

# Jewish Life

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August 1949

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

**CASE OF THE DETROIT CONGRESS CHAPTER** ◀ *by Louis Harap*

**BOOK FOR OUR TIME** ◀ *a review by David Goldway*

**"SAVING" JEWS FROM SOCIALISM** ◀ *by G. Koenig*

**ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: IV** ◀ *by Moses Miller*

**TRIAL OF THE BOOKS** ◀ *by Albert Maltz*



## From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

"COLLAPSE" OF THE denazification program was discussed with members of Congress by an American Jewish Congress delegation in early June. Tom Connally, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was reported to have told the delegation, "We gave you Israel, now what else do you want?" He is also reported to have said that they talked too much about the six million Jews killed by nazism, while many non-Jews were also killed. He reportedly also asked them if they wanted to drag us into a new war. . . . On June 8 four senators (Pepper, Gillette, Hendrickson and Ives) submitted a resolution demanding an investigation of resurgence of "intensive anti-Semitism and militant nationalism" in Germany. . . . The National Conference of Social Welfare and the National Association of Jewish Center Workers, meeting jointly in June, passed a resolution urging the Senate to investigate publicly the extent of failure of the denazification program and of regained nazi control of German life.

AMONG THE more than 100 youth leaders from organizations comprising more than three million trade union and other youth, who signed an open letter sent to each member of Congress opposing the Atlantic Pact, was Helene Fishbein, chairman of the Committee on National Organizations of the National Council of Jewish Youth Organizations.

A CONFERENCE TO DEMAND investigation of police brutality called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Brooklyn on June 27 was endorsed, among many other organizations, by the Brooklyn Division and the Brooklyn Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress, the Kings County Jewish War Veterans, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and editor Louis D. Gross of the *Jewish Examiner*. Gross wrote, "A halt must be called on unprovoked brutality prompted by race hate. This thing hits the Negro today. It may be you tomorrow."

"RELIGIOUS TOTALITARIANISM" in Israel was sharply attacked at the 60th annual Conference of American Rabbis at Bretton Woods, N. H., on June 23. "The throttling hand of clericalism" and the "refusal to give religious freedom to the Liberal Jewish communities in Israel" were denounced by Rabbi Abraham L. Feldman, president of the Central Conference. He charged that religious freedom was denied to all but orthodox Jews in Israel. The conference also went on record as opposing infringement of separation of church and state in the United States and opposed any "Federal or state aid to educational institutions maintained by religious groups—Jewish or Christian."

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE released time program for religious education in New York City was recommended in a survey released by the Public Education Association on June 14 of the operation of the program in 100 New York schools. Prepared under the direction of Dr. Dan W. Dodson of the Center for Human Relations Study of New York University, the study revealed the following: the "inherent difficulties" of the plans operation "cannot be eliminated"; the program was a contributing factor to truancy; released time enrollees numbered 111,639 in December 1947 and 102,705 in December 1948; and the present survey confirmed previous figures that enrollees are predominantly Catholic, the sur-

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

THE EDITORS.

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vey's figures showing that 81.43 per cent of the children released were Catholic, 13.36 were Protestants and 5.18 were Jews.

CARDINAL SPELLMAN ATTACKED as a "new apostle of bigotry" Rep. Graham A. Barden, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Education, who introduced a bill for federal aid to education limiting use of tax money to public schools. The attack was made at a Eucharistic rally at Fordham University on June 19 sponsored by many Catholic organizations. The Cardinal demanded allocation of funds for parochial schools. On June 21 the Rev. Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop of the New York Area, strongly protested the Cardinal's

speech, charging that the Cardinal was guilty of "bearing false witness" against Barden and that to Spellman the term bigot "means anyone who disagrees with the Cardinal or objects to the hierarchy putting its hands on the public treasury."

ABOUT 20 RABBIS JOINED about 110 Protestant ministers in a letter to Maximilian Moes, president of New York City's Board of Education, requesting that the board "take no loyalty action of any kind" against teachers under the Feinberg witch-hunting law until the State Board of Regents has arrived at procedures in administering the law that will give "insurance against a serious disruption of teaching morale and a consequent

(Continued on page 32)



# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## COLD WAR AGAINST ISRAEL

**I**N RECENT months, the Zionist leadership of America and most of the Jewish press have lulled the Jewish masses with the old refrain of Washington's friendship for Israel and that the political situation in Israel left no reason for concern.

Recent events, however, have caused them to sound a note of alarm. The wrecking of the Lausanne Conference, the sharp note of Washington to Israel on Arab refugees and territorial concessions, Vatican pressure on the issue of Jerusalem, the British decision to resume shipment of arms to the Arab states, have awakened many to the realization that one cannot be complacent about Israel.

The Lausanne Conference, it will be remembered, was called through a UN resolution of December 11, 1948, establishing a United Nations Conciliation Commission that was directed to assist the Arab states and Israel to get together and negotiate terms of peace.

Its real purpose is now fully apparent. The commission, obviously dominated by Washington and acting far beyond the limits authorized by the December 11 resolution, undertook to force a discussion of territorial revision of Israel's boundaries and the question of Arab refugees. Thomas J. Hamilton of the *New York Times*, usually well informed on State Department moves, reported on June 7 that "the commission was now considering a permanent settlement that would give to Egypt the Gaza strip, together with a considerable part of the area to the East, while King Abdullah of Transjordan would receive the area around El Majdal, to the north of Gaza, and a corridor connecting his territory with the Mediterranean."

Particularly indicative of the direction of American policy was the dispatch of a strongly worded American note to the Israeli government demanding the internationalization of Jerusalem and the return of Arab refugees. Simultaneously the Vatican began its own campaign of pressure against Israel, similarly demanding internationalization of Jerusalem, as well as initiating a campaign charging that Israel was responsible for defamation of the holy places. The extent of the pressure exerted upon Israel was apparent from the "leaks" that were allowed to seep out of Washington to the effect that unless Israel fell into line, the \$100,000,000 loan, of which only \$35,000,000 had already been paid out, would be frozen.

The fact that Israel, though conciliatory in its reply, did not agree to Washington's ultimatum, brought further pressure from our own government. Even those who are

continually loud in their praise of Washington had to admit, as did Boris Smolar, head of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, in the *Forward* of July 10, that "it is now no longer a secret to any one that the Jewish-Arab peace negotiations, which the UN had arranged in Lausanne, were halted mainly as a result of American influence."

The present state of affairs is such that even the Zionist leadership and the entire Jewish press has been forced to sound an alarm. The *Jewish Review* (July 7) notes that "The high tension between Washington and Tel Aviv continues unabated. If anything, it has increased in the past few days." And the *Jewish Day*, which sings praises to our government for the great aid rendered to Israel, is forced to observe (June 5) that "America has again adopted a new policy with regard to Israel of supporting the impossible demands of the feudal Arab governments which are hostile to Israel's interests."

But even the alarm now being raised fails to take account of nor does it bring before the public the basic issues involved. For a long time now we have been confronted with the following phenomenon. One month the Zionist leadership issues statements and the majority of the Jewish press headlines the fact that Washington is pro-Israel. As soon as events obviously contradict this thesis, statements and headlines announce that Washington is now pro-Arab. Even a superficial analysis of American policy is enough to prove that this is patent nonsense. That American policy does not move in a straight line is true. But whatever its modifications and its changes, one strategy emerges clearly. All efforts are directed towards strengthening American influence in the Middle East and assuring its domination there. Both Arab and Jew are puppets to Washington to be moved about as occasion arises and as imperialist dictates demand. It is well known that the oil monopolies have a powerful voice in determining American policy in the Middle East and that the oil magnates are concerned with their own profits and not with the well-being and security of either Jews or Arabs. There is not today an independent Arab state in the Arab sector of Palestine, which was provided for in the UN resolution of November 29, because neither Washington nor London wants such a state to come into being. And is it not obvious that they want no such state because this would interfere with the whole system of imperialist arrangements with feudal lords which have uninterruptedly been built up over the past three decades? Is it not clear that the arms embargo against Israel by Washington at



the height of the Israeli war for independence was imposed not for love of the Arabs, but because of fear that an independent state in the Middle East might exist?

Those who are concerned for the future of Israel—and one cannot think of such a future without complete independence—must note a number of facts which the Zionist leadership plays down or ignores altogether. The basic issue with regard to the American note and to American demands generally is not the question of their content. The basic issue that must be faced is—upon what grounds does the American government take upon itself the authority to issue any orders or demands at all. The UN is the duly constituted body with authority to discuss and act upon these questions. That Washington undertakes to act outside of the UN, to send orders and threats and hints of reprisal, is in itself an indication of its intentions and plans.

The Zionist leadership continues to disregard the whole question of the creation of an independent Arab state, whose formation would be as beneficial to Israel as to the Arab masses themselves. Many Zionist, as well as Israeli leaders would like to forget what to them is the unpleasant fact that Israel came into being only as a result of anti-imperialist struggle. They would like to forget the fact of which they are very well aware, namely, that there would have been no Israeli state at all, if reliance had been placed on the good wishes of London and Washington. But to forget these facts and place oneself under the patronage of the Anglo-American combination, is in fact to subordinate the interests of Israel to Anglo-American plans. And this is most obvious with respect to the question of an independent Arab state in Palestine. For what would be the meaning of handing over the Arab sector of Palestine to Abdullah or to any other of the feudal Arab rulers? Simply, the return of British troops and influence to the very positions from which they had been removed at the cost of so much Jewish blood and suffering. An independent Arab state is therefore essential to Israeli independence and economic development. But those who can think of Israel's future only in terms of attachment to Anglo-American imperialist plans, naturally will raise no great to-do about the sabotage of the UN decision with regard to an independent Arab state.

Similarly with regard to the question of the Arab refugees. One does not need to be a political sage to recognize that American pressure on the Arab refugee question does not stem from any deep humanitarianism or concern for the Arab masses. If this pressure were prompted by concern for the plight of the Arab peoples, American imperialism would long ago have ceased handing out millions of dollars in subsidies to the Arab feudal lords who keep the Arab masses in a condition of degradation, disease and starvation hardly equalled in any other part of the world. But it is equally obvious that from Israel's own standpoint, a democratic solution of the refugee question and initiative on the part of Israel in helping to solve this question, would do much to put a crimp into imperialist plans and would win the sympathy and the support of

overwhelming numbers of Arab people, a support which would stand Israel in good stead. If Israel were to accept in principle the right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes and to make this an integral part of the whole problem of the independence of Palestine, it would be undertaking a step of tremendous significance for itself as well as for the entire Middle East, of which it is an integral part.

Recently, Louis Hollander, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in a statement urging that the Marshall plan be extended to Israel, declared: "The United States has an interest in preserving and strengthening the new state of Israel." Mr. Hollander further noted that the Marshall plan, whose chief purpose was to put a halt to communism, would be welcome in Israel. "The Jews," said Hollander, "have fought for 2000 years to gain their homeland, and now they're not going to give it up to Stalin or to anyone else." Similarly, Daniel Frisch, president of the Zionist Organization of America, also called for the extension of Marshall plan aid to Israel.

Here we see the glaring contradiction between the so-called deep concern of these men for Israel's future and their actual program, which in fact would inevitably prevent any freedom and independence for Israel. Here we have seen in recent weeks how the loan which was granted to Israel by Washington is being used as an instrument of blackmail to intimidate Israel into accepting American dictation. Nevertheless these gentlemen, supposedly concerned with Israel's future, would have that country subordinate itself completely by becoming a Marshall Plan country. It would seem to us that this type of program is not advocated out of concern for Israel but rather out of a deep psychopathic hatred of communism. It would be well for true friends of Israel to remember what is happening to Britain, to France and to the other Marshall Plan countries as a result of the great and bountiful aid of the Marshall Plan and to consider that these countries are somewhat bigger and more influential than Israel. It would be well for true friends of Israel to consider that anti-imperialist resistance, which created the Jewish state, is the only path which can assure its future.

## VICTORY AT TRENTON

**W**HEN the Supreme Court of New Jersey ordered a retrial in the case of the Trenton Six on June 30, the movement for liberation of the Negro people and for the realization of democracy registered a victory. The Civil Rights Congress had organized a tremendous and broad protest that reached the ears of the Supreme Court, whose decision pointed out the State's flagrant violation of due process in the extortion of "confessions" and rebuked the judge for sustaining Prosecutor Mario Volpe's motion to rule out essential fingerprint evidence. The hollow frame-up has in fact collapsed. But the case has been ordered for retrial. Victory will not be complete until the whole



matter is thrown out of court. The victory brings with it the responsibility to see to it that the campaign for full freedom for the Six does not flag. For the prosecution is concocting schemes to circumvent justice in the case. Volpe has announced that he intends to delay action and to try to separate the cases in an attempt to dissipate the mass protest and make a sustained public campaign more difficult. But an aroused public opinion must make sure that the case does not even come to retrail, that the case is dismissed forthwith.

Victory at this stage of the Trenton Six case has the greatest significance. It shows that even in the midst of unprecedented reaction and brutality against the Negro people, defeat can be administered to the reactionaries if the people are sufficiently aroused and make their indignation vocal, insistent and uncompromising. Unremitting continuance of this campaign will bring freedom to the Trenton Six and will weaken the reactionary drive.

## HIRING BIAS AT CITY COLLEGE

**S**USPICION of racist bias in the employment of teachers at New York's City College was aroused this year by several events. First, there was the administration's refusal to grant the militant student and civic demand to dismiss William E. Knickerbocker and William E. Davis, accused of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro bias, respectively. At the same time Lee Lorch, vice president of the Town and Village to End Discrimination at Stuyvesant Town, and Morris Swadesh, who was active in aiding the student strike against the above-named biased teachers, were both denied tenure and dismissed. No question of the competence of these teachers was raised in connection with the dismissals. The Teachers Union (UPW-CIO) undertook an investigation of the situation. The results strikingly confirmed bias in City College's hiring policy. The figures leave no doubt of bias. Of 51 teachers considered for tenure appointments in four departments, 24 were non-Jewish whites and 27 were Jewish. Twenty-three of the non-Jews and 14 of the Jews were appointed with tenure (a permanent appointment). One non-Jewish teacher and 13 Jewish teachers were dismissed. In other words, while 96 per cent of the non-Jewish teachers were given permanent appointments, only 52 per cent of the Jews were given them. This drastic discrepancy unquestionably points to bias.

The case with regard to Negroes, though clear with regard to its discriminatory implications, is more subtle. Two Negro candidates—both were eligible—were given tenure. This suggests that hiring of Negroes in the first place must be limited. Further, at the uptown branch of the college there were only seven Negroes employed in other than maintenance or foodhandling jobs. This includes 4 teachers. In view of the fact that many professionally trained Negroes find it necessary to work at menial jobs, the question arises whether they consider it futile to apply for jobs at the college. A presumably democratic college should therefore

make efforts to seek out competent Negro personal so as to represent more democratically its community.

The discrimination so conclusively proved by these figures is not only intolerable in a democratic community. It actually violates the law. The support of biased teachers and the dismissal of teachers who fight against bias, as well as discrimination in tenure appointments, are part of an undemocratic pattern in the educational system which is taking shape more clearly with every passing week. Censorship (*Nation*, *Gentleman's Agreement*, *Focus*, *The Races of Mankind*, etc.), the suspension of the Youthbuilders program in the city schools devoted to the active strengthening of democracy among the schoolchildren—all these and more make up an ominous picture of disintegration of democracy in the school system. The community should set up a protest that will be heard at the source of authority, City Hall, that the schools be returned to American principles. This school situation is only one phase of an attack on a grand scale on everything progressive in our country. The attack must be met on every front, in the paring away of civil liberties, in intensified attacks on the Negro people, in growing anti-Semitism. The fight against bias in the city schools is one aspect of the struggle to preserve our freedoms.

## CLARK'S CONCENTRATION CAMP

**A**TTORNEY General Tom Clark is impatient. The Hobbs concentration camp bill indefinitely to put away aliens hauled up for deportation has not been passed, but Clark is going ahead without such a law. Over a month ago Peter Harisiades, Greek progressive, was sent to Ellis Island without bail to await deportation to Greece, where anti-fascists like him are being murdered daily by the monarcho-fascist Greek government. In July, Clark's Immigration Service lifted the bail on three other victims of his vindictive, fascist-like deportation delirium and jailed them at his Ellis Island concentration camp. Beatrice Siskind Johnson, Ferdinand Smith and George Pirinsky, whose crime before Clark's new American dispensation is a lifetime of devoted anti-fascist activity in America, are being held without bail. This action violates the Justice Department's own practice of permitting those it threatens with deportation to remain on bail until a final decision is rendered. A remark of an immigration official in connection with Mrs. Johnson's imprisonment is reminiscent of the nazi "protective custody" technique. "We don't want her at large," he said. "It is best that she be kept in custody."

These flagrant violations of the traditional American principles of the right to bail and the right to be held innocent until proven guilty, should alert every American to the broad issues involved in these cases. They involve nothing less than the undermining of democratic safeguards not only for aliens, but for all citizens. Attorney General Tom Clark and President Truman should be told in no uncertain terms that the American people is aware of these dangers and that nothing short of the immediate release of these victims of a law-breaking Justice Department will be tolerated.



# THE "AUTHORITATIVE" BIG LIE

An Editorial Article

WE do not believe that the cold war outpourings that have engulfed our country can be explained on psychological grounds. The reasons go far deeper than psychopathological hatred of the Soviet Union and everything that it stands for and does. Yet we cannot but be impressed by the contortions and acrobatics that both the American and Anglo-Jewish press has gone through in recent months in order to wring every last drop of venom from its hysterical campaign about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

The campaign has not gone too well. Many of the lies have caught up with their originators. Some of them were a bit too thick even for people who have no particular love for the Soviet Union to swallow. We do not of course minimize the fact that the campaign has had its effect upon many people. But there is no doubt that its brazenness was a bit overdone. Something had to be done to give the appearance of more substance to the charges.

The "liberal" *New York Post* found itself on the spot. The Tom O'Connor series, "The Hoax of 'Soviet Anti-Semitism,'" in the *New York Compass*, May 25-31, and the exposes by the *Daily Worker* of flat lying indulged in during the campaign, as well as statements by some Jewish leaders, such as Dr. Nahum Goldman, were too damaging to be ignored. Some face-saving had to be done quickly. On June 2, the *Post* published an editorial, which is a classic of double-talk. Said the editorial, "Sitting in a New York editorial office, we confess we cannot present the last word on some areas of the dispute. Our present reaction is that not all the returns are in on the extent to which the Soviet government is officially invoking the weapon of anti-Semitism. There is conflicting testimony on the grotesquely detailed charges that have been heatedly explored by rival feature writers in recent days. The most sober and persuasive documentation of the charges appears in the current [June] issue of *Commentary* magazine."

Solomon Schwartz, whom *Commentary* and its American Jewish Committee sponsors are presenting as the authoritative spokesman on the Soviet Union, is not a new hand at this kind of "scholarly" misrepresentation. Back in July 29, 1945, an article appeared in the *Forward* by D. Shub with the startling information that "a wave of anti-Semitism has spread over the Soviet Union." Shub also reported that a pogrom had taken place in Kiev and that 16 Jews had been killed. As authority for his assertions Shub named Solomon Schwartz, who had written an "authoritative" article in the Soviet-baiting, Menshevik journal, *Sotsialisticheske Vestnik*, announcing that a new wave of anti-Semitism had begun in the Soviet Union. It is sufficient to note that Schwartz makes no mention of

this "wave of anti-Semitism" or "pogrom" in his current "authoritative" article.

Schwartz' *Commentary* article is rather cleverly done. One who is unfamiliar with the facts may be overwhelmed by the numerous references to Soviet sources and the apparently thorough documentation. A careful study, however, of the charges made and of the documentation offered to support them, shows the fraud involved. Schwartz starts off with a recitation of "proof" of so-called present-day anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union which follows the general pattern of the host of articles that have appeared in the general press. Schwartz, for example, recites once again the parenthesis fable, despite the fact that this has been exposed. He concludes his article with the statement that "to close observers of the Russian scene, then, the appearance for the first time of signs of anti-Jewish feeling in official government organs, does not come as a complete surprise: it fits well in this most recent stage in the history of anti-Semitism in Russia, the stage that began in the late 30's."

## Schwartz' Methods

Here we have an excellent example of the spurious methods that Schwartz uses in order to put his point across. A careful reading of the article shows a series of statements and documents explicit in their reference to the occurrence of anti-Semitism in the 20's. When he reaches the late 30's, there is not a single reference to any Soviet source, but only the allegation, which, incidentally, is being revived today, that the removal of certain figures from public life in the late 30's, some of whom happened to be Jewish, constituted anti-Semitism. Schwartz undoubtedly counted on people being so overwhelmed by the earlier documentation, that any distinction between the 20's and the 30's would be overlooked.

Schwartz states that "The purge of 1936-38 made the Jews a particularly easy target for attack and social ostracism." Contrast this statement with that of another anti-Soviet "authority," Leon Dennen, who at one time was able to report facts with a greater degree of honesty than he does today. In the Summer 1932 issue of the *Menorah Journal*, he wrote concerning the attitude of the Soviet government towards anti-Semitism that immediately after the Bolsheviks took power, Yakov Sverdlov, the first president of the Soviet Republic, issued the following decree. "'According to information received by the Soviet of People's Commissars, counter-revolutionists in many cities, particularly at the front, are carrying on agitation in favor of pogroms. A number of excesses against the Jewish population have already occurred. The bourgeois counter-revolution has adopted the



weapon which has been left behind by the tsarist autocracy which, every time that it had to divert itself from the wrath of the people, pointed to the Jews, telling the dark masses that all their misfortunes come from the Jews. . . . In R.S.F.S.R., where the principle of self-determination for all toiling nationalities is declared, there is no place for national oppression.'

"When Sverdlov handed this decree to Lenin to sign, relates Lunacharsky, Lenin added in red pencil: 'The Soviet of People's Commissars instructs all the local Soviets to take the most decisive steps in cutting the anti-Semitic movement at its root. Pogromchiks and those who carry on pogrom agitation are to be considered outside the law.'"

Dennen concludes with the following statement: "One thing is certain. Even today the spirit of Lenin's decree of 1917 is the guide of the Soviet government. It is futile nor does it help the cause of the Jews, when certain 'professional' Jews discover issues of anti-Semitism where they do not exist. The controversy between Stalin and Trotsky, for instance, is on political grounds and not because Stalin is an anti-Semite. . . . While anti-Semitism, which has been rooted in the minds of the Russian masses for centuries is not yet wiped out, impartial observers agree that anti-Semitism as a government policy no longer exists."

Interestingly enough, Dennen also commented on the role of the Kerensky government, of which Solomon Schwartz was a member. Said Dennen: "Meanwhile the counter-revolution, under the disguise of anti-Semitism, was raising its head in the traditional manner and with the age-old slogan: 'Bey Zhidov—Kill the Jews! The Jews are to blame!' The provisional government was still plunged in a dark sleep of ignorance. Minor excesses against Jews were beginning to occur more and more frequently. Yet the government did nothing to stop them."

The American Jewish Committee, publisher of *Commentary* and sponsor of the present campaign, also publishes the *American Jewish Yearbook*. The *Yearbook* for 1941-42 completely contradicts Schwartz's assertion regarding the rise of anti-Semitism after the Soviet-German Pact in 1939 and 1940. Says the *Yearbook*: "As far as we are aware, however, for the first time in modern history, anti-Semitism was made a crime punishable by law. The fears which the Russo-German Pact gave rise to, namely, that the agreement with Germany might influence Soviet policy toward the Jews, proved unwarranted. While anti-Jewish manifestations may have occurred here and there, the Russian official policy was to suppress all such outbursts and introduce a genuine equality among all Russian citizens. Rumors were heard to the effect that some Russian officials, in their desire to cooperate closely with Nazi Germany, were ready to discriminate against Jews." The *Yearbook* then details many of the rumors current with regard to dismissal of Litvinov and Kaganovich (who was not removed anyway) and the attempt to classify this as anti-Semitism. The *Yearbook* concludes: "This interpretation, however, is entirely erroneous. The removal of the two commissars had nothing to do with their being Jewish."

As a matter of fact, several Jews were appointed to important positions during the year under review" (pp. 315-16).

### *What Kaganovich Really Said*

The method of quoting out of context has always been the refuge of dishonest polemicists. Mr. Schwartz does this well. In the *Commentary* article he quoted from the account of a Jewish guerrilla fighter during the anti-Nazi war, Moshe Kaganovich, who had assembled the record of the Jewish partisan fighters in the Soviet Union in a Yiddish book, *Der Yiddisher Ontayl in Partisaner-Bevegung fun Soviet-Russland*. Schwartz quoted Kaganovich as saying that many Russian partisan detachments had been infected with anti-Semitism and that life was particularly bitter for the Jewish partisan. Schwartz goes on to say that there is some mention of the fact that "Russian detachments assigned food from their own stocks to the Jewish family camps, but Kaganovich mentions only four such incidents." Schwartz does not even so much as mention, however, chapter 16, which is entitled, "The Soviet Government and the Russians as Liberators of Jews." In this chapter Kaganovich points to cases of anti-Semitism and indicates the problems that many Jews confronted as a result of it. He concludes, however, that "If we turn away from these painful instances, we must establish that the Soviet government and the Soviet partisans were during this most difficult and bloodiest epoch of the Jewish people the only ones who saved Jews and made it possible for many thousands of Jews, particularly in White Russia and the Ukraine, to live through the war."

"The Soviet government was the only one that carried out the decisions of the tragically renowned Bermuda Conference of the big powers. . . ."

"Already at the end of 1941, a decision was published, signed by Kalinin (chairman of the Supreme Soviet) and Gorki (secretary of the Supreme Soviet) concerning first priority to the evacuation of all citizens of the Jewish nationality from those areas that are being threatened by the enemy. Among other things, the decree orders as follows: 'Because the enemy deals so barbarically and annihilates completely Soviet citizens of the Jewish nationality, it is ordered that they be evacuated before anyone else to the far distant territories of the Soviet Union. All trains and all other means of transportation must be placed at their disposal for this purpose.'"

Kaganovich goes on to mention a number of other decrees covering the protection of the Jewish people and ends his chapter with the following statement in italics: "The partisan struggle was for us not only a means of struggle and revenge against the bloody occupation, but also a path to survival."

"This we must never forget. We must look away from the episodic and see the larger whole. And the larger whole is that, thanks to the Soviet partisan movement and to the



Soviet government, tens of thousands of Jews remained alive in the family camps, in Jewish and mixed partisan detachments in White Russia and the Ukraine." Obviously Mr. Schwartz was far more interested in the "episodic" than in the whole picture, for the episodic suited his purpose, while the total picture completely defeated it.

### **What Schwartz Omitted**

A 'great part of Schwartz' article was devoted to a documentation of the existence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union in the 20's. As is the case with the Kaganovich book, Schwartz rips the whole question out of its context. Who does not know that there were anti-Semitic survivals in the Soviet Union in the 20's? The Soviet government had been left with a heritage of the tsars. And one should not forget that the Kerensky government, of which Mr. Schwartz was a member, contributed its own share to the encouragement of anti-Semitic elements. A bit of history will remind us that the main force on which the Kerensky government relied in its struggle against the Bolsheviks were the Cadets and the so-called "Wild Di-

vision," notorious for their pogroms and anti-Semitic agitation. The communist press in the 20's made a point of giving examples of anti-Semitic incidents in order to expose them before the public, to point out the menace they constituted not only to the Jews, but to the whole Soviet people, so as to organize the people in a campaign for the uprooting of anti-Semitism. While Schwartz emphasizes these anti-Semitic incidents, he underplays almost to the vanishing point the unremitting, uncompromising and effective struggle of the Soviet government to wipe out anti-Semitism. And Schwartz fails even to mention the whole process of productivization of the Jew, the granting of free land to all Jews who wished to settle on the soil and the many other measures taken by the Soviet government that laid the basis for genuine equality.

When one looks behind the "scholarly" facade of *Commentary* and the American Jewish Committee, what does one find? One sees there the same suppression of the truth, the same lies and misrepresentation, the same fear and contempt for the people as is more crudely evidenced in the Hearst press and the Woltmans. But no amount of deception will take away the realization that all peoples in the Soviet Union live in actual equality.

## **HUNGARY'S JEWS EXPOSE SLANDER**

*The following statement, issued by the Central Board of Jews in Hungary and sent to Liberal Judaism, official organ of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, was made public on June 9.—Eds.*

**O**N May 5, American news dispatches published here reported that the American Jewish Committee had made public a detailed study pertaining to Jewish religious life in Communist areas, alleging that religious communities are being liquidated, that religious education is being abolished, that those maintaining spiritual contact with their brethren abroad are subject to persecution, and that the leaders of religious communities are chosen by the Communist high command.

In the name of Hungary's total Jewry, we wish to repudiate these charges as being utterly malicious and slanderous fabrications, plucked wholly out of thin air.

We affirm that the only religious communities dissolved in our country are those whose constituencies were destroyed by fascists in Auschwitz, Dachau and other concentration camps, foreign and domestic, thus their annihilation being wholly the consequence of fascist depredations. Apart from these depopulated communities, no other Jewish congregations have been liquidated in our country.

Equally unwarranted is the allegation regarding religious education in that, unlike in Western countries, religious instruction is obligatory in all schools in Hungary. Religious endeavors are pursued with maximum intensity, and Hungarian Jewry practices its religion with complete freedom.

No one is being persecuted for maintaining spiritual

links with co-religionists domiciled abroad; indeed, religious and kindred relations with fellow Jews living abroad are assiduously cultivated today. Evidence of this may be adduced from the fact, among others, that the Hungarian branch of the World Jewish Congress even now carries on its activities, without change or hindrance, and maintains its connections with co-religionists and sister organizations in all parts of the world.

As for the charge that Jewish religious leadership is chosen by the "Communist high command," we assert that each and every congregation throughout the land enjoys complete *de jure* and *de facto* autonomy, and that their leaders are elected by universal and secret ballot. This applies also to the higher denominational agencies with which those congregations are affiliated.

In view of the foregoing facts, we declare that those portions of the alleged survey which American news dispatches dealt with are untrue from beginning to end.

The American Jewish Committee renders a disservice to the Jewries of Eastern Europe because the dissemination of such unfounded reports cannot but be grist to the mill of anti-Semitism.

Lajos Stocker, Pres., and Dr. Istvan Kurzweil, Exec. Dir., Central Board of Jews in Hungary. Dr. Albert Geyer, Pres., Hungarian Branch, World Jewish Congress.

Samuel Kahan-Frankle, Pres., and Dr. Imre Reiner, Vice-Pres., Central Bureau of the Union of Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Congregations of Hungary.

Dr. Benjamin Schwartz, Pres., National Rabbinical Assembly.



# CASE OF THE DETROIT CONGRESS CHAPTER

By Louis Harap

A REMARKABLE letter was sent to every Detroit member of the American Jewish Congress on June 17 by Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman of the Congress executive committee. "Remarkable" because, although Rabbi Miller writes that the letter is intended to "inform the membership of all the facts in the case" of the expelled Detroit Metropolitan Chapter of Congress, it *does not contain a single fact about the case* in its whole two and a half single-spaced legal-size pages. The letter deals minutely with the procedure followed from bringing of charges to expulsion. It contains numerous general references to "lack of responsibility," "action without proper clearance," "defiance of properly constituted authority," "violations of organizational discipline," and so on. *But not one word of acts or issues on which the charges are based.*

The matter therefore bears deeper examination, particularly because this performance is not an isolated example of recent Congress leadership actions. In the July issue of JEWISH LIFE this writer analyzed the trend in Congress of which the Detroit case is only one manifestation. In that article the writer showed that a handful of top leaders of Congress have for the past few years been trying to strangle Congress as a progressive mass organization. This small group, composed of Dr. David Petegorsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Shad Polier and his wife Justice Justine Wise Polier and a few others, are trying to convert Congress into an American Jewish Committee type of organization. This means elimination of mass participation in Congress activity, usurpation of policy-making from the membership and limitation of activity and control to the national office. The expulsion from Congress of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council, progressive Jewish organizations, was decided at the same May 26 meeting of the executive committee at which the Detroit chapter was expelled. In other words, the leadership is warring on that sector of the membership that has been most active and most determined to carry out Congress policy in mass action.

A significant commentary on the expulsion proceedings and the trend in Congress can be inferred from the approving remarks made in the professional anti-communist smear newsletter, *Counterattack*. This weekly diatribe, edited by several ex-FBI agents who are trying to cash in on the anti-communist hysteria, complains that the expulsion of the JPFO was long overdue, since the International Workers Order, of which the JPFO is a section, had been placed on the first Clark "subversive" list in November 1947. The newsletter also points out that this move is part of "house-cleaning" of "communists" in Congress, even though this consideration doesn't appear in the formal

charges. And *Counterattack* also conveys the inside dope that contributors to the United Jewish Appeal put pressure on Congress to effect the expulsion. Are Congress leaders disturbed by approbation from such a source?

## Facts of Detroit Case

What were the facts of the Detroit case that Rabbi Miller was so coy about discussing before the membership?

The expulsion proceedings were precipitated by the fact that the Detroit Metropolitan Chapter had scheduled as a speaker at its second annual "Action Conference" to be held on December 5, 1948, a certain lawyer, Ernest Goodman, who is associated with the Michigan Civil Rights Congress.

The panels of the conference were on the topics, "The Impact of Israel on the World Scene," "Anti-Semitism—More or Less in 1949?" and "Safeguarding Minority Rights for the Survival of Democracy." No criticism was offered of the conference itself, as indeed none could be, since the holding of it on these crucial topics was an infeasible sign of a vital group's devotion to the Congress program and executing it admirably. No challenge of the chapter's activities was involved in the charges. In fact, the official report of the hearing is explicit on this point. "We believe," says the report, "that all the Chapters, including the Metropolitan Chapter, have in the past displayed commendable initiative and militancy on many issues sponsored by Congress. . . . It cannot be denied that the [Metropolitan] Chapter has carried on interesting and worth-while programs." Nowhere was the chapter charged with violation of the Congress program.

## Procedural Smokescreen

It seems, however, that the chapter was guilty of "deliberate defiance of properly constituted authority." There is a Congress rule that programs and speakers for chapter activities must be approved, "cleared," with the Detroit Congress Council, the delegated executive body of Congress chapters in the city (Women's Division, Business and Professional Chapter and Youth Chapter, in addition to the Metropolitan Chapter. The Metropolitan Chapter is the most active and dynamic of the four, while the others are rather inactive). The Council, it should be noted, did not as such participate on the conference under question, thus indicating the degree of mass activity in the Congress program of the other chapters. Yet the Council issued an ultimatum to the Metropolitan Chapter about a week before the conference that Mr. Goodman be withdrawn as a



speaker or clearance for the conference would be refused. At a Council meeting on November 29, 1948, the question of Mr. Goodman's participation was debated. The chapter signified agreement with a compromise proposal that another speaker with a diverse viewpoint from Mr. Goodman's be invited.

A decisive speech in opposition to this compromise was made by a certain Sam Brown, paid national organizer for Congress in Detroit—the local agent of the national office—and the compromise was defeated. The Council then directed that Mr. Goodman be removed from the program. This the chapter refused to do on the grounds that this was rude treatment of a respected fighter for civil rights in Detroit and that exclusion of any one associated with the Civil Rights Congress was playing the game of the Un-American Activities Committee and the myriad witch-hunters who are undermining American democracy, which Congress was pledged to defend. The chapter rather chose to call off the conference in protest. On November 29, Morris Gleicher, chapter president, received a telegram from Dr. David Petegorsky, executive director of Congress, that if "the representative of the Civil Rights Congress" was not withdrawn, the chapter charter might be revoked.

### • The Real Issue

What was the real reason for the proceedings? Mr. Albert J. Silber, president of the Michigan Council of Congress, stated the issue clearly. "The charges," he said at the hearing in New York on May 26, "are not merely a charge of undisciplined or improper Congress procedure but is essentially a fight based upon political or social thinking." Yet the Congress leadership has tried to enmesh the whole case in a maze of technicalities, which are nothing but a facade behind which the national leadership is scheming to convert Congress into an American Jewish Committee type of self-appointed leadership. The Congress national office is desperately trying to make it appear to the membership that nothing has changed, that Congress still retains the mass and progressive character it possessed during the war years. In the Detroit case, as in that of the JPFO and AJLC and in one which has arisen in the Bronx, this vital issue is being covered up by a mass of procedural questions. That is why Rabbi Miller, in the letter mentioned above, unwound a wordy, pompous rigmarole of technical procedure without mentioning the substance of the case. Neither he nor the rest of Congress leadership wish to face the membership with the real issue; namely, that the Detroit expulsion was based on the political objections to participation of Mr. Goodman in the conference.

The claim that the Detroit chapter was expelled on procedural and technical grounds is not only frivolous, but deliberately misleading. If the chapter made simply procedural mistakes, is anyone so naive as to believe that the Congress leadership would rush in to spend large sums on committees, travel expenses, transcripts, etc.? This is absurd on its face. But we doubt if the intelligent Congress

membership will fall for this fraud. The truth is, on the hearing committee's own testimony, that the Detroit chapter was doing an excellent job of carrying out the Congress program, and merited not expulsion, but commendation. Mr. Silber, president of the Michigan Congress Council, voted against expulsion at the executive committee on May 26 because he held that expulsion was too severe a punishment for procedural mistakes. Any common sense view will concur.

But several other charges against the chapter need to be examined. Harry Toy, Detroit Police Commissioner, who is known as a reactionary and anti-labor official, asserted on the radio in the spring of 1948 that non-Jewish communist agents were entering the country under the disguise of rabbis. The Detroit Jewish Community Council accepted Toy's word that no anti-Semitism was intended and persuaded the Detroit Congress Council that nothing should be done on the matter. But the Metropolitan Chapter acted promptly. Despite the refusal of the Congress Council (under Community Council advice) to grant permission to take up the case, the chapter issued a leaflet demanding the removal of Toy. The Detroit community was thus alerted to the issue by the leaflet. This chapter action was vindicated by the fact that the Community Council was later obliged to reverse its stand on Toy. Yet this Toy incident figures as a violation of discipline among the grounds for expulsion of the chapter.

### Trailing the Community Council

The dependence of the Congress Council on the Community Council, as shown in the Toy incident, raises a basic question concerning the late trend in Congress. The Detroit Jewish Community Council has a consistent record of hush-hush in the American Jewish Committee manner and this gives it no warrant to speak in behalf of the Jewish community or to guide those who accept the Congress program. Several incidents will show the character of the Community Council. During the summer of 1944 the Detroit CIO and the Civil Rights Federation petitioned the Board of Education to deny Gerald L. K. Smith the use of a school building to conduct a meeting. Many organizations cooperated in this effort. But when the Community Council was asked to participate, a Council representative made this contribution to the proceedings: first, he did not think that Smith should be publicly combatted—that is, a hush-hush approach; and second, he thought that Smith might be excluded from school buildings for some technical violation, not on the basis of his anti-Semitic and anti-democratic propaganda. Smith was this time excluded on this technical basis. But Smith later agreed to abide by the regulations and was granted a permit to use a school building.

In October 1944 the council of *landsmanshaft* organizations of Detroit wished to hold an election mass meeting in support of President Roosevelt, but the Community Council objected to this meeting being held because they thought



that Jews had no right to take a partisan position.

In the summer of 1945 a series of anti-Semitic incidents occurred in Detroit. In one of them a number of boys suspected of coming from St. Cecilia's parish engaged in a demonstration characterized as anti-Semitic by the then Police Commissioner Ballenger. The commissioner was militantly determined to combat this and other manifestations of anti-Semitism. But after a conference with a representative of the Jewish Community Council, Mr. Ballenger lost his militancy, no longer regarded the events as anti-Semitic and dropped his plans to combat them. The hush-hush policy of the Community Council was thus helping to stifle opposition to anti-Semitism.

### *Which Way for Congress?*

Another instance. A Detroit veteran rented an apartment for himself and his wife after his discharge. When it was learned that the veteran was Jewish, he was not allowed to move in. The veteran, who wanted to fight the discrimination through, appealed to the Community Council for help. The Council told the veteran that he should not fight the case but offered to help him get an apartment elsewhere.

More examples could be offered, but the above are sufficient to expose the sort of "defense" of Jewish rights put up by the Council. Petegorsky, Miller and the rest can talk about "violation of procedure" and technical offenses till doomsday, but they cannot obscure the basic issue. Which path will they follow, the Community Council way, which is that of the American Jewish Committee, or the Congress way—that is, the path of Congress when it fought against hush-hush and for democratic involvement of the mass of Jewry in militant struggle for their rights? By their actions this dominant leadership is attempting to decide for Congress that it shall act in the Detroit Community Council way. But the local Congress chapter was fighting for the old Congress way and was expelled for this. Who then is subverting Congress and destroying its principles, its character and its integrity?

Another charge against the chapter relates to a contribution of \$50 made in October 1949 by the chapter to the Michigan Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights in the fight against the Callahan Bill, Michigan's little Mundt-Nixon bill, which has since become law. The committee included leading ministers and laymen of Michigan. The chapter tried to obtain approval of the contribution from the Congress Council, but was refused, because the Jewish Community Council disapproved of association with the Michigan Committee. An application for approval was then made to the national office—which was refused—but the chapter made the contribution anyway. Although this was a technical violation, the urgency of the situation must be taken into account. The bill was to be voted on in the November election, a short time off. Yet both the Congress Council and the national office refused to approve a contribution to the fight against a fascist-like measure because

they did not like the auspices under which the fight was being made. It is now obvious that procedure has strangely become an obstacle to action in the most critical situations. The conclusion is inescapable—Congress leadership has become largely indistinguishable in crucial respects from that reactionary, hush-hush Jewish leadership that Congress was set up to counteract.

### *Leadership Versus Membership*

The whole struggle in Congress at present is essentially one between leadership and membership. Where conflicts such as that in Detroit have arisen, the memberships of the attacked units have solidly lined up behind the local leadership under attack. In Detroit the situation is unequivocally clear. After the Congress Council ordered dropping Ernest Goodman as speaker or cancellation of the conference, the chapter summoned by telegram its 300 members to a meeting held on December 2, 1948. After a full report from the chapter officers and executive, the chapter membership endorsed by a vote of over 200 to 4 the refusal to censor Mr. Goodman. The membership also voted to cancel the conference and hold a protest meeting instead.

When the chapter was brought up on charges in the spring of 1949, the membership gathered to discuss the charges at a meeting on April 18. With the unanimous approval of the 180 members present a telegram was sent to the committee of the national executive committee appointed to try the case. The chapter membership demanded freedom from harassing trials and an open road to carrying out the urgent Congress program. Finally, at the chapter meeting on May 25, the president and a majority of the officers and executive board were returned to office. An appeal of the expulsion to the administrative committee, which will meet in September, has been made. If this appeal should fail, the chapter will undoubtedly appeal to the national convention set for November 9.

Behind all the procedural obfuscation of the national Congress leadership lies the attempt of this small group to change Congress from a mass organization to an American Jewish Committee type of organization designed to act as a brake on progressive mass action by the masses of American Jewry. So long as the present group in Congress leadership holds control, the trend toward a bureaucratic and hush-hush type of organization will continue. Any Congress chapter that manifests militancy and an effective program and mass participation will be subjected to technical obstacles and stands in danger of expulsion for effective activity, as was the case with the JPFO, the AJLC and the Metropolitan Chapter of Detroit. The majority of Congress membership has consistently demonstrated its concern for and militant support of a progressive course of action. But this path is being blocked by the present Congress leadership. The struggle for a program is inextricably linked with the struggle for a progressive leadership that will broaden the mass base and carry out a fighting Congress program.



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS OR JEWISH AGENCY OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

*An Editorial from the Paris Neie Presse*

A SCANDALOUS act has been added to the sum of anti-democratic actions of the World Jewish Congress leadership. The executive of the American Section of the World Jewish Congress (*i.e.*, American Jewish Congress) has expelled two important progressive Jewish organizations, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council.

This decision throws into sharper relief the reactionary orientation of the leadership of the World Jewish Congress. It demonstrates ever more clearly that they are much more concerned with the policies and directives of the American State Department than with the real interests of the Jewish masses.

Already a year ago at the congress meeting in Montreux, the leadership of the World Jewish Congress broke the basis for unity and democratic principles on which such an organization must be built, if this organization wishes to be the real spokesman for all Jewish communities. At that time the Congress leadership already evidenced discrimination against the progressive sections of the Jewish community of the United States by their refusal to admit a representative of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order into the world executive.

The reason for the exclusion was quite simple. Those who executed this act of discrimination made no secret of it. The admission of representatives from the Jewish People's Fraternal Order would displease the "inner circles" of the State Department. And this attempt to keep in the good graces of the powers that be, is in the old fawning tradition of certain bourgeois Jewish politicians.

This act of discrimination brought the first break in the World Jewish Congress. The Jewish communities of central and eastern Europe and the progressive organizations of France and other countries at that time refused to take their seats on the executive so long as a representative of the American progressive Jewish organizations was not admitted.

Nor was this the only anti-progressive act of the World Jewish Congress leadership. Since then we have seen how completely passive the World Congress executive has remained in the face of the greatest menace confronting our people in the post-war world: the menace of the rebirth of nazism. Nazism is coming back to power in Germany with the aid of American capital, with the agreement and encouragement of the American occupation authorities.

The failure of the World Jewish Congress leadership to rally the Jewish people against the rise of nazism shows particularly clearly that the interests of American reaction are of greater concern to this leadership than the vital interests of the Jewish people.

This very same leadership rejected all requests for participation in the Paris World Congress for Peace in April where the representatives of 600 million people of all races, nations and colors gathered in the struggle against war. The World Jewish Congress thereby committed an act of betrayal against our people. It refused to participate in the struggle against a new war and new Oswiecims and Maidaneks.

Because of these acts the leadership of the World Jewish Congress made it impossible for the Jewish communities of the eastern democracies to remain in the Congress.

And now we witness its latest act. A year after its refusal to allow a representative of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order a seat on the world executive, its American Section has expelled this important people's organization from its ranks. The motive offered is characteristic of Congress methods. The Jewish People's Fraternal Order committed a "crime." It had been instrumental in introducing into the Congress of the United States a bill to outlaw anti-Semitism. Imagine! For fighting against anti-Semitism one gets kicked out of the American Jewish Congress!

What remains of the World Jewish Congress after isolating itself from the eastern European Jewish communities and the Jewish democratic forces throughout the world, after expelling the progressive Jewish organizations in America, after its failure to react to the birth of a nazi Germany and after its refusal to participate in the world congress for peace?

Only one thing, so far as we can see—it no longer has the right to call itself a "World Congress" and even still less right to call itself a *Jewish* World Congress. For it represents neither the Jewish communities of the world nor the actual interests of the Jews.

The Jewish masses want a democratic organization that will fight for their interests and not a Jewish agency of the State Department that will parade under the name of the World Jewish Congress.

June 28, 1949.



# TRIAL OF THE BOOKS

By Albert Maltz

ON October 27, 1553, a man was burned at the stake in the city of Geneva, Switzerland. His name was Michael Servetus, he was a mathematician, a physician and a student of theology. He was burned because he had written a small book on Christian doctrine called *On the Errors of The Trinity*. It was a book that expressed for the first time the creed now known as Unitarianism. And when Servetus was tied to the stake, the book he had written was chained to his body. Book and man were burned together.

These are the cruel lengths to which men in power, when they fear to have their ideas challenged, have sometimes gone. It has been no different in our time and it is no different today.

Two weeks ago President Truman in a press conference made a reference to American history that was grossly misleading. In commenting on the current spy hysteria he asserted that hysteria followed every war; he pointed to the Alien and Sedition period as an example. To understand history in this way is to believe that spy scares, like



ALBERT MALTZ, one of the Hollywood Ten, is a writer for screen and theater. His recent novel, *The Journey of Simon McKeever*, was bought for the movies by Warners and a few days later shelved solely because Maltz is blacklisted. This speech was delivered at the Civil Rights Congress mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on June 28, 1949.

locust plagues, are a phenomenon of nature. No one causes them, we are to believe, they are a natural affliction, everyone suffers equally, it is all part of the eternal mystery of life.

Only it is nothing of the sort. In the years 1798-1800 some 16 newspaper editors in the United States were jailed when they printed criticism of the policies of those who were temporarily in the seat of government. They were jailed, moreover, not out of hand but after presumably legal trials based upon legal indictments based upon law. The law in that case was not the Smith Act but the Sedition Act. It was a law in direct violation of the Bill of Rights but the Federalist Party then in power was not concerned with the rights of citizens. Quite the contrary, it was determined to smother all political opposition by a lawless use of the law. It wanted to control the thinking of citizens and it did so, in the first instance, by attacking those who communicated ideas through the pen. And none of this was a natural phenomenon, like a tornado or a plague of locusts. The hysteria of 1798 was fomented and calculated to a purpose. And the hysteria of 1949 had part of its commencement in the action of President Truman himself, in his Executive Loyalty Order. The erosion of civil rights in our nation today is not the result of grasshoppers—unless the attorney general and other government officials are grasshoppers. There is nothing natural or inevitable about it.

## Power of a Book

It is always so easy to reject the thought control of yesterday, to be a democrat at the distance of a hundred years. There is no humane American writer today, whatever his politics, who does not recall the nazi book burnings with scorn and loathing. There is no historian or minister or jurist who will today defend in America the institution of slavery. Yet, less than a century ago, learned ministers, historians and jurists defended slavery as a natural, ethical system founded in law, in Gospel and in morality. Less than a century ago a book was published called *The Impending Crisis of the South*. The author was Hinton Rowan Helper, the son of a North Carolina land and slave owner. Helper's book was an argument directed at Southerners by a Southerner. Using census statistics the book proved that slavery was bad economics and that the South would profit financially and culturally by abolishing slavery. The argument was sound. But the clique of slave-owners, who controlled their state legislatures and press and pulpit, did not care for the welfare of the South when it ran counter to their own privilege. They would not give up their slaves and so this book was very dangerous to them. It was a book capable of arousing opposition to slavery in the mass of Southern whites who did not own slaves. And for this reason Southern Legislatures passed laws specifically for-





*Trial of the books—nazi style. Berlin book-burning, May 10, 1933.*

bidding the sale, purchase or possession of *The Impending Crisis*. In Arkansas three men were lynched by so-called patriots for owning copies of the book. Throughout the South men were mobbed, arrested and put on trial for having the book in their homes.

Such is the power of a book. Such is the *fear* of a book by those determined to maintain their own policies despite the interests of a nation.

Let us note here that although Servetus was burned, scientific thought flourishes; that although Jeffersonians editors were jailed in 1798, Thomas Jefferson was elected President in 1800 and the Federalists were repudiated by the people. Let us note also that slavery was a backward economic system, as well as an immoral and evil one, and that banning a book that said so did not increase the efficiency or extend the life of slavery.

#### ***Books Are Indicted***

These lessons of history are clear. But it is easier to understand the events of the past than the confused turmoil of the present. It is a bitter thing for our nation, I believe, that so many people do not know that today, in the City of New York, others books are in process of being banned for a similar purpose. Point number 9 of the indictment against the Communist Party leaders in their current trial says this: "It was further a part of said conspiracy that said defendants would publish and circulate, and cause to be published and circulated, books, articles, magazines and newspapers advocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Here is a volume of literature, some of which has been in existence for a hundred years and has been circulating in this nation for that length of time. If the principles of Marxism advocate the violent overthrow of the United States government as alleged, why has it taken a hundred years to discover it? Furthermore the Smith Act, under which the indictment against these books was brought, was passed in 1940. In view of the number of informers who allegedly have been reporting steadily to the FBI that the books and the Communist leaders did indeed advocate force and violence, why did it take eight years to draw up a two page indictment?

It did not take eight years. And it is not the Communist Party alone that is on trial in New York today. Surely one need not be a believer in the principles of Marxism to recognize what it means when books are put on trial.

Behind this trial . . . as behind the dismissal of eight university professors who supported Henry Wallace . . . as behind the investigation of Hollywood 20 months ago . . . as behind the recent demand of the Un-American Activities Committee for the list of text books used by the schools and colleges . . . there is taking place a struggle that will decide the way of life of America in the future. And what is being decided is this: whether this nation belongs to the people or whether it belongs to government officials and the FBI; whether the people will remain the sovereign power of this nation, as guaranteed by our Constitution and our tradition—or whether the basic political power will now pass illegally into the hands of government;



whether the public official is the servant of the people or the master. This is what is being decided.

### ***Towards a "New Order"?***

Twenty months ago, on the witness stand before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I said this: "If I were a spokesman for General Franco, I would not be here today." And it is very clear to me that if the Communist leaders were advocates of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan they would not be on trial today. The investigation of the motion picture industry and the blacklist of the ten men that followed it, can now be seen as one early step of a massive attack against cultural and intellectual and political freedom in our nation. By the lawless application of the law . . . by job blacklist . . . by public slander . . . by the use of informers and prosecutory investigations, this nation is being transformed. If there were teachers or lawyers or physicians, if there were trade unionists or scientists, who regarded the Hollywood investigation as a circus that did not concern *them*, the 20 months since have been coldly educational to them and to all of us. The process of regimentation that began with President Truman's Loyalty Order concerning federal workers, is now applied to educators in California. The blacklist of ten Hollywood artists has taught universities how to blacklist.

And all of this advances to a purpose, and the purpose is this: the creation of a *new* America, a nation in which citizens will be accountable to government officials for their political beliefs; a nation in which citizens may be questioned under oath and persecuted and punished for political beliefs different from those held by government officials; a nation in which there will be no films and no books and no plays and no writers whose ideas offend a government official; a nation in which the Bill of Rights, with its guarantees of freedom of conscience and freedom of speech and freedom of political association will be a document to be read by candlelight behind closed doors. It will be saluted publicly once a year, perhaps, on the Fourth of July; it will be spoken by a hypocritical orator to a silent people who will be too intimidated to laugh at the bitter irony.

This conspiracy against the American people advances now upon the body of our nation like a winter sea slowly rising higher and higher over the shore, by small waves and large, in varied tides, but steadily. It advances by an executive order from the president; by a list of people's organizations arbitrarily and illegally called subversive by the attorney general; by a rogue's gallery in *Life* magazine of distinguished Americans who dared meet in conference to seek ways of achieving world peace; by daily scare headlines in the press; by a scientist dismissed here and a ship-yard worker there and a minister removed from his pulpit; by manufactured menaces abroad and invented threats at home; and by many other ways, so often with a shabby cloak of legality, like the trial of the Communist Party and its books now going on in New York.

If the Communist Party is held guilty in this monstrous

trial against political freedom, and if the books of Marx and Lenin are forbidden to be taught, then there will be no need to look with scorn at the barbaric nazis. And it will not be the books of Marx and Lenin alone that are cast out of libraries and forbidden to publishers. And the American intellectuals who have protested so properly the banning of the *Nation* in the New York City schools will live to see the *Nation* banned throughout this land.

### ***The People Will Resist***

Has nothing been learned? Is it possible that decent citizens of all political beliefs who saw the German catastrophe will remain blind to the same handwriting on *our* wall? Is it possible that the scientists and artists, the educators and professionals, the critics and writers of America—for whom independent thought is the life blood of our existence—will not recognize that this drive for thought control is directed at them as a whole, no matter what their politics?

Is it possible that when the cases of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, representing the Hollywood Ten, go on appeal to the Supreme Court in the fall of this year, that the cultural world of America will not realize that the issue of censorship is on appeal, that their own freedom of political association is on appeal, that not only the freedom of the screen, but the ultimate freedom of books, of the theater, of science, of education, of the press are on appeal?

I cannot believe that this will not be widely understood. There are too many signs that people already understand, and that indignation is rising. I do not believe in a coming American police state because I do not believe that Americans will allow it. But never in our history have these conspirators been successful for long. This land was founded and built by those who read books and did not burn them. They rejected the ideas of many books but they did not ban them and they did not burn them. There is a majesty in the American democratic tradition and it is on our side; there is a health to the American democratic tradition and it is on our side; there is a health to the American mind and a courage in the American spirit that have always asserted themselves.

I believe we will see it again. The times require it. The future of this wonderful land depends upon it. I believe that the decision will be a good one and that it will be made by our people in a good way.

And that, of course, means each one of us. Each one of us insistent that if we advocate rent control or FEPC—an end to political inquisition or an end to atom bomb diplomacy—that we will stand by our beliefs and speak them out and not be intimidated.

For we are the people and it is our right to belong to the organizations we choose, to vote for whomever we choose, to read the books we choose, to advocate what we choose. This is our land, it belongs to us, and no one, no one, can take these rights from us—provided we deeply want them. In our action today rests our future.



# "SAVING" JEWS FROM SOCIALISM

By G. Koenig

**A** READING of most of the Zionist press of the past few months would lead one to the conclusion that Jews have one enemy against whom they must direct all attacks and heavy artillery: the Soviet Union and the eastern democracies.

From New York to Tel Aviv and from Tel Aviv to Paris, this hysterical cry is being raised throughout the Zionist press. Journalists vie in surpassing each other in calumnies against those countries to which we Jews are indebted for our very existence, to which Israel owes an eternal debt of gratitude for their decisive role in the UN for helping to bring about the decision for an independent Jewish state. Those countries helped save the life of the young Jewish state when British and American tanks and planes and six Arab vassal armies, speeded on by Bevin and headed by the British Glubb Pasha and by German SS officers, were attempting to wipe out both the state and its population.

Following the campaign of calumny about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the filthiest incitation against the Polish people's democracy, a concentrated attack against the people's governments of Hungary and Rumania is now under way.

A reader of the Zionist press gets the impression that Jews in Rumania and Hungary are actually being killed in the streets, that bread is being taken from their mouths, that these governments include the most horrible anti-Semites; that every Jew in Paris, Tel Aviv and New York is simply a criminal if he sits by quietly and does not participate in the cry that Jews must be "saved" from these countries as quickly as possible. One gets the impression from these papers that all the Jews of America, Africa, western Europe and the Middle East have already arrived in Israel and are now waiting for the arrival of the Jews of Hungary and Rumania, for whom there are housing and factories ready to give them work.

One also gets the impression from these papers that Israel faces no problems or dangers from imperialism; that Bevin is now an innocent lamb; that at the gates of Israel now stand only friends like the Mufti and King Abdullah. As for America, Truman stands with a sack of dollars, practically pleading: "Please take this money from me. Use as much of it as you want. I'm only looking out for your own interests. You know how much I love you." The Jewish people face no danger of war; nazis or anti-Semites no longer exist. Only one danger and cause for apprehension remains—the Soviet Union and the people's democracy, against whom the Zionist leaders are mobilizing all their energy. In the name of the "interests of the Jewish people"

a campaign of calumny against Rumania and Hungary is being carried on.

Now let us examine how the question of Rumania and Hungary really looks from the standpoint of Jewish interests.

## *Relations with Israel*

Let us begin with Israel.

Not a single Zionist leader will dare to deny that no change has taken place in the positive, friendly and consistent relationship of Rumania and Hungary, even as of the Soviet Union and the other new democracies, to the state of Israel. These countries were among the first to recognize Israel. They helped Israel morally and materially at its most dangerous moment. They established diplomatic relations with Israel, exchanged ambassadors and consulates, established trade relations which would have been greater, if it were not for the fear of certain Zionist leaders that they would incur the wrath of the State Department.

Why then do the Zionist leaders carry on this agitation against Rumania and Hungary? Are they so ungrateful and openly hostile as to be ready at any price to provoke diplomatic conflict between Israel and these countries? Are they determined to create a situation that would kill the friendship between these countries and the state of Israel? In whose interest would such a scandalous and irresponsible policy be? It could only serve and delight the enemies of Israel, who lie in wait for the moment when Israel would become isolated from the friendship of the east and would then swallow up the state of Israel.

This campaign of slander against the new democracies has nothing to do with Jewish interests. On the contrary, it is prompted, if not dictated, by the interests of the imperialist warmongers and is to the detriment of the interests of the Jewish people.

## *Relation to Local Jewish People*

Let us glance at the relations between the Rumanian and Hungarian governments to their local Jewish populations.

First of all, it is important to remember that, if over a half a million Jews are alive in these countries and if the Zionist leaders can even discuss the question of "saving" Jews from these countries, it is only because the Red Army saved them from certain death in Hitler's death camps. To besmirch those who saved half a million Jews (and would have saved many more if Churchill had not, because of his hatred of socialism, delayed the opening of the Second Front), not to mention the millions of Jews of

G. KOENIG is editor of *Neie Presse*, progressive Yiddish daily in Paris.



other countries and of Israel who were saved by Hitler's defeat, is the highest degree of ingratitude and spits in the face of Jewish interests.

What "horrible" things are happening to the Jews of Hungary and Rumania? These governments have given the Jewish masses full and equal rights. Jews now have the opportunity to work and occupy the most important government posts. Anti-Semitism has been outlawed, is punishable according to the constitution, and is being punished in practice. The Jewish population is being productivised on a tremendous scale. Jews are being taught trades, drawn into heavy industry and agriculture. The doors of the universities and all schools are being opened wide for Jewish students. Jewish culture, Jewish theater and Jewish schools are receiving the fullest government support.

One may then ask, what's all the noise about? Why all these cries about "saving" Jews? All the noise is being made because socialism is being built in these lands. And the Zionist leaders are perhaps more scared of socialism than of the nazis now being returned to power in western Germany. But it should be clear that fighting socialism is not a "Jewish" problem. All reactionaries and right-wing social democracy in all countries are fighting socialism. As a matter of fact, all forces so eager for a new world war are fighting socialism.

Why, then, do not you, who incite against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, say openly and frankly: We have started this hue and cry because we are tied to the chariot of the enemies of those countries that are building socialism. But don't try to drag in Israel and the Jewish people, whose vital interests demand that they ally themselves to the forces of socialism and peace.

### **Why Panic Emigration?**

Let us now turn to the question of *aliyah* (emigration to Israel). It must be clear at the outset that the attack on Rumania and Hungary has absolutely no connection with the problem of settling Jews from other countries in Israel. The best proof of this is that in America, where there are over five and a half million Jews, the question of *aliyah* is not even raised. Furthermore, only recently Jews were sent back from Marseille to Morocco and Algiers because the Zionist leadership refused to send them on to Israel. The official bulletins of the Jewish Agency are publicly discussing reduction of and perhaps even a temporary halt to the *aliyah* because of the economic difficulties of Israel, the critical housing situation and the difficulties of creating work for those who have entered Israel within the past year.

Why, then, this hysterical pressure on Rumania and Hungary? The answer is obviously that the authors of this campaign are trying to "save" Jews from socialism. We see here the attempt, conscious among some, perhaps unconscious among others, to create panic and hysteria among the Jews of these countries that are building socialism and to give world reaction another argument about "anti-Semitism" in the eastern European countries.

But this is not all. Jews are still emigrating to Israel from the east European countries, from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary. If the issue were only immigration and the Zionist leadership wanted to handle the matter honorably, they know quite well that official Israeli representatives in all of these countries can and should come to an agreement on these, as on all other questions, in an official manner and in a spirit that should prevail in all affairs between friendly governments.

But this question is obviously not one of *aliyah*. What the Zionists are doing is to organize an illegal and panic movement to cross borders without the knowledge of, and against the will of, the eastern European countries. How then can one judge such unfriendly and hostile acts, particularly in relation to governments with which friendly and diplomatic relationships exist? Would any government allow its citizens to rush across its borders without passports or control? Under the Hitler regime in Germany or in occupied countries, when Jewish children were secretly being smuggled to Switzerland during the time of the nazi occupation of France, the organization of illegal emigration of Jews was a national responsibility and a duty. Do the Zionist leaders wish to adopt the same methods used on our mortal enemies, the murderers of six million of our brothers, towards countries at whose heads stand the best friends of Israel? How different is this attitude from that of the French reactionaries who sold out to Hitler under the slogan of "Better Hitlerism than socialism?"

### **Responsiveness to State Department**

The following will reveal who is behind this "illegal immigration." A year ago the American press started a furore because, they said, the Jews of Rumania who were coming to Israel were "agents of the Cominform." Thereupon the Zionist leadership in Israel, in order not to give the State Department any cause for worry, sent out an order to its representatives in Rumania to halt the ships that were to leave for Israel with Rumanian Jews. Today, however, the State Department seems to feel that a panic immigration of Rumanian Jews should be organized so as to complement the illegal immigration of fascist Rumanian elements. The same Zionist leadership that a year ago closed the doors of Israel on the Rumanian Jews is now turning worlds in order to "save" them by emigration.

The question is, do the people's democracies have the right to disagree that the State Department should decide that Rumanian Jews should or should not go to Israel? Fortunately, the State Department does not have the last word in the socialist countries, nor can the Zionist leaders force these countries to heed the State Department.

Other facts than these also show that the Zionist leaders wish to convert their movement to the main task of becoming an instrument of struggle against socialism and to draw the entire Jewish people into this struggle. This aim is evident from the day to day incitements of the Mapai (Israel Labor Party) against the World Peace Congress



movement in Israel. This aim is apparent from the official receptions in Israel for Leon Jouhaux of the French "third force" and for the leaders of the anti-Soviet Jewish Labor Committee of the United States. All this is quite consistent with the direction pointed by Henry Morgenthau, head of the United Jewish Appeal, who declared that "every dollar gathered for Israel will aid the struggle against world communism."

Why, then, do the Zionist leaders feel offended when the people's democracies consider them elements whose main task is to fight socialism? Why, then, are they so upset when their *shlichim* (special Zionist emissaries), who come to Rumania or Hungary with the power of the dollar, "which will be used in the struggle against world communism," and attempt to organize illegal and panic immigration, do not receive a warm welcome from the governments of these countries?

What would the Israeli government do, if *schlichim* of Rumania and Hungary were to come to Israel to organize an illegal exodus of Jews from Israel to Rumania and Hungary? The Zionist leaders and their press should not make such a pretense of indignation and assume an air of innocent injury. Let them remember that he who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind.

If any doubt remains that it is class interest, the interest of Wall Street, which weighs more decisively with many Zionist leaders than the interest of Israel and of the Jewish people, one should read the article of the president of the Zionist Organization of America, Daniel Frisch, in the New York Yiddish paper, the *Day*, in which he disclaimed the idea that the Zionist movement can be led "even by the government of the state of Israel," because "the Jews of the world cannot be led by Jerusalem or Tel Aviv." Obviously, the center of gravity for this Zionist leader is not Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, but New York or Washington. In order to leave no doubt of his meaning, Frisch declares quite openly: "The political and economic kaleidoscope of development is changing so fast in the world and particularly in the Middle East, that one cannot tell what each day will bring, what will happen tomorrow and what will be demanded of us, what elements will dominate the country. . . ." In other words, if, heaven forbid, a real people's government should arise in Israel, it will be necessary for the Zionist movement in America to exist so that it might organize a struggle against the people's government of Israel. And Frisch points to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic countries as instances where this "tragedy" has already occurred.

### **The Real Facts**

The Zionist leaders, in other words, already see the possibility that this may happen in Israel and are preparing for the eventuality of having to organize an "illegal immigration" from Israel in order to "save" the Jews of Israel from socialism.

It is therefore clear that:

1) The eastern democracies are the best and surest friends of Israel.

2) The Jews of these countries have complete, genuine political, economic and cultural equality with all other citizens of the country.

3) The question of immigration of Jews to Israel can be solved in an official, friendly and legal way through the Israeli ambassadors and consulates in those countries.

4) The Zionist campaign to "save" the Jews of these countries and the hysterical campaign of slander surrounding this illegal drive, can only serve the warmongers in their fight against the new democracies and divert the attention of the Jewish masses from the real dangers of rising nazism and of preparation for a new war and for new concentration camps.

5) This campaign of hysteria falls in with the plans of Bevin, who would like nothing better than to bring about a diplomatic conflict between Israel and the eastern European countries.

6) Certain Zionist leaders would be ready to carry on a struggle against Israel itself if the people there were to elect a real people's government.

We are convinced that the Jewish masses will not allow themselves to be influenced by this slanderous campaign against the best friends of the Jewish people. We are convinced that honest and responsible Zionists will not allow a propaganda campaign and measures to be undertaken in their name which would have dangerous results for both Israel and the Jewish people generally.

## **SONG OF THE PALMACH**

*Translated by Aaron Kramer*

Not a head is bowed among us,  
Though the winds blow wild today.  
Tell us where an army's needed  
And Palmach will lead the way!

From Metula to the Negev,  
From the great sea to the sands,  
Every one who has the power  
Holds a rifle in his hands.

Eagles have their course to follow,  
There are trails that nomads know,  
Ours is over rocks and mountains  
Toward the shadow of the foe.

But first are we, and foremost,  
In the dark or in the day.  
Tell us where an army's needed  
And Palmach will lead the way!

*Aaron Kramer's new volume of poetry, The Golden Trumpet, will shortly be published by International Publishers (50¢).*



# THE HORSE WAS ALWAYS WITH US

A Short Story

By Yuri Suhl

**B**EATRICE had told me much about her six older brothers and her two younger sisters but had not mentioned the horse at all. Maybe because she was ashamed to reveal that her father was a fruit peddler. Or maybe because a horse is never really considered part of the family. But whatever it was that kept her from talking about it, the horse could not be concealed indefinitely.

Beatrice lived with her large family on top of a livery stable on Ellery Street in Brooklyn. At one time the stable had housed as many as five horses and an equal number of wagons which her father hired out to fruit and vegetable peddlers. Now "Nosy"—a nickname the horse so thoroughly deserved—was its sole breathing inhabitant.

This single fact not only reflected the decline of her father's business but also explained—partly at least—the peculiarities of her father's horse. For now the stable had become a garage for pushcarts above which towered a lone wagon, and among which roamed a lone horse.

Being a horse among pushcarts that neither neighed nor whinnied but stood in fixed immobility, night after night, had done something to Nosy—it brought him closer to the human race. And the closest he could get to it was the side-door that opened onto the hallway of the house, which was Mr. Shlumkin's private entrance to the stable.

Ever since Beatrice's father began to ail and his trips to the fruit market had become less and less frequent, Nosy's life was reduced, more and more, to a state of desolate isolation. True, he was fed the same amount of fodder even now. But that was small consolation for a horse that for years had lived by the sweat of his hide. His appetite began to fall off and, with it, his weight. He left the trough, the soft bed of straw nearby and the small, grated window facing the yard, and moved to the dark, barren spot by the door. There he would stand, his nose close to the doorcrack, his ears straining for the sounds of familiar footsteps, his big, melancholy eyes staring fixedly ahead of him.

Fortunately for Mr. Shlumkin, Nosy never discovered the use of the doorknob. For if he had, he would, out of sheer loneliness, have opened the door, clambered up the flight of rickety stairs, barged into Mr. Shlumkin's bedroom, planted himself at the foot of his owner's bed and refused to go down again to the stable. For me it would have been a blessing.

Beatrice was in my Latin class and she was worried. She was also in my algebra class where I was worried. It was this mutual bond of worry that had brought us together. At first it was strictly a I'll-help-you-with-Latin-and-you'll-help-me-with-algebra relationship. But she was

16 and very pretty, and I was 17—and with a past. I had soon realized that Beatrice Shlumkin was the ideal girl to fill out the vast hole in my life left by Shirley Kaplan. From then on we had little time for algebra, and even less for Latin.

The distance between Eastern District Evening High School and Ellery Street was a considerable one, and the Tompkins Avenue trolley car that came clanging by at regular five-minute intervals was eager to accommodate everybody at the rate of five cents per head. But Beatrice and I chose to walk it every night, five nights a week.

No, I didn't carry her books. I held her arm instead, and every time I passed Shirley Kaplan's candy store my heart would pick up a few extra beats and my eyes would automatically turn in that direction. I hoped that she would stand on the doorstep and watch us go by. At times I was even tempted to walk right into her candy store with Beatrice and sit down, not at the counter, but like a regular sport, at one of the two small porcelain-topped tables, and order two banana splits. I visualized Shirley turning green with jealousy at the mere sight of Beatrice. I imagined her running out of the store into her bedroom, slamming the door angrily behind her, flinging herself down on her bed and crying buckets of tears into her pillow.

But I never once yielded to this temptation. The most I extracted from it were these visions, so soothing to my wounded pride.

THERE WERE MANY REASONS WHY I LIKED BEATRICE. Her looks—she was much prettier than Shirley. Her difficulty with Latin—overnight this had transformed me into a Latin scholar. Her simple tastes—in an ice-cream parlor she never ordered anything fancy. A plain chocolate soda was all she wanted. It was easy and inexpensive to be a regular sport with her.

But best of all I liked her talkativeness. She had an inexhaustible store of words and never ran out of topics for conversation. She talked in a tone of amiable chattiness which endowed her words with a ring of warm intimacy, as though they came from the very bottom of her heart. She talked on and on. At times she would stop long enough to catch her breath, and at times she would forego even that.

My own contribution to our nightly conversation was a modest one—an occasional "mm-mm," and "is that so," a "you don't say," a simulated twinkle of interest in my eyes; but mainly a pair of patient ears. That is why I liked her so much. In Shirley's presence I had been tongue-tied and ill at ease. But Beatrice taught me that silence too had its rewards. "Gee, you're such a good listener," she said to me once, at the close of an evening. "It's very seldom you find a good listener."

YURI SUHL is a prominent Yiddish poet and short story writer who recently returned from eight months in the new democracies. He has also written fiction in English.



It was a pleasure to have your tongue lie idle and relaxed in your mouth without feeling guilty about it.

In the beginning our long walks home from school would come to an end at the corner of Ellery and Tompkins, half a block from her house. Later on I began to walk her right up to the door where leave-taking was more prolonged and more exciting. We would, very naturally, sit down on the doorstep to rest our feet. It was wide enough to accommodate two, but only after one arm was gotten out of the way could two sit comfortably. It was I who always removed my arm, choosing Beatrice's shoulder for its logical resting place. She never protested. Every now and then the conversation would become very animated and she would turn her head in a way that caused her cheek to brush against mine. Such moments of fleeting contact became more and more frequent. Before long, I developed a genuine fondness for the size of the doorstep.

It was during this doorstep-stage of our courtship that I began to meet the members of her family. One evening a window was pushed open on the first floor and a woman's high-pitched voice descended upon us:

"Beatrice, come up to sleep. It's late already!"

Beatrice turned her head up toward the window and said, "I'll be right up, Ma, don't worry about me."

She enunciated the words with deliberate slowness, as though trying to erase the effect of her mother's intrusion. But the woman would not be placated. She leaned out even farther and raised her voice even louder: "Don't give me any advices. It's late already. Come up!"

Beatrice opened a book and waved it at her mother. "Can't you see? I'm doing my homework. Go to bed, Ma. I'll be up right away."

I drew my head in and buried it in my lap.

"Some homework!" the woman said, as though muttering to herself. "All of a sudden she becomes educated in the middle of the night. If you wanna do homework, tomorrow is also a day!" And with this she drew her head in and shut the window.

"Maybe I should go," I said, apologetically, to Beatrice. "I don't want you to get into any trouble on account of me."

"No!" she said, with defiance. "I'll go when I'm good and ready."

Then followed a long moment of awkward silence during which I searched my brain for some fitting words of consolation, but could not think of any. It took another member of the Shlumkin family to dispel the gloom her mother had cast upon us. Beatrice looked up and recognized her oldest brother in the distance.

"This is Jack," she pointed him out to me, "the one I told you so much about."

When he came up to the house we rose to let him pass and he stopped long enough to be introduced. We shook hands and mumbled the customary "Pleased to meet you," then he said goodnight and quickly went upstairs.

GRADUALLY OUR COURTSHIP BEGAN TO TAKE ON A FAMILIAR

pattern. We would sit on the doorstep, holding hands and talking quietly. Then Mrs. Shlumkin would open the window and call down to her daughter: "Beatrice, it's late. Come up already!" a plea which Beatrice ignored with stubborn regularity. Then her mother would just sit by the window, keep a watchful eye on her daughter and, finally, give one long yawn of disgust, close the window and go to bed. Then her brothers would begin to arrive, one by one. And when the last of the brothers had gone up it was time for me, too, to go home.

But one night, after we had counted the sixth of the brothers in, we ventured beyond the doorstep into the hallway where we could say goodnight to each other properly. We entered and closed the door quietly behind us. The hallway was pitch dark and the sharp smell of horse manure rushed to my nostrils. But this unpleasantness was quickly dispelled by the pleasant feeling of being, at last, completely alone with Beatrice.

We put our books down on the ground and Beatrice leaned against the wall at the foot of the stairs. Without any further preliminaries we embraced and our mouths were drawn tight to each other. The soft, velvety touch of her lips against mine, tremblingly yielding, moistened by the warm lubricant of saliva and fanned by the hot breath of our nostrils, made my skin tingle with joy. It was breathtakingly sweet. My head was spinning in a whirl of intoxicating dizziness and I felt as though the floor had detached itself from under me and I was soaring blithely into some distant heights, when, suddenly, the shrill neigh of a horse shocked me frighteningly down to earth again. I dropped my arms with a start, jumped to a side and, stumbling over my books, went sprawling to the floor. The clatter caused by my fall only invited a fresh burst of neighing from the horse who, I was sure, was now trampling me mercilessly with his hoofs.

Beatrice extended her hand and helped me to my feet. "It's the horse," she said, calmly, "don't be frightened."

"Where is he?" I said, with alarm, afraid to let go of her hand.

"In the stable," she said, "don't worry, he won't get out."

She freed herself from the grip of my hand, crossed the hallway and began to rattle the knob of a door that to me seemed invisible. "Quiet, Nosy!" she said to the beast, "quiet, you'll wake up the whole house."

Nosy shifted his legs. As long as Beatrice was at the door he was quiet. But as soon as she crossed the hallway and took my hand into hers he gave a quick, lusty whinny as though he were calling her back. Both of us stood there, holding our breath, waiting to hear what Nosy would do next. But the horse, it seemed, was pursuing a similar strategy and when Beatrice failed to respond to his call, he uttered a long and angry neigh that resounded deafeningly through the hallway.

Beatrice crossed the hallway again, rattled the doorknob a little more persistently and talked to the horse a little more sternly: "Shut up, Nosy, will you! Shut up, I say!"

There was an ominous quiet on the other side of the door.



"I don't know what came over him," Beatrice said, with concern. "Nosy never behaved like that. At least, not at this time of the night."

"Maybe he's jealous," I said, "you never can tell."

Beatrice thought that was funny and she laughed. Her laughter, though subdued, injected a touch of the comic into this grim situation and we both felt somewhat relieved.

"Can't we give him something, bribe him with something?" I suggested, half jokingly, half in earnest.

"What, for instance?"

"Sugar," I said, "horses like sugar. Don't they?"

"I don't know," she said, "but if you say so, you know what you're talking about."

So I had suddenly become an authority on horses!

"Tell you what," Beatrice said, after a moment of silence, "you stay here by the door and I'll run up to the kitchen and get a few pieces of lump sugar. We'll see what happens."

I didn't cherish the idea of remaining alone with Nosy in a dark hallway, even though there was a door between us. But it was my suggestion and I was ashamed to back out of it.

"All right," I said, half-heartedly, "go ahead."

SHE TOOK OFF HER SHOES AND TIPTOED UP THE CREAKING STAIRS. I heard her open the door and close it lightly behind her. Suddenly I realized that I was alone. A wave of panic swept over me. What if Nosy should get an urge to neigh for her? Or, worse still, what if, by some devious method, he should succeed in opening the door and come barging out? I felt a cold sweat breaking out on my forehead and on the back of my neck.

To forestall such disaster, but mainly to calm my own agitated nerves, I began to talk to the horse. "Nosy," I pleaded gently, "please be a good boy."

"Some boy!" I soliloquized mentally.

"Beatrice is bringing you some sugar. You like sugar, don't you, Nosy?"

The silence on the other side of the door was terrifying.

I breathed relief when I heard Beatrice tiptoe down the stairs. She had a handful of lump sugar. As soon as she opened the door, Nosy pushed his head out and exhaled expansively. I felt his hot breath on me and stepped back a little.

"Don't be afraid of him," Beatrice said, "he's a very gentle horse."

As she fed him the sugar, lump by lump, she patted his face while I, standing at a safe distance, patted him with words. "Be a nice boy, Nosy," I kept repeating, trying to control the tremor in my voice, "be a nice boy."

Nosy ate the sugar noisily, throwing his head about with delight. When the last lump was gone Beatrice pushed his head back into the stable and closed the door.

For the rest of the evening Nosy behaved remarkably well, except for an occasional grunt, or a swish of his tail, which Beatrice and I interpreted as expressions of contentment.

The following night, after we had counted in all the six of Beatrice's brothers and had gone in ourselves, we stood silently in the hallway, straining our ears for the slightest clue to Nosy's disposition. It was strangely quiet. We put our books down, noiselessly, on the floor and Beatrice leaned against the wall. But no sooner had we embraced when Nosy announced his displeasure with a loud, piercing neigh followed by a few short, but decidedly angry, whinnies.

Now we lost no time. Beatrice quickly cast the shoes off her feet and hurried up to the kitchen while I planted myself by the door and talked to Nosy. Being alone with the horse no longer terrified me, but I was still vastly relieved when I heard her come down again. She opened the door, Nosy stuck his head out and the procedure of the previous night was enacted faithfully and with the same remarkable results.

It was then that we realized that this would be the procedure for all our nights to come. We did not despair. We now went about it methodically. We divided our tasks evenly between us. I supplied the sugar and Beatrice fed it to the horse. Each night, before going off to school, I made sure to fill my pockets with lump sugar and, after school, when the last of Beatrice's brothers had been counted in, and we had gone in ourselves, we no longer waited for Nosy to neigh for his bribe. We took care of him first. Beatrice would feed him his nightly quota of sugar and I, from a safe distance, his nightly quota of words: "Be a nice boy, Nosy. Be a nice boy."

## LAJOS OF KOCSORD

By Milton Blau

My grandfather Lajos of Kocsord  
Died on an unknown day  
Not with crowds like Joan of Arc  
But like a leaf among leaves  
Torn from the fields of Hungary where he burned.

He was an old man  
His sons reared and scattered  
On the earth. He died alone  
But as a Jew among Jews  
And his dust grows wheat on Hungary  
where he burned.

He was a Jew of Kocsord  
And a man of his land.  
His nation continues him.  
Each tree remembers him  
And he is not divided from Hungary  
where he burned.

*This poem will be included in a volume of Milton Blau's poems, Brief Journey, to be published shortly by International Publishers (50¢).*



# ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: IV

By Moses Miller

IN the first article of this series we examined the Marxist definition of the "nation" and showed how it had been arrived at. Basing ourselves on this analysis, we went on to prove that the Jewish people as a whole could not be said to constitute a nation. In the next two articles we showed how idealistic definitions of the Jewish people—that is, conceptions that the Jews were determined by consciousness alone—fail to answer many basic questions of Jewish history, and in fact have distorted present-day perspectives of the Jewish people in the struggle for their rights. In the present article we shall delve a little more deeply into the elements that determine the nature of the Jewish people in the past and present.

The noted Jewish scholar, Solomon Zeitlin, recently wrote that "No definition of the Jew can be made *de novo*; it must be based upon the centuries-old experience of the Jewish people."<sup>1</sup> We could accept this thesis provided we agreed with the meaning of the term "experience." Zeitlin correctly argues that Jews throughout the world are not a nation because "Jews had no common territory" since the destruction of the Second Commonwealth. From this it might appear that Zeitlin believes that we cannot know what is a people's "experience" unless we study the material conditions of their existence. But he quickly repudiates this approach. In reply to those who maintain that Jews in different lands constitute various types of groups such as a nation in one country, a national minority in another and a national group in yet another, Zeitlin remarks: "This division is artificial. Its premise is that what Jews are and what Judaism is depend upon a temporary set of political conditions. But political conditions may change at any time; and international conditions cannot define the nature of Judaism."

Here Zeitlin denies any connection between the "experience" of the Jew and any such mundane considerations as politics or economics. Yet, further along in Zeitlin's article one finds the following statement: "Yes, the Jews who now live in Palestine constitute a nationality. . . . But their nation will not include the great majority of Jews in the world who live outside of Palestine." With this statement we readily agree. But it contradicts Zeitlin's previous thesis. For if "political" and "international considerations," as Zeitlin said earlier, cannot modify and direct the course of Jewish experience, how is it possible that Jews in Israel should constitute a nation and Jews in other parts of the world should constitute something else?

What Zeitlin means by "experience" becomes clear when he gives his own definition of Jewish status. "As for the Jews themselves, they never surrendered their own idea of

Judaism. They maintained that Judaism was a universal religion, themselves the people of God." Thus "experience" becomes a purely subjective phenomenon. The history of any given period, according to this view, would be determined by what people said and thought about themselves. If this approach is applied to early Biblical history and the social protest of the prophets, we should be forced to conclude that the evils of the time were only the result of the wickedness of men. For that is how the prophets explained their times. But an historical analysis of the period shows that the social struggles, which precipitated eloquent protests by the prophets, resulted from basic economic conditions.

## Basis of Prophecy

Following is an historical analysis of the Biblical period which shows not only the real struggles of the age but also why the prophets became conscious of these struggles in the terms in which they did. "In the *Old Testament*," writes Eric Roll in his *A History of Economic Thought* (1946), "there is mirrored the struggle between the tribal society, with communal property and communally controlled economic activity, and the impersonal economic process of a class society based on private property. . . ."

"The picture of the society of the time which is drawn in *Kings*, and more emphatically still in the laments, protests, and visions of the prophets, is one of marked division between rich and poor. The luxury of the court [Hebrew monarchy—M.M.] was based upon the gradual development of an enslaved class. The expense of the royal household, wars, and lavish public buildings were financed by tolls . . . by conscription of labor and heavy taxation. The results were impoverishment of the masses, alienation of land. . . ."

"This change of economic structure is reflected in the spiritual revolt of the prophets. . . . They were able to describe objectively the consequences of the existing social order, but they did not understand the forces which were responsible for the appearance of the order itself. . . ."

"The evils which the prophets denounced were not realized to be part of a new economic structure; they were ascribed to a change of men's hearts. Covetousness and corruption, unrelated to the more favorable soil in which they could now flourish were alone regarded as the cause of misery. The remedy was equally an idealistic one: a full acceptance of God's law. . . . A clear vision of a new social structure for the future was impossible. The expansion of the forces of production and man's growing mastery over nature still demanded the recently established institutions. In so far, therefore, as the prophets were concerned with the social order as well as with man's behavior,

<sup>1</sup> "What Then Are the Jews?" *Menorah Journal*, Autumn 1947.



they could only express a vain hope for a return to more primitive conditions" (p. 13).

This clear cut and fundamental description of the Biblical period will not be found in any single bourgeois Jewish history book. As a result, one can get no real picture of the period, nor even, for that matter, any insight into the true significance of the prophetic revolt. Certainly the history of the Jewish people, particularly in ancient and even in medieval times, *appears* from all accounts to be the history of a *religious* group. This is particularly true when one's approach to history is based on a study of the sayings and the literature of any given period. From these sources one would most certainly conclude that religion was not only the dominating, but also the *decisive* factor in Jewish survival. But to accept the opinions which men held in any given period without analyzing why they held these opinions and the conditions that led them to develop these ideas is not to reconstruct history but the history of men's illusions. Unfortunately, this principle has been recognized perhaps least by historians of the Jewish people.

### **Religion and Jewish Experience**

Like all primitive peoples the early Hebrews were confronted with newly developing economic conditions, which were undermining their comparatively peaceful existence. But ancient tribal peoples of course were unable to understand that the ensuing struggles were class struggles. Their level of consciousness, determined by the material conditions of their life, led them to explain the events of their time in terms of a supernatural power which was wreaking its vengeance upon the people for their iniquities. The historian of this period who substantially accepts this ancient view and concludes that religion determined the struggles of the epoch, is in fact turning history on its head. For it was not religion that was shaping the destiny of the Jew but the Jew in society who was shaping religion. Nor is this true only of the Hebrew tribes. The histories of all ancient peoples appear to be determined by religion because social phenomena were meaningful to ancient peoples only when clothed in religious garb. Too many historians confuse the actual *content* of the struggle with the religious *form* in which the struggle was expressed.

The "experience" of the Jewish people is not a mystical phenomenon but a product of socio-economic conditions. Our people's outlook, philosophy and ideology are molded by the material conditions of life. And we must study the socio-economic conditions of the Jewish people if we are to understand Jewish survival and status. It is also essential to add this little recognized fact, namely, that Jewish life has unceasingly been intertwined with that of other peoples. The Jewish "experience" cannot be really understood, therefore, without a knowledge of the material conditions of the peoples in whose midst the Jews lived.

We cannot delve into the entire history of the Jewish people here. The task is obviously beyond the scope of this series and in the final analysis is unnecessary for our purposes. One period which we must explore in some de-

tail, however, is that in which capitalism begins to emerge. For this is the period in which the national question arises. A thorough and comprehensive survey of this period is necessary if we are to begin to establish a firm foundation for understanding clearly the development and the formation of the several Jewish communities in modern life. But Jewish life in this period of the formation of nations, that is, the feudal period, cannot be fully grasped unless we understand the essence and content of feudal life *as a whole*. We shall therefore devote the remainder of this article to gaining a general picture of feudal society and show in the next article how the emergence of Europe from feudalism determined the course of the "Jewish problem" in modern times.

### **Classes in Feudal Life**

Feudal life, in the main, was dominated by the manorial system, *i.e.*, a system in which the class divisions of society were based upon land ownership. Two social classes emerge clearly and sharply in this period, the nobility and the peasantry. People lived in widely separated manors, each of which was ruled over by a given lord or noble. Carleton J. Hayes describes these classes as follows: "The nobility comprised men who gained a living from the soil without manual labor. They held the land on feudal tenure, that is to say, they had a right to be supported by the peasants living on their estates, and in return, they owed to some higher or wealthier nobleman or to the king certain duties. . . . The estate of each nobleman might embrace a single farm, or 'manor' as it was called, inclosing a petty hamlet or village; or it might include dozens of such manors; or if the landlord were a particularly mighty magnate or powerful prelate, it might stretch over whole counties. . . .

"To the lord of the manor the serf was under many and varied obligations, the most essential of which may be grouped conveniently as follows: (1) The serf had to work without pay two or three days in each week on the strips of land and the fields whose produce belonged exclusively to the nobleman. In the harvest season extra days, known as 'boon days' were stipulated on which the serf must leave his own work in order to harvest for the lord. . . . (2) The serf had to pay occasional dues, customarily 'in kind.' (3) Ovens, wine presses, grist-mills, and bridges were usually owned solely by the nobleman, and each time the peasant used them he was obliged to give one of his loaves of bread, a share of his wine, a bushel of his grain, or a toll-fee, as a kind of rent. . . ."

The serf was thus neither completely free nor yet completely slave. He had his own plot of ground and was allowed to work it for his own benefit at least one or two days a week. Yet he was not a free man. He was "attached to the soil" and was forbidden to leave unless he purchased his freedom. Nor was he a wage laborer for he received no wages for the work he performed for his lord.

<sup>2</sup> Carleton J. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (1925), p. 30.



Each manor was in fact a world unto itself, a self-sufficient economic entity. Practically everything that was needed for existence was produced on the manorial estate. And this was true not only of agriculture. In most instances, either serfs or freedmen, attached to the manor as artisans, produced all necessary articles. Only in rare cases were any products bought by the lords from travelling artisans. Feudal society was therefore also characterized by a *natural* economy, or in other words an economy whose primary purpose was that of production for use, for satisfying the needs of a given community and not of production for sale or for the attainment of profit.

This self-sufficiency and self-contained economic existence fostered exclusiveness and hardly motivated any urge towards contact with the outside world. The manor or even the larger feudal principality constituted a little island seldom affected to any extent by events in any other manor or domain. The effect upon the feudal mind of this type of economic system and existence is significant. Concepts and ideas, which seem commonplace to us, had no meaning to the feudal man. Feudal men undoubtedly had some sense of belonging to a given community, primitive as the feeling may have been. Yet such concepts as "Patriotism," love of homeland, a sense of "national unity," were unknown in the feudal world. "According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*," writes Hans Kohn, "the term 'patriot' was first used at the end of the seventeenth century for one who supported the rights of the country against the King. . . . The word 'patriotic' in the modern sense was first used in 1757; the word 'patriotism' in 1726. The word 'national' in the sense of peculiar to a people of a particular country, characteristic or distinctive of a nation, was first used in 1625; in the sense of patriotic in 1711. The word 'nationalist' was first used in 1715; 'nationality' in the sense of nationalism or national feeling, in 1772; whereas 'nationalism' was not used at all until 1836."<sup>3</sup>

### ***A Self-Contained Economy***

From a study of the feudal mode of existence, one can see that it was self-contained and isolated. The consciousness of feudal man was "particularistic," that is, physically and intellectually bounded by his limited manorial community. This type of economic existence did not require driving forces that would necessitate closer, more intimate ties between large aggregates of people. "To a man of the middle ages 'his country' meant little more than the neighborhood in which he lived," writes E. A. Westermarck. "The first duty of the vassal was to be loyal to his lord; but no national spirit bound together the various barons of one country. . . . When Machiavelli declared that he preferred his country to the safety of his soul, people considered him guilty of blasphemy; and when the Venetians defied the papal thunders by averring that they were Venetians in the first place and only Christians in the second, the world heard them with amazement."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>The Idea of Nationalism, p. 647.

<sup>4</sup>Origin and Development of Moral Ideas, Vol. II, p. 180.

In the transition from the feudal to modern, capitalistic society, an integral part of the struggle for nationhood was the tremendous conflict in each country over the question of language. We recall, for example, the attempt on the part of the tsars of Russia to "Russify" all nationalities within the empire. Attempts were constantly made to force the Russian language upon all non-Russian nationalities and forcible means were constantly used to illegalize and outlaw the native tongues of the many peoples in the empire. Language was thus used as an important political weapon in the struggle for the subjugation of peoples. And in turn these peoples in their struggle for self determination bitterly fought back and used the question of language as an important weapon for uniting the people against the tsar.

But no such struggles ever took place in feudal times. While Latin was the universal language of the Middle Ages (a phenomenon with which we shall deal later), the structure of feudal society led to the development of local dialects and tongues. Language did not constitute a political question nor were struggles ever waged over the issue of subordinating one language to another. To the medieval mind, language was regarded merely as a means for communication and nothing else.

### ***Church in Feudal Society***

In view of all these considerations, it is easy to see that the economy of feudal times operated against the rise of stable national communities and national consciousness. However, another basic phase of feudal life also operated powerfully against the rise of national consciousness. This was the Catholic Church. In sharp contrast to the particularism and exclusiveness of the manorial system stood the Catholic Church, which was universal and cosmopolitan. "The Middle Ages," writes Frederick Engels, "had developed out of raw primitiveness. It had done away with old civilization, old philosophy, politics, jurisprudence, in order to begin anew in every respect. The only thing which it had retained from the old shattered world was Christianity and a number of half ruined cities deprived of their civilization. As a consequence, the clergy retained a monopoly of intellectual education, a phenomenon to be found in every primitive stage of development, and education itself had acquired a predominantly theological nature.

"In the hands of the clergy, politics and jurisprudence, as well as other sciences, remained branches of theology, and were treated according to the principles prevailing in the latter. The dogmas of the church were at the same time political axioms, and Bible quotations had the validity of law in every court. . . . This supremacy of theology in the realm of intellectual activities was at the same time a logical consequence of the situation of the church as the most general force coordinating and sanctioning existing feudal domination."<sup>5</sup>

The feudal church was equally powerful as both a reli-

<sup>5</sup>Peasant Wars in Germany, p. 52.



gious and secular institution. The church was one of the greatest landowners. This combination of spiritual and temporal power made the church "the great international center of feudalism. It united the whole of feudalized Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system . . . It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration."<sup>6</sup>

### *A Theological Intellectual Life*

Education was in the hands of the church. Theology was the foundation of all knowledge in this period, hence education, like medieval religion itself, was universalistic, that is, was not oriented to a time and place, but was conceived as eternal and unchanging. Theology was the "queen of the sciences" and all secular investigation was considered the "handmaiden of theology." This order of knowledge flowed from the fact that the feudal economy had little need of technological advance. No incentive was therefore offered to experimentation and the development of technique. Knowledge of the Bible and the Gospels was considered all that a man need know.

Though the vernacular languages and literature began to develop in the eleventh century, during most of the feudal period Latin was the universal language for education, politics and the limited trading that did exist in western Europe. Those who could read, the clergy, were limited to the Bible and a few theological works. The church also discouraged any attempt on the part of the mass of the population to learn to read. There are many church edicts that show effectively how the church helped the feudal order to maintain the status quo. One such edict says: "We forbid the layman to have books of the Old and New Testament. Translations of these books into the popular language are forbidden. Pope Innocent III in his epistle 'to all those faithful in Christ' wrote: 'the secret foundations of faith cannot be revealed to everyone, as they may not be understood . . . and therefore it was said in the divine law, that if a beast approached a mountain, it would be stoned. Likewise, a common person cannot reach the heights of the holy gospels.'"

However, feudal society was not absolutely static, for then it would exist perpetually. It contained within itself forces which gradually matured until they effectively challenged the feudal mode of production. "The greatest division of material and mental labor," said Marx and Engels, "is the separation of town and country." This division of labor developed during feudalism until it brought about the emergence of the town, whose growth signifies the increase in influence of the merchant, trader and artisan, an influence which initiated the processes which finally led to the downfall of feudalism.

In *A History of Europe*, Ferdinand Schevill pictures this growth of the town. "The earliest medieval trade," he writes, "had necessarily been determined by the political-

economic conditions prevailing under feudalism. We must think of the long centuries of the Germanic settlement as substantially without security, without roads, without conveniences of living of even the humblest sort. Society satisfied at best an irreducible minimum of human wants and was simpler, ruder and more impecunious than we can easily imagine. There, when about 1000 A.D. trade began to revive, it crept slowly and cautiously along what in a socially chaotic world stood out as the safest routes of travel. These were the shore-lines of the Mediterranean, the North, and the Baltic seas, as well as the courses of the leading navigable rivers, such as the Po, the Seine, the Rhone, the Danube, the Rhine and the Thames. Along these sea and river routes the first thriving towns came to life, though with the spread of the movement the interior, in its turn, became gradually dotted with settlements planted at bridges or crossroads or nestling under the protecting shadow of some castle or monastery" (p. 25).

### *Trade and the Rising Town*

In the early feudal period, the town, like the village or the manor, was under the sway of the local lord and production in the main was for local use and not for profit. Relations in the town were based on a similar hierarchical class structure to those of the manor. Just as the manor relationships were based on land ownership with the lord who owned the property as complete master and the serf or the peasant tied to the land, the town hierarchy was likewise established between the individual artisan, who owned his own tools and commanded a small capital, and the apprentice and the journeyman whom he dominated and attached to himself by contractual bonds.

As trade began to develop and handicraft production simultaneously advanced, new horizons opened for the artisan and the merchant. The conditions under which the town and therefore the artisan and merchant were subordinated to the feudal lord, became shackles upon town development. Opportunities of producing for a larger market and for profit were restricted by the feudal system while the possibilities for the free producer, which heretofore had not existed, constantly widened. The artisan therefore tried to throw off those restrictions which hampered his development as a free producer. Friction between the town and the feudal lord inevitably intensified.

The history of medieval Europe shows that in those places where geographical and social factors favored the development of overseas trade, towns arose and became major trading centers. That is why towns first developed in Italy, which is situated along the Mediterranean and therefore most advantageously located for trade in certain luxuries like silk with the Byzantine and the Arab empires.

This town development contributed greatly to the breakdown of the feudal economic system. The advance of trade tremendously stimulated town development and the concentration of greater numbers of people for trading. On

<sup>6</sup> F. Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, p. 16.



the other hand, the profit gained from trade and commerce acted as a stimulus for further profit-making. As trade continued as a dominant feature of the period, attempts were also begun to find methods of producing the imported products in the European towns themselves. It was not long before merchants imported raw materials to be worked up at home in place of the imported finished product. Here we have the elementary beginnings of the system of manufacture.

### **Obstacles to Commerce**

Tremendous obstacles had to be overcome by this rising merchant class and rising bourgeoisie. The hazards of feudal travel, the lack of roads, the onerous system of tolls paid to the lord at rivers, bridges and roads, the variety of legal systems and coinage, that changed every few miles, are a few of the obstacles that had to be broken down before commodity production could develop.

Thus the merchant and the artisan found themselves increasingly in conflict with the manorial system and its particularism, which worked against the economic unification of the country. These new economic elements also found themselves opposed to the church and its universalism, the array of church laws and traditions which gave powerful sanction to the feudal order. It is no accident, therefore, that the struggle against the Catholic church was one of the first to develop in the breaking down of feudalism. As Engels has pointed out, "all general and overt attacks on feudalism, in the first place attacks on the church, all revolutionary, social and political doctrines, necessarily became theological heresies. In order to be attacked, existing social conditions had to be stripped of their aureole of sanctity."<sup>1</sup>

In effect, therefore, both the merchant and the artisan were undertaking a process which necessarily led to the unification of their country. The merchant who travelled to many countries to buy and sell quickly ran up against competition from other buyers. His ability to buy as cheaply as possible and to sell as dearly as possible, were necessarily conditioned not only by factors operating in the foreign market but even more by conditions at home. His ability to compete could be strengthened if his home country gave him greater protection and cheaper labor and unification of the country would minimize the difficulty of travel and exchange. Antagonisms with competitors from other countries began to appear as national antagonisms based on differences of nation and country. The merchant was therefore vitally concerned that his country should become ever more unified. Towards this end he favored the establishment of a strong central government which could enact laws which would facilitate trade.

The artisan was similarly concerned with the unification of the country although in the earlier stages of this development the artisan was not so favorably situated as the

merchant because of feudal restrictions on the development of production and limitation of the number of journeymen that he could employ. The artisan was dependent on the countryside for raw materials and also for expansion of the market for his finished product. Feudal control hampered his ability to expand production. Like the merchant, he stood to gain from a uniform tax and money system which would make it easier for him to engage in business throughout the country.

### **Feudal Breakdown**

All these consequences of town development involved a tendency to break down the economy and mental outlook of feudal society. Serfs fled to the towns seeking refuge from oppression in the villages and manors. To these towns also came people intent upon transaction of business. The town as a center of economic life continued to grow and to develop. But the town became not only the economic but also the intellectual center of the country. The national language spoken in the town gradually became that of the merchants and of educated people and this language necessarily began to spread throughout the country. Not only did it begin to supplant Latin; it also began to replace the local dialects. Thus national languages came into existence all over western Europe.

These are the factors which Lenin noted when he stated that "Throughout the world the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with national movement. The economic basis of these movements is the fact that in order to achieve complete victory for commodity production, the bourgeoisie must capture the whole market, must have politically unified territory with a population speaking the same language, and all the obstacles to the development of this language and to its consolidation in literature must be removed. Language is the most important means of human intercourse. Unity of language and its unimpeded development are most important conditions for genuinely free and extensive commercial intercourse on a scale commensurate with modern capitalism, for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its separate classes and lastly, for the establishment of close connection between the market and each and every proprietor, big and little, seller and buyer."<sup>2</sup>

And it was Stalin who profoundly observed that "the market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism."

The rise of the bourgeoisie, its quest for power and its inevitable conflict with the feudal system led to the formation of the nation. In the first stages, therefore, the national struggle is essentially a struggle of the bourgeoisie. In the next article we shall discuss how this movement develops and encompasses the mass of the people and thus becomes a mass democratic struggle and its effects on the development of the Jewish people.

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup> *Peasant Wars in Germany*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Right of Nations to Self Determination*, p. 10.



# Book Reviews

## BOOK FOR OUR TIME

By David Goldway

*The Twilight of World Capitalism*, by William Z. Foster, International Publishers, New York. 35¢.

One of the most revealing (and at the same time, frightening) things about America today is the feverish way in which every capitalist propagandist—whether on the commencement platform, the radio, the newspaper, the pulpit, or the movies—shrills misinformation and hatred against communism and the Soviet Union. In our schools and colleges every effort is made to keep the American people from learning the truth about Marxism. Meanwhile, the trial of the "12" goes on in the desperate hope that it will be possible, through fascist thought control and terror, to lay the "specter" that haunts the capitalist class.

The utter futility of all these efforts to stem the tide of history is one of the paramount lessons of this exciting book, written by America's leading Marxist and the chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster.

This is not simply a book that tells the communists' side of the story to a country saturated with the most violent and disgusting red-baiting. To be sure, it does that. It completely demolishes the "force and violence" myth, the "foreign agent" slander, the "totalitarian" invention, and every other stale argument of capitalism's propaganda.

But Foster's book does infinitely more. It proclaims a message that is overwhelming and inescapable. It tolls the knell of parting capitalism and rings the matin of rising socialism. With a sweep reminiscent of the great classics of Marxism, it places this present moment in its historic context, giving us at once perspective, guidance and inspiration.

It is an American book, addressed to the American people by one of its finest sons. It speaks their language; it breathes with a love of their land; it expresses the spirit of their working class and democratic struggles; it has the fervor and moving passion of the great political tracts of Tom Paine and Frederick Douglass.

It is a simple book, so clear that every worker will be able to read it. Yet it is no vulgar "popularization." It is scientifically precise and deals with practically every theoretical question of political importance today. It discusses idealism and

materialism, the general crisis of capitalism, the theory of "socialism in one country," the nature of the state in the people's democracies, the question of the inevitability of war, and scores of other subjects.

The book is built on a simple framework—an examination of what has happened to the world and to capitalism and socialism in particular, in the brief span of one man's life—the 68 years between Foster's birth and his writing of this book. When Foster was born, capitalism was in its hey-day despite the violence of its birth in a 400-year series of bloody revolutions and of the unspeakable brutality and exploitation of its wage-labor system. As Foster tells us, "for capitalism, seemingly, everything was lovely and the goose hung high. . . . Capitalism veritably was a paradise-on-earth for those who lived by grabbing the riches of the earth and by exploiting the toil of people."

Look at the capitalist world today: fear-some, wracking economic crises; terribly intensified struggles between workers and capitalists in every major country; spreading colonial revolts ripping huge foundations from under it; bitter imperialist rivalries between the capitalist giants breaking out periodically in global wars of incalculable devastation; the appearance of a new and incomparably better social system on the earth—socialism.

Foster comes to the inescapable conclusion that "obsolete capitalism is rotting in every fiber and the stench from it sickens the whole world. . . . The workers and their allies are snatching the banners of leadership of the nations from the treason-soaked capitalists." This is the lesson of one man's life-time—a lesson that 10,000 commencement addresses and 100 Foley Square trials will never be able to drown.

In the same way as he lays bare the decay of world capitalism, Foster pictures the rise of world socialism. He describes briefly the lightning bolt that struck the world when socialism was established in the Soviet Union in 1917, Foster's thirty-sixth year. He outlines the economic and political foundations of this epochal new system and describes capitalism's efforts for a generation and a half to erase it by propaganda and threats, by economic and diplomatic blockades, by espionage, by intervention, by world war. He hails the rising tide of socialism in eastern Europe and most recently the opening of the path to socialism in China.

There follows a detailed analysis of imperialism as capitalism grown abysmally inhuman and represented especially by

American finance capital and its political swing toward fascism. He drives home the crucial point that, whatever seeming vitality there is in American capitalist economy, is due in very large measure to its having fed upon the blood of war. Without the devastation suffered by the rest of the world in two world wars, "it would be in the same boat with the rest of broken-down world capitalism. Capitalist industry in this country, bloated and swollen, has the strength of a gorged parasite." He exposes the economic foundation of Wall Street's dream of the "American Century" and its inevitable drive toward war. At the same time he rejects the notion of the inevitability of war. He outlines, simply and clearly, the basis of peaceful co-existence between capitalist and socialist states, pointing out, however, that in the long run only socialism will remove the threat of war.

In analyzing the growth of American political reaction in the direction of fascism, Foster makes clear that its most sinister feature is its masquerade in the garments of peace and democracy. He warns that it is infinitely more dangerous just because there is little of the blatant propagation of anti-Semitism, anti-parliamentarianism, "master race" theories, etc., that characterized Hitler's fascism.

A substantial part of the book is devoted to the American labor movement, the degeneration of social democracy, and the character and program of the communist movement, both in the world and in the United States. Foster's analysis of the shortcomings of the American working class is a contribution of penetrating vision, providing the basis for a sound, constructive program of action to strengthen our labor movement. Its chief weakness, Foster states, is its undeveloped ideology. This is evidenced by the fact that, although the American workers "have a strong class instinct and a good proletarian fighting spirit, they do not draw a sharp ideological line between themselves and the capitalist class." They thus have no concrete perspective of socialism. There are also other serious short-

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comings—organizational, political, and in leadership—which must be overcome if the American working class is to play its destined role. That they will be overcome Foster hasn't the slightest doubt. The only question is whether this will come before labor's misleaders allow the world to be plunged into fascism and war.

The chapters on social democracy and the expanding communist movement are equally rich. In the first we get a sketch of how "the opportunist social democrats, wedded irrevocably to capitalism, are gradually going down with that doomed system." In the second, we learn the theory, organization and practice of the communist parties of the world, "destined to lead the peoples of the world, and . . . increasingly leading them, in the greatest progressive movement in all history, to socialism."

A unique and exciting chapter is the one on the decline of religion. Here Foster does a superb job in applying historical materialist analysis to a subject which many Marxists in the United States have tended to avoid. He goes back into history, showing the roots of religion in earlier societies, and then comes to modern times. In indicating how capitalism uses religion, he makes this acute observation: "Modern industrial society, unlike primitive agricultural economies, does not generate religion spontaneously but instead, tends to weaken and to liquidate it." Thus, the decline of religion inevitably accompanies the decline of capitalism. It does not follow, however, that religion will necessarily die with the capitalist system. Rather it will find the climate under socialism less favorable than under capitalism and will diminish as the Marxist materialist outlook proves its capacity to answer all the questions of life and death, morals and ethics, the sphere of religion.

Of the book's fine qualities, two, above all, stood out for me. One is the deep, burning hatred of capitalism that shines through every page. It is this quality that gives the book much of its zest and vitality. But the significance of this expression of class hatred is much deeper. It is a reflection in Foster, the man and the writer, of the most fundamental thing about Marxism—its class consciousness. No question can be raised, no problem discussed, no conclusion reached, without placing it in relation to the working class' struggle against its adversary, capitalism.

By the logic of dialectics, the passionate capitalism-hating quality of the book is also the basis for its scientific objectivity and historic sweep. At one and the same time, Foster writes with intense personal feeling and an Olympian serenity. He gives you the feeling that you are simultaneously in the thick of the battle and sitting on history's judgment seat.

The second great virtue of the book (for me) is its handling of the question of socialism. The subject is dealt with throughout the volume, but its outstanding treatment is in an inspiring chapter entitled, "The Advent of Socialist Man." Here we get a detailed summary of the meaning of socialism for individual woman and man. The foundation of the new type of man and woman in socialist society is their freedoms—economic, political, intellectual, cultural, freedom of women, youth and the aged, national freedom, ethical freedom.

I conclude with a story told me by Foster's publisher. Just as the book was about to go to press, Foster called and asked that the following dedication be inserted: "To My Great-Grandson, Joseph Manley Kolko, Who Will Live in a Socialist United States." Two days later Foster called again. He said that he had thought it over and he wanted the dedication changed to read not "Socialist United States," but "Communist United States."

## THE YIDDISH DON QUIXOTE

By H. Ben Elias

*Travels of Benjamin III*, by Mendeley Mocher Seforim, translated from the Yiddish by Moshe Spiegel, Schocken Books, New York. \$1.50.

Cervantes announces in the preface to *Don Quixote of La Mancha* that this is "the story of a dry, shrivelled, whimsical offspring, full of thoughts of all sorts and such as never came into any other imagination—just what might be begotten in a prison, where every misery is lodged and every doleful sound makes its dwelling."

This reference to the great Spaniard is appropriate to a consideration of *Travels of Benjamin III*, by Mendeley Mocher Seforim, now presented in a new and highly satisfactory translation by Moshe Spiegel. All writers on Mendeley (S. J. Abramowitz, 1836-1917) have always spoken of this work as a Yiddish *Don Quixote*. It is interesting to point out in what ways the description holds water.

To begin with, the Yiddish "adventurer," Biniumka of Tuneyadevka, had been begotten in a prison—the prison of Jewish pauperdom in the Russian Pale of the early nineteenth century. But the pauperdom at which Mendeley levels his shafts was not physical impoverishment. It was the pauperdom of mind and spirit which had so distorted the larger number of the men and women of the Yiddish world of old Russia, as to make of them pitiful caricatures of humankind. Physically weak and undernourished, fed only on the food of Biblical visions and vain

expectation of redemption, these were a people without substance, without knowledge of the actual world about them, without means to meet its realities. They were fearful of any encounter with the beings of the real world outside their villages. It should be remembered that these are the Jews of the Russian villages before the changes recorded or reflected in the stories of Sholem Aleichem. Thus, Biniumka trembles at the sound of a peasant's voice and dreads the lions, panthers, and poisonous vipers in the woods a few hours' walk from home!

That masculine retreat from reality was hastened by the Jewish system of "kesh"—support by the father-in-law so that the newly-married male might devote his life to the service and worship of the All-Merciful—was merely another item of degradation in the conditions of life in the ancient Jewish small town. And the fact that the wife and mother grubbed and chattered for the family was the justification, of course, for her wearing the trousers.

Given this situation and Benjamin's unquenchable thirst for venturing forth—Alexander of Macedon and the Lost Tribes are more real to him than the fact that there is no food for his table—we have the background for a voyage of discovery, hilarious in incident and poignant in implication. The parody on *Don Quixote* is further advanced through Benjamin's finding his Sancho Panza in the person of Senderel Yiddene (Housewife), so named from his position in his own domestic sphere.

## Masses & Mainstream

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The two heroes set forth, knowing from the sacred writings mastered by Benjamin, that a few days' walk on foot will bring them to the Sambatyon. This is the river famous, as all well-informed persons must know, for throwing up rocks every day of the working week and taking its well-earned rest on the Sabbath. Then on to Stamboul, that fabulous city of story and legend and so to the Lost Tribes and the impenetrable region of the Red Jews, creatures of ancient myth and mystery.

The *Travels* came from Mendele's pen in the full tide of that writer's powers. His earlier works, *The Little Man*, *The Wishing Ring*, *Fishke the Cripple*, and the allegory of Jewish life, *The Mare*, had prepared him, through intensified care and self-criticism in composition, for the writing, in 1885, of this story. Here, then, we have a narrative that, thanks to a sensitive and racy translation, flows without impediment, lightly and clearly, with sharp and clear reflections of a life and region long since vanished.

Mendele, the literary discoverer of Kabtzansk (Pauperville), the Yiddish small town, was eminently equipped to depict the roving adventurers, Benjamin and Senderel. As he follows their line of march, we come into numerous towns—Teterevka, Glupsk, and others—and smell, see, and hear the particularities which establish them all as part of a universal Pauperville.

To return, for a moment, to Cervantes. It should be clear that the resemblance to *Don Quixote*, is only most casual, for conditions in Jewish life and especially conditions in the time dealt with by Mendele, could never have produced a "Don," to say nothing of a "Rosinante." Curiously, however, the only "Jewish" horse of note in Yiddish literature is Mendele's "Mare" (*Die Klatche*).

Mendele once told the Jewish historian, Simon Dubnow: "When you come to the history of the Jews in the 19th century, you will have to come to my books for the living conditions of the Jews at that time." *Travels of Benjamin III* is Jewish history with a chuckle. The translator and publisher deserve thanks for a fine contribution to an enriched understanding of Jewish life and literature.

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# Documents

## AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR COUNCIL MEETS

*At its second annual convention in June the American Jewish Labor Council discussed the vital issues facing the Jewish people and labor today. Present at the convention were delegates representing over 450,000 persons in trade unions and fraternal organizations. A resolution was passed voicing support of Israel's continuing struggle for independence and urging aid to the "progressive and democratic community in Israel" and aid "on a non-discriminatory basis." Another resolution called for "strengthening our fraternal and cultural ties" with the Jewish communities of Europe. A resolution calling for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and opposition to anti-labor legislation and many other resolutions on imminent problems were passed. We reproduce below two of these.*

—Eds.

### Resolution on Anti-Semitism

**This Second National Convention** of the American Jewish Labor Council, convened June 17, 18, 19, 1949 at the Hotel Commodore in New York City—

*Reaffirming* its condemnation of anti-Semitism as a weapon used by reaction to divide people in order to keep them submerged and prevent them from organizing to achieve their democratic rights.

*Recalling* that in the United States anti-Semitism and anti-Negro practices have always been and still are used by powerful industrial and financial trusts as instruments to sow dissension among the ranks of the workers in order to weaken and ultimately destroy the labor and people's movements, and

*Noting* an alarming increase of anti-Semitic manifestations as evidenced by:

1. The dissemination of tons of race hate propaganda libelling Jews, Negroes and other minorities.

2. The resurgence of scores of anti-Semitic organizations among veterans, women, national groups, political, social and religious organizations.

3. The great increase of job discrimination in states without FEPC legislation.

4. The continuation of quota systems for Jews, Negroes, Catholics and other national and minority groups in our colleges and universities.

5. The growing domination of our school system by clerical reactionaries and the persecution of Jewish teachers and Jewish secular schools.

6. Discrimination in housing through the use of force and violence against mi-

nority groups and the inclusion of restrictive covenants and other legalistic devices in leases and contracts, and

*Affirming* that the resurgence and intensification of anti-Semitism represents the calculated and conscious design of American war mongers and cartelists in their efforts to split the American people and weaken their opposition to war and reaction. *As a result of American imperialist and reactionary policies and practices the center of gravity of international anti-Semitism has shifted from Germany to the United States.*

### Resolves:

1. We urge the fullest unity of all workers and particularly of Negro and Jewish workers and other minority groups in the fight to free America from the blight of anti-Semitism, Jimcrow and other forms of racial chauvinism and discrimination.

2. We call on the trade union movement to take the lead in conducting a militant struggle against all manifestations of anti-Semitism and racism in government, in industry, in education, in housing and in every community in the United States and in the trade union movement itself. In this connection we strongly urge the inclusion of anti-discrimination clauses in all union contracts. We strongly urge those unions whose undemocratic constitutions bar Negroes from membership to eliminate such clauses. We urge all unions to establish anti-discrimination committees.

3. We condemn the employment of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro teachers such as Knickerbocker and Davis at the College of the City of New York and we urge that our school system purge itself of these vicious, anti-democratic individuals.

4. We call upon all state and local authorities to withhold tax exemption from schools practicing discrimination.

5. We demand the elimination of all clerical interests from our secular school system, an end to the persecution of Jewish teachers and the reinstatement of the Jewish Children's Schools of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order into the school buildings of New York City.

6. We express our conviction that the most effective method of eliminating anti-Semitism is to outlaw it and subject its perpetrators to punishment by law. We, therefore, demand the enactment of local and national legislation outlawing all manifestation of anti-Semitism and racism. We strongly endorse the Barrett Bill, H.R. 3908, which would curtail the dissemination of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro race hate propaganda and urge its prompt pas-



sage. We call on all opponents of anti-Semitism and racism to participate in the current campaign for the enactment of H.R. 3908 into law. We particularly urge trade unions to allocate funds, time and forces in promoting and popularizing H.R. 3908.

### **Resolution on Negro-Jewish Unity**

**The Second National Convention** of the American Jewish Labor Council, convened June 17, 18, 19, 1949 at the Hotel Commodore in New York City—

Noting an alarming increase of violence, terror and discrimination against the Negro people as evidenced in part by:



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1. The frameup and death sentences imposed on six Negro workers in Trenton, N. J.

2. The brutal slaying of William Milton in Brooklyn by a New York City policeman.

3. The infamous sentence imposed on the Ingram family.

4. The framed up rape charges against seven Negroes in the State of Virginia.

#### **Resolves:**

1. We call on Jewish communities and particularly on Jewish working men and women throughout the country to take the lead in mobilizing every available force in defense of Negro rights.

2. We call on the Jewish people of America to root out all instances of chauvinism and discrimination existing in their own ranks and to join with the Negro people and all other Americans in defense of our common democratic rights.

3. We call on the Jewish people to take the lead in opposing discrimination in employment against Negro workers, and to take the initiative in providing them with employment opportunities.

4. We demand the freedom of the six Negro workers sentenced to death in Trenton, N. J., and the punishment of police officials who conspired their conviction.

5. We demand the freeing of the Ingram family and the seven Negro workers in

the State of Virginia who have been framed in the same manner as the Scottsboro boys.

6. We call on Mayor O'Dwyer to call a halt to the vicious wave of police brutality launched against the Negro people in the City of New York and the punishment of the murderous policemen responsible for the death of William Milton and other Negro residents of New York.

7. We call on President Truman and the Federal Government to enforce that provision of the Constitution which guarantees every American "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

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## NEW PHASE IN ISRAEL

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

The mere fact that our state exists does not mean that we are really independent. Nowadays there are many states that are nominally independent, but whose resources are nevertheless exploited by foreign capital. Foreign powers control every action of their governments, and the territory of these countries are freely used as bases for foreign armies and airfields for foreign aircraft. The Arab states that surround us are good examples of states of this sort. We in Israel dare not follow the example of Iraq or Syria, but must endeavor to be the first really independent state in the Middle East.

Clearly this ambition of ours for independence will conflict with the aims of American imperialism, which has its own ideas. Nowadays imperialism of the American brand does not have to occupy countries by armed force as empires were built in the old days. It dominates areas through its economic power. Once it has acquired economic control it is only a short road to complete political and, if necessary, military subjection. Pious declarations of neutrality by a state have little effect against the onward advance of American imperialism.

Furthermore, so long as a nation does not control all its natural resources, independence is a myth. The British administration left us a legacy of foreign concessions that are bound up with the basic industries of our economy. The Dead Sea Potash Works, the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Haifa oil refineries, and even our national bank are all tied up with foreign interests. We have not only not made any effort to date to extricate our national economy from these fetters, but we have actually tied our economy up further by accepting conditions in the American Loan which opens the way for economic dependence.

It may be that the implementation of a Mediterranean or Middle East pact will be delayed for some time yet, but the idea of these pacts will certainly not be dropped altogether. It may be that the Pacific pact will come first, or perhaps Britain and America will have first to unravel their own conflicting interests. A hint has already come from President Truman that maybe a Marshall Plan extension is not the right approach to the particular conditions of the Middle East area. There is talk instead of a development plan. Whatever particular form the approach will take, there is still no doubt that the United States is looking toward the State of Israel to advance its interests in the Middle East.

Though Middle East developments are moving slowly, pressure on Israel is increasing. Apart from the usual forms of financial pressure, other means are being employed as well. Israel has been awarded some territorial concessions, but in turn has had to give up large areas of western Palestine to satellite states of Britain and America. Nor should we ignore the importance of the recent revolution in Syria. The new dictator of that country, Colonel Zaim, has not given himself the title "Franco of the Middle East" without good cause, as with every passing day the fascist character of his régime becomes more apparent. Now Zaim, who is a full American agent, plans to make his army the second strongest in the Middle East, after that of Turkey. The ex-Mufti of Jerusalem operates from territory under American influence, and from time to time he receives tokens of American friendship, such as the invitation for him to appear before the U.N. Conciliation Commission, which was sent by the American member, Mr. Mark Etheridge. All these events are increasing the pressure on Israel so that the new state should realize the need to accept American "protection." All that is wanted is for Israel to take its place in the American scheme for the Middle East.

It is not sufficient just to recognize the danger. One must take measures to struggle against it.

This is no more an impossible struggle than were our previous struggles against British rule and Arab invasion. We can win if we inspire the masses of the people to play their part in fighting the menace. We have also to strengthen our friendship with all forces that are ready to support our fight for independence, foremost among them the Soviet Union and the Popular Democracies. The more we strengthen our friendship with those who are fighting imperialism the more we shall increase our strength to oppose imperialist pressure against us. It is also essential for us to make contact with those amongst the oppressed Arab peoples who are struggling for liberation.

The struggle for our independence is not only a matter of foreign policy; it also affects our internal affairs. It retards the development of local production, because Israel becomes a market for American exports. In the wake of this economic dependence comes the lowering of the standard of living of the people, hampering further our ability to take in immigration and the work of construction.

We have now entered a new phase, in which the struggle for our real independence becomes more difficult. When we fought the Arab aggressors we could rely on a united front. Now, as we struggle against imperialism, the Right Wing sections of the population are no longer our partners; on the contrary, capitalism in Israel seeks to secure itself, and believes it can do so best under American "protection."

We recently celebrated our Independence Day. This was more than a holiday for us, for it was also a reminder that we have still to continue to struggle for independence.

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# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)  
deterioration in educational standards." "It is difficult to conceive," says the letter, which was sent by Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones, president of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council, "of anything better calculated to shatter the morale of teachers and students alike than the administration of a loyalty law in such a manner as to arouse fear of reprisals, or so that those accused under it feel that they are denied the full protection of democratic legal procedure."

IT WAS CASUALLY REVEALED on June 2 that the ban on *The Nation* for a second year from the New York school libraries "was based on a reading of this year's *Nation*," as Superintendent of Schools William Jansen informally remarked. He was referring to unspecified "attacks on religion" and ads carried by the magazine. On June 23, the Board of Education approved the ban by giving approval to the entire list of periodicals proposed for the libraries, from which the *Nation* was excluded. *Nation* editor Freda Kirchwey declared she would take the case "all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary."

DESPITE THE ANNOUNCEMENT that William J. Levitt would drop the "Caucasians only" clause from deeds and leases for the Long Island Levittown housing development, Negroes have been refused an opportunity to apply for leases. A Federal Housing Authority spokesman on June 7 denied that the FHA had authority to force Levitt to comply with a non-discrimination policy. The Committee to End Discrimination in Levittown is continuing its campaign to break down Jimcrow in the development.

SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES which discriminate in employment against Negroes were exposed in a pamphlet, *The SSEU Fights Jimcrow*, published by the Social Service Employees Union (UOPWA-CIO) in June. The union pledges an all-out fight against Jimcrow in social service. Among the agencies charged with Jimcrow employment policies are local and national Jewish social service agencies.

THE 1949 AWARD of the Jewish Book Council of America for the year's best work of fiction has been awarded to Howard Fast for his novel, *My Glorious Brothers*.

## EUROPE

"SOVIET RUSSIA has done more than most countries to fight racial and religious discrimination," said N. Barou, chairman of the European executive committee of the World Jewish Congress in June, when asked about "reports" of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. He disclaimed belief in these reports.

THE JEWISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE of Poland and the Jewish Consistory of Bulgaria severed connections with the Jewish World Congress late in May and early in June, respectively. The Polish group issued a statement that "it considers it useless to maintain connections with the present administration of the World Jewish Congress" because of the refusal of the executive of Congress to participate in the World Conference for Peace held in Paris in April. "The leadership of the World Jewish Congress," said the statement, "has remained an instrument of the reactionary Zionist bourgeoisie, and after establishment of Israel it became a direct tool in the hands of those who strive to hand over Israel to Anglo-Saxon imperialists and to convert the Jewish state into a base

against the Soviet Union." Similar reasons for withdrawal were given by the Bulgarian group.

DENIALS OF A POLISH BAN on immigration to Israel came from two sources in mid-June. Alexander Lenowicz-Gordin, attache of the Polish Consulate in New York stated that immigration to Israel from Poland was permitted within the special laws and regulations for issuance of passports, as in all countries. He further asserted that Hebrew and Hebrew literature are taught in all Jewish schools in Poland. Israel Barzalai, Israeli Minister to Poland, declared that special arrangements have been made in Poland for relatives of Israeli residents to come to the Jewish state under certain conditions. The Jews in Poland, he added, are allowed complete freedom of movement and anti-Semitism is combated there with education and punishment.

HUB OF CULTURAL LIFE of Polish Jewry is the Cultural Society, which has 7,200 members and 53 branches; maintains 30 libraries, 46 cultural circles and clubs, 11 dramatic groups, 6 orchestras and three choral groups.

SIX ZIONIST LEADERS and one non-Jew in Hungary were convicted in mid-June of organizing and promoting illegal mass immigration of Israel-bound Hungarian Jews and were sentenced to six months to three years. Three other defendants were acquitted. The prosecution declared that the defendants were "tools in the hands of the imperialists" and were "misled" and that Zionism was not the issue of the trial.

BERCU FELDMAN, secretary-general of the central committee of the Jewish Democratic Committee of Rumania, reported to the committee in mid-June that the fight against Zionism was paramount among the activities of the committee, since, he charged, Zionist propaganda "seeks to throw the Jewish population into the arms of an exploiting capitalism." Another major task of the committee, he said, was the vocational retraining of thousands of Jews, with the help of the government and the Rumanian Workers Party. He also reported on the educational, cultural and press activities of Rumanian Jewry.

PHILIP PIRATIN, COMMUNIST member of Parliament in Britain, asked a question in that body in early June about fascist hoodlum attacks on Jews in London. Home Secretary Chuter Ede replied that he did not think these attacks "are connected with racial or political matters." At the British Labor Party convention at Blackpool in June, a delegate from the Hackney district in London called on the party to oppose fascist manifestations more sharply. Prof. Harold J. Laski, replying for the Labor Party executive, said that Home Secretary Ede had been "generous in his understanding of the situation" and had given much attention to the problem. He said that Ede would keep the problem in mind.

THE JEWISH SOCIETY of Oxford University has declined to join an anti-fascist action committee at the university to combat fascist activities there. The society claimed that it was "non-political."

A NEW GROUP calling itself "Friends of the French Liberties" and comprising anti-Semitic, pro-fascist and collaborationist elements, was formed in Paris recently and is expected to intensify already existing anti-Jewish propaganda in France by publishing a weekly newspaper. . . . In late May a small Jewish-owned clothing shop

in Paris was blasted by a bomb thrown in early morning hours. Similar outrages have occurred in the city recently.

A RECENT U.S. Military Government survey of German attitudes towards nazism revealed that the number of Germans who think that nazism "was a good idea, only badly carried out," has risen from 40 per cent in 1946 to 53.5 per cent in 1949; 17 per cent of the Germans surveyed in the American zone in 1946 would choose communism if given a choice between nazism and communism, while the figure dropped to 2 per cent in 1949, and in 1946, 10 per cent would choose nazism while 43 per cent would choose nazism in 1949; those who rejected either alternative dropped from nearly 70 per cent in 1946 to 35 per cent in 1949.

## ISRAEL

ORTHODOX GROUPS IN ISRAEL are pressing harder for clerical domination of the state's laws. Failure of the authorities to debark immigrants who arrived in Israeli waters during Shavuoth, violent demonstrations by extreme orthodox groups and other forms of clerical pressure caused Mapam deputies to demand full discussion of the problem in the Knesset. The orthodox groups are demanding that the state enforce observance of the Sabbath and dietary laws and grant rabbinical courts exclusive jurisdiction in family matters such as marriage and divorce. The Ben Gurion government agrees that while the state will not enforce compliance with Judaism, it will itself avoid violation of religious laws in any of its organs.

THE HISTADRUTH CONVENTION in late May decided by a vote of 254 to 162 to send delegates to both the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Labor Federation conferences to be held in Milan and Geneva, respectively. The convention had earlier voted to disaffiliate with the WFTU. The Mapam (United Workers Party) and the Communists favored continuing affiliation with the WFTU and voted against the motion to send delegates to both conferences. On the Histadruth executive, Mapai has 29 seats, Mapam 18 and Communists 1. This is the first time that the Communists have a seat. During the debate a Mapai spokesman said, "The Fatherland must come before the International." *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam organ, comments: "Those faithful to socialism do not admit of such a conflict between Fatherland and International. In conflict with the International stand only the capitalist interests, perhaps clothed in the garb of patriotism."

20 MAPAM MEMBERS of Kibbutz Zekim have joined the Communist Party in a body. They were among the founders of this Hashomer Hatzair colony, but they were nevertheless expelled from the kibbutz. Seven other members of the kibbutz resigned in protest against the expulsion. The 20 were ordered to leave immediately.

YAKOV FICHMAN, noted Hebrew poet and critic and chairman of the Hebrew Writers Guild in Israel, is the latest to join the peace movement that began with sponsorship of the World Congress for Peace in Paris by many outstanding Israeli scholars and intellectuals. His declaration upon joining the peace movement has made a profound impression in the country.

THE HOLLYWOOD FILM *The Iron Curtain* was temporarily withdrawn from a Tel Aviv movie house following protest by the League for Friendship with the Soviet Union.

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



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