 29

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privileges, who operate "an enterprise which solicits or accepts the custom of the public generally," was introduced into the New York City Council by Eugene C. Connolly (ALP). The Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, defense agency of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council, sponsored the bill. Penalty is suspension of license for from 10 to 90 days or denial of license altogether in certain cases.

A LAW EXTENDING prohibition of discrimination from employment to recreation and places of public accommodation (hotels, restaurants, taverns, theaters, swimming pools, gymnasiums, bowling alleys, etc.) was passed by the New

Jersey Legislature on March 16. Maximum penalties are fines up to \$500 and jail sentences up to one year.

WASHINGTON STATE ENACTED a law in March to enforce fair employment practices. The law applies to employers hiring or firing employees and to labor unions that reject membership applications on the basis of discrimination.

THE CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL in early March defeated a bill to prohibit racial, religious and ethnic discrimination in housing built under the Slum Clearance Redevelopment Act. The bill was introduced by Archibald J. Carey, Jr., a Negro (Continued on page 32)



# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

### —To Israel

**A**NNIVERSARIES are the occasion for celebration but also for sober reflection and stock taking. Responsible men and women, who are aware of present-day realities and of the gravity of the international situation, will serve their peoples and humanity best by a realistic analysis of perspectives.

Jews throughout the world, as well as democratic-minded people generally, greet the first anniversary of the creation of the state of Israel on May 14th and greet the Israeli people, whose heroism contributed to the creation of this state.

For Israel came into being only through the combined effect of anti-imperialist struggle by the masses in Israel and of support by anti-imperialist and democratic forces throughout the world, led by the Soviet Union.

Only those who are either naive or consciously trying to mislead the people, will maintain that Israel is secure, its independence guaranteed and its democracy assured. The problems that face all other peoples also confront the people of Israel. Just as the Middle East generally has the task of liberating its peoples from the yoke of imperialism and from the stranglehold of the oil cartels, so Israel, too, must free itself from the grip of imperialism. And if peace is the major concern of peoples in every land, then the fight for peace is basic to the existence of Israel too.

Many leaders of Israel and of the Zionist movement try to forget, and make others forget, that Israel would not have come into being without determined anti-imperialist struggle, very often waged despite their vacillations and readiness to compromise with the enemy; would not have come into being without the determined support of the Soviet Union.

The test of true friendship for Israel is one's readiness to fight for its freedom and independence. This fight can be won only by continuous struggle against imperialist plans. This is just as true today as it was a year ago, when Israeli armies fought against the hired mercenaries of Bevin, and when the Soviet Union and the democratic forces throughout the world fought against the intrigues of British and American imperialism.

We call on the Jewish community and the democratic forces generally, on all those who fought against the administration's attempt to frustrate the establishment of a Jewish state, to wage an energetic fight for a free, independent and democratic Israel.

### —To Birobidjan

**O**NE of the greatest achievements of the Soviet Union is its solution of the national question. A land once known as the "prison house of nations" has been transformed into a "family of nations." Equality of opportunity was not only formally granted, but made real. Hatred and suspicion between peoples have been eliminated. And the Jews have participated fully in this liberation.

This month we celebrate the 15th anniversary of the establishment of Birobidjan as an Autonomous Jewish Region. This event was no accident but grew out of the experience and outlook of socialism. Anti-Semitism had been outlawed only a few days after Soviet power was won. Measures to stimulate the productivization of the Jew and to grant him real equality were undertaken from the start of Soviet power. To further the national development of the Jewish people, the Soviet leaders assigned Birobidjan as a prospective Jewish state.

Many people miss the significance of Birobidjan because they judge it by standards which have nothing in common with a socialist solution of the national question. Birobidjan was not conceived as an undertaking in which all Jews *must* participate and certainly was not projected as a solution of problems of all Jews throughout the world.

But the Soviet leadership did everything in its power to aid those who desired to emigrate to Birobidjan. Those who bluster about the revival of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union (how gleeful they would be if a little pogrom were to take place), should acquaint themselves with the help given to immigrants to Birobidjan. The government provided them with free transportation and sufficient food for the journey and a guarantee of jobs and housing on their arrival in the Region.

In Birobidjan itself a socialist Jewish life is developing. There is a network of Jewish schools and cultural institutions. The Region has already produced many Yiddish writers and artists whose work is known beyond the Soviet borders. Life in Birobidjan is not easy, any more than pioneer life in America was soft. Birobidjan also shares the hardships following upon recovery from the anti-fascist war. But in Birobidjan there are no imperialists waiting to pounce on its natural resources or its industries or to exploit its people. The achievements of Birobidjan until now are the products of the socialist way of life which, far from destroying the national heritage and creativity of the people, encourages and substantially aids that national growth.

## TRAGI-COMEDY ON FOLEY SQUARE

WHILE Judge Harold Medina smugly presides over the case of the 11 communist leaders on trial in Foley Square, the structure of American liberties disintegrates rapidly. Every day brings news of the violation of traditional democratic rights in this city, in that college, in that state, North, South, East, West. In Maryland, a hysterical legislature outlaws the Communist Party—the most fascist-like legislative act since hysteria first struck this country. In New York State a reign of terror has been instituted in education by the Feinberg law to exclude “subversive” (read, progressive) teachers from the schools. In Pittsburgh an hysterical mob barely escapes running amok outside a meeting addressed by Henry Winston, one of the 11. In Brooklyn College students are suspended for the crime of organizing a meeting at which Winston is to speak. The incidents could be piled up from here to Foley Square.

In that courthouse 11 men are trying to hold back America from the plunge into fascism and war. That is to say, they are exerting every effort to bring America back to its senses, to reestablish reason in America, to halt the precipitous descent to destruction. It is not they, but the whole democratic heritage that is on trial.

The contemptible parade of Judases and stool-pigeons has begun. Judge Medina tells the jury that Louis Budenz is an “expert” on communism. Would Medina rely on Judas for an authentic interpretation of Christianity? It is appalling that Budenz’ nonsensical chatter about “Aesopian” language is countenanced in a court of sane men. Budenz could not point to any advocacy of force and violence in the *Daily Worker* while he was its managing editor, but mysteriously reiterated that whatever the communists said had a hidden meaning—“advocacy of force and violence.” The fight for higher wages, for labor’s rights, for civil liberties, for extirpation of fascism, for curbing of monopolies, for peace—all these don’t mean what they say but—damnable iteration—“advocacy of force and violence.” To such a state of unreason has hysteria brought us, that every criterion of rational thought is abandoned.

There is another trial that the Jewish people of America would do well to remember. It took place in Leipzig in 1933. The innocent defendants were communists, the prosecution were aspirants for total power in Germany. The latter knew that they could not consolidate power unless they destroyed first the communists and then every one with any remotely progressive tinge. And they knew that they would be immensely aided in their ascent to power by diverting attention from their own bestiality by inciting the people against the Jews.

The Jews dare not forget the lesson of this trial and of the men who perpetrated it. Because the trial in Foley Square is the re-enactment of one phase of the nazi strategy—destroy the communists and progressives. The other phase, the extermination of the Jews, will follow if these men are successful. The Reichstag trial should have taught the Jews that their only hope for survival is unity of all

forces against those who attack democratic rights. And the same kind of attack is taking place on Foley Square. The same irrationality, the same disrespect for human rights.

The Jews are doubly jeopardized, both as democratic Americans and as Jews. They must rally with every democratic element to prevent the tragi-comedy on Foley Square from reaching its denouement in fascism, war and the extermination of the Jewish people.

## NAZI BUSINESS IN NEW YORK

NO SINGLE act reveals more clearly the true intent of the North Atlantic Pact and the direction of American foreign policy than the German fair now being held in New York City under the sponsorship of the Allied Military Government of western Germany.

In complete defiance of our own national interests, as well as those of all other peoples, our State Department and army, under the pretext of stimulating German export trade, serve notice by this fair that they have no intention of pursuing any real policy of denazification. On the contrary, we are embarked on a policy of rebuilding a nazi Germany. The statement on the fair issued by the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, defense agency of the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, presents the evidence. As the statement shows, many participants in the fair “are proven nazi industrialists and war criminals.”

These are a few examples cited in the statement:

“Rosenthal Porcelain Works, one of the principle exhibiting firms, was expropriated from its original owners and never returned. In 1938, the management of this firm ran a large ad in the *Voelkische Beobachter*, announcing that the ‘management consisted of five Aryans, three of whom are old veteran fighters of the nazi party.’

“I. G. Farben subsidiaries exhibiting at the German industrial show are: Agfa Camerawerk, Vereinigte Ultramarinfabriken A. G., Fargwerke Hoechst.

“Peter Pixis, who staged similar industrial exhibitions for Hitler, was approved by AMG to run the show in New York. After his notorious identity became publicly known, his wife, Gerda, was substituted for him.

“An on-the-spot survey, made by a prominent German journalist, of the Bizonal Economic Administration’s employees, official sponsor of the German Industrial Show, gave the following statistics: out of 8,600 employees at the Frankfurt headquarters, 6,812 are former members of the nazi party, 1600 held commissions in Hitler’s armies of the rank of major or higher, 76 were members of the Waffen SS, torture and extermination section of the Elite Guard.

“Ten of the exhibiting firms are subsidiaries of 32 top German cartels, blacklisted in 1946 by American authorities as unfit to receive money or raw materials from America or engage in foreign trade. Five of the exhibiting firms were stolen bodily by the nazis from Czechoslovakia.”

These are but a few facts, culled at random, which speak for themselves. Many Jewish organizations, such as the



American Jewish Congress and others, have protested against this disgraceful exhibition. But there is need for greater and more militant outcry against this indignity, if exhibitions like these are to be halted and the foreign policy from which they flow reversed.

## NEW BILL AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

**WE** HAVE frequently reiterated the need for proper legislation to outlaw anti-Semitism and anti-Negro propaganda. There is surely no need to argue that these evils have been intensified and that they constitute an ever-growing menace not only to the Jewish and Negro peoples, but also to America as a whole.

Only last month one of our editors took issue with legislation that had been introduced at the initiative of the American Jewish Congress. He showed how legislation that is based upon specious concepts of free speech and that does not specifically define what evils it is intended to suppress, can do more harm than good.

We are therefore glad to note the introduction of a bill into the House of Representatives by Congressman Barrett, of Pennsylvania, known as HR-3908, which is intended "to suppress the evil of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro propaganda." The bill does not equivocate, nor does it deal in abstractions. It states its purpose clearly and concretely. It is a bill, which, if passed, would be a historic landmark in the struggle for the rights of minority groups in the United States.

This bill deserves the support of every decent American. To be realistic, however, we must recognize that only a most militant struggle by the masses of the American people, and particularly of the labor movement, can force the enactment of this measure.

We urge every individual and every organization to join in the fight for the passage of HR-3908.

## PRESS ANTICS

**TRUTH** has been one of the victims hardest hit by the cold war. It was particularly mauled in the recent press binge on the communist position on Zionism and Israel in connection with the statements in the *Morning Freiheit* affirming its adherence to the Marxist position as stated in the now famous *Pravda* article by Ilya Ehrenburg. The *Freiheit*, "is now suddenly anti-Zionist," says George Fielding Eliot (*New York Post*, April 6). That Soviet "expert," Harry Schwartz, prates of a "change in the American Communists' short-lived pro-Israel and pro-Zionist position" (*New York Times*, March 31). Readers of *Jewish Life* know that this is an outright lie. We have *never* in our whole existence taken a "pro-Zionist" position. And we have from the beginning supported to the best of our powers Israel's fight for independence. The opening editorial of our first issue (November 1946) stated unequivocally that we reject "both bourgeois nationalism [that is, Zionism] and assimilationism." And we have consistently and uncompro-

misingly maintained our support of the striving of Israel's people for independence and opposed Zionism through the developing conditions. So much for unprincipled press slander.

The malicious, deceptive nature of the current press campaign can be seen from one crucial detail. One occasion for the barrage of lies was a letter which Moise Katz, a *Freiheit* writer, sent to that paper concerning his article in *Yiddishe Kultur* which was critical of Ehrenburg's position. In his letter Katz points out that parts of his article inadvertently helped the enemies of the Jewish people and of Israel. In the above mentioned article of Harry Schwartz, Katz is quoted as having attacked Zionist leaders for their advocacy of "an alleged cosmopolitan Jewish nation," thus directly linking the Katz letter with the current Soviet campaign against "cosmopolitanism." The truth is that Katz said nothing about cosmopolitanism. His term "*allvelstlicher Yiddisher natsia*," which means "world-wide Jewish nation" (a long-standing Zionist concept which Moses Miller discusses on page 10 of this issue), was curiously mistranslated as "cosmopolitan" Jewish nation. Thus by a dishonest trick of mistranslation, his position is made to appear immediately consequent upon the current Soviet discussion, when it is in fact a long-standing Marxist position. As well as anything, this deception exposes the duds with which American imperialism is fighting the cold war.

## MAY DAY, 1949

**MAY DAY** is an American holiday, as American as Plymouth Rock, as the Statue of Liberty, as the vast expanse of the Rockies, as Sacco-Vanzetti and the Scottsboro boys. It was conceived by the American working class in 1886 and born out of militant strivings for the eight-hour day, security and a better life.

But May Day is also an international holiday, a day of celebration and dedication for working people throughout the world. The workers of Tsarist Russia, of England and China, of South America and France, of Australia and the Middle East had no fear that they would be labelled "agents" of America for adopting this American holiday. They knew that the working peoples of all nations are tied in a common bond and that the traditions arising from working class struggle in any country are a source of strength not only for their own nation, but also for the international working class.

The American people need May Day. It is an antidote to the hysteria and ersatz patriotism being paraded today as true Americanism. It reminds us that the fate of all peoples is indissolubly linked and that those who seek to subjugate other peoples will inevitably enslave their own people.

May Day gives the call for peace and democracy because working people everywhere gain nothing and lose much from war and fascism. May Day is the symbol of the dignity of labor and the working man, denied under the present order, to be won in the march to socialism.

# ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: I

By Moses Miller

**D**URING the past few months the press has been filled with articles bemoaning "the recent communist change of attitude toward Zionism. . . ."<sup>1</sup> According to these writers, support given by the Soviet Union and the new democracies to the *Yishuv* in Palestine and to its struggles for statehood constituted a reversal of previously-held positions and marked the adoption of a positive attitude toward Zionism. But, these writers weep, the change of heart lasted a short time. True, the Soviet Union, the new democracies and communists throughout the world still support the struggle for the independence and freedom of Israel. But they no longer support Zionism. Thus the late Menahem Boraisha, in commenting on an article of Mr. Ehrenburg in *Pravda*, declared: "The substance of Mr. Ehrenburg's exposition is that, while the Soviet Union sympathises with Israel's aspiration for statehood, it has no sympathy whatever for Zionism or for Israel's government, which it considers 'bourgeois.' . . . In short, if any one had hoped that the consistent support given to Israel by the Soviet delegation at the United Nations augurs a more tolerant attitude towards Zionism within the Soviet borders, such hope must now be regarded as a case of wishful thinking."<sup>2</sup>

## No Endorsement of Zionism

That communists fully support the struggle of the masses of Israel for freedom, independence and self determination, is unequivocally true. But it would be hard to find where these writers ever got the idea that communist support of the state of Israel constituted endorsement of or allegiance to Zionism. Certainly they could not have read this in any article or thesis in any official communist publication. On the contrary, if they had read such organs, they would have found clear and unequivocal statements to the contrary. Thus, for example, as far back as July 1947, an article in *Political Affairs* (official organ of the CPUSA) by Alexander Bittelman outlined a communist program of support for the *Yishuv*. He urged united action of the widest sort toward realization of an independent Jewish state, but he concluded: "We Communists support the program of united action set forth above without giving up any of our ideological opposition to bourgeois nationalism." And a few paragraphs later: "It is still true today that the Zionist conception that the Jews of all lands constitute one single nation, is of a bourgeois nationalist character."

Again in August 1948 in the same journal Bittelman greeted the creation of the state of Israel and called for full support for its struggles. But again he distinguished sharply between the bourgeois nationalist and the prole-

tarian internationalist approach to Israel. Here again, he characterizes Zionism as "bourgeois nationalism" and concludes that in the struggle for Israel, "communists fight and work in this broad coalition as working class internationalists and not as bourgeois nationalists."

These two quotations clearly show that communist support for Israel did not from the outset in any way constitute endorsement of Zionism. On the contrary, communists maintain that Zionist ideology is inimical to the interests of the Jewish people whether in Israel, America, Poland or any other part of the world. Communists maintain that Zionism as an ideology is bourgeois, that is, anti-proletarian, in its origin and outlook and can therefore serve only to divert the Jewish masses from their real allies, without whom there is no hope of solving the Jewish question.

Many of the writers who rant today know full well that this has consistently been the position of the communist movement. They rave today not because they have discovered a sudden disaffection of communists from Zionism, but because they fear the consequences of the fact that masses of Jewish people have begun to look to the Soviet Union with friendship and understanding because they found in the Soviet Union the most consistent, the staunchest fighter for Israel. Consequently they now seek to move the Jewish people into the current of anti-Soviet, anti-communist hysteria by way of this tremendous discovery that communists are not Zionists.

Unfortunately, widespread confusion on this point, even within the progressive and communist movement, makes it necessary to explain once again some basic theses on Zionism, Israel and the Jewish question as a whole.

Let us first recall the basic tenets of Zionism itself. Zionists will be the first to tell you that Zionism is not a philanthropic movement designed to aid downtrodden and persecuted Jews. Nor is it, according to the Zionist view, merely a momentary reaction to anti-Semitism. "In the case of most Zionists," said Max Nordau, one of the most illustrious of Zionist leaders, "anti-Semitism was only a stimulus causing them to reflect upon their relations to the nations, and that reflection has lead them to results that must remain for them a permanent intellectual and spiritual possession, even if anti-Semitism were to vanish completely. . . ."

## Zionism is a Political Movement

Modern Zionism is a *political* movement arising in a definite historical epoch and, as we shall show later, a result of very specific historical circumstances. It is based on the ideology and world outlook of nationalism, from which derive its conception of the Jewish people and its solution to the Jewish question.

<sup>1</sup> William Zuckerman, *The Jewish Review*, March 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Congress Weekly*, December 6, 1948.



One of the first exponents of Zionism, Leo Pinsker, proclaimed his credo in 1881 in a book entitled, *Auto-Emancipation*. He attributed the plight of the Jew to the fact that the Jew is "a stranger everywhere, wanted nowhere, and having no home of his own, he cannot claim hospitality. . . . Consequently, it is our bounden duty to devote all our remaining moral force to re-establishing ourselves as a living nation."

Theodore Herzl, father of political Zionism, came to the same conclusion in his *Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), published in 1896. "The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist, it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted and there our presence produces persecution." The normalisation of Jewish life, according to Herzl, could not be achieved except through the creation of a *Judenstaat*.

One is struck by the basically similar view expressed by a contemporary Zionist leader, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, now president of the state of Israel. In his testimony before the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine in 1946, Dr. Weizmann declared: "I believe the one fundamental cause—it may seem trivial—of anti-Semitism is that the Jew exists. We seem to carry the germs of anti-Semitism in our bags, wherever we go. The growth and intensity of anti-Semitism is proportional to the number of Jews, and to the density of Jews. . . . Here is a group of people which . . . has maintained its extraordinary existence as a sort of ghost nation stalking the arena of world history. . . . Now what has kept the Jews firm in the face of inhuman treatment? Some mystical force, some belief that one day the God of Israel will liberate them and they will return, and it is this hope of return which has kept us in one way or another consciously or unconsciously alive."

### **Zionist Theory of the Diaspora**

Flowing inexorably from this thesis is the Zionist view of Jewish life and communities throughout the world. The economic abnormality of the Jews, says the Zionist, is matched by his spiritual and cultural abnormalities. Both are the result of the dispersion of the Jews and of the consequent transient and unstable character of his existence. Wherever he may live outside of Palestine is *galut*—exile or diaspora. Only Palestine is *aretz*, the land, the only home and center where cultural creativity and a full Jewish life are possible.

Following from this outlook is the Zionist theory of *shelilat ha-galut*, or negation of the diaspora, the view that Jewish communities outside of Palestine are doomed to extinction as Jews.

To grasp the full implications of this theory, one should read the statement of Carl Alpert, a leading Zionist educator, written immediately after the UN adopted the partition proposal. Says Alpert: "Whatever convictions I may previously have had about the continued existence of world Jewish communities are beginning to disappear. I believe that the creation of the Jewish State now at last spells the

ultimate doom of Jewish communities elsewhere. Indeed, the *galut*, the diaspora, as we have known it heretofore, no longer exists. The existence of a Jewish State means that there is no *galut* any longer—no *galut* as a Jewish group status. Now there are only Jews outside of Judea, and it will become increasingly difficult for us to continue to exist as Jews in the true sense."<sup>2</sup>

### **"Socialist" Zionism**

It is important to take note of a trend within Zionism, which, though fundamentally in agreement with the general Zionist credo, seeks to give a socialist turn to the problem in order to win working-class support. Though this approach has a number of variations, we shall merely give its basic outlines, particularly of that variety which pretends to have created a synthesis of Marxism and Zionism. According to this view, the Jews are an expatriated nation, having no land of their own and constituting a separate entity in all of the lands in which they live. Consequently the Jews lack the normal development which all other peoples have undergone. For historical reasons the Jew has been unable to participate in the basic sectors of the economy of a country and is forced to concentrate in periphery occupations. Neither the Jewish bourgeoisie nor the Jewish worker are in the position to develop normally. Having no territory of their own and being perpetually subject to job discrimination, their ability to participate in the class struggle and to engage in conflict with capital is strictly limited. The Jewish working class can participate in the struggle for socialism only on a territory of his own.

Ber Borochov, one of the leading theoreticians of this left Zionist camp, who claimed to be a Marxist, developed the theory that "the national question of an oppressed people is divorced from its basis in the materialistic conditions of production; the cultural necessities acquire an independent significance and all members of the nation become interested in the freedom of national self determination."

We have seen that one of the basic tenets of the Zionist credo is that the Jewish people in the world as a whole constitute a single nation. "We are a nation. One nation," Herzl had declared in his *Judenstaat*. And Ber Borochov developed his own theory of a world-wide "landless nation" and his own rationale for rejecting nationalism among the proletariat of all non-Jewish peoples while urging nationalism on the Jewish working class.

In the recent vitriolic attacks in the Jewish press against Ilya Ehrenburg and communists generally following the startling discovery that communist support of Israel did not constitute endorsement or acceptance of Zionism, much venom was directed against communist rejection of the Zionist concept of a world-wide Jewish nation. Thus Menahem Boraisha, in the article referred to above, lamented that "what it amounts to is that there is no Jewish nation and there never was one."

The conflict between Marxism and Zionism on this point is far more than a quibble over terms. The issue involves

<sup>2</sup> *National Jewish Post*, December 5, 1947.

more than the definition of a nation, though that is basic to an analysis of the problem.

### **Nationality and Class Struggle**

The national question is of grave import to the working class generally and therefore to the Jewish working class as well. The "circumstances" which confront any working class have a basically class character. The final objective of the working class is to liberate itself from those "circumstances" which impose endless exploitation and misery upon it. But the working class of each nation or national minority or people lives under "circumstances" of a national character, that is, have specific characteristics derived from the conditions of their particular time and place. The character of the national struggle must be determined by any working class by a concrete analysis of the specific features of the group of which it is a part. But the working class also recognizes that the national struggle is not separate from all social struggle, that it does not arise or go forward in a vacuum. The national struggle is born out of class struggle and unfolds within the framework of class struggle. The working class therefore cannot judge any given national struggle without deciding whether it advances or retards the class struggle.

To arrive at a concept of the status of any group of people, is at the same time inevitably to point to a course of action designed to fulfill a desired status. A concept of one's social group determines in what struggle the group will participate and what allies it will seek out. By the same logic, the guiding idea will lead the group to reject certain struggles and allies who are considered unimportant and even inimical to the fulfillment of one's goal. If the status and character assigned to a given group are unreal, the group's struggle will not only turn out to be utopian and illusory, but will gravely endanger its very survival.

A clear-cut definition of the status of Jews throughout the world is therefore no mere exercise in logic. It is an essential prerequisite to drawing up any program in the struggle for Jewish survival. It will therefore be necessary for us to gain an adequate idea of the true meaning of "nation" before we proceed further in our critique of Zionism.

More than 30 years ago, a bitter controversy raged on the question of what constituted nationhood. This discussion was no academic debate over terminology, but was part of a stormy political struggle. Men like Otto Bauer, R. Springer and Karl Renner, accepted by many at the time as authoritative spokesmen on the national question, were leading political parties into a program of action on the basis of their theoretical approach. Stalin participated in the raging controversy and in the course of this ideological conflict he formulated the Marxist approach to the problem.

"A nation," declared Stalin, "is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> All quotations from Stalin which follow are from his book, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*.

This definition supplied a basis for determining the actual status of any given group and for deciding how and within what framework any given group could achieve full freedom and the right to determine its own destiny. And only those who have been driven to insanity by their anti-Soviet neurosis, will deny that the Soviet Union, proceeding on the basis of Stalin's theses on the national question, has reached the most far-reaching and most thoroughgoing solution of the nationality problem within its own borders.

### **Nation a Modern Product**

But it is important to note that Stalin's definition was not static. Nor had Stalin selected a number of features and arbitrarily decided that they must *all* be present, before a group could be considered a nation. In its full implications Stalin's definition gives a description of the historical process by which nations came into being. Stalin had arrived at his definition by subjecting the problem to a searching historical analysis, in the course of which he recognized that nations, and therefore "national consciousness" in the modern sense, had not existed from time immemorial but had arisen at a definite stage of social development. "Modern nations are a product of a definite epoch, of rising capitalism. The process of the abolition of feudalism and the development of capitalism was also the process of the development of peoples into nations. The British, the French, the Germans and the Italians formed into nations during the victorious march of capitalism and its triumph over feudal disunity."

Before the rise of capitalism the world contained tribes, feudal domains, principalities and kingdoms. But it knew no such division as the nation. It therefore knew no relationships such as those which grow out of national consciousness. If one were to look at a map of medieval France, for example, one would immediately be struck by the crazy quilt effect of the division of the country into dozens of feudal domains. The inhabitant of the Duchy of Gascony felt no kinship to the inhabitant of Brittany, Champagne, Burgundy, Provence, Flanders, Dauphine or Anjou. The inhabitants of any of these duchies would have looked askance at anyone who told them that they were all "Frenchmen." Or, for that matter, if anyone mentioned the concept of "patriotism."

The point is well illustrated in George Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*. An English churchman and an English feudal lord are discussing the military ability of a French lord.

"The Chaplain: He is only a Frenchman, my lord.

"The Nobleman: A Frenchman? Where did you pick up that expression? Are these Burgundians and Bretons and Picards and Gascons beginning to call themselves Frenchmen, just as our fellows are beginning to call themselves Englishmen? They actually talk of France and England as their countries. Theirs, if you please! What is to become of me and you if that way of thinking comes into fashion?"

"The Chaplain: Why, my lord? Can it hurt us?"

"The Nobleman: Men cannot serve two masters. If this



cant of serving their country once takes hold of them, good-bye to the authority of their feudal lords and good-bye to the authority of the church."

### *What Is a Nation?*

Stalin showed that the modern nation is a product of the bourgeois revolution, that the new rising class—the bourgeoisie—in its struggle for the market and for power, is responsible for the unification of whole areas under one common economy and of masses of people in a common struggle of a new type, the national struggle. The nation thus arises within a definite historical context and within the framework of a developing class struggle.

But granting that all this is so, why does it necessarily follow that all the elements enumerated by Stalin, and only those, are necessary for nationhood? And why should not a group which may lack any of these characteristics be able to lay claim to nationhood?

Stalin's concise historical and scientific analysis of the problem clearly answers these questions. First of all, the characteristics of the nation.

Stalin begins with the statement that "A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people." It is neither a racial nor a tribal community since one can readily establish that modern nations result from the amalgamation of various races and tribes. Thus "the modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth." It follows therefore that a nation is "a historically constituted community of people." But were not the empires of Cyrus and Alexander also constituted historically out of different tribes and races? They were, says Stalin. But it would be difficult to conceive of these "casual and loosely connected conglomerations of groups, which fell apart or joined together depending upon the victories and defeats of this or that conqueror," as nations.

Stalin concludes therefore that a nation is a "stable community of people." But, he proceeds to point out, there are stable communities which no one would dream of calling nations. Take the case of the former Russian Empire or the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These were both stable communities but certainly not nations, for they were political, but not national, entities. What distinguishes these two "is that a national community is inconceivable without a common language, while a state need not necessarily have a common language." A common language is therefore "one of the characteristic features of a nation."

But what about the English and the Americans? They both speak the same language. Why then do they not constitute a single nation? The answer is clear. "A nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of the fact that people live together from generation to generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory." Therefore, although the two originally formed one nation, they formed two nations after a compact group left and settled in America, and "in the course of time came to form

the new American nation." Common territory is therefore "one of the characteristic features of a nation."

But all of these factors are still not sufficient to unite a group into nationhood. There is need of an "internal economic bond which welds the various parts of a nation into a single whole." Here again Stalin points to America and asks what kind of nation America would be if the various parts of the country were not "bound together into an economic whole, as a result of division of labor between them, the development of means of communication, and so forth." He also gives the example of the Georgians, his own native people, who did not constitute a nation, even though they lived on a common territory and spoke a common language. For centuries they had been "split up into a number of disconnected principalities, they could not share a common economic life; for centuries they waged war against each other and pillaged each other by inciting the Persians and the Turks against each other. . . . Georgia came on to the scene as a nation only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the fall of serfdom and the growth of the economic life of the country, the development of means of communication and the rise of capitalism, instituted a division of labor between the various districts of Georgia, completely shattered the economic self-sufficiency of the principalities and bound them together into a single whole."

To this basic feature of "community of economic life" essential to a nation, Stalin added this final one, "a community of psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a community of culture." Different conditions of existence necessarily lead to differences of "national make-up." This feature "is not a thing that is fixed once and for all, but is modified by changes in the conditions of life; but since it exists at every given moment, it leaves its imprint on the physiognomy of the nation." And since "it manifests itself in a distinctive culture common to the nation it is definable and cannot be ignored."

These, then, are the features which manifested themselves as essential to the historical development of nations. Hence Stalin concludes: "And it is only when all of these characteristics are present that we have a nation."

### *Are the Jews a Nation?*

Let us now return to our problem. On the basis of this historic approach let us analyze the character of the Jewish people and judge the Zionist conception accordingly.

The concept of the Jewish people as a national entity did not arise until the rise of capitalism. Unless one is prepared, as many Jewish historians are, to develop a theory of "exceptionalism" with regard to Jewish history, that is, to contend that criteria applicable to all other peoples are not valid for the Jewish people, one must recognize that such a concept as nationhood could not have arisen amongst the Jewish people before capitalism any more than it could have arisen among any other people. Zionists, of course, attempt to show that the Zionist concept is as old as the Jewish people and that Jews from time immemorial longed

for return to Zion. But even a superficial analysis of Jewish history clearly shows that *political* Zionism, as distinct from mystical and religious references to Zion, is a modern phenomenon arising with modern capitalism and as such a qualitatively different and new phenomenon. Political Zionism, which is the manifestation of nationalism in Jewish life, could not have arisen earlier for the single reason that there was no such thing as a "nation" prior to the existence of capitalism. Even a bourgeois Jewish historian like Salo Baron, who rejects the Marxist approach, states that "Jewish nationalism is the belated offspring of European nationalism."

When Zionism, as well as other nationalistic concepts, arose, the Jews were scattered over many lands. According to Arthur Ruppin (*Soziologie der Juden*), there were some 7,662,500 Jews in the world in 1880. These were distributed as follows: Eastern Europe, 5,726,000 (74.8 per cent); Western and Central Europe, 1,044,500 (13.6 per cent); America, 250,000 (3.3 per cent); Asia, 350,000 (4.5 per cent); Africa, 280,000 (3.6 per cent); Australia, 12,000 (0.2 per cent).

Obviously, therefore, all Jews did not reside on one common territory. The Jewish people as a whole surely had no community of economic life for they were generally part of the economic life of the countries in which they resided. Their political status varied with the country in which they lived and the presence or absence of democracy within any given country. Though many Jews spoke a common language, Yiddish, it was also true that many other Jews, particularly in western Europe and even many of the younger generation of eastern Europe, no longer used Yiddish as their primary language. It is true that a number of historical and social forces bound Jews together wherever they resided into a common entity with elements of common cultural development. And yet even from the cultural viewpoint the common bond was constantly being molded and reshaped as a result of the concrete social, economic and political forces encountered by the Jews in the particular country in which they lived. Thus, for example, while undoubtedly many elements in the Haskala (enlightenment) movement, as it developed in the various Jewish communities of Europe, were held in common, it is also true that there were local differences in the movement. And these differences were the result of the different circumstances of life of the respective Jewish communities.

From a Marxist standpoint, therefore, it is clearly impossible to define the Jews as a nation, for the Jews as a whole had no common territory or common economic life, which are essential to the rise and the development of a nation.

### ***The Subjective Zionist Concept***

What criteria did Zionism adopt to justify its characterization of Jews throughout the world as one nation? It found its rationale in the theories of Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, Austrian socialists. According to Karl Renner the basic elements of nationhood are to be found in the principles of "unity of destiny and culture." While language, territory and economy all constituted vital elements, Renner did

not consider any of these either separately or together essential for the achievement of nationhood. For Renner the one decisive element of nationhood is a common culture and the subjective feelings of the individual. Karl Renner went so far as to maintain that one could decide who is a member of a nation by taking a poll and having each person register the nationality to which he belongs.

Otto Bauer's definition varied little from Renner's. According to Bauer, "a nation is the aggregate of people bound into a community of character by a community of faith." How closely Zionism adhered to this definition can be seen from the opening sentences of a resolution adopted at a conference of Russian Zionists held in Helsingfors, Finland, in 1906, in which they formulated their demand for national autonomy in Russia. The resolution states: "Each Jew, who has not reported that he withdraws from the Jewish nation, is recognized as a member of the Jewish nation."

In his analysis of the national question, Stalin subjected these definitions to a thorough critique. Bauer's view, said Stalin, "which identifies a nation with its national character, divorces the nation from its soil and converts it into an invisible, self-contained force." "What then," asked Stalin, "distinguishes Bauer's nation from the mystical and self-contained 'national spirit' of the spiritualists?"

"Bauer, by divorcing the 'distinctive feature' of nations (national character) from the 'conditions' of their life, sets up an impassable barrier between them. But what is national character if not a reflection of the conditions of life, a coagulation of impressions derived from environment? How can one limit the matter to national character alone, isolating and divorcing it from the soil that gave rise to it?"

Stalin goes on to point out that, if one were to apply Bauer's definition to America at the end of the 18th century, one would be hard put to explain why America constituted a separate nation from England, since, at the time, those who lived in America very obviously still had the same national characteristics as inhabitants of England. If, therefore, we nevertheless recognize that America already then constituted a separate nation, this was so "not so much by its national character, as by its environment and conditions of life, which were distinct from those of England." Stalin therefore concluded that what results from Bauer's definition "is not a living and acting nation, but something mystical, intangible and supernatural."

By reducing the essence of nationhood to subjective feeling, both Bauer and Renner were removing the group from reality, from the objective social, economic and political factors which daily molded the life of the group, which imposed certain specific problems and conditions. Renner and Bauer were removing the national question from the social, economic and political framework and making it absolutely independent of its actual environment. It was therefore inevitable that those who accepted this definition, would direct their activity into Utopian and illusory programs and be removed from participation in the real and earnest struggles that were taking place.

*(To be continued)*



# THE STORY OF LOCAL 65

By Catherine Wilson

THE observer who spends some time at the headquarters of the Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, Local 65, cannot fail to be impressed by the rank and file participation in all phases of union activity. This is a union in which decisions are made—knowingly and consciously—by the great majority of the members. Membership meetings always have a majority of total membership in attendance. In addition to these meetings, every group of workers has occasion at least once a month to get together to make decisions affecting their interests.

Every work-day evening, headquarters are crowded with people who come to attend meetings, or to do business with 65's flourishing Credit Union (which last year lent members close to a quarter of a million dollars) or to check up on some detail of the 65 Security Plan (which provides not only workers but their families with sick benefits, hospital care, life insurance, and other benefits), to attend dance classes or simply to relax with friends. Sixty to 70 per cent of 65's membership, it is estimated, come into union headquarters at least once or twice a month.

Local 65's organizing is done, in the main, not by paid organizers but by rank and file members who use lunch hours and spare moments round the clock to contact unorganized workers in their work areas. Even unemployed members and strikers use their free time to sign up new members. When 500 Jewish cotton goods workers went on strike in the fall of 1946, they set out to organize, in their free moments, the poorly-paid Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Italians employed in neighboring used-clothing firms which had sprung up during the war. The strikers signed up some 600 of these workers—and they in turn won substantial wage increases, holidays and vacations with pay, and vastly improved working conditions.

The union's two biggest and most successful organizing drives were launched in 1940 and 1941. With a membership of 6,000 in 1940, Local 65 undertook its security drive for 10,000 in 1941 under the slogan: "Be a Good Neighbor, Organize the Shop Next Door." By June 1941 the goal had been reached. In the same month the union undertook its spectacular campaign, its "7-in-7" drive for 7,000 new members in seven months. The job was done almost entirely by the rank and file, who at the conclusion of the campaign hired Madison Square Garden for a mass swearing-in ceremony of new members. This drive enabled the union to hold its lines during the war when 7,000 of its members entered the armed services and many of the firms with which it had contracts were forced out of business.

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The local, one of eight in New York City that seceded last fall from the right-wing Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, CIO, is a mosaic of American life. Its nucleus was organized in 1933, under the leadership of Arthur Osman, in the Lower East Side dry goods industry, at a time when wages of \$5 and \$6 a week were common and working conditions so wretched that the union's first contract, providing for a 60-hour week, left some workers wondering how to spend their leisure time. Workers in this sweatshop industry were almost exclusively Jewish men and women unable to get better jobs because of discrimination.

## Organizing Drives

After organizing a considerable number of dry goods firms on the East Side, the union, by continually translating into reality its slogan, "Every Member an Organizer," expanded to take in Broadway firms. By 1936 it had 600 members and a determination to build a big industrial union embracing all wholesale and warehouse workers. Turned down by the AFL, it merged with two other locals and joined the CIO to become Local 65.

Moving from dry goods into wholesale shoes, textiles and other industries, 65 continued to meet the problems peculiar to an industry in which the majority of workers were employed in small shops, which suffered a high rate of business failures, in which most of the jobs were unskilled, and labor turnover was unusually high. Unstable employment in the industry meant that every year 65 had to organize thousands of new workers simply to maintain its level of membership. Jobs in the unorganized section of the industry were miserable and the workers who filled them were those to whom America had never been a land of opportunity—Negroes, Jews, Puerto Ricans, Italians, Poles and others.

Today, Jewish workers, most of whom work in the dry goods, shoe and jewelry section of the industry, make up about 35 per cent of 65's membership. Negroes, employed largely in the corrugated box, used clothing and hardware industries, another 20 per cent. About 2,500 65'ers are Spanish-speaking, mainly Puerto Ricans, half of whom speak no English at all. The rest are Italian Americans, German Americans, Irish Americans and Polish Americans.

In a very real sense, therefore, 65's fight to wipe out discrimination has been a fight for its life as a union. More than most workers, perhaps, 65'ers have had the opportunity to learn by direct experience that discrimination is a boss-weapon and the brotherhood of man, for all workers, a bread and butter proposition. They learn this by participating in the union's day to day fight to organize the

unorganized, win higher wages, greater security, improved working conditions.

Because 65'ers are constantly learning that no discrimination means stability for all workers, the local has been able to use its hiring hall, established in 1938 as a means of organizing the then numerous unemployed members, as its most effective weapon against discrimination in the industry. Today practically all 65's thousand or more contracts provide for hiring through the union hiring hall which operates on a basis of industry seniority.

### ***The Fight Against Discrimination***

However, if an employer is known to follow a discriminatory hiring policy and the union believes it is in a position to tackle this issue, the dispatcher will call together the unemployed in the hiring hall to explain to them that the union would like to give a member of the group discriminated against the first chance at the job. Usually those who are in line for the job in question will voluntarily cede their right to it so that this may be done. If, for example, the employer refuses to hire Negroes, the white people qualified for the job will step down so that a Negro may be sent. If that worker is rejected, the procedure is repeated until the employer is virtually compelled to hire a Negro worker. This policy has proved effective in breaking down discriminatory hiring practices. In the two years 1946-48, for example, 65 placed over 6,000 Negro workers in jobs, many of them in office positions.



***Local 65 is noted for its packed, militant picket lines.***

Direct participation in job struggles, combined with involvement in the life and work of the union on an equal basis have been a major factor in the union's effort to combat prejudice and chauvinism.

"Before I ever knew 65," a 65'er told the union's annual convention last May, "the only Jew that I knew that was any good was a dead one. Why do I say this? Not that my father or mother taught me that these people were no damn good.

"Things you hear from when you are ten years old. They told me that the only good ones were dead ones and I fell for it. But I learned to understand that there's a lot of people that don't have to be dead to be good. There's a lot of damn good live ones and the people filling me full of this crap—that it is, up to here with it—have been lying all along. . . . There's a lot of Jewish people that are decent and there's a lot of Negro guys and I know plenty of them that went up to the union that would cut off their arms for me."

65'ers are of course not free from prejudice. But 65's leaders claim that there isn't a single shop in the union that would not be prepared to strike to insure equal rights and opportunity for a Negro or a Jew or any other victim of discrimination. Sometimes the union is referred to, even by its own members, as "a Jew Union." But, according to Danny Lopez, a Puerto Rican, who spends five nights a week at union headquarters to help Spanish-speaking members transact business with the Credit Union, "you don't hear that so much now. We're beginning to take equality for granted."

### ***Jewish Affairs Committee***

Despite several setbacks just after the war, the union encouraged greater activity in the life of the national groups in the union. In the face of rising anti-Semitism and fascism these groups are trying to broaden their fight against prejudice.

Negro 65'ers are particularly active in rebuilding the community groups they had organized in Harlem before the war and have invited workers from the department store locals to join with them in their program which includes political action on a local and national level. One of the most active members of this group, Lillian White, a member of the 65 staff, told recently how many non-65'ers in the Harlem community have been enlisted by 65 in the fight against lynching and for civil rights.

The Jewish Affairs Committee of the union renewed its activity in 1946 shortly after the formation of the American Jewish Labor Council by progressive international and local unions, including 65. The committee chairman, Harry Resplar, one of the oldest members of 65 and highly respected in the dry goods industry, has become a driving force in the AJLC, whose program aims to combat anti-Semitism, defend Israel and help rebuild Jewish life in Europe. The Jewish Affairs Committee admits that before this it had very little understanding or knowledge of Jewish problems. Once under way, however, it was instrumental in getting portions of many membership meetings



devoted to a discussion of Jewish problems and under the impact of events—the Anglo-American betrayal of Israel and growing anti-Semitism at home—65'ers learned fast.

Before long, Local 65 constituted the backbone of the huge demonstrations organized by the AJLC to protest first British and later American policy in Palestine. Hundreds of 65'ers participated in crusades to Washington. There was a tremendous upsurge of interest and accomplishment as 65'ers became articulate and active in all aspects of Jewish affairs. Local 65 spearheaded a campaign to win public support for the Sherbell-Kaplan Bill to outlaw discrimination and printing of anti-Semitic propaganda in New York State. This bill was introduced in Albany last year by 65's Public Affairs Director, Kenneth Sherbell, then serving as State Senator. Similarly, 65'ers collected petitions for HR 2848, the Buckley Bill to outlaw dissemination of anti-Semitism and race hatred through the mails.

The JAC's most successful activity has been the annual Jewish Labor Bazaar, sponsored by the AJLC. Thirty unions participated in the second annual bazaar held in December but in the words of the AJLC bazaar director, "It would not have been possible without 65." Local 65 was responsible for about a quarter of the merchandise, a similar percentage of the profits, and "about 80 per cent of the spirit." Three months before the bazaar opened, hundreds of 65'ers began working on it and before it was over members in the local's 12 areas were active from the organizers down to rank and file bazaar committees. The bazaar netted a profit of close to \$25,000 and was visited by approximately 20,000 people.

In its activities, the JAC enlists many non-Jewish 65'ers. One of its most zealous fund raisers, for instance, is Charles Camarado, a handsome Italian shop steward who feels strongly that "one race is equal to another." He admitted recently with a quick smile: "It's a funny thing but sometimes I've had to convince Jewish people themselves what the Jewish problem really is."

The mere statement of these activities and achievements does not, of course, give the reader any insight into the many difficulties encountered in the process. It is true that the Jewish members of the union do not hold any single ideological view. The union has religious Jews, Zionists of all shades, Jews quite indifferent to Jewish problems and progressive-minded and communist Jews. The task of educating the membership in the direction of a progressive Jewish outlook and of winning them away from nationalistic or assimilationist attitudes is not easy. It requires steady attention over a period and this has not always happened.

Discussions have been held in the union on its responsibilities to the members and on helping progressive causes among all the national groups in the union. How could the needs of all the national groups be met? Although this problem is far from resolved, one constructive step has been taken. Representatives of various national groups have set up a Joint Committee, whose function is to mobilize the entire membership behind one major fund drive.

Funds collected will be earmarked by the giver for his preferred organization and/or national group, such as Sydenham Hospital, Puerto Rican relief, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Jewish relief, and others.

### ***No Compromise With Reaction***

The strengthening of the rank and file sinews of Local 65 comes at a time when the conspiracy to betray the American people to reaction is gaining momentum. According to Local 65's president, Arthur Osman, that union was "intended to be among the first victims of this conspiracy. There's no sense kidding ourselves," he said recently, "we know that the top CIO officialdom, as well as that of the AFL, welcomed some of the worst aspects of Taft-Hartley, especially the non-communist affidavits. Taft-Hartley spearheads the drive to convert the American labor movement into a Hitler labor front, or, if you will, a vast company union. Our own international officers were tools and relied on Taft-Hartley, and so we were marked to be among the first victims."

Local 65, therefore, along with seven other locals, withdrew from the discredited Wholesale, Retail and Department Store Union, CIO, last September. Since then it has taken decisive leadership in welding these locals, whose combined membership totals about 40,000, into a united fighting force.

The main job facing 65 today, Osman points out, is to consolidate the membership of the independent locals, fight discrimination and raise their level of democracy.

Local 65's main problem, he says, is no longer the RWDSU. "There's grave doubt that it is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (assigned by Philip Murray to take over the department store field) which has done some strike-breaking against us. Our main problem is that the Teamsters Union is using the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the Retail Clerks of the AFL against us. The ACTU elements in our union are not strong for they have been exposed as agents of management. But they are not insignificant and management is obviously doing everything in its power to help them. So long as Taft-Hartley and the Taft-Hartley spirit exist, such elements will be a factor to be reckoned with. Our daily experience proves to us the identity of the struggle against fascism, anti-Semitism and company unionism. It is in the light of these experiences that we are so resentful of the leaders of the Amalgamated and the ILGWU, unions which would be among the first victims, if the conspiracy triumphs."

Osman believes that 65 can and will defeat its enemies, powerful as they may be, by effecting a more binding unity among the membership of the independent locals and by constantly exposing and fighting weaknesses that crop up. A real intertwining of the rank and file membership and an involvement of all of them in common physical efforts and common objectives will, he feels, provide the necessary strength. At the same time, 65 hopes to enlist all these people in efforts to organize the unorganized.

# NEIGHBORS

A Story of Birobidjan  
By David Bergelson

THE hot sunny end of October clad the mountains and valleys with intoxicated fading colors. There were odors in the air, sharp as ginger and wild as the thickets, on the high hills that extended under the close or distant blueness of the sky.

I was returning on foot from Teploe Ozero to the hilly settlement of Londoko where the construction of the big lime plant was entering its final stage. I was suffering from the heat, my head was still buzzing from the two-and-one-half hour lecture that I had listened to in the deep woods where even today the Siberian tiger sometimes roams—a lecture on the breeding of fish.

I walked up and down along little paths, and was almost melted by the heat. The sight of the untrodden stretches around me overawed me. They made me think of *Genesis*—“And the evening and the morning were the first day.”

I was finally rescued from all this by the principal of the Londoko school whom I saw walking toward me down one of those hot mountain paths. Even the way she walked, in firm, resolute steps, affected me like a kind of tonic, gave me a lift, and brought back to me the realization that, aside from untrodden lands which reminded me of *Genesis*, these hills also held a pulsating young life, a life of toil and earnest endeavor and happiness. The principal who was walking toward me was like a little stream of this life. She had proved her energy by organizing an exceptionally good school in the young settlement of Londoko. The spotless windows of her school, cheerful and bright like the eyes of happy children, looked out at the growing and beautiful town. The principal herself was no longer young; she spoke very slowly, with a suggestion of a chant, in the manner of her native Zhitomir province. As she came closer to me, I thought to myself that she looked like her mother, who once wore a wig in her little town.

“What makes you go out in this heat?” I said, stopping to chat with her.

“That’s what ‘makes’ me,” she said, putting her hand to her forehead and looking in the direction of the Russian settlement situated near an imposing hill. “I should say it not only ‘makes’ me go, but is actually driving me to go.”

“I’m going over there now. I had to drop all my work, and I feel like telling them everything I have on my mind.”

“What’s the matter?” I asked.

“Don’t ask,” she answered. “We have trouble enough. We’ve done a fine thing . . . loaned the Russian settlement a teacher. . . . After all, we’re their neighbors.”

“What did you loan them?” I asked.

“A teacher of mathematics.”

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“A teacher?!”

“Yes, yes,” she repeated impatiently. “A real teacher, a live one, what’s so strange about that?”

“Nothing,” I said. “But usually one lends someone a pot, a pastry board. . . . But a teacher? I never heard of anything like that before.”

“You’re right,” she said. “In fact, it was like lending someone your own eye. You don’t think we have an excess of teachers here, do you? But the others came to us every day, and begged, and whined. And our relations with them are quite friendly. In good times or bad, we’re together, they with us, and we with them, one body and one soul. We couldn’t remain indifferent seeing that they couldn’t begin their school year. So we lent them a teacher for exactly ten days. And now see for yourself: they’ve kept him for three weeks now and haven’t returned him to us. So I’ve dropped everything else, and I’m going to see them. I’ll give them a piece of my mind, one that their grandchildren will remember.”

“Wait,” I said to the principal. “If that’s what it is, I’ll go with you.”

I was curious to see, first, what a teacher who is lent out looks like, and second, how the principal would recover him, and third, how she would lead back such a piece of living merchandise.

WE MET THE INHABITANTS OF THE SMALL RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT—most of them, males—outside, at work. They were all naked to the waist, sweating as in August, and busy chopping logs. Here we also met the chairman of the settlement council—a very tall, forty-year-old man, with the bearing of a Red Army officer, and with a habit of thinking for a while before answering any question. He too was bare down to the waist and sweating, he held an axe in his hand, and was working on a thick log that lay between his long legs.

“Aren’t you ashamed of yourself, Comrade Alexandrov,” the principal began at once, pointing to me as a witness. “Only last week you made a pretty speech at our gathering in Londoko, and you explained how each settlement should help the other. Your words were sweet as sugar, and now see what you’re doing to us. We loaned you a teacher for exactly ten days. Almost three weeks have gone by, and you don’t seem to intend ever to give him back to us. . . .”

“Just a minute,” said the chairman, slowly shaking his head. “Don’t go so fast. . . . What do you mean by ‘We’ve loaned you. . . .’”

He wiped the sweat off his forehead with his hand, thought for a while and looked straight in the face of the principal. “And how about us?” he asked. “Don’t we take care of you? And what’s this over there, nothing?” He





*A group of Birobidjan Yiddish writers: B. Miller, B. Slutzky, Friedman, I. Bronfman, Luba Wasserman, H. Rabinkov, J. Kerler and S. Borzhes.*

pointed at the windows of the most attractive building in his settlement—a building which had a sign with the inscription “Club.”

It turned out that the principal had wanted to equip the Londoko school with storm windows for the winter. She had the frames, but the glass for the panes had not arrived. At that time the Russian settlement had agreed to remove the panes from the double windows of its club and give them to the Londoko school, so as to keep the children warm; in return, the Londoko school had loaned the Russian settlement a teacher of mathematics—favor for favor.

“Well, all that is true,” the principal admitted. “But it was agreed that we’d lend the teacher for a definite term. It was clearly stated that it was for exactly ten days—was it so, or not?”

“Of course, who denies it?” Alexandrov answered calmly. “It was in fact agreed that you’d lend us a teacher of mathematics for exactly ten days. But you gave us a teacher who had finished the normal school only this year, in 1931. . . . So we had to assign one of our own young schoolmistresses who is teaching him mathematical terminology in Russian. As soon as he has mastered it, we’ll keep him for exactly

ten days, and we’ll return him to you safe and sound, not a hair will be missing. Well then? Can you say that we’re out to rob you?”

“But look!” The principal wrung her hands. “Does he require three weeks to learn the terminology? Where is he? Doesn’t he know any Russian?”

“You can find him over there,” said Alexandrov pointing at a building which looked like a school. “By all means, go there, you’re a woman of a certain age, and perhaps you might get him to make it a little faster. . . .”

He firmly gripped his axe and began to chop his log between his legs set widely apart.

WE REACHED THE SCHOOL A FEW MOMENTS AFTER THE CLASSES were over. A woman was sweeping the floors and sprinkling them from a tea kettle. The windows were wide open as in the summer. The odor of the wet dust mingled with the wild ginger scents which came in from the surrounding woods and made one think of some new great holiday eve. From one of the classrooms we heard the sounds of a gay conversation frequently interrupted by peals of laughter. There we found the “loaned teacher”—a black haired

young man. He was not alone. Next to the desk where he sat there stood a blonde Russian girl of about nineteen leaning against the open window. Her hair was cut short like a boy's, she wore a narrow blue leather belt on her very slender waist. She had a pert little nose and shrewd, wide-open eyes—clear eyes, like large grapes.

As we came in, the two young people were somewhat confused. The girl turned her face toward the window, and we saw only her back. The young man paled and sat silent for a while, then he turned to the opened copy book that lay on the desk, and propping himself on his elbows, began to repeat like an overgrown schoolboy:

"The Russian for trapezium is *trapezia*. For pyramid, it's *piramida*, for cone *konus*."

The principal took a good look at the Russian teacher. Slowly she turned toward me, biting into her lower lip, and whispered: "Pretty as a picture. . . . Do you realize what's going on here?"

Then she glanced at her own "misfortune," the dark-haired young boy. And she asked me: "Well? What are you going to do about this? . . . Let's see how clever you are. Advise me."

"The Russian for 'radius' is *radius*," the young man continued eagerly. "Parallel is *parallel*. Diagonal is *diagonal*, and perpendicular is *perpendikular*."

With a worried face which again made me think of her mother with the wig, the principal stood silent for a while, thinking. Then finally she made up her mind.

"Listen to me," she said to the mathematics teacher. "I've decided to stay here for a few days. I'll try to teach you the Russian mathematical terms myself. I think that with my help you'll learn them a little faster. What do you think?"

"What?" For a while the young man sat more dead than alive. The young schoolmistress turned her face back from the window and looked at the young man. She was pale waiting for his answer. They exchanged glances.

"No," finally said the young man. "What is the purpose of your staying here? I think. . . . I have mastered it now." And with a frightened expression he handed his copy book to us, so that we might test him. "The Russian for trapezium is *trapezia*, for pyramid it is *piramida*, for cone, *konus*, for perpendicular, *perpendikular*."

"Well, that's all right," I said to the principal. "What more can you ask? He knows it perfectly. Now he need not stay more than exactly ten days, and then he'll return to Londoko."

This was agreed upon. Ten days later the loaned teacher would begin his lessons at the Londoko school.

We walked back to Londoko together. We were silent. Night was approaching. I thought of the paneless double windows in the most attractive building in the Russian settlement, and in my ears there kept resounding the words: "The Russian for parallel is *parallel*; diagonal is *diagonal*; perpendicular, *perpendikular*."

(Translated from the Yiddish)

## BIROBIDJAN MARCH

By Itzik Feffer

Translation from the Yiddish by  
Morris U. Schappes

We build our home on border-land,  
On Amur's shores our roots expand,  
The taiga yields before our stride,  
Forward all peoples hand in hand,  
Birobidjan, song of our pride!

We cut the roads, chop trees—we're bold.  
On our good soil no one is old.  
Villages sprout in joy—and lo!  
By streets and squares the cities grow.

Your axes and your voices raise!  
We shall uproot the land's wild ways!  
On with all peoples hand in hand,  
We have a homeland, Stalin's land.

And should the awful morning break  
When bloody foes our land would take,  
Blucher will lead us to the fight,  
We need no longer fear the night . . .

Our will is strong, our powder dry,  
Our men can sail, our men can fly.  
Our girls on horse-back, boys in tanks—  
Let the wide world learn of our ranks.

We build our home on border-land,  
On Amur's shores our roots expand,  
The taiga yields before our stride,  
Birobidjan, song of our pride!

(Translation copyright by Morris U. Schappes.)



# CASE OF THE TRENTON SIX

By William Reuben

**T**HE death house of the state prison at Trenton, New Jersey seals off from the world six men sentenced to die in the electric chair for the crime of being Negroes. Six thousand pages of their trial record reveal one of the most startling cases of legal lynching on the books. Six Negroes face death for a crime which dozens of witnesses and a mountain of evidence attest they could not possibly have committed.

What are the facts of the case?

The Trenton Six—Collis English, McKinley Forest, John McKenzie, James Thorpe, Ralph Cooper and Horace Wilson—stand convicted of murdering a white, 73-year-old second-hand dealer named William Horner. The crime occurred January 27, 1948 in Horner's downtown Trenton store. The only evidence against any of these six Negroes are confessions signed by five of them, which they repudiated in court, and which were secured only after they were grilled incessantly for as long as five days, while they were held incommunicado by Trenton police.

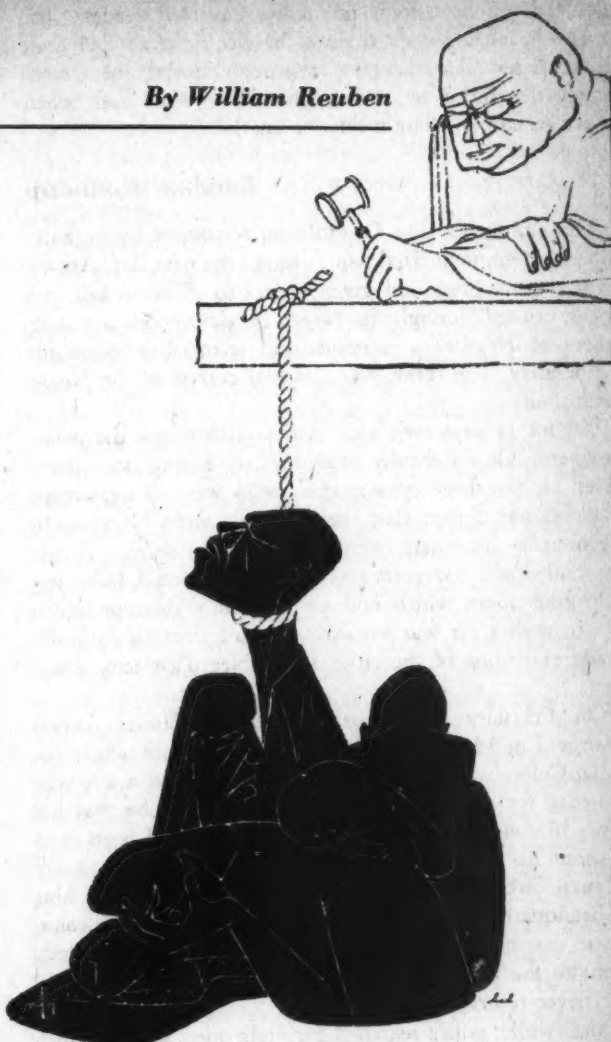
Their defense showed that two eye-witnesses absolved all six; their fingerprints were not found on the murder weapon; none of the six corresponded to the original descriptions sent out on the police teletype; no witness placed more than three men at the scene of the crime, but all six were convicted; all of them were arrested without warrants; their employers, neighbors and relatives provided them with unshakable alibis; one defendant, James Thorpe, has only one arm, yet there was no mention of a one-armed man, a ready means of identification, being on the scene; and although they were charged with robbery, \$1,642 was found in the victim's pockets when he was admitted to the hospital.

In his charge to the jury, Judge Charles P. Hutchinson summed up what the prosecution offered to offer this. "The State rests its case generally upon the statements, amounting to confessions, made by five of the six defendants."

The one organization that is providing leadership and getting masses of people behind this case is the Civil Rights Congress. William L. Patterson, CRC's executive secretary, has described the conviction of these six Negroes as "one of the most sordid, cold-blooded, fascist-like attacks ever witnessed in America, extending far beyond a Scottsboro in its importance."

In its full political and social context the real significance of this case becomes clear. For three months preceding the murder a number of incidents had embarrassed the city administration. There had been the indictment of the mayor on graft charges, the city's attempt to ban a meeting

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with Gerhart Eisler as speaker (which attempt wasn't launched until *after* the mayor's indictment, although the meeting had been publicized for a month before), with the resulting "spontaneous" demonstration staged by 5,000 armed "veterans" that even the commercial press of the nation found too raw to stomach. To cap this, the Mercer County Communist Party secured a permanent court injunction restraining city officials from interfering with their constitutional rights of assembly and speech.

Then, following an outbreak of unsolved crimes, came the mid-morning murder in one of Trenton's busiest downtown sections of a second-hand dealer. This crime crashed into the jittery city and exploded like a V-2 rocket. Everyone was stirred up. For days the city's newspapers blanketed their front pages with all the details, and afterwards used the case as an excuse to comment editorially on the crime situation in general, and the too-polite methods of the Trenton police in particular. The *Trenton Times*, the city's leading newspaper, published a number of angry editorials, one of which was captioned "An Idle Electric Chair." It contended there would be fewer crimes with

more executions, and it pointedly reminded readers that several years had elapsed since the electric chair had been used. A few days later, in another editorial, the *Times* irately demanded an end to the crime wave and urged police to employ "one means or another."

### **Random Roundup**

The vulnerable City Commission responded by organizing a 15-man, motorized bandit squad the next day. Armed with tommy guns and given orders to shoot to kill, the squad cruised through the Negro neighborhoods arresting scores of Negroes at random and terrorizing thousands deliberately. The result was a virtual curfew of the Negro community.

But for 11 days even such tactics as these got the police nowhere. One difficulty was the conflicting statements given by the three eye-witnesses, who were in agreement only on one thing: that the criminals were Negroes. In Trenton, a city where every Negro with a driving license was called in a few years ago to be fingerprinted, following a murder about which nothing was known except that a Negro with a car was involved, this information naturally made every one of the city's 14,000 Negro citizens a suspect.

On February 6, a repeated morals offender named George English, who had deserted his family when his baby, Collis, was less than a year old, received a five-year sentence for molesting a minor child. Before he was led away to court, he complained that his car had been used without his permission by his son. This led police to 247 Church Street, where they found Collis and brought him to headquarters for questioning. Collis English didn't come home that night and his brother-in-law, McKinley Forest, went to the police station next morning to find out why. He never returned either.

Meanwhile, police searched for eight men whose names English had mentioned during his all-night, uninterrupted grilling. The police charged out to Robbinsville, a suburb of Trenton, and found two, Ralph Cooper and Horace Wilson, whom English said he had seen on the afternoon of Horner's murder. The others were forgotten about. James Thorpe was arrested later the same day, in a police raid of a Negro bar. The sixth man, John McKenzie, Forest's nephew, who also lived at 247 Church Street, was arrested five days later. At six in the morning some ten policemen descended on the house and announced they wanted "all men in the house."

### **Exonerating Testimony**

At the trial every one of the defendants had witnesses whose testimony should have exonerated him: English's mother and the next door neighbor said that he hadn't left the house all morning, that he had been home helping his mother with the laundry. Thorpe's father, brother and two neighbors swore that he was in front of his house all day, helping repair his brother's car. Ralph Cooper was visit-

ing his girl friend, and she, her mother and a postman who delivered a C.O.D. package testified to his presence there. Jewish butchers provided unshakable alibis and character references for Forest and McKenzie. Horace Wilson had been in Robbinsville all day loading potatoes, and his foreman, the firm's bookkeeper and his boss's son came to court bringing time cards and government social security receipts to back him up. But few citizens of Trenton learned all these facts from the accounts furnished them by the local press.

Police Captain Andrew Delate testified that it was not the function of the police department to determine the men's innocence. Delate admitted that, after Elizabeth McGuire, the victim's middle-aged friend, had failed to identify the six defendants at the police station, no attempt was made to get either of the other two eye-witnesses—cigar salesman Frank Eldracher and housewife Virginia Barclay—to identify them. Here is his testimony:

Q: "But outside of that you had no one confront them [the defendants] other than Mrs. Horner to try to eliminate them, did you?"

A: "No, sir, I did not."

Q: "So you weren't trying to eliminate anybody at that particular time, were you?"

A: "No, sir."

That these six impoverished Negroes were convicted is hardly startling. To clinch matters Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe ended his summation with these remarks: "I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that the issues are drawn. You either find these men innocent and accuse the police department . . . , or else you justify the excellent police work . . . and bring in a verdict . . . of murder in the first degree."

### **Mass Campaign Starts**

The Mercer County Communist Party was on the streets with a leaflet on the day of the verdict, and the Civil Rights Congress immediately began to investigate. While these organizations and their members were challenging the court system responsible for the frame-up, Mr. Ed Dudley was explaining to Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, English's sister, in the panelled New York office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that this wasn't the type of case that the NAACP handled. Mr. Clifford Forster, staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, told her that the ACLU couldn't do anything because there was no indication of race prejudice. Six months later, after the case of the Trenton Six had become known to millions on both sides of the Atlantic, after a committee of English lawyers had sent an observer here, and after CRC had appointed fighting lawyers like O. John Rogge, Earl B. Dickerson and Emanuel Bloch to represent the defendants, neither ACLU nor NAACP could remain silent any longer. Almost simultaneously, both announced that they would file *amicus curiae* briefs before the New Jersey Supreme Court, which will hear arguments some time in April.



*The Worker*, *National Guardian*, progressive news-weekly, and the *N. J. Herald News*, a Negro weekly, were the only publications to tell their readers anything about this northern Scottsboro case. The free press of America, like its liberal organizations, was too preoccupied protecting the civil rights of Hungarian fascists to worry about the frame-up of six humble Americans. If the United Press hadn't cabled back to this country excerpts from dispatches that appeared in the London *Reynolds News*, mass circulation weekly published by Britain's Cooperative Society, which created a sensation 3,000 miles away, it's not likely that the American press would have voluntarily raised the curtain they had dropped around the six Negroes in the death house. As it is, the story has received the meagerest of coverage; of the commercial press, only the *New York Post* has given anything like adequate coverage to the case.

### ***Anti-Semitism in the Pattern***

As might be expected in this fascist-like case, anti-Semitism turned up too. Testimony and statements, given by Jewish merchants, butchers, housewives and rabbis, that exonerated two of the defendants and punctured the case against all of them, were ignored. Officers of the State of New Jersey not only branded the Jew as a second-class citizen, but also warned him that he, too, was marked as a scapegoat.

One Mario H. Volpe, the Mercer County prosecutor, presumed spokesman for the people of the State of New Jersey, indicated quite clearly that anti-Negro outbursts and anti-Semitism, mounting so alarmingly in post-war America, are not the product of the sick, ignorant mind of the random individual, but stem from the studied consciousness of a government driving toward fascism. The prosecutor's courtroom statements made it difficult to tell who was on trial, the Negro defendants or the Jewish witnesses who came forward to testify and provide alibis for them.

"Is that the type of testimony you are going to believe," the prosecutor asked the jury, with reference to defense witnesses Isaac and Jean Katzeff, Harry Stern, Anna Binder and Philip Wiener, "from individuals of that type?" Or: "The next witness called on behalf of Forest was Mr. Katzeff. Now, I don't think I need to describe and try to refresh your memory. He was rather comical." Volpe refreshed the jury's memory about Polish-born Anna Binder by describing her as "that poor woman." "Take the word of decent, honest citizens like yourselves," the prosecutor advised the all-white jury that included only one person whose name sounded even remotely Jewish. He also suggested that the jurors should determine "from their appearance whether they [the witnesses] were telling the truth or not."

The closing words of Prosecutor Volpe's summation were significant. There is, he said, "one issue in this case, and that is: the Police Department versus these individuals...."

Yes, are you going to believe Police Captain Delate or are you going to believe these men? Are you going to believe men like Chief Naples, or believe these people? Are you going to believe Patrolman Lawton, or are you going to believe these men?"

One would expect the Jewish community of Trenton and their city, state and national organizations to protest angrily and challenge such vicious statements as these, uttered by a government representative. Here and abroad, thousands of people and many organizations have cried out against this case that threatens to make Trenton more infamous than Scottsboro. Yet the only Jewish organizational voice heard thus far is that of the Long Island Division of the American Jewish Congress. On March 6, this organization sponsored a civil rights legislative conference in which synagogue groups and local branches of Hadassah, the NAACP and others participated. A resolution urging release of the Trenton Six was passed.

But one also wonders why prominent Trenton Jews have had nothing to say about this slanderous attack on their people. Take the case of Federal District Court Judge Rhillip Forman, a member of the Steering Committee of the American Jewish Committee. From many persons in Trenton I have heard that Judge Forman's voice has spoken in this case through the mouth of a young Negro law clerk named Clifford Moore, who works in the judge's office. Moore is an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and secretary of its New Jersey Legal Redress Committee. For the past few months he has addressed many meetings in Trenton. What Moore has been saying sounds suspiciously like something out of a page torn from an American Jewish Committee book. He has repeatedly asserted that this case is a purely legal matter, to be decided in the courts in an atmosphere free of hysteria (as if the press had made this possible); that mass action is to be deplored; that the case should not be settled in the newspapers; and that anyone who doesn't agree with all this is a dupe of the communists. Moore has made these statements as an NAACP spokesman, but his sentiments, coincidence or no, are like those on which the American Jewish Committee operates.

In order to defeat the fascist-like forces in this case and wherever they appear, it is necessary that Negroes, Jews, the trade unions and all progressive forces work unitedly to expose and defeat the menacing wave of fascism here in America. By working to free the Trenton Six and return these innocent men to society, progressive America can do more than bring in a verdict against a handful of Trenton politicians. It can thereby make a contribution toward breaking the fascist wave itself.

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*Bibliography of Material on American Jewish History, published in Jewish Life*

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# SCHOLARSHIP VERSUS POLITICS IN YIVO

By Morris U. Schappes

UNTIL recently English-speaking Jews who do not know Yiddish had hardly heard of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (*Yiddisher Vissenshaftlicher Institut*, commonly called "YIVO"). In the past few years, however, YIVO has been reaching out towards new English-speaking audiences and supporters. Since 1940, it has published five volumes in English, four of them in the past two years. The first was by A. A. Roback, *The Story of Yiddish Literature* (1940). This was followed by YIVO Director Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors* (1946), Sol Liptzin's bi-lingual text and translation of selected writings from Peretz (1947), and two collections of miscellaneous papers under the general title, *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (1946 and 1948). It is not my purpose in this article to evaluate the quality of these works, or of the more numerous volumes in Yiddish issued by the YIVO since its founding in 1925. But the volumes in English, especially those recently published, have been received respectfully in many circles, both general and scholarly, and have made the YIVO a factor not only in American Jewish life but in American intellectual life as a whole.

Two other activities of YIVO have stimulated interest in it and inquiries about it. Founded originally mostly by Yiddish philologists determined to encourage the use of and respect for the Yiddish language, YIVO, while becoming more and more bi-lingual in its publications, has also been successful in introducing Yiddish into the curriculums of a couple of institutions of higher learning, notably at the City College in New York and the University of California in Los Angeles. Secondly, YIVO has with increasing results been turning for financial support to the Jewish Welfare Funds throughout the country, while it continues to obtain ever larger sums of money from certain other Jewish institutions or from general organizations, such as trade unions, with a sizable Jewish membership.

Formally, YIVO is an organization of scholars and research workers, with its center in Vilna from 1925 to the eve of World War II. In 1939, the headquarters were established in New York under the auspices of the American Section of YIVO, which had itself been founded in 1925 and was chartered by New York State in 1929. The research work was organized first in three sections: history, economics and statistics, and literature and linguistics; in 1929 a fourth section, on psychology and education, was added. In 1935, the Research Training Division was organized in order to develop and train new research and scholarly forces. The fruits of the research were published usually in the various learned journals issued by YIVO and sometimes in book form.

A particularly valuable function of YIVO, and perhaps

its most important achievement, was the accumulation of books, periodicals, and documentary materials pertaining to Jewish life in many lands and many languages. Today the YIVO building on West 123 Street houses a library and archives which, despite losses incurred because of the war, contain some 70,000 books, a vast collection of periodicals, both old and current, and some 900,000 items of a manuscript and otherwise documentary character, chiefly, of course, as is the entire collection, in the Yiddish language. The fact that these resources are not used more extensively is one aspect of the "problem" of YIVO.

## How Financed

As an institution in Jewish life established by persons who were then in one way or another close to the Jewish masses, YIVO won the loyalty and moral and financial support of the Jewish people. At that time it was anything but academically aloof from the Jews. Many Jewish organizations and individuals, no matter how poor, contributed to the support of YIVO. Even today YIVO has something of the appearance of a people's institution. When I first attended an annual conference of YIVO in 1946, I was struck by the fact that among the delegates there were workers from shops and others who were not professional intellectuals of the type that exclusively crowd the gatherings of learned societies. Similarly a study of the financial report showed that YIVO was supported by contributions from trade unions, working class fraternal organizations, *landsmanshaften*, Yiddish schools, and so forth. Of course, since it has centered itself in New York, YIVO has expanded into an institution of a physical size and with a huge budget such as the Vilna center perhaps never envisioned.

In the past five years alone, YIVO has spent more than three-quarters of a million dollars. Expenditures between 1944 and 1948 doubled. About one-sixth of its funds came from about 150 Jewish Welfare Funds, and the remainder from trade unions, from some 200 (out of 700) branches of the Workmen's Circle, from other groups, and from individual membership dues and contributions. At present YIVO is trying to tap new sources of revenue such as the United Jewish Appeal.

Now the *problem* of YIVO as a social institution in Jewish life, appealing continually for more and more Jewish public funds, is simple but serious: YIVO has become an exclusive organization, both in the admission of affiliates and even members, and in the *scope* of its research. Certain Jewish institutions, individuals, and even their writings have been formally excluded, and others



have been repelled in other ways, solely on the basis of their social and political views and associations. This exclusion is all the more dangerous and deceptive because its existence is denied by officials and leaders of the Yiddish Scientific Institute. Thus the assistant director of research, Shlomo Noble, in an article, "The Yivo," in *Contemporary Jewish Record* (published by the American Jewish Committee, August, 1944), wrote: "Hospitality to all opinion—provided it helped to enrich and quicken Jewish life and learning—was the policy of the YIVO from its inception, and it has not deviated in the least from that policy." Well, if that was the original policy, YIVO has at least in the past ten years certainly deviated considerably from it. The record is eloquent.

### **High-handed Dealings**

Here, for example, is my translation of an astounding entry in the official Minutes of a meeting held on February 5, 1939 by the national executive committee of the Workmen's Circle. Philip Block, as chairman of the national education committee, reported thus: "The education committee was represented at the YIVO conference. Friend [Nathan] Chanin reported that in general the conference was a very fine one, but three things occurred that cannot, in his opinion, be passed over in silence. First, [Rubin] Saltzman of the International Workers' Order was invited to greet the conference; secondly, the conference sent a greeting to the 60th birthday celebration of Kalman Marmor; third, a resolution in which the Workmen's Circle and National Workers Alliance were mentioned but the IWO was not, was rejected. The names of the two organizations mentioned were eliminated and the following few words were added—'we appeal to all fraternal organizations.'

"The executive of the Scientific Institute learned of our discontent and invited Friends [Joseph] Weinberg, [Joseph] Baskin, Chanin and Block [and J. Rubinstein, according to a correction of the Minutes on March 5, 1939—*M.U.S.*] to attend an executive meeting. After they discussed the matter with our committee, they decided to work out a plan for the future so that such things could not happen."

The following facts are helpful in appreciating in full the rotten flavor of this "minute": in 1938, Nathan Feinerman, then the secretary of the American Branch of YIVO, had invited the Yiddish schools of the Jewish Section of the International Workers' Order to affiliate with YIVO. The offer was gladly accepted as a sign that the YIVO really was making an effort to become an all-inclusive progressive Yiddish Scientific Institute, serving the needs of the Jewish people without discrimination. The \$100 in annual dues was paid, and delegates from the IWO were duly invited to the annual conference in January, 1939. There Saltzman, as head of the delegation, was called on briefly to greet the conference, and he was well received, with certain persons, like Abraham Reisin, the well-known Yiddish poet and story-writer, even initiating

a bit of a demonstration to affirm the spirit of unity. But in the eyes of Friend Chanin and the right-wing social-democratic leadership of the Workmen's Circle, this unity *within the Yiddish Scientific Institute* was impermissible.

There is one document connected with this incident that I have not yet seen, but it is amply described in the official Minutes of the March 5, 1939 meeting of the Workmen's Circle national executive committee: "A letter is presented from YIVO in America in which they make a statement about the misunderstanding connected with the greetings from the representative of the International Workers' Order at their annual conference which was recently held. They give assurances that such things will not happen again.

"Around this letter sent by the YIVO a debate developed and it was decided to reply that the national executive is not entirely satisfied with the interpretation set forth in their letter, but the national executive believes and hopes that in the future the misunderstandings created with reference to greetings from the IWO will certainly be eliminated."

### **Discrimination Against Left Wing**

The elimination of misunderstandings, however, was attained only by the elimination of the IWO Yiddish schools from the Yiddish Scientific Institute. When the second year's dues fell due, and the IWO sent in its check for \$100, Nathan Feinerman returned the check with the explanation that Chanin had threatened to withdraw the Workmen's Circle as a YIVO affiliate unless YIVO severed the affiliation of the IWO schools! Therefore when I look at the report of credentials of the 1948 YIVO conference, I note that there were delegates from 25 Workmen's Circle schools, four Jewish National Workers' Alliance schools, 14 Sholom Aleichem People's Institute schools, but no delegates from the more numerous elementary, middle, and higher Yiddish schools of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order (present name of the Jewish Section of the IWO). Chanin's disruptive red-baiting has prevailed for a decade. A couple of grace notes round out this record: among the engineers of this expulsion of a network of Yiddish schools from YIVO who have since then been members of the YIVO board of directors are Nathan Chanin, Joseph Baskin, and Joseph Weinberg. Nathan Chanin has also been elevated to the post of national education director of the Workmen's Circle. In this capacity he campaigned recently (see *JEWISH LIFE*, February 1949) for the expulsion of the J.P.F.O. schools from the buildings of the New York City Board of Education, and, with the aid of clerical-fascists and reactionaries of all sorts, including "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz, Chanin succeeded.

If entire organizations can be excluded, then of course individuals who are personally or politically *non grata* can also be excluded, isolated or alienated. I should add that I have no personal motivation for this observation. In 1945 I joined YIVO because I wanted to obtain a couple of their books and I learned that they are not for

public sale and can be obtained only by members. I have used the YIVO library and attended its annual conferences. Yet the fact remains that progressive cultural organizations are excluded from affiliation with and representation in the leadership of YIVO.

Take the case of one of the founders of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, Nachman Meisel, literary historian, editor and critic. At an international YIVO conference in 1935, he was elected to the executive committee. When he came to this country in 1938, he was one of the active leaders here. Yet in 1941, Nathan Feinerman refused to accept Meisel's check for dues! Why? Well, it seems that at a conference of the *Yiddisher Kultur Farband*, Paul Novick, editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, had criticized YIVO in Meisel's presence, and Meisel had not defended YIVO! So, out goes a *founder* of YIVO. The hands are the hands of Feinerman, but the voice sounds like Chanin's, or perhaps it is the voice of other members of the YIVO board of directors like David Dubinsky, Charles S. Zimmerman, and Joseph Breslaw of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Max Zaritsky of the headgear workers' union, or Adolph Held, Dr. B. Hoffman and (since 1946) Jacob Pat of the Jewish daily *Forward*, or perhaps even Ephim H. Jeshurin, president of the Workmen's Circle, who holds a strategic place on the executive committee of YIVO. But the voice is certainly not that of a scientific society that *professes* "hospitality to all opinion." I personally know other scholars who, some of them for a time leading figures in YIVO, are now being isolated, eased out, alienated, and made to feel unwelcome.

There is even a touch of absurdity in the reply from YIVO to a distinguished rabbi and scholar who had sent a book of his to be reviewed in YIVO periodicals. The interests of scholarship might have been served if the book had been reviewed carefully and any weaknesses duly noted. Instead the rabbi received a letter informing him that his book would *not* be reviewed because of his association with certain left-wing elements in Jewish life. The book itself, however, the rabbi told me, was retained for the library! The implications of such practices are even more disturbing when I contrast them with the fact that, on the Academic Council of prominent American scholars and educators which YIVO organized a few years ago, I find the name of President George N. Shuster of Hunter College, who has never satisfactorily answered the serious charges of anti-Semitism made against him by Kenneth Leslie in *The Protestant*, November-December 1945. YIVO will not *review* the writings of an orthodox rabbi because of his alleged associations with the left, but it fawns upon an expounder of Vatican-reaction whom Mr. Leslie aptly called "Apologist for Fascism."

### **Soviet Jewry Ignored**

The policy exemplified above of the exclusion of groups and individual scholars because their ideological bent is in disfavor with a Dubinsky or a Chanin, stems of course from a deep-seated hatred of the left wing in the American

Jewish labor movement and of the Soviet Union. In the official organs of the Workmen's Circle and in the *Forward* these persons call openly and repeatedly for the military destruction of the Soviet Union.

In YIVO, however, the annihilation of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Jews is achieved in another, and happily less definitive, way. The millions of Soviet Jews, constituting the second largest Jewish community in the world, are almost totally ignored in the publications of YIVO and at its conferences. With the exception of a couple of articles on Soviet Yiddish linguistics that appeared some years ago, there has been a wall of silence built around Soviet Jewish life. I have sat through three entire annual conferences and part of a fourth and just gasped at the adroit devices used to omit even *mention* of the Soviet Union. Even when, at the 1947 Conference, a scholar was giving an inventory of Jewish communities throughout the world, he managed with a straight face to forget to mention several million Soviet Jews, and it remained for a delegate from Argentina, which is not directly controlled by the Chaninate, mildly to call attention to the omission on the following day. Now it is not only or even primarily the Soviet Jews who are injured by this YIVO practice. American Jews and Jews in other countries who read YIVO publications, are deprived of facts, experiences and theories connected with Jewish life in the Soviet Union that they can ill afford to miss. To restrict the scope of "scientific" research to accommodate the views of a Chanin or of American reaction as a whole is to undermine the sciences.

To compensate for its exclusion of Soviet Jewry, YIVO is turning to other pastures. Even the East-European remnants of Jewish life now being rebuilt are no longer of great concern to YIVO, which has at present very little contact with the Jewish communities of Poland, Romania, and other countries that were once so central in the research projects of YIVO. Therefore YIVO has latterly been turning to Latin-America, Australia and South Africa for organizational and material support, and has been trying to gain a foothold in Israel. To the extent that YIVO will insinuate its divisive politics and its technique of orders from above (it should be remembered that the exclusion of the IWO schools and of individuals is not the result of a democratic decision of any YIVO conference), it will not be a help to the scientific research of Jews in those countries.

If YIVO wants to be publicly known as an institution with a certain ideological tendency defined by the right-wing social democrats of the Dubinsky-Chanin persuasion, it has a right to be such an institution and to proclaim its principles. But to lay out a welcome mat reading "hospitality to all opinion" while slamming the door in the face of certain Jewish organizations, individuals, and even fields of research—that is deceptive. If YIVO wishes to continue to appeal for the moral and financial support of the general Jewish public, it should take serious organizational steps to begin to live up to its professions of hospitality and abandon its practice of exclusiveness in affiliation, membership, and scope.



## THE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

### An Editorial

**T**HE editors of JEWISH LIFE wish to pay tribute and express their gratitude to the organizers and participants of the great Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York City, March 25th to 27th. Despite unparalleled hysteria and provocation, cultural and scientific leaders of America and of other lands gathered to discuss that forbidden theme—peace. Prior to the meeting a campaign of defamation was set rolling under the aegis of the State Department, which had characterized the conference as a communist affair. Visas were denied to most of the delegates from non-communist countries in order to give credibility to this thesis. The great "free press" of America outdid itself in its frantic shrieks, in its calls for provocation, in its attempts to distort this great event and to malign its participants.

One actually had to see in the flesh the few hundred that gathered to picket the conference, to get a picture of the State Department's concept of what constitutes real Americanism. Aside from a few misled individuals, the majority of the line consisted of Christian Front elements, groups of people who had fled from central Europe because they feared just punishment by the new people's governments for having collaborated with the nazis, an assortment of clerical fascists and some members of the Social Democratic Federation, who felt quite at home with these fascist elements.

But inside the halls of the conference were people of a different kind: men and women of culture, creative workers and scientists, the truest and finest representatives of their countries. These were men and women who sought peace in order to preserve culture, who sought the friendship of peoples in order to advance their own people and all mankind. There was no hysteria at the conference but only calm and reasoned judgment and firm determination to undertake the great patriotic duty of fighting for peace.

The State Department and the press betray an almost maniacal fear of the word "peace." Those who dare to speak of peace and to rally the people are hounded, persecuted and subjected to intimidation.

For Jewish people the cause of peace is especially close. The very mention of the threat of a new war has implications that can be ignored only at the risk of indifference to our complete extinction. Where will the Jew be safe? In Israel? In Europe? In Asia? In America? If the nazis are revitalized and the scum of Europe, who collaborated with Hitler, are mobilized, if people like those who picketed the Peace Conference became spokesmen for America, is there safety for the Jew anywhere? Our course can only be to stand side by side with those who are the enemies of war and therefore the friends of our people and its survival.

Recently the Central Committee of the Polish Jews sent a memorandum to the World Jewish Congress urging its participation in the World Conference for Peace to be held in Paris on April 20th to 23rd. It urged the Congress to "demonstrate publicly and unequivocally where it stands in this grave period of struggle between the forces of peace and progress and the forces of war and aggression. We believe that neutrality in any form on this question objectively aids the cause of those who are against the peace aspirations of the Jewish people."

Certainly the survivors of the Warsaw ghetto, of Maidanek and of Treblinka, the handful that is rebuilding life anew on the ruins of the old, have a right to make this demand of a world Jewish body that claims to speak in the name of the Jewish people. We do not know what answer the Congress leaders have already given or will give to this request. But we are aware that too many of them have, by their actions over the past few years, demonstrated their readiness to join the imperialist camp, and that others who fear to state this publicly have attempted to cover up their tracks by proclaiming the so-called theory of neutrality.

In the columns that follow we print excerpts from some of the speeches delivered at the historic peace conference, so that those who were not so fortunate as to attend, may read for themselves the views of a number of men, who, though differing on many questions, occupy common ground for the cause of peace.

## NO MORE WAR!

By W. E. B. Du Bois

**T**his Cultural and Scientific Conference for world peace has been a success. In a time of hysteria, suspicion and hate, we have succeeded in bringing face to face in friendly meetings, one of the largest gatherings of creative artists and thinkers the world has seen; and it would have been quite the largest if all who wished to come were here. Meeting together for three full days, we have found wide agreement and sympathy, we have established ideals and friendships belting the globe. We have not and are not now in complete agreement on all matters; but in one vital respect our agreement is complete: *No More War!* . . .

We are of many minds and backgrounds, separated not only by space but by the terrible barriers of language and social patterns; we face deliberate crime, ignorance and misunderstanding. These three: but we firmly believe that the greatest of these is misunderstanding. . . .

We know and the saner nation knows that we are not traitors nor conspirators; and far from plotting force and violence it is precisely force and violence that we bitterly oppose. This conference was not called to defend communism nor socialism nor the American way of life. It was called to promote peace! It was called to say and say again that no matter how right or wrong differing systems of beliefs in religion, industry or government may be, war is not the method by which their differences can successfully be settled for the good of mankind. To the defense of this absolutely indisputable thesis, proven by oceans of blood and worlds of human suffering, we have invited the cooperation of all men; and that cooperation to abolish war does not compel or even ask men to surrender their opinions. It simply insists that force is not reason and beliefs cannot be changed by suppression.

**But there is** one aspect of our conference which has forced itself upon the attention of us all. That is the effort of the press and certain leaders of public opinion to spread the idea that some persons here are by their beliefs and actions so beyond the pale of humanity as to deserve neither sympathy nor confidence. Particularly have the people of the Soviet Union been singled out for something bordering on insult and repeatedly accused of war-mongering and aggression. I do not pretend to be an expert on Russia but seeing what the press can do to a conference like this in misinterpretation and distortion; I wonder if what is called aggression in the Balkans may not be liberation of landless perfs and giving their ignorant masses in 25 years such

education as American Negro slaves have not received in 75; and of sending their former masters not to the legislature but scurrying over the earth like rats distributing lies.

All this I do not know but it can be true. I do know that if the press has lied about Russia as it has lied about American Negroes for 300 years, I for one will con-



W. E. B. Du Bois

demn neither Russia nor communism on such testimony. But beyond and above this there arises before this conference the plight and cause of the vast majority of mankind who are not white. These colored races, the Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Indonesians: the peoples of Africa, many of those of South America and most of those of the Caribbean, with 15,000,000 Negroes of the United States—these are the vast majority of mankind, whose condition and future are the crucial test of the attitudes of those peoples who today demand mastery of the world. Secluded for the most part in colonies or dominated areas, they have been enslaved and insulted, kicked in the teeth and used for the rape and exploitation of the British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish and Italian empires. This great America, this vast and rich land around you is built on the slavery, toil and degradation of Africans; here until well into the second half of the nineteenth century they were sold like cattle and New York did not stop to picket abolitionists, they tarred, feathered and killed them. Today in this land we have risen from the dead not to full manhood and citizenship but to the place where we can at least stand and yell our own protest. We thank the America that helped us.

But we know well that unless we had helped ourselves, we would still in New York City be exactly where our brothers are in Mississippi, where I ride in Jimcrow cars and would be kicked out of any hotel or public library. When such a nation arraigns Russia, all that I with the best will

can remember is that the Soviet Union alone of all modern nations has prohibition of race and color discrimination written into its fundamental law and that unlike similar words in our constitution, their law is enforced.

I saw the birth of the League of Nations and I sat in San Francisco when the United Nations was born. In both instances I worked and pleaded for the darker peoples, particularly those in imperialist colonies. We got mandates at Geneva which meant nothing. We got trusteeships at San Francisco and there again a determined blocking of all real meaning of colonial freedom by the united effort of Great Britain and the United States and the sole opposition of Russia. Again in the Marshall Plan the nations helped are the colonial imperialists and no colored people unless, like Chiang Kai-shek, they are puppets of world exploiting investors.

I tell you, people of America, the dark world is on the move! It wants and will have freedom, autonomy and equality. It will not be diverted in these fundamental rights by dialectical splitting of political hairs. We know what the Atlantic Pact proposes for the protection of colonial serfs of European imperialists. We know why Italy has been promised Ethiopia's territory by the Department of State. We know why the President of the United States goes fishing when the charter of Negro American rights is laughed to death by Democrats and Republicans, and lynching and disfranchisement go merrily on. We know all this and so does every dark man on earth. The white race may, if it will, tax itself into poverty, and arm itself for suicide, but the vast majority of mankind will march on and over them to freedom and self-rule! . . .

*W. E. B. DU BOIS is an eminent Negro author and scholar who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was honorary chairman of the panel on Writing and Publishing and delivered the above speech at Madison Square Garden on March 27.*

## NO PLACE TO HIDE

By Rabbi Louis I. Newman

If church and synagogue leaders were so minded today, they might attempt to go into the sub-cellars to escape the cyclones of opinion raging in the world. But they realize that literally and figuratively "there is no place to hide." Moreover, they would consider themselves derelict touching their mission as religionists were they silent or evasive in the presence of the issues at stake.

Religionists, who have seen two terrible

world wars, look with horror upon the prospect of a still deadlier Third World War, and they are determined to do their utmost, whatever the misunderstanding and the cost, to prevent its coming. The war system seems more entrenched than ever, and in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and incitement, nations are piling up armaments lest they be at "the mercy of an incident." In our boasted 20th century culture we have seen many religionists and laymen abandon the concept of "One World" motivated by the ideal of cooperation; instead, we hear the menacing drum-beat of new war-makers; we see the expenditure of vast sums which otherwise might be utilized for domestic improvement on behalf of the people; we find ourselves victimized by all-pervasive conditioning so that multitudes are preparing themselves to die in the belief that another war is unavoidable. Ecclesiastics preach in the name of the "Prince of Peace," but they urge a new "Holy War" as a punitive measure against those with whose economic and political program they disagree.

Now, as always, it is the duty of the church and synagogue to be faithful to the Isaianic vision of a world in which "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

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... Religious leaders in all lands—in the West and the East alike—must remain opponents of anything and everything that spells oppression. We must not duplicate the folly of the German professors who in 1914 issued a pronouncement approving Kaiser Wilhelm's invasion of Belgium. We must not imitate the clergymen inside and outside Hitler's Germany who looked the other way when the furnaces were being lighted in the extermination camps. We must not agree with the German pastor, who said, when volunteering to serve in Hitler's navy, that while his soul belonged to God, his body belonged to the *Fuehrer*. The message of peace cannot be departmentalized. Religion in action must function in the present, if it is not to be the "opium of the people." ...

**Liberal religionists**, in their resolve to be faithful to the principles of reasonableness and sane judgment, refuse to countenance the tactics of a Thaddeus Sweet in the 1920's, who led the battle for the unseating of the Socialist Assemblymen at Albany. Americans are ashamed of the hysteria of nearly 30 years ago, and we are prepared to resist a similar hysteria today, even though we may heartily disagree with the opinions of those who are made the targets for the new Inquisition led by new Torquemadas. We seek to protect the America we love; the institutions which are the cornerstone of our Republic's security; the ideals which Roger Williams, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland and others in our own immediate recollection have sought to foster. ...

Liberal religionists condemn the attitude of those who seek to make "peace" a proscribed and subversive word in the dictionary. Certain groups today are afraid of this explosive word because they know the war-weary masses of mankind in every land—East and West—are yearning for peace. Our century has sipped on horrors long enough and we will do our utmost to postpone and, if possible, to prevent a new blood-bath for the children of men. We affirm it should be possible to settle our differences within the framework of the United Nations, where representatives of many viewpoints and national policies sit down together at the conference table. "Except in opinion not disagreeing" is a motto upon which we can act. Moreover, we liberal religionists, loving our respective countries and serving their highest interests in company with other patriots seeking enlightenment, declare with the illustrious Carl Schurz in his Senate speech in 1872: "Our country, right or wrong! When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right." We oppose the attempt of those in power to drag on us into believing that there is



Guy Emery Shipler

only one attitude on the issue of peace and war, to which we must subscribe, regardless of the command of our own conscience.

**For we religionists** oppose autocracy wherever it raises its head, in the East or in the West, the North or the South. We act upon the principle that "truth is mighty and shall prevail." We will not allow ourselves to be harnessed to the chariot of any political or economic cultists. In the party struggle as between the left, the right and the center, according to their myriad fractional differences, we say: "A plague on all your houses!" We religionists are concerned with one supreme responsibility, namely, to prevent men from leaping at each other's throats in haste, in greed, in cruelty, in hate, in misunderstanding, in subservience to the "invisible government" which dictates the policy and preachment of the visible. We insist upon attempting, as long as it is humanly possible, to build a bridge between all peoples. We are determined to help in keeping open to the very last moment the door of understanding. ...

*RABBI LOUIS I. NEWMAN, the rabbi of Congregation Rodeph Shalom in New York City, spoke at the panel on Religion and Ethics.*

## THE CHURCHES SPEAK

By Guy Emery Shipler

... Are the synagogue and the church still advocates of peace? If they are, one sees far too little of the story in the daily press. If they are not, they have broken from the very center of the religions they are sworn to represent. ...

Since I speak as a Protestant, let me recall some of the highlights of the official position on war and peace taken recently by leading Protestant denominations in

America. If you read a religious journal, you have seen the stories of these actions. If you read only the secular press, you have probably overlooked most or all of them. In any event, you have never seen one of them under a banner headline on the front page of your newspaper.

The Methodist Church is the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, with more than 8,500,000 adult members. At its last quadrennial General Conference it adopted a report which said in part: "Peace in the immediate future depends primarily on the establishment of better relationships between the Soviet Union and the United States. When nations rely primarily on military force, both the spiritual and economic foundations of peace are undermined. Fear and suspicion increase the danger of hostilities. The militarization of the public mind reduces the possibility of the free interplay of ideas. It is our conviction that neither the peoples of the Soviet Union nor of the United States desire war. We call upon all our peoples, promptly to undertake to change the prevailing mood which we believe conducive to war."

Thirty Presbyterian clergymen from 30 states convened in Washington for an Emergency Peace Conference, called on President Truman and urged upon him the "importance of keeping the doors open with Russia toward better understanding." Less than a year ago, following news that Russia had accepted a proposal of the United States that the two countries begin a discussion of their differences, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing more than 28 million adult church members, sent a telegram to President Truman, saying: "Discussions between Russia and the United States would meet with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of our churches. The improvement of Soviet-American relations is a matter of such pressing urgency that an exploration of the possibilities in conversations between the United States and the USSR should be made a matter of high priority." This telegram you will perhaps recall, was sent following the delivery of the famous

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note by General Smith to Foreign Minister Molotov. You will also recall that Mr. Molotov announced the acceptance of what he seemed to think was an invitation for discussion, but was told by our government, 24 hours later, that it was all a mistake. In the meantime, the people of the entire world, longing for peace and no more war, got a lift, unfortunately temporary.

**The Ohio Annual Conference** of the Methodist Church said, "War as desirable or inevitable between the United States and Russia is treason to the human race," while the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America adopted a peace program which stated in part: "Our people should not tolerate any complacency about war; they should combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred; they should press for positive programs for peace and justice, especially greater use of the processes of international conversation and negotiation. Our churches should testify with renewed vigor to the reality of Christian world fellowship."

The Northern Baptist Convention resolved to "work with other religious bodies in starting an immediate world peace movement to save the world from destruction," urging that "every possible avenue of diplomatic interchange between the United States and Russia be kept open and used to the fullest extent." The General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches said: "We urge the nation's policy leaders to seek patiently and persistently to keep the door of conversa-

tion open for every opportunity to forward Russian-American understanding and cooperation." I could go on at length. The Quakers, the Universalists, the Lutherans and many others have, in substance, said the same thing.

If those who draft and approve such resolutions are subversive, un-American citizens, then this country has in it millions of people who are subversive and un-American. It is time for the timid but vocal little groups of self-appointed protectors of America who, in Bishop Oxnam's apt phrase, are engaged in "lynching by label"—it is time for them to be told the plain fact that the millions of peacemakers in this country will continue to stand for peace, no matter how many labels they invent, or how many label lynching parties they organize.

No one around the world has heard a better answer to those who whip up the kind of organized fear and hatred which lead to war, and then deny their guilt, than that given a few nights ago by one of the Jewish prophets of today, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, at a celebration of his 75th birthday. I hope that you all either heard it or read it. . . . Denounced because he had said that "the largest of Christian churches is unequivocally for war," Dr. Wise declared in reply: "I will not withdraw one word, whether it be the Catholic Church, the Episcopal Church, or any other organization. I am going to speak for peace—to the last breath of my life." . . .

While I believe profoundly that the great majority of my fellow Christians want a world of peace, and that they accept such official statements as I have read to you as their own, I am ashamed that so many of them run to cover as soon as they are challenged, or cooperate in hurting the cause of peace by continually denouncing their neighbors of other nations, about whom they know so little. . . .

There are, I regret to say, certain religious groups in America who have carried on crusades which must inevitably, if not stopped, turn our cold war into a combat war. Let those in the synagogue and church who stand for peace as opposed to war, and who represent the peace-loving people of our country, use their overwhelming power by action for peace.

But let us recognize that understanding between the East and the West, though essential, is not enough. Let the action be based on a reconstruction of the United Nations into a practical medium strong enough to enforce peace.

**GUY EMERY SHIPPLER**, editor of *The Churchman*, delivered this speech at the panel on Religion and Ethics.

## THE REAL AMERICA LIVES

By John Howard Lawson

. . . Many years ago, I began to study American history. I felt that I must equip myself to be a better citizen, a better American, by acquiring a deeper knowledge of our heritage. I have devoted my life to that task. But while the work was in progress, I found myself called to Washington, questioned before a Congressional Star Chamber, sentenced to prison as a criminal. My case, and the case of my Hollywood colleagues, is merely an illustration of what is happening to many Americans. I mention it only to tell you of the pride I feel, and that I am sure others feel, in being singled out for attack as men and women who cannot be bought or silenced. Those who are under attack are the best and wisest, the most responsible Americans.

Why has this happened? Why is it that people of principle and courage are denounced and persecuted? It is not a new thing. Cruelty and repression are always



John Howard Lawson

designed to carry out specific policies, policies that cannot stand rational discussion or democratic debate. We have seen a remarkable demonstration in the last four days of the desperate fear of free discussion that grips certain powerful groups in our country today. There is no mystery about the fear. The policies that are being followed simply cannot stand the light of reason. These policies are not new.

They have already brought disaster and promise greater disaster. The record is clear. You can read it in the publications of our own State Department. The men who speak in our name began in 1919 to betray democracy and bribe reaction in all parts of the world. They sent an army into Siberia to cooperate with the corrupt adventurers, the traitors to their own land who were trying to save the

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#### April Contents

A PRIZE FOR EZRA POUND Samuel Sillen  
JUSTICE, INC. Joseph North  
HOW PURE IS MUSIC? Norman Casden  
IS WAR INEVITABLE? Gerhart Eisler  
THE PLAN (Story) Warren Miller  
WHAT WE SAW IN EUROPE  
POLAND: FOUR DRAWINGS William Gropper  
THE LIVING . . . Yuri Suhl  
AND THE DEAD Thomas McGrath  
THREE POEMS Genevieve Taggard  
BOOKS IN REVIEW:  
by Charles Humboldt, John Stuart,  
and Richard O. Boyer  
ART: MAX WEBER William Thor Burger  
THEATRE: DEATH OF A SALESMAN Isidor Schneider  
ANOTHER VIEWPOINT Samuel Sillen  
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new Soviet Union from its own awakened people. You can read the story. It has been told by the commander of that army, General Graves. And General Graves also points out that our Siberian adventure strengthened Japan.

The Hoover policy helped prepare the way for German conquest in Europe and Japanese conquest in Asia, encouraged it, and helped finance it. We repudiated that policy in the period of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Now, today, we have discarded the Roosevelt heritage. We are following the discredited plan that brought World War II. It is based on the definitive objective of isolating and encircling the Soviet Union. It is an insane plan; it has no chance of success; it is contrary to our national interest.

We are witnessing today one of the most remarkable propaganda attempts in history. It is the attempt to convince the American people that their democracy must be safeguarded by destroying democracy everywhere in the world—we have tried it and failed in China. We are trying it and will fail in Greece. We still have the nazis to rely upon, and the Japanese fascists, and the greatest democrat of them all—Francisco Franco.

When men in power embark upon such undertakings, they are forced by the logic—or let us say—the lack of logic—

in their aims to resort to increasingly violent repression. The methods of repression—star chambers, loyalty oaths, heresy hunts—are as old as history. And the great lie that justifies these persecutions is also very ancient and disreputable.

It is the shame of intellectuals today that many of them accept the great red-baiting lie without enquiry or thought, without any consideration of its meaning or history. Hitler is given too much credit when he is described as the inventor of the lie.

It is a sober fact of history, that the same charges, in the same words, have been used to justify persecution, to protect power and kill opposition, for hundreds—indeed for thousands of years. In the Middle Ages, the men and women who believed in Christian fraternity and brotherhood, in the literal doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount, were hunted and tortured and killed in France and other European countries. Do you know what they called them? Bulgarians. They were agents of a foreign power, an Eastern European power. That was the witch-hunt in which the Inquisition was invented.

The modern inquisitors have not changed their methods or their propaganda. The charges that are being made down there in Foley Square are the same fantasies that were used to justify the murder of heretics in Provence in 1215.

It is sound scholarship and documented facts to say that these lies have been proven false in every case in which they have appeared in the long course of human progress. There are many Americans who do not realize that the trial of a political philosophy and party that is taking place in New York is an attack on everything that is good and noble in our tradition.

We have had a good deal of experience with the big lie in the course of this conference. We have seen how it operates, for it is no respecter of persons. In order to show what the lie means, in terms of our press, I want to read you a few lines from an editorial in the *New York World-Telegram*, of Friday, March 25:

"The Russians in addition to raising hell generally also raise a lot of beets for borscht. But frankly, how can you get culture from a beet? How can the Soviet bring something they haven't got? . . .

"To the police and the FBI, we say Happy Hunting. To the Culture and Scientific Convention—phooey!"

This is our free press, which is to impress our visitors with the blessings of our way of life, the freedom and courtesy that characterizes our culture.

I do not read this in order to apologize to our guests. I don't think I need to tell them that this is not our America. They know our America, for they study it in

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their schools; they read our books; they know our culture. Russian scholars have written extensively of the America of Jefferson and Paine and Lincoln. I think they can see, *here*, that the real America still lives. . . .

**JOHN HOWARD LAWSON**, screen writer, dramatist and scholar of the theater and American history, is one of the Hollywood Ten who defied the Un-American Committee. He has been convicted of contempt of Congress and his case is being appealed. The above speech was made at Madison Square Garden.

## NEVER AGAIN!

By Louis Golding

I was proud and happy to fly across the Atlantic to answer this call. This year I have spent many months in Continental Europe, on both sides of what is described as the Iron Curtain. There were moments when I wondered if the iron curtain had turned to gauze. On bookstalls in Warsaw and Prague I saw prominently displayed the fantastically false accounts published in my own country and in America, about the Congress of Intellectuals I attended in Wroclaw. What it brought home to me was the appalling misunderstanding that exists between the two hemispheres, appalling because, if allowed to continue indefinitely, such misunderstanding leads to the tragic inevitability of war. . . .

My people came from the Russian Pale. Russian, English and Yiddish were the languages spoken about my infant ears in Manchester. I spent some months in Russia during the 30's. Since the war, privileged as I was to be a friend of our commander-in-chief in Germany, I met Russians, from generals and supreme judges of the Nuremberg trials, down to rank and file soldiers and workmen. At the Wroclaw Congress I met some of their most eminent intellectuals, many of whom I am happy to see amongst us here tonight. I can only believe that to them war is, as I am certain it is to all of us in this room, to countless millions in this country, and in the world, the ultimate abomination. It might be said that these are not the policy makers, not the handful of

silent men in Moscow. I have not met them, and I am limiting myself to my personal experience. All I can say is, if they want war they are insane, and the bitterest enemies of all nations, regardless of the classes which compose them, and of their own nation. If they are not insane, they are fools. But I do not believe they are either fools or criminal lunatics. To call them such is to carry misunderstanding to the level of the ridiculous.

But let me rather speak of the countries where I had personal experience. For me nothing could be more exciting and more moving than the passion with which the Poles, above all, are applying themselves to the re-building of their ravaged lands. I met Poles of all sorts, I met statesmen and planners on the highest level, bent over their charts, miners in their coal mines, peasants attending their herds. Above all, I met those gallant townsmen of Warsaw who literally, and I use the exact word, who literally are building up their city out of rubble with their own hands; with their own hands because bulldozers and tractors are not to be had for zloty. . . .

From the many vivid memories of places, things and persons I carried away from Europe, there were single encounters



Louis Golding

with ordinary people, the men and women upon whom the dreadful burden and penalty of wars ultimately fall. Most of all, perhaps, the memory of the little Jewish partisan fighter who had come out of the woods to join the resistance inside the walls of the Warsaw ghetto. As we stood together in the midst of that unparalleled desolation, a sudden feeling of intimacy fell upon us. We had a language in common, the language of Yiddish, and, pointing round the hideous ruin, with tears in his eyes, he said: "Pray God that this shall not happen again. Never again! For if it does, Moscow will be Warsaw, Paris and London will be Warsaw, New York will be Warsaw. . . ."

At that moment, a rat thrust its beady-eyed little face out from behind a lump of plaster which once might have been the stucco relief of some elegant 18th century salon. He pointed to the creature and said: "They will be the only victors. The Kingdom of the Rats will be upon us. . . ."

**LOUIS GOLDING** is the British author of many famous novels of Jewish life. Our State Department refused him a visa to attend the conference, where he was scheduled to deliver the above speech.

## THOMAS MANN WIRES

May I suggest that plenary session adopt and send to Secretary of State a resolution protesting department's interference with Peace Conference. While Eastern European delegates were permitted to come, Italian, French, British and Latin American delegates were refused their visas. Grave international misunderstanding is likely to result. Unable satisfactorily to interpret official American attitude, world-public-opinion might conclude that the United States government intends forcibly to keep East and West apart and by preventing western participation unjustly to brand Peace Conference as communistic venture. Any such conclusion could not but in turn breed terrible suspicions as to actual aims of this country's foreign policy. Though Mr. Acheson has repeatedly asserted America's abhorrence of war and our determination to preserve peace, he has done much to discredit those who mean (in ardent sincerity) to serve the very ideals he praises. By announcing in advance that Peace Conference but sounding board of communistic propaganda he inadvertently furnished ammunition to all enemies of peace. One of your speakers, moreover, Mr. Norman Cousins, who professes to have been sent by Under-Secretary of State Allen, grossly misrepresented character and goals of conference and in doing so bordered on libelous. Despite the department veto regarding Western Europe and Latin America Conference and sponsored and attended by many highly respectable foreigners and a great number of outstanding and loyal Americans who are very far from forming a group without honor and standing in their own country. The resolution which I suggest might take cognizance of all these facts and conclude by calling State Department's attention to severe damage which its action and attitude may have done to this country's prestige as a peace-loving power. Congratulations on heartening success in face of all difficulties.

(Signed) THOMAS MANN.

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## IN THE NAME OF PEACE

By A. A. Fadeyev

I am happy to have this opportunity of heartily greeting the progressive American intellectuals—writers and scientists, artists and engineers, doctors, and teachers, who are defending the cause of peace, and of thanking them for their hospitality, on behalf of the representatives of Soviet culture. In their behalf I would also like to greet the millions of plain people of America. Because it is the plain people who with their hands create the whole basis of culture. Because we ourselves have risen from among the midst of the plain people.

It is they who actually carry within themselves the best features of a nation. It is they who know what real humanism is for, above all, they know the meaning of toil. I therefore shall take upon myself the liberty of saying that plain people are big-hearted people. It is the mothers and wives who lose their sons and husbands in wars and it is they who know what war is—better than verbose lawyers and frigid statisticians. And that's why no one strives for friendship and peace among peoples as much as do the plain people.

Our country, the Soviet Union, stands for peace and friendship among peoples, because we are first and foremost a state of plain people. We defend the cause of peace not because we are weak but because we want our people to live happily and we desire the same for the peoples of the rest of the world.

Our country has been "rather fortunate" in its history. Throughout a span of eight centuries, with rare consistency, our land was invaded first by the Mongols, then by the Germans, the Swedes, the French, then again and again by the Germans. All of them, as is known, were badly beaten and retreated in ragged uniforms. Each time the invader destroyed as much as he could, and we, the Russian people, with extraordinary industry and patience rebuilt everything anew. The American people should understand that we have finally become tired of this.

Now we are a large and developing socialist country which has long since forgotten what unemployment and poverty are like. We have not yet fully rebuilt the cities which were destroyed by the war but our industry and agriculture have already exceeded the pre-war level. We live well and hope to live still better. We are building factories and homes, clubs and universities, we are educating millions of children of workers and peasants of the 60 nationalities united in the Soviet Union in public schools and universities. And



A. A. Fadeyev

every honest and objective individual cannot help but understand that for us there would be no sense in waging war.

The American people also have no need for war, if for no other reason than the fact that absolutely no one is threatening them. Therefore we—two great and peace-loving peoples—can state to all the covetous individuals who profit by wars and their newspapers which attempt to fan the flames of a war that "No matter how hard you try, gentlemen, we shall not fight."

It is a source of great merriment to us Soviet people to read in some foreign newspapers that Soviet people are allegedly "not free" to voice their opinions. Such newspapers, without even having heard one's opinion—I do not say "published one's opinion" as I know that is hopeless—begin with distorted faces to push one aside and cry: "We know, we know, you are going to curse the Atlantic Pact!"

It is high time to understand that to confront a Soviet person with the question of the existence of or lack of freedom is more absurd than to have posed the same question to an American in the period following the War for Independence. An American of those times would have said: "This is my country. I have fought for it to gain the right to a free life. To Hell with you!" We Soviet people have created the Soviet Union with our own hands, its fields are abundantly drenched with our blood, shed in the struggle for independence, in every brick there are drops of the sweat of our toil, in every book—the soaring of our genius. We love our Fatherland—it is the air which we breathe. What do you want of us? Thus can we Soviet people answer questions of this kind, and if our land of Socialism is not to the liking of some people in America and Western Europe, then I can remind such people that American democracy after 1776 was also not to the liking of many.

If we take the respect of national sovereignty and national culture as our base and striving towards the goal that people's live in friendship, one can always come to an agreement even in those cases when something is not to one's liking. Were not the old Czarist Russia and American democracy able to come to an agreement and live in peace over more than a century? In the same way the America of today could come to an agreement with the new Socialist Russia.

As to the Atlantic Pact, I shall not lower myself to cursing it, but I shall ask only one question which is a natural one for a writer whose books have been translated into most of the languages of the world. If this pact is being created in order to unite peoples then why is not my country also being drawn into it? Or is it that the Baltic Sea is further away from the Atlantic Ocean than the Adriatic Sea? The drawing into the pact of Italy, for instance, and the failure to draw in to it such a country as for instance, the Soviet Union, can hardly be explained by their relation to the Tropic of Cancer.

In general a cancer is not the sort of phenomenon upon which the well-being of people and mutual understanding among people can be based. Beware that this symbolic crab-like cancer does not tear the world to bits with its claws.

There is on earth a most wonderful creature—man. Would it not be better to create such associations which would contribute to the friendship between all the peoples in the name of man?

It seems to me that the American people did not issue the first Declaration of Independence in the world in order that 170 years later they might receive Churchill, with his racial theory and his preaching of war, as their teacher.

On my part, I can assure you that the Soviet people are sympathetic towards the American people. It is with interest that we study your history in which there are pages near to us. We have translated into the Russian and other languages many American writers whose books have been circulated in editions of 40 million copies. Only by extreme unobjectivity can some statements in the press be explained—statements that we do not want cultural relations with the United States.

But we do want relations, that is, we want to attain that which serves the cause of friendship among nations and peace among them.

Then let us proceed forward in the name of peace despite the enemies of peace.

A. A. FADEYEV, an outstanding Soviet novelist, is the secretary-general of the secretariat of the Union of Soviet Writers. This speech was delivered at Madison Square Garden.



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**CONFERENCE RESOLUTION: I**

To create an environment in which our lives prosper; to discover a process whereby man's fruitful aspirations may find a future in the atomic age; to contribute to the establishment of an environment in which reason may operate as a scourge of fear and hatred; to take from the shoulders of the creators of the earth's wealth, its people, the dead burden of armies and their armaments and to remove from their minds the rending shocks of insecurity; to reaffirm the duty of artists, scientists and workers in the professions to toil for a society of nations founded on justice for all; the cultural and scientific conference for world peace has been held and does herewith affirm:

The hour is late to unite for peace but there is yet time to save the peace if we truly unite. Humanity does not want another war. Peace is necessary and peace is possible. The maintenance of peace is the responsibility of all peoples. If the American people recognize their solemn duty and affirm their will, they can do their share to maintain peace.

The peril of the times has united us who are gathered here. The deliberations of this conference have strengthened our unity. On the issue of peace, irrespective of differences on other subjects, we propose to take our stand.

**This is our stand:**

We wish to open and keep open the channels of communication among the peace-minded peoples of all lands and in particular between our country and the Soviet Union. It was to this purpose that the conference was called. We have succeeded in demonstrating that the channels can be kept open. Those who have tried to discredit our efforts, because they have already yielded to fear, hate and hysteria, have failed in their purpose. We invite them to reconsider their position and to join us in a common endeavor to save the future.

The interchange of ideas that has been achieved here is the way which our leaders on the highest level must take. All nations should judge every act of statesmen by whether their acts strive for peaceful negotiation and by whether they contribute to the settlement of American-Soviet differences on which the peace depends.

If the security of western Europe is in danger, if the security of the world is in peril, if fear stalks our land, it is because the terrible gulf between the United States and the Soviet Union has widened.

We will measure all plans, pacts and budgets by this test. Will they bring us closer to peace, or do they rest on the

false and dangerous premise of inevitable war.

Judged by these criteria, programs of rearmament and of military alliances from any source or any purpose, gravely intensify the danger of war.

Whatever the reasons, and wheresoever the blame of the past, the heavy cost of the world's detour from the path of peace in these four years is obvious. It has been costly to America and to all nations. It has burdened all men with intolerable expenditures for waste and destruction. It is the shadow in every classroom and every laboratory and has begun to invade the churches. As is usual in times of hysteria, discrimination against the Negro people and other racial and political minorities has been intensified.

The drive toward war emasculates the United Nations. It increases the oppression of colonial peoples. It creates barriers between the United States and other nations.

The talk of war and the preparations for war endanger our liberties, and bring prejudice, intolerance and violence to our streets and our meeting halls.

Every new measure hastily imposed on our people, every pact and military alliance drawn up under the pressure of war dramatizes our moral failure and emphasizes how quickly we must find a way to peace.

**The first step** on that way to peace is American-Soviet understanding.

Conscious of our responsibility and the urgency of the hour, we hereby resolve:

1. To do everything possible to strengthen the United Nations, as the best hope for peace.

2. To express our greetings and pledge our cooperation to other movements for peace throughout the world, conscious as we are that cultural and religious and labor groups, and many others are affirming the will of the world for a peaceful resolution of the present deadlock.

3. To continue the work begun here so that our countrymen may be roused to protect the peace; to instruct the sponsors of this conference to constitute themselves as the Cultural and Scientific Committee for World Peace of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and to increase their numbers from among the men and women in the arts, sciences and professions, to take appropriate measures to bring the decisions of this conference to the attention of the American government and the United Nations, and to undertake an active campaign in the cause of peace.

We are an independent American movement. We are but one voice in the crescendo of the American and world will for



peace. We will not cease our efforts until peace has been secured. In this endeavor, we serve our culture and our country. Only thus can our country and men and women of culture help serve the world.

## CONFERENCE RESOLUTION: II

We have seen convincing proof in the past four years—and in the last four days—that the drive toward war creates an atmosphere of prejudice and or hysteria that poisons the wells of reason. From the viewpoint of those who regard war as desirable or inevitable, it is essential to silence those who hold the opposing view. Since reason—and the future of humanity—demand peace, it is only by shackling thought itself that men can be persuaded to welcome their own destruction. The people must not be permitted to think, because people have an embarrassing habit of thinking about their own futures—about peace.

We, as representatives of the arts, sciences and professions, have a special responsibility as creators and thinkers, as defenders of the free conscience. If we betray our trust, it is not only our integrity that is lost. The nation suffers, for it loses the heritage that has made it strong.

In the cultural and scientific field, the cold war has already claimed many casualties. The traditions of academic freedom are under attack, with teachers being dismissed for exercising their rights as citizens. Writers and artists are deprived of employment and even threatened with imprisonment for displeasing government censors. Freedom of scientific inquiry is jeopardized by the subordination of the laboratory to military considerations.

The most precious heritage of the American people, their right to judge ideas and parties for themselves is being challenged.

Our country is moving along a dark road. The signposts on the road are familiar for it has recently been travelled by other nations. The signposts are repression, fear, hatred, thought control, irresponsible talk about exaggerated dangers, huge expenditures for war, appeals to mob violence. We have moved from technicalities concerning the so-called crime of contempt to heresy trials of political philosophies and attempts to limit and destroy the right of association.

The atmosphere of war hysteria intensifies discrimination and violence against Negro citizens. The denial of democracy to Negroes not only in the South but in every part of our country shames us be-

fore the world. The Indians, who were the first Americans, are still deprived of citizenship and suffer shocking economic and political discrimination. There is an alarming increase in anti-Semitism and discriminatory practices toward Mexican and other national groups. As men and women dedicated to culture and science we recognize our duty to end this discrimination.

We are resolved to give the full measure of our energy and devotion to defend the right to speak and think and communicate. We shall not be silent and we shall not retreat. We solemnly declare that no official, high or petty, has the right to decree what is orthodox in opinion or association, or penalize those whose beliefs or activities are unsatisfactory to government inquisitors. The right of judgment is reserved for the people. Punishment for opinion or association is made

unlawful by the first amendment to the Constitution.

We hold that the Constitution, and especially its Bill of Rights, are every American's most sacred possession, to be cherished and protected by every one of us. We are determined to maintain the Bill of Rights as a charter of cultural freedom which has provided the climate in which science has matured, art has flowered, thought has made its eagle flight to new horizons.

We call upon all artists, scientists and professionals to point the way to peace. It is only in peace that we can fulfill our function. Not only war, but preparation for war, prevents creative effort and degrades science. We pledge whatever skill or talent we may possess, we pledge the strength of our hearts and minds, to fulfill our responsibility, to defend the true interests of the American people, to unite for peace.

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# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

councilman and was opposed by Mayor Martin H. Kennelly and the liberal Chicago *Sun-Times*. The latter objected on the ground that the bill would adversely affect "inducement into the Chicago picture of risk capital from private investors."

**REVOCATION OF A PERMIT** in Milton, Mass., to build a Jewish center in a neighborhood where "houses of worship" are permitted, was branded as "a case of prejudice" by the head of the center building committee. Building Inspector Carl E. Horn, who halted the construction work on March 27, said he was acting in accordance with zoning laws.

**26 POSTAL WORKERS** filed a suit in the Federal District Court in March challenging the constitutionality of the president's "loyalty" order. Of the 26, who had been fired, 12 are Negroes and eight are Jewish and most of them were active in combatting racial and religious discrimination. O. John Rogge is the attorney.

**G. A. RICHARDS**, OWNER of radio station KMPC, Los Angeles, who has been accused of ordering anti-Semitism injected into KMPC news-broadcasts, will retire from the radio business, the Federal Communications Commission announced in March. Richards, who also owns stations in Detroit and Cleveland, was to have been given public hearings before the FCC on the charges.\*

**THE NATIONAL PHYSICIANS COMMITTEE** a Congressional lobby, sent a letter to 160,000 physicians all over the country recently which began, "Dear Christian American." The letter was written by the Rev. Dan Gilbert, a former editor of Gerald Winrod's hate sheet, *The Defender*. The letter called socialized medicine Moscow inspired. The New York, Kings and Queens County Medical Societies have passed resolutions asking the American Medical Association to "deplore" the letter and to withdraw its endorsement of the lobbyists' group.

**OFFICIALS OF THE STATE Department** and the Army have decided not to exhibit to American audiences the powerful documentary film, *Nuremberg*, which exposes Nazi brutality. Reason given was that the film would revive anti-German feelings here. Washington reviewers believed that the film might cause opposition to Marshall Plan grants to Germany.

## EUROPE

**BRITISH ANTI-FASCISTS** prevented about 200 Mosleyite fascists from marching through their planned route of several miles of London streets on March 20. Hundreds of policemen escorted a few hundred Mosleyites through one long detour to avoid hostile crowds and counter-demonstrations at several points along the planned route. Thousands of anti-fascists locked with the police at several points, eight policemen were injured, ball bearings and glass marbles were thrown under the horses' hoofs to make them stumble and there was considerable violence all around, although the police kept the fascists completely separated and protected from the angry crowds. Thirty-five demonstrators were arrested. After the demonstration Home Secretary Chuter Ede banned all political parades for three months.

Communists were actively connected with the militant demonstrations, but many non-communists were also involved. The British Board of Jewish Deputies has protested press reports that the demonstrators "came from one political party."

**THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE** proposed in March that the military subsidy to Transjordan be raised to \$14,000,000 per year. Parliament must approve the sum.\*

**THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION** of the Protectorate of Aden has refused to accept responsibility for the payment of compensation to the victims of last year's anti-Semitic riots in Aden.\*

**AN ISRAELI-POLISH** commercial treaty is expected to be signed soon, it was reported from Warsaw\*

**NEWS FROM RUMANIA** . . . The Rumanian radio reported on March 4 that a weekly program was to be broadcast over two networks. . . . The Rumanian Ministry of Education has announced the appointment of a teacher of Yiddish for two elementary schools in the town of Roman following a request from the schools officials. Both schools have large Jewish enrollments. The entire curriculum is taught in Yiddish at a school recently opened in Jassy. This is the third of four schools which the government plans to conduct entirely in Yiddish. At the dedication ceremonies for the Bucharest school, I. Bacal, leader of the Federation of Jewish Communities, stressed that for the first time in Rumania's history the Jews were being given equal rights.\*

**4500 BULGARIAN JEWS** were scheduled to leave Bulgaria for Israel in February. About 20,000 Jews remain in Bulgaria.

**TWO PUBLICATIONS** of French and German-speaking Swiss Catholics have published anti-Semitic attacks on the Jews in connection with the trial and sentence of Cardinal Mindszenty.

**THE MARSEILLE DIVISION** of the League Against Anti-Semitism and for Peace sent a sharp protest to the chief rabbi of Marseille stating that many Jews of the city were shocked by his participation in a meeting in defense of Mindszenty.

**CONSTERNATION HAS BEEN CREATED** among German Jews over the fact that whitewashing testimony by Pastor Martin Niemöller, president of the German Evangelical Church, resulted in the freeing of three former Gestapo commanders. The three were being accused of responsibility for the deaths of thousands of Jews at Oswiecim and other death camps.

**GEN. LUCIUS D. CLAY TOLD** newsmen in early March that in his opinion "Nazism is completely dead in Germany." This opinion was contradicted by continuous reports of return to power of many important Nazi officials and industrialists. Munich's mayor, Dr. Karl Scharnagel, said in the United States recently that anti-Semitism still exists in Germany owing to the presence of "non-German Jews."

**CHIEF RABBI OF BAVARIA**, Dr. Aaron Ohrenstein in mid-March charged German courts with displaying "intolerance" toward Jews. He said at a meeting in Munich that German courts acquitted

former aides of Hitler but gave a three-month sentence to a Jewish youth who tried to cross the German-Austrian frontier.\*

## ISRAEL

**FINAL RESULTS** of the elections to the Seventh Convention of the Histadruth are as follows: Out of a membership of 178,788 eligible voters, 80 per cent, or 142,779, cast their ballots. Mapai (Labor Party) received 57 per cent; Mapam (United Workers Party), 34.4 per cent; Zionist Workers, 3.7 per cent; Communist, 2.6 per cent; Religious Workers, 2.1 per cent. Of the 501 seats at the convention, Mapai has 286; Mapam, 172; Zionist Workers, 18; Communists, 13; Religious Workers, 11.

**COMMUNIST MEMBERS** of the *Knesset* (Assembly) were denied posts in the Foreign Affairs and Security Committees.

**SAMUEL MIKUNIS**, ISRAELI CP leader, said during the debate in the *Knesset* (Assembly) on the hundred million dollar American loan that the Communist Party was opposed to the loan because its purpose was to obtain concessions and an imperialist hold in Israel. He charged that only 20 per cent of the loan was allocated for industrial development because the United States wanted to keep Israel a backward agrarian country and wanted to make Israel ripe for imperialistic conquest.

**TWO ARAB WORKING CLASS** leaders in Iraq were executed early this year at the request of the British government. The executed men, Fahed, general secretary of the Communist Party of Iraq, and Mohamed Shabibi, leader of the League for National Liberation, had been in jail since January 1947. Both had been responsible for the illegal manifesto issued in Iraq calling on the people not to participate in the war against Israel.

**FOR THE FIRST TIME** a correspondent for the official Soviet news agency Tass has started reporting news in Israel from Tel Aviv.

**THE FINAL MAKE-UP** of the Israeli cabinet is as follows: Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, David Ben Gurion (Mapai); Foreign Affairs, Moshe Sharret (Shertok) (Mapai); Finance, Eliezer Kaplan (Mapai); Posts and Communications, David Remez, (Mapai); Labor and Insurance, Goldie Myerson (Mapai); Education, Zalman Rubashov (Mapai); Food Distribution and Supply, Dr. Bernard Joseph (Mapai); Religion, Dr. Judah L. Fishman (Religious Bloc); Interior and Immigration, Moshe Shapira (Religious Bloc); Social Welfare, Rabbi I. M. Levin (Religious Bloc); Justice, Dr. Felix Rosenbluth (Progressives). The four posts held open, for the Mapam and General Zionists were declined by these parties and were distributed as follows: Public Works, Goldie Myerson; Agriculture, Eliezer Kaplan; Trade and Industry, Dr. Bernard Joseph; and Health, Moshe Shapira.

**THE TWO-MONTH OLD STRIKE** of about 800 chocolate workers in two Tel Aviv factories was finally settled in mid-March with a wage increase of 20 per cent, improved working conditions, hiring through labor exchanges and increase in employers' contributions to welfare funds. . . . A strike wave may break out in Israel, particularly in view of the Industrialists Association refusal to conclude negotiations with the Histadruth for a new labor agreement for the present year. A basic Histadruth demand is wage increase.\*

(Items Marked with an asterisk [\*] were drawn from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency news service.)



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